THE "QUEROLVS", 

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY,

by Miss. Rosemary Dorothy O'Donnell, M.A.,

of Bedford College,

submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

in the University of London, 1980.

(Volume I.)
ABSTRACT.

Miss. Rosemary Dorothy O'Donnell, M.A.

The "Querolus", Edited with an Introduction and Commentary.

The thesis comprises a text of the Querolus based on all the extant manuscripts, with an apparatus criticus and translation. The text is preceded by an introduction, and followed by a textual, linguistic, stylistic and literary commentary, a bibliography, and an index rerborum.

The introduction considers: the history and interrelations of the manuscripts; previous editions and translations; author and dedicatee; place and date of composition; references to contemporary history and thought; genre, characters and plot; sources and Nachleben; and rhythmic structure.

An edition and commentary of the Lex Conuiualis, which occurs in all the complete manuscripts of the Querolus, is also provided.
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This thesis comprises essentially the results of my own personal research.

I have recollated all of the manuscripts containing the Q, including the recently discovered Hamburgensis, which has not previously been used to establish the text of the Q. Variant readings are noted in the apparatus criticus, and a new stemma is proposed. I have also examined the Ottobonianus, not previously considered in this connection, and the manuscripts of the Florilegium Gallicum and Florilegium Angelicum collections, the latter only recently identified, most of which have not been considered either. Eight complete, two fragmentary, and seventeen excerpt manuscripts are now known (uide the intro. section on Manuscripts). I have also studied, at the Burgerbibliothek, Bern (Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne), the manuscript notes made by Pierre Daniel, the first editor of the Q, for his proposed second edition, which remained incomplete and unpublished. These have not previously been taken into account in an edition of the Q (uide the intro. section on Editions). My own translation of the Q (including the additional readings from the Hamburgensis) is given, and the first English commentary on the full text is provided. The Lex Conuiualis is also translated and provided with a commentary for the first time. The structure of the Q is identified as rhythmic prose, containing iambic-trochaic clausulae, not any form of verse, while that of the Lex Conuiualis is prose with prose clausulae (uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure). The author remains anonymous, identifications with Axius Paulus, Avianus, Palladius, etc., being rejected (uide the intro. section on Author). The question of the author's Christianity or paganism is also discussed (uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Religion). The dedicatee may have been Rutilius Namatianus (uide the intro. section on Dedicatee). The play was written in Gaul, not North Africa, at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. (uide
the intro. section on Place and Date of Composition). The original audience of the play would have been the Gallo-Roman intelligentsia portrayed by Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris. In genre the Q. is identified as a palliata. The author's intention for it to be read, recited or acted is also discussed. The Q. is the only complete extant Latin play apart from those of Plautus, Terence and Seneca. An isolated late work, it has an important position in the history of drama between the Roman and the Medieval. (uide the intro. section on Genre). The plot is a sequel to, not an adaptation of, that of Plautus' Aulularia (uide the intro. section on Plot). The author himself seems to have known only the works of Plautus, Terence, Cicero and Vergil, and the name of Apicius. Although he may have known a lost Plautus' play based on a lost Greek original, the Q. cannot be used to reconstruct Menander's Hydria (uide the intro. section on Sources). The Q., rather than Plautus' Aulularia, was the source of the twelfth century A.D. Aulularia of Vitalis of Elois (uide the intro. section on Nachleben).
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addendum.

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"Parmi les productions de la littérature profane du quatrième siècle (sic) qui sont parvenues jusqu'à nous, il en est peu, à mon sens, de plus curieuse que la comédie intitulée Querulus... Tout est mystère à l'égard de cette œuvre singulière."
(Dezeimeris (1880) p.453.)

"Au milieu de l'invasion, des brigandages, des guerres civiles et des famines, pendant que les moeurs devenaient dures et l'esprit humain débile, quand l'Occident achevait d'entrer dans sa grande maladie de dix siècles, cet inconnu écrivait pour nous la dernière œuvre gaie du monde antique."
(Havet's ed. (1880) p.20.)

"Elle prouve qu'à la fin de l'empire un auteur bien doué pouvait encore plaire en mettant au goût du jour de vieilles histoires fort simples et en renouvelant un genre, qu'on aurait pu croire usé, par l'observation satirique des travers contemporains."
(Herrmann's ed. (1937) p.xx.)
INTRODUCTION.
MANUSCRIPTS.

Information concerning some of the MSS. is given in each of the editions, especially Ranstrand's, as well as in the works listed in the individual bibliographies, infra (vide the intro. section on Editions).

Except where otherwise noted, I have recollated the MSS. from microfilm or photocopies.

List of Manuscripts.

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MANUSCRIPTS; BIBLIOGRAPHY, DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY.

Vaticanus Lat. 4929.

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BETHMANN Report on the Vaticanus in Archivium Francofurtanum XII p.245.

BIGNAIA ODIER, J. and RUYSSCHAER, J. La Bibliothèque Vaticane de SIXTE IV à Pie XI (1973) pp.55, 101, in "Studi e Testi" CCLXXII.


ROUSE, R.H. and M.A. "The Florilegium Angelicum" in Festschrift Hunt pp.72-74, 77-78.

STUDENMUND, W. "Plautinische und unplautinische Wortformen" in Hermes (1866) pp.281-311.

Description.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City State (Rome); 9th. century; written in France; published plates in Barlow, nos. 13, 14; parchment; 199 folios; 231 x 220 mm.; two columns; 22 lines; corrections and annotations by a second hand, V2, contemporary with Vi (Heiric of Auxerre, vide infra), and by a third, later, hand, V3 (vide infra). The glosses and scholia of V3 are all edited by Barlow. Q, folios 55 recto to 77 verso. Other contents are: before the Q: a 10th. or 11th. century copy of a letter on the Greek language, with a fragment of a Greek alphabet, folios 1 recto to 1 verso; Censorinus, De Die Natali, folios 2 recto to 34 recto; the Praecepta Artis Musicæ, an epitome of Augustine's De Musica, folios 35 recto to 50 recto; four anonymous sermons of the 9th. to 10th. century, written in the 10th. or 11th. century, folios 50 verso to 54 recto; after the Q: three concentric circles, folio 77 verso; a labyrinth, folio 78 recto; Julius Paris' epitome of Valerius Maximus' Dicta et Facta Memorabilia, with Titius Probus' De Praenominibus, folios 79 verso to 148 verso; the Septem Mira, folio 149 verso; Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia, folios 149 verso to 188 recto; Vibius Sequester, De Fluminibus, Pontibus, Leobus, Nemoribus, Paludibus, Montibus, Gentibus, folios 188 recto to 195 verso; a 10th. or 11th. century list of parishes in the diocese of Orleans, folio 196 verso; the first four verses of the Disticha Catonis, folio 197 recto.
History.

In the early 860s at the monastery of St. Germain of Auxerre, Heiric of Auxerre (841 - 876/7), who studied and taught there, collected together the contents which now form V. These were copied out by a scribe, VI, and corrected and annotated by Heiric, V2. The handwriting of these annotations matches that of those, by Heiric, in another 9th. century St. Germain MS., Mellicensis Lat. 412 (formerly G 32) in the monastery library of Melk, Austria (vide Billanovich (1956) p.333). Heiric's collection was in two parts. The first half consisted of three different parts, Censorinus, Augustine, and the Q. The second half was already a complete whole: Julius Paris with Titius Probus, the Septem Mira, Pomponius Mela, and Vibius Sequester, all written out by Flavius Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus in Ravenna in the 6th. century. This MS. had probably been removed from Ravenna in Merovingian or Carolingian times to the palace library at Quierzy (or Kiersy) - sur - Oise. King Charles II, the Bald (823 - 5th./6th. October, 877, grandson of Charlemagne) may then have presented it to Heiric, whom he patronised, or to the monastery of St. Germain of Auxerre, which he favoured. For Heiric also studied at the monastery of Laon, close to the palace of Quierzy, and dedicated his Vita Sancti Germani to King Charles. The Censorinus was taken from a MS. now lost, which was copied from a 7th. century MS. which survives in Cologne Cathedral library. The sources of the Augustine and the Q. remain undiscovered. Heiric also studied at the monastery of Ferrières, and his methods of correction used on V (i.e. V2) are similar to those of Lupus of Ferrières (d. 862, vide Billanovich (1956) p.329, Beeson, pp.13-15). The concentric circles (on folio 77 verso) and labyrinth (on folio 78 recto) drawn in V also occur in another 9th. century St. Germain MS. (Cod. Par. Lat. 1745, circles folio 40 recto, labyrinth folio 30 verso). A pupil of Heiric, Remigius of Auxerre, mentioned the Q. in a gloss on Boethius (Cod. Par. Lat. 15090 folio 19 recto) written at the beginning of the 10th. century (circa 902 to 908),
so he must have known about the Q. from Heiric, although he may not necessarily have seen V. In the De Consolatione Philosophiae (II prose 2) Fortune replies to man's complaints against her: "Quid tu homo ream me cotidianis agis querelis? Quam tibi fecimus iniuriam? Quae tua tibi detraximus bona? Quouis iudice de opum dignitatumque mecum possessione contende. Et si cuiusquam mortalium proprium quid horum esse monstraueris, ego iam tua fuisse quae repetis sponte concedam." Remigius comments: "Hoc schema ex Plauto sumptum est de illa fabula quae Querolus uocatur, ubi dicitur quod huius pater multas habuerit pecunias quas, mortiens, in terra abscondit ipso absente. Contra quem Fortuna utitur his uerbis, conquerentem de morte patris et de perditis pecuniis: 'Quid tibi subtraximus? Hoc quod nostrum erat accepimus, non tua.' " The name Querolus and the plot thus summarised clearly refer to the Q. rather than to Plautus' Aulularia (although Bolton suggested either). The Q. was again mentioned early in the 10th. century, in a letter dated 8th. September, 903 from Bishop Burchard of Passau to Canon Madalwin written at Padua (Münich, Bayerisches Haupostaatsarchiv, Passau, H L 3, Gottlieb 149, the "Landsdorfer Codex", folios 124 verso to 125 verso). On folio 125 recto, under the heading De arte grammatica, is a list of works including et Plauti Aulularia (sic), that is the Q. (uide Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz Münich (1977) ed. E. Bischoff, vol. IV, i, Bistümer, Passau, Regensberg, ed. C.E. Ineichen-Elder, p.26, line 62). It is of course uncertain whether Bishop Burchard saw a MS. of the Q., and, if he did, whether it was V. By the 11th. century V had moved to the neighbourhood of Orléans. On folio 196 verso appears a list, dated to the 10th. or 11th. century, of 36 names of parishes in the diocese of Orléans, entitled De Ministerio Arnulfi, together with the amount of dues that each was expected to contribute to the general expenses of the diocese. They have all been identified with modern French villages in the
neighbourhood of the town of Pithiviers in the Orléanais, and fall within the limits assigned to the archdeacon of Pithiviers on the map of the diocese of Orléans drawn by Sanson in 1653. (For this and similar lists of the period, see De lisle.) Arnoulph was Bishop of Orléans up to the end of the 10th. century (see De Certain). Barlow (p.106) and Gelsomino (p.xv) suggested that V3 might be identified with Arnoulph of Orléans, but V3, the second corrector, was working at the end of the 11th. or beginning of the 12th. century. The additions made by V3 are of three kinds: firstly, the introductory gloss on the subject of the play and discussion of literary forms in general and comedy in particular, with the division of the play into acts, and a running commentary, both marginal and interlinear, summarising the action and interpreting the speeches (see the intro. section on Genre); secondly, explanations and definitions of interesting and unusual words; thirdly, additions to elucidate the meaning. It has not been established whether V3's corrections are manuscript readings or emendations. There are no earlier or contemporary copies of this commentary, although the spacing of the notes might suggest that they were copied from elsewhere. (see Barlow, p.106, "It has not been possible to find any evidence to influence a decision as to whether these glosses appear in this manuscript for the first time or whether they were merely copied from an earlier codex, but in the absence of any compelling reason for supposing that these are only copies I am inclined to believe that they originated at the time when they were put into the manuscript, i.e. at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth"; Gelsomino, pp.xiv-xvi, "Non uidetur ex collatione emendasse, sed suo arbitrio usus"). Many of the scholia are taken from Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae sive Origines (see the intro. section on Genre). Scholia also derive from Firmicus Maternus' Matheseos and Fulgentius' Mythologiae. Copies of both of these works were
available at the abbey library of St. Benedict at Fleury during the Middle Ages, but not necessarily as early as the time of V₂ (uide Barlow). Other scholia come from Justinian's Institutes, and others are now to be found in the Corpus Glossarum Latinarum (uide Barlow), but some still remain unidentified. On folio 60 recto a gloss of V₃ on the Q₁ (17.13) reads Ligerem dicit a nominativo Liger, quem ponit Albius Tibullus (I.vii.12), "Camutis et flavi caerulea lympha Liger", and on folio 190 verso a gloss of V₃ on Vibius Sequester's De Fluminibus reads Liger Galliae dividens Aquitanos et Celtas, in Oceanum Britannicum euvoluitur. So the glossator appears to have been familiar with the River Loire, and V therefore still in the Orléans area; perhaps either in the monastery library of St. Benedict at Fleury (as was L₁), or of St. Mesmin at Micy (as was at least part of §), or in the library of the Cathedral Church of St. Croix, of which Arnoulph of Orléans had been Bishop. Folio 197 recto contains the first four verses of the Disticha Catonis. The first two verses of the Disticha Catonis occur on another MS. belonging to St. Benedict of Fleury in the 12th. century, Cod. Par. Lat. 5763, folio 180 verso. V₂ or a contemporary then recopied all the texts of V, including V₂'s glosses on the Q₁, into a MS. now lost, Q₁, and added three geographical works, the De Nominibus Gallis, the Nomina Provinciarum and the Notitia Galliarum. S was copied from a in the 12th. century. It originally contained the Q₁ in its entirety, although without V₂'s scholia, but it is now fragmentary, and was later joined to several other fragmentary and unrelated MSS. by Paul Petau (uide infra on §). The first of these fragments certainly came from St. Mesmin. The extracts of the Q₁ in the Florilegium Gallicum and Florilegium Angelicum collections were copied from V after the time of V₂, in the 12th. century (uide infra on the Flor. Gall. and Flor. Ang.). They could also have been copied from a rather than directly from V (uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.68). In the 14th. century a was at Avignon, where
Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 20th. July, 1304 - 18th. July, 1374) annotated it in 1335 with notes, emendations and parallels, especially on the geographical texts. His annotations were later copied into A. On the subject of the lower Rhône, in Pomponius Mela's De Chorographia, II.v.78 (A folio 19 verso) he remarked *Nota fabulam, Nam locum nostri*, and at De Chor., II.v.75 (A folio 19 recto) he noted *Avinio. Ubi nunc sumus 1335.* For Petrarch's glosses on the *Q.*, *uide* Billanovich (1956) pp.344 seq. Petrarch lent *G* to his friend Boccaccio (Giovanni Boccaccio, 1313 - 21st. December, 1375), who made a copy of it which is now lost, *G*. So he must have read VI's introductory gloss on comedy at the beginning of the *Q.*, and thought it suitable as an introduction to Terence, as this gloss also occurs in the 15th. century MS. Vaticanus Chigiianus H VII 240 of Donatus' Commentary on Terence, folio 2 verso, under the heading *Boccaccii ut opinor super comedian Aularian (sic) nescioquam (uide Les Manuscrits Classiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, vol. I, "Fonds Archivio San Pietro à Ottoboni", ed. E. Pellegrin, J. Fohlen, C. Jeudy, Y.-F. Rion, A. Marucchi, Paris (1975) pp.376seq., no. 21). Boccaccio left his library to his father confessor, the Augustinian Martino of Signa, to become after his death the nucleus of a public library in the Florentine monastery of Santo Spirito. In 1381 the Florentine Lorenzo Ridolfo visited Martino, and on 7th. June he wrote a letter (Florence, Bibliotheca Nazionale, Cod. Pano. 147, folio 16 verso) to Jacopo Tolomei, Bishop of Narni and Papal Nuncio to Tuscany, referring to a volume containing Pomponius Mela and Plautus' *Aularia, i.e. the Q.* (i.e. *G*): "Volo scias, mi optime pater et domine, pridie, et non multum, cum forem in bibliotheca clarissimi praeceptoris mei ac patris spiritualis Magistri Martini ordinis heremitarum gloriosissimi Augustini, ubi tanta in morem siluae librorum condensio est, et, ut ritus est quam saepius, libros olim Iohannis Boccaccii circumvortendo uiserem, inter alios inueni quoddam volumen, in quo manu sua serenissime ac ornatissime
scriptus erat liber ille uerborum et sententiarum pondere facundus Pomponii Melae as Aulularia Plauti." When Petrarch died in 1374, most of his library, including $a$, was obtained by the Duke of Padua. Giovanni Conversini of Ravenna, a teacher at the University of Padua and Chancellor to the Duke of Padua, possessed a certain MS. (now lost), one section of which, entitled Expositio Aululariae, was in fact a copy of the $Q$, with the comments of $V_3$. This must have been taken from $a$. The MS. was passed on to his pupil Francesco Barbaro. In 1388 the Duke of Milan obtained the Petraroan MSS., including $a$, from the Duke of Padua. In 1430 Giovanni Corvini of Arezzo, Chancellor to the Duke of Milan, copied $a$, incorporating the scholia of $V_3$, into A (uide infra on A). By the mid-15th. century $V$ itself was in Italy, and belonged to Serafino Nibio, of Novara, near Milan, who took part in the Grand Council of Novara on 21st. February, 1451. He autographed $V$ on folio 198 recto Serafini de Nibia and on folio 199 recto Serafini and Serafini Nibii. In the 16th. century it belonged to Cardinal Sirleto (d. 6th. October, 1585), according to the note on folio 1 recto Emptus est liber ex libris Cardinalis Sirleti. Most of Sirleto's library, including $V$, was bought by Cardinal Ascanio Columna on 4th. July, 1588. After his death on 17th. May, 1608, his library was bought on 6th. April, 1611, by Giovanni Angelo Duca d'Altaemps (d. 1620), on whose request the copy $Q$ was taken from $V$, including the scholia from $V_3$ (uide infra on $Q$). In 1612 Pope Paul V (17th. September, 1552 - 28th. January, 1621, Pope from 16th. May, 1605) bought 48 Latin MSS. of Sirleto's library, including $V$, from the Bibliotheca Altaempsiana for the Bibliotheca Vaticana, and these bear the note Emptum ex libris Cardinalis Sirleti. The leather binding of $V$ bears the seals of Pope Leo XIII (2nd. March, 1810 - 20th. July, 1903, Pope from 1878) and Cardinal Pitra (Cardinal 1878 - 1889).
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(1876) especially pp.26-30; reviewed by C. THUROT in Revue
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Description.

Bibliotheca der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden; formerly Leid. Voss. Lat. 147; 9th. or 10th. century; written in France; parchment; 24 folios; 230 x 170 mm.; one column; 28 lines; corrections by a second hand, L2, contemporary with L1; used by Daniel for his first edition; with the variants of P written in the margin by Daniel. Q., folios 1 recto to 24 recto. Folio 24 verso contained eight lines of verse, now erased, and a runic alphabet. Folio 0 is a preliminary page, separate from the remainder, 0 recto bearing an illegible fragment of a charter.

History.

In the 16th. century Daniel obtained this MS. from the monastery library of St. Benedict at Fleury on the Loire in the diocese of Orléans. The monastery was plundered by the Huguenots, under the Prince de Condé, Louis I de Bourbon (1530 - 13th. March, 1569), on 2nd. May, 1562. Pierre Daniel (circa 1530 -1603/4) obtained many MSS. from this library, both before and after its sack. L was, he said, presented to him by the Abbot, Cardinal Odo (or Odet) Coligny of Châtillon, a friend of his father François Daniel, before the sack of the abbey. He dedicated his edition of the Q. to the Abbot: "Hoc semper maxime in uotis habui, Cardinalis Illustrissime et Amplissime opportunum aliquid tempus mihi dari, quo defuncti patris tibi addictissimi uestigiis insistens meam erga te observantium aliquo officii genere testarer. Id nero nunc mihi oblatum esse arbitror, si ea quae apud me benigno deposuisti, non maligne suppressa in sinu tegam, sed summa fides ad te referam, atque adeo bona tua uenia in publicum proferam. Absit autem ut in id ingrati animi uitium incidam, quo tentetur qui praecella ueterum librorum monumenta beneficiuo tuo nacti, posito omni pudore illiberaliter alio transferunt. Mihi certe consilium semper firmum ac stabile fuit, neminem praeter te agnoscre auctorem et fautorem eorum quae apud te nata essent: cuius generis cun sit haec antiqui auctoris fabula, non minus insignis uetustate, quam admirabilis argumenti raritate, in tuo nomine editam ad te remitto, accedentibus quidem usuros; nam a nobis
emendata est, et breuibus notis illustrata." This dedication is
dated 5th. June, 1564. The privilegium regis of the first edition
of the Q. is dated 12th. December, 1560. Daniel did not become
the bailli (juridical officer) of the abbey until after the sack,
in 1574, after his father and brother (also called Francois).
Daniel used the MS. for his first edition, and later noted the
variant readings from P in its margin. He also wrote his name five
times on folio 0 recto, while folio 0 verso bears an epigram of
George Buchanan (February 1506 - 1582) for use in the edition.
(Daniel also obtained many MSS. by various means after the sack of
the monastery, some rescued, some bought, and has incurred much
praise or blame for this. It has been claimed that L was among
these later acquisitions, but it is clear that he expected to be
able to make use of it for the Q. long before this.) After Daniel's
death, Jacques Bongars, Seigneur de la Boudry et de la Chesnaye, near Orléans
(1554 - 29th. July, 1612) and Paul Petau (d. 17th. September, 1614)
together bought most of the library of Pierre and Francois Daniel,
comprising some 1,500 MSS., from his relatives, for 1,500 francs,
and divided it between them. Most of Bongars' portion eventually
reached Berne, where are the manuscript notes for Daniel's second
edition (vide the intro. section on Editions). Of the remainder of
Daniel's library, some MSS. remained at Orléans, others reached
Paris, and others were bought by Isaac Vossius (1618 - 1689) and
Nicholas Heinsius (20th. July, 1620 - 7th. October, 1681) from a
widow in Orléans through the intermediacy of a bookseller. Vossius'
library, now presumably including L, at the bottom of whose folio
1 recto appears the ex-libris Ex Bibliotheca Viri Illustrii Isaaci
Vossii, was sold, after his death, by his heirs, to the Curators
of the University of Leiden. (Vossius also received a few MSS. in
return for arranging the sale, in 1650, to Queen Christina of
Sweden (8th. December, 1626 - 19th. April, 1689, Queen 8th.
December, 1644 - 6th. July, 1654), of some MSS. which Alexander
Petau received after the death of his father Paul, and it is also
possible that L was amongst them.)
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Description.

*Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City State (Rome); the *Vetus B Camerarii* of Plautus; *P* in Havet's and Peiper's eds.; end of the 10th. or beginning of the 11th. century; written in Germany; parchment; 213 folios; 293 x 223 mm.; one column; 54 lines; corrections by a second hand, *R2*, contemporary with *R1*; used by Rittershusius' and Gruter for their edition. This is the only complete MS. to use the title *Querolus*, as the *Aulularia* occurs elsewhere in the collection of Plautus' plays. Nor does it directly attribute the work to Plautus, but this is no doubt to be assumed from the general attribution of the collected works to Plautus. *Q*, folios 1 verso to 9 recto. Eight Plautine plays only were written originally, on folios 9 verso sqq., with a list of the contents on folio 9 verso. An extra twelve were added later, folios 74 verso sqq., with the title only of the *Vidularia* on folio 211 verso. The *Q* was added in front, on folios 1 verso sqq., with a new list of contents on folio 1 recto, while that on folio 9 verso was erased.
In 1512 Martin Polichius Mellerstadt and Paul Melissus Schedius presented this MS., which they presumably found somewhere in Germany, to Vitus Verler (Witus Werler). He took his library with him from Leipzig to Nuremberg, where he left it to the care of Michael Röting when he went to Italy in about 1520. Apellus notified Joachim Camerarius (12th. April, 1500 – 17th. April, 1574, known as Kammermeister, real family name Liebhard) of the existence of this MS. in Verler's library, having heard of it probably from Mellerstadt, who was the first rector of Wittenberg University, as Wittenberg seems to have been Apelles' home town. Camerarius also studied at Wittenberg. Camerarius obtained this MS. from Röting; Pareus said that he bought it. When Verler eventually returned from his travels, by 1536, he made his home in Tübingen, and may also have returned to Nuremberg. Sometime before or after this he wrote to Camerarius asking for the return of his MS. Camerarius replied in a letter dated sometime after 1533, when he was teacher of History and Greek at the Gymnasium in Nuremberg, which he left in 1535 to reorganise the University of Tübingen, which he left in turn in 1541 to reorganise the University of Leipzig. In his reply he referred to being Verler's neighbour, and tried to defer his request, offering to send him many more valuable MSS. in exchange, since he wished to use R for his first edition of Plautus (1552). Verler presumably replied to his letter, as Camerarius stated in the introductory letter to his edition of Plautus that he had Verler's permission to use the MS. Later Camerarius must have owned the MS., by exchange or purchase, since Konrad Ritterhusius (Rittershuys) borrowed it from his son in Nuremberg in 1590 for his edition of the Q. in 1595. In his dedicatory letter to Jan(us) Gruter (Grutère, 3rd. December, 1560 – 20th. September, 1627), dated 1593, Ritterhusius referred to seeing the MS. three years previously. Camerarius' heirs gave it to the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, where it was seen by Philip Pareus (Wüngler, 1576 – 1648) at the beginning of the 17th. century through the good offices of Gruter, who became the
University Librarian in 1602, as Pareus said in the Preface, dated 1609, to his first edition of Plautus, containing the Qr., in 1610. At the beginning of the "Thirty Years War", when Tilly (Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly, 1559 - 30th. April, 1632, Maximilian's Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of Field Forces) occupied Heidelberg, which fell in 1622, he captured the Palatine Library, and presented nearly all of its MSS., comprising 196 cases, to Pope Gregory XV (9th. January, 1554 - 8th. July, 1623, Pope from 9th. February, 1621), who had sided with the Emperor during the war, and endorsed the claims of Maximilian to Electoral dignity. The Pope sent the Vatican Librarian, Leo Allatius (Léone Allacci, 1586 - 18th./19th. January, 1669) to collect the MSS., but died before their arrival in June 1623, so they were received by Pope Urban VIII (Pope 6th. August, 1623 - 29th. July, 1644), and so they entered the Vatican Library, as Pareus noted in his third edition of 1649.

P  Parisinus Lat. 8121 A.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Codex Pithoeanus; formerly Regius 10210.3 and Colbertinus 3352; R in Havet's and Peiper's eds., and in Gagner, Heyl, Lockwood and Müllenbach; end of the 11th. or beginning of the 12th. century; written in France; parchment; 35 folios; 265 x 190 mm.; one column; 35 lines; glosses and scholia by a second hand, P2, with signs in the internal and external margins indicating sententiae, such as are found in MSS. of excerpts. Daniel wrote the variant readings of P into the margin of L. Qr., folios 11 verso to 27 recto. The MS. comprises three separate sections, although written in the same hand, apart
from folio 34 verso. The first of these comprises a poem in elegiac couplets from the beginning of the 11th. century, *Dudonis Sancti Quentini de moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, from Dudo of St. Quentin's History of Normandy, begun circa 1000 A.D.; the second is the *Q.*; and the third, hexameter poems, followed by the end of a prose instruction concerning the required dimensions for organ pipes.

**History.**

In the 16th. century the MS. was owned by Pierre Pithou (1st. November, 1539 - 1st. November, 1596), from whom Daniel borrowed it to collate with L. It had doubtless been in the Orléans area for some time before it entered Pithou's library. In the second half of the century Pithou bound it with a copy of Macrobius from Fleury. After his death, Jacques-Auguste de Thou (Thuanus, 1553 - 7th. May, 1617) bought most of Pithou's MSS. that were offered for sale. (Others remained in the Pithou family.) The collection remained in the De Thou family until 1679. In 1680 Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619 - 6th. September, 1683) bought most of the ancient Classical MSS., including P. On Colbert's death they went to his son, the Marquis de Seignelay, who died on 3rd. November, 1690, when they went to his brother (Colbert's son), Jacques-Nicholas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen. On his death on 10th. December, 1707, they went to his nephew, Seignelay's son (Colbert's grandson), L'Abbé Charles-Éléonor Colbert, Le Comte de Seignelay. He offered them for sale in 1728, and such was the outcry from scholarly opinion that nearly all of the remaining collection was bought for the Bibliothèque Royale (Du Roi) in February, 1732, whence they finally entered the Bibliothèque Nationale.
B Bibliography.

HAGENDAHL, H. "Notices sur le Texte du Querolus" in Fransos XXXVIII (1940) pp. 5-61.


Description.

Bibliothèque Royale (du Roi), Brussels; 12th. century; written in the Low Countries; parchment; 130 folios; 275 x 160 mm.; one column; 36 lines; numerous glosses and scholia by a second hand, B2. 2r., folios 1 verso to 22 verso. The remainder of the Ms., no. 5329, contains the comedies of Terence in the recension of Calpionius.

History.

In the 15th. century the Ms. belonged to the famous Dutch family of Busleyden from Bonschleiden in Luxembourg. Folio 1 recto contains the following, separate notes: Wilelmus me fecit.

Mihi Francisco de Busleiden praenito Leodiensi librum hunc dono dedit Magister Joannes Isembart Canonicus et Scolasticus Bruxellensis die XVII Mai 1498. Philippus Busleiden dedit Bibliothecae Vilvordianae. Lector ei bene apprécere. William was the twelfth century scribe. Johann Isembart gave the Ms. to Francis Busleyden on 17th. May, 1498. His son, Philip, later presented it to the Library of Vilvordia (or Bilefurte or Filfordia or Filfurdo, modern Vilvorde or Vilvoorde, a canton of Belgium, province of Brabant, arrondissement of Brussels), whence it later entered the Bibliothèque Royale.
Vaticana Reginensis Lat. 314.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City State (Rome); 12th. century; written in France; parchment; part six of nine parts of fragmentary and unrelated MSS. united by Paul Petau (side Barlow, p. 103, Wilmart, pp. 184 sqq.); 142 folios; 266 x 190 mm.; two columns; 39 lines. Q., folios 112 recto to 116 verso, originally complete, now only the end of the Q., comprising: folio 112 recto column 1: 41.3 adhuc to 41.10 famulus; column 2: 42.4 exercere to 42.6 volunt; folio 112 verso column 1: 43.6 leuis to 43.11 laudes; column 2: 44.13 pulchre to 44.22 est; folios 113 recto to 116 verso: 45.22 haec to end. The beginning of Julius Paris' epitome of Valerius Maximus follows the Q., folios 116 verso to 118 verso. As a copy of Q., a copy of V (side bibliography, especially Ranstrand, Barlow and Billanovich) the MS. is irrelevant for the establishment of the text.

