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Diomedes as a Source for Pliny's Dubio Sermo: Some Editorial Problems

Alessandro Garcea

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a cura di Anna Chahoud,
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ALESSANDRO GARCEA

DIOMEDES AS A SOURCE
FOR PLINY'S *DUBIUS SERMO*:
SOME EDITORIAL PROBLEMS

Probably encouraged by the lively contemporary debate about grammatical and rhetorical subjects, and reassured by the fact that this kind of research would not upset Nero¹, from 60 to 68 AD Pliny the Elder collected a large number of linguistic observations on the passages he read with a view to writing his *Naturalis historia*². He decided to organise his notes according to a plan – which is impossible to reconstruct owing to the current state of the work, comprising about 130 fragments – and to publish them in eight books under the title *Dubius sermo*. The adjective *dubius* carries for the first time a technical value with respect to normative uncertainty, stemming from frequent cases of diachronic or diastratic oscillations in the language of the *auctores* as well as in *consuetudo*³. The importance of this work in the history of ancient grammar is far greater than its intrinsic value, for it provided a link between the republican age and the late Latin period, making it possible for authors who no longer had access to works of the genre *de Latinitate* to familiarize themselves with the state of early views on the Latin language

¹ See PLIN. *Epist.* 3, 3, 5. This article draws on research for the forthcoming edition of Pliny's *Dubius sermo* by Alessandro Garcea and Valeria Lomanto. The author wishes to thank Valeria Lomanto for her helpful advice and Jonathan Hunt for the final English version of this chapter.

² On Pliny the Elder's much discussed editorial method, described by PLIN. *Epist.* 3, 5, 10-17, see NAAS, *Le projet encyclopédique*, p. 136.

³ See DE NONNO, *Vetustas e antiquitas*, p. 236 e *ThLL* V.1 2110, 26-36 (JACOBSON) e 41-50 (*pace* DELLA CASA, *Il dubius sermo*, pp. 14-15).

and, as far as the corpus of linguistic attestations is concerned, to literary texts not studied in school and writings of a technical nature. The readers of the *Dubius sermo* known to us were Quintilian, Gellius, Caper and maybe Julius Romanus, the latter of whom was probably the last person to read the work in its entirety⁴. Both Caper and Romanus are the origin of the main source available to us for the reconstruction of Pliny's text, namely Charisius, whose grammar is based on a stratification so complex as to require particular caution. No less complex, in that – as we shall see – he belongs to the same tradition, is a minor witness of the *Dubius sermo*, Diomedes, who quotes only four fragments, two of which, concerning conjunctions, will be omitted from the present discussion, as they do not present any significant problems of an editorial nature⁵. Of greater interest, from this point of view, are the fragments concerning the morphology of the verb.

In his discussion of verbal forms derived from homonymous lemmas which *ex una positione, diuersos sortiuntur declinationes ordines et sensus* (*GL* I 372, 22-23), and which sometimes have an anomalous inflection (374, 2 *inusitatam... declinationem*), Diomedes analyses a series of cases concerning verbs *quae R littera finiuntur* (*GL* I 374, 23 - 377, 20). Only the last of them, which should probably be interpreted as a *differentia* between *meditari* and *meletare*, is explicitly attributed to Pliny (*Dub. Serm.* fr. 110 Della Casa = 105 Mazzarino¹ = 107 Mazzarino² = 37, 17-19 Beck = XC Lersch):

*'meditor' et 'meleto' <different>, et putat Plinius 'meditantem' esse secum cogitantem, 'meletantem' cum uoce discentem*⁶. (*GL* I 377, 18-20)

The verbs *meditari* and *meletare* (an adaptation of *μελετᾶν* found only in the grammarians and lexicographers), according to Diomedes,

⁴ BECK, *C. Plinii Secundi*, pp. XX-XXII; on Romanus: FRÖHDE, *De C. Iulio Romano*, pp. 617-632.

⁵ See PLIN. *Dub. Serm.* fr. 115 D.C. = 115 M.¹ = 117 M.² = 41, 17-22 B. = CII-CIII L. *ap.* CHAR. 291, 15-23 B.; fr. 116 D.C. = 116 M.¹ = 118 M.² = 41, 23-25 B. = CIV L. *ap.* DIOM. *GL* I 416, 17-19. Only LERSCH, *Die Sprachphilosophie*, p. 201 fr. CIII, notes that Diomedes (*GL* I 416, 27-31) gives a parallel version of the first fragment on conjunctions laid down by Charisius.

⁶ *meditor et meleto <different> et putat Plinius suppl. et em. Keil: meditor et meleto [melito A] ut putat plenius ABM: meditor et meleto <different> et putat Plinius Della Casa.*

indicate in the first case the act of reflecting and in the second case that of doing exercises in diction, although an anonymous *De differentiis* (*GL Suppl.* 289, 11-12) seems to attribute a more general character to the distinction, with the formula *meditamur animo, melitamur corpore*. The relationship between the two terms is accepted by Priscian (*Ars GL* II 385, 13-15 and 567, 12-16), and confirmed – according to Marius Victorinus (*GL* VI 26, 1-5 = 4, 109-110 Mariotti) and Servius (*Ecl.* 1, 2) – by the not infrequent interchange between the voiced dental and the lateral. Since the connection between *meditari* and *mederi* was no longer noticed because of the semantic specialization of the latter verb, the iterative came to be linked by folk etymology with $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ ⁷.

The fragment from Pliny thus involves one of the usual *differentiae* of the *Dubius sermo*, which tend to correlate morphological divergences with distinct meanings. However, since this extract comes at the end of a long list of similar cases, it is reasonable to ask ourselves whether the previous passages, too, can be attributed to the same source. The editors Mazzarino and Della Casa are both of the opinion that a lot of Plinian material is preserved in the text, though it is not possible to identify it exactly, owing to the compositional technique of creating a sort of mosaic of data from various sources and observations of varying nature and reliability.

Before this section, Diomedes (*GL* I 368, 2-11) quotes another extract from the *Dubius sermo* (fr. 119 D.C. = 108 M.¹ = 110 M.² = 34, 14-21 B. = LXXXVIII L.), about the forms derived from the two stems of the perfect of *parco*, the reduplicated *peperci* and the sigmatic *parsi*, the latter being preferred by the *ueteres*⁸:

*'fallo fefelli', 'cado cecidi', 'caedo cecidi', 'parco peperci'; sed et 'parsi'
legimus, ut Terentius
'egone uitam parsi perdere?'*⁹

⁷ See ERNOUT - MEILLET 1985⁴, p. 393 s.v. *meditor*; LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 417.B.2.b.

⁸ See also SERV. *Aen.* 1, 144. Festus (p. 280, 20-23 Lindsay) notes that Cato had used *parsi non peperci* in a speech (*orat.* fr. 90 Sblendorio Cugusi). The early authors' predilection for *parsi* seems to have been motivated by the derivative *parsimonia*, which the *Ars Bernensis* (*GL Suppl.* VIII 98, 28), too, links with the sigmatic perfect.

