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Antiquus and *vetus*: A study in latin synonymy

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LASSICAL LATIN IS RICH IN ADJECTIVES signifying prior or long existence, be it in a neutral sense ("old," "ancient," "former"), in a good sense of having the qualities of early or durable life ("ancestral," "deep-rooted," "pristine"), or in a bad sense of showing wear from the passage of time ("archaic," "obsolete," "primitive"). The impressive range includes antiquus, priscus, pristinus, obsoletus, exoletus, senex, senilis, anus, anilis, diutinus, diuturnus, longinquus, grandis, prior, superior, maior, antecedens, praecedens, praeteritus, and vetus. 1 They vary from the simple, onedimensional, "monosemic" (e.g., senex = of a living creature, usually a man, advanced in years); through those imbued with a value-added overtone for better or worse (e.g., exoletus = outdated); to the ones that are complex, multi-functional, pliable between neutrality and positive or negative connotation (e.g., priscus = of people and things pertaining to earlier times; venerable by reason of age; oldfashioned or overstrict in the manner of primitive generations). At the extreme of "polysemy" in this vocabulary are antiquus and vetus, a prominent pair possessing the widest diversity of meanings and multiplicity of coincidences, prolific in derivatives,² occupants of larger spaces in lexical compilations. Comprehensive dictionaries and author-oriented concordances provide valid definitions under separate entries, synopses in isolation, that are compact in nature and necessarily reticent on details. A systematic comparison can measure their synonymy, elucidating shades of convergence and divergence barely perceptible, if at all, between two discrete and condensed panoramas. What follows is a comparative study³ based on all occurrences of this couple in ten classical authors encompassing a chronological span from ca 80 B.C. to ca A.D. 140: Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy,

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¹Less familiar (poetic, ante-classical, post-Augustan, or scantily attested) are: canus, cascus, senectus, grandaevus, longaevus, annosus, decrepitus, capularis = bier-ready (moribund), and depontanus = fit to be thrown from the bridge (sexagenarian): see OLD for English translations of the rest.

²Derivative cognates, prolific especially with vetus, comprise adjectives perantiquus/pervetus, (per)vetustus, vetu(scu)lus, (in)veteratus, veternosus, veteran(e)us, veterarius, veterin(ari)us, veteratorius, veteratorius, veteratorius, vitulinus; adverbs antique, antiquitus/vetuste, veteratorie; nouns antiquitas, antiquarius, antiquatio/vetustas, inveteratio, veternus, veternositas, veterator (-trix), veterarium, veteretum, veterinarium, vitulus (-a); and verbs antiquare/(in)veterare, (in)veterascere, (in)veterescere, vetustescere, invetustare. For the meanings, see OLD 142–143, 958–959, 1329, 1364, 2050–52, 2081; TLL II.1.168, 173–183, VII.2.2.170–172, X.1.8.1188, X.1.12.1866 (the volume to cover vet-, vit- still awaits publication in a distant future).

³ On the subject of Latin synonymy, its history and typology, comparable case-studies of other individual pairs or groups, and for an ample bibliography, see, in the first place, the papers collected in Moussy 1994. For lexicographers' traditional classification of *antiquus* and *vetus* as synonyms, cf.

Seneca, Petronius, Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Suetonius. 556 incidences of *antiquus* and 1,162 of *vetus*⁴ yield a plentiful and broadly distributed harvest of 1,718 samples for ascertaining what was standard, if not universal, prose usage.

These two words are distinct in origin. *Antiquus* was formed from the preposition *ante* to express (a) what in a local sense is in front or facing one's eyes (*anticus*), the opposite of what lies behind (*posticus*), and (b) what in a temporal sense comes before that which follows afterwards (*posterus*).⁵

This meaning of spatial or chronological precedence was not native to the germinal vetus whose more elusive base is hypothesized from Indo-European cognates. Kindred words designate (a) a year: Hitt. witt- (wett-), Myc. weto, Gk. (F)έτος, νέωτα (next year); (b) a yearling: Aeol. ἔταλον, Dor. ἔτελον (small animal), Skr. vatsáh (calf), Goth. wihrus (lamb), Ir. feis (sow); or (c) a deterioration from age: Lith. vētušās, Slav. vetuxu. The morphological stem goes back to a proto-Indo-European root-noun *wet- (year), with derived "s" stem *wetes-, *wetos-, the source of adjectival and substantivized derivatives. The common semantic element is an annual cycle, which serves in farm breeding to identify the new-born and the young in comparison with adults of more than a year, and elsewhere to indicate, by extension and on the contrary, what is time-worn. Apart from vitulus = calf (cf. Umbr. vitluf) and the related vitulinus = veal, veterinarius for medical care of livestock, and veterinus for concern with beasts of burden, Lat. vetus evolved, it seems, not from the speech of animal husbandry, but from the contrast, in viticulture, of last year's versus this year's wine (vetus/novum vinum: Varro Ling. 6.21), opposed to, not synonymous with, what is new or recent (novus, recens).6

Anticus lasted in its local sense only to demarcate the sector of heaven in front of an augur and the side of a temple or house facing south, ⁷ a restricted use reflected in one unique instance among our samples (in anticam partem: Cic. Tim. 36). For the most part it ceded this ground to anterior, antecedens, and prior,

Non. 425 M = 688 Lindsay; Charis. 388 Barwick; Menge 1959: 167–168, no. 297. Doederlein (1831: 4.82–97, no. 111) offers a more substantive discussion of miscellaneous Latin words for "old" (including antiquus, vetus, vetustus, veternus, (in) veteratus, pristinus, priscus, senex, anus), their opposites (including novus, recens), and some Greek counterparts, without entering into a full comparison of our chosen pair. Coseriu's selective treatment of vetus in a context of Romance language semantics (1964: 150–153, 158–159, 181–182) involves no comprehensive study of the Latin word itself.

⁴The reader will allow a 5 to 10 per cent margin of error to the statistics in this paper, given occasional textual uncertainties, a few ambiguities in meaning, and possible computing slips.

⁵Ernout-Meillet 1967: 36 at *ante*; cf. Doederlein 1831: 82. On the spelling -cus for the local sense, see *ibid. TLL* s.v. II.1.177 init. also gives the rare -qus.