History.

The Q. fragment is one of nine joined together by Paul Petau, who wrote Querulus on the flyleaf, folio 112 recto. The first of the fragments bears the ex-libris and anathema of St. Mesmin de Micy on folio 70 verso: Hic est liber Sancti Maximini Mitiacensis quem Hato eparius Deo et Sancto Maximino scribens fecit talis tenore ut si quis cum ab hoc loco non redditurus abstraxerit cum diabolo damnationem accipiat. Amen fiat. The greater part of Paul Petau's library passed to his son Alexander and so to Queen Christina (side the History of L) who died in 1689. She left the MSS. in her will to Cardinal Diego Azzolini, who died in the same year. He left them to his nephew, Pompeo Azzolini, who sold them to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, later Pope Alexander VIII (1610 - 1st. February, 1691, Pope from 6th. October, 1689, side the History of Q.), whence they entered the Vatican Library with the
name Reginenses. The present binding of the MS. bears the arms of Pope Pius IX (13th. May, 1792 - 7th. February, 1878, Pope from 16th. June, 1846).

A  Ambrosianus Lat. H 14 inf.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Milan; 15th. century (1430); written in Italy (by Corvini); parchment; 75 folios; one column; 24 lines; glosses and scholia from $V$, folios 48 recto to 75 recto. Other contents of $V$ contained by $A$ are: Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia, folios 1 recto to 33 verso; Vibius Sequester, De Fluminibus, folios 33 verso to 41 recto; Septem Mira, folio 47 verso. It also contains, folios 41 verso to 47 recto, the De Nominibus Gallia, the Nomina Provinciarum, and the Notitia Galliarum. As a copy of $A$, a copy of $V$ (uide bibliography, especially Ranstrand, Barlow and Billanovich) the MS. is irrelevant for the establishment of the text.

History.

Copied from $A$, a copy of $V$, by Giovanni Corvini Aretino of Arezzo, Chancellor to the Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti (d. 1447, Duke from 1412) in 1430, who added a poem on folio 76 verso to commemorate the birth of his grandson Giovanni Marco Antonio (Iohannes Marcus Antonius) to his son Luchino and daughter-in-law Margherita, during the night of 23rd. to 24th. November, 1430. Giovanni Corvini died on 25th. December, 1438 and his MSS. appear to have remained in Italy in the hands of his heirs. In
the 16th century the MS. was owned by Francesco Cicereio (1521 - 31st. March, 1596), whose MSS. passed into the Ambrosian, as is noted on folio 3 verso of A by the librarian, Antonio Olgiato.

O Vaticanus Ottobonianus Lat. 1549.

uide Bibliography for O.

Description.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City State (Rome); 17th. century; written in Italy; paper; two volumes; glosses and scholia from V3. Q*, folios 74 verso to 117 verso. O contains all V's contents, except for the Greek alphabet at the beginning, and list of parishes and verses at the end. As a copy of V (uide bibliography), the MS. is irrelevant for the establishment of the text.

History.

Copied from V at the request of Giovanni Angelo Duca d'Altaemps (d. 1620). The Bibliotheca Altaempsiana (apart from those MSS. bought by Pope Paul V, uide the History of V) was bought by Pope Alexander VIII (formerly Cardinal Ottoboni) in 1690. The Ottoboni collection was eventually purchased by Pope Benedict XIV (Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini, 31st. March, 1675 - 3rd. May, 1758, Pope from 1740) for the Bibliotheca Vaticana in 1748.

R Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 1042.

uide Bibliography for R.

Description.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City State (Rome); 12th. or 13th. century; written in Germany; parchment; 93 folios; one column; 29 lines; used by Rittershusius and Gruter for their edition. The Q. excerpts from R are quoted in Ranstrand, Q. Stud., pp.65sqq. Excerpts from the Q*, folios 68 verso to 69 verso; excerpts from Plautus, folios 68 recto to 93 verso. As these excerpts are taken from R (uide bibliography, especially Ritschl), the MS. is irrelevant for the establishment of the text.
The MS. was in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg in the 16th century, where it was seen by Gruter and Pareus. It presumably came to the Vatican by the same route as R, and Pareus noted its location there in his third edition.

Codex Remensis.

Bibliography.


BILLANOVICH, G. "Dall'antica Ravenna alle Biblioteche Umanistiche" in Aevum XXX (1956) p.325.


"Zum Codex Remensis des Phaedrus und Querolus" in Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Vereins für Bibliothekswesen I (1897) pp.1-7.


VINCENT, J.C. "Notice sur le Manuscrit de Phèdre qui est dans la Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint Rémi" in L'Almanach de Reims (1774) pp.81-84.

Description.

9th century; written in France; parchment; 165 x 135 mm.; it contained the Q and Phaedrus' Fables. Destroyed in the fire of the monastery, church and library of St. Rémi at Rheims on the
night of 15th. to 16th. January, 1774. A tracing made by Dom Jacques Claude Vincent in 1769 survives in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, no. C P I E 38, formerly no. 71 Zz 148, containing a fragment of the Q, 17.9 QUER to 17.19 liberas (omitting 17.11 ha to 17.12 nescio). A photograph of this is published in both of Von Premerstein's articles.

History.
The existence of the MS. in the monastery library was first pointed out by Dom Jacques Sirmond (12th. or 22nd. October, 1559 - 7th. October, 1651). In about 1769 Étienne Lauréalt de Ponceagne (d. 1779), librarian at the Bibliothèque Royale (du Roi) in Paris, wrote to Dom Jacques Claude Vincent (d. 22nd. September, 1777), librarian at St. Rémi, requesting samples of the handwriting of the MSS. of Phaedrus and the Q. (mistakenly thought to be two separate MSS.). Dom Vincent replied in a letter dated 31st. October, 1769, enclosing facsimiles traced through transparent paper. The Vienna copy of Daniel's first edition contains the facsimile of the Q, inserted between the cover and the front page, together with a note, probably by Ponceagne, on a paper page stuck on the inside of the leather cover, telling the story of the tracing. A copy of Rigault's second edition of Phaedrus in 1617 contains the facsimile of Phaedrus between its cover and first page, along with a similar note by Ponceagne, and Dom Vincent's letter. This book passed to André Dacier (6th. April, 1651 - 18th. September, 1722) and then to Lord Stewart of Rothesay, from whom Leopold Hervieux obtained it, by then including the additions. Dom Vincent also marked the variants of the Remensis in the margin of a copy of Brocas' edition of Phaedrus, 1743. In 1834 Jean Jacques De Bure presented to the Wiener Hofbibliothek the copy of Daniel's first edition containing the facsimile, whence it entered the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
Hamburgensis Lat. 185 in Scrinio.

Bibliography.

BILLANOVICH, G. "Dall'antica Ravenna alle Biblioteche Umanistiche" in Aevum XXX (1956) p.325.


HEINEMANN, F.K.O. von Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel (1884) IV, p.244.


Description.

Staatsbibliothek, Hamburg; formerly Gudianus Lat. 319; 17th. century (1660); written in France (by Sciasius); paper; one column; 30 lines; corrections (H2) by the same hand. q., folios 1 recto to 26 verso. This MS has not previously been used in an edition of the q.

History.

Samuel Sciasius (Schass, d. 1675) copied the MS, from the Remensis at Rheims for Marquardt Gudius (Gude, 1st. February, 1635 - 1689), his rich pupil and travelling companion, who was in Paris, in 1660, as Gudius noted on folio 0 recto: "Ex antiquissimo Manuscripto Codice Remensi, in quo Phaedri fabulae primo loco erant ligatae, sua manu descriptae sunt optimus atque omni laude dignissimus Samuel Sciasius, tum temporis, anno nimirum MDCLX, useterum manu exaratorum librorum causa, me ducem, Lutetia Parisiorum ad monasterium S. Remigii Remensis profectum. Marq. Gudius, Hunc libellum a Petro Daniele editum, post Daniele Cunradus Rittershusius et Janus Cruterus notis illustrarunt."

Gudius' library went up for auction in Hamburg in 1706, and the entry in the catalogue issued for the purpose shows that H was then bound with a copy of Rittershusius' and Cruter's edition: no. 56 Plauti Aulularia 1595. In eodem volume exstat Querulus (sic) descriptus ex manuscripts codice Remensi antiquo manu Samuelis Sciasii. This copy, with or without the attachment of H, entered the Herzogliche Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel with most of Gudius' library. H was in 1815 supposed to have been loaned to Paris from Wolfenbüttel, but never returned, a copy of Ritters-
husius' and Gruter's edition being returned in its place. H, however, was in Hamburg by 1770, because the Hamburg librarian, J.C. Wolfe, who died in that year, wrote Pleutiv Aulularia above Gudius' note on folio 0 recto. The most likely explanation would seem to be that H remained at Hamburg after the sale of Gudius' library, and that only a copy of Rittershusius' and Gruter's edition was sent to, and returned from, Paris.

**Florilegium Gallicum.**

**Bibliography.**


"Classical Authors in certain Medieval Florilegia" in Classical Philology XXVII (1932) pp.1-42.


**Description.**

The original collection of excerpts is dated to the 12th century (by Ranstrand, Ullman and Vollmer, to the 9th. century by Gagnér.)
M anstr. devotes an important chapter of his Q. Stud., pp. 78–86, to the problem of dating the Flor. Gall. The original collection was written in France. The Q. excerpts, mainly of a sententious nature, are edited by Gagner. As the excerpts of the Q. are taken from V (uide bibliography, especially Manstrand, Barlow, Gagner and Hamacher) or from Q, a copy of V (uide Manstr., Q. Stud., p. 68) the Flor. Gall. MSS. are irrelevant for the establishment of the text. Not all the MSS. of the Flor. Gall. contain excerpts from the Q. Those which do are listed below. (The history of these excerpt MSS. has but little relevance in a study of the Q., and has not been included.)

Flor. Gall. p Parisinus Lat. 7647.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; formerly Colbertinus 1347, Regius 3481; p 3 in Herrmann's ed.; end of the 12th. or beginning of the 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 185 folios; 275 x 190 mm.; two columns; 47 lines. The suggestion that this may have been Daniel's lost Codex St. Gervais or Codex St. Victor is probably incorrect. Q., folios 163 verso to 164 recto. The MS. is in two portions: firstly, folios 1 recto to 33 verso, an anonymous fragment of a Latin lexicon, letters F to T; secondly, folios 34 recto to 185 verso, the Flor. Gall. excerpts.

Flor. Gall. n Parisinus Lat. 17903.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; formerly Nostradamensis 188;

pl in Herrmann's ed.; end of the 12th. or beginning of the 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 170 folios; 340 x 250 mm.; two columns; 43 lines. The suggestion that this may have been Daniel's lost Codex St. Victor is probably incorrect. 2.; folios 124 verso to 125 recto. The MS. is in three sections: firstly, folios 1 recto to 160 verso, the Flor. Gall. excerpts; secondly, folios 161 recto to 166 verso, grammatical writings; thirdly, folios 167 recto to 170 verso, a 16th. century text.

Flor. Gall. a Atratensis Lat. 64.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Municipale, Arras; formerly no. 65; 13th. or 14th. century; written in France; parchment; 143 folios; 335 x 230 mm.;
two columns; 44 lines. The suggestion that this may have been
Daniel's lost Codex St. Victor is incorrect, as it has been at
Arres since the 14th century, when it was bequeathed to the
Cathedral Library of St. Vedast by a canon. Q., folios 112
recto to 112 verso.

Flor. Gall. e  Escorialensis Lat. Q 1 14.

Bibliography.

ANTOLÍN, G. Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca

LÖWE, G. and HARTEL, W. von "Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis"
in Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften
(1887) I pp. 218-220.

Description.

Bibliotheca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Escorial; e in
Herrmann's ed., end of the 13th. or beginning of the 14th.
century; written in France; parchment; 251 folios; 327 x 220 mm.;
two columns; 40 lines. The suggestion that this may have been
Daniel's lost Codex St. Victor is probably incorrect. Q., folios
168 verso to 169 verso. The MS. is in two sections: firstly,
folios 1 recto to 216 verso, the Flor. Gall. excerpts; secondly,
folios 217 recto to 251 recto, the Disciplina Clericalis of
Petrus Alfonsub.

Flor. Gall. b  Berolinensis Lat. Diez B Santen 60.

Bibliography.

BECKER, F. G. Prolegomena zum "Pamphilus de Amore" und Kritische
Textausgabe Düsseldorf (1972) p. 94, in "Mittellateinisches
Jahrbuch Beiblatt" IX.

BETHMANN, Report on Flor. Gall. Berolinensis in Archivium
Francofurtanum VII p. 854.

BOAS, M. "De Librorum Catonianorum Historia atque Compositione"
in Mnemosyne XLII (1914) pp. 17-46, especially p. 23.

OHLY, K. Notice on the Berolinensis in BOAS, M. and BOTASCHUYVER,

Notice on the Berolinensis in BOAS, M. "Ein Cat.-
florilegium" in Historische Vierteljahrschrift XXVII (1932)
pp. 601-609.
ROLLAND, J. Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Comique en France
Paris (1927) p. 141.

(1876) I, pp. x-xi.

VOIGT, F.A.E. ed. Niuerdi Gandaensis Ysengrimus Halle (1884)
pp. xi-xii.

Description.

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin; formerly Diez C Q 77;
\textit{f} in Peiper's ed.; 14th. century; written in Germany; parchment;
77 folios; 290 x 220 mm.; two columns; 41 lines. The suggestion
that this may have been Daniel's lost \textit{Codex St. Victor} is
probably incorrect. \textit{Q\textdegree}, folio 65 verso, a shortened version of
the excerpts.

An apograph of \textit{D\textdegree}, \textit{Q\textdegree}, now Berolinensis Lat. Diez C Q 77, in the
Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin, was made on paper by Schlee in
1804/5. It was copied by order of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez,
who then owned \textit{D\textdegree}. The \textit{Q\textdegree} excerpts occur on folio 315 recto.

\textit{Flor. Gall. t} Dertosanus Lat. 80.

(I have been unable to obtain a copy of this MS. The librarians
at Madrid and Tortosa have not answered my requests for information.)

Bibliography.

BAYERRI Y BERTOMEU, E. Los Códices Medieales de la Cathedral de

SANFORD, E. Matthews "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the
Libri Manuales" in \textit{Transactions of the American Philological
Association} LV (1924) pp. 190-248, especially p. 231, no. 311.

Description.

Cathedral Library, Tortosa; 12th. or 13th. century; written in France;
parchment; 183 folios; 205 x 155 mm.; folios 1 to 98 two columns,
folios 99 to 181 one column; 45 lines. \textit{Q\textdegree}, folio 92 recto to 93
verso; \textit{Flor. Gall.} excerpts folios 1 recto to 98 verso. The MS. was
assembled from seven disparate fragments, of which the \textit{Flor. Gall.}
is the first, \textit{uide} Bayerri y Bertomeu, pp. 223 sqq.
Flor. Gall. c Aretabensis Lat. 171.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Municipale, Arras; formerly no. 305; 14th. century;
written in France; parchment; 81 folios; two columns; 38 lines.
Q., folio 55 recto, two lines only. The beginning of the Q. is lost in the missing folios after folio 54. The MS. is in two parts: firstly, the Flor. Gall. excerpts, folios 1 recto to 63 verso; secondly, a glossary of moral commonplaces, with references to the Church Fathers.

Flor. Gall. d Duacensis Lat. 690.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai; 14th. century; written in France;
parchment; 355 folios; 220 x 150 mm.; one column; 35 lines. Q.,
folios 58 recto to 58 verso; Flor. Gall. excerpts, folios 21 verso to 86 recto.

Flor. Gall. v Veronensis Lat. 168.

Bibliography.


GROSS, C.J. Junior The Verona Florilegium of 1329 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (1959).


SCHWABE, L. Indices Scholarum Dorpat (1864) pp.3-4.


Description.

Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona; formerly no. 155; 14th. century (1329); written in Italy (in Verona); parchment; two columns; 55 lines. Q., folio 1 verso, two lines only.

Another Flor. Gall. MS., yet to be located, contains excerpts from the Q. This is Flor. Gall. a Salamanticanus Lat. 2306; 14th. or 15th. century; written in France; parchment; 115 folios; two columns; 43 lines; Flor. Gall. excerpts, folios 1 recto to 4 verso, and 8 recto to 115 verso. (The librarians at Madrid and Salamanca have not answered my requests for information.)

Another Flor. Gall. MS. once contained excerpts from the Q., which have now been lost. This is Flor. Gall. w Parisinus Lat. 711; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; formerly Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal and Bibliothèque de St. Victor; of which folios 244 to 243 are now Hamburgensis Lat. 53 C in Scriptorium Bibliothek, Hamburg; 12th. or 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 350 x 245 mm.; two columns; 45 lines. The suggestion that this may have been Daniel's lost Codex St. Victor cannot now be verified. This is a collection of fragmentary MSS., in which the Flor. Gall. excerpts once occupied 103 folios, 182 to 282, and 217(twice) and 218(twice). Folios 243 to 282, which once included the Q., folio 250, are now missing.
Florilegium Angelicum.

Bibliography.


Description.

The original collection of excerpts is dated to the 12th. century. It was written in France. As the excerpts of the $Q$ are taken from $V$ (uide Rouse), or from $a$, a copy of $V$ (uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.68), the Flor. Ang. MSS. are irrelevant for the establishment of the text. Not all the MSS. of the Flor. Ang. contain excerpts from the $Q$. Those which do are listed below. (The history of these excerpt MSS. has but little relevance in a study of the $Q$, and has not been included.)

Flor. Ang. F Laurentinus Lat. Strozzi 75.

Bibliography.


Description.

Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence; end of the 12th. or beginning of the 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 74 folios; one column; 32 lines. $Q$, folios 62 verso to 63 recto.

Flor. Ang. R Vaticanus Regiensis Lat. 1517.

Description.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City State (Rome); end of the 12th. or beginning of the 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 230 x 153 mm.; two columns; 50 lines. $Q$, folios 92 verso to 93 recto; Flor. Ang. excerpts, folios 63 recto to 100 verso.


Bibliography.

Description.

University Library, Sydney; 12th. or 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 32 folios; 158 x 130 mm.; one column; 28 lines. Q., folio 30 recto.

Flor. Ang. V  Vaticanus Lat. 3087.

Description.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City State (Rome); 13th. century; written in France or Italy; parchment; 93 folios; 222 x 158 mm.; one column; 28 lines. Q., folio 68 recto; Flor. Ang. excerpts, folios 23 recto to 68 verso. The MS. is in two parts: firstly, folios 1 recto to 68 verso; secondly, folios 69 recto to 91 verso, joined soon after the completion of the first part, as the first hand reappears on folios 92 recto to 92 verso.


(I have collated the actual MS.)

Bibliography.


Description.

British Museum (British Library), London; 15th. or 16th. century; written in Italy; parchment; 112 folios; 180 x 114 mm.; one column; 28 lines. Q., folios 110 verso to 111 recto.

Flor. Ang. x  Altissiodurenensis Lat. 234.

Bibliography.


Description.

Bibliothèque Municipale, Auxerre; formerly no. 198; 14th. century; written in France; parchment; 241 folios; 295 x 210 mm.; two columns; 43 lines. Q., folios 156 recto to 156 verso; Flor. Ang. excerpts, folios 141 recto to 179 verso.
Flor. Ang. s Parisinus Lat. 15172.

Bibliography.


"Inventaire des Manuscrits Latins de Saint Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 14232 - 15175" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes XXX (1869) pp.1-79, especially p.79.


Description.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; formerly St. Victor 785; p2 in Ranstrand's and Herrmann's editions, n in Ullman's articles; 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 213 folios; 175 x 120 mm.; two columns; 35 lines. The suggestion that this may have been Daniel's lost Codex St. Victor is probably incorrect. s is a variant of the Flor. Ang., not of the Flor. Gall., as suggested by Ranstrand and Gagner. q, folio 126 verso, a shortened version of the excerpts. Flor. Ang. excerpts, folios 122 verso to 134 verso.

Another Flor. Ang. MS. contains excerpts from the q, which have yet to be located, as the Flor. Ang. excerpts in it are reorganised by subject. This is Flor. Ang. p Parisinus Lat. 1860.


Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; formerly Regius 3758.10 and Colbertinus 959; 13th. century; written in France; parchment; 246 folios; 340 x 220 mm.; two columns; 55 lines. The MS. is in two parts: firstly, folios 1 recto to 216 verso, including the
Flor. Ang., folios 75 recto to 216 recto; secondly, folios 217 recto to 246 verso, a summary of the Old Testament, with preface and marginal concordance.

Another Flor. Ang. MS., now lost, contained excerpts from the Q. This is described in Richard of Fourinal's Biblionomia, item 84, vide DELISLE, L.V. Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale (Bibliothèque Nationale) 4 vols. Paris (1868) II, p.529, no. 84. The 14th. in his list of contents is the Q: Quarto decimo de comedia Plauti quae dicitur Allularia (sic).

Daniel also referred to some MSS., presumably of the Florilegia type, which are now lost. (One has recently been identified.) These are listed below.

Codex St. Victoria.
p5 in Herrmann's ed. Daniel said: "Atque etiam nuperrime (incidi) in antiquissimum codicem manu exaratum St. Victoris Parisiensis, cui De florata ex bonis auctoribus titulus inest, in quibus plurimas sententias huius fabulae excerptas, et in unum collectas repperi, atque haec omnia sub Plauti nomine in Allularia." The suggestion that this may have been Flor. Gall. P, n, r, s, or b, or Flor. Ang. s is probably incorrect. Nor was it Parisinus Lat. 15155, formerly St. Victor 756, as this MS. does not contain excerpts from the Q. It is impossible to verify the suggestion that it may have been Parisinus Lat. 711, formerly in the Bibliothèques de l'Arsenal and St. Victor, as the relevant folios are now missing.

Codex St. Gervasii.
p4 in Herrmann's ed. Daniel, continuing his remarks quoted above, said: Item Lutetia in collegio Sancti Gervasii. The suggestion that this may have been Flor. Gall. p is probably incorrect.
Codex Floriacensis.

Daniel said: "Præterea eiusdem (Queroli) fit mentio in uetustissimo libro glossarum, quem mihi una cum hac comedia suppeditauit amplissima fani Benedicti Floriacensis ad Ligerem Bibliotheca, quod celeberrimum et primum totius Galliae collegium fuit." The Codex Floriacensis has been identified by M.D. Reeve and R.H. Rouse as Bernensis 276 (Burgerbibliothek, Bern, Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne), an early 13th. century volume containing the dictionaries of Papias and Haquinio. It belonged in the middle years of the 13th. century to a lexicographer working in and about Orleans, who made extensive notes from ancient Latin authors in the margins of his books. In the late 14th. century it belonged to Jean de Guigne-court, Chancellor of the University of Paris, 1386 - 1389.

Sometime later it came to Fleury, and was acquired in the mid-16th. century by Daniel, who left his signature on folios 2 and 496: Ex libris Petri Danielis Aurelii 1565, as well as annotations and references. It passed with Daniel's books to the library of Jacques Bongars, and thence to Berne. The Q, is not actually cited by Papias or by the original scribe of this volume, but by the annotator, who on folio 176 verso added an example of the word pistrinum from Plautus in Aulularia. Daniel spotted this as a quotation from the Q (9.4), and he added next to it Plautus in Querolo.

Codex Compendiensi.

Daniel also alluded to an unidentified fragment from the Franciscan library at Compiègne: Deniue non ita pridem incidi in quoddam uetustum fragmentum ex Compendiensium Franciscanorum coenobio.

(For Daniel's manuscript notes at Berne, uide the intro. section on Editiones.)

Another MS., now lost, seems to have contained the Q, under the heading Aulularia Plauti, uide OMONT, H. "Anciens Catalogues de Bibliothèques Anglaises, douzième au quatorzième siècle" in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen IX (1892) pp.201-222, especially
p. 218, no. 314, an entry in the manuscript catalogue of the library of the Augustinian Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist of Llanthony secunda at Hyde, near Gloucester, reading Aulularia Plauti et Herungistus, in uno volumine.

It is impossible to determine which MSS. were seen by those later authors who quote from the Q, or were influenced by it (vide the intro. section on Nachleben). Vitalis of Blois certainly, and perhaps John of Salisbury and Liutprand of Cremona, used a complete MS. Vincent of Beauvais probably used an excerpt MS.
For the establishment of the text, the excerpt MSS. of the Flor. Gall. and the Flor. Ang. are irrelevant, as their Q. excerpts are derived from V (uide bibliography for Flor. Gall. and Flor. Ang., especially Ranstrand, Gagner, Hamacher and Rouse), or from a, a copy of V (uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.68).

The Q. excerpts in the Flor. Gall. are edited by Gagner. The MSS. 0 (17th. century), A (15th. century), and S are equally irrelevant, as they are also copied from V, O directly from V, A and S from a, a copy of V (uide bibliography for V, A, S, especially Ranstrand, Barlow, Billanovich and Studemund). We know that A was copied by Giovanni Corvini of Arezzo in 1430, and that 0 was directly copied from V at the request of Giovanni Angelo Duce d'Altaemps. A and O have other contents of V, as well as the Q. text. They also include the scholia of V3. That section of S which contains part of the Q. text is now fragmentary, and there is no means of knowing what else it once contained, although Julius Paris' epitome of Valerius Maximus does follow the Q., as it does in V. S does not, however, include V3's scholia. O, A and S, therefore, as Ranstrand said (ed. p.V) ad textum constituendum prorsus nihil ualent, and (Q.Stud., p.36) "haben also, wie schon Barlow hervorgehoben hat, für die Textgestaltung keinen selbständigen Wert"; so Barlow (p.125)

"It has been demonstrated that the Reginensis and the Ambrosianus are ... copies of the Q. as it now stands in the Vaticanus, and that consequently they have no value for the establishment of the text." The excerpt MSS. P is also irrelevant, as its Q. excerpts are derived from R (uide bibliography for R, especially Ritschl). The Q. excerpts in P are edited by Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.65sqq.

That P and B are related is shown by the number of incorrect readings which they have in common.

PB incorrect readings.

incipit Plauti Comici Poetae Prooemium (Prooemium B) in Aululariam fabulum incipitur PB opp. cett.
3.2 et ante honore add. PB
3.15 explicit (explicit B) proemium (proaemium B) materia incipitur PB materia haec est cett.
3.17, 4.1 nauim PB nauem cett. 4.1 et P et ad B ad P2 P2 cett.
4.13 quia om. PB
4.16 merito om. PB
4.16 suo PB sic cett.
4.20 uos PB uobis cett.
5.2 fabula PB fabella cett.
5.4 introducetur ante nunc add. P2 B
5.12 sed an ante querolus add. PB
5.20 hinc PB hic cett.
6.22 quod ante maledicere add. P, quidem ante maledicere add. B
7.4 hoc esse PB esse hoc P2 cett.
8.5 ut om. PB
9.21 satis alii quam PB satis alissque cett.
10.6 capitalia te fecisse PB fecisse te capitalia cett.
10.12 ha ha ha PB ha ha cett.
11.12 hoc om. PB
11.18 quid PB cett. pro quantum P2 pro quantum ante quid add. B
11.18 isto PB istoc cett.
11.21 tunc PB tune cett.
12.11 te ante nouit add. PB (sed del. P2)
12.11 non ante nouit add. PB
13.17 pertinet P2 B faciet P facit cett.
15.22 numquid PB numquidnam cett.
17.5 et om. PB
17.16 arbore P2 B2 robore w
18.3 est om. PB
18.3 plus quod PB quod plus cett.
19.1 ne PB neo cett.
20.3 0 ante calamitas add. PB
23.2 de om. PB
25.22 MAND om. PB
26.14 tuam PB tua cett.
27.8 es PB est cett.
28.24 hercle om. PB
29.7 hic om. PB
30.7 non PB nunc cett.
31.17 et ante in (alterum) add. PB
31.24 stringes PB striges cett.
33.14 istum PB istos cett.
33.19 SARD PB SYC cett.
34.17 panem domini P pro panem domini P2 pro pane domini B panem deum cett
36.7 hinc PB huo P2 cett.
36.8 ne PB tu non cett.
36.24 famulorum PB servulorum cett.
38.22 fuerit domi PB domi fuerit cett.
38.23 uiderit PB uideat cett.
39.3 fieri PB ferri cett.
39.16 cum PB tum cett.
PB also have incorrect readings in common with H, probably due to chance.

PBH incorrect readings.

38.15 ego PBH (possibly correct) ergo cett.
55.8 MAND PBH QVER cett.

That P is not a copy of B, nor H a copy of P, is shown by the individual errors of these two MSS., listed below. It seems unlikely that they would have been capable of correcting each other’s errors. It has therefore been suggested that they derive from a common source, E.
P incorrect readings.

3.19 fide P fide cett.
5.14 clodo P clodo cett.
7.1 nunc om. P
9.2 recogno P recognosco cett.
16.8 te felicem P felicem te cett.
19.1 nunc saltem P saltem nunc cett.
20.15 quis P quid cett.
20.16 mæret P mæret cett.
23.15 aliquid P aliqui cett.
24.7 atqui P atqui cett.
27.14 non esse P esse non cett.
28.8 amici P amicis cett.
33.6 semper denos P semper denos cett.
35.10 sciant P sciant cett.
38.9 PANT om. omes add. P
39.23 sumus vel sumus P sumus cett.
41.4 diurnius P diurnis cett.
43.16 monitamque P monita quae cett.
48.11 SYG SARDA cett.
51.8 fauseat P fauseat cett.
51.14 querolo P querolo cett.
54.17 his P is cett.
explicit finit feliciter amen P opp. cett.

B incorrect readings.

