

The Adverb *anteā* in the Treatises of Tacitus

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In studies on Latin adverbs (e.g., Menge 1961, Bos 1967, Löfstedt 1967, Pinkster 1972) the discussion of a specific temporal adverb in a certain corpus is rare. Moreover, an adverb peculiar to the treatises of Cornelius Tacitus (55-56 until the second decade of the second century A.D.) has not yet been analyzed in the studies concerning his language and style (e.g., Draeger 1882, Voss 1963). Our study fills a gap, to a certain extent, in the researches on the adverbs in Latin prose in general and in the corpora of Tacitus in particular, by examining the characteristic and unique usages of anteā in his treatises regarding content and style. We surveyed selected studies dealing with both general and specific adverbs, as well as with the language and style of Tacitus. The grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of a specific adverb (anteā) in the prose opus of one author (Tacitus), which is necessarily a restricted and fairly homogeneous corpus. This enables us to present the full documentation of the adverb under discussion in the selected corpus. Our main conclusions are: Anteā occurs mostly with contrasting temporal adverbs denoting posteriority/anteriority in relation to the past. Its modified part of speech is only explicit and is mostly a finite verb in past tenses, due to the meaning of anteā. In few cases anteā modifies more than one part of speech in a clause. Its prevalent position is after the modified element. A concluding comparison of anteā yielded identical and different features alike.

[0]¹ The Purpose of Our Research and Its Contribution

The purpose of our research is to exemplify by means of a detailed linguistic analysis the usages of *anteā* in the treatises of Tacitus. The need for this kind of research arises from the paucity of comprehensive research on a specific adverb in a certain corpus of Latin prose and the lack of quotations on adverbs from the Tacitean corpora in the secondary literature. Moreover, no comprehensive analysis of a specific adverb occurring in the treatises of Tacitus is contained in the studies concerning his language and style. Our study fills a gap, to a certain extent, and contributes to the researches on adverbs of Latin prose in general and in the corpora of Tacitus in particular. This is achieved by examining the characteristic and unique usages, including content and style of a specific adverb in his corpora.

Pinkster (1972) emphasizes the need for further studies on adverbs. In his opinion, the syntactical characteristics of adverbs and the structures in which they occur have not been sufficiently examined. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out similar studies of additional types of adverbs in a specific corpus. The investigation of this subject with an exhaustive discussion in a given corpus will contribute to its study and further it.

We surveyed selected studies dealing with adverbs in general and specific adverbs, as well as with the language of Tacitus and his style (see §§0.1-0.2 below). Our grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive, including

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¹ In order to facilitate the best possible organization and readability of this paper, headings and subheadings have been listed with a numbering system, rather than traditional titles, and are referenced as such throughout the work.

quotations from the corpora in question, in order to clarify and illustrate the phenomena with literal translations, wherever applicable.

The analysis of *anteā* in the points indicated in 1-5 below is described at length with detailed comparative tables (see §§1-5 and Tables 1-5). This is in contrast to the studies mentioned in §§0.1-0.2 below, where the following points were not sufficiently discussed. The structure of the discussion to come is thus as follows:

- 1) The distribution of *anteā* in each book, its meaning and variants;
- 2) Its proximity to an additional adverb (temporal/negative/manner/measure adverb) or without it and the temporal adverbs denoting posteriority/anteriority in relation to the past with *anteā*;
- 3) The part of speech modified by the adverb in the sentence: mostly a finite verb in past tenses, due to the adverb's meaning (perfect, imperfect, pluperfect [+ adverb]), participium in P.P.P., adjective, infinitive [+ adverb], cases in which *anteā* modifies more than one element in a clause/sentence;
- 4) Its position in relation to the part of speech modified by it in a clause/sentence (in first/second/third position and further removed one before/after the modified element, two positions of *anteā* concerning its modified elements). In this context we examined the linguistic and stylistic means employed by the author (where some message is to be highlighted, word order, anaphora, a chiasmic structure or a parallel one [mainly by contrasted pairs of words], a detailed classification on the adverb's position in a clause with phrases, other adverbs, etc.);
- 5) A concluding comparison with identical and different features of *anteā* between Tacitus' books. Phenomena, which are peculiar to the adverb in one of his books, do not necessarily occur in his other ones, because each book has features of its own, which are influenced by its content and style; and
- 6) Conclusions.

[0.1] *Selected Studies on Latin Adverbs (in Chronological Order)*

[0.1.1] Studies dealing with adverbs in general

1) Menge (1961: 313-33, §§461-498) concerns the adverbs' meanings; phrases with similar meaning to the same adverb; adverbial suffixes; verbs, adjectives or other adverbs, which are modified by an adverb; 2) Löfstedt (1967) discusses at length the frequency of the adverbs' morphemes, nouns and adjectives in masc./neutr. sg. which are used in certain contexts as an adverb (*primum, solum*, etc.) and the modified part of speech in general; 3) The monumental study of Pinkster (1972) "*On Latin Adverbs*" (see also §0 above) contains a critical discussion of the adverbs' treatment in Latin studies, a description of their functions in larger constructions, classificatory problems, the relationship between adverbs and other uninflected words, and the syntactic characteristics of adverbs and other constituents (adverbial adjuncts, etc.). His study is based mainly on the works of Cicero, somewhat on Vergilius, Plautus and Julius Caesar, but without quotations from Tacitus' books; 4) Devine and Stephens (2006) "*Latin Word Order*" deal with word order in a clause/sentence in general without a detailed analysis of a specific adverb in a certain corpus.

[0.1.2] Studies dealing with specific adverbs

1) Booth (1923) deals only with the position of measure adverbs in Roman comedy and in *de Agri Cultura* by Cato; 2) Lundström (1961) concerns *abhinc* and *ante* (with acc./abl. and with measure adverb in abl./acc.) without relationship to a specific corpus; 3) An exhaustive discussion on *prae* and *pro* as adverbs, prepositions and prefixes is offered by Francis (1973: 1-59); 4) Risselada (1996: 105-125) deals with the functions of *nunc* (as a discourse marker [including its phrases with *at*, *sed*, *tamen*, *vero*] and as a temporal complement) as compared to *now* in English.

[0.2] Selected Studies on the Language of Tacitus and His Style

1) Draeger (1882: 5, 8-9, §§8,21-24) deals with the syntax and style of Tacitus. He discusses briefly the usages of the adverbs in his treatises; 2) Mendell (1911) gives a detailed analysis on sentence connection in Tacitus; 3) Voss (1963) discusses the emphatic style employed by Tacitus.

[1] The Distribution of *Anteā* in the Corpora², Its Meaning and Variants

Anteā (consists of *ante* + *eā*) occasionally occurs in Old Latin (Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/1: 576, §111a). It is documented in 19 instances: 13 in *Ann.* and six in *Hist.* It does not occur in the minor works *Ag.*, *Ger.* and *Dial.* (Table 1)³.

Anteā is used for one description⁴ as a temporal adverb with the meaning "previously, before" in different contexts. Other synonymous adverbs with *anteā* are used as: 1) An adverb or adjective (such as *ante*, *antīquitus*, *quondam*); 2) An adverb of time and place (e.g., *aliquandō*); 3) Some synonymous adverbs with more than one meaning (*olim*, etc.). The alternative usages of these synonymous adverbs are, *inter alia*, for variety and also stylistic characteristics of the author [for synonymous words in Latin see Calboli 1965, 1989, Menge 1961, 1988].