⁹ TER. *Hec.* 282.

item Plautus

*'labori ego hominum parsissem libens'*¹⁰.
sic enim melius ueteres 'parsi' declinant. nam 'parsimoniam', non 'parci-
moniam' dicimus. uolunt autem quidam grammatici differre, ut 'parsi'
semel quid factum significet, 'peperci' autem et semel et saepius. facit autem
*participium futurum 'parsurus', ut ait Varro in Laterensi*¹¹. *sed Plinio*
displicet. (GL I 368, 2-11)

Here too we find a *differentia*, which takes the form of an aspectual distinction between a punctual perfective action (*parsi*) and a punctual action of a potentially iterative nature (*peperci*)¹². Finally, at the end of the passage Diomedes mentions Pliny's disapproval of *parsurus*. Priscian discusses this participle in Book 10 of his *Ars* (GL II 511, 23 - 512, 3), judging it to be regular, on the grounds that the perfect ends in *-si*, and on the basis of examples comprising a longer quotation of the same extract from Varro (*Log. 67 Bolisani parsurus pecuniis bene partis*) and a quotation from Livy (26, 13, 16 *nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam*). Diomedes does not mention the reason for Pliny's disapproval of *parsurus*; he is unlikely to have preferred *parciturus*, which is attested only in late authors¹³; however, the parallel with Priscian, who in his discussion of the same questions mentions Caper, his direct source, several times, suggests that Caper was the intermediate source between the *Dubius sermo* and the late grammatical analysis represented by Diomedes and Priscian¹⁴.

¹⁰ PLAUT. *Pseud.* 5.

¹¹ VARRO *Log. 67 Bolisani*.

¹² See also *Diff. Front.* GL VII 522, 1 = 390, 25 Barwick; *Diff.* 75, 6 Beck. For semantic distinctions see NON. p. 370, 25-33 Mercier = 590 Lindsay; SACERD. GL VI 433, 2-5, and DON. *Ter. Hec.* 282.

¹³ See *ThLL* X.1 329, 11-27 (KORTEWEG). However, if the link made by NEUE - WAGENER, *Formenlehre*, p. 528, between the supine *parciturum* and the archaic perfect *parcui* – documented only in Naevius (*Carm.* fr. 69 = fr. XXVII Marmorale) – is accepted, it may be supposed that *parciturum* and the forms derived from it were used in the spoken language.

¹⁴ See CAPER fr. 21 G. Keil *ap.* PRISC. *Ars* GL II 490, 2 - 491, 2 (*delitum*); fr. 16 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars* GL II 499, 17 - 500, 11 (*sapui, sapiui, sapii*); fr. 19 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars* GL II 508, 2 - 509, 7 (*conquexi*); fr. 20 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars* GL II 509, 13 - 510, 3 (*ici*); fr. 22 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars* GL II 512, 22 - 513, 18 (*nactum*); fr. 17 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars* GL

To return to the structure of Diomedes's chapter, the editor Beck¹⁵ assigns to the *Dubius sermo* almost the whole of the text, as well as all the examples between the two passages where Pliny is mentioned by name, adding after the second of these passages a further section which ends with another *differentia*, between *luxurio* and *luxurior*; the latter form is exemplified by a line from the poet Cornelius Severus (*Carm. fr.* 12 *ap.* Diom. *GL* I 378, 3 *luxuriantur opes atque otia longa grauantur*), who, as we shall see, was known to Pliny:

- 368, 3-11 *parco*: perf. *peperci* / *parsi* (fut. part. *parsurus*)
- 368, 24-28 *uendo*: pass. *ueneo* / *ueneor*
- 369, 15-24 *necto*: perf. *nexui* / *nexi*
- 371, 18-21 *sancio*: perf. *sancii* / *sanxi*
- 374, 13-22 *sino*: perf. *siui* / *sii*; *excellere* / *excellere*
- 375, 16 - 378, 6: see below

Since this long section contains many examples from authors not studied in school, the possibility that it includes material deriving from Pliny certainly cannot be ruled out; however, it seems more prudent to follow the editor Mazzarino in including only the passage 374, 23 - 377, 20, beginning with the words *dicam nunc et de his quae R littera finiuntur*. If we exclude unremarkable comments on *falsus* as the participle of *fallere* and on the semantic difference between *conperior* and *conperio*, which is completely isolated in the grammatical tradition, the other observations made here are part of a morphological or semantic discussion of perfect participles. The analysis concentrates in particular on the *dubium* embodied in alternative participles of the same verb, the choice between which is usually motivated on the morphological rather than the semantic level: *absconditus/absconsus*, *altus/alitus*, *fictus/fixus*, *nixus/nisus*, *ostentus/ostensus*. Lastly, there is a discussion of participles of distinct verbs which are thought to be derived from a single lemma: *deletus* from *delere* and *delitus* from *delinere*, both having a perfect *deleui*, *insertus* and *insitus* from two homonymous verbs, *insero*.

II 524, 1-14 (*repunxi, repupugi*); fr. 23 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars GL* II 530, 1-23 (*situm*); fr. 18 K. *ap.* PRISC. *Ars GL* II 534, 20 - 535, 6 (*laccessi*).

¹⁵ See BECK, *C. Plinii Secundi*, pp. 34-38.

dicam nunc et de his quae R littera finiuntur. 'nitor niteris', perfecto 'nisus sum'; sed ueteres inmutantes 'nixus' declinant, ut Vergilius

'conixus ab aggere dexter'¹⁶,

item

'adnixus uiribus hastam'¹⁷,

item

'obnixus latis umeris'¹⁸,

<item>¹⁹

'adnixus acuto

detrudunt'²⁰.

melius autem dicimus 'nisus' et 'nisa' a 'nitendo'. 'enixa' enim appellatio est et ad partum refertur, cum dicimus: 'geminos enixa est', ut apud Vergilium

'triginta capitum fetus enixa'²¹:

ut sit 'enisa' uiribus conata, 'enixa' in genua.

'alor aleris altus sum': Sallustius 'Arpini altus'²². melius autem est dicere uitandae ambiguitatis gratia 'alitus'. nam et 'alimenta' dicuntur.

(374, 23 - 375, 16)

In this first section the *differentiae* indicated correspond to the method we noted earlier in Pliny, but they provide no clues to their source, though there is a significant allusion to the phenomenon of archaism, in the form of a generic reference to the *ueteres*. With regard to the verb *niti*, the analogical and later form of the perfect participle, *nisus*, is preferred to *nixus*, a product of the attachment of the original, internal velar to the suffix *-so-*, which is potentially ambiguous because of the specialization of the feminine (*e*)*nixa* with regard to childbirth²³. The chapter on *uerba in quibus dubia perfecta ostenduntur* in the *Ars Malsachani* preserves a

¹⁶ VERG. *Aen.* 9, 769.

¹⁷ VERG. *Aen.* 9, 744.

¹⁸ VERG. *Aen.* 9, 725.