3.7 me B te cett.
3.7 non om. B
4.15 viator om. B
4.22 nostro B nostro cett.
5.13 est B erit cett.
5.15 duces om. B
6.7 nil B nihil cett.
6.12 res salua B salua res cett.
6.20 ex B e cett.
6.25 hui B hui cett.
7.5 dieamus B dieam cett.
7.15 conspicio B conspicio cett.
7.17 quaero B quaeso cett.
8.2 istud B istum cett.
8.8 ite om. B
9.6 iam nunc B nunc iam cett.
9.13 us B usus cett.
10.5 mihii B mihii cett.
10.10 hec B heo cett.
10.25 attamen B et tamen cett.
11.8 leui P tibi leui P tibi leui cett.
11.14 putas B putas cett.
13.2 maxime om. B
13.11 tibi B tibinet cett.
13.11 nec cito B nectito cett.
14.2 contra om. B
14.4 te om. B
15.2 tamdudum B iamdudum cett.
15.6 hinc B hic cett.
15.15 quae B queri cett.
15.17 ue B hem cett.
15.20 paulum B paululum cett.
15.23 quid nisi B quidni cett.
16.2 istud B istuc cett.
16.3 te miserum B miserum te cett.
17.4 mirabili B miserabili cett.
18.5 semperque B semper cett.
18.18 eorum B illorum cett.
19.19 quid B quod cett.
19.22 uti uis B uis uti cett.
20.19 respondebo B respondeo cett.
20.29 non ante difficultis add. B
21.10 tuae om. B
21.18 cum B tum cett.
21.18 subiceret B subiciet cett.
21.31 te ante obscuris add. B
22.31 mala sibi B sibi mala cett.
23.8 ni B nisi cett.
23.16 depraedunt B deprehendunt cett.
23.17 maius mihi B mihi maius cett.
23.18 quod B qui cett.
23.20 longe om. B
24.18 SYC B SARD cett.
25.12 iam om. B
25.28 nobis B ubois cett.
27.5 te tuo B tuo te cett.
27.5 tuos B servos cett.
27.10 sollers B modes cett.
27.11 inertem B ineptum cett.
27.19 homo om. B
27.22 sodales B modes cett.
28.4 quia B quid cett.
28.6 te nunc B nunc te cett.
28.12 molestius B molestus cett.
28.13 quaeso om. B
28.15 est nobis B nobis est cett.
29.1 si om. B
29.2 quod B quid cett.
29.14 contingit B contiget cett.
29.14 incessu B ingressu cett.
29.21 optime B maxime cett.
29.23, 30.8 quod B quid cett.
30.8 utilis B uelitis cett.
30.14 utile est B est utile cett.
30.15 euitatis om. B
31.1 gubernari B gubernare cett.
31.19 quis tam B quismam cett.
32.14 colla B capita cett.
32.25 nuno om. B
33.7 praecaturus B precator cett.
33.11 foras B foris cett.
33.13 pro lege B prole cett.
33.14 quem B quae cett.
33.16 pertulisti B pertulistis cett.
34.12 uolo B malo cett.
35.15 et om. B
35.16 heo B heo cett.
35.16 numquid non B numquidnam cett.
35.28 mane B manet cett.
36.12 te B de cett.
36.14 respicit uenerem B uenerem respicit cett.
37.24 uos ante amici add. B
37.31 esse solum B solum fore cett.
38.2 huo om. B
38.19 manifestum B manifestissimum cett.
38.21 est ille B ille est cett.
39.1 percolant B percolent cett.
39.10 fit B fuit sit cett.
39.17 iam nulla B nulla iam cett.
39.18 ultra citraque B ultero citraque cett.
39.24 redire om. B
39.26 cognoscit B agnoscit cett.
40.9 hoc dici B dici hoc cett.
40.13 falsum B factum cett.
41.1 isti om. B
41.5 crebro om. B
41.11 numquam B unquam cett.
41.20 hoc tantum B tantum hoc cett.
42.3 autem B ut cett.
42.8 clamat B clamavit cett.
42.9 ut facerem B me facere cett.
42.10 stat B fiat cett.
42.18 et captator B captatorque cett.
43.4 0 om. B
43.4 sio ante fieri add. B
43.8 grauius esse B esse grauius cett.
43.9 et ante noui add. B
43.16 iam ante dabunt add. B
44.6 solus B solum cett.
44.7 hino B huno cett.
44.7 nuno clau de B clau de nuno cett.
44.17 pro B prae cett.
44.25 creo B credam cett.
45.4 caaleres B celeri cett.
45.22 haec om. B
45.25 suenirent B sueniant cett.
45.25 qua B quod cett.
46.1 numquid non B numquidnam cett.
46.12 hoc om. B
46.17 est ille B ille est cett.
46.18 solet B potest cett.
47.12 magiam B magican cett.
47.19 labor B dolor cett.
47.21 exhereditasti B exheredasti cett.
48.3 iterum quaeso B quaeso iterum cett.
48.11 audirem B audiram B2 audieram cett.
48.26 angiportus B angiportum cett.
49.1 cura B crura cett.
49.7 atqui B atque cett.
49.13 te esse B esse te cett.
50.1 et B ut cett.
50.5 tu nomen B nomen tu cett.
50.5 uocas B uocitas cett.
50.12 thesaurum tibi B tibi thesaurum cett.
50.12 querole om. B
50.15 audio B audio cett.
50.20 laeniter B leuter cett.
50.27 non B nimo cett.
51.4 eodemque B eodem cett.
51.10 senem ante furem add. B
51.20 deseras B desinas cett.
52.8 non B nisi cett.
52.15 se B sese cett.
52.23 possem B possim cett.
53.5 hic ille B ille hic cett.
53.15 mi om. B
53.16 MAND ante salutas add. B
53.17 te ante iterum add. B
53.18 hec B heo cett.
53.21 salum B sum cett.
54.13 tuam B uestram cett.
54.19 thesaurum B thesauri cett.
54.22 et B ac cett.
55.1 atque om. B
55.1 illibaturnque B illibatum cett.
55.3 heo B heo cett.
55.13 non om. B
55.17 dixi iam B dixine cett.
55.23 sumum om. B
55.25 nos om. B
56.4 inficiatus B infitas cett.
56.21 fidem tu domi B tu fidem domi cett.
56.22 ipsum B ipsiumque cett.
57.1 iste om. B
57.14 et om. B
57.17 hec B heo cett.
57.18 manum B manus cett.
57.25 omnia mala B mala omnia cett.
The large number of individual errors in B renders it an unreliable witness to the original text.

P also has an incorrect reading in common with H, probably due to chance.

PH incorrect reading.

57.20 dicetis PH dicis cett.

B also has incorrect readings in common with H, probably due to chance.

BH incorrect readings.

8.7 tu me BH me tu cett.

55.9 equidem (alterum) om. BH

R shares the following incorrect readings with PB.

RFB incorrect readings.

9.16 respondere RFB responderi B2 cett.

13.24 assignatur R assignatur R2 assignatur PB assignatur cett.

18.6 calceos R2 PB carceres R cett.

23.9 numquidnam RPB numquodnam VL num quoniam H

42.4 tu autem RFB tu aut cett.


53.14 arbiter om. RFB

53.17 si add. R2 PB
60.1 nihil RB nihil P nil cett.
61.15 fusiam RB fusiam cett.
lex conu.4 et si RB si et cett.

RPB also share the following incorrect readings with R, probably due to chance.

RPBH incorrect readings.
7.7 QVER om. RPBH
56.4 restitue R2 PBM restitues R cett.

RP also have incorrect readings in common, as do RB.

RP incorrect readings.
27.15 aliquid RB aliquod R2 cett.
59.15 quidnam RB quodnam cett.

RB incorrect readings.
7.6 lar familiaris om. RB
13.15 tu mihi RB mihi tu cett.
29.4 quod R2 B qui R quid cett.
40.19 scriptulos RB scriptulos cett.
40.19 queritur RB quaeritur cett.
46.5 nostis RB nosti R2 cett.
48.26 conscidit R2 B conscendit R cett.
51.6 uuius RB uuius R2 cett.
51.10 mandrogerum R2 B mandrogero ante R mandrogerontem cett.

These readings suggest an affinity between R and PB, a common source, X, of R and B. PB certainly do not descend directly from R, as is shown by the large number of individual errors in R, listed below, which are not reproduced in PB. They appear too numerous to have been later corrected by PB or by their source, B.

The different incipit and explicit of R also indicate a separate development for R. As R contains all the extant Plautus' plays, we may presume that its scribe also supposed the Q to be Plautine; it could not, however, be thought to be the Aulularia, as this occurs elsewhere in the collection.

R incorrect readings.

incipit incipit Querolus R opp cett.
3.12 quod R quid cett.
3.17 super R insuper cett.
3.19 cognito R cognitum cett.
3.19 constituit R instituit cett.
4.1 dolo R doli cett.
4.7 dolo decipitur R decipitur dolo cett.
4.14 a re tulerit R retulerit cett.
4.15 ergo om. R
4.20 poeta ante pacem add. R
5.6 ille R ipse cett.
5.6 exponat R exponet cett.
5.23 atque seriem R seriemque cett.
6.11 male R malae cett.
7.1 hino subito R subito hinc cett.
7.2 hic R hino R2 cett.
7.2 hinc R hic cett.
7.8 tibi nunc R nunc tibi cett.
7.10 quod R quid cett.
8.1 quicquid R dix quid cett.
8.5 attingeris R attigeris R2 cett.
8.7 conting eris R conting eris R2 cett.
8.24 ministeriis R mysteriis cett.
9.3 te agere R agere te cett.
9.19 uerba tu R tu uerba cett.
9.26 ipsi R ipse cett.
10.10 post eho ante querole QVET Ecce iterum generale LAR Ergo omnia
de omnibus confiteris (11.5,6) add. R, et om. ad loc.
10.20 cepit R coepit cett.
11.13 illa om. R
11.19 saepo om. R
14.6 es om. R
14.9 antehaco nemini R nemini antehaco cett.
14.9 QVET ante nonne add. R
14.11 LAR R QVET cett.
15.2 sed R ohe cett.
15.6 est malus R malus est cett.
17.11 et R non cett.
17.19 quid R quis cett.
17.19 uso om. R
17.23 potest R potes cett.
18.6 et ante puluis add. R
18.12 serum R serium cett.
18.14 quod om. R
18.16 consequentur R consequuntur cett.
19.22 scite tu R si toto cett.
19.22 fero R foro cett.
20.19 huio R hic cett.
20.21 nichi concede meam R mean mihi concede cett.
20.23 te om. R
21.20 nonueram R noveram cett.
22.8 et si R si et cett.
22.20 ego R ergo cett.
22.23 quidem R qui est cett.
23.14 sycophanta om. R
23.14 sardanapallus om. R
23.15 MAND om. R
23.17 inienium R ingenium cett.
23.19 ditteranos R ueteranos R2 litteratos cett.
24.23 MAND om. R
24.23 optime om. R
24.24 SARQ Insupet etiam deflebamus om. R
26.20 sycophanta om. R
26.20 sardanapallus om. R
26.21 QVER om. R
26.23 hunc om. R
26.24 uidi R noui cett.
28.7 expectant amici R amici expectant cett.
28.12 nescies R ne mides cett.
28.23 nescio R scio cett.
28.27 tu hominem R hominem tu cett.
28.29 mane R non uacat cett.
29.5 ipsum id R ipsud cett.
29.10 placet R placeat cett.
29.12 et R uel cett.
29.16 disserantur R disseras VFB disserat LN
29.17 querolus om. R
29.17 mandrogerus om. R
29.17 sycophanta om. R
29.19 QVER om. R
30.14 nobis R uobis cett.
30.24 ne R nec cett.
31.8 SARQ ante sed add. R
31.8 MAND ante alid add. R
31.13 ista et R istaecc cett.
31.17 in terra om. R
32.4 atque R atqui cett.
32.22 collocantur R locuntur cett.
33.13 acbtur R editur cett.
33.19 desimus R de simiis cett.
34.1 illae R illici cett.
35.13 non om. R
38.1 nunc iam R iam nuno cett.
39.16 licet tendit R item intendit cett.
39.17 iam uolebam dicere om. R
39.21 causas om. R
39.25 quale om. R
40.4 sunt heo R hae sunt cett.
40.4 contusum R contusam cett.
40.9, 40.11 hoc om. R
40.11 et om. R
40.21 et ante mali add. R
41.10 tempore uigilat R uigilat tempore cett.
41.16 domi R domino cett.
42.6 propter om. R
42.9 est om. R
42.18 spectator R specularis cett.
43.1 querolus om. R
43.2 MAND om. R
43.10 tPr R praeter cett.
43.12 includimus R inclusimus cett.
43.17 mala om. R
43.19 istaeo om. R
44.12 sycophanta om. R
44.12 sardanapallus om. R
44.13 MAND om. R
44.20 atque R atqui cett.
45.5 pantomalus om. R
45.6 ARB om. R
45.14 dicitas R dictitatis H dictitas cett.
45.26 ossibus R ossibusque cett.
46.9 quod om. R
46.15 ipse dochirum R pseudothyrum cett.
46.19 sycophanta om. R
46.19 sardanapallus om. R
46.21 MAND om. R
47.14 iam omnia om. R
48.26 sures R suras cett.
49.17 illam malam R malam illam cett.
49.18 tuas R ruas R2 irruas cett.
50.8 hanc ante ad add. R
50.11 celeriter om. R
50.17 ipsi R ipse cett.
51.1 pantomalus R lar familiaris cett.
51.10 atque R ac cett.
51.16 querolus om. R
51.20 nunc dico R dico nunc cett.
53.14 querolus om. R
53.15 uemi R aus mi cett.
53.20 expoliasti R expilasti cett.
54.1 hodie om. R
54.25 ista esse R istaec cett.
55.9 perficeres R perspiceres cett.
56.15 quia R qui cett.
57.7 possunt R possint cett.
57.17 gratias R gratiam cett.
58.17 dic R dico R2 dicam cett.
59.2 facere R fare cett.
59.4 ipsa om. R
59.14 te om. R
60.14 si om. R
60.16 tibi R tibique cett.
60.20 te om. R
60.24 MAND R mandrogerus cett.
61.5 tibi om. R
62.1 sycof et sard R sycophanta querolus cett.
62.2 SYG om. R
62.2 nos quoque R nosque cett.
62.9 mandrote R mandrogerote cett.
62.10 ci ante digna add. R
lex conu. S defixis R inflixis H infiixis cett.
lex conui.12 complacuit R placuit cett.
lex conui.17 conuiui R conuiui cett.
explicit explicit Querulus R opp. cett.

R also has the following incorrect readings in common with H, probably due to chance.

RH incorrect readings.
51.17 QVER om. RH
53.18 ad RH at R2 cett.
54.16 per (alterum) om. RH

R also shares a few incorrect readings with VL. VLR are clearly closer in date to the archetype than PB, but these incorrect readings do not, however, seem to be sufficient or significant enough to prove a common source.

VLR incorrect readings.
6.14 qui om. VLR, add. PBH
6.15 non om. VLR, add. PBH
14.20 facilem VLR felicem PBH
52.16 corderetur VLR corderem PBH
55.15 MANO ante diis add. V2 LR
VLR also have incorrect readings in common with H, probably due to chance.

VLRH incorrect readings.
40.15 muta remuta VLRH mutare muta P mutare multa B
57.26 abstocc VLRH ab istoc V3 PB

LR also have incorrect readings in common, perhaps due to chance.

LR incorrect readings.
11.5 generale LR generalia cett.
37.16 illi LR illie R2 cett.
59.2 quid LR quod cett.

LR also have an incorrect reading in common with H, probably due to chance.

LRH incorrect reading.
33.3 alui des LR aluii H alui densi PB alui V3

VL do not have any certainly incorrect readings in common.
None of these readings, then, offers convincing proof of a common source for VL and R, although the large number of individual errors in R, listed above, does not preclude a closer relationship between it and VL, as R could well have introduced its own individual errors.
Nor can a common source be proved convincingly for VL, although they have the same *incipit* and *explicit*. Their common errors are similarly too few and insignificant.

**VL incorrect readings.**

*incipit* (possibly correct) Plauti *Amularia* *incipit* *feliciter* VL opp. cett.

3.8 manebat VL manebit cett.
27.22 uenias uenias V2 L uenias cett.
42.13 omnis VL meus V3 cett.
*lex conu.*10 loxu VL luxu cett.

The suggestion that L is a copy of V cannot be proven either. It is not, however, ruled out by the above readings common to LR and LRB, as opposed to VFB, which are few and insignificant; by the above paucity of evidence for V and L to be related; or by the individual errors of these MSS., listed below. L could well have introduced its own errors, and V3 could have corrected those of V before the time of L. L certainly has some readings in common with V3, *vide infra*, but there are not enough errors in number or significance to be conclusive. (The common location of V and L near Orléans (L in the monastery library of St. Benedict at Fleury, V either there, or in the monastery library of St. Mesmin at Micy, or in the library of the Cathedral Church of St. Croix) does suggest that they may be related in some way.)

**V incorrect readings.**

4.12 prodidit *uel* perdidit V reddidit V2 cett.
5.3 seruato V seruatum V3 cett.
8.11, 8.14 factum V fatum V3 cett.
23.15 fugaces V pugnaces V3 cett.
23.16 pugnaces V fugaces V3 cett.
*lex conu.*6 contemplationi V contemplatione H contemplationis cett.

**L incorrect readings.**

3.10 sumpsimus materiam L materiam sumpsimus cett.
5.14 sequeremus L sequeremur L2 cett.
7.17 re L rei L2 cett.
8.6 hic impune L impune hic cett.
14.9 hoc iustum L iustum hoc cett.
14.20 es L est cett.
18.22 heroes L V3 heredes cett.
19.17 illis L his cett.
27.6 gesserit L gesseris cett.
28.27 magum L magnum cett.
29.12 hunc esse L esse hunc cett.
31.4 euertat L euertant cett.
33.13 mihique L mihi cett.
34.14 noctiuagas L noctiuagos cett.
35.6 intellegas L intellegas L2 intellegatis cett.
35.18 esse L estne cett.
37.31 non L nuno cett.
42.9 caepit L praecipit cett.
43.16 non ita quae L monitamque P monita quae cett.
47.13 tonsetutus L consetutus L2 consecutus cett.
49.3 desinens L desines cett.
50.7 recipiam L recipio cett.
50.8 seuocte L seuoca cett.
52.18 omnia bona L bona omnia cett.
52.20 falleretur sic L sic falleretur cett.
52.23 homine L hominem cett.
53.2 ille L illi cett.
55.3 aliquod thesaurum L thesaurum aliquod cett.
58.5 illius defuncti L defuncti illius cett.
59.11 sustullisti L tulisti cett.
60.8 illius urnae L urnae illius cett.
60.28 he L ha H hem cett.

V and L also have the following incorrect readings in common with H, probably due to chance.

**VH incorrect readings:**

11.9, 11.11 perieraueris VH peieraueris V3 H2 cett.
11.22 perierat VH peierat V3 H2 cett.
27.12 uirum VH uerum cett.
32.16 con VH cum cett.

**LH incorrect reading:**

29.16 disserat LH disseras VPB disserantur R

H is a copy of the lost Remensis (uide bibliography for H and the Remensis, especially Reeve). It was copied by Samuel Sciasius in 1660. We are obliged to rely on its readings where it obviously ameliorates the text, uide infra, whether or not it is a faithful copy of the Remensis. The portion represented by the tracing of the Remensis (uide app. crit. to p.17) does indeed show H to be accurate. The appearance of H, with mistakes deleted in the text and corrected in the margin, may suggest that this is a copy taken directly from the original, rather than one written up neatly afterwards. The writing, however, appears as neat as
possible, and there are no obvious gaps filled in, as might have been expected of a first copy. So it may represent the last minute correction of a final copy. We cannot be sure whether the following variants were already in the Remensis, or were introduced into H by Sciasius, although some of them seem to be consistent with hurried or careless copying (ex. e for i and i for e). It therefore seems safer to err on the side of caution and to regard the variants as incorrect, except where they add to or obviously improve the text.

H variant (incorrect) readings.

4.20 prologus ante pacem add. H
4.20 sermo om. H
7.6 et ante lar add. H
8.8 et om. H
9.16 de quo H unde cett.
9.24 conticiscit H conticescet cett.
10.19 non om. H
11.8 hae H haec cett.
12.4 seruitio H sed uitio cett.
12.17 incipientum H insipientum cett.
13.4 dictu H dictum cett.
14.8 speciale H speciale cett.
17.6 exicet H excidit cett.
18.7 fluxus H fluxos cett.
20.1, 20.2 ut tibi vel ue tibi H at abi cett.
20.15 inest esse H inesse cett.
20.16 silet H si laetus cett.
21.6 numquidnam H numquid cett.
22.7 defluet H defluent cett.
22.20 cuiquame H cuiusquame cett.
22.23 possit H posset cett.
23.7 ne om. H
23.9 num quoniam H numquodnam VL numquidnam RPB
26.19 improbatis H improbitas cett.
29.10 ego om. H
31.15 sacellos H sacello cett.
33.13 additur H aditum cett.
33.16 non om. H
34.25 exornandi H exorandi cett.
35.15 est H es cett.
35.20 eloquutus H de me locutus cett.
35.21 hae H haec cett.
35.22 ne ante mihi add. H
36.14 trigonius H trigonus cett.
37.18 est post religio add. H
As well as these incorrect readings there are some obviously correct readings, unlikely to have been invented by Sciasius and probably correctly copied from the Remensis, which do not appear in any of the other MSS. It is therefore suggested that the original Remensis, earlier in date than the others, derived directly but differently from the archetype (or possibly via a different intermediary), while the other complete MSS., V, L, R, and G (PB), had a common hyparchetype, A, which introduced the errors and omissions not in the Remensis/H.
H variant (correct) readings.

4.11 thesaurum aurum H thesaurum cett.
4.20 noster H nostros cett.
5.3 e ante contrario add. H
5.20 ingrati H non grati cett.
8.23 est add. H
11.17 reticeam H taceam cett.
17.4 hao ante iuili add. H
17.24 numeras H numeras cett.
17.25 QVER H quam cett.
21.17 praedones etiam similiter post libenter add. H
25.4 thesaurum istum quem requirimus mihi post mihi ante sernari add. H
26.5 dextra sacrorium ad sinistra. {}AND add. H
30.20 si om. H
30.20 facile intelleges. Nae tria tu si euadere ante tr tu add. H
42.3 bene ante querole add. H
42.4 exercemus H exercere cett.
42.4 tu aut lites aut H tu aut VL tu autem RPB
42.6 non omnes fugere servum propter hoc ante quidem add. H
49.3 glossarum, quam add. cett., om. H agelastus est sine risu minimo stans.
51.2 pondere H pondera cett.
59.14 alia add. H
59.21 subdidisti H abdisti cett.

Reeve's suggestion that the Remensis was the MS. at the top of the stemma cannot be proven, for the number of individual errors in H, not repeated by any of the other MSS., and unlikely all to have been corrected by them (or by their hyparchetype, A), cannot be shown to have been introduced by Soiassius, rather than to have been already present in the Remensis. Moreover, where a fragment of the Remensis text survives only one of its five variant readings is likely to be correct.

Remensis variant (incorrect) readings.

17.12 quemammodum H,Rem. quemadmodum cett.
17.13 atque ante ad add. H,Rem. (probably correct)
17.13 legerem H,Rem. ligurem B ligerem cett.
17.18 appellauere H,Rem. appellauere VRP appellaberis V3 B apellaberis L
17.19 sileve RPB H,Rem. siluae VL

Other common incorrect readings, probably due to chance, have been seen above between FRB and H, F and H, B and H, RPB and H, R and H, VRB and H, LR and H, V and H, L and H. None of the common errors between H and other MSS. is convincing enough to suppose contamination rather than chance as their cause.
All the other common incorrect readings, probably due to chance, are as follows.

**VLB incorrect reading.**
37.12 promitto VLB promito L2 B2 RPH

**VPB incorrect readings.**
4.16 atque om. VPB (sed add. V2)
18.8 aequo VPB aestum V2 LRH

**VPBH incorrect reading.**
32.15 lingua VPBH linguam LR

**LRPB incorrect reading.**

lex oonu,6 contemplationis LRPB contemplationi V contemplatione H

**LPB incorrect reading.**
25.24 fenestras hic LPB hic fenestras cett.

**LB incorrect readings.**
27.8 quis LB qui L2 cett.
47.17 haec est LB est haec cett.

The existence of the archetype, w, is indicated by the following incorrect readings which occur in all the MSS. They suppose a common source of error, arising from, for example, a mistake in copying the original, which may have been illegible, or in resolving an abbreviation, or in including a gloss in the text.

(Unsolved cruces are marked with an asterisk, thus *.)

**w incorrect readings.**

*3.12 sed quantum licet H sed quantum hoc est cett.
*15.24 habeat teneat possideat sequa cum suis w
24.26 egomet etiam w egomet iam Ranstr.
25.15 indiculum w indiculum Paris
31.24 arpigiae VRP L2 arpigae L arpygiae H arpie B
32.2 querola ante si add. w, del. Klink.
*33.3 alui des LR alui densi B alui dens i P aluides H
*33.13 prole cognitur VLP prolem cognitur R pro lege cognitum R prole
34.3 pupillum w popellum Dan.
34.4 arpigias LP R2 arpingias R arpygias H V3 arpias B
36.10 inter sextam et tertiam w inter sextam et septimam Klink, inter
secundam et tertiam Dan.
36.24 tibimet etiam w tibimet iam Thomas
*39.10 aliud fuit sit VLRPH aliid fit B
40.1 falli se prorsus non uult neque circumue nir ut solet post uidet
add. w, del. Klink, of. 39.24 falli sese non uult neque decipi
41.10 horis omni w horis somni Thomas
*49.21 fores oeleriter uide H fores oeleriter uides cett.
52.10 ibi w ubi Dan.
*54.10 fieri istud solebat w
54.25 nobiscum missa w nobis commissa Dan.
56.17 perscriptionem w præscriptionem Dan.
59.1 quid in aula quid w, quid (alterum) del. R Ritt.
lex conu.6 hoc est excoctionis post aposiae add. w, del. Dan.

The following stemma is therefore suggested.
EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

List of Editions and Translations.

Rittershusius and Gruter, 1595, Heidelberg.
Pareus, 1610, Frankfurt.
Pareus, 1619, Neustadt.
Pareus, 1641, Frankfurt.
Comino, 1764, Padua.
----- 1766, Pesaro.
Klinkhammer, 1829, Amsterdam.
Naudet, in Lemaire, 1832, Paris.
Berengo, 1851, Venice.
Peiper, 1875, Leipzig.
Havet, 1880, Paris.
Herrmann, 1937, Brussels.
Ranstrand, 1951, Gothenburg.
Corsaro, 1964, Catania.
Herrmann, 1968, Brussels.

(Duckworth, 1942, New York, translation only.)
(Brožek, 1978, Wroclaw, translation only.)

"Querolus, antiqua comœdia, numquam antehac edita, quae in
uertusto codice manuscripto Plauti Aululuaria inscribitur. Nunc
primum a Petro Daniele Aurelio luce donata, et notis illustrata.
Ad illustrissimum amplissimumque Cardinalem Odonem Castillonaeum.
Parisiiis, ex officina Roberti Stephani Typographi Regii. MDLXIII.
Cum Privilégio Regis." Dan. collated L. He also used some excerpt
MSS., the Cod. St. Vict., the Cod. St. Gerv., the Cod. Flor., and
the Cod. Compend. (uide the intro. section on Manuscripts). The
variants of P were marked in the margin of L by Dan. He added
notes of critical exegesis, parallel passages, and a note on the
author, with a note to the reader, and some corrigenda. uide the
bibliography for L, and Orelli, J.C. "Epistola Critica ad J.N.
Madugium" in his ed. of Cicero. Brutus, Orator, Rhetor, Topica,
De Optimo Genere Oratorum Zürich (1830).
Daniel, 1566, Antwerp, unpublished.

The manuscript title page of Daniel's proposed second edition reads:

"Querolus, antiqua comoedia, numquam antehao edita, quae in uetusto codice manuscripto Plauti Aulularia inscribitur. Nunc primum a Petro Daniele Aurelio luce donata, et notis illustrata. Ad illustriissimum amplissimumque Cardinalem Odonem Castilionaeum. Editio Secunda. Antwerpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini. MDLXVI. Privilegio." This exists in note form only in the Burgerbibliothek, Bern (Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne) in the MSS. listed below. This second edition was to be from L and P. The variants from P were collated against the text of N 110.3 (uide infra) by Dan. Consequently, the first edition from two MSS. was produced by Ritt. and Grut. from L and P, but P was not used again until Klink's edition. Dan. had also prepared more exegetical notes and parallels, and found more excerpts. N 110.5 (uide infra) is interleaved throughout, and contains his final alterations in preparation for his second edition. Although the new title page was dated 1566, Dan. continued work on the Q, which he mentioned in later correspondence, and it was not so much his death, but his other activities, which prevented the publication of a second edition.

List of Dan.'s MSS. concerning the Q. at Berne.

N 110. Querolus, ed. P. Daniel. Formerly G 130. "Sunt quinque exemplaria, quorum uni lectiones e codice Pithoei ascriptae sunt." (Hagen, Cat. Cod. Bern., uide bibliography for L.) "Contains five 'author's copies' of the 1564 edition with abundant notes by Daniel on the margins and numerous additions on interleaves; there is hardly a page that does not show his hand." (Dr. Chr. v. Steiger, uide Acknowledgements.)

673. **Flauti Querulus et Notae Petri Danielis.** "Schedulae Petri Danielis aliquot, animadversiones in Flauti Querolum continentes. Insunt praeterea excerpta uraria ad diversos auctore ueteres (inprimis ad Lucianum) pertinentia." (H.) "Notes on loose scraps." (v.S.) 44 items.

182. **P. Danielis congesta a Bongarsio.** "P. Danielis philologica." (H.) 75 items. Including notes on the Q. (This collection once contained another 24 letters which are now missing.)

450. **Farrago Indiorum, Notarum et Epistolarum, collecta a Francisco et Petro Daniele.** "Philologica a Petro Daniele collecta. Inest epistularum collectionis a Petro Daniele instituta apographon ipsius." (H.) 79 items, including, no. 48, 98 letters. Including notes on the Q.

141. **Epistularum Collectio Jac. Bongars et Petr. Daniel.** "Epistularum autograph. et apograph. nec non chartarum collectio a Petro Daniele et Jacobo Bongarsio instituta." (H.) 335 items. Including notes on the Q.

**History of Den.'s MSS.**

Guide also the history of L.

After Daniel's death, Jacques Bongars and Paul Petau together bought most of the library of Pierre and François Daniel, and divided it between them. The MSS. listed above were among those which came into Bongars' possession. Bongars died in Paris in 1612, and twenty years later, in 1632, his library arrived in Berne, to became the Bibliotheca Bongarsiana, but it is not clear how it made its way there. On Bongars' death his library had certainly been left in Straßburg, whither he had gone as charge d'affaires for the French King, Henry IV, "The Great" (14th. December, 1553 - 14th. May, 1610), at the Court of the Imperial Princes. It seems to have been left in his will to the son of his landlord, friend and creditor, René le Sire de Gravicsot (or Gravisset), a Straßburg banker. This son, Jacques (1594 - 1653), went to study at Heidelberg under the lawyer
Lingelsheim, a former friend and correspondent of Bongars. Bongars' library was by then at Heidelberg, apparently in Lingelsheim's collection, where it was to stay until Jacques was old enough to make good use of the MSS. It is unclear whether or not Jacques himself brought it from Straßburg to Heidelberg. The suggestion that it was bought on the advice of Jan(us) Gruter, his librarian, by Prince Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, seems unlikely, as it would then probably have arrived in the Vatican (vide the history of R). Nor is it certain who presented the library to Berne. It was either sold by Lingelsheim, or, perhaps more likely, given by Jacques Gravioet in 1631 in return for citizenship.

Rittershusius and Gruter, 1595, Heidelberg.
Ritt. used L from Dan., and Ritt. and Grut. collated R. Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia (vide the intro. sectio on Nachleben) is included after the G. The explanatory notes of Dan. and Ritt. are printed together without distinction. Grut.'s notes are given separately.

