

***Ōlim* in the the Tacitean Corpora**

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 the treatises of Tacitus has not yet been analyzed in the studies concerning his language and style. Our study fills a gap, to a certain extent, on the adverbs' researches in Latin prose and in the Tacitean corpora by examining the characteristic and unique usages of ōlim in his treatises. We surveyed selected studies dealing with general and specific adverbs, as well as with the language and style of Tacitus. 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 ōlim in the selected corpus of Tacitus. Our main results are: ōlim is documented in all the books with two meanings "formerly" and "long ago". It occurs in proximity to posterior adverbs for emphasis, contrast, etc. The modified part of speech is mostly explicit: finite verbs in the past, participia, adjectives, infinitives or more than one element. Its prevalent position is before the modified part of speech, sometimes after it or it has two positions regarding the modified element. A comparison of ōlim between the treatises yielded identical and different features.

Keywords: *chiasmus, explicit, finite verb, multiple clause, ōlim, parallelism, posterior, syntactic position*

Introduction

The Purpose and Innovation of this Research

This research exemplifies by means of a detailed linguistic analysis the characteristic and unique usages, including content and style, of *ōlim* in the Tacitean corpora. This kind of research arises from a paucity of comprehensive researches on a specific adverb in a certain corpus in Latin prose and in the Tacitean corpora. The studies mentioned in §§0.1-0.1.2 below are based mainly on Cicero's works and to a lesser extent on comedy and poetry without quoting from Tacitus' treatises. The lexical denotations of *ōlim*, which concern historical events by various linguistic means, is frequent in Tacitus' treatises. Our innovation is an exhaustive analysis of *ōlim* in the pertinent corpus of Tacitus, which is a restricted and homogeneous one. This study fills a gap, to a certain extent, and contributes to the adverbs' studies of Latin prose in general and of the Tacitean corpora in particular. It enhances our understanding of the relationship between contents of various works of Tacitus and the usage of adverb in question.

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*Selected Studies on Latin Adverbs*Studies on Adverbs in General

1) Devine and Stephens (2006) on “*Latin Word Order*” deals at length with word order in a clause/sentence in general without a detailed analysis of a specific adverb in a certain corpus; 2) Löfstedt (1967) discusses the frequency of the adverbs’ morphemes, nouns and adjectives in m./n. sg., which are used in certain contexts as an adverb; 3) Menge (1961, §§461–498) concerns the adverb’ meanings; phrases with similar meanings to an adverb and adverbial suffixes; 4) The monumental study of Pinkster (1972) “*On Latin Adverbs*” contains a critical discussion of the adverbs’ treatment in Latin studies, a description of their functions and syntactic characteristics, classificatory problems and adverbs used for several descriptions. Pinkster emphasizes the need for further studies on adverbs; 5) Schafner-Rimann (1958) discusses the adverbial suffix *-tim*.

Studies Dealing with Specific Adverbs

1) Bertocchi (2001, pp. 87–111) discusses the restrictive adverb *modo*; 2) Booth (1923) deals with the position of measure adverbs in Roman comedy and in *de Agri Cultura* by Cato; 3) An exhaustive discussion on *prae* and *pro* as adverbs, prepositions and prefixes is offered by Francis (1973, pp. 1–59); 4) Huitink (2005, pp. 561–570) analyzes *iam* in negated utterances; 5) Lundström (1961) discusses *abhinc* and *ante* with measure adverbs in abl./acc.; 6) Ripoll (2009/2010, pp. 305–316) deals with the measure adverb *multum*; 7) Risselada (1996, pp. 105–125) discusses the functions of *nunc* as a discourse marker and as a temporal complement as compared to *now* in English; 8) Solodow (1978) concerns the functions and position of *quidem*; 9) The syntax of *adhuc* with verbal predicates is analyzed by Torrejo (1991, pp. 345–355).

Selected Studies on the Language and Style of Tacitus

1) Draeger (1882) concerns the syntax and style of Tacitus with a brief discussion on the adverbs’ usages; 2) Fanetti (1978-1979, pp. 389–400) analyzes the chiasmus only in *Agricola*; 3) An exhaustive study on sentence types and their functions in Tacitus’ treatises is discussed by Kirchner (2001); 4) Mendell (1911) analyzes in detail the sentence connection in Tacitus’ treatises; 5) Voss (1963) deals with the emphatic style employed by Tacitus.

Methodology

The grammatical approach adopted here is descriptive. It offers a thorough analysis of a specific adv. in a prose opus of one author. Quotations are made from the corpora¹ in order to illustrate the phenomena with a literal translation,

¹Our quotations are according to the editions of Delz (1983), Heubner (1978, 1983, 1994) and Önnersfors (1983). Slight changes are from Fisher (1906, 1911), Koestermann (1969, 1970, 1971), Römer (1976), Schinzel (1971), Weiskopf (1973), Winterbottom and Ogilvie (1975). Bibliographical

wherever applicable. Maximum use of statistics is made by comparative tables concerning the following points: the distribution of *ōlim* and variants in each book; its lexical meanings; its proximity to posterior advs.; the parts of speech modified by *ōlim*; its syntactic position concerning the modified element. It was examined by linguistic/stylistic means. The interval between the adv. and the modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words ranges from one to three words with exceptions consisting of more words; a concluding comparison of *ōlim* between the treatises in the points indicated above due to different contents and stylistic characteristics in each book; conclusions.

The Distribution of *Ōlim* and its Variants

Ōlim occurs in 86x (with five variants):² *Ann.*-47x, *Hist.*-22x, *Ger.*-10x, *Ag.*-4x, *Dial.*-3x.³

Table 1. *The Distribution of Ōlim*

Book	References	Cases
<i>Ann.</i>	1,16,3; 26,2; 53,1; 2,45,2; 61,2; 62,2; 3,33,2; 34,2; 40,1; 54,3; 55,2; 58,3; 4,16,2; 33,2; 64,3; 67,3; 6,4,1; 16,1; 24,3; 26,3; 39,2; 11,23,1-2; 12,18,1; 43,2; 49,1; 54,2; 60,2; 60,3; 66,1; 13,15,3; 18,3; 32,2; 34,2; 14,12,3; 15,3; 27,3; 43,1; 63,2; 64,3; 15,15,2; 17,3; 21,1; 51,2; 55,2; 16, 21,1; 22,1; 28,3	47
<i>Hist.</i>	1,5,2 (twice); 51,3; 60,1; 67,1 (twice); 2,6,1; 7,2; 86,3; 92,1; 3,11,2; 47,1; 47,2; 4,14,2; 54,2; 57,2; 64,3; 65,2; 70,2; 84,4; 5,4,3; 7,1	22
<i>Ger.</i>	2,1; 3,2; 8,2; 28,1; 28,3; 28,4; 33,1; 36,1; 41,2; 42,1	10
<i>Ag.</i>	3,1; 11,4; 12,1; 15,2	4
<i>Dial.</i>	16,5; 32,4; 38,2	3
General Total		86

The Meanings of *Ōlim*

A Defined Length of Time and Non-Continuous One “Formerly”

Validiores ōlim Gallorum res fuisse ... divus Iulius tradit

“The deified Julius reports ... that the Gauls’ power was once more vigorous (than the Germans)” (*Ger.* 28,1).

abbreviations follow Lewis-Short (1879; henceforth: L.-Sh.), p. XII; and Glare *et al.* (eds.) (1982; henceforth: *OLD*), pp. XXI-XXIII.

²*Solim: Hist.* 1,67,1; *capitolia*: 4,54,2; *ut licuit ōlim*: 4,64,3; *enim: Ann.* 11,23,2; *enim ōlim*: 12,43,2; *solitum*: 13,18,3.

³Blackman and Betts (1986) 2, pp. 1196–1197, Gerber and Greef (1877-1890) 2, pp. 1017–1018, s.v. *ōlim*; Table 1.

Ut Ōlim “As Before”

Nec socios, ut ōlim, sed hostes et victos vocabant

“(The legions) called (the Gauls) not ‘allies’, as before, but ‘enemies’ and ‘van quished’” (*Hist.* 1,51,3).