⁶See Ernout-Meillet 1967: 730 at *vetus*; Chantraine 1968: 382–383 at ἔτος. Benveniste (1948: 124–126) shows the evolution of Lat. *vetus* via viticulture and adds Iran. *vasa and Alb. vyet (calf) to the list of cognates.

⁷Varro Ling. 7.7; ap. Non. p. 55 M; Paul. Fest. 220 M; Front. Agrim. p. 11; OLD s.v. 1; TLL II.1.168.

surviving more amply in the comparative degree, with the figurative meaning of seniority in order or rank, preponderance in value, superiority, or preference.

Cic. Verr. 2.5.36: habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim . . . antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem.

I realize what I have received from the Roman people ... precedence of speech in the senate, the purple-bordered toga, the curule chair.

Plin. Ep. 5.7.2: mihi autem defuncti voluntas . . . antiquior iure est.

With me, however, the intention of a deceased person carries more weight than the letter of his will.

The neuter antiquius, combined with a negative (nihil, nec quidquam) or a rhetorical interrogative (quid?), works as a device to highlight a leading consideration, a top priority, an obligation or urgency second to none. Alternatively, the prime concern is elevated to a superlative antiquissimum.

Cic. Inv. 1.69: quid hunc tanta Thebanorum gloria ... carius aut antiquius habere convenit?

What should he have regarded as dearer or more valuable than such a glorious exploit of the Thebans?

Suet. Vesp. 8.1: <u>nihil</u> habuit <u>antiquius</u> quam prope adflictam nutantemque rempublicam stabilire primo.

He considered it his first business to stabilize the staggering and almost overthrown state.

Cic. Att. 12.5c: de Tullia mea tibi antiquissimum esse video.

I see that you are giving the problem of my Tullia the highest attention.8

Anteriority in place, literal or metaphorical, is unexceptionally foreign to vetus.

In the higher degrees, antiquus otherwise means temporal antecedence, the second sense intrinsic in its rudiments. Antiquior fits when two particulars are compared with respect to chronological succession and the issue is which one happened or existed earlier.

Cic. Att. 7.21.3: ipse me Caesar ad pacem hortatur; sed antiquiores litterae quam ruere coepit.

Caesar himself urges me to peace, but the letter was written before he began going down.

Plin. Ep. 3.4.6: est enim ita comparatum ut antiquiora beneficia subvertas nisi illa posterioribus cumules.

It is agreed that you erode foregoing favours if you do not add to them with subsequent ones.

 8 Cf. OLD s.v. 10, 11; TLL s.v. III. Doederlein (1831: 82–83) observes the resemblance of figurative antiquior to prior and potior, with correspondence in Gk. πρεσβύτερος and πρότερος.

Antiquissimus looks back to a first of sorts: the foremost of consecutive items listed in time sequence, the first of a kind, an initial precedent, a prime model or original specimen.

Cic. Att. 9.9.1: tris epistulas tuas accepi... igitur antiquissimae cuique respondebo. I have received three letters from you and I shall answer them in chronological order.

Sen. Ep. 58.12: hoc ergo est genus primum et antiquissimum et, ut ita dicam, generale. This then is what genus is: the primary, original, and (if I may say so) "generic."

Its apposite synonyms—primus (Sen. Ep. 58.12; Petr. 116), princeps (Cic. Verr. 2.4.109; Leg. 2.13), summus (Cic. Verr. 2.4.72), ortus (Tac. Ann. 2.60)—corroborate the idea of primordiality and do not appear as consolidators of superlative vetus. The temporal ascendancy of antiquissimus is appreciable in its conjunction with vetus pitched in lower positive degree, so that it comes with greater force to reaffirm and heighten in anaphoric crescendo the point of ancientness being broached.

Cic. Div. 1.5: haec ... veteres probaverunt ... e quibus, ut de antiquissimis loquar, Colophonius Xenophanes ... divinationem funditus sustulit.

Our predecessors (in philosophy) approved such things. If I may mention the most ancient among them, Xenophanes of Colophon repudiated divination altogether.

Quint. 12.10.32: ut plerique non antiquissimorum quidem sed tamen veterum mollire temptaverint . . .

As many, admittedly not of our most ancient writers, but still writers of the past, have tried to mitigate ¹⁰

Even with both adjectives on a level, *antiquus*, keyed up with an intensive adverb, is the preferred carrier of additional emphasis on early date (see further, below, note 25).

Cic. Phil. 5.47: maiores nostri veteres illi admodum antiqui....

Our ancestors of yore, those indeed of very long ago....

The reverse does not happen, notwithstanding a superlative *vetus* in proximity of a positive degree *antiquus*.

Suet. Iul. 81.1: cum ... vetustissima sepulchra disicerent ... aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant.

When they were demolishing some very old tombs, they discovered a number of vases of antique craftsmanship.

⁹Cf. OLD s.v. 2; TLL s.v. IV 182-183 gradus comparationis.

10 Similarly, Cic. Mur. 86: quod primus in familiam veterem, primus in municipium antiquissimum consulatum attulisset ("because he was the first to bring the consulship to a well-established family, the first to a town of the earliest foundation"); Caecin. 101: scire volui ... novos veteresque cives. neque enim ratio adferri potest cur, si cuiquam novo civi potuerit adimi civitas, non omnibus patriciis, omnibus antiquissimis civibus possit ("I wanted them to know ... citizens new and old. For had it been possible to take away the franchise from any new citizen, no reason can be adduced why this could not be done to every patrician and every citizen of the most pristine stock"); Verr. 2.4.106; Div. 2.73.

There is no suggestion here that the graves were earlier than the objects found in them. *Vetustissima* stresses the antiquity of the finds, while *antiquus* depicts the contemporaneous contents as antiques (see further below, 81). Few are the occasions when, instead of temporal antecedence or primacy, *antiquior* and *antiquissimus* accentuate great/-er age or persistence in a certain condition, which is apt to be, on the contrary and in line with their embryonic ancestor, more consistently the meaning of superlative *veterrimus/vetustissimus* and comparative *vetustior*. ¹²

Cic. Amic. 67: veterrima quaeque (amicitia), ut ea vina, quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debet suavissima.