The reading *anteā* is documented in the corpora with three variants, mostly with *ante*:

- A. *Ante se* (instead of *anteā*) *egerint*: Tac. *Hist.* 3,2,1 (Fisher 1911: 115). According to Heraeus (1929: 2), Tacitus more often employs *agere* without *se*, mostly with an adverb and rarely with an adjective. *Se agere* for *agere* is rarely found in late period (Simcox 1876: 2).
- B. *Ante*: Tac. *Hist.* 4,1,3 (Koestermann 1969: 162); *Ann.* 16,3,2 (Römer 1976: 121).
- C. *Ante ea*: Tac. *Hist.* 4,86,2 (Fisher 1911: 228).

² The quotations for discussion in the corpora are according to the editions of Heubner 1978, 1994. Slight changes are according to Fisher 1906, 1911, Koestermann 1969, 1971, Weiskopf 1973, Römer 1976.

³ Gerber and Greef 1877-1890, 1: 84-85, s.v *anteā*; Blackman and Betts 1986, 1: 138.

⁴ On adverbs, which are used for several descriptions, see, e.g., Pinkster 1972, Menge 2000. Their discussion is mainly on adverbs of manner, which denote measure in certain contexts, without parallels from the corpora.

Table 1. *The Distribution of Anteā in the Corpora in Descending Order*⁵

The Treatise	References	No. of Cases
<i>Ann.</i>	1,3,3; 2,87,1; 4,2,1; 6,1,2; 11,1; 16,1-2; 36,2; 12,50,2; 60,1; 13,15,5; 14,20,2; 28,1; 16,3,2 (var. <i>ante</i>)	13
<i>Hist.</i>	3,2,1 (var. <i>ante se</i>); 37,2; 58,3; 4,1,3 (var. <i>ante</i>); 75,2; 86,2 (var. <i>ante ea</i>)	6
<i>Ag.</i>	-	-
<i>Ger.</i>	-	-
<i>Dial.</i>	-	-
General Total		19

[2] *Anteā* in Proximity to an Additional Adverb or Without It

In eight instances *anteā* occurs without proximity to an additional adverb, whereas in 12 instances it is in proximity to an adverb (for emphasis, contrast, etc.), a phenomenon which reflects the contents and style of the treatises: A. Temporal adverb (6x); B. Validity adverb in negative (3x); C. Manner adverb (2x); D. Measure adverb (1x). In three instances (Tac. *Ann.* 6,1,2; 16,1-2; 16,3,2) more than one adverb are next to *anteā*.

[2.1] *Anteā* in Proximity to an Additional Adverb

[2.1.1] Temporal adverb⁶

2.1.1.1 Posteriority in relation to the past with *anteā*

2.1.1.1.1 *Anteā* ... *tunc*

Quin et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus anteā, sed tunc superstitione nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudentium et volgi rumor iuxta audiuntur.

"Moreover, (Vitellius) even wished to be called Caesar, (a title), which he had formerly rejected, but then through a superstition about the title (he accepted it), and because in time of fear the counsels of the wise men and the gossip of the crowd are listened to in like manner" (Tac. *Hist.* 3,58,3).

2.1.1.1.2 *Tandem* ... *anteā* ... *tunc primum*

Nam Bassus, effosso agro suo latisque circum arvis, dum hunc vel illum locum promissi specus adseverat, sequunturque non modo milites, sed populus agrestium efficiendo operi adsumptus, tandem posita vaecordia, non falsa anteā somnia sua seque tunc primum elusum admirans, pudorem et metum morte voluntaria effugit.

"For Bassus dug up his own land and wide plains around (it), while asserting that this or that (was) the place of the promised cave, and not

⁵ In the references were indicated the author, treatise and book number followed by the number of chapter and paragraph (Tac. *Ann.* 4,2,1; *Hist.* 3,37,2, etc.).

⁶ For *anteā*, which occurs with additional contrasting temporal adverbs in other corpora, see L.-Sh., p. 129b, s.v. *anteā*, temp. adv., I-III; OLD, p. 138b, s.v. *anteā*, adv., b-c.; TLL ½, pp. 137-140, s.v. *anteā*, I-II.

only soldiers followed him, but (also) a populace of rustics engaged for carrying out the work. Finally his delusion was thrown off, (and saying) with amazement that his dreams had never before been false and that then for the first time he had been deceived (by them), he escaped humiliation and fright by suicide" (Tac. *Ann.* 16,3,2).

Anteā is anterior to *tunc primum*, while *tandem* is posterior to *anteā* and *tunc primum*.

2.1.1.1.2.1 *Tuncque primum ... anteā*: see Tac. *Ann.* 6,1,2, §4.2.1, ex. 5 below.

2.1.1.1.3 *Anteā ... mox*: see Tac. *Ann.* 6,11,1, §4.1.2, ex. 1 below.

2.1.1.1.4 *Dein ... anteā*: see Tac. *Ann.* 13,15,5, §3.2.1, ex. 2 below.

2.1.1.2 *Anteriority to anteā by olim*

Tac. *Ann.* 6,16,1-2 (see §3.1.3 below): *anteā* is anterior to *prīmō*, *dein* and *postremo*, while *olim* is anterior to *anteā*.

[2.1.2] Validity adverb in negative⁷

2.1.2.1 *Numquam anteā*

Pridie kalendas Novembris Rosius Regulus iniit eiuravitque. Adnotabant periti numquam anteā non abrogato magistratu neque lege lata alium suffectum; nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus C. Caesare dictatore, cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur.

"On the 31st of October Rosius Regulus entered and resigned (his consulate office). Experts remarked that never before had another (consul) been elected, unless the office had been declared vacant and the passing of a law; for Caninius Rebilus had been even before consul for one day, during the dictatorship of Gaius Caesar, when rewards (for services) in the civil war were hurriedly distributed" (Tac. *Hist.* 3,37,2).

2.1.2.2 *Nōn ... anteā*: see Tac. *Ann.* 16,3,2, §2.1.1.2 above; 1,3,3, §3.1.1.1.1 below.

[2.1.3] Adverb of manner

2.1.3.1 *Ferōcius anteā*: see Tac. *Hist.* 3,2,1, §3.1.1.1 below.

2.1.3.2 *Temere anteā*: see Tac. *Hist.* 4,75,2, §4.3.2 below.

[2.1.4] Adverb of measure⁸ by *et*: see Tac. *Ann.* 2,87,1, §3.2.1, ex. 1 below.

⁷ For the occurrence of *anteā* with negative adverbs in other corpora see L.-Sh., p. 129b, s.v. *anteā*, temp. adv., II; *OLD*, p. 138a-b, s.v. *anteā*, adv., a-b; *TLL* ½, pp. 138-139, s.v. *anteā*, I, II.

⁸ For *anteā* with adverbs denoting measure (*paulo/longe*, etc.) in other corpora see *TLL* ½, p. 139, s.v. *anteā*, II.

[2.2] *Anteā* without Proximity to an Additional Adverb

*Vacuumque*⁹ *rursus Armeniam Radamistus invasit, truculentior quam anteā, tamquam adversus defectores et in tempore <re>bellaturos.*

"(And) Armenia, once more without a ruler, Radamistus invaded (it), more savage (now) than before, as if he facing rebels and who would, in an appropriate time, rise against him again" (Tac. *Ann.* 12,50,2).

For more references, see Table 2.

