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POST DEPOSITUM MILITIAE MUNUS

Official phraseology in Ammianus Marcellinus

Anne Helttula

1. The so-called *ab urbe condita* (AUC) construction,¹ a noun + a concordant participle as an equivalent of an abstract verbal noun + a genitive modifier (*conditio urbis*) has appeared remarkably often since early Latin as the complement of the preposition *post*² (*post conditam urbem/Romam* is a set phrase; e.g. Sall. Cat. 18,8; often in Cicero, cf. below). Though the construction is also known in Greek (with *μετά* e.g. Thuc. 6,3,3 *ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας*),³ it is with good reason considered an independent Latin development.⁴ In Latin it certainly met a definite need, while Greek had recourse to other means of expression (e.g. the articular infinitive).

¹ In the absence of a concise grammatical definition one has to accept the term used by E. A. Hahn (The *ab urbe condita* type of expression in Greek and English, CJ 23 [1927] 266—274) and O. W. Heick (The *ab urbe condita* construction in Latin, 1936) and accepted by later scholars too (cf. W. Blümel, Zur historischen Morphosyntax der Verbalabstrakta im Lateinischen, Glotta 45 [1979] 97 and n.75).

² LHS II (= J. B. Hofmann—A. Szantyr, Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik, 1972), 393; E. Bernert, Das Verbalsubstantiv und Verbaladjektiv auf *-to-*, Glotta 30 (1943), 9; E. Laughton, The participle in Cicero (1964), 87; E. Risch, Gerundivum und Gerundium (1984), 13sq.

³ R. Kühner—B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II:2 (1904), 78 Anm. 1; 82 Anm. 3.

⁴ So LHS II, 393; Laughton, 84. Cf. the related use of the gerundive, Bernert, 13; Laughton, 85 and 87; Risch, 5 and 28sq. (the past participle and gerundive together: Liv. praef. 6 *ante conditam condendamve urbem*). E. Schwyzer—A. Debrunner, Griechische Grammatik II (1950), 404, disagrees (the Latin expressions are imitations).

In this paper I shall offer a few observations on the use and nature of the *post* syntagma from its origins to Ammianus Marcellinus (the latter half of the 4th century), who made a particularly frequent use of it.⁵

The origins of the AUC construction and the *post* syntagma in particular can be traced back to the official language of jurists and magistrates.⁶ *Post hanc legem rogatam* or *datam* is a standard expression in early legal Latin (e.g. CIL I² 582 = Lex Bant. from 133—118 B.C.; 587 = Lex Corn. de XX quaest. from 81 B.C., where we also find *ante legem rogatam*).⁷ Livy has an excellent illustration of this usage in a genuine piece of officialese in 9,33,8—9: *negare Appius interrogationem tribuni magno opere ad causam pertinere suam; nam etsi tenuerit lex Aemilia eos censores, quorum in magistratu lata esset, quia post illos censores creatos eam legem populus iussisset quodque postremum iussisset, id ius ratumque esset, non tamen aut se aut eorum quemquam, qui post eam legem latam creati censores essent, teneri ea lege potuisse*.⁸

It is no surprise, therefore, that the *post* phrase is remarkably common in Cicero's speeches. There are five examples in his philosophical⁹ and

⁵ Ed. by W. Seyfarth (1978). A few examples of participles as equivalents of verbal nouns are quoted by S. Blomgren, *De sermone Ammiani Marcellini quaestiones* (UUA 1937), 88 and n.2; examples of the *post* syntagma: G. Hasenstein, *De syntaxi Ammiani Marcellini* (1877), 46.

⁶ LHS II, 393; Bernert, 9. On the gerundive: Risch, 4; 130sqq.; 138sqq.

⁷ Abbreviated: *post h(anc) l(egem) datam* CIL I² 590 = Lex munic. Tarent., 89—62 B.C., and 594 = Lex Urson., 44 B.C., where we also find the abl. abs. *h(ac) l(ege) d(ata)*; *post h(anc) l(egem) r(ogatam)* CIL I² 593 = Lex. Iul. munic., 45 B.C. From Lex Urson. we can also quote *post colon(iam) deductam*.

⁸ We find the AUC construction quite frequently as the complement of the preposition *ob*; e.g. CIL I 541 (VI 331) *L. Mummi L.f. cos. duct. auspicio imperio-que eius Achaia capt. Corinto deleto Romam redierit triumphans. ob hasce res bene gestas quod in bello voverat hanc aedem et signu Herculis Victoris imperator dedicat*; Cato mil. fr. 2 Jordan (p. 80) *ob rem bene gestam*. I shall discuss the *post/ob* syntagma and its relation to the accusative absolute in my *Studies on the accusative absolute* (forthcoming).