Like wines that improve with age, all the oldest friendships ought to be the most delightful.

Tac. Ann. 2.43: Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat. The daughter of Silanus had been engaged to Nero, his eldest son.

Livy 7.31.2: ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur.

It is equitable that we become friends with you (Campanians) only on such terms as not to violate a friendship and alliance already in place (with the Samnites).

Plin. Pan. 15.5: in praesentia quidem, quisquis paulo vetustior miles, hic te commilitone censetur.

At the moment, any soldier who is not too young can gain prestige from having served with you.

Given its figurative local sense and heightened temporal capability in the higher degrees, *antiquus* covers some extra ground at those levels, while the many particular applications of *vetus* are more in evidence in positive degree.¹³ In principle, the two differ in that *antiquus* points to early and *vetus* to lasting life.

¹¹This meaning is plain in only three among our 144 samples of antiquus in comparative and superlative degrees: Cic. Fam. 11.27.2: nemo est mibi te amicus antiquior, sed vetustas babet aliquid commune cum multis ("no one has been a friend to me longer than you, but length of acquaintance is something shared with many"); 13.52: A. Licinius Aristoteles Melitensis antiquissimus est hospes meus ("A. Licinius Aristoteles of Malta has been a guest-friend of mine for the longest time"); Rep. 2.42: (Carthago) quinque et sexaginta annis antiquior (quam Roma) ("Carthage is sixty-five years older than Rome").

¹²The natural formation from *vetus* declined in favour of the alternative based on the reduplicated variant *vetustus* (OLD 2052 s.v.). *Vetustissimus*, second to *veterrimus* in Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust (2 vs. 5), predominates markedly in the post-Republican authors (43 vs. 14). Comparative *vetustior* is regular (14 vs. 0), *veterior* exceptionally attested in archaic Cato (Prisc. VI.6 p. 264 Keil). In positive degree, Doederlein (1831: 85–86) points out a generally approving connotation in *vetustus* opposite the pejorative *veternus*.

13 The contrast is reflected in the frequency of antiquus relative to vetus, higher in the comparative (59 vs. 14) and superlative (85 vs. 57), extremely so in Cicero (39 vs. 2, 61 vs. 2 + 2 from correspondents), but significantly lower in the positive (412 vs. 1,091). Authorial preference, in similar situations, for emphasis on either primordiality or durability has an impact on these numbers. To take one example, in the choice between antiquissimus and veterrimus/vetustissimus for describing the oldest province

- (a) Livy 10.6.7: ... cum ... constet ... ut tres antiquae tribus, Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres suum quaeque augurem habeant.
 - ... since it is agreed that the three (Roman) tribes of early date, Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, should each have its own augur.
- (b) Livy 31.15.6: tum primum mentio inlata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.
 - Then there was first mention of the tribe which they named "Attalis" to be added to the ten long-existing (Athenian Cleisthenic) tribes.
- (a) Cic. Leg. 3.4: omnes antiquae gentes regibus quondam paruerunt.

 All nations of olden days once had kings ruling over them.
- (b) Livy 1.17.2: Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. The existing (native) Romans spurned (the idea of) an immigrant (Sabine) king.¹⁴

Nevertheless, distant chronological origin and chronic longevity being contiguous facets often attributable to identical items, the two coincide copiously in allusions to people of the past who continue to live in the memory of posterity, without any palpable insistence on either of the two aspects. The masculine plural antiqui and veteres function as nouns practically on an equal footing and in almost even frequency, indiscriminately applied to collectivities from previous generations or remote times, whether Roman or Greek: ancestors (alternatives to maiores [nostri]), historical and legendary figures; bygone historians, poets, orators, rhetors, jurists, and scholars; precursors in philosophy, medicine, the arts, statesmanship, and soldiering. In general, there is no real distinction in meaning between these two substantives.

- (a) Sen. Brev. vit. 13.8: pomerium . . . Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit.

 After an acquisition of territory in Italy, it was the custom with our forbears to advance the pomerium.
- (b) Tac. Ann. 12.37: novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum feminam signis Romanis praesidere.
 It was indeed an innovation and incompatible with the customs of our forbears for a woman to sit in state before Roman standards.
- (a) Cic. Div. 1.87: dixi de Pythagora, de Democrito, de Socrate, excepi de antiquis praeter Xenophanem neminem.

⁽provincia) or allies (socii) of Rome and Carthage, the figures flip from 9 vs. 0 in Cicero to 0 vs. 3 in Livy.

¹⁴Cf. *OLD antiquus* 3, 4 (*TLL* I), *vetus* 1, 3. Doederlein (1831: 83–85) notes the resulting difference between the nouns *antiquitas* and *vetustas*, and (88–89) Greek correspondence in παλαιός and γεραιός respectively.

¹⁵ 106 vs. 81, antiqui noticeably predominant in Seneca (19 vs. 3) and Tacitus (20 vs. 12), but less frequent in Pliny (2 vs. 9). *OLD* provides a separate entry for one of these two substantives (142 antiqui m.pl.), but not the other, which is also deserving.

I have mentioned Pythagoras, Democritus, Socrates and I have excluded none except Xenophanes among the old philosophers.

(b) Cic. Acad. 1.44: quae (obscuritas) ad confessionem ignorationis adduxerant Socratem et iam ante Socratem Democritum, Anaxagoram, Empedoclem, omnes paene veteres.

(Obscurity of the facts) had led Socrates to an admission of ignorance, as, even before Socrates, it had done with Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, almost all the old philosophers.

If Cicero and Tacitus use antiqui for certain Greek philosophers and orators and, in the next sentence or within it, switch to veteres for those very individuals, ¹⁶ the shift is due to variation of terminology rather than a change in perspective. Nor is the equivalence uncommon or uneven when the implied substantives surface explicitly. As epithets, both accompany identical nouns (duces, reges, homines, viri, Latini, auctores, scriptores, oratores, philosophi, physici) and similar groups with the same meaning of forerunners in public life or an occupational field, and both equally designate people as having lived in the past. ¹⁷ They co-appear on a par. When Tacitus, in one stroke, characterizes Demosthenes as quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis and remote orators as antiquos et veteres oratores (Dial. 16, 17), while Pliny eulogizes Trajan for emulating illos veteres et antiquos (Pan. 11.4), simultaneous juxtaposition is hardly a delicate separation of two nuances of age, but rather a reiterative combination emphatic on the theme of long-gone antiquity.

