

***Quondam* in the Treatises of Tacitus**

By Tikva Zadok*

In studies on Latin adverbs the discussion of a specific temporal adverb in a certain corpus is rare. Moreover, an adverb peculiar to Tacitus' books has not yet been analyzed in the studies concerning his language and style. Our study fills a gap in the researches on adverbs in Latin prose in general and in Tacitus' corpora in particular by examining the characteristic and unique usages of quondam in his treatises. Our grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of a specific adverb in a prose opus of one author, which is a restricted and homogeneous corpus. This enables us to present the full documentation of the adverb under discussion in the selected corpus. Our main results are: quondam functions as a temporal adverb or an adjective in a temporal sense and mostly occurs in Ann. It mainly modifies a finite verb, participial and an apposition. In a few cases it modifies more than one element in a clause/sentence. Its prevalent position is before the modified part of speech. Quondam is sometimes in proximity to a contrasting temporal adverb. A concluding comparison of quondam as an adverb and an adjective between Tacitus' treatises yielded mostly different features.

Keywords: Adverb, comparison, finite verb, posteriority, syntactic position

Introduction

The Purpose, Contribution and Innovation

The purpose of our research is to exemplify by means of a detailed linguistic analysis the characteristic/unique usages, including content/style, of *quondam* in Tacitus' books. The need for this kind of research arises from a lack of comprehensive analysis of a specific adv. in a certain corpus in general and in Tacitus' treatises in particular. Our innovation and contribution to the studies mentioned below is by an exhaustive discussion of a specific adv. *quondam* in a specific corpus of Tacitus' treatises.

Selected Studies on Latin Adverbs (in Chronological Order)

Studies Dealing with Adverbs in General

Schafner-Rimann (1958) discusses the adverbial suffix *-tim*. Menge (1961: §§461-498) concerns the adv.'s meanings, phrases with similar meaning to the same adv. and adverbial suffixes. Löfstedt (1967) discusses at length the frequency of the advs.' morphemes, noun and adj. as an adv. and the modified part of speech in general. The monumental study of Pinkster (1972) "*On Latin Adverbs*"

*Post-doctoral Fellow, Tel Aviv University, Israel.

emphasizes the need for further studies on advs. It contains a description of the advs.' functions in larger constructions, classificatory problems, the syntactic characteristics of advs. and other constituents (adverbial adjuncts, etc). It is not based on quotations from Tacitus' books. Devine and Stephens (2006) "*Latin Word Order*" deal at length with word order in general without a detailed analysis of a specific adv. in a certain corpus.

Studies Dealing with Specific Adverbs

Booth (1923) deals with the position of measure advs. in Roman comedy and in *de Agri Cultura* by Cato. Lundström (1961) concerns *abhinc* and *ante* with measure adv. in abl./acc. An exhaustive discussion on *prae* and *pro* as advs., prepositions and prefixes is offered by Francis (1973: 1-59). Solodow (1978) discusses the functions of *quidem* and its position. Risselada (1996: 105-125) deals with the functions of *nunc* as a discourse marker and a temporal complement as compared to *now* in English.

Selected Studies on the Language of Tacitus and His Style

Mendell (1911) give a detailed analysis on sentence connection in Tacitus' books. Voss (1963) discusses the emphatic style employed by Tacitus. Kirchner (2001) deals at length with sentences types in Tacitus' works and their functions.

Methodology

Our methodology and grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive, including quotations from the corpora¹ with literal translations wherever applicable.² The analysis is described with detailed comparative tables (see Tables 1-6 below). Our discussion contains seven sections: the distribution of *quondam* in each book and its variants; its meanings as an adv. and an adj. in a temporal sense; its proximity to a contrasting temporal adv. or without it; the part of speech modified by *quondam*; the position of *quondam* in relation to its modified element; a comparison of *quondam* as an adv. and an adj. between Tacitus' books; conclusions.

¹The quotations for our discussion in the corpora are according to the editions of Heubner (1978, 1994), Önnersfors (1983). Slight changes are according to Fisher (1906, 1911), Koestermann (1969, 1970, 1971), Schinzel (1971), Weiskopf (1973), Winterbottom, Ogilvie (1975), Römer (1976).

²In the references were indicated the treatise (in *Hist.* and *Ann.* also the book number) followed by a number of chapter and paragraph (*Ger.* 29,1; *Hist.* 2,9,2, etc.).

The Distribution of *quondam* in the Corpora and Its Variants

From Table 1 below, *quondam* occurs in 50x: *Ann.*-42x, *Hist.*-7x, *Ger.*-1x.³ The reading *quondam* and the phrases, in which it is included, are documented with five variants in 7x:

- A. *Quamdam*: *Hist.* 2,68,4 (Schinzel 1971: 72).
- B. *Quosdam*: *Hist.* 2,9,2 (Schinzel 1971: 72); *Ann.* 11,20,1 (Fisher 1906: 222, Koestermann 1971: 213, Weiskopf 1973: 24, Heubner 1994: 224).
- C. *Quodam*: *Hist.* 3,47,1 (Fisher 1911: 141; Koestermann 1969: 136).
- D. *Condam*: *Ann.* 16,10,4; 17,2 (Römer 1976: 131, 141).
- E. *Quondam* without *ut*: *Ann.* 16,22,2 (Römer 1976: 148).

Table 1. *The Distribution of Quondam in the Corpora*

Book	References	Cases
<i>Ann.</i>	1,8,5; 9,1; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 77,3; 2,27,2; 60,3; 63,1; 71,2; 80,2; 3,6,2; 16,4; 23,1; 33,4; 34,4; 56,4; 60,3; 69,5; 4,14,3; 25,1; 27,1; 31,3; 73,4; 6,7,2; 27,1; 37,3; 40,2; 47,1; 50,1; 11,1,1; 20,1; 12,22,2; 39,2; 56,1; 13,55,2; 14,18,2; 15,26,3-27,1; 71,4; 16,10,4; 17,2; 22,2	42
<i>Hist.</i>	1,46,1; 2,9,2; 68,4; 3,43,1; 47,1; 5,4,2; 7,2	7
<i>Ger.</i>	29,1	1
<i>Ag.</i>	-	-
<i>Dial.</i>	-	-
General Total		50

The Meanings of *Quondam* in the Corpora

As emerged from table 2 below, *quondam* is used for two descriptions in the corpora: a temporal adv. (33x) “formerly, in the past, once”⁴ and an adj./quasi-adj. in a temporal sense (17x) “former, previous” (see *OLD*: 1567c, s.v. *quondam*, adv., 1a-b) like *ante*, *antiquitus*. The alternative usages of the synonymous advs. are, *inter alia*, for variety and a stylistic characteristics of the author (for synonymous words in Latin see, e.g., Menge 1961, 1988).

In other corpora *quondam* also means “sometimes, at times” (like *aliquandō*, *modo*, *nunc*) or it refers to the future “at some future time, some day”.⁵

Temporal Adverb

Referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari

“(One of the senior priests) reported that seven hundred thousand (men) of military age had once dwelt (in Thebes)” (*Ann.* 2,60,3).

³Cf. Gerber, Greef 1877-1890, 2: 1347-48, s.v. *quondam*; Blackman, Betts 1986, 2: 1516-17.

⁴For this meaning see L, Sh: 1519a, s.v. *quondam*, adv., I; *OLD*: 1567c, s.v. *quondam*, adv., 1a-c.

⁵See L, Sh: 1519a, s.v. *quondam*, adv., II. A. B.; *OLD*: 1567c, s.v. *quondam*, adv., 2-3.

Adjective or a Quasi-Adjective

Subita per Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, moverat

“A barbarian slave, the former prefect of the royal fleet, had excited a sudden uprising in Pontus” (*Hist.* 3,47,1).