¹⁹ <item> *suppl. Keil*, but the text is badly transmitted: see below.

²⁰ VERG. *Aen.* 1, 144-145.

²¹ VERG. *Aen.* 3, 39; 8, 44.

²² SALL. *Iug.* 63, 3 (*altus* ω: *alitus* D³ rec.).

²³ See FEST. p. 182, 23-25 L.

probable extract from a longer, fuller version of this passage; in fact, after the same three examples of *co-*, *ad-*, *ob-nixus* from *Aeneis* 9 (equally presented in the reverse order: 769, 744, and 725), it adds: *Accius 'illum defendere nixi sunt'. melius autem dicimus 'nisis nisa nisum' a 'nitendo'* (249, 20-21 Löfstedt)²⁴. This undoubtedly proves that the present state of Diomedes' text does not reflect the original source in its entirety, which can still crop up in grammatical texts written much later and relying on a *plenior* Diomedes. The etymological participle of *alere*, *altus*, creates ambiguity because of the specialization which that form has undergone in the sense of 'high', and by antithesis 'deep', a development linked to the verb's original meaning, 'to bring up'²⁵; so the reconstructed participle *alitus*, which had been in use since the early empire²⁶, is preferred to it, since it lacks any adjectival function and is connected with words such as *alimenta*, which belong to the semantic field of nutrition which *alere* has entered. The example from Sallust is also quoted by Priscian in Book 10 of his *Ars*, where it appears in a more complete form and with a significant qualification: *Sallustius in Iugurthino: 'et omnem aetatem Arpini altus'; in quibusdam autem codicibus etiam 'alitus' inuenitur* (GL II 527, 23 - 528, 1).

In the next part of Diomedes' discussion there are some rarer examples which conform more closely to the diachronic category of *uetustas*:

'sallior' frequens uidetur et tritum ut perfecto tempore 'salsus sum' dicamus. sed ueteres ambiguitatem appellationis uitantes et analogiam sequentes 'sallitus sum' dixerunt a positione 'sallo' non 'sallio'²⁷, ut Sallustius Historiarum quarto ait, 'reliqua cadauera ad diuturnitatem usus sallere'²⁸; Varro ad Ciceronem quinto: 'ut seruarent sallere'²⁹; idem Antiquitatum

²⁴ MARIOTTI, *Accio*, reads this as the second hemistich of a hexameter (*illūm dēfēndēre nīxī {sunt}*) from Accius' *Annales*; Dangel attributes this quotation the same œuvre (fr. 5 p. 264), but retains *sunt* as the beginning of a new hexameter, despite the difficult *enjambement* with postposed *sunt*.

²⁵ See MOUSSY, *Alo alesco*.

²⁶ See LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 448.II.A.

²⁷ Against the emendation by JEEP, *Priscianus III*, p. 503, <*salsus sum*> a positione, see DAHLMANN, *Cornelius Severus*, p. 121 note 172.

²⁸ SALL. *Hist.* fg. 3 (!), 87 Maurenbrecher.

*humanarum quinto decimo 'mortuos sallant'*³⁰; *Seuerus *** 'distractos atque sallitos'*³¹; *et Fabianus Causarum tertio 'cum caro sallita diuturnior'*³²; *'sallita' ut 'munita'. procul dubio 'sallio' dici debebit, cuius frequens perfectum uidetur 'sallitus sum' potius quam 'salsus'.* (375, 16-25)

Two verbs meaning 'to salt' have been formed from *sal*: *sal(l)o salsus sal(l)ere e sal(l)io sal(l)itus sal(l)ire*. The former, as is indicated by the participle, presupposes a present tense **sal-d-o*; the latter is a denominative in *-ye/o-*³³. Diomedes begins by studying the normal form *salsus*, which had probably been considered ambiguous because of its adjectival use in the sense of 'witty, humorous', and because it did not conform to the laws of analogy. In accordance to those laws, the *ueteres* had manifested a preference on the one hand for the participle *sallitus* (analogous to *munitus*), and on the other hand to the verb *sallere* in forms derived from the stem of the *infectum*, thus avoiding the possibility of confusion with *salire*. The contemporary usage should therefore have adopted *sallio - sallitus sum*, rather than *salsus sum*.

The sources of the quotations in this passage include learned works: in addition to Sallust's *Historiae* we find Varro's *De lingua Latina* and the same author's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*, which is also one of the sources of the geographical section of the *Naturalis historia* (Books 3-6); there are also extracts from authors of the early imperial period who were not on the school syllabus: the scientific work of Papirius Fabianus, whose *Causae naturales* are the basis of Book 2 of the *Naturalis historia*, and perhaps a line from the poet Cornelius Severus, a friend of Ovid, a further line from whom (*Carm. fr.* 8 in *FPL*⁴) is quoted by Pliny in another textually problematic fragment of the *Dubius sermo*³⁴. The text of these quo-

²⁹ VARRO *Ling.* 5, 110.

³⁰ VARRO *Ant. hum.* 15 fr. 2 Mirsch.

³¹ CORN. SEV. *Carm. fr. dub.* 15 in *FPL*⁴.

³² PAPIRIUS FABIANUS *PhRF* fr. 12.

³³ See PRISC. *Ars GL* II 546, 9 *sallio sallitum facit, sallo salsum*; LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, §§ 198 e 218.a; MEISER, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, §§ 82.1, 86.2 e 149.2; WEISS, *Outline*, p. 172.

³⁴ PLIN. *Dub. serm.* fr. 3 D.C. = 10 M.¹ = 9 M.² = 73, 18-19 + 76, 23-25 B. = XIX

tations contains several anomalies: the direct tradition of Diomedes (ABM, 5) places the words *Sallustius ~ usus sallere* after the quotation from Fabianus, among the examples of *sallitus*, but Keil rightly reordered the passage so as to preserve the coherence of the quotations. A more complete extract from Sallust's *Historiae* is given by Priscian: *parte consumpta reliqua cadauerum ad diuturnitatem usus sallere* (*Ars GL* II 546, 12-13). This is one of the many examples that the grammarian gives at the end of Book 10 of his *Ars* to support *auctoritate ueterum* the forms of supines and perfect participles (543, 20 - 547, 14), in the wider context of the *praeteritum perfectum quartae coniugationis* (538, 23 - 543, 19). In short, Priscian's discussion is structured not according to the diachronic evolution with respect to analogical theory, as in Diomedes, but on the basis of two mutually exclusive options:

- a) *sallio* (produces *sallitum*), see Sisenna *FRHist* n. 26 fr. 142 *sallien-dorum*
- b) *sallo* (produces *salsum*), see Sall. *Hist.* fr. 3, 87 Maurenbrecher *sallere*; Lucil. 317 Marx = 8, 16 Charpin *sallere*

- a) *sallio* consequently produces *salliturus*, see Novius *Atell.* 117
- b) *sallo* consequently produces *salsurus*, see Mumm. *Atell.* 5

- a) *sallitus*: Corn. Sev.
- b) *salsus* (no example given)

Despite the differences in presentation, it is clear, both from the subjects discussed and from the authors cited as examples, that the corresponding sections in Diomedes and Priscian are closely related. However, as was mentioned earlier, Priscian gives a more complete and accurate version of the quotations: in the case of Sallust, this concerns both the indication of which book of the *Historiae* the quotation came from and the text itself, especially if we consider the presence of the genitive *cadauerum*, noted by Maurenbrecher, in the parallel description of Calagurris' siege by Valerius Maximus 7, 6 ext. 3 *armata iuuentus (...)* *infelices cadauerum reliquias sallire non dubitauit*.