A Non-Defined Length of Time but a Long-Continuous One “Long Ago/Before”

Cf. *iam prīdem/dūdum/diū*; Menge (1961, §§464, 483, n. 3).

Ut proximus quisque Britannico neque fas neque fidem pensi haberet, ōlim provisum erat

“There had long ago been provided that every one closest to Britannicus should hold neither law nor loyalty as being of any weight” (*Ann.* 13,15,3).

Sic Ōlim “Thus Long Ago”

Sic ōlim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque singulis proeliis concidisse

“(Vocula said) thus long ago Sacrovir and the Aeduans were crushed in a single battle, recently Vindex and the Gallic (provinces)” (*Hist.* 4,57,2).

Table 2. *The Meanings of ōlim*

Meaning	References	Cases	Total
“Formerly”	<i>Ag.</i> 12,1; 15,2; <i>Ger.</i> 2,1; 28,1; 28,3; 33,1; 36,1; <i>Dial.</i> 32,4; 38,2; <i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2 (twice); 67,1; 2,6,1; 3,47,1; 47,2; 4,65,2; 70,2; 84,4; 5,4,3; 7,1; <i>Ann.</i> 1,16,3; 26,2; 53,1; 2,61,2; 3,33,2; 40,1; 54,3; 55,2; 58,3; 4,67,3; 6,4,1; 24,3; 26,3; 12,18,1; 43,2; 49,1; 60,2; 13,18,3; 32,2; 14,12,3; 43,1; 63,2; 64,3; 15,15,2; 21,1; 16,22,1	46	
<i>Ut ōlim</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 1,51,3; 3,11,2; 4,14,2; 64,3; <i>Ann.</i> 2,45,2; 3,34,2; 4,16,2; 33,2; 6,39,2; 14,27,3; 15,17,3	11	57
“Long ago”	<i>Ag.</i> 3,1; 11,4; <i>Ger.</i> 3,2; 8,2; 28,4; 41,2; 42,1; <i>Dial.</i> 16,5; <i>Hist.</i> 1,60,1; 67,1; 2,7,2; 86,3; 92,1; 4,54,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,62,2; 4,64,3; 6,16,1; 11,23,1-2; 12,54,2; 60,3; 66,1; 13,15,3; 34,2; 14,15,3; 15,51,2; 55,2; 16,21,1; 28,3	28	
<i>Sic ōlim</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 4,57,2	1	29
General Total			86

Proximity to Posterior Adverbs or Without Them*Proximity to Posterior Adverbs*Mox

(1) *Helvetii, Gallica gens ōlim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara*

“The Helvetii, a Gallic people formerly famous for (their) arms and heroes, later for the memory of (their) name” (*Hist.* 1,67,1).

(2) *Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam ōlim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum ... clausa*

“Julia died, who for her immorality had formerly been confined by her father Augustus on Pandateria island, then in the Regini’s town ...” (*Ann.* 1,53,1).

The change from island to town is emphasized: formerly Augustus imprisoned Julia on Pandateria island (*ōlim ... insula*), later in the Regini’s town (*mox ... accolunt*). Without *mox*, *ōlim* will refer to both geographical names, as though Pandateria island is in the Regini’s town.

(3) *Deductis ōlim et nobiscum per conubium sociatis quisque mox provenerunt haec patria est*

“For those who in former days settled and have been united with us by marriage, (and) later for their offspring, this is their native land” (*Hist.* 4,65,2).

(4) *Caesa ibi cohors, regium auxilium ōlim; mox ... desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebant*

“There was massacred a cohort, which (was) formerly a royal contingent; later ... (its members) retained the indolence and licence of the Greeks” (*Hist.* 3,47,2).

Nuper

Arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri ōlim mixtis consiliis

“They postponed the war until a fitting opportunity, while Vespasian and Mucianus had recently agreed (on it), the others had long before decided (to act in concert)” (*Hist.* 2,7,2).

Tum/tunc

(1) *Ut ōlim virtutis modestiaeque, tunc procacitatis et petulantiae certamen erat*

“As formerly (the legions had competed with each other) in valour and discipline, (so) later there was a rivalry in insolence and insubordination” (*Hist.* 3,11,2).

(2) *Catualda, profugus ōlim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus*

“Catualda, once a refugee by the might of Maroboduus, and later, when the king’s fortunes waned, daring his revenge” (*Ann.* 2,62,2).

(3) *Praecipuus ōlim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit*

“(Latiaris was) formerly the principal in entrapping Titius Sabinus and was then the first to pay the penalty” (*Ann.* 6,4,1).

Ōlim ... tum ... nuper: Ann. 13,18,3, §5.1.3, ex. 14 below.

Dein/deinde

(1) *Accessit ala Singularium, excita ōlim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa*

“(The Twenty-First Legion and Sextilius Felix) were joined by the ‘Select’ cavalry, which had formerly been mobilized by Vitellius (and) had later gone over to Vespasian’s side” (*Hist.* 4,70,2).

Excita ... Vitellio ≠ deinde ... transgressa: the ‘Select’ cavalry changed parties from Vitellius to Vespasian.

(2) *Cotys, proditor ōlim, deinde hostis, metuebatur*

“Cotys, once a traitor (to Mithridates and) then (his) enemy, inspired fear (to Mithridates)” (*Ann.* 12,18,1).

Recens

Is mulieri ōlim cognitus, seu recens orta amicitia ...

“Whether (Proculus was) long before known to the woman (Epicharis) or recently their friendship arisen ...” (*Ann.* 15,51,2).

Prīdem: Ann. 11,23,1-2, §5.2.1, ex. 6 below.

Nunc

Ōlim quidem non modo praetor aut consul, sed privati etiam mittebantur, qui provincias viserent ... trepidabantque gentes de aestimatione singulorum: at nunc colimus externos et adulamur

“Once, indeed, not merely a praetor or consul, but even private individuals were sent to visit the provinces ... and nations trembled for the evaluation of individuals. But now we cultivate foreigners and flatter them” (*Ann.* 15,21,1).

Lack of Posterior Adverbs

A Contrast Regarding Time/Content

(1) *Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt, ōlim uberes magnisque urbibus habitatos, fulminum jactu arsisse ... terramque ipsam ... vim frugiferam perdidisse*

“Not far from (the Dead Sea are) plains which, they say, were once fertile and populated with great cities, (but) were (later) burned by lightnings ... and the soil itself ... lost its productive power” (*Hist.* 5,7,1).

Multiple contrasting parts *ōlim uberes ... habitatos ≠ fulminum ... arsisse* refer to the S *campi* but indicate non-simultaneous situations. Consequently, we would expect in the second multiple part a posterior adv. (*mox*) modifying *arsisse* + *perdidisse*.

(2) *Ut ōlim ... noscenda vulgi natura ... senatusque et optimatum ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic ... haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit*

“Just as formerly ... the nature of the mass was needed to be understood ... and those who had acquired the most exact knowledge of the spirit of the senate and the aristocracy, were accounted shrewd in their generation and wise, so (now) ... there is some point in the inquiry and report” (*Ann.* 4,33,2).

Lack of a Contrast

(1) *Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et ōlim natos intellego*

“For when I hear of ‘the ancients’, I understand that (they refer to) certain (men) of old and who were born long ago” (*Dial.* 16,5).

Ōlim means “long ago”, since it refers to heroes, who lived 1,300 years before Tacitus. Hence, there is a semantic relationship between *veteres* and *ōlim natos* without an additional temporal adv.

(2) *Munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant, ōlim anxii odiis*

“The duties of the empire were performed by Caecina and Valens, long time being anxious because of mutual hatred” (*Hist.* 2,92,1).

For more references see Table 3.