Table 2. *The Meanings of Quondam in the Corpora*

Meaning	References	Cases
Adv.	<i>Ger.</i> 29,1; <i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1; 5,4,2; 7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 9,1; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 77,3; 2,27,2; 60,3; 71,2; 80,2; 3,6,2; 16,4; 23,1; 33,4; 34,4; 56,4; 60,3; 4,25,1; 6,40,2; 50,1; 11,1,1; 12,22,2; 39,2; 56,1; 13,55,2; 14,18,2; 15,26,3-27,1; 71,4; 16,22,2	33
Adj.	<i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1; 2,9,2; 68,4; 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 3,69,5; 4,14,3; 27,1; 31,3; 73,4; 6,7,2; 27,1; 37,3; 47,1; 11,20,1; 16,10,4; 17,2	17
General Total		50

Quondam in Proximity to a Contrasting Temporal Adverb or without It

From table 3 below, *quondam* is in proximity to one of eight temporal advs. for emphasis, contrast, etc. in 12x (8x-*quondam* adv., 4x-adj.). It is not next to a contrasting temporal adv. in 38x (25x-*quondam* adv., 13x-adj.).

*Quondam in Proximity to a Contrasting Temporal Adverb*Quondam: Adverb*Posterior adverb*Tum/tunc

Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit

“Even Tigranes, who had formerly ruled Armenia and thereafter was a defendant, did not escape from the punishments of the (Roman) citizens on account of his royal title” (*Ann.* 6,40,2).

Mox: tum ... mox ... quondam

Tum lustratum rite exercitum ad contionem vocat ... mox iter L. Lucullo quondam⁶ penetratum, apertis⁷ quae vetustas obsaepserat, pergat

“Then after the customary purification (of the army Corbulo) called the army to a meeting ... then he proceeded along the route once penetrated by L. Lucullus, opening up (these places), which time had obstructed” (*Ann.* 15,26,3-27,1).

⁶*Quondam* refers to L. Lucullus' campaign to Tigranocerta in 69 B.C.

⁷According to Miller (1994: 77), *eis* “these places” (the antecedent of the following rel. cl.) is supplied and replaces a subject of the abl. absol. (its predicate is *apertis*). Cf. Ash 2018: 144.

Post: quondam ... mox ... post

Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum et post Usiporum fuisse
 “(Boiocalus reported) that these fields had once belonged to the Chamavi, thereafter to the Tubantes and later to the Usipi” (*Ann.* 13,55,2).

Mox and *post* are posterior to *quondam*, while *post* took place after *mox*.

Postea: see *Ann.* 3,34,4 below.

*Present Adverb*Nunc

‘*Ut quondam C. Caesarem*’ inquit ‘*et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, <et> Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur*’

“‘As once’ (Capito) said ‘our country in its eagerness for discord (talked of) C. Caesar and M. Cato, so now it talks of you, Nero, and of Thrasea’ ” (*Ann.* 16,22,2).

Iam: see *Ann.* 3,6,2 below.

Quondam ... nunc ... iam

Pervicacibus magis ... mulierum iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos fora, iam et exercitus regerent

“The women’s orders are the more headstrong ... who were formerly restrained by the Oppian and other laws, (but) now having thrown off (their) bonds they were ruling (our) homes, courts (and) now even our armies” (*Ann.* 3,33,4).

Iam replaces *nunc* (instead of the anaphora *nunc ... nunc*) and is strengthened by *et* “even”.

Quondam: Adjective

*Posterior adverb*Mox

Primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator ... mox repetita amicitia regis ... praefectus campis

“Ornospades, a former exile and not an inglorious adjutant of Tiberius, arrived first in the camp with many thousand cavalry when he was stamping out the Dalmatian war ... later he had regained his king (Artabanus’) friendship ... (and) was appointed (governor) of the plains” (*Ann.* 6,37,3).

There is a contrast concerning time *quondam* ≠ *mox* and content *exul et Tiberio haud inglorius auxiliator* ≠ *praefectus campis*: formerly Ornospades had

been an exile and an adjuvant of Tiberius. Later he was appointed governor of the plains.

Nuper

Nam hic quondam praefectus praetorii et consularibus insignibus donatus ac nuper crimine coniurationis in Sardiniam exactus

“For Rufrius Crispinus, formerly a commander of the praetorian guard and had been rewarded with consular insignia, but recently was exiled to Sardinia on a charge of conspiracy” (*Ann.* 16,17,2).

Posthac

Ann. 6,7,2 below: there are consecutive events: Servaeus and Minucius were brought to trial (*posthac inducti*) after Servaeus was formerly a companion of Germanicus (*quondam Germanici comes*).

Tum

Praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum

“The (soldiers) chose their own praetorian prefects, Plotius Firmus formerly of the ranks (and) afterwards a commander of the watch” (*Hist.* 1,46,1).

Lack of a Contrasting Temporal Adverb

Quondam: *Adverb*

Impulit, dum ... amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat ... ostentat

“(Firmius Catus) impelled (Drusus), while pointing to ... (his) paternal-aunt Scribonia, who had formerly been Augustus’ spouse” (*Ann.* 2,27,2).

Quondam: *Adjective*

Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, <ut> auctoritate patrum coercendum sit

“(Tiberius said that) the old Oscan farce, the lightest amusement among the crowd, had become such indecency and violence, that it must be checked by the authority of the senate” (*Ann.* 4,14,3).

Table 3. *Quondam in Proximity to a Contrasting Temporal Adverb or without It*

A Temporal Adverb	References	Cases	Total
<i>Quondam</i> : adv. Posterior adv.: <i>tum/tunc</i> <i>Mox: tum ... mox ...</i> <i>quondam</i> <i>Post: quondam ...</i> <i>mox ... post</i> <i>Postea</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 6,40,2 <i>Ann.</i> 15,26,3-27,1 <i>Ann.</i> 13,55,2 <i>Ann.</i> 3,34,4	1 1 1 1	4
Present adv.: <i>nunc</i> <i>Iam</i> <i>Quondam ... nunc</i> <i>... iam</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 3,56,4; 16,22,2 <i>Ann.</i> 3,6,2 <i>Ann.</i> 3,33,4	2 1 1	4
<i>Quondam</i> : adj. Posterior adv.: <i>mox</i> <i>Nuper</i> <i>Posthac</i> <i>Tum</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 6,37,3 <i>Ann.</i> 16,17,2 <i>Ann.</i> 6,7,2 <i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1	1 1 1 1	4
Lack of a Temporal Adverb <i>Quondam</i> : adv.	<i>Ger.</i> 29,1; <i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1; 5,4,2; 7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 9,1; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 77,3; 2,27,2; 60,3; 71,2; 80,2; 3,16,4; 23,1; 60,3; 4,25,1; 6,50,1; 11,1,1; 12,22,2; 39,2; 56,1; 14,18,2; 15,71,4	25	38
<i>Quondam</i> : adj.	<i>Hist.</i> 2,9,2; 68,4; 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 3,69,5; 4,14,3; 27,1; 31,3; 73,4; 6,27,1; 47,1; 11,20,1; 16,10,4	13	

The Part of Speech modified by *quondam* in a Clause/Sentence

The part of speech modified by *quondam* is explicit (except for 2x). It is mentioned in the cl., in which *quondam* is included, and rarely in the cl. precedes/ follows *quondam*. In a few cases the adv. modifies more than one element. The grammatical forms modified by it are as follows:

Quondam: adv. A. Finite verb-13x: 1) P.q.p.-10x (1x + dat. in idiom). 2) Perf.-2x. 3) Fut. II-1x; B. Participia-11x: 1) P.P.P.-10x: a) Replaces a cl.-9x (1x + adj. [attribute]). b) Perf. pass. without *esse*-1x. 2) P.P.A. [attribute] + adj. [attribute]-1x; C. Inf. perf. act./pass.: predicate of AcI-5x; D. Adj.-4x: 1) Attribute-3x. 2) Predicate of abl. absol.-1x.