The pair converge to describe people who have long been alive (usually senex, anus) or rather in a given condition.

- (a) Cic. Fam. 13.35.1: C. Avianus Philoxenus antiquus est hospes meus. C. Avianus Philoxenus has long been a friend of mine.
- (b) Cic. Fam. 13.77.2: M. Bolanum, virum bonum ... meum veteremque amicum tibi magno opere commendo. I strongly commend to you M. Bolanus, a good man who has long been a friend of mine.

But the convergence is marginal. *Antiquus* is atypical, ¹⁸ and the more normal *vetus* alone takes from continuity in a state the additional notion of "experienced,"

¹⁶Cic. Fin. 5.23: haec antiquorum valeat (sententia) necesse est. igitur instituto veterum . . . hinc capiamus exordium ("this doctrine of the Ancients must prevail. Hence let us make our start thus, from what these bygone philosophers have established"; likewise, 4.9); Tac. Dial. 16: ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres . . . intellego ("When I hear Ancients, I understand speakers of yore"); cf. Sen. Ep. 64.8.

¹⁷ 44 vs. 54; cf. OLD antiquus 4 a (TLL II.1), vetus 5b.

¹⁸The only other safe examples are Cic. QFr. 1.2.16 (nostra antiqua manus bonorum) and ps.-Sall. Ad Caes. sen. 2.6.1 (antiquis civibus); while vetus abounds: cf. OLD antiquus 6, 8 (TLL IV 181–182 de personis), vetus 1, 2.

spawning in consequence synonymous derivatives for the mark of the mature or professional hand: veteranus, veterator (-trix), veteratorius. 19

Tac. Dial. 6: ullane tanta ... voluptas quam spectare homines veteres et senes ... confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere?

Is there a greater satisfaction (for orators) than the sight of experienced seniors admitting that they lack the greatest of all gifts (i.e., oratory)?

As a rule, an accompanying noun defines the field of expertise: a teacher's (magister: Cic. Brut. 315), a pilot's (gubernator: Quint. 12.11.5), a female poet's (poetria: Cic. Cael. 64), an actor's (histrio: Cic. Rosc. Com. 27), a swordsman's (gladiator: Cic. Rosc. Am. 17, Ad Oct. 9), a prosecutor's (accusator: Cic. Rosc. Am. 28, Brut. 260), an inveterate assassin's (sicarius: Cic. Rosc. Am. 39), a connoisseur gastronome's (conviva: Petr. 33), a practised bather's (frigidae cultor: Sen. Ep. 53.3), a consummate lover's (amator: Petr. 126), a habitual pedophile's (vexator aetatulae: Cic. Sest. 18), and, in larger numbers (forty-five in all), seasoned commanders' (dux, imperator, rex), veteran soldiers' (miles), troops' (copiae), the army's (exercitus), and its constituents' (centuriones, cohortes, pedites). Apposite synonyms reinforce concomitant virtues of training, proficiency, skill: expertus (Livy 27.6.10, 29.24.12, 35.31.10; Tac. Hist. 4.76), exercitatus (Cic. Tusc. 2.38), adsuetus (Livy 27.47.5), sciens belli (Sall. Iug. 97.5), peritus (Livy 4.17.10; 27.6.10, 48.10; 34.17.3), and corresponding abilities or qualities: providus = far-sighted (Tac. Ann. 13.38), nobilis/non ignobilis = reputed (Cic. Rosc. Am. 17, Brut. 315), perpetuus = permanent (Livy 24.8.7). Antonyms underline immaturity and inexperience: novus (Cic. Dom. 58, Sest. 42, Tusc. 2.38; Livy 35.31.10), rudis (Cic. Tusc. 2.38), inexercitatus (ibid.), deterrimus (Tac. Ann. 2.55), incognitus (Livy 35.31.10), juveniles and novices for their deficiencies: adulescens (Livy 44.36.13, 45.39.19), tiro (Livy 23.35.7), raw recruits raised hastily or ad hoc: tumultuarius, subitus (Tac. Hist. 4.20, 76). Tacitus tersely dispenses with adjuncts like peritus or expertus and appends directly to vetus an objective genitive specifying the area of accomplishment: (rex) vetus regnandi = experienced in ruling (Ann. 6.44); (praefectus) vetus operis ac laboris = well-versed in work and toil (Ann. 1.20); (vir) scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus = proficient in the lore of religious ceremonies (Ann. 6.12); vetus loci auxilium = an auxiliary force acquainted with the region (Hist. 2.14); (Batavi) veteres militiae = possessing a record of service (Hist. 4.20).

Overlap also occurs with the placement of people in a condition previous to what has been theirs afterwards.

- (a) Livy 24.42.10: itaque id oppidum vi pulso praesidio Punico receperunt, cultoribus antiquis . . . restituerunt.
 - Therefore, dislodging the Carthaginian garrison by force, (the Romans) recovered the town and restored it to its former inhabitants.
- (b) Livy 10.2.2: Thuriae redditae veteri cultori Sallentinoque agro pax parta.

¹⁹ See *OLD* 2050 s.v.

Thuriae was restored to its former inhabitants and peace was established in the Sallentine territory.