Table 3. Proximity to Posterior Adverbs or Without Them

Posterior adv.	References	Cases	Total
<i>Dein</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 4,70,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,16,3; 12,18,1	3	34
<i>Mox</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 1,67,1; 3,47,2; 4,65,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,53,1; 12,60,2	5	
<i>Nunc</i>	<i>Ag.</i> 12,1; 15,2; <i>Ger.</i> 33,1; 36,1; 41,2; <i>Dial.</i> 32,4; 38,2; <i>Hist.</i> 4,54,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,61,2; 3,58,3; 12,43,2; 15,21,1; 16,28,3	13	
<i>Nuper/nuperrime</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 2,7,2; 4,57,2; <i>Ann.</i> 16,22,1	3	
<i>Prīdem</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 11,23,1-2	1	
<i>Recēns</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 15,51,2	1	
<i>Tum/tunc</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 3,11,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,62,2; 6,4,1; 12,54,2; 60,3; 66,1; 14,64,3	7	
<i>Ōlim...tum...nuper</i>	<i>Ann.</i> 13,18,3	1	
Lack of an adv. With a contrast	<i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2; 51,3; 3,47,1; 4,14,2; 64,3; 5,7,1; <i>Ann.</i> 1,26,2; 2,45,2; 3,34,2; 4,16,2; 33,2; 67,3; 6,39,2; 14,27,3; 43,1; 63,2	16	52
Lack of a contrast	<i>Ag.</i> 3,1; 11,4; <i>Ger.</i> 2,1; 3,2; 8,2; 28,1; 28,3; 28,4; 42,1; <i>Dial.</i> 16,5; <i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2; 60,1; 67,1; 2,6,1; 86,3; 92,1; 4,84,4; 5,4,3; <i>Ann.</i> 3,33,2; 40,1; 54,3; 55,2; 4,64,3; 6,16,1; 24,3; 26,3; 12,49,1; 13,15,3; 32,2; 34,2; 14,12,3; 15,3; 15,15,2; 17,3; 55,2; 16,21,1	36	

The Part of Speech Modified by *Ōlim*⁴*Explicit*Finite Verb: Imperfect

(1) *Cur ergo ōlim parsimonia pollebat?*

“Why, then, was frugality prevalent in the past”? (*Ann.* 3,54,3).

(2) *Ōlim Italia legionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabat, nec nunc infecunditate laboratur, sed Africam potius et Aegyptum exercemus*

“In the past Italy used to transport supplies for the legions in remote provinces, (and even) now it does not suffer from infertility, but we rather cultivate Africa and Egypt” (*Ann.* 12,43,2).⁵

4.1.1.1.1 + Gerundive (without *esse*): *Ann.* 4,33,2, §3.2.1, ex. 2 above.

4.1.1.1.2 In the Following Cl.

(1) *Nec terra ōlim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant*

“In time past, those who wished to change their abodes did not travel by land but by ships” (*Ger.* 2,1).

(2) *Haec Tiberius non mari, ut ōlim, divisus neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta*

“Tiberius (then) received these (tidings), not separated by the sea, as formerly, nor by messengers from afar, but near Rome” (*Ann.* 6,39,2).

In the comparison cl. (*ut ōlim*) *ōlim* modifies *accipiebat* in affirm. in contrast to the same verb in neg. of the main cl. (*haec ... mari + divisus ... iuxta*).⁶

Perfect

Et ōlim Auriniam et compluris alias venerati sunt

“Even long ago they venerated Aurinia and many other (women)” (*Ger.* 8,2).

Et (modifies *ōlim*) + *ōlim* modify *venerati sunt*. See *Dial.* 38,2, §5.1.2, ex. 3 below.

4.1.1.2.1 In the Following Cl.: *Ger.* 36,1, §5.1.3, ex. 12

4.1.1.2.2 In the Preceding Cl.

⁴See Table 5. In the quotations of this section, the part of speech modified by *ōlim*, is underlined.

⁵See *Ger.* 33,1, §5.1.1, ex. 3; *Ag.* 12,1 & *Hist.* 1,5,2, §5.1.2, exx. 1, 6; *Dial.* 32,4 & *Hist.* 1,67,1 & *Ann.* 3,55,2 & 58,3 & 12,60,2 & 60,3, §5.1.3, exx. 1, 5, 7, 9-11 below.

⁶*Hist.* 1,51,3, §2.1.1; 3,11,2, §3.1.3, ex. 1; *Ann.* 15,21,1, §3.1.7 above; 13,18,3 & 14,27,3, §5.1.3, exx. 6, 14 below.

Liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut ōlim maioribus nostris
 “Both we and you will have the right to settle on both banks (of the Rhine), as our ancestors (did) in the past” (*Hist.* 4,64,3).

4.1.1.3 Pluperfect: *Ann.* 13,15,3, §2.2 above.

4.1.1.3.1 In the Following Cl.

Absumperet vitam ab ea civitate, cuius caritatem ōlim, nunc et adspectum exuisset
 “Let (Thrasea) sever his life from this city, which he (had) long ago (cast aside) his affection (for it and) now casts aside even his gaze!” (*Ann.* 16,28,3).

See *Ann.* 15,17,3, §5.1.2, ex. 2 below (*ōlim* modifies *fecerat*).

4.1.2 Participia

4.1.2.1 P.P.P.

4.1.2.1.1 Perfect Passive (without *esse*)

(1) *Ōlim validissima inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus Occidentis coepta*
 “In the past the fiercest civil wars had started in Italy or Gaul among the forces of the West” (*Hist.* 2,6,1).

(2) *Nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona facta, eoque Romana civitas ōlim data*
 “Both (Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir had the advantages of) nobility and their ancestors’ good services, and for that reason Roman citizenship had formerly been granted (them)” (*Ann.* 3,40,1).⁷

4.1.2.1.2 Pluperfect Passive (without *esse*)

Transgressi ōlim⁸ et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati
 “(The Ubii) crossed (the river) long ago and, as their loyalty was proved, they were settled on the Rhine bank itself” (*Ger.* 28,4).

4.1.2.1.3 Replaces a Relative Clause

Redditur ordini Lurii Varus consularis, avaritiae criminibus ōlim percussus
 “Lurii Varus, the ex-consular, formerly struck down on charges of extortion, was restored to his rank” (*Ann.* 13,32,2).⁹

⁷See *Ann.* 15,51,2, §3.1.5 above; 4,67,3 & 6,26,3, §5.2.1, exx. 7, 9 below.

⁸*Ōlim* means “long ago”, since the Ubii crossed the river in 39-38 B.C., when M. Agrippa permitted them to settle on the west bank of the Rhine. Consequently, there are two consecutive actions: the modified *transgressi* (*erant*) in p.q.p. preceded the second action *collocati* (*sunt*) in perfect.

4.1.2.1.3.1 In the Following Cl: *Ann.* 1,53,1, §3.1.1, ex. 2 above.

4.1.2.1.3.2 Subst. P.P.P.

Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur parta ōlim a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere

“Corbulo considered it worthy to the dignity of the Roman people to recover (the territory) long ago acquired by Lucullus and Pompeius” (*Ann.* 13,34,2).

See *Hist.* 4,65,2, §3.1.1, ex. 3 above; 2,86,3 & *Ag.* 11,4, §5.1.1, exx. 4, 7 below.

4.1.2.1.4 Predicate of Abl. Absol.: *Ger.* 42,1, §5.2.1, ex. 8 below.

4.1.2.1.4.1 Idiom: *Hist.* 2,7,2, §3.1.2 above (*ōlim* + *nuper* modify *mixtis consiliis*).

4.1.2.2 P.P.A.: Attribute

Praepotens ōlim, et postquam regnum in formam provinciae verterat, mutationis impatiens

“(Anicetus) formerly a very powerful (man) and after the kingdom was transformed into a province, he was impatient the change” (*Hist.* 3,47,1).

4.1.3 Adjective

4.1.3.1 Attribute

(1) *In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum ōlim: nunc tantum auditur*

“The Elbe rises in (the territory) of the Hermunduri, a river famous and known long ago, (but) now (is known) only from hearsay” (*Ger.* 41,2).

(2) *Munimenta ingressi sunt ... captiva ōlim mancipia aut iumenta adgnoscentes abstrahentesque*

“(The Armenians) entered the fortifications ... recognizing and dragging off their previously captured slaves or beasts of burden (by the Romans)” (*Ann.* 15,15,2).

(3) *Praesentem saevitiam melioris ōlim fortunae recordatione adlevabant*

“(Agrippina and Julia) could alleviate their present cruelty by the recollection of better fortune in the past” (*Ann.* 14,63,2).