Pareus, 1610, Frankfurt.
"M. Accii Plauti Sarsinatis Comediae XX Superstites. J. Philippus Pareus Dauil filius restituit et notis perpetuis illustravit. Accessit praefer alia emendatae huic editioni Plautus Hypobolumaeus; hoc est: Gildae Sapientis Britannii Querolus, sive Aulularia: Francofurti, impensis Jonae Rhodii, 1610." This edition of the G. was intended only as a final supplement to Par.'s edition of Plautus, with which he was primarily concerned. He used L from Dan., and R from Ritt. and Grut., although he also collated R himself. He also gave marginal notes, adapted from those of Dan., Ritt., and Grut., as well as his own, but did not distinguish between them.
Pareus, 1619, Neustadt.


Pareus, 1641, Frankfurt.


Comino, 1764, Padua.

"M. Aocii Plauti comedaeae superstites XX cum fragmentis deperditerum; quibus accessit Querolus, comedea antiqui auctoris, necon index, in quo rariora et obsolenta poetae uerba breuiter ac diluic explicantur. Pataui, exud. Josephus Cominus, 1764." Two volumes. The text of the Q, a reprint of Dan.'s first edition, is given at the end of the second volume, after his edition of Plautus, with which he was primarily concerned, and which the Q was only intended to supplement.

anon., 1766, Pesaro.

"Collectio Pisaurense omnium poenam, carminum, fragmentorum latinorum, siue ad christianos, siue ad ethnios, siue ad certos, siue ad incertos poetas, a prima latinae linguae assete ad sextum usque christianum saeculum et Longobardorum in Italian aduentum
pertinens, omnium poetarum libris, collectionibus, lapidibus, 
codicibus exscripta." Fissarii. Six volumes. Vol. IV, 1766,
"Poemata Minora Incertorum, aut Incertae Aetatis"; including
"Plauti Hypobolinae Querolus siue Aulularia Comedia". A reprint
of the text of Par.'s first edition, included only to complete a
comprehensive collection of Latin poetry.

Klinkhammer, 1829, Amsterdam.
"Querolus siue Aulularia, incerti auctoris comedia togata.
Recensuit et illustrauit Sibout Cornelius Klinkhammer.
Amstelodami, apud heredes H. Cartman. 1829." A verse text
(uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure) printed opposite
a prose text, the first from three MSS. Klink. collated L and
took the readings of P from the readings marked in L by Dan.
(not by Vossius, as Klink. thought). He took the readings of
R from Grut., and noted the variant readings of previous editions,
as well as those from Dan.'s Cod. St. Vict. and Cod. Compend.
He provided two sets of footnotes, one an app. crit., the other
a running commentary. There are also some addenda and corrigenda,
and an index verborum notabilium. He gave a preface and
introduction (prolegomena) dealing with the MSS., editions, metre,
principles of his edition, genre, author, and date, with
evaluations of the literary worth of the Q. In his section on
editions, he mentioned notes by Barthius, Cannegieter, Gronovius,
Koen, Lennepius, Pithou, Salmasius, Scaliger, Tydeman and
Vossius, which he consulted.

Reviewed by QUICHERAT, L. "Sur le Prologue du Querolus" in Revue
de l'Instruction Publique de la Littérature et des Sciences en
France et dans les Pays Étrangers XIX (1859) pp. 278-281,
reprinted as ch. XIII of his Mélanges de Philologie Paris (1879).

Naudet, in Lemair, 1832, Paris.
"Bibliotheca Classica Latina, siue Collectio auctorum classicorum
latinorum cum notis et indicibus colligebat Nicholas Éloi Lemaire."
Paris (1819 sqq.) Vols. LIV, LV, LVI, LVII, "M. Accii Plauti
Comoediae, cum selectis uariorum notis et nouis commentariis, curante, J. Naudet." Four volumes (1830sq.) Vol. III (LVI) (1832) "Querolus siue Aulularia". A reprint of Klink.'s prose text at the end of the Plautus section in a comprehensive collection of Latin literature.

Berengo, 1851, Venice.
"Querulo (sic) ossia Aulularia, di autore incerto, comedia togata tradotta per la prima volta dal Prof. Ab. Giovanni Berengo. Vi si aggiunge il testo della comedia ridotta in versi comici da S.C. Klinkhammer. Venezia. Nel. Privil. Stabilimento Nazionale Di. G.J. Antonelli Editore, 1851." A reprint of Klink.'s prose text, with the first Italian translation parallel to the text, followed by Klink.'s verse restoration, with a very few alterations to the texts. These are followed by a selective commentary.

Peiper, 1875, Leipzig.
"Aulularia siue Querolus. Theodosiani aeui comedia Rutilio dedicata. Edidit Rudolfus Peiper. Lipsiae, in aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1875." (no. 1107 of the "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana"). The first text to be produced from four MSS., with an app. crit. Peip. collated L, and took the readings of P from those marked in L by Dan., and from those given in Klink.'s edition. V and R were collated for him by Gardthausen, and, partly, by Reifferscheid. He also referred to S, Flor. Gall, n, Flor. Gall, b, P; Dan.'s Cod. Flor, Cod. Compend., Cod. St. Vict., Cod. St. Gerv.; and Q. excerpts in the works of Vincent of Beauvais (uithe intro. section on Nachleben), Albertus (Albrecht) of Eype, and Landulphus Sagax de Columna (Landolfo Colonna).

inuidere, ab aequalibus dissentire. Plautus poeta comicus Tullii discipulus Romae claruit. Fuit autem eloquentissimus. De sententiis elius infra ubi de ipso agmus in libris suis dicoemus. Sed pro nunc acipe paucas. Pecunia rerum et sollicitudinum causa est et caput. Sibimet esse sufficientem primum bonum est. Vis iure honorem tibi deferri? Inter miseros uiuite. In amicitiam et fidem stultum ne receperis. Insipientium et reproborum faciilius sustinetur odium quam collegium. Nemini te nimis sodalem feceris." These excerpts from the Q. all occur in Florilegia MSS. Landulphus, Breuiarium Historiale, pub. Poitiers (1479). His excerpts from the Q. have yet to be located. Peip. did not give their location, for he had not seen the book for himself (id ego non uidi, p.xix) and there is no index to the 1479 edition, which is unpaginated.)

Peip. provided an index uerborum of Late Latin words. In the introduction he listed the editions and MSS., references to the Q. in later writers, and parallel passages, and printed Wernsdorf's notes on authorship and metre. (Wernsdorf's notes in Bonn were destroyed during the Second World War.)


Havet, 1880, Paris.

(i.e. \(V\) and \(R\) from Gardthausen, and, partly, from Reifferscheid, who collated them for Peip.). Duchesne also partly collated \(V\) and \(R\) for Hav., as well as \(S\). Hav. also "handled" \(S\), \(V\) and \(R\).

Thomas collated \(B\) for Hav., and Hav. himself collated \(P\). He also "used" Flor. Gall. \(n\) and Flor. Ang. \(e\), and took the readings of Flor. Gall. \(b\) from Peip. He gave a choice of variant readings at the end of the book, and an introduction at the beginning, about the play, with a list of MSS. and editions, and a long justification, with copious lists, and "similar" text histories, of his verse restitution.


Herrmann, 1937, Brussels.

"Querolus, Le Crognon, texte établie et traduit par Léon Herrmann. Des presses de B. Demarez, Bruxelles. 1937." Herrm. gave a prose text, with app. crit., from six complete MSS. plus \(S\), which he collated himself, and the second French translation. But the edition is poorly laid out, and therefore difficult to consult. Herrm. also introduced over 150 of his own emendations. His introduction is followed by the translation, text, notes on the introduction and notes on the text, app. crit., exegetical notes, parallel passages, index of proper names, and some errata. He collated \(V\), \(L\), \(R\), \(A\), \(S\), Flor. Gall. \(P\), Flor. Gall. \(n\), Flor. Gall. \(a\), Flor. Gall. \(e\), Flor. Ang. \(e\), and \(P\), "used" \(P\), and "saw" \(P\). He took the readings of Flor. Gall. \(b\) from Peip., and also considered the Remensis, and Dan. \(s\) Cod. St. Vict. and Cod. St. Gerv. His introduction concerns the aims and principles of his edition, the title and subject of the work, its genre and presentation, the intentions of the author for the scenic divisions of the play, the plot, the characters, the ideas, the form, the originality and sources of the work, its historical and literary value, its influence, references to the \(Q\) in later writers, the date and place of origin of the author, authorship, MSS., the establishment of the text, and bibliography.
Reviewed by ABBOT, K. M. in Classical Weekly XXXI (1938) pp. 227-229;

Ranstrand, 1951, Gothenburg.
"Querolus siue Aulularia Incerti Auctoris Comoedia una cum indice uerborum edidit Gunnar Ranstrand. Göteborg, Wettergren & Krebs Frlag. 1951." (Vol. LVII, 1 of "Acta Universitatis Götoburgensis"/"Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift"). (The present text is given according to the pages and lines of this edition.)


Ranstr. produced a prose text with app. crit. from all the complete MSS. (except H). He omitted the Lex Conuialis siue Decretum Parasiticum. He collated V, L, R, P, E, A, S, F, Flor. Gall. p, Flor. Gall. n, Flor. Gall. a, Flor. Gall. b, and Flor. Ang. a, but was unable to see Flor. Gall. e and Dan.'s first edition.

He also considered the Remensis, and Dan.'s lost excerpt MSS. He began his edition with a list of MSS. and editions, and concluded with an index uerborum. His Q. Stud. begins with a list of editions and bibliography, followed by a critical review of Herrm.'s edition. There follows a chapter on the complete and excerpt MSS., including the (dating of the) Flor. Gall. and Dan.'s excerpt MSS. He concluded with notes on textual and linguistic points, especially on certain grammatical anomalies of Late Latin occurring in the text.

Corsaro, 1964, Catania.

"Incerti auctoris Querulus sive Aulularia. Recensuit, italice uertit Franciscus Corsaro", Catania, 1964, in "Movimento Europeo per la Difesa del Latino".


This edition comprises a reprint of Ranstr.'s text, with minor alterations, from the same MSS., with an app. crit., and the second Italian translation parallel to the text; a list of editions and bibliography; a few critical notes; and indices. His Studio Introduttivo e Commentario provides introductory chapters on the dating, authorship, plot, character of the comedy, Plautine and Terentian elements with sources and parallels, diatribe motifs, language and rhythmic structure, historical and literary value, future influence and imitators, MSS. and editions, and bibliography. There follows a selective commentary on textual, linguistic, grammatical and stylistic points.


This edition comprises a reprint of Ranstr.'s text, with minor alterations, from the same MSS. (six complete MSS. plus 2, Flor., Ang., younger MSS., excerpt MSS., and later corrections), with the first German translation, parallel to the text, and an app. crit., followed by some explanatory notes, and an index. An introduction considers the subject of the play, date, language,

Herrmann, 1968, Brussels.

"Avianus, Flavius. Oeuvres. Éditées et traduites par Léon Herrmann." Bruxelles, 1968. Vol. XCVI of Latomus. (Including the Q, which he attributed to Avianus.) Herrm. gave a text and French translation, slightly revised from his first edition, from the same MSS., with an app. crit. He attributed the Q, to Avianus (uide the intro. section on the Author), and included the Q, preceded by an introduction, in the works of Avianus, after his Fables (with introduction) and before his Poems (with introduction). (These poems are ten hexameters and three elegiac couplets which he attributed to Avianus.) The introduction to the Q, considers the subject, author, dedicatee, MSS., editions, and bibliography. A preliminary general introduction discusses the unity of origin of the Fables and the Q, and gives biographical details about Avianus.
Translations only.

Duckworth, 1942, New York.


"Ostatnia Komedia Rzymska. (Querolus)", by M. Brozek, Wroclaw (Breslau), 1978. (vol. XVII of "Prace Komisji Filologii Klasycznej"). The first Polish translation. It is preceded by eighteen short introductory chapters, and followed by a brief Latin summary of the contents of the book. The introduction considers: the history of Roman comedy to the 5th. century A.D.; the MSS. of the Q; the title of Querolus or Aulularia; the date of composition of the Q; the author and dedicatee of the Q; the place of composition of the Q; the mistaken attribution of the Q to Plautus; the composition of the Q; the relationship between Plautus' Aulularia and the Querolus siue Aulularia (Plauti peruestica); the characters of the Q; the historical, social and economic references in the Q, reflecting contemporary society; the religious and philosophical references in the Q; the paganism or Christianity of the Q; the author's intentions for a public or private performance of the Q; the form of the Q; the meaning of pes cladus; Medieval references to the Q; editions and bibliography.
AUTHOR AND DEDICATEE.

AUTHOR.

The authorship of the A remains a mystery in spite of various conjectures as to the identity of the author. As has been observed by Klink., "Nos quidem ingenue confitemur auctorem Queroli nobis uideri incertum"; Hav., "On n'a aucune lumière sur le nom de l'auteur du Querulus"; Johnston, "It seems quite improbable that anything certain will ever be discovered as to the name and personality of the author". However, the "personality" of the author can to some extent be gathered from internal evidence. In the opening dedication (3.5, Quaenam ergo his pro meritis digna referam praemia? Pecunia, illa rerum ac sollicitudinem causa et cepit, neque mecum abundans neque amud te pretiosa est.) the author portrays himself as being in a position of dependence on a wealthy patron in high society with philosophical leanings, to whose work he makes complimentary allusions in the A. The nationality, period, and religion of the author are difficult to determine, but he may have been a pagan living in Gaul at the end of the 4th. and beginning of the 5th. centuries A.D., the dependent of a Gallo-Roman intellectual like Ausonius and Rutilius Namatianus (vide the intro. sections on Place and Date of Composition and History and Thought: Religion).

During the Middle Ages the A was commonly thought to be Plautine, and did, indeed, constitute the only known (supposed) representative of Plautus' work. Quotations from the A in the Medieval Florilegia (Flor. Gall. and Flor. Ang.) are cited under the heading Plautus in Aulularia, and John of Salisbury, Vitalis of Blois and Vincent of Beauvais all accepted it as Plautine. This same mistake occurs in the incipit of all the complete MSS. except H, which omits it, and R, which reads incipit Querulus. The others read Plauti Aulularia incipit feliciter, VL; Plauti Comicii Poetae Prooemium (Prooemium B) in Aululariam fabulum incipitur, PE. R is the Vetus Camerarii of Plautus (Ritschl's B), and contains the plays of Plautus, including the Aulularia. The
Q. could not therefore have been mistaken for the Aulularia in R, but its inclusion suggests that it was still supposed to be Plautine. The mistaken attribution could have arisen from the double title (5.12, Querolus en Aulularia haec dicatur fabula), although the author clearly claims only to be following in the footsteps of Plautus (5.1, Investigatam Plauti peruestigia).

Once made, the mistake would be perpetuated by the copyists, as Dan. suggested. In view of the author's own disclaimer, another suggestion of Dan.'s, that the author himself adopted the name of Plautus, seems unlikely. Dan. supposed that the author may have taken the name of Plautus because of the similarities in point of genre, style and themes between his own play and those of the great master, in order to ensure a hearing and survival for his work, or to cover his own name to avoid envy (uide infra).

Dan. and Barth also suggested the possibility of another (younger) author called Platus or Plautius. (For this name, uide Jones, P.L.R.E., p.706, Platus Filius Julianus and his foster-son Plautius Egnatius.) Barth suggested that the author may actually have had a physical infirmity (5.14, olodo pede) and therefore called himself "Plautus" ("flat footed") or been given the nickname. (Barth argued, "Docti hunc locum ad metrum referunt, ego nero homini ipsi uitium aliquod in pede altero fuisse existimem, quo Plautum sese uel dixerit, uel nascons ne alio casu fuerit appellatus"; uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure. For Dan.'s words, uide infra.) According to Aulus Gallius, in his discussion of the genuine and spurious plays ascribed to Plautus, Varro attributed many comedies to a Plautius, which, in his day, were commonly regarded as being by Plautus. (Noct. Att., III.iii.10, In eodem libro M. Varronis id quoque scriptum, et Plautium fuisse quempiam poetam comoediarum. Quoniam fabulae eae "Plauti" inscriptae forent, acceptas esse quasi Plautinas, cum essent non a Plauto Plautinæ, sed a Plautio Plautianæ. Plauti was the old genitive of Plautius as well as of Plautus.)
The error of the ascription to Plautus was realised in the Renaissance. Dan. pointed to the author's own words, and to the impossibility of Plautine authorship for a work containing a quotation from Cicero and references to Apicius and to the golden bough of Vergil's Aeneid. In 1561 Johannes Brodaeus wrote to Dan. (Cod. Bern. 141, no. 242): "Aululariam tuam cursim legi, de quid sentiam, paucis dicam. Ea omhno Plauti esse mihi non uidetur, primum quia huius auctor aurei rami, cuius libro sexto meminit Virgilius, fabulam attingit, idemque Apicium nominat. Constat porro, Virgilium et Apicium aliquot post Plautum saecula uixisse. Deinde, quod nullas prorsus dictiones, quae a Nonio Marcello ac Festo explicatur, in tua Aulularia comperio, contra uero plerisque in nostra hac typis excusa passim apud eos offendes. Postremo nos ualde mouet dissimilis utriusque scriptoris oratio ac stvulus: nam Plautus facetii ac salibus referunt est atque antiquitatem redolet, quae in tuo desidero omnia." In 1565 Aemilius Perrotus wrote to Dan. (Cod. Bern. 141, no. 205): "Comediam tuam non quidem Plautinam uideri, quod et tu non inficiaris, non tamen ideo reiciendum, quippe quae et gravior multa dicta et leporem quemdam in sese contineat. De loquendi more non idem sunt omnium calculi." In Dan.'s own note on the author, De Auctore, in his first edition, he wrote: "De auctore huius comediae, cur ea Plauti nomen proferat,..., paucis disquirendum est. Accium quidem Plautum non esse, facile stilus arguit, et aperte profitetur auctor ipse in prologo, ubi hanc comediam per uestigia Plauti investigatam esse ait. Verum fieri potest, ut auctori nomen Plauto vel Plautio fuerit, nec adulterina sit inscriptio, quomodo ante plerisque fefellit saepe communis error ex nominum similitudine atque adfinitate natus: magis tamen puto Accii Plauti ueteris Comici nomen esse, atque ab imperitis librariis adiectum, aut ab ipso auctore adoptatum propter argumenti studii-que comici similitudinem, uel per parodiem...Nemo uero ignorat, quod Aulus Celius et Macrobius admonent, Plauti comici fabulas incertas et ambiguas semperuisse, unde facile est suspicari,
hanc ipsam ei potius quam alii cuiquam adscriptam esse, cum praesertim dubitatio audendi facultatem, atque etiam auctori reticendi sui nominis occasionem daret. Vero enim simile est, quisquis tandem auctor ille fuerit...ne inuidiam sibi pareret, nomen suum alieno supposito non adscripsisse."

Dezemeris suggested as author Axius Paulus, the rhetorician, poet and lawyer from Bigorre in Aquitaine, a friend and correspondent of Ausonius, to whom seven letters from Ausonius survive, and to whom Ausonius dedicated the Bissula and the Cento Nuptialis. Dez. suggested that Ausonius' friend Paulinus, to whom he addressed a letter at the front of his Technopaegnion, which is dedicated to the proconsul Pacatus, should also be identified as Axius Paulus, but this is doubtful, since he is otherwise known as Paulus, while Ausonius elsewhere referred to Paulinus of Nola and Paulinus of Pella. Dez. saw a large number of similarities between the works of Ausonius and the Q. (for which, vide the Commentary, passim), but none of them is of a very convincing nature. Dez. also suggested that the relations between Axius Paulus and Ausonius were similar to those between the author of the Q. and his patron Rutilius. He suggested that the Q. might first have been dedicated to Ausonius, but that the dedication was later changed to Rutilius. The author of the Q. says to his patron, 3.8, Atque ut operi nostro aliquid adderetur gratiae, sermonem illo philosophico ex tuo materiam sumpsimus. Dez. compared Ausonius' invitation to Axius Paulus to make use of his own works in his preface to the Bissula, Vtareigitur ut tuis, pari iure, sed fiducia dispari; quippe tua possunt populum non timere, meis etiam intra me erubesco. Dez. assumed populum to imply a dramatic performance rather than just the publication of a literary work. Ausonius, however, does appear to have treated Axius Paulus more as an equal than as an inferior. Moreover, if the dedicatee was Rutilius Namatianus, Axius Paulus would have to be another Nestor. He already appears to be older than Ausonius at the end of the 4th century from Ausonius'
phraseology in his letters to him, and could hardly have been in
the service of Rutilius Namatianus circa 415 to 420. (Ausonius
died in 394.) In connection with Axius Paulus' Delitus, Ausonius
seems to regard him as more experienced than himself, while in
Ep. X he advises him not to hurry too quickly because of his age
(X.5, Sed tamen adproprua, quantum potes corpore et aequo./Ut
saluim uideam, sat cito te uideo). Rutilius Namatianus mentioned
a large number of friends in his De Reditu Suo, and so would
surely have included Axius Paulus if he had known him, although
the second book of his De Reditu Suo is probably fragmentary by
accident, so we cannot be sure whether more names were lost in it.
Dez. therefore suggested that the dedicatee Rutilius may not be
Rutilius Namatianus, but his father, Lachanius. He suggested that
Axius Paulus' Delitus, mentioned in Ausonius' Ep. VII, may be the
Q., or some similar work. (Ausonius says: Ergo nisi Delitus tuus
in re tenui non tenuiter laboratus opuscula mea, quae promi
studieras, retardasset, iam dudum ego ut palmes audacior in
hibernas adnoi auras improbum germem egissem, periculum judicii
grauis inconsulita festinatione subitus,) Dez. suggested that
Ausonius' Dissomus must have been similar to Axius Paulus'
Delitus and to the Q., but Ausonius' only known "play", the
Ludus Septem Sapientium, is an academic exercise, perfect
metrically, but dry as dust, a procession of sages philosophising
in monologue, and totally alien to the spirit of the Q. (Some
similar work could, according to Bate, Bertini (1976), Cohen,
Duckworth, Gaiser, Suckomski, be the proposed missing inter-
mediary between Plautus' Amphitryo and Vitalis of Elois'
Amphitryo siue Geta, as the Q. is between Plautus' Aulularia
and Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia siue Querolus; but Dez.'s
reference of V. of B.'s Amph. siue Geta, 386, Est leue deliros
fallere posse senes, to Axius Paulus' Delitus, is hardly
conclusive.) Ausonius' macaronic Ep. VII, mentioning Axius
Paulus' absence from the dinner table (VII.25, Nec mensae
accommodus uii) reminded Dez. of the words of the author of
the Q. (3.13, Nos fabellis atque mensis hunc libellum scripsimus). Axius Paulus' legal training, assumed by Dez. from the same letter (VII.28, *ex te foro causali*), would, he suggested, account for the juridical terms in the Q. In Ep. IX Ausonius called Axius Paulus an aretalocus, a Greek term for a sophist who claimed to expound virtue, arete; this Dez. referred to the sophistic argument between Querolus and his Lar Familiaris. In Latin, however, the term is used in general of a teller of marvellous tales (as Juvenal, XV.16, *Ut mendax aretalocus*, of Odysseus; and Suetonius, Aug., 74, *Et aut acrasmata et histrioines aut etiam triniales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalocos, uide the intro. section on Genre*). In the ostrich egg (probably a wine cup) of Ausonius' Ep. VII, which Dez. proposed to refer to the metrical nature of the Q. (uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure), he also saw an allusion to a new work, that is, the Q., hatching, as it were, from an egg. Dez. suggested that the false attribution to Plautus may have arisen from a similarity in names, Axii Pauli Aulularia being easily corrupted to the much better known (Titi M)accii Plauti Aulularia. Ausonius, however, was an expert metrician, and his deferential praise of Axius Paulus suggests that he was too (Ep. IV.40, *Perfer in excursu uel terius millia epodon, Vel falsas lites, quas schola uestra serit; Ep. VI.35, Ad quae si propreris, tota cum merce tuarum/Veni Cannoenaum cius, /Dactylicos, elegos, oriambum carmen, epodos, /Socii et cathurni musicam/ Carpentis impone tuis; nem tota suppellelx/Vatum piorum charta est; Ep. X.21, Attamen ut citius uenias leuiusque uehares,/ Historiam, mimos, carmina linque domi./Grande onus in musica: tot saecula condita chartis,/Quae sua uix tolerant tempora nostra grauuent*). It therefore seems highly improbable that anyone in Ausonius' circle would be responsible for the Q.

The suggestion, mentioned by Rolland and Du Pré (uide bibliography for L), that Rutilius Namatianus was the author, is equally erroneous, for "Rutilius" is the dedicatee. The confusion
may have arisen from a mistaken inclusion of the first word of the play in the *incipit* rather than in the first line.

Barth, Fabricius, Cronovius, Pareus, Ritschl, Saumaise and Vossius suggested the 6th-century Gildas Sapiens of Britain as the author of the Q. This suggestion is obviously ruled out by the enormous difference in language and style between the two. It was probably prompted by the sub-title, *Liber Querulus* (*sic*), to Gildas' book, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae et Castigatione Ordinis Ecclesiastici*.

Herrm. suggested the fabulists Avianus or Phaedrus as candidates for authorship. Cors. also favoured Avianus, and Hervieux (*uide* bibliography for the *Remensis*) Phaedrus. (For Herrm.'s comparisons between them and the Q., *uide* the Commentary, *passim*; they are not of a highly convincing nature.) Herrm. compared especially Avianus' *Fable* XII, where Fortune complains that all misadventures are blamed on her, but she is given no thanks when circumstances are prosperous. In this fable a peasant finds a hidden hoard of gold. Lockwood suggested that the plot of the Q. derives from an Aesopic fable about Hermes (*uide* the intro. section on *Sources*), supporting the identification of the author with a writer of fables. Avianus wrote his fables as a young man, circa 370 to 380, and Herrm. suggested that the interval between this date and that of the Q., which he dated to circa 410, gave Avianus time to mature, and explains the difference in thought and style between the two works. Avianus would by then be retired, enjoying *honorata quiies* (3.1). Herrm. also supposed that the dedicatory preface to Theodosius of Avianus' *Fables* was written in the same metre as the Q. (In his second edition of the Q., in the works of Avianus, Herrm. gave his own verse restitution of this preface, *uide* the intro. section on *Rhythmic Structure*.) The *Fables* of Phaedrus were also contained in the *Remensis* along with the Q., and Dom Vincent, who made tracings of portions of the Q. and Phaedrus, presumed that they shared the same author. But the style of
Phaedrus' Fables and that of the Q. are even more disparate than
that of Avianus' Fables and that of the Q.

Jullian suggested as author Palladius, the poet and philosopher,
a young friend and protégé of Rutilius Namatianus, mentioned
among others in the De Reditu Suo, I.207, *Tum discessurus studiis
urbique remitto/Palladium, generis speaque decusque mei./Facundus
iuuenis Gallorum nuper ab aruis/Missus Romani discere iura Fori,
Ille meae secum dulcissima uniuola cura,/Filius affectu, stirpe
propinquis, habet: Cuius Aremoricas pater Exuperantius oras/Nunc
postliminium pacis amare docet;/Leges restituit libertatemque
reducit/ Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis. He would appear to
have had the requisite relationship with Rutilius Namatianus, if
he is to be identified as the dedicatee. His father Exuperantius
is also mentioned by Rutilius Namatianus. Exuperantius was
Praetorian Prefect in Gaul, and responsible for quelling a
rising in Armorica, perhaps of the Bagaudae, in 416, which is
supposed to explain the reference to the Loire in the Q. (uide
the intro. section on Place of Composition.) Herrm. also compared
the last line quoted above to 42.17, *sermolorum servulus.

This Palladius cannot be convincingly identified with the
Palladius suggested by Wernsdorf (in Peip.'s edition), a comic
poet, whose name appears on a funeral inscription from Ostia,
C.I.L.VI.20152, *Moheler and Riese A.L.I. C.E.I.606, Vt te,
Palladi, raptum fleuere Camenae,/Fleuerunt populi, quos continent
Ostia die./Julius Nicephorus pater infelix fecit. Here the
father is called Julius Nicephorus, unlike the father, Exuperantius,
of Rutilius Namatianus' Palladius. (*Palladi, also, could be the
dative of Pallas, with raptum.) Emm. therefore proposed Ostia
as the place of composition of the Q., since it has a harbour,
and is situated on a river near the sea. This, however, is the
traditional setting (along with a farm and the country in the
distance) for Old Latin comedies, and has nothing to do with the
home of the author. Emm. supposed that Palladius could have left
Gaul to study in Rome, and written the Q. there before the
return of Rutilius Namatianus to Gaul. He compared this epitaph of Palladius with those of Plautus and Naevius, supposedly written by themselves, quoted by Aulus Cellius, Noot. Att., I.24, Plautus: Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, Comedia luget;/ Scaena est deserta, dein Risa, Ludus Iocuque/ Et Numeri innumeris simul omnes conlaeqmarunt (Numeri innumeris means not "unrhythmic measures", referring to supposed irregularities in Plautine scansion, imitated in the Q., uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure, but to a variety of metres, "countless numbers"); Naevius: Immortales mortales si foret fas flere,/ flere diuae Cameneae Naevium poetam./itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro, Obliti sunt Romae loquierlingua Latina.

Nor, as Vessereau (ed. Rutilii Namatianus, Paris, 1904) pointed out, can one or both of these Palladii be positively identified with Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, a vir illustres, the 4th. to 5th. century author of an agricultural treatise, De Re Rustica.

The identification, mentioned by Klink., Ber. and Emr., of the author of the Q. with one Laberius, a talented writer of mimes at the time of Caesar, to whom Nonius ascribed a play entitled the Aulularia, of which one line survives (Homo ebrius somno sanari solet), is untenable, as the date of the Q. is certainly much later.

The ascription, mentioned by Herrm., to the Bordeaux poet and rhetorician Lampridius, a friend and correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris and favourite of King Buric of the Visigoths, who was murdered by his own slaves, is also doubtful, for he was enamoured of astrology, and was unlikely to have written a senseless horoscope. He consulted astrologers, mathematici, who correctly foretold his death. (For his horoscope, uide Sid. Ap., Ep., VII. xi. 9, Seu super diametro Mercurius asymdatus seu super tetragono Saturnus retrogradus seu super centro Mars apocatasticous exacerbassent; cf. 36.14.) Sidonius Apollinaris pictures him as a talented poet, expert
in various genres, so that it seems unlikely that he would have produced a metrically dubious work such as the \( \Theta \). In Ep. VIII.ix to Lampridius, Sidonius sends him a poem to fulfil his verse request for one, prefaced by deferential praises of his poetry (ex. VIII.ix.5, Nostra \( \Theta \) Lampridius decus Thalae). Ep. VIII.xi to Lupus provides a biography of Lampridius (sections 3 to 14) after his murder. (Section 3 includes a poem Sidonius had previously written to Lampridius; verse 7, Socoos ferre caue nec, ut solebat, Laxo pes natet altus in cothurno; verse 26, Et nunc inflat enos tragoediarum, Nunc comedie temperat iocosas.) In it Sidonius praises Lampridius' metrical versatility (section 5, Hendecasyllabos lubricos et enodes; hexametrorum crepantes et cothurnatos; elegos uero nunc echoicos, nunc recurrentes, nunc per anadiplosin fine principiisque conexos; section 6, In materia controversiali fortis et lacertosus; in satirica collicitus et mordax; in tragica saevis et flebilis; in comicis urbanus multiformis; in fascinna uernas urbis aestuans uotis; in bucolica uigilax parcus carminabundus; in georgica sic rusticans multum, quod nihil rusticus. In section 4 Lampridius is included among the guests at a banquet, for which Herrm. compared 3.13, fabellis atque mensis. Vide also Ep. IX.xiii.2, verse 21, Vix, hunc qui sequitur, Lampridius quaeat, Declamans gemini pondere subjiciit Coram discipulis Pardigalensibus; Carm. IX.314, Acrem Lamprimium Faciebat siquidem uerus oppido exactus Tam pedum mira quam figurarum uarietate.)