Table 2. *Anteā* in Proximity to an Additional Adverb or Without It

With an Additional Adverb	References	No. of Cases	Total
Temporal adverb			
Posteriority to <i>anteā</i>			
<i>Anteā ... tunc</i>	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,58,3	1	
<i>Tandem ... anteā ... tunc primum</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 16,3,2	1	
<i>Tuncque primum ... anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,1,2	1	
<i>Anteā ... mox</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,11,1	1	
<i>Dein ... anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 13,15,5	1	
Anteriority to <i>anteā</i> by <i>olim</i>			
<i>Ōlim ... primō ... anteā ... dein ... postrēmō</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,16,1-2	1	6
Negative adverb			
<i>Numquam anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,37,2	1	
<i>Nōn ... anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 1,3,3; 16,3,2	2	3
Manner adverb			
<i>Ferōcius anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,2,1	1	
<i>Temere anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 4,75,2		2
Measure adverb by <i>et</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 2,87,1	1	1
Without an Additional Adverb	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 4,1,3; 86,2; <i>Ann.</i> 4,2,1; 6,36,2; 12,50,2; 60,1; 14,20,2; 28,1	8	8

[3] The Part of Speech Modified by *Anteā* in the Sentence¹⁰

From Table 3, the modified element by *anteā* is only explicit. It is mentioned in the clause, in which the adverb is included, while in three instances it is mentioned in the clause before the phrase *ut/quam anteā*. The grammatical

⁹ For *vacuus* meaning "having no ruler or governor" in this context see *OLD*, p. 2002 b-c, s.v. *vacuus*, -a, -um, 9.b.

¹⁰ For the modified element by *anteā* in other corpora see L.-Sh., p. 129b, s.v. *anteā*, temp. adv., I-IV; *OLD*, p. 138a-b, s.v. *anteā*, adv. a-d; *TLL* ½, pp. 137-140, s.v. *anteā*, I-II.

forms modified by it are as follows: **A. Finite verb in past tenses** (6x), due to the meaning of *anteā*¹¹: **a) Perfect** (3x; in 2x + adverb); **b) Imperfect** (2x); **c) Pluperfect** + adverb (1x). **B. Participium in P.P.P.** (5x): **a)** Replaces a clause (4x); **b)** P.q.p. pass. without *esse* (1x). **C. Adjective**¹² (5x): **a)** Attribute (3x); **b)** Praedicativum (1x); **c)** Predicate noun with the copula *esse* (1x); **D. Inf. perf. pass.** (without *esse*): **predicate of AcI** (3x): **a)** + inf. complement (1x); **b)** + adverb in negation (2x)¹³.

It follows that in a few cases *anteā* modifies more than one part of speech in a clause/sentence. In the following quotations, the relevant part of speech modified by *anteā* is underlined.

[3.1] A Finite Verb in Past Tenses

[3.1.1] Perfect

Igitur Sinnaces, quem anteā infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagaesen aliosque occultos consilii et tunc continuis cladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit.

"Therefore, Sinnaces, whom I have previously mentioned as being hostile (to Artabanus), drew into revolt his father Abdagaeses, as well as others privy to (his) plot and then more eager (to fight) because of (their) continuous (Parthian) defeats" (Tac. *Ann.* 6,36,2).

3.1.1.1 + Adverb

Plus socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus; neque enim in procinctu et castris habitos: per omnia Italiae municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius anteā egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse.

"(Antonius Primus said that) carelessness rather than confidence has grown upon the victors, for they have not been kept in fighting trim nor in a camp, (billeted) in idleness in all the towns of Italy (and) fearful only to their hosts. The more ferociously (the victors) have conducted before, with more eagerness they have drunk of (their) unaccustomed pleasures" (Tac. *Hist.* 3,2,1).

Ferocius modifies *egerint*, while *anteā* modifies *ferocius* + *egerint*. Hence, the emphasis is put on *egerint* (referring to *victores*), which is modified by both adverbs. Primary tenses are interposed in this speech among secondary ones: *egerint* for *egissent* (Wellesley 1972: 78).

¹¹ Some adverbs can be connected with any tense, mainly adverbs of manner, e.g., *sapienter*, whereas certain tenses are incompatible with certain adverbs of time, such as *anteā*, *heri* (Pinkster 1972: 39, 80).

¹² Cf. measure adverbs, which modify an adjective, adverb or verb; manner adverbs, which modify an adjective, verb, etc. On adverbs, which modify an adjective or another adverb see Leumann et al. 1963, 1964 1: 170-172, §101a-c, Löfstedt 1967: 104-108, Pinkster 1972: 59, Menge 2000: 198, §148.

¹³ An adverb, which modifies a noun, is rare in Latin and is partially under Greek influence, where it is more prevalent. This usage occurs mainly in poetry and is common since Livius (see Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/1: 218-220, §59, Leumann et al. 1963, 1964 1: 171, §101,b).

3.1.1.1.1 In the Clause before *ut anteā*

Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnesque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut anteā, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu.

"Since Drusus had long been dead, (Tiberius) Nero survived alone of (Augustus') stepchildren and everything converged on him. He was adopted (by Augustus) as (his) son, as colleague in the empire, as partner of the tribunician power, and he was paraded through all the armies, not as before by his mother's secret machinations, but with her open encouragement" (Tac. *Ann.* 1,3,3).

In the concise form *ut anteā*, which is embedded in the comparison clause *non ... artibus*, *anteā* modifies *non + ostento* in the perfect (implied from the historical present *ostentatur* of the main clause *omnesque ... ostentatur + sed ... hortatu* [referring to the subject Tiberius Nero]).

[3.1.2] Pluperfect + Adverb

Tac. *Hist.* 4,75,2, §4.3.2 below. In the relative clause (*quis ... consederat*) *anteā* modifies *temere + consederat* with emphasis on *conssederat*, which is also modified by *temere*. *Conssederat* is in p.q.p., since the army had settled in an unprotected camp before they fortified it.

[3.1.3] Imperfect

Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos inrupit, qui pecunias faenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur, omissa<m> olim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur. Sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditio- num discordiarumque creberrima causa, eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus. Nam primō duodecim tabulis sanctum, ne quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret, cum anteā ex libidine locupletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncias redactu<m>; postremo vetita versura.

"Meanwhile, a large army of accusers burst upon those, who habitually increased their money by usury, contrary to the law of the dictator Caesar, by which measures are taken concerning the credit and possessions within Italy, (a law) obsolete long ago, since the public good is subordinated to private interest. The evil of usury was indeed long-standing for Rome and a most frequent cause of seditions and discords, and it was therefore repressed even in ancient times and when morals were less corrupt. For at first it was determined by the Twelve Tables¹⁴, that no one should lend at interest of more than twelfth per cent, whereas previously (the rate of the interest) was set by the fancy of the rich; subsequently, by a bill brought in by the tribunes, interest was reduced to half that amount (and) finally compound interest was entirely forbidden" (Tac. *Ann.* 6,16,1-2).

¹⁴ Tacitus ascribes this specific enactment to the Twelve Tables in 450 B.C. (see, e.g., Koestermann 1965, II: 278, Martin 2001: 136).

See also Tac. *Ann.* 6,11,1, §4.1.2, ex. 1 below: *anteā* modifies *deligebatur* of the main clause (*namque ... magistratibus + in tempus deligebatur*; its final clause is *ne ... foret*).

[3.2] *Participium in P.P.P.*

[3.2.1] *P.P.P. replaces a clause*

(1) *Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. Neque tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et anteā vocabulum adsumpsit, acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant.*

"When the commons complained of the cruel dearness of the corn, (Tiberius) fixed a price for grain, which the purchaser should pay, (promising) the merchants that he himself would add two sesterces for each individual measure. However, (Tiberius) did not accept on that account the title "Father of the Nation", which had also been offered (to him) before, and he severely rebuked those who called his occupations as "divine" and himself as "lord" (Tac. *Ann.* 2,87,1).

The phrase *et*¹⁵ *anteā* (in which *et* modifies *anteā*) modifies *delatum* (replacing a relative clause of the OD *vocabulum*).