(4) *Accendebat odium eius Roscius Coelius ... ōlim discors*

⁹See *Dial.* 16,5, §3.2.2, ex. 1; *Hist.* 4,70,2, §3.1.4, ex. 1 above; 1,5,2, §5.1.2, ex. 1; *Ann.* 14,12,3 & 15,3, §5.1.1, exx. 5-6; 6,16,1, §5.2.1, ex. 4 below.

“The hostility (towards Trebellius Maximus) was increased by Roscius Coelius ... long at odds (with Trebellius)” (*Hist.* 1,60,1).¹⁰

4.1.3.1.1 In the Following Cl.: *Hist.* 1,67,1, §3.1.1, ex. 1 above.

4.1.3.1.2 + Apposition

Dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles

“(Percennius) formerly leader of a claque at the theatre (and) later a common soldier” (*Ann.* 1,16,3).

4.1.3.2 Predicate Noun

4.1.3.2.1 Without *esse*

(1) *Discordes olim et tum contemptu regentium minus coërcitis odiis*

“(The Galileans and Samaritans) had long been at odds and then less restrained with their hatreds, because of their contempt for their rulers” (*Ann.* 12,54,2).

(2) *Cum privatus olim conversatione scur< r >arum iners otium oblectaret*

“When (Claudius was) once a private citizen, he amused (Paelignus’) leisure with the company of buffoons” (*Ann.* 12,49,1).

4.1.3.2.2 With *esse*: *Ann.* 6,4,1, §3.1.3, ex. 3 above.

4.1.3.3 Predicate of Abl. Absol.: *Ger.* 28,3, §5.2.1, ex. 1 below.

4.1.3.4 Praedicativum

Tum Agrippina, sceleris olim certa et oblatae occasionis propera nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit

“Then Agrippina, long determined on her crime, eager with the opportunity offered (and) not short of servants, deliberated on the type of poison” (*Ann.* 12,66,1).

See *Hist.* 2,92,1, §3.2.2, ex. 2 above; *Ann.* 16,21,1, §5.1.2, ex. 4 below.

4.1.4 Infinitive-Predicate of AcI

4.1.4.1 Perfect Infinitive

(1) *Haud enim frustra placitum olim, ne feminae in socios aut gentes externas traherentur*

“For it was not unreasonable (Caecina said) that it had been formerly decided that women should not be dragged among the allies or foreign peoples” (*Ann.* 3,33,2).

¹⁰See *Ann.* 2,62,2, §3.1.3, ex. 2 above; *Ag.* 3,1, §5.1.1, ex. 1; *Hist.* 4,84,4 & 5,4,3, §5.2.1, exx. 2, 5; *Ann.* 16,22,1, §5.4.2; 6,24,3, §5.4.3, ex. 1 below.

(2) *Ferrum, cuius argueretur, ōlim religione patria cultum ... respondit*
 “(Scaevinus) responded that the weapon charged against him, had for a long time been reverted by his ancestors” (*Ann.* 15,55,2).¹¹

4.1.4.1.1 In the Following Cl.

Neque enim, ut ōlim, obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostiles esse
 “For Rome (Valerius Messalinus replied) is not (now), as formerly, beset with wars nor are the provinces hostile (to her)” (*Ann.* 3,34,2).

Ōlim modifies *obsideri + hostiles esse* in affirm. inf. perf.¹²

4.1.4.1.2 In the Preceding Cl.

Neque adesse, ut ōlim, eam copiam
 “(Tiberius said) that there was no longer such a quantity (of candidates), as formerly” (*Ann.* 4,16,2).

Ōlim modifies *adfuisse* in affirm. inf. perf. with a contrast to the narrator’s time.

4.1.5 Noun¹³ in Apposition: *Ann.* 12,18,1, §3.1.4, ex. 2 above.

Not Explicit

(1) *Exim ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra ōlim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit*
 “Then (Germanicus) came to Elephantine and Syene, formerly (were) the limits of the Roman empire, which now extends to the Persian Gulf” (*Ann.* 2,61,2).

(2) *Super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius ōlim provisum*
 “In all matters better and more correct provision (made) in the past” (*Ann.* 14,43,1).

(3) *Deriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut ōlim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas*
 “The armies were drawn up with equal hope on both sides, no roving raids or scattered companies, as once among the Germans” (*Ann.* 2,45,2)

See *Hist.* 3,47,2, §3.1.1, ex. 4 above.

¹¹See *Ger.* 28,1, §2.1; *Hist.* 5,7,1, §3.2.1, ex. 1 above; *Ger.* 3,2, §5.1.1, ex. 2; *Ag.* 15,2, §5.1.2, ex. 5; *Ann.* 1,26,2, §5.1.3, ex. 3; *Hist.* 4,54,2 & *Ann.* 11,23,1-2, §5.2.1, exx. 3, 6; 4,64,3, §5.2.2 below.

¹²See *Hist.* 4,57,2, §2.2.1 above; 14,2 & *Ann.* 14,64,3, §5.1.3, exx. 2, 13 below.

¹³An adv. modifying a noun is rare in Latin and is partially under Greek influence. See Kühner and Stegmann (1962) 2/1, §59, Leumann et al. (1963) 1, §101, b.

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

Part of speech	References	Cases	Total
Explicit			
Finite V: impf.	<i>Ag.</i> 12,1; <i>Ger.</i> 33,1; <i>Dial.</i> 32,4; <i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2; 67,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,54,3; 55,2; 58,3; 12,43,2; 60,2; 60,3	11	26
In the following cl.	<i>Ger.</i> 2,1; <i>Hist.</i> 1,51,3; 3,11,2; <i>Ann.</i> 6,39,2; 13,18,3; 14,27,3; 15,21,1	7	
+ gdve.	<i>Ann.</i> 4,33,2	1	
Perf.	<i>Ger.</i> 8,2; <i>Dial.</i> 38,2	2	
In the following cl.	<i>Ger.</i> 36,1	1	
In the preceding cl.	<i>Hist.</i> 4,64,3	1	
P.q.p.	<i>Ann.</i> 13,15,3	1	
In the following cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 15,17,3; 16,28,3	2	
Participia: P.P.P.			
Perf. pass.	<i>Hist.</i> 2,6,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,40,1; 4,67,3; 6,26,3; 15,51,2	5	
P.q.p.	<i>Ger.</i> 28,4	1	
Replaces a rel. cl.	<i>Dial.</i> 16,5; <i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2; 4,70,2; <i>Ann.</i> 6,16,1; 13,32,2; 14,12,3; 15,3		
In the following cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 1,53,1	7	
Subst. P.P.P.	<i>Ag.</i> 11,4; <i>Hist.</i> 2,86,3; 4,65,2; <i>Ann.</i> 13,34,2	1	
Pred. of abl. absol.	<i>Ger.</i> 42,1	1	
Idiom	<i>Hist.</i> 2,7,2	1	
P.P.A.: attribute	<i>Hist.</i> 3,47,1	1	
			21
Adj.: Attribute	<i>Ag.</i> 3,1; <i>Ger.</i> 41,2; <i>Hist.</i> 1,60,1; 4,84,4; 5,4,3; <i>Ann.</i> 2,62,2; 6,24,3; 14,63,2; 15,15,2; 16,22,1	10	
In the following cl.	<i>Hist.</i> 1,67,1	1	
Praedicativum	<i>Hist.</i> 2,92,1; <i>Ann.</i> 12,66,1; 16,21,1	3	
+ apposition	<i>Ann.</i> 1,16,3	1	
Predicate noun: with esse	<i>Ann.</i> 6,4,1	1	
Without esse	<i>Ann.</i> 12,49,1; 54,2	2	
Pred. of abl. absol.	<i>Ger.</i> 28,3	1	
			19
Inf.: predicate of AcI			
Inf. perf.	<i>Ag.</i> 15,2; <i>Ger.</i> 3,2; 28,1; <i>Hist.</i> 4,54,2; 5,7,1; <i>Ann.</i> 1,26,2; 3,33,2; 4,64,3; 11,23,1-2; 15,55,2	10	
In the following cl.	<i>Hist.</i> 4,14,2; 57,2; <i>Ann.</i> 3,34,2; 14,64,3	4	
In the preceding cl.	<i>Ann.</i> 4,16,2	1	
			15
Apposition	<i>Ann.</i> 12,18,1	1	
Not explicit	<i>Hist.</i> 3,47,2; <i>Ann.</i> 2,45,2; 61,2; 14,43,1	4	
			4

The Position of Ōlim Concerning the Modified Part of Speech

The typical order in a cl. is S-OID/OD. Temporal/neg. adv. and temporal phrases precede the modified element. However, there are exceptions, especially for variety and emphasis.¹⁴

The position of *ōlim* was examined by linguistic/stylistic means. The interval between the adv. and the modified element was calculated, *inter alia*, by number of words.