As far as Cornelius Severus is concerned, Priscian (*Ars GL* II 546, 21 - 547, 1 *Cornelius Seuerus in VIII de statu suo*: ‘*ad quem salliti pumiliones afferebantur*’ [*Carm. fr. dub.* 16 in *FPL*⁴]) gives a very different version of the line from that quoted by Diomedes. As a result, Keil³⁵ suggested a lacuna where the text of Cornelius Severus and the name of the author to whom the phrase *distractos atque sallitos* was attributed had been lost. This neat solution seems preferable to the many, often fanciful hypotheses proposed by the editors of poetic and rhetorical texts³⁶:

- J. Roverius³⁷, followed by J.C. Wernsdorf³⁸, suggested that *Seuerus* be corrected to *Serenus*, which he took to be a reference to Aulus Septimius Serenus, one of the *poetae nouelli* of the late second century AD, who is often cited by Diomedes simply as *Serenus*³⁹.
- A. Weichert⁴⁰, followed by H. Meyer⁴¹, suggested that it was a reference to Cassius Severus, an orator of the Augustean period, though he is never cited simply as *Seuerus*⁴².
- J. Becker⁴³ defended the attribution to the poet Cornelius Severus, observing that both *ad quem salliti* with *atque sallitos*, and *de statu suo* with *distractos*, found respectively in Priscian and Diomedes, were parallel versions of the same corrupt original. This could therefore be reconstructed as two incomplete hexameters:

Seuerus in VIII [sc. *rerum Romanarum*]
 – *distractos atque salitos pumiliones*
aspernabantur

³⁵ H. KEIL, *GL* I 375 *app. crit.*

³⁶ Distinctly reviewed by DAHLMANN, *Cornelius Severus*, pp. 119-126.

³⁷ *ap.* BURMAN, *Anthologia*, I, p. 14.

³⁸ WERNSDORF, *Poetae Latini*, II, p. 291 *ad fr.* 28, but Cornelius Severus in ID., *Poetae Latini*, IV, p. 227 *ad fr.* VIII.

³⁹ See *GL* I 511, 18; 513, 10; 514, 6; 517, 26 and 34; 518, 5 and 9.

⁴⁰ WEICHERT, *Lucii Varii*, p. 206.

⁴¹ MEYER, *Oratorum Romanorum*, p. 551.

⁴² *GL* I 371, 19 *Cassius Seuerus*; 373, 19-20 *Accius (?) Cassius*.

⁴³ BECKER, *Beiträge*.

or

Seuerus in VIII [sc. *rerum Romanarum*]

— — — — — *distractos atque salitos*

pumiliones aspernantur — — —

L. Jeep⁴⁴ suggested that they might have been part of a single hexameter:

distracti atque mihi salliti pumiliones

whereas H. Dahlmann⁴⁵ thought that it was a reference to dwarf chicken preserved in salt and sold as food, and that it could be reconstructed, for example, as follows⁴⁶:

*(ad quem) distracti atque saliti pumiliones
afferebantur*

'*abscondor absconsus*' et '*absconditus*'; melius '*absconditus*', quia simplex '*condor conditus*', item '<*abscondor*>⁴⁷ *absconditus*'.

'*deleor delitus*' et '*deletus*': Cicero ad filium '*ceris deletis*'⁴⁸, Varro in *Praetorina* '*delitae litterae*'⁴⁹, Caluus alibi ad uxorem '*prima epistula uidetur in uia delita*'⁵⁰. (*GL* I 375, 25 - 376, 2)

Of the two forms, the original *absconditus* and the allomorph *absconsus*, coined from the secondary perfect *abscondi*, which had supplanted *abscondidi*⁵¹, Diomedes expresses a preference for *absconditus*,

⁴⁴ JEEP, *Priscianus III*, p. 503.

⁴⁵ DAHLMANN, *Cornelius Severus*, p. 124.

⁴⁶ COURTNEY, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, p. 328, and HOLLIS, *Fragments*, p. 367, think that Severus' quotation comes from a prose work; BLÄNSDORF, *Fragmenta*, p. 295, classes it among Severus' *dubia*.

⁴⁷ As STAGNI, *Absconditus*, p. 496 note 10, remarks, «i paralleli medievali (...) e la stessa citazione di Guido [sc. de Grana] suggerirebbero di espungere *item absconditus*, invece di integrare con Keil».

⁴⁸ CIC. *Epist.* fr. 8, 3 Shackleton Bailey.

⁴⁹ VARRO *Men.* fr. *falsum* X Astbury.

⁵⁰ CALV. *ELM* II.1 n. 187 fr. *inc.* 3.

⁵¹ See LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, §§ 433.A.4. Zuis.; 448.i.A.2. Zuis.

on the basis of the analogy with the participle of *condere*⁵². Then the grammarian examines the participles *deletus* from *delere* and *delitus* from *delinere*, which he considers to be derived from the same stem. Sharing the same perfect tense, *deleui*, these verbs can overlap when, as in the quoted examples, *delinere* has the secondary meaning ‘to delete’. The passages in question are taken from Cicero’s correspondence with his son, one of Varro’s Menippean satires and the works of Calvus; since the latter quotation does not seem to have any metrical rhythm, editors have supposed that it comes from a letter written by the poet to his wife⁵³. However that may be, the use of late republican epistolary texts and the reliance on Varro’s *usus*, rather than theory⁵⁴, corresponds exactly to the practice of the examples quoted in Pliny’s *Dubius sermo*.

An important parallel with Diomedes’ observations is again provided by Priscian, who in Book 9 of his *Ars* discusses the formation of perfects and the associated supines in verbs with a stem in *-ē-*, and more precisely in verbs ending in *-leō*. Unlike Diomedes, Priscian (*GL* II 490, 8-20) explicitly distinguishes between *dēlēre* and *dēlinere*, citing the authority of Probus (fr. 104 Aistermann = 36* Velaza) and Caper (fr. 21 G. Keil), and the *usus* of the *auctores*, who also give examples of the non-compound verb and the deverbial noun (Verg. *Georg.* 4, 99 *lita*; Acc. *Trag.* 219 = 50 Dangel *delitor*). To illustrate the participle *delitus*, Priscian cites a letter from Cicero to Calvus (*Epist.* fr. 9, 1 Shackleton Bailey)⁵⁵ containing the expression *litterae delitae* (*GL* II 490, 12 *Cicero epistularum ad Caluum primo: ‘tuli moleste quod litterae delitae mihi a te redditae sunt’*), and a passage from the *Verrines* containing the participle *interlitus* (*Verr.* 2, 2, 104). A comparison between the quotation which Diomedes attributes to Varro – before the quotation from Calvus, indicated by an enigmatic *alibi* which lacks any antecedent –

⁵² *absconsus* is also censured by Pseudo-Caper (*Orth.* *GL* VII 94, 16-17), the *Scholia Danielis* (*Georg.* 1, 135), and Bede (*Orth.* *GL* VII 264, 8 = 109 Jones). See also SVET. *Diff.* 307, 12-15 Roth and *Diff.* 28, 1 Beck. Only Isidore *Diff.* 1, 9 (= 1, 169 Codoñer) justifies the formal distinction with a semantic difference.