⁹ Heick has only read a sampling of Cicero's philosophical essays and found one example (24). H. Merguet's *Lexikon zu den philosophischen Schriften Ciceros* III (1894), 128, gives four more.

three in his rhetorical works,¹⁰ 6 in the letters¹¹ and 35 in his speeches.¹² Among these 49 examples¹³ the most common is *post conditam urbem/Romam* (17×).¹⁴ The rest include phrases of a typically juridical or administrative nature (*post legem Valeriam latam* Font. 1; *post civitatem datam* Arch. 10; *post iudicium factum* Cluent. 102; *post sacra constituta* har. resp. 13; cf. *ante civitatem datam* Arch. 9 and Balb. 55; *ante dictum testimonium* Flacc. 41). Only 19 different verbs appear.¹⁵

The early evidence in fact mainly consists of set phrases, some of which proved to be very persistent; e.g. *post reges exactos* is documented as early as Cicero (cf. below) and Varro (rust. 1,2,9) in the 1st century B.C. and as late as Jordanes (Rom. 113, p. 14,4) in the 6th cent. A.D.¹⁶ In post-classical Latin the usage became freer and more variable both syntactically and lexically. If the verbal element was perceived to indicate an action rather than an event, the *post* syntagma was functionally very near the ablative absolute. Lexically identical phrases appear quite early; Cicero, for instance, uses both *post reges exactos* and *regibus exactis* (e.g. Phil. 3,9 and 5,17, respectively).¹⁷ Though the *post* syntagma could in post-classical Latin be used as an equivalent of the ablative absolute,¹⁸ as it often was by Ammianus too, its fundamentally nominal nature was by no means lost. This is well illustrated by such cases in which the participle+noun is coordinated with a simple noun; e.g. Liv. 23,1,1 *post Cannensem pugnam <castraque> capta ac direpta*; Amm. 30,8,8 *post pugnam agmina-*

¹⁰ Heick, 20.

¹¹ Heick, 19.

¹² Heick, 23sqq.; one example to be added from H. Merguet's *Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero III* (1892), 702sq.

¹³ Laughton (87sq.) claims to have found "well over fifty instances" but only gives a few examples of his findings.

¹⁴ In addition to this phrase we find *post Syracusas conditas* Verr. 2,5,138; *post conditam Messanam* Verr. 2,5,169; *post Alexandream conditam* off. 2,82.

¹⁵ *Accipere afferre audire capere cognoscere condere constituere convenire dare deferre excitare exigere facere ferre habere liberare nasci restituere superare.*

¹⁶ Jordanes has one more example of the *post* syntagma: Rom. 138 (17,3) *post assertam a Manlio faciem restitutamque a Camillo acrius etiam vehementiusque in finibus surrexit* (= Flor. 1,13,19).

¹⁷ Cf. ThLL V:2, 1449,67sqq.

¹⁸ Cf. LHS II, 243.

*que deleta Persarum; 27,12,1 post imperatoris Iuliani excessum et pudendam pacis icta foedera.*¹⁹

It is a remarkable fact, too, that in spite of its freer and more extensive use the *post* syntagma was still associated with the official register.

Compared with Cicero, Livy displays a far greater variety of verbs and expressions (83 examples with a total of 88 participles of 47 different verbs).²⁰ The most common are *capere* (10×),²¹ *facere* (8×) and *exigere* (7×). The stock of traditional expressions typical of historical narrative (*post urbem conditam/captam*, *post reges exactos*, *post deductum exercitum*, *post proelium factum*, *post rem bene gestam*, *post cladem acceptam*, *post pacem datam*, to quote just a few) have probably developed in the sphere of chronicles based on official records. It is no surprise that they are used and further developed by Livy in particular, and I find the Livian tradition clearly visible in Ammianus' usage.

In Tacitus, who has 23 examples with a total of 26 participles of 19 different verbs,²² we find a lexical expansion of an interesting kind. His most common verb is *interficere* (4×), while the synonym *occidere* appears once, too. These are typical action verbs, which are very common in absolute ablatives. This line of development is also continued by Ammianus.²³

¹⁹ Sim. e.g. 28,1,6 (quoted on p. 51) and 20,5,4 (p. 49 n. 39).

²⁰ R. B. Steele, *The participle in Livy*, *AJPh* 35 (1914), 172sq. Out of deference (?) to the special treatises of E. Lübbert, *De structura participii perfecti passivi pro substantivo verbali positi* (1872) and C. Güthling, *De Titi Livii oratione* (1872) Heick has omitted Livy altogether and considerably lessened the value of his own study as a material collection. Livy's examples can be reached through D. W. Packard's *Concordance to Livy III* (1968), 1000sq.

²¹ Steele has found nine examples; to be added 23,1,1 (*post Cannensem pugnam <castraque> capta ac direpta*)?.

²² Heick, 44 and 48; A. Gerber and A. Greef, *Lexikon Taciteum* (1962), 1144.