From Table 5, *ōlim* precedes the modified part of speech-47x, follows it-24x or it has two positions concerning its modified elements-11x. *Ōlim* at the end of a cl. is rare.

¹⁴On adv.'s position cf. Booth (1923, p. IX), Bos (1967, p. 117), Devine and Stephens (2006), Elerick (1994, pp. 99–117), Fanetti (1978-1979, pp. 389–400), Hoffmann (2010, pp. 267–279), de Jong (1991, pp. 91–101), Kühner and Stegmann (1962, 2/2, §246), Marouzeau (1948, pp. 155–161, 1949, pp. 11–33), Pinkster (1972, 1990, pp. 163–188).

*Before the Modified Part of Speech*First Position

(1) *Quamquam ... Nerva Caesar res ōlim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem ... tardiora sunt remedia quam mala*

“Although ... Nerva Caesar harmonized (two) things long ago incompatible, principate and freedom ... remedies are slower (for effect) than diseases” (Ag. 3,1).

For emphasizing the modified *dissociabiles*, *ōlim* is embedded between the OD *res* and its adj. *dissociabiles*, while the apposition *principatum ac libertatem* of the OD is postponed to the end of the concessive cl. *quamquam ... libertatem*.

(2) *Aram ... eodem loco ōlim repertam*

“An altar ... was found long ago in the same spot” (Ger. 3,2).

Ōlim between the abl. loci *eodem loco* and the modified predicate *repertam* of AcI (governed by *opinantur*) highlights the place, where the altar was found long ago.¹⁵

(3) *Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri ōlim occurrebant, nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur*

“The Bructeri came next to the Tencteri in former times, (but) now it is reported that the Chamavi and Angrivarii migrated (there)” (Ger. 33,1).

Iuxta Tencteros precedes the cl. *Bructeri ōlim occurrebant*, since the author talked about them before. *Ōlim* is embedded between the S *Bructeri* and the modified *occurrebant*. Cf. *Ann.* 3,40,1, §4.1.2.1.1, ex. 2; 15,51,2, §3.1.5 above.

(4) *Quod Britannorum ōlim victis evenit*

“This happened to the long since conquered among the Britons” (Ag. 11,4).

Ōlim between partitive gen. *Britannorum* and *victis* focuses attention only on the conquered among the Britons with emphasis on *victis*.

(5) *Praetura functos Valerium Capitonem et Licinium Gabolum sedibus patriis reddidit, ab Agrippina ōlim pulsos*

“(Nero) restored to their ancestral abodes the ex-praetors Valerius Capito and Licinius Gabolus, who had formerly been banished by Agrippina” (*Ann.* 14,12,3).

An advl. expr. in abl. *ab Agrippina* precedes *ōlim* + the modified *pulsos*, in order to juxtapose Agrippina to the personal names, whom she had formerly banished.

¹⁵See *Ann.* 13,32,2, §4.1.2.1.3; *Hist.* 2,92,1, §3.2.2, ex. 2 above (an abl. causae *odiis* governed by *anxius* follows *ōlim* + its modified *anxii* and not *vice versa*).

(6) *Nec ulla moribus ōlim corruptis plus libidinum circumdedit quam illa conluvies*

“Nothing contributed more depravity to our morals, corrupted long before than (did) that scum” (*Ann.* 14,15,3).

Ōlim between the OID *moribus* (governed by *circumdedit*) and *corruptis* (replacing a rel. cl. of *moribus*) interscores the modified *corruptis*.

(7) *Pro certis et ōlim partis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat*

“(Cornelius Fuscus) preferred everything that was new, doubtful and dangerous rather than what was certain and long acquired possession” (*Hist.* 2,86,3).

Ōlim after *et* modifies only *partis* (cf. *Dial.* 16,5, §3.2.2, ex. 1 above). According to Ash (2007, p. 240), Tacitus avoids the polarity *certa/incerta* by employing *ambigua* in contrast to *certa*.

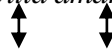
(8) *Ann.* 13,15,3, §2.2 above: since *ōlim* is rare at the end of a cl. (see §5 above), it precedes the modified *provisum erat* (its S = impers.). Cf. *Hist.* 1,60,1, §4.1.3.1, ex. 4 above.

Second Placement

(1) *Laudata ōlim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam ōlim virtutes verebantur*

“The severity (of Galba), which had once been esteemed and celebrated among the soldiers, annoyed who rejected the old discipline and who had been accustomed by fourteen years’(service) under Nero to love the faults of their emperors no less than they had formerly respected their virtues” (*Hist.* 1,5,2).

Verebantur is made salient by a semantic parallel contrast (OD-modified V) between the multiple parts (for the order adv.-OD-V see *Dial.* 38,2, §5.1.2, ex. 3 below): *vitia amarent*


virtutes verebantur

(2) *Vologaesi ad Corbulonem missi nuntii ... amnemque, ut ōlim, medium faceret*

“Messengers of Vologaeses were sent to Corbulo, (proposing) ... that he should make the (Euphrates) river, as before, the boundary (between them)” (*Ann.* 15,17,3).

(3) *Apud quos quanto maiora negotia ōlim exerceri solita sint ... causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur*

“To what extent the more important cases were customarily in the past administrated before them ... the cases (pleaded before) the centumviral court, which now hold the first place, were so eclipsed by the glory of other courts” (*Dial.* 38,2).

The order temporal adv. *ōlim* -OD *exerceri*-V *solita sint interscores solita sint*.

(4) *Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano, ōlim utrisque infensus*

“Nero desired to extirpate virtue itself by killing Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus, being long hostile to each” (*Ann.* 16,21,1).

A separation between *ōlim* and the modified adj. *infensus*, praedicativum of Nero, by *utrisque* (dat. governed by *infensus*) emphasizes Nero’s hatred in the past to both men Paetus and Soranus.

(5) *Singulos sibi ōlim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus ... procurator*

“(It is said that) in former times (the Britons) had single kings; now two are imposed on them, among them the legate ... (and) the procurator” (*Ag.* 15,2).

The order adv.-S of AcI-modified predicate of AcI in both AcI cls. *singulos ... fuisse ≠ nunc ... imponi* highlights the contrast regarding time/content, sc. formerly the Britons had only one king, now they have equivalent of two, legate and procurator. Cf. *Ann.* 3,54,3, §4.1.1.1, ex. 1 above.

(6) *Ōlim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis <dis>trahuntur*

“Formerly (the Britons) obeyed kings, (but) now they are divided under chieftains into factions and parties” (*Ag.* 12,1).

The modified *parebant* is interscored with a parallel contrast (adv.-complement OID/advl. expr. in acc.-modified V) between the following multiple parts, which is pointed up by a hendiadys *factionibus et studiis* in the second multiple part:

<i>ōlim</i>	<i>regibus</i>	<i>parebant</i>
↕	↕	↕
<i>nunc per principes distrahuntur</i>		

Third Position or Further Removed

(1) *Rapuerant pecuniam missam in stipendium castelli, quod ōlim Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur*

“(The Twenty-first legion) had seized the money sent to pay (the garrison of) a fortress, which the Helvetii had long held with their own troops and at their own expense” (*Hist.* 1,67,1).

In the rel. cl. *quod ... tuebantur* the modified *tuebantur* is reinforced by hendiadys *suis ... stipendiis* before it. Accordingly, *olim* is in third position and further removed before *tuebantur*.

(2) *Neque enim societatem, ut olim, sed tamquam mancipia haberi*

“For (Civilis claimed), that (the Batavi are) no longer (regarded) allies, as before, but as slaves” (*Hist.* 4,14,2).