Quondam: adj. A. Noun⁸-2x; A.a) Apposition-10x; A.b) Subst. adj. in apposition-1x; B. Adj. [attribute]-3x; B.a) Noun + adj. [attribute]-1x. For references see table 4 below.

In the quotations of this section, the relevant element modified by *quondam*, is underlined.

Quondam: Adverb

The Part of Speech Is Explicit

Finite verb

Pluperfect

(1) *Iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania ... quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat* “(Asinius Gallus) did not soften (Tiberius’) anger, for (Gallus) had long been detested (by Tiberius) because of his marriage to Vipsania ... who had formerly been Tiberius’ wife” (*Ann.* 1,12,4).

On the quasi-causal meaning of *tamquam* see, e.g., Goodyear 1972: 180.

(2) *Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat* “The same year acquired new ceremonies when an office of Augustal priests was set up, just as in former days T. Tatius had founded the Titian Fellows to preserve the rites of the Sabines” (*Ann.* 1,54,1).

(3) *Populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum* “(Tiberius) warned the people by an edict that (they will not disturb the funeral) of Augustus, as they had formerly disrupted by their excessive enthusiasm the funeral of the deified Julius” (*Ann.* 1,8,5).⁹

In Idiom: Dative + P.Q.P.

Neroni invisus, quod Poppaeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat “(Rufrius Crispinus) was hated by Nero, because he had formerly been married to Poppaea” (*Ann.* 15,71,4).

In the Clause Following *quondam*: *Ann.* 12,56,1 below.

⁸For an adv., which rarely modifies a noun in Latin, see Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/1: §59; Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr 1963, 1: §101, b.

⁹See also *Ann.* 2,27,2 above; *Hist.* 3,43,1; 5,4,2; *Ann.* 1,77,3; 12,39,2 (*quondam* modifies *excisi + traiecti forent*) below.

Perfect

Eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. Neque nunc propere

“(Tiberius pointed out that Drusus was) of the same age (as himself), when (Tiberius) himself had formerly been summoned by the divine Augustus to undertake this office. Nor (was it) now hastily (he added)” (*Ann.* 3,56,4).

In The Clause Following *quondam*

Ann. 16,22,2 above: *loquitur* is modified in the main cl. *ita ... loquitur* by *nunc* in present without repetition of it in the comparison cl. *ut ... Catonem* with *quondam*.

Future Perfect: Ann. 3,6,2 below.

Participia

P.P.A. (Attribute) + Adjective (Attribute)

Si quos spes meae ... erga viventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse

“If my hopes ... moved anyone towards the living (man), they will shed tears that (a man) once flourishing and survivor of so many wars has fallen by a woman’s deceit” (*Ann.* 2,71,2).

P.P.P.

Replaces a Clause

(1) *Plerisque vana mirantibus quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus*. “Many people expressed wonder over the idle (topics) that the same day, on which (Augustus) formerly assumed sovereignty, (was) the first and also the last of his life” (*Ann.* 1,9,1).

(2) *Non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur-potioem, si armis-non invalidum vidissent*. “(Piso said that Sentius) soldiers will not fight when they see that Piso, whom they themselves once called ‘father’, (is) the stronger-if the verdict is by justice (and) not powerless-if by arms” (*Ann.* 2,80,2).¹⁰

+ Adjective (Attribute): *Ann.* 14,18,2 below.

Perf. Pass. (without *esse*): *Ann.* 3,33,4 above.

Inf. Perf. Act./Pass.: Predicate of AcI

¹⁰See also *Ann.* 6,40,2; 15,26,3-27,1 above; 1,63,4; 3,16,4; 23,1 (*quondam* modifies *destinata* referring to Lepida); 4,25,1 below.

(1) *Valerium Asiaticum, bis consulem, fuisse quondam adulterum eius credidit* “(Messalina) believed that Valerius Asiaticus, being twice consul, had formerly been Poppaea’s adulterer” (*Ann.* 11,1,1).

(2) *Praefatus ... maiorem ei patruum Cottam Messalinum esse, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam* “(Claudius) prefaced ... that Cotta Messalinus (was Lollia’s) great-uncle (and) she had once been married to Memmius Regulus” (*Ann.* 12,22,2).

Adjective

Attribute

Ego sicut inclutas quondam urbes igne caelesti flagrasse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, conrumpi superfusum spiritum ... reor

“I am ready to think on the one hand, that once famous cities were burnt up by fire from heaven, while on the other hand, I think that the soil is infected by the exhalation from the lake (and) the surrounding air is tainted” (*Hist.* 5,7,2).

See also *Ann.* 2,71,2 above; 14,18,2 below.

Predicate of Abl. Absol. in the Clause Preceding *quondam*

Ann. 3,60,3 below: in the comparison cl. *quondam* modifies the predicate of abl. absol. *libero*¹¹ mentioned in the main cl. (*libero* + *quid* ... *mutaretve*) in present.

The Part of Speech Is not Explicit

(1) *Tandem apud promunturium Miseni consedit in villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus*. “(Tiberius) finally settled down on the promontory of Misenum, in a villa of which L. Lucullus (had) once (been its) master” (*Ann.* 6,50,1).

The villa had belonged to L. Lucullus before Tiberius settled down on the promontory of Misenum. Consequently, the implied verb of the rel. cl. *cui* ... *dominus* is *fuera*t in p.q.p. (cf. Gerber and Greef 1877-1890, 2: 1347, s.v. *quondam*).

(2) *Chattorum quondam populus*. “(The Batavians were) formerly a tribe of the Chatti” (*Ger.* 29,1).

Quondam: Adjective

Noun

¹¹A participle or adj. in n. as predicate of abl. absol. with a sentence as its subject is abundant in *Ann.* Cf. L, Sh: 1057a, s.v. 1. *liber, era, erum*, adj. I. (ε); *OLD*: 1023c, s.v. *liber*¹, -era, -erum, adj. 10.c; Furneaux 1897: §19a.

Is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat

“The pretender (to Nero), assuming an appearance of sorrow and appealing to the fidelity of his own former soldiers, begged (the captains) to land him in Syria or Egypt” (*Hist.* 2,9,2).

See also *Ann.* 16,10,4 below.

Apposition

(1) *Hist.* 2,68,4 below: *quondam* modifies the apposition *ducis sui* of Verginius Rufus (cf. the translation of Gerber and Greef 1877-1890, 2: 1347, s.v. *quondam*).

(2) *Pars maeroris fuit, quod Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi* “Part of (Rome’s) sorrow was for Julia, Drusus’ daughter (and) formerly Nero’s wife, married (now) into the family of Rubellius Blandus” (*Ann.* 6,27,1).

(3) *Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem, maiestatis postulaverat* “Laelius Balbus had accused Acutia, the former wife of P. Vitellius, of treason” (*Ann.* 6,47,1).¹²

A Substantivized Adjective in Apposition

Hist. 1,46,1 above: *quondam* modifies *e manipularibus*, an apposition of Plotius Firmus.

Adjective: Attribute

(1) *Scripsit Tiberio ... multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse*

“(Maroboduus) wrote to Tiberius ... that he had preferred the Roman friendship, although many nations had invited to them the king once so glorious” (*Ann.* 2,63,1).