²³ On the much discussed question of Ammianus' relation to Tacitus and *Historia Augusta*, see e.g. D. Flach, *Von Tacitus zu Ammian*, *Historia* 21 (1972), 333 n. 2 and 3 (with further literature); J. M. Alonso-Núñez, *Ammianus Marcellinus in der Forschung von 1970 bis 1980*, *AAWHG* 36 (1983), 8; 17sq.

2. Ammianus displays a still greater number and variety of expressions than his predecessors (96 examples with a total of 115 participles of 71 different verbs).²⁴ The material seems at first sight very heterogeneous indeed, and apparently there is no fixed phraseology. Of these 71 verbs only 25 are used more often than once, and no particular verb is used very frequently. The most common are *deponere* and *incendere* (4× each). Three verbs are used three times (*administrare*, *amittere* and *emetiri*) and 20 twice (*accipere*, *audire*, *capere*, *complere*, *componere*, *delere*, *dicere*,²⁵ *digerere*, *edere*, *exigere*, *eximere*, *exudare*, *gerere*,²⁵ *icere*, *impetrare*, *inferre*, *interficere*, *obtruncare*, *temptare*). Throughout, however, Ammianus demonstrates his familiarity with the old stock of expressions by occasionally reproducing traditional phrases, sometimes in passages which refer to past history, but also in new contexts. He produces new expressions which are directly based on the traditional usage. Finally, some of his *post* phrases are without doubt expressions of the official language of his own day, which he must have become deeply familiar with during his long career in the army and at court.

The following table illustrates Ammianus' use of the traditional phraseology. Of the 47 verbs used by Livy in the *post* syntagma, 16 (about 1/3) are used by Ammianus too. These include two of the three most common verbs in the Livian material, *capere* and *exigere* (*facere* is not used by Ammianus) and the fairly common *accipere* and *(de)vincere*.²⁶ Five of these 16 verbs (*accipere*, *capere* and *exigere* included) already appear in Cicero. On the other hand, Ammianus shares 8 verbs with Tacitus, four of which (e.g. *capere* and *exigere*) already appear in the earlier writers.

²⁴ The material can, with some trouble, be reached through M. Chiabò's Index verborum Ammiani Marcellini II (1983), 593sq.; to be added 15,11,2 *postque oppida multa transcurra*; 16,10,7 *post antegressos multiplices alios*. A few examples are quoted by G. Hassenstein, 46 (see p. 42 n. 5).

²⁵ See below, p. 55.

²⁶ Ammianus' use of *vincere* corresponds with Livy's *devincere* (cf. below, p. 48). Sim. *ducere* (Amm.) — *deducere* (Livy); p. 47.

Cicero	Livy	Tacitus	Ammianus
5/19	16/47	8/19	19/71
<i>accipere</i> 3×	<i>accipere</i> 4×		<i>accipere</i> 2×
	<i>amittere</i> 2×		<i>amittere</i> 3×
<i>audire</i>	<i>audire</i>		<i>audire</i> 2×
<i>capere</i>	<i>capere</i> 10×	<i>capere</i>	<i>capere</i> 2×
	<i>creare</i>		<i>creare</i>
		<i>delere</i>	<i>delere</i> 2×
		<i>dicere</i>	<i>dicere</i> 2×
	<i>diripere</i>		<i>diripere</i>
	<i>deducere</i>		<i>ducere</i>
<i>exigere</i> 2×	<i>exigere</i> 7×	<i>exigere</i>	<i>exigere</i> 2×
		<i>exurere</i>	<i>exurere</i>
<i>ferre</i>	<i>ferre</i>		<i>ferre</i>
	<i>gerere</i> 2×	<i>gerere</i>	<i>gerere</i> 2×
	<i>impetrare</i>		<i>impetrare</i> 2×
	<i>incendere</i>		<i>incendere</i> 4×
	<i>inferre</i>		<i>inferre</i> 2×
		<i>interficere</i> 4×	<i>interficere</i> 2×
	<i>recipere</i> 2×	<i>recipere</i>	<i>recipere</i>
	<i>subigere</i> 2×		<i>subigere</i>
	<i>devincere</i> 4×		<i>vincere</i>

I shall give a few examples to show that this continuation is not only lexical but phraseological as well.

Post urbem captam already appears in the elogium of M. Furius Camillus (CIL I² p. 191): *Veios post urbem captam commigrari passus non est*. Of Livy's 10 examples with *capere* 9 refer to the capture of a city or town; e.g. 5,24,7 *quin illa quoque actio movebatur, quae post captam utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit, transmigrandi Veios*; cf. even 28,43,14—15 quoted below.²⁷ Velleius Paterculus has 5 examples of *capere*, 4 of which refer to the capture of a city (of Troy in 3 cases; 1,14,1 *post Romam a Gallis captam*).²⁸ Cicero already has *sexennio post*

²⁷ P. 49. The other examples are: 2,25,6 *post Pometiam captam*; 4,23,4 *post Fidenas captas*; 24,30,7 *post captam urbem*; 25,40,4 *post captas Syracusas*; 27,17,7 *post captam eam* (sc. Carthaginem); 42,19,2 *post captam Capuam* (sim. 26, 33,4).