Ut olim is embedded in the main cl. *neque ... societatem + sed ... haberi*, while *olim* modifies affirm. inf. perf. *habuisse* referring to *societatem* in affirm., praedicativum of the Batavi.

(3) *Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse*

“Tiberius (the assembly said) had formerly been accustomed to frustrate the legions’ requests in Augustus’ name, (and) Drusus has (later) revived that same tricks” (*Ann.* 1,26,2).

Due to an abl. instr. *nomine Augusti + OD desideria legionum* before the object complement *frustrari* of the modified *solitum (esse)* in AcI, *olim* is not placed near *frustrari solitum*.

Cf. *Ann.* 12,43,2, §4.1.1.1, ex. 2 above: between *olim* and the modified *portabat* appear the verb’s complements: OID *legionibus*, acc. direct. *longinquas in provinciis*, which is preposed to the OD *commeatus*, because it refers to *legionibus*.

(4) *Ann.* 15,21,1, §3.1.7 above: *at nunc* indicates a sharp polarity with *olim*. Thrasea employs lexical/thematic inversions: *praetor, consul, privati, de ... singulorum* for the past; an undifferentiated 1pl. *colimus, adulamur* for the present, sc. formerly entire people were afraid of single individuals (*mittebantur + trepidabantque* modified by *olim*), later the Romans flatter them.

(5) *Mox alias per provincias et in urbe pleraque concessa sunt, quae olim a praetoribus noscebantur*

“Later, in other provinces and in Rome numerous (judicial matters), which had formerly been investigated by the praetors, were transferred (to the equestrians)” (*Ann.* 12,60,2).

The judicial matters had formerly been investigated by the praetors, later were transferred to the equestrians. *A praetoribus* between *olim* and the modified *noscebantur* emphasizes this contrast.

(6) *Non enim, ut olim, universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cuiusque ordinis militibus*

“For whole legions were not, as in former days, transplanted with their tribunes, centurions and soldiers of every grade” (*Ann.* 14,27,3).

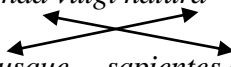
Ōlim modifies *deducere* in affirm. past contrary to *non deducere* in neg. (the S = *legiones*).¹⁶

(7) *Claudius omne ius tradidit ... cum Mariusque et Sulla ōlim¹⁷ de eo vel praecipue bellarent. Sed tunc ... quae vicerant publice valebant*
 “Claudius handed over (to the equestrians) the entire judicial (power) ... when Marius and Sulla long ago fought principally about this issu. But then ... those who won were universally valid” (*Ann.* 12,60,3).

A stress is laid on *bellarent*, which is modified by *ōlim* + manner adv. *vel praecipue*. An advl. expr. in abl. *de eo* appears between both advs. and not before *ōlim*, so that *de eo* is near *bellarent*.

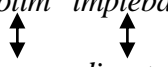
See *Ger.* 8,2, §4.1.1.2 above, in which *et* + *ōlim* modify *venerati sunt* and introduce the cl., while both OD *Auriniam et compluris alias* are embedded between *et ōlim* and *venerati sunt*.

(8) *Ann.* 4,33,2, §3.2.1, ex. 2 above: both modified elements *noscenda-credebantur* are emphasized by a chiasitic order (gdve.-S/S rel. cl.-impf.):

noscenda vulgi natura

senatusque ... sapientes credebantur

(9) *Quae ōlim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine ... ingenuitate ... discatur*
 “It once as the mistress of all the arts filled our souls with a most brilliant retinue, now curtailed and shorn, without ... freedom, is learned ...” (*Dial.* 32,4).

Ōlim modifies *implebat* but is preposed to *omnium ... comitatu*, which gives circumstances concerning *implebat*. A parallel contrast (adv.-modified V) between the rel. cl. and its main cl. emphasizes the eloquence’s personification:

ōlim implebat

nunc discatur

(10) *Privatis ōlim simultatibus effectum, ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc ... summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulationi ... obnoxium*
 “Formerly (Servius Maluginensis said) a ban by the supreme pontiffs (on the flamens) to go to the provinces was a result of private feuds. Now ... the supreme pontiff is also the supreme man, susceptible to neither rivalry ...” (*Ann.* 3,58,3).

¹⁶Cf. *Ger.* 2,1 & *Ann.* 6,39,2, §4.1.1.1.2, exx. 1-2; *Hist.* 1,51,3, §2.1.1; 4,14,2, 5.1.3, ex. 2 above.

¹⁷*Ōlim* means “long ago”, since the struggles of the senatorial and equestrian orders for control of the *quaestiones perpetuae* was over half a century (122-80 B.C.).

Ōlim, which modifies *prohiberentur*, is embedded between abl. causae *simultātibus* and its adj. *prīvātīs* for highlighting the reasons by which the ban to go to the provinces was valid in the past, whereas later it was not valid: *prīvātīs ōlim ... prohiberentur ≠ nunc ... obnoxium*.

(11) *Dites ōlim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabebantur*

“Formerly rich families of noble or with an illustrious reputation had been collapsing because of their fondness for splendour” (*Ann.* 3,55,2).

From the presence of *postquam* later, by which Tacitus contrasts two different periods, *ōlim* modifies *prolabebantur*. For highlighting the reason of the families’ collapsing in the past, an abl. causae *studio* + its gen. obj. *magnificentiae* precede *prolabebantur*.

See *Hist.* 2,6,1, §4.1.2.1.1, ex. 1; *Ann.* 15,55,2, §4.1.4.1, ex. 2 above.

(12) *Ita qui ōlim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur*

“Thus the Cherusci, who were once (called) good and righteous, are now called lazy and stupid” (*Ger.* 36,1).

The modified *vocare* by *ōlim* + *nunc*¹⁸ refers to the adjs., praedicativa of the S Cherusci, with a semantic parallel contrast (adv.-adj.) between the following multiple parts. This phenomenon emphasizes the affirmative characters of the Cherusci in the past as compared to their negative characters in the present:

ōlim boni aequique
 ⇕ ⇕ ⇕
nunc inertes ac stulti

(13) *Quaeque rerum secundarum ōlim, tum publicae cladis insignia fuisse*

“What (were) formerly the signs of success, were then those of public disaster” (*Ann.* 14,64,3).

Ōlim is at the tail of the S rel. cl. *quaeque ... ōlim* (in AcI after *praesumptum*), in order to juxtapose it to the modified *fuisse* + apposition *insignia* (of *quaeque*) mentioned in its following main cl. *tum ... fuisse*. Cf. n. 17 and *Ann.* 13,18,3, §5.1.3, ex. 14 below.

(14) *Excubiasque militares, quae ut coniugi imperatoris ōlim, tum ut matri servabantur, et Germanos nuper ... custodes additos digredi iubet*

“(Nero) ordered the withdrawal of the military guard, which had formerly been kept for her as the emperor’s wife (and) later as the (emperor’s) mother, along with the German guards, who had recently been added ...” (*Ann.* 13,18,3).

¹⁸For two contrasting advs. modifying the same element see, e.g., *Hist.* 3,11,2, §3.1.3, ex. 1; 4,57,2, §2.2.1; 1,67,1 & *Ann.* 1,53,1, §3.1.1, exx. 1-2; 16,28,3, §4.1.1.3.1 above; 13,18,3 & 14,64,3, §5.1.3, exx. 13-14 below.

*After the Modified Part of Speech*First Position

(1) *Pari ōlim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant*
 “The advantages and disadvantages on both banks (of the Danube) were identical, when in time past poverty and liberty were equal” (*Ger.* 28,3).

Ōlim between the modified predicate *pari* and its S *inopia ac libertate* in abl. absol. emphasizes by lexical means *pari* and *eadem* that poverty and liberty were formerly identical on both banks.¹⁹

(2) *Longam ōlim famem crebris adhuc jejuniis fatentur*
 “By (their) frequent fasts they still bear witness to the long famine of former days” (*Hist.* 5,4,3).

The modified adj. *longam* is interscored by its introducing the cl. before its noun *famem* and before *ōlim* (as a quasi-adj.).