(2) *Sed Nero lenti sceleris impatiens minitari tribuno, iubere supplicium veneficae, quod, dum rumorem respiciunt, dum parant defensiones, securitatem morarentur. Promittentibus dein tam praecipitem necem, quam si ferro urgeretur, cubiculum Caesaris iuxta decoquitur virus cognitis anteā venenis rapidum.*

"But Nero, impatient of the slow crime, threatened the tribune and ordered the execution of the poisoner (Locusta), on the ground that while (the tutors) were regarding for rumor (and) preparing (their) defences, they were delaying (his) security. When (the tutors) then promised (Nero) that death (should be) so precipitate, as if (one) was pressed by a sword (stroke), a rapid poison of previously tested toxins was concocted next to the bedroom of the emperor (Nero)" (Tac. *Ann.* 13,15,5).

See also Tac. *Hist.* 3,58,3, §2.1.1.1.1 above: *anteā* modifies *aspermatus* (replacing a relative clause of the S Vitellius); 4,86,2, §4.2.1, ex. 2: *anteā* modifies *usurpata* (referring to the OD *munia imperii*).

[3.2.2] *P.Q.P. Pass. (without esse) in the clause before quam anteā*

Eodem anno saepius audita vox principis, parem vim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicatarum, ac si ipse statuisset. Ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque consulto cautum plenius quam anteā et uberius.

¹⁵According to Heraus 1929: 33, *et* instead of *etiam* is rare in Cicero and is used only with certain combinations of words and pronouns (*et nunc, simul et, et ipse/illic, etc.*).

"In the same year the emperor's statement was more often heard, that legal decisions (judged) by his procurators should have the same force, as if he himself had determined (them). And lest (this opinion) should be regarded that (the princeps) had fortuitously been stumbled, (this) was also secured by a senate's decree more expansively and more copiously than (it had been secured) before" (Tac. *Ann.* 12,60,1).

Cautum in the main clause (*senatus ... plenius + et uberius*) in perf. pass. (*est*) is posterior to the action implied with *anteā* in the comparison clause *quam anteā* in p.q.p. pass. (*erat*).

[3.3] Adjective

[3.3.1] Attribute

Ubique lamenta, conclamationes et fortuna captae urbis, adeo ut Othoniani Vitellianique militis invidiosa anteā petulantia desideraretur.

"Everywhere (were) lamentations, wailings and the misfortune of the captured city, so that the licence of Otho's and Vitellius' soldiers, once odious, was longed" (Tac. *Hist.* 4,1,3).

In the consecutive clause (*adeo ut ... desideraretur*) *anteā* modifies *invidiosa*. See also Tac. *Ann.* 4,2,1, §4.2.1, ex. 3 (*anteā* modifies the adjective *modicam* of the OD *vim* [the subject is Sejanus]); 6,1,2, §4.2.1, ex. 5 (*anteā* modifies the adjective *ignota* of the subject *vocabula*).

[3.3.2] Praedicativum in the clause before *quam anteā*

See Tac. *Ann.* 12,50,2, §2.2 above: in the comparison clause *quam anteā* the adverb modifies the praedicativum *truculentus* in positive, which is mentioned in the main clause in comparative *truculentior* (the subject of both clauses is Radamistus).

[3.3.3] Predicate noun with the copula *esse*

See Tac. *Ann.* 14,28,1, §4.4 below: *anteā* modifies the predicate nouns *vacuum solutumque* + the copula *fuerat* (referring to the subject *id*).

[3.4] Inf. Perf. Pass. (without *esse*): Predicate of AcI

[3.4.1] + Inf. complement

Tac. *Ann.* 14,20,2, §4.1.2, ex. 2 below: *anteā*, which refers to *ludos edi solitos* in AcI (governed by *ferrent*), modifies the predicate *solitos* (without *esse*) + its inf. complement *edi*.

[3.4.2] + Adverb in negation

See Tac. *Hist.* 3,37,2, §2.1.2.1 above: *anteā* modifies *numquam*, while the whole phrase *numquam anteā* refers to *alium suffectum* in AcI (governed by *adnotabant*) and modifies its predicate *suffectum*; *Ann.* 16,3,2, §2.1.1.1.2 above: *anteā* refers to *non falsa somnia sua* in AcI (governed by *admirans*) with emphasis on the modified predicate *non falsa*.

Table 3. *The Part of Speech Modified by Anteā in Descending Order*

The Part of Speech	References	No. of Cases	Total
Finite verb in past tenses			
Perfect	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,36,2	1	
+ adverb	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,2,1	1	
In the clause before <i>ut anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 1,3,3	1	
Imperfect	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,11,1; 16,1-2	2	6
Pluperfect + adverb	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 4,75,2	1	
Participium in P.P.P.			
Replaces a clause	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,58,3; 4,86,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,87,1; 13,15,5	4	
P.Q.P. pass. (without <i>esse</i>) in the clause before <i>quam anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 12,60,1	1	5
Adjective			
Attribute	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 4,1,3; <i>Ann.</i> 4,2,1; 6,1,2	3	5
Praedicativum in the clause before <i>quam anteā</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 12,50,2	1	
Predicate noun with <i>esse</i>	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 14,28,1	1	
Inf. perf. pass. (without <i>esse</i>): predicate of AcI			
+ inf. complement	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 14, 20,2	1	3
+ adverb in negation	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,37,2; <i>Ann.</i> 16,3,2	2	

[4] The Position of *anteā* in Relation to the Part of Speech Modified by It in the Sentence

The typical word order in a clause/sentence is subject (+ its modifiers) - indirect/direct object - predicate (+ its modifiers). Temporal/negative adverbs and adverbial temporal phrases (such as *paulo ante*, *iam diu*) usually precede the modified element. Exceptions to these rules for variety, emphasis, explication, etc. occur in classical Latin prose, chiefly in rhetorical passages and poetry, which are generally used by the following: 1) Metathesis of words in which the adverb occurs after its modified element (apart from monosyllabic words, such as *non*, *vel*), the modified element introduces a clause, the verb precedes its subject, etc.; 2) Hyperbaton between the adverb and its modified element; and 3) Proximity of similar words (*aliquando ... modo*) or opposite ones (*anteā ... nunc*)¹⁶.

The position of *anteā* in relation to the modified element was examined by linguistic/stylistic means and contexts (where some message is to be highlighted,

¹⁶ See also Marouzeau 1948: 155-161, 1949: 11-33, Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/2: 613-614, §246. On Latin word order and the opinions of researchers on the adverb's position see also Booth 1923, Bos 1967, Pinkster 1972, 1990: 163-188, de Jong 1991, Elerick 1994, Devine and Stephens 2006, Hoffmann 2010.

word order, anaphora, a chiasmic structure or a parallel one [mainly by contrasted pairs of words; Fanetti 1978-79]). The interval between the adverb and its modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words; this usually ranges from one to three words with exceptions consisting of more words. On the other hand, it is not always possible to find any explanation or an unequivocal explanation on the adverb's position, due to differences in contents and stylistic characteristics between the oratorical and historical works of Tacitus. Latin word order is not fixed in the sentence, despite its freedom. Likewise, the opinions on the position of the adverbs in relation to their modified elements are not uniform.

From Table 4: **A.** The prevalent position of *anteā* is after the modified element (ten instances): in first position (6x); in second place (2x); in third position and further removed place (2x); **B.** In four instances *anteā* appears before the modified element: in second position (1x); in third position and further removed (3x); **C.** In five instances *anteā* has two positions concerning the modified elements: **1)** in the first position after +; a) in the first position before (1x); b) in the second position before (1x); c) in the third position and further removed before (1x); d) in the second position after (1x); and **2)** in the first position before + in third place and further removed before (1x). *Anteā* is not placed at the end of a sentence, nor does it introduce one. For a detailed classification on its position in a clause with phrases, other adverbs, etc. see §§4.1-4.4 below.