²⁸ Heick, 32.

Veios captos div. 1,100. Ammianus too uses *capere* once in the same way: 28,4,23 *Alius cum dignitate licet mediocri cervice tumida gradiens notos antea obliquato contuetur aspectu, ut post captas Syracusas existimes reverti M. Marcellum* (cf. Liv. 25,40,4 *quos metus post captas Syracusas dediderat*; *ibid. ante captas Syracusas*, too).²⁹ Ammianus' expression is clearly a reminiscence of the old Livian phrase in a reference to a past event. He has a similar absolute ablative in 14,8,12: *Verum has quoque regiones pari sorte Pompeius Iudaeis domitis et Hierosolymis captis in provinciae speciem delata iuris dictione formavit*. Ammianus uses the participle *captus* in 14 absolute ablatives, but this is the only one about the capture of a city. It is worth noticing that this passage, too, refers to past history.

There are a few other phrases which are definitely of old usage — or meant to appear so. In a reference to previous times Ammianus uses *post exercitus ductos*: 30,4,6 *nec minus apud Romanos ... Crassi et Antonii et cum Philippis Scaevolae alique numerosi post exercitus prosperrime ductos, post victorias et tropaea civilibus stipendiorum officiis floruerunt*. This is the only example of this expression, nor is *ducere* found in absolute ablatives, either. The probable model is the Livian *post deductum ... exercitum* (10,21,2 and 10,31,1; in 35,12,2 he has *post deportatos ... exercitus*).³⁰ Though *ferre* is quite common in Ammianus, the participle *latus* only appears twice (*leges ferre*), once in a *post* syntagma (14,6,5 *ideo Urbs venerabilis post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas latusque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna...*) and once in an ablative absolute (22,16,22 *et Solon sententiis adiutus Aegypti sacerdotum latis iusto moderamine legibus Romano quoque iuri maximum addidit firmamentum*). Both passages refer to past history. Cf. the old legal expressions *post hanc legem rogatam* (CIL I² 582 and 587), *post legem Valeriam latam* (Cic. Font. 1), and *post eam legem latam* (Liv. 9,33,9), quoted above.³¹

One could further quote Amm. 23,6,84 *armillis uti monilibusque aureis et gemmis, praecipue margaritis quibus abundant, adsuefacti post Ly-*

²⁹ Ammianus' second *post* phrase with *capere* is 18,2,19 *post messes incensas et habitacula captosque plures et interfectos* (see p. 49).

³⁰ *Exercitum deducere*, ThLL V:1, 274,82sqq.

³¹ P. 42 and n. 7; p. 43.

diam victam et Croesum. Livy has 4 examples of *devincere* in the *post* syntagma, e.g. 45,14,8 *post devictum Persea*.³²

Old phrases in new contexts are *post creatum Iovianum* (25,8,18 *hanc profecto ob causam, quod Iuliano perempto ipse quoque nominatus a paucis ut imperio dignus nec post creatum Iovianum egit modeste*) and *post exactos dominos*, coined after the traditional *post exactos reges* (17,13,3 *locorum confisi praesidio, ubi lares post exactos dominos fixere securi*). The Livian *post illos censores creatos* (9,33,9) has already been quoted.³³ In addition to 6 examples of *post reges exactos*³⁴ Livy also has *post exactos decemviros* (33,61,6).

Another traditional phrase in historical narrative is *post cladem acceptam* (*clades acceptas*), which appears in Cicero (div. 1,101 *post acceptam illam maximam cladem*), Livy (2,51,4 *post acceptam proxima pugna cladem Veientes abstinuere acie*)³⁵ and Velleius Paterculus (2,4,2 *post tot acceptas circa Numantiam clades*).³⁶ *Cladem accipere* is quite common in Livy, who also connects it with the opposite *inferre* (e.g. 2,63,7 *deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus ... plus cladium quam intulerant acceperrunt*),³⁷ once in a *post* syntagma too: 25,39,18 *post tantas ... acceptas inlatasque clades*. Ammianus has these two verbs together in the *post* syntagma twice: 31,5,17 *post clades acceptas inlatasque multas et saevas*; (with *funus*) 31,16,7 *post accepta maiora funera quam inlata*. They also appear together in two absolute ablatives (with *vulnus*): 20,7,18 *multis acceptis vulneribus quam inlatis*; 27,5,4 *nec inlato gravi vulnere nec accepto* (cf. Liv. 7,33,12 *plura accipiunt quam inferunt vulnera*). Ammianus' examples are no doubt reminiscences of the Livian usage. The *post* syntagma with *accipere* (mostly

³² 32,3,3 and 35,10,6 *post devictum Hannibalem*; 34,9,3 *post devictos Pompei liberos*.