(2) *Mox compertum a transfugis ... quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiari(i) villa ... mutuis ictibus procubuisse*

“Later it was reported by deserters ... that a detachment of four hundred (Romans), after occupying the villa of Cruptorix, a former mercenary ... had fallen by mutual blows” (*Ann.* 4,73,4).

See also *Ann.* 4,14,3 above.

Noun + Adjective (Attribute)

Nihil aliud prolocutus quam ‘beatos quondam duces Romanos’

“(Corbulo) made no utterance except ‘happy (were) the Roman commanders of old!’” (*Ann.* 11,20,1).

¹²See also *Hist.* 3,47,1 (*quondam* modifies *praefectus*, an apposition of the *S mancipium*. Cf. Wolf 1926: 58); *Ann.* 6,37,3; 16,17,2 above; *Ann.* 3,69,5; 4,27,1; 31,3; 6,7,2 below.

Table 4. *The Part of Speech Modified by Quondam*

The Modified Part of Speech	References	Cases	Total
<i>Quondam-adv.</i>			
Finite verb: p.q.p.	<i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1; 5,4,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 12,4; 54,1; 77,3; 2,27,2; 12,39,2	8	
In idiom	<i>Ann.</i> 15,71,4	1	
In the following cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 12,56,1	1	
Perf.	<i>Ann.</i> 3,56,4	1	
In the following cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 16,22,2	1	
Fut. II	<i>Ann.</i> 3,6,2	1	13
Participia			
P.P.P.: replaces a cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 1,9,1; 63,4; 2,80,2; 3,16,4; 23,1; 4,25,1; 6,40,2; 15,26,3-27,1	8	
+ adj. (attribute)	<i>Ann.</i> 14,18,2	1	
Perf. pass. (without <i>esse</i>)	<i>Ann.</i> 3,33,4	1	
P.P.A. (attrib.) + adj. (attrib.)	<i>Ann.</i> 2,71,2	1	11
Inf. perf. act./pass. predicate of Acl	<i>Ann.</i> 2,60,3; 3,34,4; 11,1,1; 12,22,2; 13,55,2	5	5
Adjective: attribute	<i>Hist.</i> 5,7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,71,2; 14,18,2	3	
Predicate of abl. absol. in the preceding cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 3,60,3	1	4
Is not explicit	<i>Ger.</i> 29,1; <i>Ann.</i> 6,50,1	2	2
<i>Quondam-adj.:</i> Noun	<i>Hist.</i> 2,9,2; <i>Ann.</i> 16,10,4	2	
Apposition	<i>Hist.</i> 2,68,4; 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,69,5; 4,27,1; 31,3; 6,7,2; 27,1; 37,3; 47,1; 16,17,2	10	
Subst. adj. in apposition	<i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1	1	
Adj. (attribute)	<i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 4,14,3; 73,4	3	
Noun + adj. (attribute)	<i>Ann.</i> 11,20,1	1	17

The Position of *quondam* in Relation to the Part of Speech Modified by It

The typical word order in a cl./sentence is S (+ its modifiers)-OID/OD-V (+ its modifiers). Temporal/negative advs. and temporal phrases (*paulo ante, iam diu, etc.*) usually precede the modified element. Exceptions to these rules for variety, emphasis, etc. are generally used in classical Latin prose (chiefly in rhetorical passages and poetry) by: 1) Metathesis of words: the adv. occurs after its modified part of speech (apart from monosyllabic words such as *non, vel*), the verb precedes its subject; 2) Hyperbaton between the adv. and the modified part of speech; 3) Proximity of similar words (*modo ... nunc*) or opposite ones (*olim ... mox*).

The position of *quondam* in relation to the part of speech modified by it was examined by linguistic/stylistic means and contexts (where some message is to be highlighted, word order, anaphora, a chiasmic/parallel structure mainly when two pairs of words are contrasted; cf. Fanetti 1978-79). The interval between *quondam*

and its modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words (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 adv.'s position, due to differences in content/style between the oratorical/historical works of Tacitus. Latin word order is not fixed in the sentence, despite its freedom. Likewise, the opinions on the adv.'s position are not uniform.¹³

Quondam: adverb. **A.** Its prevalent position is before its modified part of speech-19x: first position-6x; second placement-1x; third position or further removed-12x. **B.** After it-7x: first position-6x; second placement-1x. **C.** Two positions-5x: 1) First position before + 1.1) Second placement before-1x; 1.2) Third position or further removed before-2x; 2) Second position before + 2.1) Second place after-1x; 2.2) Third position or further removed before-1x.

Quondam: adjective. **A.** Before its modified element-8x: first position-4x; second placement-3x; third position or further removed-1x. **B.** After it: first position-4x. **C.** Two positions-5x: 1) First + second position before-4x; 2) First position after + third place before-1x.

Quondam is not placed at the end of a cl./sentence (for references see table 5 below).

Quondam: Adverb

Before the Modified Part of Speech

First Position

(1) *Sue abstinent memoria cladis, quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium* “(The Jews) abstain from (eating) pork in recollection of a plague, for the scab to which this animal (is) liable, formerly infected themselves” (*Hist.* 5,4,2).

The causal cl. *quod ... turpaverat* deals with the subject *scabies*, which is also the antecedent of the following rel. cl. *cui ... obnoxium*. However, the OD *ipsos* precedes the subject *scabies*, in order to juxtapose *ipsos* to the Jews mentioned before. For these reasons, in the causal cl. *quondam* + its modified verb *turpaverat* are postponed to its end with the order causal conj. - OD - S - temporal adv. - modified V.

(2) *Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat*. “The intervention was nevertheless effective, for the divine Augustus had once pronounced that the actors (were) immune from floggings” (*Ann.* 1,77,3).

In the causal cl. (*quia ... responderat*) *quondam* is embedded between the AcI *immunes verberum*¹⁴ *histriones* (governed by *responderat*) and its modified verb *responderat*. By this word order is emphasized the AcI in the past.

¹³See Booth 1923: IX; Marouzeau 1948: 155-61; 1949: 11-33, Kühner and Stegmann 1962, 2/2: §246, Bos 1967: 117, Pinkster 1972; 1990: 163-188; de Jong 1991; Elerick 1994; Devine and Stephens 2006, Hoffmann 2010.

¹⁴For *immunis* + gen. see L, Sh: 895, s.v. *immunis*, e, adj., II. (α); OLD: 839a, s.v. *immunis*, e, adj., 4.

(3) *Adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, condesisse* “It was reported that the Numidians had encamped in a half-ruined fortress, which had formerly been burnt by them” (*Ann.* 4,25,1).

The attribute cl. *ab ... incensum* of *castellum* is introduced by an abl. instr. *ab ipsis*, because it refers to the Numidians mentioned before. For this reason, *quondam* is not placed in second position before the modified *incensum* (replacing a rel. cl. of *castellum*), but in first position before it, while in the attribute cl. the order is abl. instr. - temporal adv. - modified P.P.P.

Cf. *Ann.* 2,80,2 above: in order to juxtapose the abl. instr. *ab ipsis* to *militibus* mentioned before *ubi* cl. and also the praedicativum *parentem* to *Pisonem*, *quondam* appears before the modified *appellatum* of the attribute cl. (*ab ipsis ... appellatum*) referring to *Pisonem* in AcI (governed by *vidissent*).

(4) *Ann.* 15,26,3-27,1 above: in the attribute cl. *L. ... penetratum* of *iter* the adv. is embedded between dat. agentis *L. Lucullo* and the modified *penetratum* (referring to the internal acc. *iter*; see *OLD*: 1324a, s.v. *penetro*, 2.a). *Quondam* in first position after *penetratum* (sc. *penetratum quondam apertis*) can be interpreted as modifying the predicate *apertis* of abl. absol.