[4.1] *Anteā* before the Part of Speech Modified by It in the Sentence

[4.1.1] In second position before the modified part of speech

Tac. *Ann.* 6,36,2, §3.1.1 above. **A.** In the relative clause (*quem ... memoravi*) *anteā* modifies *memoravi*. The OD *quem* and the praedicativum *infensum*, which are governed by *memoravi* (cf. *OLD*, p. 1097b, s.v. *memoro*, 2.b. [w. pred.] "to speak of as"), are also made salient by placing *anteā* between them. Accordingly, the adverb is in the second position before *memoravi* of the relative clause with the word order OD (rel. pron.) - temporal adv. - praedicativum - modified V (its subject is the author); **B.** Due to the length of the main clause (*igitur Sinnaces + patrem ... trahit*) and in order to juxtapose *quem* to the antecedent *Sinnaces*, the relative clause is embedded in its main clause and is not placed after it; **C.** The adverb in first position after *memoravi* (viz. *igitur Sinnaces, quem infensum memoravi anteā patrem ... trahit*) can be interpreted as modifying *trahit* of the main clause as follows: "therefore Sinnaces, whom I have mentioned as being hostile (to Artabanus), drew before into revolt his father ...".

[4.1.2] In third position and further removed before the modified element

(1) *Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex ... fato obiit ... namque anteā, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet ac subitis mederetur.*

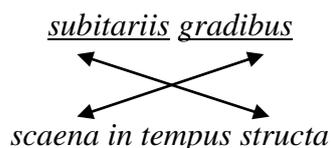
"About the same time L. Piso, the pontiff, died a natural death ... for in former days, when the kings and subsequently the magistrates left Rome, (an official) was temporarily chosen to administer justice and provide for emergencies, lest Rome would be without government" (Tac. *Ann.* 6,11,1).

A. The final sentence *namque antea* ... *mederetur* predates the preceding one about L. Piso (*per* ... *obiit* ...). However, *antea* occurs in the second place of the sentence, due to the prepositive particle *namque*¹⁷. **B.** *Antea* is not placed near the modified verb *deligebatur* of the main clause (*namque* ... *magistratibus* + *in tempus deligebatur* [its subject is implicit]), since *deligebatur* is preceded by an abl. absol. (*profectis* ... *magistratibus*), as well as an adverbial temporal phrase *in tempus* (cf. §4.0 above) and final clause *ne* ... *foret*, indicating circumstances and reasons concerning *deligebatur*. Consequently, in the main clause, the order occurs as prepositive particle - temporal adv. - abl. absol. - final clause - adverbial temporal phrase - modified V.

(2) *Quippe erant qui Cn. quoque Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent, quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset. Nam antea subitariis gradibus et scaena in tempus structa ludos edi solitos.*

"Indeed there were some who recalled that even Cn. Pompeius had been criticized by the elders, because he established a permanent abode of the theater. For previously (they said that) the games had been customarily exhibited with makeshift tiers (of benches) and a stage set up temporarily" (Tac. *Ann.* 14,20,2).

Antea is preposed to the predicate of AcI *solitos (esse)* + its inf. complement *edi*, which are modified by it, for the following reasons: **A.** The clause *nam antea* ... *solitos* predates the preceding one *quippe* ... *posuisset* with a contrast regarding time and content, but *antea* is in second position of the clause on account of the prepositive particle *nam* (see n. 17 above); **B.** Between *antea* and its modified elements *edi solitos* are embedded an adverbial temporal phrase *in tempus* and abl. loci *subitariis gradibus et scaena structa* with a chiasmic structure between the multiple parts (adj.-noun/noun-adj.), for drawing an attention to the places, on which the games had been customarily exhibited before:



Hence, in the AcI clause *nam* ... *solitos* appears the order: prepositive particle - temporal adv. - chiasmic abl. loci - adverbial temporal phrase [before *structa*] - AcI (with its modified elements).

(3) Tac. *Ann.* 6,16,1-2, §3.1.3 above. *Antea* does not occur before the modified verb *agitaretur* (sc. *cum ex* ... *locupletium antea agitaretur*) for the following

¹⁷ The prepositive particles *nam*, *namque*, etc. are regularly placed at the beginning of a clause/sentence (see Tac. *Hist.* 3,37,2, §2.1.2.1; *Ann.* 6,16,1-2, §3.1.3 above; 14,20,2, §4.1.2, ex. 2; 28,1, §4.4).

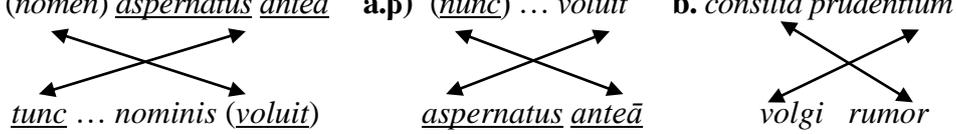
reasons: **A.** The phrase in abl. instr. *ex libidine locupletium* is embedded between *anteā* and *agitaretur* for highlighting by whom the rate of the interest was set in the past; **B.** The temporal clause *cum ... agitaretur*, in which *anteā* is included, predates the main clause *nam ... exerceret* with contrast regarding time and content, which is made salient by a contrasting parallel word order between their multiple parts (adv. + abl. instr.): *primo* ≠ *anteā* (while *anteā* is anterior to *primo*); *duodecimo tabulis* ≠ *ex libidine locupletium*, i.e. previously the rate of the interest was set up by the fancy of the rich, but later by the Twelve Tables. Accordingly, in the temporal clause *cum ... agitaretur* the word order occurs as temporal conj. - temporal adv. - abl. instr. - modified V (its subject is *faenus*):

nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum
 ↑ ↑
cum anteā ex libidine locupletium agitaretur

[4.2] *Anteā* after the Part of Speech Modified by It in the Sentence

[4.2.1] *Anteā* in first position following the modified part of speech

(1) Tac. *Hist.* 3,58,3 (see §2.1.1.1.1 above). **A.** In the clause *aspernatus anteā* occurs the word order: modified P.P.dep. (referring to the subject Vitellius; its OD is *nomen*) + temporal adv. and not *vice versa* (i.e. ... *voluit anteā aspernatus*), since *anteā* before *aspernatus* may modify *voluit* in an unpunctuated text as follows: "moreover, (Vitellius) even formerly wished to be called Caesar, (a title), which he had rejected ..."; **B.** Chiastic structures emphasize the following contrasts: **a.** Between time and content, which describe two different situations concerning the acceptance of this title: **α)** (*Nomen*) *aspernatus anteā* ≠ *sed tunc superstitione nominis (voluit)*, in which *anteā* ≠ *tunc*, (*nomen*) *aspernatus* ≠ *nominis (voluit)*; **β)** *Quin ... voluit* ≠ *aspernatus anteā*, i.e. *aspernatus* ≠ *voluit* (without an additional contrasting adverb to *anteā*); **b.** Between content only: *consilia prudentium* ≠ *volgi rumor* (S + adj. in gen./adj. in gen. + S):

a.α) (*nomen*) *aspernatus anteā* **a.β)** (*nunc*) ... *voluit* **b.** *consilia prudentium*

tunc ... nominis (voluit) *aspernatus anteā* *volgi rumor*

(2) *Domitianus sperni a senioribus iuventam suam cernens modica quoque et usurpata anteā munia imperii omittebat.*

"Domitian, realizing that his youth is despised by the older (men), had abandoned the imperial duties, which had been previously exercised, even the less important (functions)" (Tac. *Hist.* 4,86,2).