⁵³ See RIESE, *Catullus*, p. 755 note 15, who suggests reading *Caluus lib. I ad uxorem*, and TEUFFEL - KROLL - SKUTSCH 1910⁶-1916⁶, I, p. 520.

⁵⁴ See DE NONNO, *Forme e modi*, pp. 133-138.

⁵⁵ See KARBAUM, *De origine exemplorum*, pp. 9 and 12.

and the more complete extract provided by Priscian suggests that the text of Diomedes should be corrected, in line with a hypothesis formulated by Keil⁵⁶. Cicero now becomes the subject, so that he is identified as the author of all three quotations, the third of which is consequently an unknown fragment of the correspondence between Cicero and Terentia, a possibility which only Christina Weysenhoff has previously considered⁵⁷:

<i>Cicero ad filium 'ceris deletis'</i>	<i>Cicero ad filium 'ceris delitis'</i>
<i>Varro in Praetorina 'delitae litterae'</i>	<i>item ad Caluus 'delitae litterae'</i>
<i>Caluus alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistula uidetur in uia delita'</i>	<i>alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistula uidetur in uia delita'</i>

Concerning the quotation from Varro, since no Menippean satire titled *Praetorina* is attested anywhere else, van Putschén (*Grammaticae Latinae*, I, p. 372) suggested the reading *Praetoriana*, also found in the *codex Schoppii*, and Oehler (*M. Terentii Varronis*, pp. 66, 131, 133) hazarded the theory that this might be an alternative title of the *Flaxtabula(e) Περὶ ἐπαρχιῶν*, probably «The Corrupt Laws. On the Government of the Provinces». Given its tentative nature, this suggestion – like Riese's *Plautocyne* (*M. Terenti Varronis*, p. 199 *app. crit.*) – has not been accepted by any editor⁵⁸. A passage from Charisius (*GL* I 105, 5 = 133, 25-26 B. = Varro *Men. fr. falsum* III Astbury *scriptulum, quod nunc uulgo sine I dicunt, Varro in Plutotoryne* [*plautorino* N: Πλουτοτορύνη corr. Ritschl, *Quaestiones*, p. 178] *dixit*) prompted Keil to propose, after the series of extracts from Cicero's letters, a different text: *Varro in Plutotoryne*, supposed to be a reference to lost attestation of *delitus* in Varro. Astbury, on the other hand, takes the title to be a corruption of the original Περὶ χαρακτήρων, a work of which Charisius (*GL* I 189, 25-26 = 246, 3-4 Barwick = fr. 9 Astbury) and perhaps Nonius (p. 96 L. = p. 68, 20-21 M. = fr. 11 Astbury) supply the only two other known fragments.

⁵⁶ H. KEIL, *GL* I 376 *app. crit.*

⁵⁷ CUGUSI, *Epistolographi*, *ELM* II.2 n. 187 p. 479, considers this hypothesis «praeter necessitatem», but see, *contra*, MÜNZER, *Licinius*, p. 433; WEYSENHOFF, *Ciceronis epistularum*, p. 39, fr. XV.1 *ad Terentiam*.

⁵⁸ See CÈBE, *Varron Satires*, V, p. 830.

'ostendor ostentus', quoniam sit 'tendor tentus'. nam 'ostentatus' est frequens: P. Rutilius De uita sua 'uni una ostentata est'⁵⁹; *** idem Pro L. Caesetio ad populum ex hoc deriuauit participium, 'quod ego me spero ostenturum'⁶⁰, non 'ostensurum' neque 'tensurum'. melius 'ostenturus' dicimus, quoniam ex temporibus perfectis passiuus futura participia actiua deriuantur, uelut 'amatus sum amaturus'. et Libius item Pro Figulo 'ostenta promissione'⁶¹, Varro Rerum rusticarum primo 'locus optimus uino sit et ostentus soli'⁶², non 'ostensus' nec 'tensus'. sed quia cacemphaton uidetur, deorum uehiculum 'tensam' dixerunt, ne uerbum turpe sonaret in sacris. (GL I 376, 2-11)

Of the two participles of *ostendere*, *ostentus* is more frequent in early authors and originates from the attachment of the suffix *-to-* to the root **ten-*; *ostensus*, by contrast, is formed by the attachment of the suffix to the dental stem of the *infectum*, with the change to a simple labio-dental fricative after the nasal (*d-t > t-t > s-s > s*)⁶³. Despite his preference for the original form of the participle, Diomedes mentions the frequent use of the intensive *ostentare* and notes that in order to avoid cacophony (the text is uncertain: *non ostensus nec tensus sed quia* Keil: *non tentus nec ostensus (ostentus B) et quia ABM, codex Schoppii*); *tensa* was the name of the litter on which the attributes of the gods were carried in religious ceremonies. This is reported by Festus (p. 500, 2-4 Lindsay) who cites the antiquarian of the Augustan period Sennius Capito (*GRFF* 13).

The passage contains several textual problems. The phrase *quoniam ex temporibus—amaturus*, which clearly refers to the future participle, was moved after *ostenturus* by Keil, who found it placed after *est frequens* in the manuscript tradition of Diomedes. As for the examples that are given, after the extract from Rutilius Rufus, which includes the earliest known use of *ostentare* in prose⁶⁴, the Parisian manuscripts (**A** and **B**) of Diomedes fol-

⁵⁹ RUT. RUF. *HRR* I² 15 = *AR* III 9 = *FRH* n. 21 fr. 9.

⁶⁰ CATO *ORF*⁴ n. 8 fr. 209 = 188 Sblendorio Cugusi.

⁶¹ LABIENUS *FOR* I n. 20 fr. 29.

⁶² VARRO *Rust.* 1, 25, 1 (soli *cod. Varr., Keil: olei codd. Diomedis*).

⁶³ See LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 198.a; WEISS, *Outline*, p. 442 note 63.