(5) *Ann.* 6,40,2 above: *quondam-tunc* before the modified elements *potitus-reus* (referring to Tigranes) emphasize the semantic parallel contrast between the following multiple parts: formerly Tigranes was a ruler and later became a defendant. Accordingly, Armenia in abl. loci governed by *potitus*¹⁵ appears before *quondam* and not near *potitus: quondam potitus*



Second Position

Honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat

“(Valerius Paulinus was held in) honor by the Praetorian (soldiers), whose tribune he had formerly been” (*Hist.* 3,43,1).

The apposition *tribunus* of the S Valerius Paulinus is highlighted by its occurrence between *quondam* and the modified verb *fuerat*. Cf. *Ann.* 1,12,4; 2,27,2 above.

Third Position or Further Removed

(1) *Ann.* 1,8,5 above: in the comparison cl. (*ut ... turbassent*) *turbassent* is emphasized by its modifier *quondam* + an abl. modi *nimiis studiis* occurring before it. The OD *funus divi Iulii* of the comparison cl. is compared to the OD *Augustum* of the main cl. *ita Augustum* (without repetition of *funus*).

(2) *Ann.* 3,56,4 above: the subject *ipse* (viz. Tiberius) of the rel. cl. (*qua ipse ... vocatus sit*) is in proximity to the rel. pron. *qua*, in order to juxtapose *ipse* to *eamque aetatem*, which refers to Tiberius’ age. An abl. instr. *a divo Augusto* +

¹⁵See L, Sh: 1409a, s.v. 1. *potior*, II. (γ); *OLD*: 1418b, s.v. *potior*¹, 5. a.

gndv. of purpose *ad capessendum hoc munus* concern Tiberius's age and reinforce the modified verb *vocatus sit* with their insertion between *quondam* and *vocatus sit*. Cf. *Ann.* 1,54,1 above: *instituerat* is emphasized by *quondam* + gndv. in dat. of purpose *retinendis Sabinorum sacris*.

(3) *Ann.* 3,33,4 above: *quondam* occurs between both adjs. *Oppiis + aliisque* of *legibus*. In this manner, the modified verb *constrictae* by *quondam* is also emphasized by: 1) An abl. instr. *Oppiis aliisque legibus*, explaining by which the women's orders were formerly restrained; 2) A parallel contrast (adv.-modified V) between *quae ... constrictae* and *nunc ... regerent* (with repetition of *iam* instead of the anaphora by *nunc*): *quondam constrictae*


nunc iam regerent

(4) *Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus* – “This (was) a narrow causeway amid vast swamps and which had formerly been constructed by L. Domitius” (*Ann.* 1,63,4).

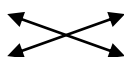
The attribute cl. (*quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus*) of *trames* describes the place, on which the narrow causeway was located. An abl. agentis *a L. Domitio* between *quondam* and *aggeratus* draws attention by whom the narrow causeway had formerly been constructed. Consequently, the order is temporal adv. - abl. agentis - modified P.P.P. (*aggeratus* replacing a rel. cl. of *trames*).

(5) *Referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam*

“Now (the Romans’) spirits should be restored to fortitude, as formerly the divine Julius (Caesar) after the loss of his only daughter (and) as the divine Augustus when bereaved of his grandchildren had set aside (their) sorrow” (*Ann.* 3,6,2).

The contrast between *quondam* + fut. II (the S = *Iulius + Augustus*) of the comparison cl. *ut quondam ... tristitiam* and *iam* + gerundive (the S = the Romans) of the main cl. *referendum ... firmitudinem* is strengthened by a chiasmic order (modified gndv.-adv./adv.-modified V). The OD *tristitiam* occurs after *abstruserint*, in order to avoid a long hyperbaton between *abstruserint* and its subjects. A parallel order (conj.-S-abl. absol.) between both multiple parts *ut ... filia; ut ... nepotibus* of the comparison cl. highlights when Caesar and Augustus had set aside their sorrow:

referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem



ut quondam ... abstruserint tristitiam

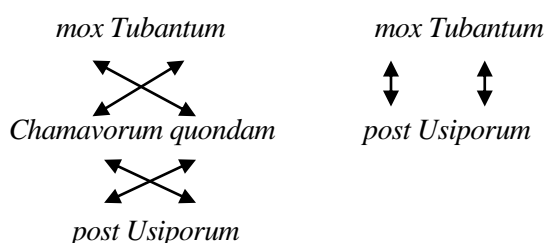
ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica


ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus

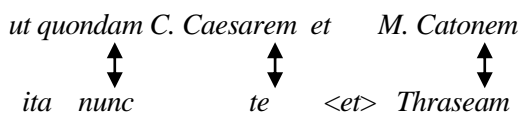
(6) ‘*Quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus ... salutem infelicis filii rogo*’ “ ‘I who formerly won the esteem of the divine Augustus your father ... beg (you) for the safety of my unfortunate son’ ” (*Ann.* 3,16,4).

In the attribute cl. *quondam ... probatus* of the subject Piso *quondam* is in third position and further removed before the modified *probatus*, due to dat. agentis (+ its adj. and apposition) *divo Augusto parenti tuo* governed by *probatus* (see, e.g., *OLD*: 1404c, s.v. *probatus*, -a, -um, 2.b).

(7) *Ann.* 13,55,2 above): The predicate *fuisse* of AcI (after Boiocalus’ report) is modified by three temporal advs.: *quondam*, *mox* and *post*. Since *quondam* is anterior to *mox* and *post*, it is placed before them and is in third position and further removed before *fuisse*. In the following three multiple parts occur chiasitic/parallel arrangements between the advs. and the modifiers in gen. of the subject *ea arva*:



(8) *Ann.* 16,22,2 above): *loquitur* (its S = *civitas*) is mentioned only in the main cl. *ita ... loquitur* in present, but is modified by *quondam* and *nunc*. This phenomenon is expressed by: 1) A parallel contrast (adv.-multiple OD) between the comparison cl. and its main cl.; 2) *Ita* (in correlation to *ut*) before *nunc*:



Stylistically, *loquor* can not be placed in the comparison cl. in the past tense, due to *inquit* in perfect (introducing Capito’s direct speech) with the same meaning of *loquitur*.

(9) *Lacu in ipso navale proelium adornatur, ut quondam Augustus structo cir<ca> Tiberim stagno, sed levibus navigiis et minore copia ediderat*. “A naval battle was arranged on the lake (Fucinus) itself, just as Augustus had formerly exhibited in a pool, which had been constructed near the Tiber, but with light vessels and a smaller force” (*Ann.* 12,56,1).

Adverbial exprs. in abl./acc. usually precede the verb. In this example, abl. loci/instr. + acc. of place (*structo ... copia* referring to *lacu* of the main cl. *lacu ... adornatur*) are embedded between the subject Augustus and the modified verb *ediderat* of the comparison cl. *ut quondam ... ediderat*. This is in order to point out the place *structo circa Tiberim stagno* and the instrument *levibus navigiis et minore copia*, by which Augustus had formerly exhibited the naval battle.

After the Modified Part of Speech

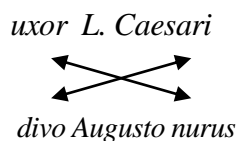
First Position

(1) *Ann.* 1,9,1 above: *quondam* is embedded between the modified *accepti* (referring to *imperii*) and *imperii*. The adv. after the whole phrase *accepti imperii* (i.e. *dies accepti imperii quondam princeps et vitae supremus*) may modify an omitted copula *esse* of the multiple predicate nouns *princeps + vitae supremus* of *dies*. Accordingly, in the attribute cl. *accepti quondam imperii* of *dies* the order is modified P.P.P. - temporal adv. - gen. of the S *dies*.