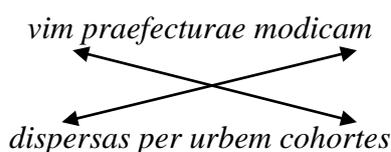
A. For highlighting the fact that the imperial duties had been previously exercised, *anteā* is embedded in the discontinuous nominal phrase *usurpata munia imperii* and in the first place after the modified element *usurpata*. By

this word order, the combination *usurpata anteā* is juxtaposed to the OD *munia imperii* and also to its adj. *modica* (which is strengthened by pleonasm of measure adverbs *quoque et* "even"); **B.** *Anteā* after the OD (viz. *modica ... usurpata munia imperii anteā omittebat*) may modify *omittebat* as follows: "Domitian had previously abandoned the imperial duties, which had been exercised, even the less important (functions)"; **C.** Therefore, in the main clause Domitianus + *modica ... omittebat* (after AcI) occurs the order: S - adj. of OD + pleonasm by measure adv. - modified P.P.P. (replaces a rel. clause of the OD) - temporal adv. - OD - V.

(3) *Vim praefecturae modicam anteā intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus oreretur.*

"(Sejanus) had strengthened the previously modest power of his prefecture by gathering the cohorts scattered throughout Rome in one camp, in order that they would simultaneously receive the orders, and that their confidence would grow by their number, strength and mutual sight, while fear (would be inspired) in others" (Tac. *Ann.* 4,2,1).

A. *Anteā* modifies the adjective *modicam* by metathesis of words (cf. §4.0 above): **a.** The adverb is placed after *modicam*. **b.** The adjective *modicam* occurs after its noun *vim*, contrary to the regular word order in Latin, and not *vice versa* (sc. *modicam vim praefecturae anteā intendit*), because the adverb may modify *intendit* with hyperbaton between *anteā* and its modified adj. *modicam* as follows: "(Sejanus) had previously strengthened the modest power of his prefecture". According to Koestermann 1965, II: 36, *vim* is more emphasized by its occurrence before *modicam*; **B.** On the other hand, in the following clause *dispersas ... conducendo*, which describes the preceding one *vim ... intendit* (sc. by which manner Sejanus had strengthened the previously modest power of his prefecture), the adjective precedes its noun by a chiasmic structure between both clauses (noun-adj./adj.-noun):



C. Therefore, in the main clause (of a final sentence) *vim ... intendit* the order is OD (+ modifier in gen.) - modified adj. of the OD - temporal adv. - V.

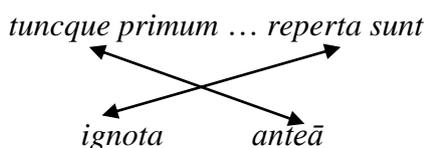
(4) Tac. *Hist.* 4,1,3, §3.3.1 above. **A.** The adjective *invidiosa*, as well as the phrase in genitive *Othoniani Vitellianique militis*, are placed before their noun *petulantia* with the typical word order in Latin. However, the adjective *invidiosa*, which is modified by *anteā*, has an emphatic position, due to its occurrence before *anteā* and not before the phrase in genitive; **B.** *Anteā* is embedded between the modified adj. *invidiosa* and its subject *petulantia* and in

first position after *invidiosa*. In this manner, the subject *petulantia* is near its predicate *desideraretur*; **C.** If the adverb is in second position after *invidiosa* (sc. *invidiosa petulantia anteā desideraretur*), it will apparently modify *desideraretur* "the odious licence was longed before" with hyperbaton between the subject *petulantia* and its predicate *desideraretur*; **D.** Accordingly, in the consecutive clause *adeo ut ... desideraretur* the word order consecutive conj. - gen. (of the S) - modified adj. (of the S) - temporal adv. - S - V occurs.

(5) *Nec formam tantum et decora corpora, sed in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. Tuncque primum ignota anteā vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum¹⁸ ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia.*

"Nor merely beauty and handsome bodies, but (also) the modest childhood in some, (and) in others the images of their ancestors were an incitement of (Tiberius') lust. And then for the first time were invented the previously unknown names of "sellarii" and "spintriae", (derived) from the abomination of the place and the multiple phases of sensuality respectively" (Tac. *Ann.* 6,1,2).

A. *Anteā* occurs between the modified adjective *ignota* and its subject *vocabula* and not after the whole phrase *ignota vocabula* (sc. ... *ignota vocabula anteā reperta sunt ...*), in order to avoid hyperbaton between the subject *vocabula* and its predicate *reperta sunt*. Likewise, *anteā* in this case may modify *reperta sunt*; **B.** If *anteā* is in first position before *ignota* (i.e. *tuncque primum anteā ignota vocabula ...*), different adverbs denoting time will appear in succession, which makes the context clumsy; **C.** A contrasting chiasmic structure occurs between the adverbs's time (in which *tuncque primum* is posterior to *anteā*) and the content of their modified elements, i.e. the names were unknown before (*ignota anteā*) and later were invented the names "sellarii" and "spintriae" (*tuncque primum reperta sunt*):



D. The grammatical subject *vocabula* refers to both contrasted parts mentioned above. In order *vocabula* will be near its predicate *reperta sunt* and also near the names *sellariorum et spintriarum* mentioned after *reperta sunt* - *vocabula* is mentioned before *reperta sunt* and not after *tuncque primum* (sc. *tuncque primum vocabula ignota anteā reperta sunt*). Hence, there is hyperbaton between *tuncque primum* and its modified verb *reperta sunt* with the insertion of *ignota anteā* between them; **E.** Regarding content, the sentence *tuncque ... patientia* is connected with the preceding one *nec formam ... habebat*, while the following

¹⁸ On the names *sellariorum* and *spintriarum* see, e.g., *OLD*, p. 1728c, s.v. *sellarius*, p. 1805b, s.v. *spintria*; Martin 2001: 112, Woodman 2017: 90-92.

clause *ex foeditate ... patientia* in abl. causae explains the names *sellariorum et spintriarum* mentioned in *tuncque ... spintriarum*; **F.** Therefore, in the multiple sentence *tuncque primum ... patientia* occurs the structure: adverbial temporal phrase - modified adj. (of the S) - temporal adv. - S - V - multiple parts in gen. (of the S) - multiple phrases in abl. causae (*ex foeditate ... patientia*).

(6) Tac. *Ann.* 13,15,5, §3.2.1, ex. 2 above. **A.** The topic of the sentence concerns the poisoner Locusta. The phrase *cognitis anteā venenis* in abl. materiae, in which *anteā* modifies *cognitis* (referring to *venenis*), qualifies *virus rapidum* with the insertion of *cognitis anteā venenis* between *virus* and *rapidum*. In this manner, the phrase *virus rapidum* has an emphatic meaning in the past; **B.** The adverb in the second position before *cognitis* (i.e. ... *decoquitur anteā virus cognitis venenis ...*) may be interpreted as modifying *decoquitur*; **C.** Hence, in the main clause (of the AcI) *cubiculum ... rapidum* the order is acc. of place (by anastrophe of a preposition) - V - S - modified P.P.P. (of abl. materiae) - temporal adv. - abl. materiae - adj. (of the S).

[4.2.2] *Anteā* in second position following the modified part of speech

(1) Tac. *Ann.* 12,50,2, §2.2 above. **A.** Stylistically and regarding content, the comparison clause *quam anteā*¹⁹ can not occur before the main clause *vacuamque ... truculentior + tamquam ... <re>bellaturos* (namely *quam anteā vacuamque ... truculentior ...*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12,60,1, §3.2.2 above); **B.** *Quam anteā* is embedded in the main clause, in order that *anteā* will be near the modified element *truculentus* in positive, which is implied from *truculentior* of the main clause (its subject is Radamistus). By this word order, the contrast between the comparison clause with positive form in the past and the main clause with comparative form in the present is emphasized. Accordingly, in the comparison clause *quam anteā* the structure is comparison conj. - temporal adv. (+ modified praedicativum in posit. *truculentus*, implied from *truculentior*).