⁶⁴ See *FRHI*, p. 29 note 86.

lowed by Keil have *idem* (*item A*) *pro l. cesutio*; the Munich manuscript (**M**) has a lacuna of three or four letters between *idem* and *sutio*; the manuscript used by Caspar Schoppe⁶⁵ had *item pro l. caerutio*, which led van Putschen (*Grammaticae Latinae*, I, p. 372) to adopt the reading *item pro Lucio Caerucio*. Help in identifying the author of the quotation is provided by a passage from Book 10 of Priscian's *Ars* (*GL II 520, 23 - 521, 1*) where *quod ego me spero ostenturum* is attributed to *Cato pro Lucio Caesare*. The correct title of Cato's speech is *Pro L. Caesetio*, and this is the form adopted by Malcovati (ed.⁴: 85 *app. crit.*) and Sblendorio (fr. 187-188). If we accept this reconstruction, it is clear that there is a lacuna either after *idem*, causing the loss of the second quotation from Rutilius Rufus and the name *Cato* (thus Sblendorio ed.), or, more likely, before *idem*, in place of the first quotation from Cato. Lastly, a more complex emendation concerns the author of the speech *Pro Figulo*: the manuscripts of Diomedes have *praerutilius* (**A**), *p***rutilius* (**B**), *prutilius* (**M**) *de*, corrected to *et Liuius* (**ς**) or *et Libius* (Keil), but Keil (*GL I 376 app. crit.*) also suggests *et L{i}<a>bi<en>us*, accepted by Balbo (*FOR I n. 20 fr. 29*)⁶⁶.

*'expergisor experrectus' et 'expergor expergitus', 'expergefio expergefactus'.
sed 'expergitus' dicitur qui satiatus somno sponte euigilat, unde et Lucilius
ait {ego}*

*'e somno pueros cum mane expergitus clamo'*⁶⁷;
*'experrectus' autem a quiete impeditus, unde Sallustius 'interdum somno
experrectus arreptis armis tumultum facere'*⁶⁸. *'expergefactus' porro est qui
per alium somno excitatur. (GL I 376, 11-17)*

The intransitive verb *expergisci* 'to wake up' and the two causatives *expergere* and *expergefacere* 'to rouse (someone else) from sleep' form a

⁶⁵ See SCHOPPE, *Suspectarum lectionum*, p. 180.

⁶⁶ On Labienus' *oratio pro Figulo contra heredes Vrbinae* see already MEYER, *Oratorum Romanorum*, pp. 495 and 530.

⁶⁷ {ego} *del.* Keil. LUCIL. 143 Marx = 3, 23 Charpin (— — — — — — — — — — ergo Marx, Charpin :: *clamas codd. Prisc. Ars GL II 513, 1*).

⁶⁸ SALL. *Iug.* 72, 2 (*experrectus fortasse ex 71, 5 Nabdalsa paulo post experrectus: excitus plerr. codd., edd. : exercitus P¹N : excitatus A²*).

semantically related group⁶⁹. Diomedes makes a distinction between the meanings of the corresponding participles *expergitus*, *experrectus* (also used as the participle of *expergisci* because of the folk etymology that links this verb with *pergere*) and *expergefactus*: the first is used of someone who wakes up spontaneously, the second of someone whose sleep is interrupted, the third of someone who is woken up by someone else. This threefold distinction is simplified by Paul the Deacon (p. 70, 12-13 Lindsay), who contrasts the spontaneous awakening denoted by *experrectus* with the induced awakening indicated by *expergitus* or the more common *expergefactus*. A different opinion seems to emerge from the commentary on Virgil's use of the phrase *excitior somno* (*Aen.* 2, 302) by Tiberius Claudius Donatus, who argues that this expression was chosen because *expergefactus sum* is appropriate to someone who has slept long enough or is in a calm psychological state (*aut ex satietate somni ... aut de tranquillitate animi ac securitate mentis*).

These *differentiae* were not reflected in the ancient grammarians. Priscian, in Book 10 of his *Ars* (*GL* II 512, 24 - 513, 6), notes simply that *expergisor* forms the supine *experrectum*, while early authors also used the form *expergitus*, as is shown by the line of Lucilius also quoted by Diomedes, whereas Caecilius (*Com.* 95b-97 in *CRF*³) has *experrectus*. Priscian continues his list with this note: '*nancisor*' *etiam* '*natum*' *facit absque N, ut Probo* [fr. 108 Aistermann = *38 Velaza] *et Capro* [fr. 22 G. Keil] *et Pollioni* [*GRFF* 7] *et Plinio* [111 D.C. = 108 M.²] *placet* (*GL* II 513, 7-8). This suggests that in this case too, in addition to the passages which are specifically ascribed to these sources, both Diomedes and Priscian used a considerable amount of material deriving from Caper, who, in turn, drew on Pliny's *Dubius sermo*, where there was also a reference to the authority of Asinius Pollio and to Probus.

'fatigor fatigatus sum' facit, non 'fessus', et longe falluntur qui opinantur ex eo quod 'fatigat' 'fessus' deriuari: nam 'fessus' appellatio est. differt autem fatigatus a fesso, ut Verrius ait⁷⁰, quod fatigatus, cum quis per alium

⁶⁹ See KELLER, *Latin expergisor; contra*, on the historical relations between these forms, see *ThL* V.2 1651, 60 (DURSTELER).

⁷⁰ Verrius Flaccus *GRFF* 23.

*laborare compellitur, ut lassatus, fessus uero, cum quis labore deficitur, <ut> lassus*⁷¹. (GL I 376, 17-21)

After ruling out any connection between *fatigare* and *fessus*⁷², which he considers to be not a participle but a *nomen*, Diomedes reproduces the *differentia* indicated by Verrius Flaccus between *fatigatus*, which, like *lassatus*, denotes someone who is forced by someone else to make an effort, and *fessus*, which, like *lassus*, denotes someone who is exhausted⁷³. The mention of Verrius Flaccus is significant, for this author, as well as being known to Caper, is one of the sources of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, especially of Books 28-32 for information on the therapeutic use of animal substances.

The next few *dubia* in the text are given in a more concise form, and accompanied by examples from standard authors (Cicero and Virgil). Then, before the final quotation from Pliny, without expressing a preference for either form, Diomedes discusses the two participles of *figere*: *fictus*, where the suffix *-to-* is attached to the velar of the stem, and *fixus*, where the suffix *-so-*, usually associated with stems ending in a dental, is used, by analogy, with the sigmatic perfect⁷⁴.

*'figor' ambigue declinatur apud ueteres tempore perfecto. reperimus enim 'fictus' et 'fixus': Scaurus De uita sua 'sagittis – inquit – confictus'*⁷⁵, Varro ad Ciceronem tertio *'fixum'*⁷⁶, et Cicero Academicorum tertio⁷⁷ ****'malcho in opera adfixa', et Vergilius 'si mihi non animo fixum'*⁷⁸. (GL I 377, 11-15).

⁷¹ <ut> suppl. Keil.

⁷² See BRENDER, *Zu lat. fessus*, pp. 46-49; KIRK, *Adfatim*.

⁷³ See, with different opinions, SERV. *Aen.* 8, 232; ISID. *Orig.* 10, 101; *Diff.* 1, 241 = 1, 401 Codoñer; *Diff.* 57, 16 Beck.