(2) *Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur*

“(The crowd) repeatedly shouted against Quirinius, to whose old age, childlessness and most obscure family, (Lepida), once destined as wife of L. Caesar and daughter-in-law of the divine Augustus, was surrendered” (*Ann.* 3,23, 1).

In the rel. cl. (*cuius ... dederetur*) *quondam* occurs between the modified *destinata* (referring to Lepida and governs dat. *senectae ... domui* [with polysyndeton between the datives]) and both multiple chiasmic appositions (nom.-dat./dat.-nom.) of Lepida. By this word order is emphasized that Lepida was destined in the past as wife of L. Caesar and also as daughter-in-law of Augustus. *Quondam* after both appositions (sc. *destinata uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus quondam dederetur*) will modify, from a preliminary reading, *dederetur*:




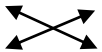
(3) *Ann.* 11,1,1 above: in the AcI cl. (governed by *credidit*; its S = Messalina) the apposition *adulterum eius* (*eius* refers to Poppaea) of the S Valerius Asiaticus is also made salient by placing *quondam* between the modified predicate *fuisse* and the apposition. *Quondam* in third position after *fuisse* (i.e. *fuisse ... quondam credidit*) may modify *credidit*.

(4) ‘*Placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic temporibus rei publicae postulantibus; remissum aliquid postea et mitigatum, quia expedierit*’ “The Oppian laws were formerly accepted, since the circumstances of the state so required (them. But) subsequently there were some relaxation and mitigation, since it was expedient’ ” (*Ann.* 3,34,4).

In the AcI cl. *placuisse ... leges* (after Valerius Messalina’s reply) the modified predicate *placuisse* by *quondam* is emphasized by metathesis of words: it introduces the AcI cl. and occurs before *quondam* + the S *Oppias leges*. The same word order is valid in *Ann.* 2,60,3 above.

(5) *Hist.* 5,7,2 above: *quondam* appears after the modified adj. *includas* of the S *urbes* in AcI (governed by *reor*) and not before it (i.e. *quondam includas ... flagrasse*), since it may modify *flagrasse*. An abl. instr. *igne caelesti* between

inclutas quondam urbes and *flagrasse* highlights by which once famous cities burnt up. In this manner is emphasized a chiasitic contrast (S-inf. perf./inf. praes.-S) between the comparison cl. *sicut ... concesserim* and its main cl. *ita ... spiritum* (for *ut/sicut ... ita* see, e.g., *OLD*: 973a, s.v. *ita*, adv., 4):

conrumpi spiritum

urbes flagrasse

infici terram

Second Position

Libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve

“(The senate) is free, as formerly, regarding what to confirm or change” (*Ann.* 3,60,3).

The predicate *libero* of the abl. absol. precedes its subject cl. *quid firmaret mutaretve* (see n. 11 above). In order to juxtapose the modified predicate *libero* of the main cl. to *quondam* (in the past), the comparison cl. *ut quondam* is embedded in its main cl. *libero + quid ... mutaretve*.

First Position before +

Second Position before

Ann. 15,71,4 above: the adv. is placed before the OID *matrimonio* and not *vice versa*, since it modifies the idiom *matrimonio tenuerat* (OID + V; its S = Rufrius Crispinus).

Third Position and Further Removed before

(1) *Ann.* 2,71,2 above: *quondam* is placed before both modified attributes *florentem + superstitem* (with the coord. conj. *et* between them) of the subject Germanicus in AcI (after *inlacrimabunt*;¹⁶ the predicate = *cecidisse*). On ground of gen. obiect. *tot bellorum* before *superstitem*, *quondam* is in third position before the second modified attribute *superstitem*.

(2) *Missum disceptatorem a Claudio agrorum, quos regis Apionis quondam avitos et populo Romano cum regno relictos proximus quisque possessor invaserant*¹⁷ “(Acilius Strabo) was sent by Claudius as an arbitrator of the estates,

¹⁶For the AcI construction after *inlacrimo* see, e.g., *OLD*: 826b, s.v. *illacrimo*; Goodyear 1981: 413.

¹⁷For the reading *invaserat* in sg. see Koestermann 1971: 305, Heubner 1994: 318. According to Woodcock (1992: 107), *invaserant* is in pl. (see also Fisher 1906: 313) after *quisque* by *constructio ad sensum*.

which once the ancestral estate of the King Apion and had been left along with his kingdom, any of the neighboring proprietors had invaded” (*Ann.* 14,18,2).

Proximus ... invaserant (S + V) of the rel. cl. *quos ... invaserant* are postponed to its end, in order to avoid a long hyperbaton between both modified elements by *quondam* (sc. adj. *avitos* + P.P.P. *relictos* replaces a rel. cl. of *quos*) and their OD *quos*. *Quondam* is in third position and further removed before *relictos* due to dat. + abl. sociat. (*populo ... cum regno*) before *relictos*.

Second Position before +

Second Placement after

Ann. 12,22,2 above: in the AcI cl. *Memmio ... nuptam* (after Claudius remarks) *quondam* is in second position after *esse* + second place before *nuptam*, which are modified by it (the S = Lollia): 1) In order that the predicate *nuptam* of AcI in inf. perf. pass. will be near *esse* mentioned in the preceding AcI; 2) Due to dat. *Memmio* *Regulo* governed by *nubo*.

Third Position and Further Removed before

Accendebat vulgata imper<atoris> Romani vox, ut quondam Sugambri excisi aut in Gallias traieci forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus exstinguendum

“The rumoured saying of the Roman commander infuriated (the Silures) that, as formerly the Sugambrians had been exterminated or transferred to the Gallic (provinces), so the Silures’ name ought to be extinguished completely” (*Ann.* 12,39, 2).

In the comparison cl. (*ut ... forent*) *forent* refers to both modified verbs *excisi* + *traieci* by *quondam* in O.O. governed by *vox*. Their subject *Sugambri* is placed before them, whereas the acc. direct. *in Gallias* refers only to *traieci forent* and occurs before it. Consequently, *quondam* is in second position before *excisi* + in third position before *traieci forent*.

Quondam: Adjective

Before the Modified Part of Speech

First Position

(1) *Ann.* 4,73,4 above: the adv. occurs before the modified adj. *stipendiarii* of *Cruptorigis* and not before the whole phrase *Cruptorigis stipendiarii* (viz. *occupata quondam Cruptorigis stipendiarii villa*), since it will modify at first sight the predicate *occupata* of the abl. absol. For this reason, *Cruptorigis* precedes *quondam* + the adj. *stipendiarii*.

(2) *Neve consulatus sui quondam collegam dederet liberto ... clamitabat*

“(Poppaea) repeatedly cried out that (Nero) would not surrender his former colleague of his own consulship to a freedman” (*Ann.* 16,10,4).

In the indirect command cl. *neve ... liberto* (after *clamitabat*) *quondam* is embedded between the reflex. pron. *sui* (in gen. object.) of Nero and its modified OD *collegam*, in order to juxtapose *sui quondam collegam* to Nero mentioned before. Consequently, the OD *collegam* precedes the OID *liberto* in dat. (governed by *dederet*; see *OLD*, 496b, s.v. *dedo*, 1.b). *Consulatus*, an attribute in gen. to *sui quondam collegam*, occurs before it with the typical word order in Latin.

For a similar word order see *Hist.* 2,9,2 above.

Second Position

Q. Servaeus posthac Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes

“Afterwards Q. Servaeus (and) Minucius Thermus were brought to trial. Servaeus having held the praetorship and formerly a companion of Germanicus” (*Ann.* 6,7,2).