(2) Tac. *Ann.* 2,87,1, §3.2.1, ex. 1 above. **A.** According to Lundeström (1961: 81-83); Menge (2000: 507, §380,3), in several cases *anteā* (instead of *ante*) occurs after an adverb indicating measure (mainly in ablative) and seldom before it (cf. a similar word order with *ante: paulo/et ante*, etc.). In this case, the measure adverb *et* modifies *anteā* and occurs before it, while *et + anteā* modify *delatum*; **B.** The phrase *delatum et anteā* is an attribute to the OD *parentis patriae vocabulum* with its insertion between *parentis patriae* and *vocabulum*, while *anteā* is in second position after *delatum*. If the adverb is in third place after *delatum* (sc. *neque ... delatum et vocabulum anteā adsumpsit*), only *et* will modify *delatum*, whereas *neque + anteā* will modify *adsumpsit*: "however, (Tiberius) did not accept before on that account the title "Father of the Nation", which had also been offered (to him)". **C.** Therefore, in the attribute phrase *delatum et anteā* of the OD occurs the word order: modified P.P.P. (of the OD *vocabulum*; the grammatical subject is Tiberius) - measure adv. - temporal adv.

¹⁹ For *quam anteā* (rarely instead of *ante*) in other corpora cf. L.-Sh., p. 129b, s.v. *anteā*, temp. adv., IV; OLD, p. 138b, s.v. *anteā*, adv., d.; TLL ½, p. 139, s.v. *anteā*, II. See also under *antequam*.

4.2.3 *Anteā* in third position following its modified part of speech

(1) Tac. Ann. 12,60,1, §3.2.2 above. Stylistically and regarding content, *quam anteā* can not occur before the main clause *senatus ... plenius + et uberius* (sc. *quam anteā senatus ... plenius et uberius*; cf. Tac. Ann. 12,50,2, §2.2 above). Likewise, it does not occur after its main clause, but it is embedded in it. In this manner: 1) *Anteā* is near the modified verb *cautum*, but in p.q.p. pass., which is implied from *cautum (est)* in perf. pass. of the main clause (its S is *vox principis*) with the word order: comparison conj. - temporal adv. (+ modified V *cautum [erat]*), implied from *cautum [est]*); 2) The contrast between both clauses is made salient, since *cautum (est)* of the main clause is emphasized by adverbs in comparative *plenius et uberius*.

(2) Tac. Ann. 1,3,3, §3.1.1.1 above. **A.** A chain of events, in which the status of Tiberius Nero was changed, is described in the comparison clause (*non ... artibus*) and the main clause (*omnesque ... ostentatur + sed palam hortatu*) by a contrasting parallel structure with respect to time (without an additional contrasting adverb to *anteā*) and content (between their adjectives *obscuris ≠ palam*²⁰ and nouns *artibus ≠ hortatu*), namely *non (ostentavit) + ut anteā* refer to *obscuris artibus* of the comparison clause in contrast to *ostentatur*, which refers to *sed palam hortatu* of the main clause:

<i>non obscuris ... artibus</i>
<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> ↓ ↓ </div>
<i>sed palam hortatu</i>

B. Stylistically and regarding content, *ut anteā* cannot occur before the main clause (sc. *ut anteā ostentatur, non obscuris ... artibus, sed palam hortatu*), but it is embedded in the main clause; **C.** Consequently, in the comparison clause *non ... artibus* occurs the construction: negative adv. - adj. (of abl. instr.) - comparison conj. - temporal adv. - abl. instr - modified V in neg. (*non + ostentavit* in perf. [implied from *ostentatur* in the main clause; its S is Nero]).

[4.3] *Anteā* in First Position after +

[4.3.1] In first position before

Tac. Hist. 3,2,1 (see §3.1.1.1 above). *Anteā* modifies *ferocius + egerint* (the verb is also modified by *ferocius*), which are highlighted by the insertion of *anteā* between them and by a parallel structure between *quanto ... egerint* in correlation to *tanto ... hausisse*, i.e. correlative particle - manner adverb in comparative - V (referring to *victores*):

<i>quanto ferocius anteā egerint</i>
<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> ↓ ↓ </div>
<i>tanto cupidius ... hausisse</i>

²⁰ The adverb *palam* functions here as an adjective to *hortatu* (see, e.g., Goodyear 1972: 113).

[4.3.2] In second position before

Hostes divisis copiis advenere undique. Plerique culpabant Cerialem passum iungi quos discretos intercipere licuisset. Romanus exercitus castra fossa valloque circumdedit, quis temere anteā intutis consederat.

"The enemy, whose forces were divided, advanced on (Trier) from every quarter. Many blamed Cerialis for allowing (the enemy) to unite, when he might have destroyed them, while they are detached. The Roman army surrounded the camp with a ditch and rampart, which they had previously rashly settled in it, while (the camp) is not fortified" (Tac. *Hist.* 4,75,2).

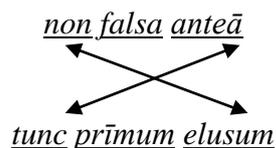
A. In the relative clause (*quis* [for *in quibus*] ... *consederat*) *anteā* is embedded between *temere* and *consederat*, which are modified by it, in contrast to the main clause *Romanus* ... *circumdedit* with respect of time (without an additional contrasting temporal adverb to *anteā*) and content (the subject of both clauses is *Romanus exercitus*), sc. the army first settled in an unprotected camp, but later they constructed means of protections. However, the whole relative sentence *Romanus* ... *consederat* occurred after the enemy's approach mentioned in the preceding sentence *hostes* ... *licuisset*; **B.** *Intutis*, praedicativum to *castra*, appears before *consederat*, since it emphasizes in which situation the Roman army had previously settled in the camp; **C.** Consequently, *anteā* is placed in second position before *consederat*, while in the relative clause *quis* ... *consederat* the word order abl. loci (rel. pron.) - modified manner adv. - temporal adv. - praedicativum (to the antecedent *castra*) - modified V occurs.

[4.3.3] In third position and further removed before the modified element

Tac. *Hist.* 3,37,2, §2.1.2.1 above. **A.** The paragraph with *ante* (*nam* ... *festinarentur*) predates the preceding one with *anteā* (*pridie* ... *suffectum*), sc. during the time of Rosius Regulus no consul was elected before the office had been declared vacant. Caninius Rebilus was elected as a consul for one day before what is reported about Rosius Regulus. In order that the modified predicate *suffectum* of the AcI will be near the content of the following paragraph with *ante*, it appears at the end of the first paragraph (*pridie* ... *suffectum*) and not near *anteā*; **B.** Both abl. absol. in negation *non abrogato magistratu* and *neque lege lata* are embedded between *numquam anteā* and the AcI *alium suffectum (esse)*, for drawing attention to circumstances whereby another consul had been elected in the past; **C.** The position of *anteā* after *numquam*, which is also modified by it, is required logically and stylistically, due to the negative adverbs after *anteā*, which modify the predicates of both abl. absol.: *non* > *abrogato*; *neque* > *lata*. Likewise, *anteā* before *numquam* (sc. *anteā numquam non abrogato magistratu neque lege* ... *suffectum*) may modify *suffectum* in affirmative, while *numquam* may modify *non abrogato + neque lata* in *litotes*, due to the occurrence of negative adverbs in succession, and the abl. absol. will also be rendered in affirmative; **D.** Accordingly, in the AcI clause (*adnotabat periti*) *numquam* ... *suffectum* appears the following word order: modified temporal adv. in neg. - temporal adv. - abl. absol. in neg. (indicating circumstances) - S of AcI - modified pred. of AcI.