The identification, mentioned by Crelli, Klink, and Herrm., of the prose comedy Philodoxios, ascribed to one Lepidus (by Aldus Manutius, an ascription rejected by Fabricius), with the \( \Theta \), and Lepidus with the author of the \( \Theta \), is also unnecessary. Rutilius Namatianus was unfriendly towards the Lepidi, and it is highly unlikely that he, if indeed the dedicatee, would have been given the dedication of a work by a member of that family. They are mocked in De Reditu Sueo, I.295, Inter castrorum uestigia aermo rexit/Sardoam Lepido praeципitante fugam; Litore namque
Cosae cognatos depulit hostes/Virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis/
Ille tamen Lepidus peior civilibus armis/qui cessit sociis impia
bella tribus/qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam/Obruit
auxiliis urbe paenente nouis./Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus/
Tristibus exceptis congrua fata reis./Quartus, Caesar eum uult
irrenere regno./Incesti poenam soluit adulterii./Nunc quoque — sed
melius de nostris fama queretur/INDEX posteritas semina dira
notet./Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores?/Noribus an potius
nomina certa dari?/quidquid id est, mirus Latiiis annalibus ordo,/Quod Lepidum totiens recidit ense malum.

Another identification mentioned by Herrm., of the archaizing
poet Satrius, named by Fulgentius as having written a *comedia
piscatoria*, with the author of the *Q.* is hardly tenable, as
references to fishing in the *Q.* are limited to the trident (7.5,
Piscatores mane haco praeterisse uidi, ipsis forte hoc excidit).

Vossius and Le Nain de Tillemont suggested the poet Flavius
Felix, of whose work only 40 lines of elegiac couplets with
unclassical quantities remain, as the author of the *Q.*, but
again there is no proof.

The suggestion mentioned by Cors. that the Christian Salvian
of Marseilles could be the author is also unlikely. He was
sympathetic towards the Bagaudae, and critical of the worldly
society presupposed by the *Q.*

As Hav. concluded on the question of authorship, "Il est peut-
être sage de ne pas prétendre à percer ce mystère".

Addendum.

Bertini (1974) pointed out that, although Sardanapallus is
mentioned by Ausonius, this does not prove that the author of
the *Q.*, supposed by Dezeimeris to have been Axius Paulus, took
the name of his character from that source. Sardanapallus is
named by many other authors (*uide the lexica, s.v.*), including,
in Late Roman Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris. (Auszoni, Eclogue II
= Idyll XV, 26, E contra illecebris maculosam degere uitam/
Quem iuuet, adspiciat poenas et crimina regum./Tereos incesti
ueo mollis Sardanapalli.)
DEDICATED.

The Q. is dedicated to one Rutilius (3.1, Rutili uenerande semper magnis laudibus, qui das honoratem quietem, quam dicamus ludicris, inter proximos et propinquo honestum dignum putans, duplici fator et ingenti me donas bono hoc testimonio, hoc collocio, haec uera est dignitas). The identity of this Rutilius remains uncertain, although his personality as a rich literary patron can to some extent be gathered from internal evidence.

Since the time of Dan., he has usually been identified with the Gallo-Roman pagan poet, Rutilius Namatianus, author of the De Reditu Suo, whose date and nationality appear to correspond to those of the author of the Q. However, none of the following comparisons between the De Reditu Suo and the Q. appears sufficiently convincing, although the De Reditu Suo, written in 416, might as well postdate the Q. as antedate it, in which case no comparisons are to be expected. Even if the De Reditu Suo were written before the Q., there is no reason for the author of the Q. to reflect the De Reditu Suo, which is unlikely to have been Rutilius' sermo philosophicus (3.8, uide infra).

Rutilius Namatianus had violent feelings against the Christians, but the supposed anti-Christian stance of the Q. is difficult to prove. Miss and Boano compared the use of uade in the Q. to that in the Vulgate (17.13, Vade, ad Ligerem uiiuit; 21.14, Vade iam nunc et quidquid contra te est facito; 22.24, Vade, inquit, fures require, praedones recipe in domum; 38.3, Vade iam nunc et cauponibus tete hodie collocas; Matthew, XIX.21, Vade, uende quae habes, et da pauperibus; John, IX.7, Vade, laua in natatoria Siloe), but this is not exclusively a Christian expression (uide Commentary to 21.14). Herrm. and Boano took the Lar Familiaris' doctrine of evil for good, and his paradoxical advice to Querolus to renounce riches in order to be rich and happiness in order to be happy (21.14, supra; 21.16, Fallenti credito et circumuenienti operam atque assensum accommoda. Fures si ad te uenerint, excipe libenter, praedones etiam similiter; 21.22, Vt si quid tibi spei
aut praedidii est, totum auferant; 21.24, Vt sis diues; 21.26, Bona si perdideris tua; 21.28, Vt sis felix; 21.30, Si fueris miser; 22.1, Quod contra te putas), repeated by Querolus in monologue (22.22, Perde, inquit, si quid est tibi domi, ut acquiras plurima), to be a parody of Christian renunciation of this world's goods and the poor life style of the monks (Matthew, X.39, Qui inuenit animam suam, perdet illam, et qui perdiderat animam suam propter me, inueniet eam; V.39,40,41, Ego autem dio
ubis, non resistere malo, sed si quis te percusserit in dexteram maxillam tuam, praebi illi et alterum;/Et ei, qui uult tecum iudicio contendere, et tunicam tuam tollere, dimitte ei et pallium;/Et quicumque te angariauerit mille passus, uade cum illo et alia duo). So the thieves' lament at the transformation of gold to ashes (47.7, Aurum in cinerem uersum est, utinamque totum sic fieret aurum, magis essesmus diuies) is supposed to be a parody of the Christian type of moral sententia. Cors. saw here the Christian disregard of the vanity of human possessions (as in Ecclesiastes, I.2, Vanitas uanitatum, dixit Ecclesiastes, uanitas uanitatum et omnia uanitas) but this concept is proverbial earlier and widespread (uide the Commentary to 47.7). The Christians' voluntary acceptance of misery is denounced by Rutilius Namatianus in his attack on monks (uide infra). Herrm., Boano and Schanz saw the Christian notion of forgiveness in Arbiter's advice to Querolus to forgive and forget (58.4, Ignosce no remitte, haec uera est victoria), and in Querolus' final acceptance of Mandrogerus as his parasite. M. Meyer and Ward here saw the influence of the Christian doctrines of charity, humility and equality. (Boano compared Augustine, Ep. CXXXVI.2, Tum deinde quod eius praedicatione atque doctrina, reipublicae moribus nulla ex parte conueniat; utpote, sicut a multis dicitur, cuius hoo constet esse praeceptum, ut nulli malam pro malo reddere debemus (Romans, XII.17), et percutientes aliam praebere maxillam, et pallium dare persistenti tunicam tollere, et cum eo qui nos angariarent uoluerit, ire debere spatio duplicatio (Matthew,
V.39,40); quae omnia reipublicae moribus asserit esse contraria. Cors. compared Matthew, VI.12, Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris; XVIII.21,22, Tunc accedens Petrus ad eum, dixit, Domine, quoties peccabit in me frater meus et dimittam ei? Vasque septies? Dicit illi Jesus, Non dico tibi vasque septies, sed usque septuages septies; Mark, XI. 25,26, Et cum stabitis ad orandum, dimittite si quid habetis aduersus aliquem, ut et Pater uester qui in caelis est, dimittat uobis peccata uestra./Quod si uos non dimiseritis, nec Pater uester, qui in caelis est, dimittat uobis peccata uestra.) Cors. referred 29,6, Neque cum turbis ambulat, to Jesus and His disciples. He compared Querolus' youthful indiscretions (10.13, Adulescens quaedam feci fateor, laudari quae solent), to those of Augustine in his Confessions (ex. II.4, III.1,2,3). It is highly unlikely that, as suggested by Magnin, Querolus' confession of his sins to his Lar Familiaris should be compared to a Christian's confession. Cors. suggested that such an "examination of conscience" is typical of Stoic-Cynic doctrine (vide the intro. section on Sources). Nor is it likely that Pantomalus' monologue shows the influence of Christian ideas about freedom and equality. Bianchi supposed that the Lar's condemnation of adultery as a serious crime (10.20) shows the influence of Christian notions of morality, but Cors. again pointed out that adultery was one of the motifs in Stoic-Cynic preaching. The suggestion of Cors. and Boano, that Querolus' complaint, 17,19, O siluae, O solitudines, quis uos dixit liberam, is a parody of the claims of Christian writers that true freedom lives outside the limits of the Empire, is equally unlikely.

Rutilius Namatianus looked on the monks on the island of Capraria with loathing (De Reditu Soc, I.439, Processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit;/Squalet lucifugis insula plena uiris./Ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,/Quod soli nullo uiiere teste uolunt./Munera Fortunae metuent, dum damna uerentur./Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse ueat?/Quaenam peruersi
rabies tam stulta cerebri, Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati? / Siue suas repetunt factorum ergastula poenas, Tristia seu niger uscera felle tument, Sic nimiae bilis morbum assignauit Homerus / Bellaphonteis sollicitudinibus). But the following passages of the Q. cannot convincingly be referred to monks. Herrm., Cors., Cavallin and Sàss supposed the geese, p.32, to be a parody of Christian priests or monks. Herrm. referred 32.14, Alas pro monstribus gerunt, to their habits, and Cors, supposed that 32.8, Cygnea sunt capita et colla, also refers to their vestments. Herrm. and Cors. referred 32.15, Primum inter sese linguam trimulco vibrant sibilo to their chanting. Cors. referred the "triple" element to the Trinity, but three is a common magic number. The Ciceronian quotation (32.21, De istic quondam magnus dixit Tullius, anseribus cibaria publice locantur et canes aluntur in Capitolio) Herrm. took to refer to the Christians' self-sacrifice and the monks' existence of poverty. Cors. saw this as a complaint that public money should be wasted on the Christian clergy. Boano supposed the Lar Familiaris' doctrine of evil for good (uide supra) to be a parody of the life lived by monks. Cors., Gaiser and Sàss gave the phrase servus servulorum (42.17) a Christian significance as a description of a priest or monk (uide supra, vanitas vanitatum, and Genesis, IX.25, servus servorum); while Peip. suggested that pacem quietemque uobis (4.20) was a Christian greeting like pax uobiscum (but uide Commentary, ad loc.).

When a rich young convert of good family, a friend of Rutilius Namatianus, retired from life and renounced the world to become a Christian anchorite on the island of Gorgon (Urgo), Rutilius could not understand it, and criticised him for choosing a living death in self-imposed exile as a solitary misanthropist (De Reditu Suo, I.515, Adsurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon/ Inter Pisanum Cyraiconique latus./Aduersor scopulos, damn monumenta recentis;/Perditus hic uiuo funere ciuis erat./Noster enim nuper maioribus amplis,/Neu censu inferior coniugiique minor;/
Impulsus furiis homines terraque relicuit/ Et turpem latebram credulus exsul adit./ Infelix putat illuie caelestia pasci/
Seque premit laesis saeuri deis./ Num, rogo, deterior Circaeis secta uenenis?/ Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

His reaction was similar to that of Ausonius on the similar retirement from the world of his friend and ex-pupil Pontius Paulinus in about 390 to become a priest and ascetic, later bishop of Nola (vide Ausonius' Epistles 23 to 32). Herrm. compared the reference to Circe in the Q. to Rutilius Namatianus' picture of the solitary hermit (32.23, Deus homo multiforme et multiplex. His egomet fuisse arbitrator matrem Cireon, Proteum patrem). Herrm.'s identification of this hermit with Commodian and St. Alexis is not sufficiently convincing. Nor, as Vesserea (ed. Rutilius Namatianus, Paris, 1904) pointed out, is the hermit likely to be the Quintilian, brother of an Exuperantius mentioned in Jerome's Ep. 145 (Ad Exuperantium de Paenitentia. Inter omnia, cuse mihi sancti fratris Quintiliani amicitiae praestiterunt, hoc uel maximum est, quod mihi ignotum corpore mente sociaret.) Yet Rutilius Namatianus' sentiments on the subject of Christian retreat are hardly paralleled, as Herrm. suggested, by the use of misanthropus (7.15, Misanthropus hercle hic uerus est), or, as Herrm., Cors. and Wernsdorf (in Peip.'s edition) suggested, by miseri sodales and cucullorum tegmina (47.5, Sumite tristitiam, miseri sodales, cucullorum tegmina. Plus est hoc quam hominem perdidisse, damnum uere planctur. The cucullorum tegmina was supposed to refer to a monk's cowl, and the miseri sodales to the meek monks, who were considered pitiable, as they renounced their wealth by stupidity, like the thieves in the Q. who lost the treasure by stupidity. As SMess pointed out, Juvenal, Satire, XIII.129 provides a much closer parallel to this passage, vide Commentary to 47.5).

Rutilius Namatianus' experiences with an extortionate Jewish landlord, querulus Judaeus, at Paleria, who charged Rutilius' party extra for strolling in the gardens on the grounds that
they had damaged his plants, provoked from him a tirade against Judaism (De Reditu Suo, I.381, Sed male pensavit requiem stationis enoecae/ Hospite conductor durior Antiphate. / Namque loci quaerulus curam Iudaes agebat, / Humanis animal dissociale cibus; / Vexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat alae, / Damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae. / Redimus oboecae conuicia debita genti, / Quae genitale cavit propudiosa metit; / Radix stultitiae, cui frigida sabbata cordi, / Sed cor frigidius religionem suas, / Septima quaeque dies turpi damata ueterno, / Tamquam lasati mollis imago dei, / Cetera mendaces deliramenta catastae, / Nec puerum in somnis credere posse recess. / Atque utinam numquam Iudaea suacta fuisse Pompeii bellis inneriasque Titii, / Iatius excisae pestis contagia servatur, / Victoresque suos natio uieta premit). The Jews, however, were no longer mistakenly identified with Christians at this date.

Boano made the equally unlikely suggestion that Rutilius Namatianus’ Osiris may be identified with the θ’s Pan. Rutilius landed at Paleria during a festival of Osiris (De Reditu Suo, I.371, Lassetum cohibet uicina Paleria cursun, / Quamquam uix medium Phoebus habet iter; / Et tum forte hilaras per compita rustica pagi/ Mulcebant sacris pectora fessa iocis; / Illo quippe die tandem reuocatus Osiris/ Excitat in fruges germina laeta nouas). In the θ, it is not even certain that the god Pan is meant (rather than penis, “bread”, vide Commentary to 34.17). Boano referred to Diodorus Siculus, who quotes the identification of various other deities, including Pan, with the god Osiris (I.xxiv.2, τον δε θαυμιν οι μεν Σαραπιν, οι δε Διόνυσου, οι δε Πλοστωνα, οι δε Άμωνα, τινες δε Δια, πολλοι δε Πανα τον αυτον νεομαςαν). The corymbos (34.2, vide Commentary) Boano understood as an ornament of Osiris, while the monkeys, simiae (33.19) and geese, anseres (32.5) were sacred to Isis and Osiris. Cynocephali, dog-faced baboons (32.25), were worshipped in Egypt, where they were fed in the temples. Barley and wine (31.9) were traditional offerings to Isis and Osiris (Diodorus Siculus, I.xiv.1, εφροσης μεν Ισιδος τον τε του πυρου και της κρεθης
These two commodities in the Q. are supposed to be able to change into each other (31.9, *Triticum ex uino subito fieri uideas, uinum ex tritico. Iam flava seges hordei facile efficitur ex cuoisis titulo et nomine*). The wand as an attribute of Osiris Boano supposed to be a Gallic feature, referring to a statue of the god, wand in hand, from Gaul. This he unnecessarily related to 31.25, *Praesentes virgis submouent*, whose subject is the mysterious powers under discussion by Mandrogerus. Nor are the *hydrae* (31.25) necessarily the snakes sacred to Isis and Serapis. Pan is, besides, mentioned once in the *De Reditu Suo* (I.233), in connection with the etymology of the name of the town of Castrum Iuni (*Seu Pan Tyrrenis mutuit Maenala siluis*), where Rutilius Namatianus gives no special significance at all to this deity.

The reference to the Loire in the Q. (17.13) has been taken to imply an uprising of the Bagaudae (*uide the intro. section on Place of Composition*). Boano suggested that Fantomalus' description, in his monologue, of the joyous freedom of a life of slavery, also reflects that of the outlaws on the Loire. (Cors. and Boano also made the unlikely suggestion that *Querolus' exclamation, 17.19, O siluae, O solitudines, quis uos dixit liberas*, refers to Christian claims of such freedom outside the bounds of the Empire, *uide supra*.) In the *De Reditu Suo* (I.213) Rutilius Namatianus recalled with praise how Exuperantius, Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, the father of his friend Palladius, quelled an uprising (possibly of the Bagaudae) in Armorica (*Cuius Aremoricas pater Exuperantius oras/Huno postliminium pacis amare docet; Leges restituit libertatenque reducit/Et servos familis non sinit esse suis*). Herrm. compared the last line to 42.17, *seruorum servulus* (although Cors., Gaiser and Miss gave the phrase a Christian significance, *uide supra*). It has
also been compared to Pantomalus' remarks, 42.2, Quanti sunt
ingenui qui transfigurare sese uellent hoc modo, mane ut domini
dicient, serui ut uespera. Miss pointed out that the pagan
Rutilius Namatianus was very strongly against the Bagaudae, in
contrast to the Christian Salvian of Marseilles, who was very
sympathetic towards them. The author of the Q., on the other
hand, appears rather indifferent towards them, seeing them not
as a threat but as an object of mockery, and is certainly not as
concerned as he should be were he one of a circle of rich Gallo-
Roman nobility, who stood to lose a great deal in times of
peasant revolt.

Harpies occur in the Q. (31.24, 34.4, uide the Commentary)
and in the De Reditu Suo (1.607). Their use in the Q. is
presumed to be metaphorical, and to have some satirical political
or religious significance. In Rutilius Namatianus' poem they
refer to greedy subordinate officials, baulked in their designs
on public money by the honest Lucillus, Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.
(Non olim sacri iustissimus arbiter suri/Circumsistentes reppulit
Harpvias?/Harpvias, quarum discerpitur uaquibus orbis,/Quae rede
plutinoo quod teticere trahunt,/Quae luscum faciunt Argum, quae
Lyceaa caeoum./Inter custodes publica furta uolant;/Sed non
Lucullum Briareia praedae fefellit./Totque simul manibus restitit
una manus.) These harpies, however, also occur in Vergil,
Juvenal, Apuleius, Sidonius Apollinaris and Plutarch (uide the
Commentary to 34.4).

In his dedication the author of the Q. says; 3.8, Atque ut
operi nostro aliqaud adderetur gratiae, sermone illo philosophico
ex tuo materiam sumpsimus. The Q. is concerned with the problem
of fate and destiny (? Divine Providence, uide the intro. section
on History and Thought; Philosophy). The Lar Familiaris takes the
role of destiny and also of conscience, and the euphemism
diuinitas is used for deus (uide the intro. section on History
and Thought; Religion). In philosophy, Rutilius Namatianus was an
eclectic Stoic and Neoplatonist. In religion he was a polytheist,
usually referring to gods, *dei*, in the plural. He also mentions a singular god, *deus*, and nature as a causative principle. But as far as we can tell from his only surviving work, he was a popular rather than a serious philosopher, as in his description of the natural protection with which nature surrounded Italy on her creation (*De Reditu Suo*, II.31, *Si factum certa mundum ratione fatemur/Consiliumque dei machina tanta fuit,/Excubiis Latii praetexuit Appenninum/Claustraque montanis uix adeunda uits,/Inuidiam timuit Natura parumque putauit/Arcois Alpes oppomuisse minis,/Sicut uallauit multis utalia membris/Ne secul inclusit quae pretiosa tulit;/iam tum multiplici merit munimine cincti/Sollicitosque habuit Roma futura deos*). The *De Reditu Suo* can hardly be described as a *sermo philosophicus*, but we have no knowledge of any other works of his, philosophical or otherwise, which have not survived. It seems strange that the author of the *Q.* should have mentioned his philosophy rather than his poetry, if the dedication were indeed addressed to him. (The *sermo*, however, need not have been a written document at all, merely a common topic of Rutilius' conversation. The term is used especially of literary conversation, discourse, discussion, disputation, *uide* L.&S. (Lat.) *s.v.*)

Rutilius Namatianus held the title of *uir illustrius* as Praefectus Urbi(s) in 414 and Magister Officiorum in 412, but it is not certain that the dedicatee of the *Q.* was also a *uir illustrius*. At 4.18 (*uide* the Commentary) the MSS. read *Tuo igitur illustrius libellus iste dedicatur nomini*. Dan. emended to *illustri*, referring to the "illustrious name" of the dedicatee. Barth preferred to add *uir* before *illustrius*, making the author address his dedicatee as a *uir illustrius*, but such an emendation cannot be taken as proof of the status of the author's patron Rutilius. Wernsdorf (in Peip.'s edition) suggested that the author of the *Q.* could have been a subordinate official in the office of a *princeps officii* (*42.14, ex officii princeps, uide the Commentary*), comparing this title with that of Magister.
Officiorum. He further suggested that the proximos et propinquos (3.2, vide the Commentary), rather than designating only his patron's relatives and friends, may be technical terms for the holders of certain Imperial offices, such as the Proximi Sacrarum Soriniarum, the three Scrinia Palatina, of Memoriae, Epistolarum and Libellorum, under the control of the Magister Officiorum (a post held by Rutilius Namatianus). Wernsdorf also suggested that, as Praefectus Urbi(s), Rutilius Namatianus would have been responsible for spectacles, including theatrical ones. But the author of the Q.* makes no mention of this in his prologue.

Rutilius Namatianus' love of the theatre is shown in De Reditu Suo, I.201, where he has just left Rome and is aboard ship at the mouth of the Tiber in the harbour of Claudius and Trajan at Ostia (Saepius attonitae resonant Circensibus aures; Nuntiat accensus plena theatra favori; Pulsato notae redduntur ab aethere uoces; Vel quia perueniunt uel quia fingit amor). His cultivation of poets is also shown (in De Reditu Suo, I.267, Haec quoque Pieriae spireaula comparat artris; Carmine Messallae nobilitatus ager; Intrantemque caput discendentemque moratur; Postibus affixa dulce poema sacris; Hic est qui primo seriem de conmile ducoit; Vaque ad Publicolas si redeamus auos; Hic et praefecti nutu praetoria rexit; Sed menti et linguae gloria maior inest; Hic docuit qualem poscat facundia sedem; Vt bonus esse velit, quisque disertus erit; 603, Huius (sc. Luculli) uulnificis satira ludente Camenis; Non Tumus potior nec Iuvenalis erit). Rutilius Namatianus' language and metre, elegiac couplets, in the De Reditu Suo, are perfectly Classical, and it seems unlikely that a good metrician would encourage the dedication to himself of a work such as the Q.* (Although he would hardly have been discourteous enough to refuse the dedication if offered spontaneously by a dependent.) Rutilius Namatianus mentions a large number of friends in his work, and it may appear surprising that authorship of the Q.* should not be ascribed to one of them, if this were in fact the case (although not if the Q.* was written
after the De Reditu Suo, which is probably unintentionally incomplete, so that relevant information could have been lost, uide supra). The language and rhythmical structure of the Q suggest that its author would not have been a friend of Rutilius Namatianus, sharing his cultured literary circle, but rather a poor dependent. Nevertheless, Rutilius Namatianus remains the only really convincing candidate as the dedicatee of the Q.

Debeiseris suggested Rutilius Namatianus' father Lachanius (died circa 415, uide the intro. section on Author about Axius Paulus). In De Reditu Suo I,575, Rutilius refers to a statue of Lachanius erected in the forum at Pisa by its citizens in gratitude for his beneficent administration as governor of Etruria. (Hic oblata mihi sancti genitoris imago,/Pisam proprio quam posuere foro./Laudibus amissi cogor lacrimae parentis;/Fluxerunt madidis saudia naesta genis./N.que pater quondam
Tyrhenis praefuit aruis./Fascibus et semis credita iura dedit./Narrabat, memini, multos ensensus honores/Tusorum regimn plus plauisse sibi./Nam neque onum curam, quamuis sit magna, saecorum/Nequ ius quaestuarum gra fo fuisse magis./Ipsam, si fas est, post-
nonere praefecturam/Prornir in Tusoa non dubitabat amor./Neo fallebatur, tam carus et ipse probatis/Aeternas grates mutua
aura cani./Constantemque sibi pariter mitemue fuisse/Insinuant
natis qui mininere senser./Ipsum me gradibus non degenerasse
parentis./Daudent, et duplici sedulitate fouent./Hae eadem, cum
Flaminiae regionibus irem./Splendoris patrii saepa reperta fides;/Famam Lachaniii ueneratur numinis instar/Inter terrigenas Lydia
tota suos.) As Praefectus Urbi(s) Lachanius was also a vir
illustris; and he was also Praetorian Prefect, Quaestor Palatii and Comes Sacrarum Largitionum. He may therefore be supposed to have taken an interest in literature, but this is hardly enough to recommend him as the dedicatee of the Q.

Vessereau and Dimhoff, in their article on Rutilius Namatianus, mentioned various Rutilii known from inscriptions on tombstones and altars from Gallia Narbonensis (C.I.L. XII),
which they therefore presumed to be the home of Rutilius Namatianus, rather than Aquitania (Toulouse), where the name does not occur. Insufficient is known about any one of these to make him a likely candidate as the dedicatee of the Q. (C.I.I.L.XII. 4584, M. Annius Rutilianus, from Narbonne; 5106, P. Rutilius Gallicanus, from Narbonne; 5106, Rutilius Hospes, from Narbonne; 5106, Rutilius Martialis, from Narbonne; 5107, C. Rutilius Maximus, from Narbonne; 5174, T. Rutilius, from Narbonne; 2816, Q. Rutilius Euplius, from Aramon; 2711, M. Rutilius Firminus, from St. Just; 2711, C. Rutilius Frontinus, from St. Just; 1735, Rutilius Calvus, from St. Paul - Trois - Châteaux; 2727, T. Rutilius Virilius, from St. Laurent - de - Carnol, Pont - St. Esprit; 1444, M. Rutilius Magiacus, from Vaison; 2498, Rutilius Aurelius, from Marigny - St. Marcel; 2525, T. Rutilius Buricus, from Les - Fins - d'Annecy; 5692 (no. 4, on a Merovingian gold ring), Rutilius, from La - Balme - de - Sillingy; 2523, Rutilius Celtonis, from Talloires; 2523, Rutilius, from Talloires; 2476, Rutilius Rutilacous, from Crésy; 2287, Rutilius Verinius, from Grenoble; 176, L. Rutilius, from Cros - de - Cagnes.)

Another possibility is that Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, the 4th. to 5th. century author of an agricultural treatise, De Re Rustica, could be the dedicatee. He was a uir illustrius, but is not known to have had any philosophical interests.

Klink suggested Rutilius Rufus, mentioned by Velleius Paterculus (II.13, Tum Rufum Rutilium, uirum non saeculi sui, sed omnis aenii, optimum), but this is obviously impossible, as he was a friend of Scipio Aemilianus and Lucius Scævola.

Various Rutillii are known from Africa, which Bianchi therefore suggested as the place of composition of the Q. (uide the intro. section on Place of Composition). During the Imperial period they appear to have formed a large rich gens at Hadrumentum, near Carthage in Numidia (Cuicul or Djemila in Algeria). Between 365 and 375 a Rutilius Saturninus, apparently a former decurion,
who became a senator before completing his curial obligations, dedicated a basilica there (C.I.L.VIII.8324, Pro beatitudine principum maximorum nostrorum Valentiniani, Valentiis atque Gratianis perpetuorum semper Augustorum Flavius Simplicius uir clarissimus consularis sex fasculias provinciae Numidiae Constantiae, numini maiestatique eorum semper dicatus, basilicam dedicavit, Rutilius uero Saturninus uir clarissimus pro editione munere debiti a solo faciendam exaedificandamque curavit). A Marcus Rutilius Felix Felicianus, an eques, had previously repaired the water supply there, in 295. These African Rutilii are too early to have been the dedicatee of the 2, but there were no doubt others after them. (The Rutilii in the Prosopographia Imperii Romani are all too early, as is the only one in Jones' P.L.R.E.)

Dezeimeris made the unlikely suggestion that the 2 might first have been dedicated to Ausonius, but that the dedication was later changed to Rutilius (vide the intro. section on Author about Axius Paulus). Again, such a skilled metrician as Ausonius would scarcely have been pleased to receive the dedication of the 2 (although he would hardly have been so impolite as to refuse it).
PLACE AND DATE OF COMPOSITION.

PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

What little indication there is of the place of composition of the Q. relies on internal evidence. If Rutilius Namatianus was indeed the dedicatee, this would indicate a location somewhere in Italy or Gaul, perhaps South Gaul, possibly Aquitania.

Most of the internal evidence is to be found on p.17 (uide the Commentary), where there is a reference to the Loire, Liger, which suggests a Gallic writer, although DuMéril and Jannaccone thought that the author's description of life on the banks of the Loire was so unlike reality that his view must have been distorted by distance, suggesting that he was not a local writer at all.