³³ P. 42.

³⁴ *Post reges exactos* 4,3,14; 4,4,1; 4,4,7; 7,3,8; 10,9,3; *post exactos reges* 2,8,9.

³⁵ 26,18,1 *post cladem acceptam*.

³⁶ 2,122,2 *post cladem sub Varo acceptam*.

³⁷ 5,22,8 *cum plus aliquanto cladium intulissent quam accepissent*. Cf. F. Fügner, *Lexicon Livianum* I (1897), 278sq.

about adversities) probably originated in juridical Latin (cf. Cic. fam. 15,4,13 *post iniuriam acceptam*; Sul. 1 *post calamitatem acceptam*).³⁸

Many of Ammianus' *post* phrases appear in descriptions of military functions and exploits. Quite often we find two or even three together in long and effective participial passages; e.g. 18,2,15 *Postque saepementa fragilium penetium inflammata et obtruncatam hominum multitudinem visosque cadentes multos aliosque supplicantes cum ventum fuisset ad regionem cui Capellatii vel Palas nomen est ... castra sunt posita*. Though war is the central theme in Livy's *post* phrases, too, the greatest part of his material is more stereotyped and much less colourful. The following passage is quite an exception: 28,43,14—15 *Facile est post fusos fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes vi captas aut metu subactas in dicionem, post perdomita omnia usque ad Oceanum, tot regulos, tot saevas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniam ... elevare meas res gestas*; cf. Tac. ann. 3,47 *Igitur secutae Caesaris litterae quibus se non tam vacuum gloria praedicabat ut post ferocissimas gentes perdomitas, tot receptos in iuventa aut spreptos triumphos, iam senior peregrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret*. I have already referred to the frequency of verbs signifying killing in Tacitus' *post* phrases. In Ammianus' heterogeneous material expressions to do with killing also stand out (7×; *interficere* and *obtruncare* 2×, *absumere*, *interimere* and *perimere* once).³⁹

Expressions to do with burning are relatively frequent too. In addition to *incendere* (17,13,16 *post lares incensos raptasque familias*; 18,2,19 *post messes incensas et habitacula captosque plures et interfectos*; 24,1,12 *post*

³⁸ Cf. ThLL I 315,64sq. (*accipere incommoda*). Cf. even Cic. Orat. 35 *volo enim mihi tecum commune esse crimen, ut, si sustinere tantam quaestionem non potuero, iniusti oneris impositi tua culpa sit, mea recepti*; Marc. 3 *ex quo profecto intellegis quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, cum in accepto sit tanta gloria*.

³⁹ 18,2,19 *post messes incensas et habitacula captosque plures et interfectos*; 22,16,3 *post interfectum fratrem*; 18,2,15 *postque saepementa fragilium penetium inflammata et obtruncatam hominum multitudinem*; 26,9,9 *post Sertorium inter epulas obtruncatum*; 17,13,19 *post absumptos paene diffusosque Amicenses*; 19,6,10 *post interemptos socios*; 20,5,4 *post civitatum excidia peremptaque innumera hominum milia*.

perruptam incensamque urbem omnium primam et captivos transmissos)⁴⁰ we find *inflammare* once (18,2,15 *postque saepementa fragilium penatium inflammata et obtruncatam hominum multitudinem*) and *exurere* once (25, 8,3 *Imperator ipse brevibus lembis, quos post exustam classem docuimus remansisse...*). *Exurere classem* is a Virgilian expression (Aen. 1,39); *exurere* is often used about ships, by Ammianus too (24,7,4 *et tamquam funesta face Bellonae subiectis ignibus exuri cunctas iusserat naves praeter minores duodecim*).⁴¹ On the other hand, Ammianus must have been well aware of the Livian *post incensam urbem* (5,49,8 *cum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium*), as well as of the traditional expression for the burning of Juppiter Capitolinus' temple: Tac. ann. 6,12 *quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat post exustum sociali bello Capitolium* (cf. hist. 1,2 *ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso*); Sall. Cat. 47,2 *praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum*; Liv. 6,4,3 *tres paterae aureae ... quas ... ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis cella constat ... positas fuisse*.

Absolute ablatives naturally abound in expressions which are apparently similar in content. But while these are generally normal expressions of the subject's actions, the *post* syntagma, which is equivalent of a verbal noun, mainly indicates an event experienced by the subject; cf. 23,5,3 *ita civitate incensa et obtruncatis pluribus, qui pacis more palabantur effusius, incensisque locis finitimis et vastatis onusti praeda hostes ad sua remearunt innoxii* — 18,2,19 *sed cum ipsi quoque missis legatis post messes incensas et habitacula captosque plures et interfectos ita supplicarent tamquam ipsi deliquissent in nostros, pacem condicionum similitudine meruerunt*.