Quondam, which modifies the nucleus *comes* of the apposition *Germanici comes* (its S = Q. Servaeus), is in second position before it due to the modifier in gen. *Germanici* before *comes*.

See also *Ann.* 6,27,1; 47,1 above.

Third Position

Auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles

“The instigator of the revolt (was) T. Curtisius, a former soldier of the praetorian guard” (*Ann.* 4,27,1).

Quondam modifies the nucleus *miles* of the apposition *praetoriae cohortis miles* (its S = T. Curtisius). If it is placed in first position before *miles* (viz. *praetoriae cohortis quondam miles*), only *miles* will be an apposition of the S, while *praetoriae cohortis* alone will be an attribute in gen. of the subject (mainly in an unpunctuated text) as follows: “T. Curtisius of the praetorian cohort, a former soldier”. The same phenomenon is valid in *Hist.* 3,47,1 above.

After the Modified Element

First Placement

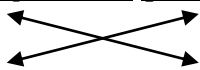
(1) *Ann.* 4,14,3 above: the subject *ludicrum* of AcI (after Tiberius report) consists of two descriptions: 1) The modified adj. *Oscum* by *quondam*; 2) *Levissimae oblectationis* (adj. + N) in gen. qualitatis. *Quondam* is in first position after *Oscum* and not in second one after it (i.e. *Oscum ludicrum quondam levissimae*), because it will apparently modify the adj. *levissimae*.

(2) *P. Suillium, quaestorem quondam Germanici ... amovendum in insulam censuit* “(Tiberius) held that P. Suillius, a former quaestor of Germanicus ... ought to be banished to an island” (*Ann.* 4,31,3).

The nucleus *quaestorem* of the apposition *quaestorem Germanici* (its S = Suillius in AcI governed by *censuit*) is emphasized by its occurrence before


quondam and before its modifier in gen. Germanici (contrary to the word order in Latin). Cf. *Ann.* 2,63,1 above.

(3) *Hist.* 1,46,1 above: *quondam* is placed after the modified apposition *e manipularibus* of the OD Plotius Firmus by metathesis of words. In this manner is made salient a chiasmic contrast (modified apposition-anterior adv./posterior adv.-modified apposition) between both multiple parts (*e ... quondam; tum ... praepositum*) of the OD:

e manipularibus quondam

tum vigilibus praepositum

First + Second Placement before

(1) *Ann.* 16,17,2 above: the occurrence of *quondam* before the modified apposition *praefectus praetorii* (N + subst. adj.) of the subject *hic* emphasizes the parallel contrast (adv.-modified P.P.P. [replacing a rel. cl. of *hic*, sc. Rufrius Crispinus]) between both multiple parts *nam ... donatus* and *ac ... exactus*, sc. Crispinus was formerly a commander and had been rewarded with consular insignia, but later was exiled:

quondam donatus

nuper exactus

(2) *Aegre tamen cohibiti qui exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagitabant* “Yet hardly were restrained (the troops), who demanded the execution of the consular and their former own commander (Verginius)” (*Hist.* 2,68,4).

In the rel. cl. *qui ... flagitabant* two multiple appositions refer to Verginius Rufus: *consularis* and *ducis sui*. Due to the occurrence of *quondam* after *et*, it modifies only *ducis sui*. If it is placed after *ducis sui* (i.e. *ducis sui quondam flagitabant*), it will modify, as it were, *flagitabant*.

(3) *Darent Iunia familiae et viro quondam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet* “(Tiberius added) that to the Junian family and to (Silanus) a man formerly of the same rank should be allowed to retire to Cythnus instead” (*Ann.* 3,69,5).

Quondam ordinis eiusdem refers to the senatorial rank of Silanus, which he lost in a sentence of exile (see L, Sh: 1278a, s.v. *ordo*, II. C.; Woodman and Martin 1996: 471). *Quondam* before the modified *ordinis eiusdem* in gen. qualitatis emphasizes the character of *viro* (sc. Silanus).

(4) *Ann.* 11,20,1 above: *quondam* appears before the modified *duces Romanos* (N + its adj.) in AcI (governed by *prolocutus*; its S = Corbulo). The adv. in second position before *duces* (sc. ... *quondam beatos duces Romanos*) will modify, from a preliminary reading, the predicate *beatos (esse)* of AcI as follows: “happy (were) once the Roman commanders”.

First Position after + Third Position and Further Removed before

Ann. 6,37,3 above: *quondam* emphasizes the first modified apposition *exul* of Ornospades by reversing its ordinary position. A temporal cl. (*cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret*) between the dat. *Tiberio* (governed by *auxiliator*) and the second modified apposition *haud inglorius auxiliator* (an adj. in litotes) of Ornospades indicates when Ornospades was a glorious adjuvant of Tiberius. From the above-mentioned reasons, *quondam* is placed in first position after *exul* + in third position and further removed before *haud inglorius auxiliator*.

Table 5. *The Position of Quondam in Relation to Its Modified Part of Speech*

<i>Quondam</i>: adv.	References	Cases	Total
Before: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 5,4,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,77,3; 2,80,2; 4,25,1; 6,40,2; 15,26,3-27,1	6	19
Second placement	<i>Hist.</i> 3,43,1	1	
Third position or further removed place	<i>Ann.</i> 1,8,5; 12,4; 54,1; 63,4; 2,27,2; 3,6,2; 16,4; 33,4; 56,4; 12,56,1; 13,55,2; 16,22,2	12	
After: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 5,7,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,9,1; 2,60,3; 3,23,1; 34,4; 11,1,1	6	7
Second placement	<i>Ann.</i> 3,60,3	1	
First position before + Second place before	<i>Ann.</i> 15,71,4	1	3
Third position before	<i>Ann.</i> 2,71,2; 14,18,2	2	
Second place before + Second position after	<i>Ann.</i> 12,22,2	1	2
Third position before	<i>Ann.</i> 12,39,2	1	
<i>Quondam</i>: adj.			
Before: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 2,9,2; <i>Ann.</i> 4,73,4; 6,47,1; 16,10,4	4	8
Second placement	<i>Hist.</i> 3,47,1; <i>Ann.</i> 6,7,2; 27,1	3	
Third position	<i>Ann.</i> 4,27,1	1	
After: first position	<i>Hist.</i> 1,46,1; <i>Ann.</i> 2,63,1; 4,14,3; 31,3	4	4
First + second place before	<i>Hist.</i> 2,68,4; <i>Ann.</i> 3,69,5; 11,20,1; 16,17,2	4	4
First position after + third placement before	<i>Ann.</i> 6,37,3	1	1

A Comparison of *quondam* as an Adv. and an Adj. between Tacitus' Treatises

A concluding comparison of *quondam* as an adv. and an adj. between Tacitus' treatises yielded mainly different features due to contents and author's style in each book (see Table 6 below; for references see Tables 1-5 above).

Table 6. A Comparison of *quondam* as an Adv. and Adj. between Tacitus' Books

The Features	Adv.			Adj.			Total
	Ger.	Hist	Ann.	Ger.	Hist.	Ann.	
1 Distribution	1	3	29	-	4	13	50
2 Meanings:							
“Formerly, in the past”	1	3	29	-	-	-	33
“Former, previous”	-	-	-	-	4	13	17
3 A contrasting temporal adv.							
Posterior adv.	-	-	4	-	1	3	8
Present adv.	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
Lack of a temporal adv.	1	3	21	-	3	10	38
4 The modified part of speech							
Finite verb	-	2	11	-	-	-	13
Participia	-	-	11	-	-	-	11
Inf. perf. act./pass.: predicate of AcI	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Adj.	-	1	3	-	-	3	7
Noun/apposition	-	-	-	-	4	10	14
Is explicit	-	3	30	-	4	13	50
Is not explicit	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
5 The adverb's position							
Before: first/second/third position	-	2	17	-	2	6	27
After: first/second position	-	1	6	-	1	3	11
First position before + Second/third position before	-	-	3	-	1	3	7
Second placement before + Second position after	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Third position before	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
First position after + third place before	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

Conclusions

Quondam occurs in *Ann.*, *Hist.* and *Ger.* It is not documented in *Ag.* and *Dial.* It is used as a temporal adv. “formerly, in the past, once” and as an adj./quasi-adj. in a temporal sense “former, previous”. In some examples *quondam* occurs in proximity to a contrasting temporal adv. (mostly posterior adv. to *quondam*) and mainly without it.