⁷⁴ See LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 448.i.A.1.a; WEISS, *Outline*, p. 438.

⁷⁵ AEMILIUS SCAURUS *HRR* I² 5 = *AR* iii 5 = *FRH* n. 18 fr. 6.

⁷⁶ VARRO *GRFF* 7 = fr. 3 Goetz - Schoell.

⁷⁷ CIC. *Ac.* 2, 27 *stabile fixum ratum esse debeat*; see also fr. *prooem.* lib. 3, p. 25, 11 Plasberg *fixus*.

⁷⁸ VERG. *Aen.* 4, 15.

In addition to its resumption of the practice of quoting rare examples, this passage presents some textual problems. The quotation from Aemilius Scaurus contains the earliest recorded example of the perfect participle of *figo* (*fictus* rather than *fixus*, which is a more recent form built on the perfect *fixi*)⁷⁹. The citation of two works bearing the title *De uita sua*, one by the above-mentioned Rutilius Rufus⁸⁰, the other by Aemilius Scaurus⁸¹, both authors who were criticised by Cicero for their style, again recalls a characteristic feature of the *Dubius sermo*⁸². Diomedes then cites two extracts from Book 3 of Varro's *De lingua Latina* and from 'Book 3' of Cicero's *Academica priora*, the latter designation, as in Nonius⁸³, being in fact a reference to the *Lucullus*. Both texts are supposed to illustrate the form *fixus*: however, since in the *Lucullus* we find the expression *stabile fixum ratum esse debeat* (*Ac.* 2, 27), whereas no passage seems to correspond to *malcho* [read *malleo*⁸⁴?] *in opera adfixa*, one suspects that Diomedes may have inverted the quotations, attributing to Varro a passage that actually occurred in the *Lucullus*, and ascribing to Cicero an extract from Book 3 of the *De lingua Latina*; alternatively we will have to suppose that the corrupt form *malcho* formed part of another quotation, or that it indicated the author's name, as was supposed by Keil⁸⁵, who placed a lacuna between *tertio* and *malcho*.

What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis? The editing of grammatical fragments is a difficult task, whose very rigor is its greatest limitation; for while on the methodological level it is correct to include only extracts explicitly attributed to a fragmentary author (in our case Pliny), eschewing imaginative hypotheses about the authorship of passages where that author is not mentioned, it is clear that the wider context of a quotation

⁷⁹ See LEBEK, *Verba Prisca*, p. 226; LEUMANN, *Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 448 i.A.1; *FRHI* p. 29.

⁸⁰ See CIC. *Brut.* 113-114.

⁸¹ See CIC. *Brut.* 110-112.

⁸² Cfr. NEUMANN, *De Plinii libris*, pp. 30-31; BECK, *Zu den Quellen*, p. 512; PETER, *Historicorum Romanorum*, p. CCLIII.

⁸³ NON. p. 117, 7-9 and pp. 139, 31 - 140, 1 M. = p. 168 and p. 203 L.

⁸⁴ REID, *Academica*, p. 165 ad *Ac.* 2 fr. 17.

⁸⁵ H. KEIL, *GL* I 377 *app. crit.*: «Clitomachi nomen subesse suspicabatur Halmius».

from a named author may conceal original material mixed up with other heterogenous data. In the present case this seems to be proved by the quotations from non-literary authors who are explicitly used as sources of the *Naturalis historia* or of other works not studied in school which have been preserved almost exclusively thanks to the examples quoted in the *Dubius sermo*. A second problem which the editor faces is that of superimposed textual layers containing a mixture of direct and indirect sources. The parallels between the passages from Diomedes and those from Priscian, who explicitly draws on Caper, have shown that Caper was probably the intermediary through whom the learned grammar of the first and second centuries AD was transmitted to late Latin scholars; this is undoubtedly true of Pliny's *Dubius sermo* and Verrius Flaccus, and it may also be true of Probus, though in his case there might have been an independent tradition. However, the nature of this transmission is further complicated by other possible intermediaries; the fact that Priscian mentions Caper and scholars cited by him (such as Pliny), and that he provides more accurate and complete versions of the literary examples that they quote, whereas Diomedes refers only to Pliny and often gives problematic texts of the same literary examples, suggests that Diomedes' knowledge of Caper's work may have been indirect, and that he may have been quoting from compilations or summaries. However, his text is frequently badly transmitted and further research must be done to collate other manuscripts and to enlarge the documentary basis for a new edition of this grammarian⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ For a possible *Diomedes plenior* see above, pp. 58-59. JEEP (esp. *Priscianus III*) demonstrated that Diomedes' and Priscian's main source was Flavius Caper, whose work, in its turn, gave them access to many extracts from Probus. BARWICK (*Remmius Palaemon*, pp. 138-139 note 1, see also DAMMER, *Diomedes*, pp. 159-160 note 362) postulated an intermediary source between Caper and Diomedes. Three medieval treatises derived from Diomedes (*Malsachani ars*, anonymus *Ad Cuimnanum*, and *De uerbo* cod. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 7491) show independent traces of an ancient *Urquelle* used by him through a *Mittelquelle* dated to approximately 700 AD: after having formulated this hypothesis, TAEGER (*Multiplex*, esp. pp. 62-64 and 72-73) attributed these materials to Probus' *De inaequalitate consuetudinis* or *De dubiis perfectis*, without rousing out Pliny's *Dubius sermo*. More recently, STAGNI (*Absconditus*) emphasizes Probus' dependence from Pliny, Caper being a possible source for the first, and also, by way of a consequence, for the second one.

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ABSTRACTS

ANDREA BRAMANTI, *Le ragioni di un'edizione sinottica: il rapporto tra il secondo libro delle Artes di Sacerdote e i Catholica Probi*

The second book of Sacerdos' *Artes* and its parallel and stand-alone copy, Ps. Probus' *Catholica*, preserve interesting traces of reuse in an anonymous tradition. By analyzing some selected passages from these two texts, the present contribution aims at evaluating the nature of their relationship and demonstrating that a synoptic edition is the only editorial option for producing the most faithful representation not only of what Sacerdos wrote but also, in certain cases, of how the work of this third century AD grammarian has most likely been manipulated in the schools of Late Antiquity.

MARIO DE NONNO, *Note critiche al testo dei Grammatici Latini. 1: L'Arts grammatica di Diomede*

Exegetical and textual notes to seven passages in Diomedes' lengthy *Ars grammatica*, edited by H. KEIL, *Grammatici Latini*, I, Lipsiae 1857. In the reconstitution of the text, due attention is paid to the recognized presence of late Latin prose rhythm. Emendations are proposed to *GL* I p. 299, 18-23; p. 309, 22-24; pp. 430, 29 - 431, 9; p. 488, 14 ff.; p. 499, 2-6; p. 502, 20-28; pp. 518, 32 - 519, 8. This is the first installment of a projected series of articles aimed at scrutinizing many of the grammarians edited by Keil in his comprehensive *corpus*.