Instead of the Livian *signum dare* (very common in the ablative absolute *signo dato*) Ammianus uses *signum* (or *vexillum*) *erigere*, often in the ablative absolute too (e.g. 20,6,3 *(rex) quieti diem integrum dedit et matutinae lucis exordio signo per flammum erecto vexillum circum-*

⁴⁰ *Incendere* once signifies cremation (19,2,1 *post incensum corpus ossaque in argenteam urnam contecta*).

⁴¹ Cf. ThLL V:2, 2123,50sq.

vaditur civitas a quibusdam vehementibus scalas)⁴² and once in the *post* syntagma (24,6,7 ... *turbati quidam milites, veritique ne remanerent post signum erectum, scutis quae patula sunt et incurva, proni firmiter adhaerentes*...). We find this Late Latin military expression adopted by the Christians (Firm. err. 20,7 *signum venerandae legis erigite*). These are the only examples quoted by ThLL.⁴³

3. That the *post* syntagma belonged to the official language of Ammianus' own day is proved by contemporary juridical texts, where we find parallels to Ammianus' expressions with *administrare* and *dēponere* (below). The following expressions, too, could well be current official phraseology: *post ictum foedus* 21,3,1 and *post ... pudendae pacis icta foedera* 27,12,1 (14,10,16 *icto post haec foedere gentium ritu perfecta que sollemnitate*);⁴⁴ 25,8,4 *post firmatam pacem et foedera* (similar expressions often in the abl.abs.); 30,3,7 *post foedus tamen sollemni ritu impletum*. With these we could compare the Livian *post pacem datam* (42,23,8; 31,5,1), *post pacem factam* (32,33,3) and *post pactam societatem* (32,25,3 and 11).

Administrare is a standard verb for public administration, e.g. that of a province, and its past participle is often used in the AUC construction ("the administration of a province"); e.g. Tac. ann. 6,29 *qui male administratae provinciae aliorumque criminum urgebatur*.⁴⁵ The gerundive is also often used: Cic. ad Q. fr. 1,1,20 *in administranda Asia*; Tac. ann. 6,27 *qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat*; Amm. 26,7,6 *aliique plures ad aulae varios actus et administrandas provincias sunt admissi*. Ammianus also has the past participle in the *post* syntagma: 28,1,6 *is post mediocre studium liberalium doctrinarum defensionemque causarum ignobilem et administratas Corsicam itidemque Sardiniam rexit deinde Tusciam*; 29,3,6 *Africanus causarum in urbe defensor assiduus post administratam provinciam ad regendam*

⁴² 27,10,12 *quiete reficiendis corporibus data signoque erecto*; 31,15,8 *tamquam signo erecto*; 17,13,8 *erectis vexillis*; 31,16,8 *tamquam vexillo erecto*.

⁴³ ThLL V:2, 781,29.

⁴⁴ *Foedus icere* ThLL VII:1, 161,16sq. (Cic., Liv. often).

⁴⁵ Val. Max. 2,10,1 *non in tabulis, sed in vita Q. Metelli argumenta sincere administratae provinciae legenda sibi iudices crediderunt. Administrare provinciam*, ThLL I 732,16sq.

aliam adspiravit. These are active expressions ("after governing a province") which correspond to the ablative absolute in 29,2,22: *ad orientem transgressus est ibique administrata Syria magisterioque memoriae peracto bona lenitudinis et reverentiae reliquit exempla*. Sim. e.g. Tac. hist. 1,13 *Otho comiter administrata provincia primus in partes transgressus*.

Post administratam provinciam appears in Cod. Theodos. 6,35,9 (380 A.D.): *qui vel post administratam provinciam honorati auctoritate fulcitur*... Later, we also find *post depositam administrationem*, Cod. Theodos. 1,34,3 (423 A.D.) and 6,17,1 (413 A.D.), *post (de)positas administrationes* 6,8,1 (422 A.D.).