The part of speech modified by *quondam*: 1) It is explicit (except for 2x); 2) It is mostly mentioned in the cl., in which *quondam* is included. In a few cases it occurs in the cl. precedes *quondam* or follows it; 3) The modified element is mainly a finite verb in the past tenses (p.q.p., perf., fut. II), participia or an apposition. Sometimes it is an adj., inf. or a noun; 4) In a few cases *quondam* modifies more than one part of speech in a cl./sentence.

The prevalent position of *quondam* is before the modified part of speech (first/second/third position or further removed) and sometimes after it (first/second

position). In some instances *quondam* has two positions concerning the modified part of speech.

A concluding comparison of *quondam* as an adv. and an adj. between Tacitus' treatises in the points indicated above yielded mostly different features.

References

- Ash R (2018) *The Annals of Tacitus, Books XV*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blackman DR, Betts GG (1986) *A Concordance to Tacitus*. Concordantia Tacitea 2. Hildesheim, Zurich & New York: Olms-Weidmann.
- Booth BE (1923) *The Collocation of the Adverb of Degree in Roman Comedy and Cato*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago. Chicago.
- Bos GE (1967) L'adverbe en Latin. Tentative de classification structurale. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 62: 106-122.
- Devine AM, Stephen LD (2006) *Latin Word Order: Structured Meaning and Information*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Elerick C (1994) How Latin Word Order Works. In G Calboli (ed.), 99-117. *Papers on Grammar IV*. Rome: Herder.
- Fanetti D (1978-79) Il Chiasmo nell' Agricola di Tacito. *Museum criticum* 13-14: 389-400.
- Fisher CD (1906) *Cornelii Taciti Annalium. Ab Excessu Divi Augusti Libri*. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher CD (1911) *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Libri*. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Francis ED (1973) *Particularum quarundam varietas: prae and pro*. In T Cole, D Ross (eds), *Studies in Latin Language and Literature*, 1-59. Yale Classical Studies 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Furneaux H (1897) *Cornelii Taciti Annalium, Libri I-IV* (2nd edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press (repr. 1938).
- Gerber A, Greef A (1877-1890) *Lexicon Taciteum 2*. Leipzig: BG Teubner (repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962).
- Goodyear FRD (1972) *The Annals of Tacitus I: Annals 1, 1-54*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 15. Cambridge (repr. 2004).
- Goodyear FRD (1981) *The Annals of Tacitus II: Annals 1, 55-81 and Annals 2*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (repr. 2004).
- Heubner H (1978) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt 2/1. Historiarum Libri*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: BG Teubner.
- Heubner H (1994) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt 1. Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: BG Teubner.
- Hoffmann R (2010) *Latin Word Order Revisited: Information Structure of Topic and Focus*. In P Anreiter and M Kienpointer (eds), 267-279. *Latin Linguistics Today. Akten 15. Internationalen Kolloquiums zur Lateinischen Linguistik Innsbruck, 4.-9. April 2009*. Innsbruck: Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 137. Innsbruck.
- de Jong JR (1991) *Word order in Cato's De Agricultura*. In J. Herman, (ed), 91-101. *Linguistic Studies on Latin. Selected Papers from the 6th International Colloquium*

- on *Latin Linguistics* (Budapest, 23-27 March 1991). *Studies in Language Companion* 28. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.
- Kirchner R (2001) *Sentenzen im Werk des Tacitus*. *Palingenesia* 74. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Koestermann E (1969) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt II/2: Historiarum Libri*. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig: BG Teubner.
- Koestermann E (1970) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt II/2: Germania, Agricola, Dialogus de Oratoribus* (3rd edn). *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig: BG Teubner.
- Koestermann E (1971) *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt I: Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* (3rd edn). *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig: BG Teubner.
- Kühner R, Stegmann C (1962) *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, 2/1, 2/2 (Satzlehre 4th ed). Munich: M. Hueber.
- Leumann E, Hofmann JA, Szantyr A (1963, 1964) *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, II, 2/2. Munich: CH Beck.
- Lewis CT, Short C (1879) *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (repr. 1996).
- Löfstedt B (1967) Bemerkungen zum Adverb im Lateinischen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 72: 79-109.
- Lundström S (1961) *Abhinc und Ante: Studien zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Zeitdifferenzbestimmungen*. *Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 62. Lund: CW K Gleerup.
- Marouzeau J (1948) Quelques vues sur l'ordre des mots en latin. *Lingua* 1: 155-161.
- Marouzeau J (1949) *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase Latine. Les Articulations L'Énoncé* 3. *Collection d'études latines publiée par la Société des Études Latines (Série Scientifique 24)*. Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Mendell CW (1911) *Sentence Connection in Tacitus*. *Doctoral Dissertation*, Yale University. New Haven & London.
- Menge H (1961) *Repetitorium der Syntax und Stilistik* (16th edn). Bearbeit von A. Thierfelder. München: M. Hueber.
- Menge H (1988) *Lateinische Synonymik* (7th ed). O. Schonberger (ed). Heidelberg: C Winter.
- Miller NP (1994) *Tacitus Annals XV*. London: Bristol Classical Press (repr. 2001).
- Önnerfors A (1983) *P. Cornelius Tacitus Libri Qui Supersunt. De Origine et Situ Germanorum Liber II/2*. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Stuttgart: BG Teubner.
- Pinkster H (1972) *On Latin Adverbs*. *North-Holland Linguistic Series* 6. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.
- Pinkster H (1990) *Latin Syntax and Semantics*. Translated by Holze Multer. London-New York: Routledge.
- Risselada R (1996) And Now for something completely different? Temporal discourse marks: Latin *nunc* and English *now*. In R Risselada, Jan R De Jong and M Bolkstein (eds). *On Latin Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honour of Harm Pinkster*. Amsterdam: JC Gleben.
- Römer F (1976) *P. Corneli Taciti Annalium Libri XV-XVI*. *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*, 6. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau.
- Schaffner-Rimann J (1958) *Die Lateinischen Adverbien auf -tim*. *Dissertation* Zürich. Winterthur: PG Keller.
- Schinzel I (1971) *P. Corneli Taciti Historiarum Lib. II*. *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*, 3. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau.

- Solodow JB (1978) *The Latin Particle Quidem*. American Classical Studies 4. Boulder. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson.
- Voss BR (1963) *Der pointierte Stil des Tacitus*. Orbis Antiquus 19. Münster: Aschendorff.
- Weiskopf H (1973) P. Corneli Taciti Annalium Libri XI-XII. *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*, 4. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau.
- Winterbottom M, Ogilvie RM (1975) *Taciti Opera Minora*. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolf E (1926) *P. Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Libri Qui Supersunt II, Buch III-V*. (2nd ed). Berlin: Weidmann.
- Woodcock EC (1992) *Tacitus. Annals XIV*. London: Bristol Classical Press (repr. 2001).
- Woodman AJ, Martin RH (1996) *The Annals of Tacitus, Book 3* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (repr. 2004).