But it is minimal, since antiquus again is rare, 20 while vetus, the norm, spreads from the sense of a former or prevailing state to ramifications of its own. In military circumstances, it indicates the status of ex- or current servicemen in four categories: retired, inactive veterans of completed campaigns upon their recall and reenrolment; standing forces in ongoing service when replenished with fresh levies or ad hoc contingents; earlier recruits enlisted under a preceding general at a time of transfer to a succeeding commander or reassignment to a different task or location; troops having served their term upon discharge and replacement by the next army.²¹ In public life vetus distinguishes outgoing magistrates from their successors (Livy 30.39.5), ex-consuls and finishing consuls from their incumbent and designate colleagues (Livy 8.17.1, 10.16.1), praetors in provincial office or retiring from praetors elect or incoming (Livy 23.32.8, 39.42.2, 40.18.6, 42.1.4), tribunes of one year from tribunes of the approaching tenure (Cic. Att. 3.23.2; Livy 3.64.5), repeat electoral candidates from first time competitors (Livy 39.32.6), senators on the existing rolls from rookie entrants (Livy 23.3.5, 23.23.5), provincial tax-contractors under a foregoing censorship from publicani signed up under the following lustrum (Livy 43.16.3 bis), a disbanded panel of judges from their substitutes (Cic. Verr. 2.5.178). Established or indigenous population of a town or district (germani), the opposite of recent settlers (novi, peregrini), fall within its compass. 22 Enhanced with a eulogistic ille, it exalts an illustrious family ancestor above his descendants or contemporary namesakes: Appius vetus ille, the "Blind Censor" (Cic. Tusc. 5.112); M. Crassus ille vetus, praetor 105 B.C. and grandfather of the triumvir (ibid. 3.31); P. Crassus ille vetus, the consul of 131 B.C. (Cic. De or. 3.134); vetus ille Scaurus for M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul 115 B.C. (Sen. Ben. 4.31.5). In the context of philosophy, vetus is standard for adherents of an original school (Plato's Academy, Aristotle's Peripatos, Zeno's Stoa) as against followers of a later version, 23 and in literature, authors of an earlier of two related genres such as "Old" (Aristophanic) versus "New" (Menandrian) Comedy.24

Antiquus, on its part, is more appropriate to the description of persons imbued with the moral or aesthetic virtues of an idealized past. Cicero, in his defence of Roscius, so portrays the simple folks of Ameria who measured others by their own rustic standards of credulous faith and took at his word the duplicitous

²⁴Cic. De or. 3.138; Quint. 12.2.22.

²⁰There are only two other definite examples (Livy 7.38.5, 39.24.3), against very many featuring

²¹ E.g., Caes. *B Civ.* 1.3; Livy 29.13.1, 10.39.1, 31.8.5: taken, one in each category, from a total of sixty-five.

²²Cic. Verr. 2.2.123 bis, 124 ter, 125 bis; Leg. agr. 2.97; ps.-Sall. Ad Caes. sen. 2.5.8; Livy 1.33.2, 4.37.2, 28.28.6; Suet. Dom. 9.3.

²³ Academici: Cic. Acad. 2.132, 135, Tusc. 5.75, 85, Off. 3.20, Fin. 2.34, 4.5; Sen. Ep. 71.18, QN 7.32.2; Peripatetici: Cic. Acad. 2. 132, Fin. 4.5, 5.7; Stoici: Cic. Leg. 3.14; Quint. 10.1.84.

urban sophisticate Chrysogonus: homines antiqui, qui ex sua natura ceteros fingerent ... crediderunt (Rosc. Am. 26; cf. Quinct. 72: hominem antiqui officii). Similar is Seneca's ironic depiction of the uncorrupted "bland woman behind the times who is not aware that nowadays concubinage with one paramour is called marriage." In the parlance of rhetoric antiquus suits the orator who cultivates an archaic style, thus generating the derivative antiquarius to denote an enthusiast of antiquities. Such, according to Cicero, was Lucius Mummius in his extant speeches: L. et Sp. Mummii fratres, quorum exstant amborum orationes; simplex quidem Lucius et antiquus (Brut. 94). 26

Both adjectives apply to things: place, concrete object, abstract idea, condition, quality, action. The distinction between antiquus for early date and vetus for long duration or continuity holds in principle. Seneca draws the line when he recalls exploration of a mine once exploited but no longer, in search of metal left over from generations of continuous greed: metallum antiquum olim destitutum ut explorarent... an aliquid futuris reliquisset vetus avaritia (QN 5.15.1). So does Livy while narrating opposition to reserved seats at the games, a change from custom introduced long ago, owing to people's preference for settled ways: adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est; veteribus... stari malunt (34.54.8). Still, the neuter plural substantives antiqua and vetera resemble the masculine counterparts²⁷ in their many coincidences to mean simply matters of the past without any tangible discrimination as to date of start or state of continuance: historical events, bygone deeds, practices, habits, precedents, examples, records, writings, songs, doctrines, the contrary of recent or contemporary equivalents (nova, recentia, proxima, propria, praesentia, nostra).

- (a) Livy 9.34.14: quid ego <u>antiqua</u> repetam? nuper intra decem annos C. Maenius dictator. . . dictatura se abdicavit.
 - Why should I dredge out illustrations from ancient history? Within the recent ten years Caius Maenius . . . abdicated the dictatorship.
- (b) Cic, Div. 1.58: quid aut plura aut vetera quaerimus? saepe tibi meum narravi ... somnium.
 - Why do I seek more illustrations from ancient history? I have often related a dream of my own to you.
- (a) Cic. Har. resp. 32: <u>antiqua</u> neglegimus: etiamne ea neglegemus. . . quae videmus? Neglecting the past as we do, shall we neglect even what goes on now before our eyes?
- (b) Tac. Ann. 2.88: vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi. We extol the past, indifferent to our own times.

²⁵ Ben. 3.16.3: infrunita et antiqua est quae nesciat matrimonium vocari unum adulterium. Cf. J. R. King's reading of Cic. Phil. 5.47 (1878: 165, ad loc.): maiores . . . admodum antiqui (quoted above, 70): "Of primitive simplicity, not yet hampered by the complexity of more modern regulations."

²⁶ Cf. Tac. Dial. 17, 21; Plin. Ep. 2.9.4; OLD antiquus 9, 142 (TLL II.1.173–174) antiquarius.

²⁷ Except that here antiquus is markedly less frequent, both plural (13 vs. 48) and singular (5 vs. 10); hence OLD vetus 5c vetera.

Singular vetus, though, with or without illud, tends to corner the sense of a proverb, familiar adage, well-known story, or firmly held belief,²⁸ the predominant note being persistent relevance since remote beginnings, while antiquum shares part of the field to express a time-honoured custom or precedent.²⁹ Correspondingly the nouns dictum, proverbium, opinio, and praeceptum come invariably with vetus (0 vs. 19) whereas those others implicit in the substantival neuters (res, tempora, aetas, mores, exempla, annales, scripta, verba, commentarii, carmina) show up explicitly with either or both adjectives equally meaning "past." Simultaneous juxtaposition need be no more than mutual consolidation stressing the same point of ancientness: non desinis ... vetera tantum et antiqua studia mirari = "You are never done admiring culture which is old and gone" (Tac. Dial. 15).³⁰

As with people, the two adjectives also designate, without any material difference, long life of things that date from a distant source.