Post administratam in 28,1,45 (*huic successit* (sc. *in praefectura*) *Emo-nensis Simplicius, Maximini consiliarius ex grammatico, post administratam nec erectus nec tumidus sed obliquo aspectu terribilis*), accepted by Gardthausen, has been complemented with *provinciam* (Lindénbrog, Seyfarth) or *praefecturam* (Löfstedt, Novak). *Post administratam praefecturam* would have to mean 'during the prefecture' (= *post captam/acceptam praefecturam*;⁴⁶ cf. Cod. Theodos. 6,7,2 (A.D. 380) *ante captam praefecturam*). Ammianus also uses *administrare* without an object (about the *praefectus urbi*): 15,7,6 and 21,12,24 *hos* (14,6,1 *quo*) *administrate*; 27,11,1 *dum administrarat*.⁴⁷

The verb *deponere* is only used by Ammianus 9 times (of which 8 are participial expressions), once in the general sense 'resign (from power)': 28,5,14 (*rex*) *ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur*. He uses it three times in a special expression *deponere militiae munus* (or *militiam*): 20,2,5 *Constantius ... permissis adpetitum calumniis deposita militia digredi iussit ad otium*; 25,5,4 *Erat enim Varroniani notissimi comitis filius haud dudum post depositum militiae munus ad tranquilliora vitae digressi*; 25,8,9 *Quibus id mandaverat princeps, ut Lucillianum socerum suum, post depositum militiae munus digressum ad otium ... properare Mediolanum urgerent*.⁴⁸ *Post militiam depositam* is found

⁴⁶ I.e. *post* in the sense 'after the beginning of'; cf. ThLL X:2, 174,60sq. Günther: *post administrationem adeptam*.

⁴⁷ *Inter administrandi initia* (28,1,54) is a conjecture. On the absolute use of *administrare*, see ThLL I 733,9sq.

⁴⁸ *Deponere* in the sense 'resign' (from an office etc.), ThLL V:1, 578,30sq.; *deponere militiam* 579,22 (only Amm. quoted).

in Cod. Theodos. 6,15,1 (A.D. 413): *inter eos, qui vica[ri]am praefecturam administrando meruerint, habe[ri] post militiam iubemus depositam*; sim. 6,23,1 (A.D. 415): *Decuriones nostri palatii <post> emensum fideliter obsequium, post deposita sa< cra >menta militiae...* (Iust. 12,16,1 *Decuriones nostri palatii post emensum fideliter obsequium postque deposita sacramenta militiae*).⁴⁹

It is noteworthy that in all the examples quoted above Ammianus connects *deponere militiam/militiae munus* with *digredi*. No doubt we have here a current official formula used in the documents relating to the termination of both military and civil service (*militia civilis*); cf. Cod. Theodos. 6,5,39 *quisquis seu civili seu militari deposita dignitate aget otium*. Ammianus uses *digredi ad otium* about a high court official in 16,7,6 (*praepositus cubiculi*) *digressus ad otium adscitusque postea in palatium*.

A similar formula appears e.g. in 16,7,1 *Constantius ... eum sacramento solutum abire iussit in larem*. *Sacramento solvi* is an old legal expression for *ignominiosa missio*;⁵⁰ its neutral sense in Ammianus is proved by 30,7,3 *honeste sacramento solutus revertit ad larem*. *Sacramentum deponere* appears in Cod. Iustin. 12,11 *deposito sacramento, inter eos qui comites Aegypti vel Ponticae dioeceseos fuerint, ... haberi praecepimus* (sim. Cod. Theodos. 6,23,1 quoted above; cf. Arnob. nat. 2,5 *fidem rumpere christianam et salutaris militiae sacramenta deponere*).⁵¹ *Sacramenta militaria* 'military service' and *otium* 'civil life' are contrasted in Cod. Theodos. 7,1,4 *Quamvis omni tempore opera dari debuerit, ne sacramentis militari-bus spretis otio traderentur qui nec stipendiorum numero nec contraria corporis valetudine quiete perfrui debent*.

The complete formula seems to have consisted of two parts, of which the first was a participial phrase (a participium coniunctum, an ablative

⁴⁹ Cf. Sidon. epist. 6,1,3 *post desudatas militiae Lirinensis excubias et in apostolica sede novem iam decursa quinquennia*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Macer Dig. 49,13,3 *Missionum generales causae sunt tres: honesta causaria ignominiosa. honesta est, quae tempore militiae impleto datur; causaria, cum quis vitio animi vel corporis minus idoneus militiae renuntiat; ignominiosa causa est, cum quis propter delictum sacramento solvitur*; Ulp. Dig. 3,2,23 *eum sacramento ignominiae causa solvat*.

⁵¹ Cf. Cypr. epist. 74,8,3 *divinae militiae sacramenta solvantur, castrorum caelestium signa dedantur*.

absolute or a *post* phrase). In Ammianus I have found 8 examples of such double expressions, which appear with a certain lexical consistency:⁵²

1st part (participial) (military service)	2nd part (civil life)
<i>deponere militiae munus</i>	<i>digredi ad tranquilliora vitae</i> 25,5,4
<i>deponere militiae munus</i>	<i>digredi ad otium</i> 25,8,9
<i>deponere militiam</i>	<i>digredi ad otium</i> 20,2,5
<i>sacramento solvi</i>	<i>abire in larem</i> 16,7,1
<i>sacramento solvi</i>	<i>discedere ad otium</i> 28,6,25
<i>honeste sacramento solvi</i>	<i>reverti ad larem</i> 30,7,6
<i>sacramento exui</i>	<i>abire ad lares</i> 28,2,9
<i>absolvi</i>	<i>redire ad lares</i> 28,6,30

The standard elements in the first part of the formula seem to have been *deponere militiae munus* (or *militiam*) and *sacramento solvi* (which appears on its own in 24,3,2); in the second part, *digredi ad otium* (on its own in 16,7,6; see above) and *abire in/ad larem/es*, respectively (there is more variation, yet *sacramentum* and *lar(es)* seem to belong together).