(3) *Captam ōlim a Gallis urbem ... fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi*
 “(The Druids proclaimed) that Rome was captured by the Gauls long ago ... now by the fatal fire a sign of heavenly wrath was given and portended the passage of world sovereignty to the Transalpine tribes” (*Hist.* 4,54,2).

An abl. instr. *a Gallis* between *captam ōlim* and the S *urbem* of AcI (governed by *canebant*) focuses attention by whom the city was captured long ago.²⁰

(4) *Omissa <m> ōlim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur*
 “(A law) obsolete long ago, since the public good is subordinated to private interest” (*Ann.* 6,16,1).

The modified *omissam* precedes *ōlim*, so that it is near its noun *legem* mentioned before.²¹

(5) *Sedem, ex qua transierit, Memphim perhibent, inclutam ōlim et veteris Aegypti columen*
 “(Others claim) that the place, from which (Ptolemy) came, (is) Memphis, a (city) once famous and the bulwark of ancient Egypt” (*Hist.* 4,84,4).

¹⁹See *Ann.* 14,63,2 & 15,15,2, §4.1.3.1, exx. 2-3 above; *Ger.* 42,1 & *Hist.* 4,54,2 & 5,4,3, §5.2.1, ex. 2-3, 8 below.

²⁰Cf. *Ann.* 2,62,2, §3.1.3, ex. 2; 13,34,2, §4.1.2.1.3.2 above (the modified *parta* introduces an object cl. *parta ... Pompeioque* of *recipere* in AcI, while *ōlim* + abl. instr. *a Lucullo Pompeioque* follow *parta*).

²¹See *Ger.* 28,4, §4.1.2.1.2; *Hist.* 4,65,2, §3.1.1, ex. 3; 70,2 & *Ann.* 12,18,1, §3.1.4, exx. 1-2; 12,49,1 & 54,2, §4.1.3.2.1, exx. 1-2 above; 4,67,3 & 6,26,3 §5.2.1, exx. 7, 9 below.

Ōlim modifies the adj. *includam* (*esse om.* in AcI after *perhibent*) of Memphis. The adv. before *includam* will modify also the apposition *veteris ... columen*. Cf. *Hist.* 3,47,1, §4.1.2.2 above.

(6) *Primoresque Galliae ... foedera et civitatem Romanam prīdem adsecuti, ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent ... suffecisse ōlim indigenas consanguineis populis*

“The foremost (men) of Gallia ... who had long before acquired (rights) of allies and Roman citizenship, requested the right of obtaining offices in Rome ... (it was said that) in former times the native (Romans) had sufficed for their kindred peoples” (*Ann.* 11,23,1-2).

A chiasmic contrast (adv.-modified V/modified V-adv.) between the following multiple parts highlights the modified element *adsecuti-suffecisse* by *prīdem-ōlim*, viz. long ago neighboring peoples had been content that only natives of Rome were members of the senate, later they claimed the right of obtaining offices in the senate: *prīdem adsecuti*



suffecisse ōlim

(7) *Nupta ōlim Cn. Pisoni et palam laeta morte Germanici*

“Formerly (Plancina) wedded to Cn. Piso and openly delighted at Germanicus’ death” (*Ann.* 6,26,3).

The modified *nupta* at the top of the cl. is juxtaposed to its S Plancina mentioned before.

(8) *Ipsa etiam sedes pulsus ōlim Bois virtute parta*

“Even the abode itself (of the Marcomani) was won by their bravery, when they drove out the Boii long ago” (*Ger.* 42,1).

(9) *Quanto intentus ōlim publicas ad curas, tanto occultior<es> in luxus et malum otium resolutus*

“Just as (Tiberius) had formerly been intent on public affairs, he so (now) relaxed into private extravagances and pernicious leisure” (*Ann.* 4,67,3).

Ōlim follows the modified *intentus* (*est*) and not *vice versa*, in order to juxtapose *intentus* to its S Tiberius mentioned before this sentence.

(10) *Ann.* 3,33,2, §4.1.4.1, ex. 1 above: *ōlim* follows the modified predicate *placidum* of AcI and not *vice versa*, in order to avoid three different advs. *haud*, *frustra*, *ōlim* in succession.

Second Position

Evenisse id ōlim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam ... maiores ... consecravisse

“This thing (it was said) had happened long ago to Claudia Quinta and her statue ... had been consecrated by (our) ancestors ...” (*Ann.* 4,64,3).

Ōlim + the OID *Claudia Quintae* follow the modified inf. *evenisse* + its S *id* of AcI and not *vice versa*, since *evenisse id* refers to the violent fire mentioned before.

See *Ann.* 4,16,2, §4.1.4.1.2 above.

Third Position

Hist. 4,64,3, §4.1.1.2.2 above. Due to the complements of *liceat* (dat.-acc. direct.-OD) in the main cl. *liceat ... colere*, *ōlim* follows the modified *liceat* but in perf.

First Before +

Second Before

Hist. 2,7,2, §3.1.2 above: *nuper* + *ōlim* modify the idiom *mixtis consiliis* in abl. absol. *Ōlim* before *ceteri* (i.e. *distulere ... nuper, ōlim ceteri mixtis consiliis*) will modify *mixtis consiliis*, whereas *nuper* will apparently modify *distulere*.

Third or Further Removed Before

(1) *Ann.* 12,66,1, §4.1.3.4 above: since *ōlim* modifies three praedicativa *certa, propera, nec egens* (after gen. governed by them)²² of the S Agrippina, it precedes the first praedicativum *certa*.

(2) *Hist.* 5,7,1, §3.2.1, ex. 1 above: the adv. precedes both modifies infs. *uberes + habitatos (esse)* of AcI (governed by *ferunt*). An abl. instr. *magnisque urbibus* refers only to *habitatos*. Therefore, *ōlim* is in third position before it. See *Ann.* 3,34,2, §4.1.4.1.1 above.

²²*OLD*, p. 305a, s.v. *certus, a, um*, adj., 10.a.; p. 594b, s.v. *egeo*, 3.a.; p. 1492c, s.v. *properus, a, um*, adj. 1.a.

First After +

First Before

Ann. 1,16,3, §4.1.3.1.2 above: *ōlim* between the apposition *dux* of Percennius and its adj. in gen. *theatralium operarum*, which are modified by it, is in contrast to *gregarius miles* modified by *dein*.

Second Before

Adsidium *ōlim* *et indefessum* ... *nuperrimeque* ... *privatis* ... *negotiis vacavisse*

“(Thrasea) once an assiduous and indefatigable ... and most recently ... he gave his time to the private business” (*Ann.* 16,22,1).

Both modified adjs. *adsidium* + *indefessum* (in AcI after Capito speech) are in contrast with the following description *nuperrimeque* ... *vacavisse* concerning Thrasea: formerly Thrasea cooperated with his colleagues, but most recently he refrained from participation in public life.

Third or Further Removed Before

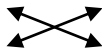
(1) *Penetrabat pavor et admiratio callidum* *ōlim* *et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse*

“(The senators) were penetrated fear and amazement that (Tiberius), formerly cunning and secretive in the concealment of his crimes, had (then) reached such a degree of confidence” (*Ann.* 6,24,3).

Ōlim modifies both adjs. *callidum* + *obscurum* (in AcI after *admiratio*), attribute of Tiberius. An abl. respectus + gdve. *tegendis sceleribus* refer to *obscurum*, while *ōlim* is in third place before it.

(2) *Ann.* 6,4,1, §3.1.3, ex. 3 above: a chiasmic contrast concerning Latiaris’ situations is emphasized (*fuit* refers to both modified predicate nouns by *ōlim/tunc*; both govern gen.):²³

praecipuus *ōlim*



tunc *primus*

(3) *Hist.* 1,5,2, §5.1.2, ex. 1 above: on account of abl. instr. *militari fama*, which refers only to *celebrata*, *ōlim* appears between both modified *laudata* and *celebrata* (referring to *severitas*).

(4) *Ger.* 28,1, §2.1 above: *validiores Gallorum res*, i.e. *quam Germanorum res*. Hence, the modified *validiores* + *ōlim* are at the top of AcI (after *trahit*) and the modified *fuisse* is at its tail. *Ōlim* before *fuisse* will modify only *fuisse* as a

²³L.-Sh., p. 1414b, s.v. *praecipuus*, adj., II; *OLD*, p. 1425b, s.v. *praecipuus*, adj., 3.b.; p. 1457b, s.v. *primus*, adj., 3.c.

predicate of *res* and *validiores* may be an adj. of *res*, while *validiores fuisse* is predicate of AcI.