- (a) Suet. Vesp. 5.2: in suburbano Flaviorum quercus antiqua . . . erat Marti sacra. On the estate of the Flavii there was an old oak-tree sacred to Mars.
- (b) Cic. Leg. 1.1: si manet illa quercus, haec est profecto; etenim est sane vetus.

 If that famous oak-tree still exists, this must be the one; and in fact it is very old.
- (a) Cic. Fam. 5.10c: viginti oppida sunt Dalmatiae antiqua. Dalmatia has twenty towns that go far back.
- (b) Cic. Verr. 2.1.53: Aspendum vetus oppidum et nobile in Pamphylia scitis esse. You know that Aspendus is a famous town in Pamphylia that goes far back.

However, antiquus is much less frequent, and the more usual vetus appropriates specific applications, doing so concurrently with the participial (in)veteratus. It virtually monopolizes deep-seated, firmly ingrained conditions in people: physical impairments, chronic illnesses, festering infirmities: morbus (Cic. Att. 10.17.2; Sen. Ep. 75.7; Plin. Ep. 9.37.4; Tac. Ann. 3.54), pestis (Sen. Ep. 94.24), infirmitas (Plin. Ep. 5.19.6), vulnus (Sen. Ep. 57.5), destillatio = catarrh (Sen. Ep. 75.12); ³¹ personal emotions and experiences such as hatred, love, anger, memory: odium, amor, ira, memoria; moral virtues like integrity and respectability, and foibles like vanity and recklessness: innocentia, sanctitas, dignitas, auctoritas, superbia, ambitio, audacia, furor; human relations between individuals and communities, social and political interactions, friendships and hostilities, intimacies and loyalties, feuds and rivalries: amicitia, inimicitiae, necessitudo, coniunctio, hospitium, obsequium, observantia, clientela, simultas, certamen. None of the twenty-two nouns just listed

²⁸Cic. Fam. 7.3.4, Quinct. 55, Verr. 2.5.7, De or. 2.248, 249, 260, Div. 2.51; OLD s.v. 3c.

²⁹ Antiquum: Cic. Ad Brut. 23.11; Livy 5.33.11; Plin. Ep. 2.11.18, Pan. 76.1 = OLD 142 antiquum (n.); vetus: Cic. Att. 7.2.8, Caecin. 45; Tac. Ann. 15.5.

³⁰Contrast Plin. Ep. 3.6.3, where, in appraisal of a bronze statue (aes), "genuine antique" is how B. Radice (1969) translates the combination; and Juv. 15.33 (cf. 6.21), where, in regard to an ancient feud (simultas), Courtney (1980: 598) differentiates "vetus because it has lasted a long time, antiqua because it started long ago."

³¹ Cf. OLD s.v. 3b, and on (in)veteratus, OLD s.v.; TLL VII.2.2.171-172; Doederlein 1831: 87.

and routinely defined with vetus³² ever turns up in the company of antiquus among our samples, except amor once in Petronius (42), and when comparable terms on fewer occasions do (animus, consuetudo, mos, religio, sapientia, simplicitas, and a dozen others), the point is a question of pristine provenance, old-fashioned spirit, or prior state rather than longevity. Only with vetus do associated synonyms confirm some nuance of duration: perpetuus (Caes. B Gall. 5.54; Livy 3.62.6), adsiduus (Sen. Ep. 75.12), diuturnus (Cic. Fam. 1.7.7; Verr. 1.5), durus (Sen. Ep. 94.24); incremental growth: cumulatus (Livy 38.56.11), diu auctus (Tac. Ann. 3.54), iam diu susceptus (Cic. Div. Caec. 64), iam pridem receptus (Tac. Agr. 14); depth: profundus (Sall. Hist. 4.69.5), insitus (Livy 27.16.6; Tac. Ann. 1.4; Hist. 2.38), ingenitus (Sen. Ben. 5.16.1); firmness, strength, or solidity: certus (Sen. Ep. 9.6), gravis (Sen. Ep. 75.7), magnus (Cic. Att. 16.16a.3; Fam. 12.29.1; Mur. 8; Suet. Galb. 2), iustus (Cic. Att. 16.16a.3; Rab. Perd. 2; Flac. 2; Caes. B Gall. 1.43). Antonyms, besides novus and recens, which are the most common, signify what is momentary, ephemeral, temporary: hodiernus (Livy 2.38.2), repentinus (Cic. Dom. 29), praesens (Livy 7.20.8; 38.56.11), subitus (Tac. Ann. 13.42).

Both adjectives may indicate ongoing or former existence of things in relation to a recent addition or subsequent counterpart.

- (a) B Afr. 76: in antiqua castra copias reducit.

 He led the forces back to the previously built camp.
- (b) Caes. B Civ. 3.66: animadversum est... cohortes quasdam... in vetera castra duci. It was noticed that certain cohorts were being led to the previously built camp.
- (a) Livy 9.34.7: *ubi duae contrariae <u>leges sunt</u>*, *semper antiquae obrogat nova*. In a conflict of two laws, the new always supersedes the former one.
- (b) Cic. De or. 1.247: vides veteres leges . . . novis legibus esse sublatas?

 Don't you see that former laws have always been repealed by modern legislation?³³

But vetus is by far the more common and distinctly branches out to places in their original form or primal phase in opposition to phases or namesakes of a later date. To this end it is regularly attached to names of countries, cities, districts, sites, and monuments. It denotes older Egypt (Tac. Hist. 4.84). It differentiates Greece: Classical from contemporary (Cic. Q Fr. 1.1.16; De or. 3.197; Leg. 2.39); Balkan homeland from overseas colonies (Rep. 2.9); Magna Graecia still independent from Roman incorporation afterwards (De or. 3.139); metropolitan Carthage from her Spanish offspring Nova Carthago (Leg. agr. 1.5, 2.51); pre-Hannibalic Capua from her latter-day resurrection (Pis. 25); Ionian Colophon from her homonymous settlement nearby (Livy 37.26.5); Phrygian Celaenae as foundress of her neighbouring colony of Apamea (Livy 38.13.5); Rome in her decrepit parts before Nero's reconstruction (Tac. Ann. 15.38); Latium prior to

³² Eighty-four times altogether. This list of character traits and feelings may be further augmented with gravitas, severitas, prudentia, lautitia, calliditas, impudicitia, invidia, cupido, molestia, cura, fames.