A *post* phrase of the opposite meaning, i.e. signifying entry into military service (or promotion) is to be seen in 15,2,4 *ut enim subterraneus serpens foramen subsidens occultum adsultu subito singulos transitores observans incessit, ita ille odio alienae sortis etiam post militiae munus*,⁵³ *nec laesus aliquando nec lacessitus inexplebili quodam laedendi proposito conscientiam polluebat*. A participle is no doubt needed; Eysenhardt (1871) adds *acceptum*, Clark (1910) *adeptum summum*. Cf. Cod. Theodos. 6,24,11 (A.D. 432) *post acceptum tribunatum*.

Petronius has an interesting example of *sacramentum* in a *post* phrase; the passage is a parody of official oath-taking: 117,6 ... *in verba Eumolpi iuravimus: uri, vinciri, verberari ferroque necari, et quicquid aliud Eumolpus iussisset. tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiosissime addicimus. post peractum sacramentum serviliter ficti dominum consalutamus*.

Ammianus has two more *post* phrases with *deponere*: 24,6,15 *post timorem depositum* (*timorem deponere* e.g. Cic. Mil. 4) and 28,6,29 *post depo-*

⁵² E *militia digredi* — *abire in larem* (28,4,20) is a conjecture.

⁵³ A corrupt passage with a lacuna of 15 letters (cf. Seyfarth's app. crit.).

situm ... aulaeum (16,6,3 *velut aulaeo deposito scenae*). Ammianus' theatrical metaphor can be connected with phrases of old usage (Plaut. *Cas.* 84 *post transactam fabulam*; Don. Ter. Eun. praef. 1,5 *ante aulaea sublata*). The practice of *lowering* the curtain after the play shows that the phrase itself was not old;⁵⁴ Ammianus imitates old phraseology.

4. Some participles in the neuter plural (*dicta, gesta*) have virtually become nouns, although they are still used with verbal qualifiers too; e.g. 23,6,3 *Qui post multa gloriose et fortiter gesta superato Nicatore Seleuco ... temperator oboedientium fuit et arbiter lenis*; 25,3,21 *post haec placide dicta familiares opes iunctoribus velut supremo distribuens stilo Anatolium quaesivit officiorum magistrum*.⁵⁵

Among Ammianus' *post* phrases there is quite an extensive group of participles in the neuter plural which show a remarkable semantic unity. This group consists of phrases which serve as a link between events already described and subsequent ones without indicating any new or independent actions (*post quae/haec completa, composita, consummata, digesta, terminata*, etc.), e.g. 25,7,12 *quibus exitiale aliud accessit et inpium, ne post haec ita composita Arsaci poscenti contra Persas ferretur auxilium*. Corresponding absolute ablatives are often found (e.g. *his/quibus compositis* 4× and *hoc composito* 1×). Other phrases include: *post quae ita digesta* 2× — *quibus/his ita digestis* 2×; *post quae disposita* 1× — *quibus/his dispositis* 3×; *post haec finita* 1× — *his finitis* 2×; *post quae terminata* 1× — *quibus terminatis* 1×. In most cases the *post* phrase seems to be introduced as an alternative for variety's sake. However, instead of the very common *his/quibus cognitis* group (9×; *hoc/quo cognito* 13×) Ammianus once uses *post haec cognita* for obvious morphological reasons (the phrase is inserted in an ablative absolute): 29,1,36 *Quibus post haec cognita sequestratis Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tunc obtinens potestate ...*

These *post* expressions — like the corresponding absolute ablatives —

⁵⁴ ThLL II 1461,9sq.

⁵⁵ *Gerere* is one of the basic stock of verbs used in the *post* phrases; e.g. Nep. 23,5,3 *hanc post rem gestam*; Liv. 9,26,21 *post res tot ... gestas* 27,20,3 *post male gestam rem*. Since early Latin, particularly common with *ob* (cf. n. 8).

are stereotyped phrases, in many cases hardly more than adverbials ("after this"). If we exclude the type *post rem (bene/male) gestam* (cf. n. 55), and *post rem actam* used by Livy (25,12,4 and 26,18,10), I do not know of any parallels in earlier writers. Could the above expressions also be current documentary Latin?