Third or Further Removed After

Ger. 41,2, §4.1.3.1, ex. 1 above: *ōlim* follows both modified adjs. *inclutum* + *notum* of *flumen*, an apposition of Elbe. *Tantum* after *nunc* and a chiasmic arrangement (modified adj.-adv./adv.-modified V) emphasize the semantic contrast between both multiple parts:

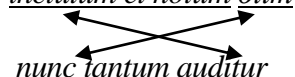
inclutum et notum ōlim

nunc tantum auditur

Table 5. *The Position of ōlim Concerning the Modified Part of Speech*

The position	References	Cases	Total
Before: first	<i>Ag.</i> 3,1; 11,4; <i>Ger.</i> 3,2; 33,1; <i>Dial.</i> 16,5; <i>Hist.</i> 1,60,1; 2,86,3; 92,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,40,1; 13,15,3; 32,2; 14,12,3; 15,3; 15,51,2	14	47
Second	<i>Ag.</i> 12,1; 15,2; <i>Dial.</i> 38,2; <i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2; <i>Ann.</i> 3,54,3; 15,17,3; 16,21,1	7	
Third	<i>Ger.</i> 2,1; 8,2; 36,1; <i>Dial.</i> 32,4; <i>Hist.</i> 1,51,3; 67,1 (twice); 2,6,1; 3,11,2; 4,14,2; 57,2; <i>Ann.</i> 1,26,2; 53,1; 3,55,2; 58,3; 4,33,2; 6,39,2; 12,43,2; 60,2; 60,3; 13,18,3; 14,27,3; 64,3; 15,21,1; 55,2; 16,28,3	26	
After: first	<i>Ger.</i> 28,3; 28,4; 42,1; <i>Hist.</i> 3,47,1; 4,54,2; 65,2; 70,2; 84,4; 5,4,3; <i>Ann.</i> 2,62,2; 3,33,2; 4,67,3; 6,16,1; 26,3; 11,23,1-2; 12,18,1; 49,1; 54,2; 13,34,2; 14,63,2; 15,15,2	21	24
Second	<i>Ann.</i> 4,16,2; 64,3	2	
Third	<i>Hist.</i> 4,64,3	1	
First before + Second before	<i>Hist.</i> 2,7,2	1	4
Third before	<i>Hist.</i> 5,7,1; <i>Ann.</i> 3,34,2; 12,66,1	3	
First after + First before	<i>Ann.</i> 1,16,3	1	7
Second before	<i>Ann.</i> 16,22,1	1	
Third before	<i>Ger.</i> 28,1; <i>Hist.</i> 1,5,2; <i>Ann.</i> 6,4,1; 24,3	4	
Third after	<i>Ger.</i> 41,2	1	

A Comparison of *Ōlim* between Tacitus' Treatises

Some of our findings detailed in §§1-5 above are identical whereas some are different, since each book has features of its own, which are influenced by its content/style (see Table 6, references in Tables 1-5).

Identical Features

Ōlim appears in all the treatises and means “formerly”, “long ago”. It is next to posterior advs. or without them. *Ōlim* precedes the modified element, which is explicit, finite V or P.P.P.

Different Features

A lack of posterior advs. (with a contrast); *ōlim* modifies P.P.A., noun in apposition or the modified element is not explicit in *Hist. Ann.*

Ōlim modifies inf. or adj. in *Ag.*, *Ger.*, *Hist.*, *Ann.*

Ōlim follows the modified element or it has more than one position in *Ger.*, *Hist.*, *Ann.*

Table 6. *Ōlim: A Comparison between Tacitus' Treatises*

Identical features	Ag.	Ger.	Dial.	Hist.	Ann.	Total
Distribution	4	10	3	22	47	86
Meanings: "formerly"	2	5	2	11	26	46
"long ago"	2	5	1	6	14	28
Posterior adv.	2	3	2	8	19	34
Lack of an adv. without a contrast	2	7	1	8	18	36
The modified part of speech: is explicit	4	10	3	21	44	82
Finite verb	1	4	2	5	14	26
P.P.P.	1	2	1	6	10	20
First position before	2	2	1	3	6	14
Different features						
<i>Ut ōlim</i> "as before"	-	-	-	4	7	11
<i>Sic ōlim</i> "thus long ago"	-	-	-	1	-	1
Lack of posterior advs. (with a contrast in time/content)	-	-	-	6	10	16
The modified part of speech: P.P.A.	-	-	-	1	-	1
Adj. (+ apposition)	1	2	-	5	11	19
Inf.	1	2	-	4	8	15
Noun in apposition	-	-	-	-	1	1
Is not explicit	-	-	-	1	3	4
Its position-before: second	2	-	1	1	3	7
Third	-	3	1	7	15	26
After: first/second/third	-	3	-	7	14	24
First before + second/third before	-	-	-	2	2	4
First after + first/second/third before	-	1	-	1	4	6
Third after	-	1	-	-	-	1

Conclusions

The innovation of our research is an exhaustive discussion of a specific adv., viz. *ōlim*, in a specific corpus of Tacitus, which was not extensively quoted in the studies on Latin adverbs. Our study fills a gap on the adverbs' studies in Latin prose and in the Tacitean corpora. It points up the relationship between historical contexts and the usage of *ōlim* by linguistic/stylistic means: variety, which is favored by Tacitus, emphasis of contrast, word order, etc. Accordingly, the following typical phenomena are a result of the historical-linguistic background of the adv.'s usage:

Ōlim is documented in all the treatises with two lexical denotations: 1) A defined length of time and a non-continuous one "formerly"; 2) A non-defined length of time but a long-continuous one "long ago" like *iam prīdem/dūdum/diū* (sometimes in a concise phrase *ut/sic ōlim*).

For emphasis, contrast regarding time/content, which is highlighted by a chiasmic/parallel order, *ōlim* is in proximity to posterior advs. *dein/mox/nunc/nuper/prīdem/recēns/tum/tunc*.

The modified part of speech is mostly explicit (except for 4x) and is varied. Since *ōlim* refers to the past, it modifies mainly finite verbs in impf., perf., p.q.p. It sometimes modifies P.P.P.-perf./p.q.p., replacing a rel. cl., predicate of abl. absol.; inf.-predicate of AcI in inf. perf. and adj.- attribute, predicate noun, predicate of abl. absol., praedicativum. *Ōlim* rarely modifies P.P.A., noun in apposition (under Greek influence) or more than one element.

The syntactic position of *ōlim* was examined by linguistic/stylistic means regarding content, emphasis and word order. However, Latin word order is not fixed in a sentence and exceptions from the typical order in Latin, especially for variety, emphasis and explication, are made by metathesis of words: the adv. follows its modified element; the V precedes its S; hyperbaton between *ōlim* and the modified part of speech (by verbs' complements or for emphasis some element); proximity of similar/opposite advs. and a chiasmic/parallel arrangement, which reinforces the modified element. *Ōlim* mostly precedes the modified part of speech, sometimes *ōlim* follows it or it has more than one position: first before + second/third before; first after + a) First/second/third before, b) Third after. *Ōlim* at the end of a cl. is rare.

A concluding comparison of the adverb in question is made between the Tacitean treatises with a comparative summarizing table. Indeed, the differences in content and stylistic characteristics between the oratorical and historical books naturally create differences on the adv.'s usage and the contexts in which it occurs. However, this comparison yielded both identical and different features:

- 1) Identical features concern the occurrence of *ōlim* in all the treatises and its meanings; its proximity to posterior advs. or without them; *ōlim* precedes the modified part of speech, which is explicit, finite verbs or P.P.P.
- 2) Different features concern: a) The lack of posterior advs. (with a contrast) and the modified part of speech in *Hist.*, *Ann.*; b) The modified element and the adv.'s position in *Ger.*, *Hist.*, *Ann.*; c) The modified part of speech in *Ag.*, *Ger.*, *Hist.*, *Ann.*

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