(The Loire is commonly called Liger, as in Caesar's De Bello Gallico (uide Commentary to 17.13), although Herrm. (1928) claimed that Liger here means the Lys in Flanders, and G. Des Marez referred it to the Lys here and in the Lex Salica (refuted by Ganshof). The name Liger, however, is not used elsewhere for the Lys, only for the Loire. The Lys, moreover, is rather too far North to be a setting for the Romanised institutions mentioned in the Q., and for the Bagaudae.) The state of affairs described by the Lar Familiaris, iatrocinium, has been referred to a rising of the Bagaudae, who seem to have been particularly active in Armorica, North of the Loire, where Rutilius Namatianus' friend Exuperantius quelled a rebellion (De Reditu Suo, I.213, Cuius Armoricanas pater Exuperantius oras/Nunc postliminimum pacis amare docet/Leges restituit libertatemque reducit/Et seruos famulis non sinit esse suis). Querolus' wish to be prius et potens, with power over others, Vs licent mihi spoliare non debentes, caedere alienos, vicinos autem spoliare et caedere, has been seen as a reflection of the rough and ready justice practised in the area, the iura haecsiluestria (Illic iure gentium viuum homines, ibi nullum est praesticium, ibi sententiae capitales de robore proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus, illic etiam rustici perorant et priusti iudicant, ibi totum licet). The ius gentium
is here supposed to represent the law of nature rather than the law of nations. The *sententiae capitales* carried out *de robore* and *in ossibus* have provoked much discussion, but are generally thought to indicate some form of painful physical punishment. Patux seems to be dialect for *dives*, presumably in use in Gaul. The most likely derivation is from the Greek παύξ, but *nostra Grecia* probably implies no more than the nominal Greek setting of a *palliate*, although emendations have been proposed, and its use could be ironical (to mean the opposite of a land of Greek literary culture). The *siluae* and *solitudines* are thought to be representative of the country districts which may have declared themselves free from Roman rule. The expression, *Multo maiora sunt quae tacemus, tamen interea hoc sufficit*, is probably of no great significance, but just another example of the author's stylistic desire to create an air of mystery (*uide* Commentary to 17.19), and need not indicate personal knowledge of actual conditions in a specific area.

Greek is also mentioned at 4.21, *Qui Graecorum disciplinas ore narrat barbare* (*uide* the Commentary), but need, however, have no more significance than the "translation" by Plautus and Terence of Greek comedies into Latin. (For Latin adaptation of a Greek original, *uide* the intro. section on Sources.)

Nor need *rex*, 21.2, mean any more than "patron" (*uide* the Commentary, with Plautine *exx.*). It need not be referred to a barbarian king outside of, or after the fall of, the Western Roman Empire. (In the Later Empire it was used of the Emperor.)

It is also unnecessary to accept Herrm.'s suggestion that *carbonarias*, 9.3 (*uide* the Commentary), should refer to the Forêt de la Charbonnière, which, with the River Lys and the sea, formed the boundary of Salian Frankish territory in their first stage of colonisation at the end of the 4th. century. The word is clearly contrasted with *pistrinis*, opposing black soot to white flour, the hearth being the traditional seat of the Lares, the store room or cupboard that of the Penates. It could also possibly be a
reference to Plautus' *Carbonaria* as the source of the character of the *Lar Familiaris*, or of the plot (guide the intro. section on Sources).

Hav. thought that the mention of Winter clothes at 18.4 suggests a cold climate, such as Gaul (rather than North Africa), but this is an unwarranted inference from the *Lar Familiaris* generalised picture of the life of a toctus, which could equally well apply to Rome and Italy. Anywhere in the North West provinces would be cold in Winter.

The generally accepted explanation of the conditions described on p.17 refers to the Bagaudae. (For the history of the Bagaudae and possible derivation of their name, guide C.A.H., C.M.H., Bury, Dill, Jones, Lot, Thompson, P.W., s.v., and T.L.L., s.v. (II.1680,81sqq.), cite a large number of references to them in ancient writers; cf. ex. the passages cited in the Commentary to 4.21, and p.17 passim. (In P.W. guide also s.v. in supplement XI.) For the spelling Bagaudae (probably the original) or Bacaudae, guide C.E. Minor, "Bagaudae or Bacaudae" in *Traditio* XXXI (1975) pp.318-322.)

Brigandage was, naturally, widespread throughout the Empire, especially on its fringes where policing systems were poor. The occurrence of brigands and pirates in adventure stories and imaginary law suits illustrates their popular appeal. (In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, II.32, three brigands are executed; in III.29, the ass, Lucius, is captured by brigands, who, in IV.23, capture a young girl called Charity. The Elder Seneca in his *Controversiae* bears witness to use of them as a commonplace theme in declamations; ex. I.6, *Archipiratae Filia*, I.7, *A Piratis Tyrannicida Dimissus*, VII.1, *Ab Archipiratae Filio Dimissus*. ) A constant battle had to be waged by the authorities against brigands (ex. *Cod. Theod.* IX.xiv.2 gives everyone the right to kill brigands).

The Bagaudae, however, were more than mere outlaws who made their living by robbery. The term was generally used of all those operating against the State. They seem to have represented
an independence movement, equally opposed to the Central Government and the barbarian invaders. The peasants revolted against overbearing taxation, harsh judgements, rapacious officials, extortionate landowners, and the depredations of the soldiers who were supposed to protect them, while the barbarian federates acted more as conquerors than as allies. The farmers' livelihood was ruined by such exactions, and their subsequent neglect of the land led to famine. The peasants were joined by runaway slaves, army deserters, and men refusing military service. (In Cod. Theod. IX.xiv.2 deserters are compared with brigands.) But social discontent was not only a phenomenon of the lower orders. Gallo-Roman landowners, bankrupt after dispossession by barbarian federates, joined them, although others seem to have been expropriated and enslaved at the hands of the Bagaudae. Middle class members of the Bagaudae are mentioned by Salvian of Marseilles (De Gubernatione Dei, V.vi.21,23, uide Commentary to 4.21).

The Bagaudae first appear by name in the 270s, but they seem to have been active from the 2nd. to the 5th. century. They seem to have operated in Gaul, Spain and the Alpine regions, but particularly in Armorica. In the 280s two of their leaders, Amandus and Aelianus, set themselves up as usurping emperors in opposition to the Western Caesar Carinus, minting coins in their own name, just as Carausius and Allectus did shortly afterwards in Britain. Maximian was declared Emperor in the West, and sent by the Eastern Emperor, Diocletian, to crush them. In 408 the Bagaudae were causing trouble in the Alps. In the 400s a revolt broke out in Armorica, no doubt aggravated by the Gallic famine of 413. It was eventually crushed by Exuperantius in 416/7. He is praised by Rutilius Namatianus in the De Reditu Suo (I.213, uide supra). (The enslaving of the masters by their own slaves, 216, Et seruus famulis non sinit esse suis, has been compared to servulorum serulus, 42.17, uide the Commentary, and to Pantomalus' remarks, 42.2, Quanti sunt ingenui qui transfigurare sese uellent hoc modo, mane ut domini fierent, serui ut uespere, but this seems
somewhat fanciful.) Exuperantius’ restoration of Roman rule has
been seen as necessary after the institution by the Bagaudae of
their own rudimentary form of justice (cf. 17.17, Illo etiam
rustici perorant et priuati iudicant, etc.). Thompson compared
the situation in Armorica to that in Britain, which suffered four
usurping emperors in the 400s, Marcus, Gratian, Constantine III,
and Maximus. Constantine removed the few remaining Roman troops
in Britain to the continent to forward his claim to the Empire,
so that in 410 the British cities were forced to apply to
Honorius for aid against the Saxon invaders or rebellious
Bagaudae. His only reply was that they should look to their own
defences. Zosimus reports that the people of Armorica were
stimulated to rebellion by the example of the insular Britons
who had thrown off the Roman yoke (VI. v. 2, καὶ ὁ Ἀμπρίχος ἕπας
καὶ ἔστερας Ραλατέν ἔπαρχας, Βρεττανοῦς μιμημέναι, κατὰ τὸν
Ιον σφές ἕλευθραν τρόπον, ἐξάλλουσαν μὲν τοὺς Ρωμαίων
τροχοντας, οὐκεῖν δὲ κατ’ ἔξοδον κολλίετα εἰς ἑβάλλετα.
If Rutilius Namatianus is indeed to be identified as the dedicatee,
this would seem to be the most likely outbreak of trouble in the
Loire region to which 17.13, Vade, ad Ligerem uiiius, might refer,
so giving the q. a possible date at the beginning of the 5th century.

In the 430s and 440s the Bagaudae were active in Spain, and
again in Gaul, where their leader was one Tibatto. The first of
these uprisings was put down by Litorius, Magister Militum
Galliarum, with the help of the Huns. Tibatto was captured and
imprisoned, but he escaped to lead the second rising, in which
he was captured and killed. It was quelled by King Goar and his
Alans, sent by Aetius, and the Armoricans were severely punished,
although St. Germanus of Auxerre, returning from his second visit
to Britain where he had suppressed the Pelagian heresy, tried to
intercede with Valentinian III and Placidia at Ravenna on their
behalf. Merobaudes saw Roman law restored in Armorica after the
suppression of Tibatto in 443 in much the same way as Rutilius
Namatianus saw Exuperantius’ restoration of law after the earlier
The trouble in the 440s may have been influenced by the example of British exiles in 441/2 fleeing to "Britanny" from the incursions of the Angles, Saxons, Picts and Scots into their island, who provided an example of militant nationalism, as had the Britons at the beginning of the century. Saxon pirates also harried the coasts of Armorica. In the 450s the Armoricans and other Celtic peoples were recognised by the Empire as being no longer federate but independent people. In 451 the Armoricans fought as a separate contingent alongside the Romans against Attila and the Huns at the Catalaunian Plains. The region between the Loire and the Seine was by 475 the only remaining Gallo-Roman stronghold, with Visigoths to the South, Franks to the North, and Burgundians to the East.

Historians suggesting other sources of trouble in the Loire region point to the activities of the bar-barian federates themselves, known as foederati and laeti, who acted as mercenary soldiers and farming colonists. They were settled on the land in return for providing a garrison, and so took over part (§) of the estates of the original proprietors, who also had to put up with soldiers billeted on them. These federates may well have kept their own customs and system of justice (cf. 17.17, 111io etiam rustici iudicant, the rustici being colonists). There were also outlaws known as vargi, who seem to have been these foreign settlers gone wild, rather than the original inhabitants in revolt, as were the Bagaudae.

The barbarian invaders themselves are another possibility. Although Armorica remained clear of them all except the Breton refugees, who did not pose an armed threat, but could have
provided an example of nationalist rebellion, the Visigoths passed through Southern Gaul in 410/420, and the Loire eventually formed the Northern boundary of their territory. The Franks settled North of the Seine circa 405, and the Burgundians East of the Loire in the Rhône-Saône valley circa 450, with the Alemanni to the North-East of them on the Rhine and the Danube. The Vandals and Suevi also passed through Central and Southern Gaul on their way to Spain and Africa in 405/415, while the Huns were repulsed at Châlons-sur-Marne, North of the Seine, in 451.

Ganshof suggested that the Lar Familiorum is referring to the Alan kingdom on the Loire during 440 to 450, quoting Jordanes, Getica, XLIII, 226, _Alanorum partem trans flumen Ligetis considerentem._

The Alans under King Goar were established on the Loire as _foederati_ by Aetius in the 440s as a check to the Visigoths to the South and the rebellious Armoricans to the North, as well as to the Saxon pirates along the Western coastline of Gaul, and they crushed the Armorican uprising circa 445. They expropriated land and expelled the proprietors by force. Ganshof claimed that Rutilius Namatianus could still be the dedicatee at this date, for he would then only be some thirty years older than he was as Praefectus Urban(s) in 414 (but he would have to be another Nestor).

Witheler suggested that the _Q_ was written in North Africa, finding a parallel metrical system in certain African inscriptions (uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure). The similarity, however, is minimal. Schuster, in P.W., supported this location, referring to the Christian authors of North Africa, and especially to the 5th century school of Dracontius in Carthage, for literary activity in the area at an appropriate date. He pointed to supposedly Christian reminiscences in the _Q_, but these again are doubtful (uide the intro. section on History and Thought; Religion). The reference to Anubis as father of the cynocephali can hardly be held to prove an Egyptian origin (33, 31; _Istes Hecuba quondam, postquam uere facta est canis, Anubi nupta nostro latranti deo, omnibus templis ac delubris semper denos_
edidit sic a pectore biformes, infra homines, sursum feras). That religious observances of Egyptian origin were known in Italy is shown by the festival of Osiris witnessed by Rutilius Namatianus at Faleria (De Reditu Suo, I.371, uide the intro. section on Dedicatee).

Emr. suggested that the Q. was written in Rome before Rutilius Namatianus' return to Gaul, so that the assumed place of action would be Rome with its harbour at Ostia. The setting is, however, more likely to be Athens with its harbour at the Piraeus, the home of Euclio in Plautus' Aulularia, as the Q. is a palliata (uide the intro. section on Genre). The setting could, of course, represent any Mediterranean harbour town, so Gaiser suggested Marseilles. Wermstorf (in Peip.'s edition) and Jannaccone supposed that Ostia was the place of composition, Werm. deducing this from his identification of the author with Palladius, a comic poet whose name appears on a funeral inscription from Ostia (uide the intro. section on Author). Jann. thought that the author could have drawn on the performances given in such provincial theatres as that at Ostia, a notoriously lively town, the scene of frequent festivals and games, especially naval, but also scenic, quoting (with emendations) Juvenal, Suetonius and Minucius Felix. (Juv., Sat., XI.47, emending ostrea to Ostia, Inde ubi paulum/Nescio quid superest et pallet faenoris auctor/Qui uertere solum, Bais et ad ostrea (Ostia) currunt; Suet., Nerc, 27, Quotiens Ostiam Tiberi deflueret aut Baisium sinum praetermaugaret; Suet., De Gramm. et Rhet., 25 (=De Rhet., 1); Min. Fel., Octavius, II.3.)

Wermstorf even found a connection between Anubis (33.5, uide supra) and Ostia, namely a funeral inscription from Ostia relating to one D. Fabius, a priest of Isis, also described as Anubiacus, a member of an Anubic guild, dated to 202 (C.I.L., supplement, III.6029).

Certainly the North West provinces seem a more likely location than Africa, and of them, there is more internal evidence, slight though it is, for Gaul than for Italy.
DATE OF COMPOSITION.

If the Q. is indeed dedicated to Rutilius Namatianus (uide the intro. section on Dedicatee), its composition should be dated to the end of the 4th. or beginning of the 5th. century A.D. (Rutilius Namatianus was a uir illustrius as Magister Officiorum in 412 and Praefectus Urbi(s) in 414)

If the reference to the Loire can indeed be taken to imply troubles in Armorica, the Bagaudan uprising of the 400s, crushed by Exuperantius in 416/7, would seem to fit best. Thus the Q. would have a date of circa 415 A.D. It has also been suggested that the allusion to troubles on the Loire could refer to another rebellion of the Bagaudae, who seem to have been active from the 2nd. to the 5th. century. Dezeimeris, seeing Axius Paulus, a friend of Ausonius, as the author, and referring to the uprising reported by Zosimus, suggested the end of the 4th. century for its composition, but the first decade of the 5th. century for its representation, with the addition of the dedication and digression (p.17) of contemporary material (but in this case Axius Paulus would have to be another Nestor, uide the intro. sections on Author and Dedicatee). Dez. found Ausonian parallels in the Q., as did Cors. and SMss, who therefore assigned it to the 4th. century. Ber. and Jannaccone favoured the earlier Bagaudan uprising under Amandus and Aelianus in the 3rd. century, put down by Maximian in 285, as the passage in the Q. seemed to them a more suitable description of a novel phenomenon (17.13, L.F. Vade, ad Ligerem uiiiuic. Q. Quid tum? L.F. Illic iure centium uiiiiii homines, etc.). Ganshof suggested that the Lar Familialis is referring to the Alans established on the Loire in the 440s, and therefore assigned this date to the Q., suggesting that Rutilius Namatianus, the supposed dedicatee, could still be alive at this date (although he too would have to be another Nestor).

The use of the title rex (21.2) has also been supposed to refer to a barbarian king, such as Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, first established in the Auvergne in the 430s and
mentioned by Sidonius Apollinaris, giving this date or a later one to the Q. (Carm. VII.301, In Rhodanum proprios producere fines/ Theudoridae fixum, nec erat mugmare necessa./Sed migrare Getis).

Although the fall of Rome to Alaric and the Goths in 410 A.D. is not mentioned, an argument ex silicio for dating the Q. earlier cannot be maintained.

There is no firm internal evidence for a precise dating, as there are no certain historical references, merely allusions (uide the intro. section on History and Thought).

The style, rather than the language, of the Q. is indicative of a period of later Latinity, but Late Latin vocabulary and constructions often occur in earlier colloquial Latin, so that nothing definite can be proved from the inclusion of Late Latin elements (uide Adams (1976) p.8, "Linguistic evidence can establish nothing definite concerning the date of a late text", etc.).

The composition must obviously postdate Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Vergil and Apicius, and antedate the earliest MSS. (9th. century) and the first certain future witness, Liutprand of Cremona. The Q. was probably written after Constantine's currency reform and introduction of the solidus (24.13) in 310, and before the eventual fall of the Western Empire in 476, as the spirit of the piece still presumes a background where Romanised institutions would be readily understood (ex. the Lar Familiaris, Plautus, the Aulularia, Euclio, Vergil, Aeneas, Cerberus, the golden bough, Tullius Cicero, Apicius, Proteus, Circe, Nestor, Pan, Anubis, a praetor, a senatus consultum, the Kalends, and the hydra).

Dan. seems to have come nearest to the truth in his first edition, in assigning the Q. to the time of Theodosius, although the beginning of the 5th. century seems more likely than the end of the 4th. ("De tempore nihil adeo certi adferri potest. Quod si coniecturis est locus, Theodosii temporibus aut proximis scriptum, duabus de causis arbitror: primum quod stilum Theodosiani saeculi maxime redolet, deinde quod ad Rutilium inscripta est, si modo is sit Rutilius, quem saeculo Theodosii fuisset constat, ut de illo optime coniciere mihi uideor.")
HISTORY AND THOUGHT.

In Mandrogerus' encounter with Querolus (pp. 30 sqq.) many supposedly satirical historical and religious references to corrupt officials and priests have been seen in the following entities: potestates (30.11), obsequia (30.16), planetae potentes (30.22), ansares importuni (32.5), cynocophali truces (32.25), oracula (31.16), sidera (31.20), mysteria (31.23), harpyiae (34.14), furiae (31.24), ululæ (31.24), nocturnae striges (31.24), simiae (33.19), prodigia (34.16), noctuæ (34.14), celères (34.14), capripedaæ (34.14), hiruicomantes (34.14) (vide the Commentary ad loc.). Few if any of these references, however, have any foundation. The obscure phraseology is merely rigmarole from Mandrogerus, designed to confuse Querolus and convince him of the magician's power.

Social History.

The social milieu of the author of the Q. was probably that of the Gallo-Roman upper and middle classes, and the play has been seen as a social satire (vide the intro. section on Genre). Cors. saw it as religious satire. Querolus' pleasures, such as commessationes, dibacchationes, unum, turbae, conuentus and ioca (13.10) have been supposed to illustrate the main preoccupations of the upper middle class. Some commentators have been shocked to find that Querolus seems to be but little concerned about such evils as theft, adultery, perjury, slander, false witness, breach of promise, lying, etc. (10.10 sqq.), although the Lar Familiaris does suggest that they should be taken seriously. Social cynicism is also seen in his advice not to place too much reliance on others (12.24, Ne credideris nemini; 13.4, Nemini, te, Querole, nimis sodalem feceris). Sfass and Enr. saw Querolus as a representative of Everyman (Jedermann), complaining about social injustice (9.14, Quare inustia bene est et iustia male?; 14.1, Nemo ad facultates, nemo ad censum respicit. Semper diones diligens, contra pauper neglectens). All professions are
shown to be deficient, although people always think that others are better off than themselves. The life styles of a soldier, a civil servant, a gentleman of private means, a lawyer, a scribe, a rich man, a merchant and a money lender are satirised (16.25 sqq.). Pantomalus' monologue (38.19 sqq.) has been supposed to be a reflection of contemporary manners, but it seems more likely to reflect the universal relations between masters and their servants/slaves. There seem to be about equal advantages and disadvantages on both sides, and the slave's attitudes hardly seem to constitute social peril, as Herrm. suggested, with servile night life constituting as it were a secret society (41.13, Luminis autem uel splendoris illud subornatur quod sufficiat, non quod publicet. Ego nudam teneo quam domino uestitam uix uidere licet. Ego latera lustro, ego effusa capillorum metior uolumina, adsideo, amplector, foveo, foveor). Indeed, it is the best of both worlds which is seen to be the ideal (42.2, Quanti sunt ingenui qui transfigurare sese uellent hoc modo, mane ut domini fient, servi ut uespere). Although Pantomalus calls his master a servulorum servulus (42.17), the life which he himself enjoys is still not free. (His Nonne haeo est uita libera? (41.14) may be compared with Querolus' O siluae, O solitudines, quis uos dixit liberas? (17.19).)

Economic History.

The only certain monetary reference is to the Constantinian solidus, introduced in Gaul in 310 and in Italy in 312, which replaced the previous gold coin, the aureus, abolished in 316 (24.13, Videbam ex parte solidos; 40.15, Nam de solidis mutandis mille sunt praestigia). Heavy taxation is implied, as worries about taxes may lead to sleepless nights (42.4, Opus est ut cum istaeque omnia nos exercemus tu aut lites aut tributum cogites). Debasement and falsification of coinage may also be implied, but the meaning is doubtful (vide Commentary to 40.12, Insim etiam pauxillum argenti leuibus tensus tympanis limari commutarique semper credit, quia factum est semel. Quantula autem est discretio?
In argento certe unus est color. Mutare multa facimus et hoc mutari non potest. Nam de solidis mutandis mille sunt praestigia. Has saltem distingui non optet tam gemelles formulas. Quid tam simile quam solidus solido est? Hoc presumed that there was a scarcity of coined money, as reserves of gold and silver were exhausted and no new ones opened. He saw a consequent decrease in the purity of gold coinage, resulting in a number of preservative reforms, with the general uncertainty about the currency reaching its nadir in the £., where gold coins are tested very carefully, as if they were people, for weight, age, appearance, etc. (40.18, Vultus, setas et color, nobilitas, litteratura, patria, cravitas usque ad scriptulos quaeritur in auro plus quam in homine). He also claimed that a story of buried treasure is indicative of the times when people were hoarding their wealth, but it is, of course, a universal theme, and was already in Plautus.

Administrative History.

The descriptions of the toga (17.24, 18.4, 42.13, 42.16), municeps (42.13) and princeps officii (42.14) are supposed to mirror the status of certain officials in the Late Empire (uide the Commentary, ad loc.), and the lives of civil servants (17.4) and clerks (18.16) are also depicted.

Military History.

The Lar Familiaris' description of life on the banks of the Loire (17.15sqq.) has been thought to refer to a Bagaudic insurrection or Germanic invasion (uide the intro, section on Place of Composition).

Legal History.

The preliminary discussion between Querolus and his Lar Familiaris (9.16sqq.) and the final debate between Querolus and Mandrogerus (pp.54sqq.) have been regarded as legal satire, the latter especially, taking the form, as it were, of a mock
trial (58.10, *Putemus nos paululum in iudicio stare*), with
Querolus cross-examining Mandrogerus. At the beginning of his
discussion with the Lar Familiaris, Querolus wishes to put the
question on behalf of mankind, 9.16, *Quare in iustis bene est et
iustis male?*, but before this can be discussed his legal status
must be ascertained, 9.18, *De persona est quaestio*. Querolus' 
definition of adultery, 10.21, *Hoc est quod nec permitti nec
prohiberi potest*, has been seen as a legal joke. Adultery is
illegal, but there are no practical ways of preventing it. The
Lar also lists other crimes which Querolus has committed, such
as theft (10.10). His description of a kind of "lynch law" on
the banks of the Loire has been seen as a picture of the summary
courts of justice set up in the country after the abandonment of
Roman law for that of the barbarians (17.15, *Illic iure gentium
uiuunt homines, ibi nullum est praestigium, ibi sententiae
capitales de robore proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus, illic
etiam rustici percorant et priuati iudicant, ibi totum licet*). In
Mandrogerus' "mock trial" he calls on Arbiter to be his "defence
counsel" (58.1, *Quae co Arbiter, pro me ut urba facias*). He prefers
to be found guilty of sacrilege rather than of theft (60.3, *Furtum
igitur non commisi. dii te servent. Vicimus, nam isto ego tempore
poenam malo quam pecuniam debere*). Euclio's letter (54.14 sqq.),
which Mandrogerus offers as evidence in his defence, is a kind of
testamentum per epistolam. Querolus is determined to conduct his
investigation according to strict legal principles (59.2, *Ego
interim non proposui. Tu fare quod uelis; 59.13, Nobis interim
sufficit purgare nosmet, obiecta repellere, nam si te ingredimur,
alia temptandum est uia*). The Senatus Consultum Serui lianum et
Parasiticum (61.13) and the laws Porcia, Caninia, Furia, Fufia
(61.15) are of course meant as jokes, as are the consuls
Torquatus and Taurea (*uide the Commentary, ad loc.*). The laws
are puns with reference to the parasitic existence, while the
names of the consuls seem to represent the punishments in store
for those who break the laws. (The author's legal interests
prompted Mr. to suggest that he may have been a lawyer.*)
The author of the θ, claims that he has adopted material from a philosophical talk of his patron (3.9, Atque ut operi nostro aliquid adderetur gratiae, sermo illo philosophico ex tuo materiam sumpsimus). The philosophical content of the work, however, is rather popular than profound, and this would fit the suggestion that the patron, one Rutilius, to whom the work is dedicated, was in fact Rutilius Namatianus, who is supposed to have been an eclectic Stoic and Neoplatonic (for popular rather than profound philosophy in his De Reditu Suo, uide the intro. section on Dedicated). Cors. saw the author of the θ, as an eclectic Stoic and Neoplatonic tinged with cynicism and scepticism. Pichon also described the author as a Stoic. The final rewarding of the good and punishment of the evil is a part of Stoic philosophy, as it is of a good many other philosophies. Boano found parallels in Hermetic literature dealing with the different types of gods and demons which determine man's destiny for Mandrogerus' description of the powers in control of human existence (uide the Commentary to pp.30sqq.), but this is a lot to presume from but little evidence, for Mandrogerus' main purpose is merely to mystify Querolus with his mumbo-jumbo.

There is obviously a popular "moral" to the story, that we are rewarded according to our deserts; bad faith is punished, and the tables are turned on the evil doer (5.2, Felicem fato seruatum suo; 5.3, Fraudulentum fraude deceptum sua; 6.15, Perfidus alteri fraudem infert, demnum sibi; 5.21, Locupletissimus erit, sic meritum est insius; 4.16, Fato atque merito collocantur sic ambo ad sua; 5.22, Quod pro meritis reddendum ubis non mutatis, ipsi uosmet fallitis). But Fate and Fortune also have a large rôle to play. Querolus is always complaining about his misfortune (6.23, Sed ecum insum audio, fatum et fortunam olemitat; 7.7, O fortuna, O fors fortuna, O fatum sceleratum atque impium), but this is ingratitude, as he is to be lucky in spite of himself (22.5, Velis nolis, hodie bona fortuna sedes intrabit tuas). There is a
contradiction here, for it seems that men can be rewarded either
in accordance with their deserts or at the whim of blind fate.
The good are rewarded and the bad punished, but one can do
nothing against fortune, or against the will of god (vide infra
on Religion). The character of the Lar Familiaris contains a
similar anomaly, for although he claims to direct fate, events
happen without his intervention (vide the intro. section on
Characters). Miss and Mrs. saw Querolus as Everyman (Jedermann),
a representative of the human condition who speaks for everyone,
Et populo et mihi (9.20), when he complains (9.16) Quare inustis
bene est et iustas male? This was a common question of popular
philosophy (cf. the subtitle of Seneca's De Prouidentia, Quare
bons uiris mala accident, cum sit Prouidentia?). The just, more­
over, are made to suffer more (20.19, Sunt aliqui, fateor, iusti
prone, sed prima est horum calamitas). Querolus, mankind's
spokesman, is proved to be far from blameless (9.21, Cum tu ipse
sas reus, quemadmodum satis tibi aliiisque multis defensores te
paras?), but then (10.24), Nemo est innocens. Querolus is told
that there are many less fortunate than himself, even his own
neighbour (15.24), while most of his complaints are common to all
(14.5, Ista quae protulisti communia sunt et antiqua paupertatis
crimina). He has no right to complain, for he is no more unhappy
than others, and has deserved his fortune (12.1, Primum contra
meritum tuum miserum te non esse ut comprobem, secundo etiam
felicem tete esse iam nunc ipse intellegas). The Lar Familiaris
tells him to count his blessings, for he does not realise how
lucky he in fact is (14.6, Hoc si agnosceres, felix eras). He
already possesses the greatest possible blessing, that of good
health (16.8, e Querole, sanus es et felicem te negas?). He
would not appreciate the gift of a sound mind in a sound body
until he witnessed its absence (20.13, e Querole, imbocilla
tantum uobis corpora uidentur, quantum animus est infirmior).
People are never content but always complain (22.14, Necue aro
id expectabam ut gratias ageres, sed ut Querulum te constaret in
omnibus), yet although no-one is content with his lot, if a god offered men the chance to change places they would refuse. Querolus, given a choice of professions, finds it necessary in the end to relinquish all his wishes, when shown the disadvantages of other walks of life, admits that he is content with his lot, and settles for his present state (20.21, Neam mihi concede sortem, quando nihil melius rependi; a commonplace, uide Commentary to 16.22). But now, although Querolus freely admits that his Lar Familiaris has proved him to be happy, he is to be rendered even more so by an unexpected gift of gold (20.23, Iritur, quamquam felicem esse te constiterit, tamen etiam nunc beatiori te futurum ut amoscas uolo. Aurum hodie multum consequare), as the Lar had already foretold in his opening speech (5.20, Hie exinde sufficiens fuit, quod primum est bonum, nunc autem locupletissimus erit). Here again there seems to be a contradiction of philosophical viewpoints. Querolus hardly seems to have done anything to deserve this reward, in view of his past vices which he has just acknowledged.

Religion.

For supposed criticisms of Christian religion - monks and hermits - and Jews, paralleled by passages in Rutilius Namatianus' De Reditu Suo, uide the intro. section on Dedicatee.

Certain passages of the Q. do, however, seem to imply the existence of a higher authority (3.13, Hinc ergo quid in uero sit, qui solus nouit, noverit, glossed by V3 as deus; 16.10, Sed ut amoscant homines nemini auferri posse quod dederit deus; 51.8, Omnes itaque homines nunc intellegant neque adipiscor neque perdere ulere aliquid, nisi ubique fauseat totum ille cui potest, also glossed by V3 as deus). Human knowledge is dismissed (6.20) as uana hominum scientia. Miss and Err. imagined Querolus to be a representative of Everyman (Jedermann, uide supra on Philosophy). The Lar Familiaris is a personification of Fate (uide the intro. section on Characters). By the end of the 3rd. century A.D., as
Jannaccone pointed out, Fate or Fortune came to be identified with (Divine) Providence. (She compared Augustine, De Civitate Dei, V, De his, qui non astrorum positionem, sed connexionem causarum ex Dei voluntate pendentem fati nomine appellant, 8, Ipsam itaque praecipue Dei summum voluntatem cuius potestas insuperabiliter per cuncta porrigitur, eos appellare fatum sic probatur.) But the force of Destiny prevents the operation of free will. So the philosophical problem in the Q. of reconciling the contradictory "morals" that nothing can happen contrary to good fortune, and that the good are rewarded and the bad punished, illustrates the Christian problems of predestination or determinism opposed to free will, and of theodicy, the vindication of Divine Providence in view of the existence of evil. In another philosophical problem, (9.16) Quare iniquus bene est et iustus malus? and (20.19) Sunt aliqui fatores, iusti prone, sed prima est horum calamitas. Cors. saw the Christian concept that God chastises most those whom he loves best (comparing Seneca, De Providentia, 26, Patrum deus habet aduersus bonos uiros animum et illos fortiter amat et, operibus, inquit, doloribus, damnis exactusurus, ut uerum colligant robur). The realisation that in fact no-one is completely just (20.13, Si nemo felix, nemo igitur justus) has been taken to reflect the Christian doctrine of original sin.