³³ Cf. OLD antiquus 3 (TLL I), vetus 6.

the "Social War" (Tac. Ann. 4.5).³⁴ Some cities and districts had it in their name: Latin Ficulea (Livy 1.38.4), Phrygian Beudos (Livy 38.15.14), probably the ruins of Egyptian Thebes as a tourist venue (Tac. Ann. 2.60), "Campi Veteres" in Lucania (Livy 25.16.25). In Rome's urban landscape upper case Vetus defines sites and monuments that predate their ensuing avatars and extensions: the "Old Shops" (Tabernae) erected near the forum in 209 B.C. (Livy 44.16.10), the "Balconies" (Maeniana) built by consul C. Maenius in 338 B.C. (Cic. Acad. 2.70), the Speakers' Platform (Rostra) in place before 338 B.C. (Suet. Aug. 100.3), the Great Sewer (Cloaca) from Etruscan times (Livy 5.55.5), Augustus' first artificial Lake (Naumachia) for naval spectacles (Suet. Tit. 7.3). In Alexandria it identifies that section of the Museum which had been there before an annex sponsored by Claudius (Suet. Claud. 42.2). So it is with philosophical schools and literary genres, as it was (above, 75), with their adherents and practitioners. With vetus Cicero consistently distinguishes Plato's "Old Academy" and its first-century B.C. reincarnation under Antiochus of Ascalon from Carneades' intervening "New Academy" (Academia nova) (twenty-five times), after a single experiment with antiqua in an initial try (Leg. 1.53). Classical comedy as a whole (comoedia) hovers between antiqua (Cic. Off. 1.104; Quint. 10.1.65) and vetus (Plin. Ep. 6.21.2, 5; Suet. Aug. 89.1), but "Old" Comedy, as opposed to "New," inclines towards vetus (Cic. Leg. 2.37; Brut. 224; Quint. 10.1.82). Vetus also differentiates miscellaneous things from later or additional (typically novus) or less enduring examples of their kind: wine of the old vintage (vinum) compared to the new (Cic. Brut. 287; Sen. Ep. 63.5); a surface of paint or plaster (tectorium) covered with a fresh coat (Cic. Verr. 2.1.145); a layer of snow (nix) superimposed with a second precipitation (Livy 21.36.5); a previous marriage (matrimonium) superseded by the next one (Tac. Ann. 12.2); and the following, in a total of thirty-three occurrences: preexisting debts, obligations, levies, and revenues (aes, fenus, tributa, vectigalia) upon their augmentation with recently incurred liabilities or dues; standing fleets and ships in current service or laid up in dry docks for repair or retired (classis, naves, quadriremes) in contrast to vessels commissioned of late; colonies and provinces in their present number or size (colonia, provincia) upon increment with fresh acquisitions or territorial expansion; permanent lawcourts and fixed edicts (iudicia, edictum, senatusconsultum) as against special commissions and incidental amendments.

Antiquus becomes depreciatory to mean "antiquated," "out of fashion," "hackneyed" with the aid of a demeaning iste, accessories signalling excess (nimis, nimium, magis), or derogatory adjuncts (exoletus, obsoletus), and so engenders, on its part, the verb antiquare for rejecting a bill or voiding a law as passé (Paul Fest. 26 M).³⁵

³⁴ Sparta antiqua (Livy 39.37.3), for Lycurgus' unwalled city as opposed to her fortified descendant of the second century B.C., is a lone exception in our samples.

³⁵Cf. OLD antiquus 9c, 142 (TLL II.1.174-175) antiquare.

Cic. Phil. 1.25: neglegimus ista et nimis antiqua ac stulta ducimus. We disregard all that stuff and consider them obsolete and silly.

Quint. 8 pr. 31: quaerunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum. They seek some word that is more archaic, far-fetched, unfamiliar.

Vetus is open to a like degradation which passes on to veternus the noun and its adjective veternosus.

Cic. Rep. 2.55: neque ego haec nunc sine causa tam vetera et tam obsoleta decanto. Not without cause do I now rehearse events so outdated.

Suet. Calig. 38.1: diplomata ut vetera et obsoleta deflabat. He dismissed them as superannuated certificates of citizenship.³⁶

Both turn appreciatory, with the support of a complimentary *ille*, if not supplements resonant with moral, social, or aesthetic approval, in praise of things for having deep roots, possessing the qualities, being instilled with the spirit, living up to the standards of glamorized olden times.

- (a) Cic. Planc. 33: ubinam ille mos? ubi illa aequitas iuris? ubi illa antiqua libertas?

 Where then is that tradition? Where is that equity of the legal system? Where is that time-honoured freedom?
- (b) Cic. Phil. 7.14: retinenda est igitur nobis constantia . . repetenda vetus illa severitas. We must therefore retain our steadfastness, we must revive those strict norms of our past.
- (a) Tac. Ann. 6.15: Cassius, plebeii Romae generis, verum antiqui honoratique.

 Cassius' origin was from a plebeian family in Rome, but an ancient and honorable one.
- (b) Suet. Oth. 1.1: maiores Othonis orti sunt . . . familia vetere et honorata. Otho's ancestors came from an ancient and honorable family.³⁷

The two part company in select applications to cultivated produce and hand-made products. *Vetus* alone describes perishable goods deteriorating with age: stale millet (panicum corruptum: Caes. B Civ. 2.22), putrid food (crapula) inside a glutton's stomach (Sen. Ep. 95.25), a dried sprig of savoury (thymbrae: Petr. 135), a decayed vine (vitis exesa) that would not admit a graft (Sen. Ep. 112.2). It befits manufactured articles that are the worse for wear: a threadbare cloak (pallium: Suet. Ner. 48.4); second-hand shoes (calcei: Quint. 6.3.74); the torn cloth (linteum) of an overused cushion (Sen. Vit. beat. 25.2); a ramshackle table (mensa: Petr. 135); shields (scuta) battered from much use (Livy 27.47.1). Tumbledown constructions accord with its employment: dilapidated buildings (aedificia: Sen. QN 6.10.2; Suet. Ner. 38.1); a temple due for repair (aedes

³⁶Cf. OLD vetus 4, veternus, veternosus.