ALESSANDRO GARCEA, *Diomedes as a Source for Pliny's Dubius sermo: Some Editorial Problems*

This article provides a study of Diomedes' treatment of verbs *quae R littera finiuntur* (*GL* I 374, 23 - 377, 20). This analysis includes two

passages where Pliny's *Dubius sermo* is explicitly quoted (frg. 110 and 119 Della Casa = 107 and 110 Mariotti²), but other material deriving from Pliny can reasonably be identified, thanks to quotations from non-literary authors who are explicitly used as sources for the *Naturalis historia* or for other works not studied in school and quoted elsewhere in the *Dubius sermo*. The parallels between these passages from Diomedes and those from Priscian, who explicitly draws on Caper, show that the latter was probably the intermediary through whom the learned study of grammar from the first and second centuries AD was transmitted to late Latin scholars.

STEFANO POLETTI, *La semantica di ruo nell'esegesi virgiliana antica. Note critiche a Serv. Georg. 2, 308 ed Aen. 2, 250*

This article analyzes two Servian scholia on syntactical and semantic peculiarities of the verb *ruo*. The first critical note (SERV. AUCT. *Georg.* 2, 308 *et ruit atram*) focuses in particular on matters of textual reconstruction; the second one (SERV. *Aen.* 2, 250 *ruit Oceano nox*) thoroughly investigates a series of thorny interpretive problems that have so far been neglected by modern Virgilian commentators.

MICHELA ROSELLINI, *Nomina generis dubii in Servio*

This article collects and analyzes some passages in which Servius, in his *Commentaries* on Vergil's works, deals with questions of grammatical gender. The research aims to see how much interest Servius had in this topic, which doctrinal and didactic principles guided him, which sources he had available and made use of, and to which linguistic *auctoritates* he ascribed value on this subject. Servius (much more than the so-called Servius Danielis) deals frequently with gender topics, which in his own time were already a well-established field of Latin grammar, and quotes the works of Pliny the Elder and Caper, the most famous authors *De dubiis generibus*; only a few of his observations seem independent of this large tradition. Moreover, occasionally he adds examples from re-

cent poets (Lucan, Persius, Statius, Juvenal), whom he greatly appreciated and often quoted on other topics.

TOMMASO MARI, *Corruzione testuale in un'opera sulla corruzione linguistica: il De barbarismis et metaplasms di Consentius*

Consentius' *De barbarismis et metaplasms* includes a lengthy discussion of errors in spoken Latin and thus provides us with a rich list of non-standard Latin forms. It is precisely the non-standard nature of these forms that caused trouble for medieval copyists, such that Consentius' manuscripts have *variae lectiones* among which it is not always easy for a modern editor to choose. This paper focuses on textual problems concerning non-standard forms presented by Consentius, especially those involving metathesis and the use of the aspirate; it also discusses cases in which Consentius' text seems secure but the interpretation of the form he presents is rather problematic, thus revealing some of the limits of his learning. The paper also analyzes the significance of the forms discussed for our understanding of "vulgar" or simply "non-standard" Latin.

TOMMASO MARI, *Foni e terminologia fonetica nel De barbarismis et metaplasms di Consentius: il caso della i*

Consentius' *De barbarismis et metaplasms* includes a discussion of the correct and incorrect pronunciations of several sounds; the author describes the sounds discussed, but it is difficult at times to understand exactly the characteristics of the sounds being described because the phonetic terminology that was current in ancient grammar is not very precise. This article focuses on the phonetic terminology with which Consentius describes the errors in the pronunciation of the sounds of *i*, *l*, *t*, *c*, *s*, and *u*, and especially on the use of the terms *pinguis* and *exilis*. The case of the sounds of *i* is particularly interesting but also very complicated, for it presents textual as well as interpretive problems: Consentius describes both some pronunciation errors by Gauls and Greeks and also the correct pronunciation of *i* depending on two different criteria, its position within a word and its quantity; the latter partly foreshadows Romance developments.

ANNA ZAGO, *The (New) Prologue to Pompeius' Commentum*

This article presents a new critical edition of the prologue to the *Commentum artis Donati* written by the African grammarian Pompeius (5th century AD). The very beginning of Pompeius' work, unknown to Heinrich Keil and discovered by Louis Holtz in 1971, is edited here for the first time on the basis of a fuller knowledge of the manuscript tradition. The text is accompanied by a philological introduction, a translation, and a commentary.

ELENA SPANGENBERG YANES, *Non-Mechanical Omissions: an Insight into the Early Stages of Priscian's Transmission*

As part of a larger collaborative research project for a new critical edition of the *Ars Prisciani*, this article investigates a particular feature of the manuscript transmission of the work. As other scholars (De Nonno, Rosellini) have already pointed out with regard to specific witnesses or sections of the *Ars*, some codices omit (or, on the contrary, supply) whole sentences and passages of varying lengths, whose omission cannot be justified either as the result of a mechanical error such as a *saut du même au même* or of material damage. Based on a complete survey of peculiar omissions of this kind in all 8th-9th-century AD witnesses of the *Ars* and on the most recent progress in the reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* for some books of the *Ars*, this article casts light on some aspects of the composition process of Priscian's major work, as well as of its early transmission.

ADAM GITNER, *Imagining an Archetype of the Idiomata generum*

This article surveys the corpus of bilingual *Idiomata generum* as a genre and addresses several issues preliminary to an edition of these works. First, to what extent an archetype can be reconstructed, at least for part of the tradition, among the individual witnesses (the *Anonymus Bobiensis* [Naples BN Lat. 2]; Charisius [Naples BN IV A 8]; and the *Idiomata Parisina* [Paris. Lat. 7530])? Secondly, what is their relationship to other lexical and grammatical sources?

CLAUDIO GIAMMONA, *Un'Orthographia visigotica? Osservazioni sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'Orthographia Bernensis I*

The *Orthographia Bernensis I*, so called from the manuscript Bern 522 used by Hagen for its edition, is a short collection of orthographical prescriptions, sorted according to the first letter, given the absence any other element that could provide a greater consistency; however, this text is transmitted almost unaltered in three other manuscripts, and a fuller version is preserved in six other manuscripts. This article presents a close examination of the differences between these two versions, and of the variants in each manuscript, in order to clarify the relations between them, suggesting an hypothesis on the original form of this text and on its background.

MICHELA ROSELLINI - ELENA SPANGENBERG YANES, *Per un Thesaurus Dubii Sermonis digitale*

The article addresses the problems in editing fragmentary Latin grammatical works. The first part of the contribution surveys the existing editions, focusing on their methodological limits, and analyzes some significant case-studies. Then it proposes a new model of collection (*thesaurus*) of the fragments of the Latin grammarians who dealt with *dubius sermo* and *Latinitas*: the collected texts will be edited in digital form and lexicographically arranged. The second part presents the criteria for the digital markup (based on the XML-TEI language) adopted in the project of the *Thesaurus Dubii Sermonis*.

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