So it seems impossible to tell whether the author of the Q. was Christian or pagan. He certainly does not appear to have been at all fervent for one side or the other. Although he allows Fate and Fortune, and magic and astrology, to play a large part in the work, this cannot be taken as indicative either way, for these features, as well as mythological references (such as those to Circe and Proteus, 32.24) or allusions to other religions (such as the mention of the Egyptian Anubis, 33.5) occur in well known Christian writers of the Late Roman West as Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris. Bianchi suggested that the author's attack on false magicians as swindlers shows the attitude of an adherent of the
new faith (Christianity) to the old. But such attacks were common (cf. ex. Apuleius' attack on false prophets, Metamorphoses, IX, 4-10, and he was a devotee of Isis). M. Meyer supposed the author to have been a Christian because he spoke against Egyptian cults, but the only certain reference to Egyptian religion is to Anubis. (Boano made the unlikely suggestion that Rutilius Namatianus' Oæris may be identified with the Q.'s Pan, uide the intro. section on Dedicatee. He associated the uiris (31.25), hydria (31.25), anseres (32.5), cynocephali (32.25), and corymbos (34.2) with Isis, Oæris, Serapis, Egypt and the Nile.) The author employs the word deus in both the singular and the plural, and also uses the ambiguous term diuinitas (uide Commentary to 52.2). If the dedicatee is indeed to be identified with Rutilius Namatianus it would perhaps be rather more likely that the author should have been pagan, as Rutilius Namatianus was violently anti-Christian. Hav. was surely correct in finding not a trace of Christian doctrine in the Q., but the magic and astrology typical of the declining paganism of the Late Empire, when the mythological stories of the gods of the Roman pantheon were no longer seriously believed.

Astrology.

At 36.14 Mandrogerus continues his mystification of Querolus by guessing the information necessary to draw up his horoscope: Mars trigonus, Saturnus Venerem respicit, Iuppiter quadratus, Mercurius huic iratus, Sol rotundus, Luna in saltu est. Collegi omnem iam genesim tuam, Querole, Mala fortuna te premit. But he still does not go into enough detail to allow a real horoscope to be cast. Doubtless he is merely fooling his naïve victim into belief in his powers and consequent acceptance of his advice. Each astrological term (except for the description of the Sun, and, perhaps, the Moon) makes sense alone, but their combination is insufficient for any chart to be drawn up (in spite of the attempt of the scholiast, E2, uide the Commentary, ad loc.).
Anyone at all cognisant with astrology would have realised this, and perhaps the author intended his learned audience to realise that Querolus was being fooled. We cannot tell therefore whether the author could have included an accurate horoscope had he wished to do so. Astrology certainly did not lose its popularity in the Late Empire. (Ausonius was very proud of his grandfather's prowess in this field, Parentalia, IV, Caecilius Agricius Arborius Aua, 17, Tu caeli numeros et consapia sidera fati/ Callebas studium dissimulanter agens.)

Dreams and Portents.

Magic and superstition, as distinct from religion and astrology, appear in the interpretation of dreams and portents, and in Mandrogerus' list of powers controlling human lives. The dreams of the three conspirators (guide the Commentary to p. 24, with comparisons with Artemidorus) seem to foretell either the truth or its opposite. This confusion may arise from the author's constant desire for antithesis and paradox. Sycophanta dreamed of a treasure composed partly of coins and partly of barbed hooks, torcs and chains. This was regarded as a bad omen, yet the treasure proved to be real enough, while the accompanying instruments of torture seemed to forebode the thieves' downfall. Sardanapallus dreamed of a funeral, which, although unknown to them, they themselves were nevertheless carrying and bewailing. This was taken to augur well, but they later had good reason to lament Duilio's funeral, whose (supposed) funerary urn they were carrying. Mandrogerus dreamed that he was to find the desired gold, but only to enjoy of it what he could swallow. This dream was greeted with delight, yet it must be presumed to have foretold his eventual acceptance as Querolus' parasite, his only reward for finding the gold. After their disappointment, Sycophanta and Sardanapallus wished that they had heeded the portents provide by the jackdaw, who sang to the former, and the dog who attacked the latter (48.21sqq.). In trying to use Querolus' naivety to their own advantage, the thieves were fooled by their own credulity.
GENRE, CHARACTERS AND PLOT.

GENRE.

The original intentions of the author for the presentation of the Q. are obscure. The dedication appears to be written for a private audience, and the use of the term lectio (5.7, Materia uosmet reficiet, si fatigat lectio) suggests that it was to be read or recited in a closed circle, whereas the prologue, addressed to the spectatores (4.20, Pacem quiemque a uobis, spectatores, noster sermo poeticus roget), has been understood, by Wermadorf (in Peip.'s edition), among others, to refer to the theatre-going public. The use of the verb agere (5.1, Aululariam hodie sumus acturi; 5.13, Prodire autem in agendum) also suggests a public performance (uide the Commentary, ad loc.). Plautus' and Terence' comedies were acted. It is generally accepted that Seneca's tragedies were not written for the stage and there is no evidence that they were acted. Although they could be acted, in spite of their inclusion of situations which would be difficult from the standpoint of the technique of practical drama (as at the end of the Hippolytus, where Theseus tries to piece together the remains of his son's mangled body, 1262sqq.), they were probably intended for reading or recitation. So were the 12th century Latin comedies (although Cohen argued that they were to be acted). The sections of the Q. more suitable for private consumption by an élite literary group are the long introduction, the monologues of the Lar Familiaris, Querolus, and Pantomalus, and the debates, between the Lar and Querolus, and between Querolus and Mandrogerus. A learned and cultured audience would also better appreciate the academic discussions on philosophical questions of good and bad fortune, and the literary allusions scattered throughout the work. The audience may also be assumed to have taken an interest in religion and astrology, and to have been amused by possibly satirical references to social, political, economic, administrative, legal and military affairs. Yet the jeux de scène would need staging to achieve their full effect.
These comprise the throwing of the urn through the window, the use of the trident as a weapon, and the magical transformation of the Lar Familiaris, which Querolus sees (8.20, *Quidnam hoc est praestitium?*) before he describes it (8.24, *Iste seminudus dealbatusque incedit, toto splendet corpore*). The point in Querolus' monologue where he thinks he sees a thief (perhaps among the audience) and shoos him away, would also be suitable for the stage (23.4, *Misi fallor, unum ex ipsis uideo. Atque ecce rer gerit. Hem, tibi clamor, imposter. Oh the cesse, cures, serusta est fibula*).

The dedication to Rutilius (3.1 to 4.19) seems to be a personal address, while the prologue (4.20 to 5.15) sounds more like a direct confrontation with the spectators, although the appeal for a fair hearing may be a convention adopted from Plautus and Terence (*vide* Commentary to 4.20). Both these elements appear to be prefatory material, the action of the play itself beginning with the Lar Familiaris' entry and speech (5.19). The Lar tells the audience the plot (6.1), which has already been divulged in the dedication (3.15), and it is unlikely that both passages would have been delivered in a public performance. The first was presumably intended only as prefatory material to compliment the author's patron.

It may be possible to reconcile the apparent contradictions in the question of presentation. Perhaps the play was intended not merely to be read or recited, but acted, as the private entertainment (*fabellis atque mensis, 3.13*) of a literary circle, some of whose members would become amateur actors for the occasion, the remainder forming the audience. This would explain the dramatically suitable elements and references to spectators, along with the learned allusions and philosophical developments which appear unsuited to the general public. So Hav. suggested a private "drawing-room" presentation (*vide infra*). Indeed, it is not inconceivable that a wealthy Gallo-Roman landowner might be envisaged as possessing his own small theatre in his villa, or a
room adapted to serve as such. The dedication to the author's patron, presumably the head of the circle, could well have been read out to him as a compliment before the commencement of the action. The only problem still remaining would be the use of the term *lectio* contrasted with *materia* (uide Commentary to 5.7). Perhaps the subject-matter, or plot, of the play, is considered likely to prove more attractive to its audience when presented on stage, than if they were to read the text for themselves.

A Roman theatre would, however, be quite suitable for staging the *Q*, which could easily, technically speaking (with regard to the necessary setting, props, actors and actions), be staged in such a theatre for public consumption, although it is not perhaps dramatically suitable, because of its verbosity, with long monologues and philosophical discussions. The type of Roman theatre found in the Western provinces during the Empire, with a semi-circular orchestra and a low and deep stage, is exemplified by the one at Orange (Arausio) shown in Enn.'s edition (illustration 1a; uide Bieber, ch. XIV, "Roman Theatre Buildings in Italy and the Provinces during the Empire". Costumes, masks, scenery, etc., from wall paintings, mosaics, sculpture, etc., are also illustrated in Bieber.) The scene calls for a house in a public square with a shrine on one side and a bank on the other. (It is described at 25.14, *ipsa est platea quam requiris*. *Sacellum in parte, argenteria ex diverso...Domus excelsa...Ilmis foribus... Attat quam humiles hic fenestras uideo...Tum praeterea inermes quantum inter seae distant regulae.*) The description of the windows of Querolus' house as low, with widely spaced bars, makes it seem perfectly reasonable later for Nandrogerus to throw the urn inside by this route (*49.8, aulam illi per fenestram propellamus olanoum*). The stage building at the back of the stage in the theatre usually had three openings, which could represent one, two or three houses. In this case they could represent the houses of Querolus and Arbiter, or simply the house of Querolus, the three openings representing a front door,
side or back door (*pseudothyrum*, 46.15), and window(s). One direction leads to the harbour and the sea, the other to the river and the country. (It is uncertain which is which, as the directions for Greek and Roman stages are disputed, *uide* Beare's Appendix B, reprinted from his article. Either direction would fit according to the movements of the characters in the *Ec.*) The town may be presumed to be Athens, with its harbour at the Piraeus, as in Plautus' *Aulularia*, a Greek setting for a *palliata* (*uide* infra); Rome, with its harbour at Ostia, a Roman setting for a *tornata* or *praetexta*, has also been suggested (*uide* the intro. section on *Place of Composition*. Marseilles is another suggestion.) The description does not have to tally exactly with a known location, but it is a composite made up of traditional elements, in conformity with the requirements of the play. The scene may be imagined as a Late Antique harbour town anywhere on the Mediterranean coast by a river mouth.

The props required are few. A trident is lying in the road at the beginning of the play. The Lar Familiaris explains its presence (7.5), *Piscatores mane hae praeterisse uidi. Ipsi forte hoc excidit*. He is to defend himself with it. Two papers are also necessary, Euclio's letter, and his description of the house, *indiculum* (*uide* Commentary to 25.15). Also required are a funerary urn with lid, a chest to contain it, and fragments, presumed to be those of the urn. We are told that Euclio hid the treasure in a funerary urn, adding an inscription on the outside and unguents inside, in order to fool the crooks (3.15, *Hic Euclio aurum in ornamentum congruit olim quasi busta patris odoribus insuper infusis tituloque extra addito*). They might have examined it more closely but for the strong smell of the unguents, which they found repulsive (48.15, *Clastrum illud plumbeum densa per foramina diris fragrar odoribus*). This convinced them that the urn contained actual funerary remains. We are also told that the urn had a leaden lid. When Querolus was astonished at the weight of "Misfortune" (*mala fortuna*) locked in the chest,
Mandrogerus countered with (43.7), Nescis nihil esse Grauius fortuna mala?, believing for himself that the gold was weighing heavily. Once Mandrogerus was given to believe that there was nothing but ashes inside it, he too was astonished at the weight. Querolus turned the tables on him with (60.6), Nescis, magus, nihil esse Grauius fortuna mala?, but then added another explanation (60.8), Etiam quaeritas unde pondus? Tornen urae illius non uidisti plumbum?

There are seven characters (none female), six of them appearing together on the stage at the end (although Pantomalus may perhaps be supposed to have gone back inside the house). The prologue could be spoken by one of the other characters. No more than four characters speak at any one time, in conformity with convention, which appears to have allowed up to four speaking characters on the Roman stage at any one time, accompanied by any number of mutes (uide Duckworth, pp. 94-98, "The Doubling of Roles"). For costumes, Querolus and Arbiter would wear the usual dress of citizens of the period. Pantomalus would wear the dress of a slave, and Mandrogerus, Sycophanta and Sardanapallus that of parasites (usually grey or black, according to Gaiser). Such clothes may be seen in illustrations of comic actors. Mandrogerus also appears in the dress of a magician (which, Herrm. suggested, could be a cloak decorated with the sun, moon and stars). The Lar Familiaris is described (8.24) as seminudus deabalatusque, and could perhaps be imagined as wearing a short, white, belted tunic, as shown in illustrations of Lares, perhaps revealed by throwing off his cloak. (Hav. suggested that his transformation could take place during a flash of light or a puff of smoke. The details of costume given in Brs.'s edition are for a modern performance.) Comic masks would presumably have been used. (Illustrations of comic masks, or of comic actors using masks, in stone, terracotta and bronze, were common in Graeco-Roman times, uide Bieber. Gaiser, p. 95, illustrates a mosaic with comic masks from Hadrian's villa.)
The dramatic unities are generally observed in the plays. Aristotle in his *Poetics* observed the current practice of Greek tragic playwrights (his section on comedians is lost). These observations were adopted by Horace in his *Ars Poetica*. These principles are not likely to have consciously influenced the author of the plays, who was probably unaware of their existence. But his partial conformity to them reflects the practice of Plautus and Terence, his only certain dramatic models. Plautus and Terence too were probably unaware of Aristotle's "unities", but their apparent observance of them probably shows that the unities did indeed reflect the most successful Classical dramatic practice.

The events in a Classical play were usually supposed to take place within twenty-four hours. Duckworth (p.130) noted that "the plays (of Plautus and Terence) preserve in general the unity of time". In the plays, dramatic time represents actual time. Plautus and Terence often used monologues to fill in the time while a character is off stage. Pantomalus' long monologue in Act III, Scene 1 of the plays allows the three rogues enough time to dig up the urn.

The staging of a Classical play usually kept to the same scene throughout. Duckworth (p.126) noted that "the strict observance of the unity of place made it impossible for the comic playwrights to change the stage-setting in the course of a play". So Plautus presented such scenes as banquets and toilets outside when they might more naturally be expected inside. In the plays, the entire action takes place in the square in front of Querolus' house. Action may be presumed to take place off stage. In the plays, the entrances and exits of the characters allow for simultaneous action inside and outside the house. (The entrances and exits of the characters into and out of the house by the front or back/side doors, and to the wings along the street, are given in the synopsis of the plot, and stage directions are given in the translation, as are the acts and scenes.) Classical plays may usually be divided into five acts. The division of the plays into
acts (and scenes) was first suggested by Par., and finally fixed by Herrm.

The action of a Classical play usually progressed from a natural beginning through a natural middle to a natural end (without any flash-backs, etc.). So in the Q, the trick is planned, the deception carried out, and the gold finally returned to its rightful owner with the downfall of the thieves. In a Classical play the sub-plot usually contributed to the solution of the main plot. Duckworth (p.178) noted that "unity of plot in a broad sense occurs in 25 out of 26 extant (Plautus') comedies". In the Q, the apparent disunity between the two themes of the play (or main plot and sub-plot), the story of the discontented complainer and that of the pot of gold, mirrored in the double title (5.12, Querolus an Aulularia haec dicatur fabula), has prompted the suggestion that the author has tried unsuccessfully to unite material from two different sources (vide the intro. section on Sources). Indeed, the author admits to including material from his patron's sermo philosophicus (3.8, Atque ut operi nostro aliquid adderetur gratiae, sermone illo philosophico ex tuo materiam sumsimus). This is supposed to be on the theme of the eternal grumbler, who is proved to be actually fortunate. This theme takes up all of the first act, after the Lar Familiaris' introduction. The story of the pot of gold then occupies the second act. Pantomalus' monologue in Act III, Scene 1 does nothing to forward the action of the plot, but provides time for the supposed happenings behind the scenes. The remainder of the third act and the fourth act concern the pot of gold, whose story really ends at the close of Act IV. Another monologue from the Lar Familiaris sets the scene for the concluding fifth act, which deals with Mandrogerus' fate. Such additional concluding scenes are not foreign to Plautus, although they may be criticised as dramatically superfluous. (vide ex. Act V of the Stichus and the Pseudolus, dramatically unnecessary, though amusing.) The dialogue between Querolus and his Lar Familiaris in the first act
has been similarly criticised, as has Mandrogerus' elaborate
description of the various supernatural powers in Act III, Scene 3.
The amount of elaborate introductory material has also been the
subject of criticism.

The style of speaking does not change with the characters, and
this unity of tone harms the verisimilitude. Unity of tone is,
however, not unusual in Roman drama. Comic masters and slaves
speak a similar language, for they all belong to a somewhat
restricted social circle. Duckworth noted that Plautus' characters'
manner of speaking is more diversified than that of Terence's
characters: (p.331) "Terence'...characters have been criticised
because they all talk 'the same elegant, undifferentiated
conversational Latin'. Plautus..could...put into the mouths of
his characters, especially those of a lower type, expressions of
gross abuse, obscene humour, laughable turns of phrase"; (p.359)
"The language of Plautus is...more natural in the sense that the
various speeches are appropriate to the characters (e.g. abusive
epithets, jests and witticisms, especially of a coarse nature,
are regularly assigned to slaves or to comic rôles such as the
parasite and the slave dealer)". Characters are differentiated
more by the subject than by the tone of their conversation. So
Pantomalus indulges in verbal abuse against his master and
Arbiter, while Mandrogerus, the false magician, talks mumbo-
jumbo about superior powers and Querolus' horoscope.

The author of the θ. claims (3.13), Nos fabellis etque mensis
hunc libellum scripsimus. It was a common ancient usage to
combine the pleasure of a good meal with a recital, recitation,
reading, lecture, literary discussion, play, concert, singing
and dancing, known in general as an acroama (vide Suetonius,
Augustus, 74, quoted in the intro. section on Author about Axius
Paulus; Spartanus, Hadrian, XXXVI.4 (Scriptores Historiae
Augustae), In conviviis tragedias, comodias, Atellanas, sambuccas,
lectores, poetas, pro re semper exhibuit; Sidonius Apollinaris,
Ep., I.ii.9, Sic tamen quod illic nec organa hydraulica sonant
Horace talked of the job of amusing guests in Cocosius' villa performed by the "parasites" Messius, Cicirrus and Sarmentus, Sat., I.v.50. Pliny invited his friend Septigüs to dinner, with promises of similar amusements, Ep., I.xxv.2.) In the Late Empire mimes were popular, and were certainly performed in private houses.

In the circles pictured in the works of Asonius and Sidonius Apollinaris, entertainment was still common at mealtimes. Such discussion as took place during and after the evening meal, is heard in Macrobius' Saturnalia (where Symmachus, Praetextatus, Flavianus, Rustathius and Servius hold a discussion on Vergil's antiquarian correctness, I.xxvii.7. Sidonius alludes to such entertainment at Ep., I.ii.6; I.ii.9, uide supra; I.v.3; II.ix.6; IX.xii.3, of. Macrobius, Sat., VII.iii.24; IX.xii.4; IX.xii.5, verses 11,32.) Isidore of Seville gives a fanciful derivation for "comedy", based on the fact that it was held after dinner (Etymologiae siue Origines, VIII.vii.6, Comoedia appellati...siue a comissione. Solebant enim post cibum homines ad eos audiendos uenire). The introductory gloss in V3, copied by A and Q, which borrows freely from Isidore, has the same idea (Comoedia namque dicitur...uel a comissatione, solebant enim post cibum ad eam audiendam cominentus fieri).

The Q contains some elements of satire. It appears to include rather obscure satirical allusions on the topics of society, history, politics, administration, economy, law, religion, philosophy and astrology. Herrm. suggested a satire of actual individuals (rather than types) known to Rutilius' circle, such as the querolus, arbitcr, mercator pererinus and fenerator aduena. The C.M.H. saw the Q as a pièce à thèse (problem or propaganda play), expounding a philosophical theme. It has elements of a comédie de caractères (comedy of characters) and a comédie d'intrigue (situation comedy). There is some evolution of characters, especially of Querolus and Mandrogerus, who begin and end in opposite positions of naivety and treachery; and
comedy in the plot where the deceiver brings about his own
deception. The author appears to have envisaged it as a comédie
de salon (drawing room, or, rather, dining room, comedy), 3.13,
Nos fabellis atque mensis hunc libellum scripsimus (uide supra).
Jullian called it a comédie de moeurs (comedy of manners).

Klink. and Ber. categorised the Q. as a togata or praetexta,
pointing to the Latin names of (some of) the characters, and the
Roman environment of laws, consuls, praetors, etc. (61.14, 57.27).
Klink. also referred to the use of toga-itus ile and ex toga-
(17.24, 42.13). But it would perhaps be more correct to term it a
palliata. The nominal setting is presumably Athens, the home of
Eucloio in Plautus' Aulularia. Anachronisms are by no means absent
from the palliatae of Plautus and Terence (ex. Plaut., Aul., 445
refers to Laverina, a Roman goddess, patroness of thieves). The
Roman Lar is also a character of Plautus' Aulularia, where there
is also a praetor in a Greek city (760, iam quidem hercle te ad
praetorem raniam et tibi scribam dicam).

Miss and Cors. saw the philosophical theme in the Q. as a
diatribe, with the question and answer technique being used to
make the hero realise that he is fortunate as he is (uide the
intro. section on Sources about the Cynic-Stoic diatribe).

For Herrm.'s description of the Q. as a kind of Menippean
Satire, containing blocks of prose and verse, like Petronius'
Satyricon and Seneca's Apocolocyntosis, uide the intro. section
on Rhythmic Structure.

Lookwood suggested that the Q. is basically an Atellan Farce,
but although he showed that it is not a typical palliata, he did
nor prove convincingly that it is an Atellana, about which, as he
admitted, very little is known, except that it involved characters
and intrigue (uide the intro. section on Sources about the
Atellan Farce). Lookwood pointed out that an Atellana had fewer
characters than the normal palliata of Plautus and Terence, as
does the Q. It has seven, the same number as the Amphitryo, but
fewer than any other extant Latin comedy. None of the characters can, however, be positively identified with the stock characters of the Atellana: Pappus or Casmar, an old, probably stupid, grandfather; Bucco, a parasite, perhaps a braggart, probably stupid; Maccus or Manducus, a harlequin, probably stupid, and, possibly, a glutton, and similar to Mandrogerus; Sannio, a polichinello; Dossenus, a hunchback clown, probably a glutton, and a clever rogue, possibly similar to Mandrogerus. The plot of an Atellana was simpler than that of a palliata, lacking the comedy of manners element. Lockwood claimed that the plot of the Q. was equally simple, with no secondary intrigue (but uide supra on main plot and sub-plot), and no love affair involving a son making a fool of his father and obtaining money from him with the aid of a slave, and so creating a conflict between generations. All Old Latin comedies except Plautus' Captivi include a love interest, although the Trinimum has no female characters. The length of an Atellana was also shorter than that of a palliata, which the Q. would be with the removal of certain sections, which would likewise simplify its plot. These are the long speeches which make the action top heavy, and were added, Lockwood suggested, for the patron's dinner table. (Pantomalus' monologue, and those of Querolus and the Lar Familiaris, the debates between the Lar and Querolus, and Querolus and Mandrogerus, and also, perhaps, Mandrogerus' diatribe against religious cults.) Omitting these, Lockwood claimed, the brief remainder would represent the original Atellana. Finally, he noted that an Atellana would require a less elaborate stage setting than a palliata, and, according to Lockwood, only one house is necessary for the Q. (uide supra). Certainly the exits and entrances all involve one house only, rather than two or three, although window(s) are necessary, and Mandrogerus' description of the scene (25.16, Sacellum in parte, argentaria ex diuera), implies a little more elaboration. Besides, although most of Plautus' plays require two or three houses, the Amphitryon and the Captivi need only one.
Moreover, Naevius and Pomponius (vide the intro. section on Sources) had already tended to fuse Atellaneae and palliatae.

The Q. is the only (nearly) complete Latin comedy extant apart from those of Plautus and Terence, and the only Latin play apart from theirs and Seneca's tragedies. An isolated late work, it has an important place in the history of drama. It may not, however, have been completely alone in its time. Ausonius refers to the (now lost) Delirium written by his friend Axius Paulus (vide the intro. section on Author), although this was not necessarily a comedy. His own Ludus Septem Sapientium is hardly a true play, but a didactic school piece, which could be "acted" by a single actor. It comprises seven monologues, as each sage appears in turn, announces an appropriate Greek maxim, and develops his theme in Latin. It is also possible that an intermediary could have stood between Plautus' Amphitryon and Vitalis of Blois' Amphitryon sive Geta, in much the same way as the Q. stands between Plautus' Aulularia and Vitalis' Aulularia sive Querulus (vide the intro. section on Author). The 5th. century Christian Sedulius in a polemic against the pagan theatre in his Carmen Paschale mentions a ridiculium Geta, but this is not necessarily the title of a play, as Geta is a common slave name in comedy (I. 17, Cum sua gentiles studeant figmenta poetae/Grandisonis pompare modis, tragicoque boatu/Ridiculoque Geta, seu qualibet arte cancendi./Saeua nefandarum renouent contagia rerum,/Et scelerum monumenta canant, ritusque magistro,/Flurima Niliaciis tradant mendacia biblis,/Cur ego, Dauitidis adauget centibus odas/Cordarum resonare decem sanctoque uerenter/Stare choro et placidis caelestis psallere uerbis,/Clara salutiferi taceam miracula Christi?). A praetexta, Octavia, is also ascribed to Seneca. The Christian lawyer and rhetorician, poet and panegyrist, Dracontius, who lived in Carthage at the end of the 5th. century, wrote a Medea, Hylas, De Raptu Helenae, and Crestis Tragoedia, but these are all rather mythological epyllia (miniature epics), in hexameters, than tragedies. Hostidius Geta, a contemporary of
Tertullian, composed a tragedy called the *Medea*, which is in fact a Vergilian cento, Vergilian hexameters forming the dialogue, and Vergilian hemistichs the chorus.

The fragmentary 7th century *Dialogus inter Terentium et Delusorem* (uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure) was probably written as a prologue for a production of Terence or of a contemporary play, although DuMéril suggested that it may have been part of a philosophical declamation against the theatre. It has three characters, Terence, the Delusor, and Hieronymus, a theatre director, and comprises 64 hexameters. In the 10th century Hrotswitha of Gandesheim wrote six plays in rhythmic and rhyming prose, hoping to provide a Christian alternative to Terence. (They are Gallicanus, Dulcitius, Callimachus, Abraham, Paphnutius, and Sapientia, sive Fides, Spes et Charitas.) In the same century Notker Balbulus translated Terence's *Andria* into German verse. The remaining dramatic productions of the Middle Ages were limited to Christian mystery, morality and miracle plays, until the 12th century Latin comedies, including Vitalis of Elois's *Aulularia*, based on the Q. (uide the intro. section on Nachleben). During the Middle Ages the Q. was commonly supposed to be Plautine and did, indeed, constitute the only surviving (supposed) representative of Plautus' plays. It probably owes its survival to this mistaken attribution to Plautus (uide the intro. section on Author).

The survival of drama by the time of the Q. may seem surprising, but although the amphitheatre and the circus provided rival attractions, stage plays were still very much alive in the Western Empire, in spite of, if not because of, the barbarian invasions. This can be seen from the law codes (Cod. Theod., XV.v.2; XV.vi.2; XV.vii.1; XV.vii.4; XV.vii.8; XV.vii.11; XV.vii.12; XV.vii.13; XVI.x.3). Christian writers complained about the popular passion for the theatre (Augustine, Confessions, III.2; De Ciuitate Dei, I.32 (De Scaecnicorum Institutione Ludorum); II.4; II.8 (De ludis scaenicis, in quibus dii non offenduntur editione suarum
turpitudinum, sed placentur); Jerome, Ep., 21; Ambrose, De Heliac et Ieiunio, XIII.47; Tertullian, De Spectaculis, 10; 30; Salvian of Marseilles, De Curatione Dei, VI.vii.36,37,38; VI.xii.69; VI.xii.71; VI.xv.89; Prudentius, Contra Symmachum, III.646). Pantomimes and mimes rivalled tragedies and comedies. In Metamorphoses X, 29 to 34, Apuleius describes a pantomime of the judgement of Paris, at Corinth. Sidonius Apollinaris describes pantomimes on mythological subjects, and other attractions (Carm., XXIII.267, 286, 300). Actresses took over the female rôles from actors (Donatus ad Ter., And., IV.iii.716). Other dramatic attractions are also mentioned by Claudian (In Eutropium, II.359; De Consolatu Ma.IIIi Theodori, 314) and Ammianus Marcellinus (XIV.vi.19; XXVIII.iv.33). The story of Plautus' Amphitryon remained popular (Amobius, Adversus Gentes/Jationes, IV.35; VII.33; Prudentius, Peristephanon, X.226). Illustrated manuscripts from the end of Antiquity also attest the continuation of the dramatic tradition (vide Bieber).

By the time of Isidore of Seville, however, the true nature of comedy (and tragedy) had been lost. Comedy became a play with a happy ending, lower classes as characters and a low style, (tragedy one with a sad ending, upper classes as characters and a high style). Comedians were divided into "old", that is, Plautus, Terence and Accius, and "new", that is, Horace, Persius and Juvenal.(Etymologicum sive Origines, VIII.vii, De Poetis,

5, Tragoedi dicti, quod initio canentibus praemium erat hicricus, quem Graeci θραγος uocant. Vnde et Horatius (Ars Poetica, 220), carmine qui tragedio uilem certaut ob hircum. Iam dehinc sequentes tragici multum homonem adapti sunt, excellentes in argumentis fabularum ad ueritatis imaginem fictis. 6, Comedi appellati siue a loco, quia circum pagos agebant, quos Graeci κωμας uocant, siue a comisatione. Solebant enim post cibum homines ad eos audiendo uenire. Sed comic o priuatum hominem praedican acta; tragici uero res publicas et regum historias. Item tragicorum argumenta ex rebus luctuosis sunt; comicorum ex rebus laetis. 7, Duo sunt autem genera comicorum, id est, ueteres et noui: Veteres, qui et loco ridiculares extiterunt, ut Plautus, Accius, Terentius. Noui, qui et Satirici, a quibus
generaliter utitia carptitur, ut Flaccus, Persius, Iuuenalis, uel alii. 11, Apud poetas autem tres characteres esse dicendi: unum, in quo tantum poeta loquitur, ut est in libris Vergilii Georgiorum; alium dramaticum, in quo nusquam poeta loquitur, ut est in comoedias et tragoeidis; tertium mixtum, ut est in Aeneide. Nam poeta illic et introductae personae loquitatur.)