³⁷Cf. OLD antiquus 9, 9b.

reficienda: Plin. Ep. 39.1); a crumbling public bath (balineum sordidum) in need of replacement (Plin. Ep. 10.23.1); a disintegrating country-house (villa) coeval with aging Seneca (Ep. 12.1; cf. Cic. Att. 12.31.2); a ship (navis) which sinks easily in collision with a stout vessel (Livy 35.26.8); a rotting man-of-war falling to pieces (navis quadriremis putris et vetustate dilabens: Livy 35.26.5); weather-beaten merchantmen (naves quassae) prone to founder in insurance frauds (Livy 26.3.11). On the other hand, appraisal of concrete objects for pristine artistic merit or whatever antique style is the domain of antiquus.

Cic. Verr. 1.14: deum . . . nullum . . . qui adfabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit.

He spared not a single god's statue which appeared to have been made with artistry and the craft of antiquity.

Plin. Ep. 3.1.9: adponitur cena . . . in argento puro et antiquo. Dinner is served in antique, solid silver.

Sen. *Ep.* 86.4: *vidi balneolum angustum* . . . *ex consuetudine antiqua*. I saw a tiny little bathroom made according to the old style.

Opus in the sense of handicraft, with or without neighbouring words in tow (artificium, ars), attracts antiquus regularly to describe artifacts of old-fashioned workmanship: assorted objets d'art (Cic. Verr. 2.4.46); exquisite ivory figurines (ibid.); paintings (Suet. Iul. 47); vases (Vesp. 7.3, Iul. 81.1); rings (Galb. 10.4).

Comparative study of antiquus and vetus reveals a synonymy in classical Latin prose which raises issues of meaning without variables due to diction, tone, genre, syntax, and such factors as may be relevant in other types of synonymy.³⁸ As in most cases, the semantic equivalence is partial and far from "absolute."³⁹ Unlike some, this pair coincide extensively, so that the question of their overlap bears on aspects of their marginal divergences from a common ground rather than their peripheral convergence to a shared field from central differences in meaning, despite their separate origins as indicators of spatial and temporal precedence on the one hand versus age and wear on the other. The common ground comprises a general idea of past or long existence, including good and bad overtones. The divergences are complex. They depend on grammatical degree of comparison, they consist in specific idiomatic usages with clarifying amplifiers in frequent

³⁹On the varying grades of synonyms, see Fruyt 1994; and, for a contrasting case of minimal synonymy, his citation of the couple *puella-meretrix* from Adams's study (1983) of Latin words for "prostitute."

³⁸ Quintilian enumerates some facets (8.3.16): cum idem frequentissime plura significent (quod συνωνυμία vocatur), iam sunt aliis alia honestiora, sublimiora, nitidiora, iucundiora, vocaliora ("Since several words often mean the same thing [what is called synonymy], some may surpass others in being more respectable, elevated, polished, agreeable or euphonious"). Marouzeau, in a seminal article, lists "âge, origine, particularité de construction, valeur intensive ou expressive, intellectuelle ou affective, degré de distinction ou de vulgarité" (1921: 14).

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collocation, and they stem in part from the initial distinctness between what comes first and what lasts long.

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NUM TE LEAENA: CATULLUS 60

CHRISTOPHER NAPPA

Though short and often neglected, C. 60 of Catullus explores the same themes and concepts as other Catullan poetry—in particular, a concern with speech, gender, and power. The poem also shows how the poet uses elements of a generic topos to suggest an experience that is both particular to himself and universal, applicable to any reader. Finally, the language of C. 60 allows it to stand at the end of the polymetric collection effectively, whether Catullus himself or a later editor put it there.

Le bref poème 60 de Catulle est souvent négligé. Pourtant, il explore les mêmes thèmes et les mêmes concepts retrouvés dans le reste de l'oeuvre du poète: un souci du discours, des genres, et du pouvoir. Le poème montre aussi comment Catulle utilise des éléments de lieux communs pour suggérer une expérience personnelle pouvant néanmoins paraître universelle, qui s'applique à tout lecteur. Enfin, l'étude du langage de ce poème démontre qu'il doit bel et bien se situer—que cela ait été le fait de Catulle lui-même ou d'un éditeur tardif—à la fin de la collection polymétrique.

ANTIQUUS AND VETUS: A STUDY IN LATIN SYNONYMY

A. Mamooiee

This article explores the meanings of antiquus and vetus (the two most common adjectives used in Latin to designate prior or long existence), aspects of their synonymy, and semantic differences derived in part from their origins as a pair of words having distinct primary senses. A collection of 1,718 examples drawn from ten authors provides material for defining norms of their usage in classical prose and elaborating nuances of both coincidences and divergences not fully apparent in existing dictionaries and lexicons.

Étude sémantique des termes antiquus et vetus, les deux adjectifs les plus couramment utilisés en latin pour désigner l'antériorité ou la longévité. Leur synonymie et leurs différences de sens s'expliquent partiellement par la fait qu'à l'origine, ils étaient deux mots distincts. La collation de 1,718 exemples tirés de dix auteurs nous fournit le matériel d'étude nécessaire pour discerner leurs emplois en prose classique et pour développer leurs nuances, coïncidences, et divergences qui ne sont pas toujours mentionnées dans les dictionnaires et lexiques.

GLADIATORIAL RANKING AND THE SC DE PRETIIS GLADIATORUM MINUENDIS (CIL II 6278 = ILS 5163)

MICHAEL CARTER

An inscription from Spain, often called the *Senatus Consultum de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis*, attempted to reduce the costs of providing gladiatorial shows by ranking gladiators and setting maximum prices. It is argued here that the gladiatorial ranks reflect the *palus*-system, attested in gladiatorial epitaphs and other monuments.