[4.3.4] In second position after

Tac. *Ann.* 16,3,2, §2.1.1.1.2 above. **A.** The predicate of AcI *non falsa* (*esse*) occurs after *non*, since a negative adverb, mainly monosyllabic word, regularly precedes its modified element; **B.** *Non falsa*, which is modified by *anteā*, is also emphasized by placing *anteā* in first position after it - between *non falsa* and its subject *somnia sua* and by a chiasitic structure between the adverbs and their modified predicates of both multiple parts *non falsa ... sua* and *seque ... elusum* (while *tunc primum* is posterior to *anteā*):

[4.4] In First Position before + in Third Place and Further Removed One before

Auxitque patrum honorem statuendo ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatum provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent, cuius si qui imperatorem appellare<nt>; nam anteā vacuum id solutumque poena fuerat.

"(Tiberius) also increased the honor of the senators by ordering that those, who appealed to the senate against private judges, should be liable the risk of the same forfeit as those appealing the emperor; for this (appeal) was previously unrestricted and exempt from penalty" (Tac. *Ann.* 14,28,1).

A. The clause *nam anteā ... fuerat* predates the preceding one *auxitque ... appellare<nt>* with a contrast regarding time and content. Due to the prepositive particle *nam*, *anteā* is in second place of the clause *nam ... fuerat* (see n. 17 above) and the subject *id* does not introduce it. However, *id* is embedded between its both predicate nouns *vacuum solutumque*, for avoiding hyperbaton between the subject *id* and the message mentioned in the preceding clause *auxitque ... appellare<nt>*, to which *id* refers; **B.** *Anteā*, which modifies *vacuum solutumque* (*poena*) + *fuerat*, does not occur in second position before *fuerat* (viz. *nam vacuum id solutumque anteā poena fuerat*), due to the idiom *solutus poena* "exempt from a penalty".²¹ From the above-mentioned interpretations, *anteā* is in first position before the first predicate noun *vacuum* + in third position and further removed before the second predicate noun *solutumque* (*poena*) and the copula *fuerat*, while in the multiple clause *nam ... fuerat* the structure is: prepositive particle - temporal adv. - modified predicate noun (1) - S - modified predicate noun (2) - abl. separativus - modified copula.

²¹ See, e.g., L.-Sh., 1728a - b, s.v. *solutus,-a,-um*, B.3; OLD, 1790b, s.v. *solutus,-a,-um*, adj. 10.b.

Table 4. *The Position of Anteā in Relation to Its Modified Element in the Sentence*

The Position of <i>anteā</i>	References	No. of Cases	Total
Before the part of speech In second position	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,36,2	1	4
In third position and further removed place	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 6,11,1; 16,1-2; 14,20,2	3	
After the part of speech In first position	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,58,3; 4,1,3; 86,2; <i>Ann.</i> 4,2,1; 6,1,2; 13,15,5	6	10
In second position	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 2,87,1; 12,50,2	2	
In third position and further removed place	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 1,3,3; 12,60,1	2	
In first position after + In first position before In second place before In third position and further removed place before In second position after	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,2,1 Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 4,75,2 Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 3,37,2 Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 16,3,2	1 1 1 1	4
In first position before + in third position before	Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 14,28,1	1	1

[5] A Comparison of *Anteā* between the Treatises of Tacitus

Some of our findings, detailed in §§1-4 above concerning *anteā*, are identical to *Hist.* and *Ann.*, whereas some are different, due to the contents and the author's style in each book (see Table 5; for references see Tables 1-4).

Identical Features

Its frequent meaning of "previously, before" and its distribution are almost the same.

Anteā occurs in proximity to an additional adverb or without it.

The modified part of speech: a) Is explicit; b) Perfect + adverb; c) P.P.P.; d) Inf. perf. pass. (without *esse*): predicate of AcI; e) Adjective: attribute.

It is placed in first position after the modified element.

Different Features

The phrase *ut/quam anteā*: *Ann.*

The modified part of speech: a) Perfect: *Ann.*; b) Pluperfect + adverb: *Hist.*; c) Imperfect: *Ann.*; d) Adjective: α) Predicate noun with the copula *esse*: *Ann.*; β) Praedicativum: *Ann.*

The position of *anteā* in relation to the modified element: A. Before the modified element: a) In second position: *Ann.*; b) In third place and further

removed position before: *Ann.*; B. After the modified element: a) In second position: *Ann.*; b) In third place and further removed: *Ann.*; C. In first place after +: a) In first/second/third place before: *Hist.*; b) In second position after: *Ann.*; D. In first position before + in third position and further removed before: *Ann.*

Table 5. *Anteā* - A Comparison between *Hist.* and *Ann.* of Tacitus

Identical Features	The Treatise		Total
	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	
Its frequent meaning and distribution <i>Anteā</i> in proximity to an additional adverb	6	13	19
<i>Anteā</i> without proximity to an additional adverb	4	8	12
The part of speech modified by <i>anteā</i>	2	6	8
Is explicit	6	13	19
Perfect + adverb	1	1	2
P.P.P.	2	3	5
Inf. perf. pass. (without <i>esse</i>): predicate of Acl	1	2	3
Adjective: attribute	1	2	3
It is placed in first position after its modified element	3	3	6
Different Features			
The phrase <i>ut/quam anteā</i>	-	3	3
The part of speech modified by the adverb			
Perfect	-	1	1
P.q.p. + adverb	1	-	1
Imperfect	-	2	2
Adjective			
Predicate noun with the copula <i>esse</i>	-	1	1
Praedicativum	-	1	1
The position of <i>anteā</i> in relation to the modified element			
<i>Anteā</i> before the modified element			
In second position	-	1	1
In third position or at a further removed position before	-	3	3
The adverb after the modified element			
In second position	-	2	2
In third position or at a further removed	-	2	2
In first position after +:			
In first/second/third position and further removed before	3	-	3
In second position after	-	1	1
In first place before + in third place and further removed before	-	1	1

[6] Conclusions

Anteā occurs only in *Ann.* and *Hist.*, whereas in the minor books it is not documented. It is used for one description as a temporal adverb with the meaning "previously, before" in different contexts, whereas other synonymous adverbs with *anteā* are used as: 1) An adverb or adjective; 2) An adverb of time or place; 3) Or for more than one meaning. Its variants appear mainly with

ante (instead of *anteā*). *Anteā* occurs in proximity to an additional adverb, mostly with contrasting temporal adverbs denoting posteriority/anteriority in relation to the past with *anteā*, and rarely with negative/manner/measure adverb.

The modified part of speech by *anteā*: 1) is only explicit; and 2) is mentioned in the clause, in which *anteā* is included, whereas in three cases the modified element is mentioned before the phrase *ut/quam anteā*. 3) The grammatical forms modified by the adverb are mostly a finite verb in past tenses, due to the meaning of *anteā* (perfect, imperfect, pluperfect [+adverb]), participium in P.P.P., adjective and infinitive as a predicate of AcI [+adverb]. In a few cases, *anteā* modifies more than one part of speech in a clause/sentence.

The position of *anteā* in relation to the modified part of speech: 1) Its prevalent position is after the modified element: in the first/second/third position and further removed place; 2) *Anteā* sometimes appears before the modified element: in the second/third position and further removed place; 3) In some instances *anteā* has two positions concerning the modified elements: either a) in the first position after +: α) in first/second/third position and further removed before; β) in second position after; or b) in the first place before + in third position and further removed before; 4) *Anteā* is not placed at the end of a sentence nor does it introduces one.

A concluding comparison of *anteā* between Tacitus' books is essential. Indeed, his books have somewhat difference in content and style, which naturally creates differences in the use of *anteā* and the contexts in which it occurs. However, the comparison yielded identical and different features.

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Non-Bibliographical Abbreviations

Lewis-Short 1879, p. XII; Glare *et al.* (Eds.) 1982, pp. XXI-XXIII.