The introductory gloss in V3 (vide the intro. section on Manuscripts), copied by A and O, which borrows freely from Isidore, has the same idea.

(Comoedia namque dicitur a Graeco comos, id est uilla, quia prius in pagis agebatur, uel a commessationes, solebant enim poetaes libris ad eam audiendam continent s fieri; uel appellatur comoedia quasi como odia, id est rusticorum laus, nam priuatarum acta praedicat. Haec cum tragoeidia communia quaedam habet, uidelicet quod iambico metro constat, quod tota personis attribuitur, quod utitia generaliter notat. In hoc autem inter se differunt, quod haec priuata, tragoeidia uero res publicas narrat, haec argumenta fabularum ad ueritatis imaginem ficta, illa regum historias, haec humiliter, illa granditer, haec omnia personis agit, illa quaedam uerbis tantum re praesentat, haec a tristibus incoehans in gaudia desinuit, illa laeta principia maesto claudit exitu. Sunt praeterea duo genera comoediarum, uetus et nouum; uetus ioculare, ut Plauti, Accii atque Terenti, nouum, quod et Satiricum, ut Placci, Persii, Iuuenalis, ubi utitia cuibusque manifeste carptitur. (Here A adds: In hoc autem nouo licet sit effectus comicus simul et scribentis intentio, non tamen modus loquendi. Idemque per omnia dicendum est in tragoeidia, in qua exemplum ueteris sit Seneca, noui Vergilii.) Plautus dicitur a plaui, quia pleasibilia scriptis. Aulularia quasi collaria ab olla ubi latuit aurum. Rutilius dicitur quod sit rutilus et splendidens uirtutibus.)

By the Middle Ages, dramas were no longer performed but read; plays with many parts were superseded by narratives with one person and sometimes the remnants of dialogue; prosody had changed from quantitative to accentual; the comic metres from iambics and trochaics (Plautus and Terence now sounding like prose, not verse, vide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure) to hexameters and elegiac couplets; and literature in the Romance languages was taking over from Latin. So Raby said of the 12th. century Latin comedy (Vol. II, p. 54), "A comedy came to be regarded
simply as a narrative, in elegiac verse, which was written in a plain familiar style and had a happy ending". Such was Vitalis of Blois' Aulularia (uide the intro. section on Nachleben).
CHARACTERS.

QUEROLUS.

The name is usually given as Querolus, although Querulus occurs in some MSS. He is the son of Euclio, the hero of Plautus' Aulularia; presumably married, as he has inlaws whom he wishes dead (10.27, L.F. Milii icitur mortem optasti? Q. Nemini. L.F. Dio mihi, si soceros numquam habuisti. Q. Ecce iterum generalia). There is some development of character, since he begins by being naively taken in, but afterwards cleverly disputes with Mandrogerus, and finally agrees to give him his patronage and accept him as his parasite. Although he disapproves of superfluous greetings (7.12, Ecce iterum rem molestem, salve, Querole. Istud cui bono, tot hominibus hac etaque illac sue dicere? Etiansi prodesset, incratum foret), he can be polite enough when it suits his purpose (27.3, Cur non omnia agnosco? Salute, amici). His name is suited to his "querulous" character, for he is a misanthropic pessimist, as the Lar Familiaris says (6.14, Querulus iste noster, sicut nostis, omnibus est molestus, ipsi, si fas est, deo; homo ridicules iracundus itaque ridendus magis; 20.2, At abi, Querole, cum tua querimonia; 22.14, Neque id expectabam ut gratias ageres, sed ut Querolum te constaret in omnibus). Vl explains the name thus: Querulus (sic) a quarela quan semper exercet, sicut docent sequentia. In Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia Querulus complains about his unfortunate name (43, Natus ego ut quererer semper, Querolusque uocatus/Vt uinam querulus et mea fata querar./Mira mei uideo praesagia nominis;audi/Nomen, quae mea sint fata notahis co./Sum miser atque meo mea nomine fata,/Asperitascue noui nominis omen habet./Res sequitur nomen; an nomen ab omne duxi./Vet causam nomen ominis esse rear?). Rutilius Namatianus' querulus Judaeus (De Reditu Sue, I.333, vide the intro. section on Deditae) has been identified with Querulus, but this seems rather unlikely. Equally questionable is Gaiser's suggestion that Querulus is a composite senex and adversensis of the two householders Demeas and Cleinias, the latter also recently
orphaned, of the Strobilos Comedy (uide the intro. section on Sources). For the description of Querolus as querulus (uide supra) and ingratus (5.5, Inae est ingratus ille noster; 5.20, Queroli nunc sortem administro huius ingrati, non mali) Caiser compared Prosper of Aquitaine's Carmen de Ingratis (praef.3, Aduersum ingratos falsa et uirtute superbos; I.684, Vos igitur soli queruli, solique superbi/Vos soli ingrati). Horace' Ars Poetica 173, Difficilis, querulus, leaudator temporis acti, has also been suggested as the origin of the name, but none of these suggestions offers sufficient evidence of the source of the name. Theophrastus' Character 17, Μεψωμερία, "Querulousness", is a similar description of a pessimist who always looks on the bad side. Compare also his Characters 18, Απιστία, "Distrustfulness"; 15, Αδαδεία, "Surliness"; 4, Αγορικία, "Boorishness". (cf. also Aelian, Ep., 14, and Libanius, Declamation, XXVI.7, uide Commentary to 7.12.)

LAR FAMILIARIS.

The household god, who introduces himself (5.17), Ego sum custos et cultor domus, cui fuero adscriptus. Aedes nunc istas rego, e quibus modo sum egressus. Decreta fatorum ego tempero; si quid boni est, ultero accerso, si quid prauius, mitigo. Queroli nunc sortem administro huius ingrati, non mali. Hic exinde sufficiens fuit, quod primum est bonum, nunc autem locupletissimus erit. Sic meritum est ipsius, nem quod pro meritis reddendum ubis non putatis, ipsi uestem fallit. He is Querolus' conscience or genius (6.21), Genium autem ipsius esse me quantum fieri potuerit cautissime confitebor, ne quod mihi faciat malum, nem maledicere mihimet numquam cessat ille noctes et dies. With his "socratic" questioning he plays "devil's advocate" and forces his protégé to see the truth. He appears as a deus ex machina; although he seems to refer to a higher authority (6.10, Sed ut aequoscant homines nemini anferri posse quod dederit deus; 51.7, Omnes itaque homines nunc intellegunt neque adirisci neque perdere valere
aliquid, nisi ubique faeaut totum ille qui potest). He identifies himself with fate or fortune (8.15, Ego sum Lar Familiaris, fatum quod nos dicitis; 6.20, Fatum itaque iam nunc et hominem e diverso audietis). He claims the role of Providence, although no evidence of his influence over events is ever seen, so that one has to take his word for it. He claims to be omnipotent (16.22, Tu fortunam dicio, cuius tibi condicio placet; sortem autem quam ipse uolveris iam nunc dabo; 51.9, Quantum ad personam Queroli spectat, perfecta iam sunt omnia. Sed Mandrogeronetem illum furum ac perfidum nunc illaqueari uolo; 51.14, Quid huic merito sueniet, nisi quod iam nunc fiet? Ferat quod facere uoluit, nam quod fecit nostrum est). So without any visible influence over events he only predicts or comments on the action as a "chorus", without participating therein. When he congratulates Euclio on having saved his treasure, even though dead, he seems not to have been in control of the event (51.5, O seniens Euclio, nos iactantes non sumus). The result is therefore due to Euclio's foresight, and not the Lar's doing. Yet in spite of his claims to (Divine) power, he appears to be afraid of Querolus (6.21, uide supra; 7.1, Et quid ego nunc facio? Auolare subito hinc non possum, nimium memet credidi; 15.23, Quidni timeam, qui tecum iuuo?). V3 explains the name thus: Lar autem dicitur a laribus, id est domibus, quorum tutor est. Caizer suggested that the Roman deity, the Lar Familiaris, took over the role from the Greek hero Dardanos in the Strobilos Comedy (uide the intro. section on Sources).

Every Roman house had its own Lararium, a shrine dedicated to the Lar, originally the spirit of the founding ancestors of the family who watched over their descendants, afterwards the guardian spirit of the home and its inhabitants, represented by a little figure in a niche in the wall, sometimes with a wall painting. It would be carefully tended, and presented with small offerings of cakes, fruit, corn, wine and incense, at daily meal times and feast days of the family, and often decorated with flowers. The Lares were associated with the hearth, and so thought to be as
black as soot, while the Penates, who looked after the welfare and property of the family, were white with the flour of the store room or cupboard, *penus*, where they were worshipped (9.3, *Eumenides* 1489: *praeceperam ad carbones et carbonariis acere te putabam, tu de pistrinis uenis, uide the Commentary*). The Lar is described (8.24), *Iste seminudas dealbatusque incedit, tot splendet corpore*. The Penates did, in fact, become hardly distinguishable from the Lares, for they also seem to have represented the spirits of departed ancestors, and with the Lares shared in family meal times as the ancestors once did. Offerings of flour and salt were made to them on an altar in front of the hearth. The Lar could also be conflated with the Genius or guardian spirit of the male head of the household, *paterfamilias*, and with Juno, the woman's representative. The attributes of the Lar could also be identified with those of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. In Plautus' *Aulularia* the Lar *Familias* is neglected by all save Duilio's daughter Phaedria, whom he therefore favours with special protection, and he sees that the buried treasure is found in order to provide her with a dowry. The Lar is identified with the Genius (6.2, *uide supra*) in *Censorinus* De *Die Natali* (2,3, *Sed et hoc a cuiusdam saepu quaesitum solvendum uidetur, qui sit genius, curae eum potissimum suo quisque natali ueneremur. Genius est deus, cuius in tute la ut quisque natus est uiiit...Bundem eas egenium et laum multi ueteres memoriae prodiderunt...Nonnulli binos genus in his dumtaxat domibus quae essent maritae colendas mutuerunt:...Genio igitur potissimum per omnes actatem octannis sacrificamus:...genius autem in domus adcidus observator adpositus est, ut ne mucto uideat temporis longius adsecdat, sed ab utero matris acceptos ad extremum vitae diem comitetur*). (For illustrations, *uide P.W. s.v. Lares and Penates*, with references to illustrations; and *Bmr.*'s edition, illustration 1b, the Lararium in the House of the Vetii at Pompei from the third quarter of the 1st century A.D., showing two crowned Lares with short, white, belted, tunics, and the *paterfamilias*, or his genius, standing in between them.)
MANDROGERUS.

The M33 gave the name as Mandrogerus. Herrm., however, preferred a nominative Mandrogerontes, and Reinhardstötner, Mandrogerontus. The accusative is Mandrogerontem, although John of Salisbury gives Mandrogerum. The ablative is Mandrogeronte, although Klink preferred Mandrogero. The vocative is Mandrogerus, not Mandrogere, as preferred by Par. Liutprand of Cremona uses the plural, Mandrogerontes. The character of Mandrogerus is a mixture of that of the sycophant and that of the parasite. For the separate parts played by these two members of Athenian society, vide P.W. s.v. sycophanta and parasites, and Lofberg. The sycophant, Greek συκοφάντης, was an agent hired for money in political and legal affairs, who would act as an informer or agent provocateur, and even indulge in blackmail, while the parasite was a glutton who would do anything for food; he usually acted in more personal affairs, and took a somewhat similar place to that of a client in respect of his patron in Roman society. In Roman comedy the two became indistinguishable. Eur. saw Mandrogerus as a character from Atellan Farce, Manducus or Dossenus (vide the intro. section on Genre). Mandrogerus also pretends to be a magician or astrologer, and Querolus takes his name as a sure sign of his marvellous powers (28. 24, Attat pulchrum hercle nomen. Iam hoc de magis existimō). There is some development of character, for he begins as a clever trickster, but is eventually deceived by his own deception, and teased by Querolus. Vē explains the name thus: Mandrogerus autem dicitur a Graeco mandros id est uir et ier id est sacer, simulat enim se diuinum et sacerdotem. Mandr- seems a more likely derivation than Mand-. The name Mandrogerus is supposed to be derived from mandragores, the mandragora or mandrake, a narcotic plant. Herrm. made the rather unlikely suggestion that it means qui mandit gerontas, from the verb mando or manduco or manduar, "swallow" or "chew", or the noun mando or manduco or manducus or manducator, a "glutton"; and γερατος or γρατα, an old man or an old woman. The meaning of the
Late Latin term *mandrator* would also suit *Mandrogerus'* character, *uide DuC.*, *s.v.*, meaning *caullator*, *columnator*; *T.L.L.*, *s.v.*, meaning *caullator* (*VIII*.272.38sqq.); with *exx.* (*Dan.* and *Smas* saw Christian influence in the name. *manda* means a monastery or church in Late Latin, *uide DuC.*, *s.v.*; *Souter, s.v.*; *T.L.L.*, *s.v.*, meaning *monasterium*, *templum* (*VII*.271.50seq.); with *exx.*; and *mandrita*, *uide DuC.*, *s.v.*, with *exx.*, or *mandrites*, *uide T.L.L.*, *s.v.* (*VIII*.272.41sqq.), with *exx.*, means a monk; *archimandrita*, *uide DuC.*, *s.v.*, with *exx.*, a priest, bishop or archbishop. (An archimandrite in the Eastern Orthodox Church is the equivalent of an abbot in the West.) So *DuC.*, *s.v.*, interprets *mandrogerontes* in Liutprand of Cremona as *uetuli monachi.* Gaiser suggested that *Mandrogerus* is the equivalent of *Strobilos* in the comedy of the same name (*uide the intro. section on Sources*). A possible Greek origin of the name is the comedy of Alexis entitled *Mandrogorizomene*, of which the following five fragments remain: 1. εἰς’οὐ περὶ περιγραφὸν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος φυτών/ὑπεναντιστώτων τε πλεῖστως χρώμενος/ἐρώμεν ἄλλοτροι, παρορμεῖν συγγενεῖς/ἐχοντες οὐδὲν εὐποροῦμεν τοῖς πέλας/ἐράνους φεροντες οὐ φέρομεν ἅλλη κακός/τακτής τροφῆς δὲ τῆς καθ’ ἡμέρας πάλιν/γλυξύμεθα μὲν τὴν μάζαν ἴνα λευκὴ παρῆ/ἐωμὲν δὲ ταστρὶ μέλανα μηχανδέθεα, ὧδε καλὸν δὲ χρῶμα δευσελποὺς χρύσημον/καὶ χίλια μὲν πίνειν παρασκευαζομεν/τὸ δ’ὁμον ἐν μὴ θερμῶν δὲ διασφορμεν/καὶ τὸν μὲν δὲν ἐκπυκνομεν/ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀμπράσκαλαι ὁ’ἐκρακχεσομεν/οὐκοῦν τὸ ποικίλος τῶν σοφῶν εὐρημενον, τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν κράτιστον ἐστὶν/ἐκ’ἀπ’γεννητ’ὁδ’εξιστ’ἐχειν τέλος. 2. ἐὰν ἐπιχώριος/λατρός εἴπῃ, τρόπλοι δεύτερο/πτυσσόμεθα ἑωθέν, καταφρονοῦμεν εὐθέως/ἐν δὲ, πτυσσόμεθα καὶ τρόπλοι, θαυμάζομεν·καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μὲν, τευττίλον, παρεδόμεν·ἐὰν δὲ, σεύτιλον, ἁμένως ἥχοσαμεν/ὡς οὐ το σεύτιλον σαῦτὸν δὲν τῇ τευττίλῃ. 3. Ἰκ’εἰς φεροσα συμβολῆς τολυνν ἐμα/πὼς συμβολῆς; ἰδ’εἰς ταῖς χαλκίδες·καὶ τοῦ ἐκατόδους συμβολῆς κάλοσι, γραμ. 4. κακῶς ἔχεις, στρουθίς ἀκάρης νὴ ἄλει/περιλπεύσαντε. ἰδ’οὐ κακῶς μοι λάλει, ἅσον οὐ τῇ τεθνηκα. ἰδ’ τοῦ ταλαιπώρου πάθους. 5. εἰ τίνας μᾶλλον φιλῶ/ζένους ἔτερους ὑμῖν, γεγομὴν ἐγχέλουσ/ἐνα καλλιμεδόν δ’ ἡφαίστως προλειτό με.
(Two parasites and two magician-astrologers are illustrated in Emr.'s edition. The former, illustrations 3c and 3d, are terra cotta statuettes, a fine type and a coarse type. The latter, illustrations 3a and 3b, are a bronze medallion and a miniature manuscript illustration. Bieber also gives illustrations of the comic parasite.)

SYCOPHANTA.

He is an accomplice of Mandrogerus, with the similar character of a sycophant-parasite (uide P.W. and Lofberg). V3 explains the name thus: Sicophantae (sic) dant nomen calumnia. Gaiser suggested that Sycophanta and/or Sardanapellus replaces the cook Libys of the Stroilos Comedy (uide the intro. section on Sources).

SARDANAPALLUS.

He is an accomplice of Mandrogerus, with a similar character, possibly older, in view of (47.4) O pater Sardanapalle, although pater is perhaps just a courtesy title. V3 explains the name thus: Sardanapallum generis obscuritas et fortuna per contrarium regio donat vocabulo; and Mandrogerus says (35.11), Humili loco natus...

Ideo tibi contra regium nomen datum est. The royal name is that of Sardanapal{l}us, the legendary last king of the Assyrian Empire of Nineveh (668 - 628 B.C.) before the revolt of the Medes. Identified with Assurbanipal, he was noted for his luxury, licentiousness and effeminacy, but he was also a great warrior. When besieged he is supposed to have set fire to himself and all his possessions, wives, concubines and treasures.

PANTOMALUS.

He is Querolus' slave, and is given a long monologue in the middle of the play. Although he attacks his master in private, he defends him in public. (39.19, Omnes quidem domino malos esse constat et manifestissimum est. Verum satis sum expertus nihil esse deterius meo. Non quidem periculosus ille est homo, uerum
ingratus nimium et rancidus.) He prefers Querolus to Arbiter. (41.3, et tamen hercle, ut omnia dicantur, si necessae est, malo meum.
Aduco ille noster, qualisscumque est, tamen suarus non est in suos. Solum illud est, quod nimium crebro verbet semperque clamat.
Itaque illis ambobus deus iratus sit.) He defends Querolus' character to Arbiter. (45.11, Quid uis fieri? Sic se res habet.
Caelum numquid accualiter administratur? Sol ipse non semper nitet.) His name is a hybrid of Greek and Latin, nux and malus, as V3 explains: Pantomalus nomen est ex Graeco Latinoque compactum et dicitur quasi totus malus, pen enim Graece totum sonat; and P2 glosses, id est totus malus. So Querolus complains about him (14.18), Serus mihi est quem tolerare neques, Pantomalus et mente et nomine.
The slave in Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia is called Pantolabus, a name which also occurs in Horace' Satires (I.viii.10, Pantolabo scurrae Momentanae nepotii; II.i.22, Pantolabum scurram Momentanum neoten). Pantomalas is not a traditional servus currans, since his actions do not forward the plot, but his monologue is used to pass the time while Mandrogerus and his accomplices are unearthing the treasure. He describes the night life enjoyed by slaves. (41.11, Nihil unquam melius in rebus humanis fecisse naturam quem noctem nutu. Illa est dies nostra, tunc aguntur omnia...Quinam dominorum hoc licet?...Quant a sunt inveneri qui transfigurare esse uellent hoc modo, mane ut domini fierent, servi ut uespere.) Gaiser suggested that Pantomalas is the equivalent of the slave Daos in the Strobilos Comedy. (Daos also occurs in Menander's Aspis, vide the intro. section on Sources.) (Illustration 2 in Emr.'s edition is of a comic actor, probably a slave, on a relief from the 3rd. century A.D. Villa Albani in Rome. Comic slaves are also illustrated in Bieber.)

ARBITER.

A friend, neighbour, and "confident" of Querolus, who, as his name suggests, plays the part of a judge (55.22, Exprome thesaurum, divisio celebretur, quoniam praesto est Arbiter). He is also a
miser, according to Pantomalus. (40.22, Illo autem Arbiter, ad quem nunc co, quam accleratus est homo. Semia alimonta minuit, opus autem plus iusto imperat. Inverse heroem medio, si liceret, turpe cantaret lucrum.)

EUCLIO.

He is Querolus' deceased father, the hero of Plautus' Aulularia. V3 explains the name thus: Euoly (sic) nominatur quasi eucluo id est bonus servator. Eν enim Graece bonus est, cluo servo. Insec namque bene prudenterque thesaurum filio reseruuit. Gaiser suggested that Euclio represents the deceased Cephalos (and Nicephemos) of the Strobilos Comedy (uide the intro. section on Sources).

ZETA.

He is Querolus' slave. Dan., Hav. and Herrm. preferred the name Geta, the name of a slave in Terence' Adelphi and Phormio and in Vitalis of Blois' Amphitryo. V3 explains the name thus: Zeta Graece domus, inde hic Zeta, quod sit domus custos individuum vel ab inquisitione quam Graeci zethon uocant. Janitorum enim est prius inquirere ac sic demum clamantibus aperiare. Gaiser suggested that the name in the form Geta may be derived from the slave Getas in Monander's Thais (uide the intro. section on Sources), or from Plautus' Carbonaria, where it replaced the slave Dryas, a Thracian, of Monander's Hydria (which he identified with the Strobilos Comedy), as the Getae were a Thracian tribe.

THEOCLES.

He is Querolus' slave. V3 explains the name thus: Theocles quaia sordidus et uilis nomen sumit e contrario. Dicitur enim quasi theocleoa, id est divina claritas. Gaiser suggested that Theocles (or Sycophanta or Sardanapallus) is the equivalent of the cook Libys in the Strobilos Comedy (uide the intro. section on Sources).
The story of the £ is a sequel to, not an adaptation of, Plautus' *Aulularia*, telling of the adventures of the treasure after Euclo's death. The story and the characters are basically different, the only similarities being in the title (*Querolus on Aulularia*, 5.12) and the theme of buried treasure, the characters of the Lar Familiaris and (the deceased) Euclo, and the altar and the pot of gold. Knowledge of the plot before the commencement of the action was usual in the Classical theatre. (cf. ex. the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides based on Greek myths, and Plautus' *Amphitryo*.) The plot is outlined in greater or lesser detail, and background information given, by the Prologue, in various plays of Plautus (*Amphitryo, Aulularia* (by the Lar Familiaris), Captivi, Casina, Menaechmi, Mercator (by Charinus), Poenulus, Rudens (by Arcturus), Trinummus (by Luxuria and Inopia), Truculentus). In the £, the plot is given twice in its entirety, firstly in the Argument (3.15sqq.), and then by the Lar Familiaris in Act I, Scene 1 (5.23sqq.). This may indicate that the introductory Dedication and Argument were not meant to be included in a performance, which would begin with the Prologue (uide Commentary to 3.15 and 4.20). A brief outline of the plot is also given in the Prologue (5.2sqq).

**Dedication.** (3.1-3.14)

The author dedicates the work to his patron Rutilius, whose generosity has allowed him leisure to devote to literary pursuits. He will show his gratitude by incorporating in the £ material from Rutilius' *sermo philosophicus*. But the work is not to be taken too seriously, as it is only written for dinner-table amusement.

**Argument.** (3.15-4.19)

Here the plot is given for the first time. Querolus' father, the miser Euclo (hero of Plautus' *Aulularia*), had hidden his fortune in a cinerary urn, disguised as the final resting place of his own father, and buried it, before going abroad on business,
where he died. Before his death he disclosed the location, but not the appearance, of the treasure to the parasite Mandrogerus, whom he made co-heir with his son Querolus. It is revealed that the parasite will attempt to cheat Querolus of his rightful inheritance, but will be thwarted by Euclio's foresight, so that the treasure will eventually return to its true owner. To the dedicatee of the work and his family the author wishes a long and happy life.

Prologue. (4.20-5.15)

The Prologue asks for the audience's attention, and announces the Plautine inspiration of the play. A brief outline of the plot follows, mentioning the three main characters, Querolus, Mandrogerus and the Lar Familiaris. The audience is expected to find the content amusing, if not the style. They are told that the characters are purely fictitious, and not to be identified with anyone in real life. The choice of title, Querolus en Aulularia, is left to the audience. The author claims illustrious predecessors for his dramatic endeavours.

Act I, Scene 1. (5.16-7.5)

The Lar Familiaris enters from the house and introduces himself, claiming some influence over the decrees of fate. His protégé, Querolus, who is already self-sufficient, is about to become very rich, for, as he says, we are all rewarded according to our deserts. He then relates the plot (as given above in the Argument), adding that the urn was entrusted to his protection, but that he has not revealed its presence to Querolus, preferring to allow future events to show that no mortal can interfere with the plans of the Almighty. He then tells of Querolus' disagreeable character, and thinks that it will be amusing to confront him in the guise of a Divine being, although he is somewhat afraid of revealing his identity to Querolus, who is always cursing his fate. So he seizes a fishing trident, which is lying in the road, for his protection.
Act I, Scene 2. (7.6-22.10)

Querolus enters from the house, complaining as usual, and cursing his fate. He is annoyed at receiving untimely greetings from strangers, such as the Lar Familiaris, who reveals his identity and is forced to defend himself with the trident. He is transformed into his Divine appearance. Querolus asks him why the just suffer and the unjust prosper, but the Lar proves that he is far from just. He has deserved to be miserable, but he is in fact happy. All his complaints are shown to be unfounded. The Lar will prove that he is really fortunate. It is comparison with others that makes him unhappy, but the Lar shows him that the lives of those whom he envies would not suit him at all. Querolus concludes that if no-one is happy, no-one is just, and declares himself content with his lot. The Lar, however, proclaims that he is to be even luckier and to obtain a fortune, although this seems impossible to Querolus, especially in view of the Lar's paradoxical announcement that in order to obtain the treasure Querolus must act contrary to his own interests. It will come to him even if he does not want it, for he is powerless to alter fate. The Lar returns inside with a promise never to forsake him.

Act I, Scene 3. (22.19-23.13)

Alone, Querolus muses on this paradoxical prediction. He thinks that he sees a thief among the audience, and shoos him away. He becomes suspicious of the Lar's instructions, and goes inside to make sure that he is not robbing his house.

Act II, Scene 1. (23.14-26.19)

Mandrogerus appears with his accomplices, Sycophanta and Sardanapallus, boasting of his own prowess as a parasite. All three narrate their prophetic dreams of the previous night (guide the intro. section on History and Thought: Dreams and Portents). They then identify the location and appearance of Querolus' house from a document in Mandrogerus' possession (presumably written by Dholio). Then they move off to their respective positions.
Act II, Scene 2. (26.20-29.16)

Querolus comes out of the house, having failed to find the Lar, and hears Sycophanta and Sardanapallus talking about a wonderful magician. He is curious and joins them, begging them to tell him about the man and introduce him.

Act II, Scene 3. (29.17-38.17)

Mandrogerus opportunely appears, disguised as a magician, and lectures to them about various supernatural powers: geese, dogheads, harpies, furies, owls and monkeys. The best form of religious insurance, he tells them, is to find favour with Good Fortune. He then proves his own powers by remarkably accurate descriptions of the lives and characters of Sycophanta, Sardanapallus, and Querolus, along with the latter's horoscope. He is also able to describe Querolus' house. He suggests that the remedy for Querolus' misfortune would be an expiatory sacrifice performed by himself with Sycophanta and Sardanapallus to help him, but excluding Querolus. The latter readily agrees, and sends his slave Pantomalus to fetch his neighbour Arbiter to keep him company during the ceremony. They all go into the house.

Act III, Scene 1. (38.18-42.20)

Pantomalus comes out of the house and soliloquises on the wickedness of masters in general and of Querolus in particular, although he is not as bad as Arbiter. He then expatiates on the glories of slave life, before going to fetch Arbiter, still complaining about his master.

Act III, Scene 2. (43.1-44.11)

Mandrogerus and Querolus come out of the house carrying "Misfortune" shut up in a chest. Querolus is amazed at its weight. Mandrogerus is going to throw it into the river. He tells Querolus to shut himself up indoors for three days lest misfortune should try to reenter the house. Querolus assures him that he will do so.
Act III, Scene 3. (44.12-45.4)

Sycophanta and Sardanapallus come out of the house to join Mandrogerus. They congratulate themselves on their success and go off to seek a quiet spot in which to inspect their treasure.

Act IV, Scene 1. (45.5-46.13)

Arbiter and Pantomalus arrive, indulging in mutual banter, to find Querolus’ house securely shut. Pantomalus leads Arbiter to a back/side door.

Act IV, Scene 2. (46.19-50.15)

Mandrogerus, Sycophanta and Sardanapallus arrive bewailing their deception. The casket expected to contain the treasure has turned out to be a funerary urn. Sycophanta and Sardanapallus realise that they should have heeded the warning signs given to them by a jackdaw and a dog. They determine to take their revenge on Querolus by throwing the urn through the window back into his house, giving him to think that misfortune has returned as foretold. Having done so, they hurry away to the harbour.

Act IV, Scene 3. (50.16-50.29)

But Sardanapallus waits behind to hear Querolus’ reaction, and so learns that the urn did contain gold after all. He runs off to share this bad news with his accomplices.

Act V, Scene 1. (51.1-51.15)

The Lar Familiaris enters from the house to comment that this outcome shows that no man can tamper with the will of the Almighty. Thanks to Euolio’s foresight, Querolus has received his just deserts, but Mandrogerus is still to be dealt with.

Act V, Scene 2. (51.16-53.13)

Querolus, Arbiter and Pantomalus come out of the house marvelling at the unexpected turn of events, Euolio’s wisdom, Divine power, Querolus’ stupidity in not immediately recognising the fragments of the urn, and Mandrogerus’ wickedness. Querolus realises that the Lar’s paradoxical prediction has come true. They determine to teach Mandrogerus a lesson. Pantomalus is sent inside to fetch the fragments of the urn.
Act V, Scene 3. (53.14-61.22)

Mandrogerus arrives with a letter from Euclio claiming his share of Querolus' inheritance. Querolus feigns ignorance of the gold, and accuses Mandrogerus of theft of the treasure, and of impiety in throwing a funerary urn into the house. Pantomalus comes out with the fragments which Mandrogerus is forced to identify. He is thoroughly confused, and, like Querolus previously, cannot understand why the urn, supposedly full of ashes, was so heavy. Arbiter takes his part, and Querolus agrees to adopt him as his parasite, after he has shown himself to be well versed in parasitic law.

Act V, Scene 4. (62.1-62.10)

Sycophanta and Sardanapallus arrive to try their luck, but Querolus cannot afford to keep them too. However, he gives them some money to help them on their way.
SOURCES.

The text of the Q. is full of Plautine and Terentian reminiscences (uide the Commentary, passim). Cicero is quoted at 32.21 (Pro Roscio Amerino, XX.56), De istis quondam magis dixit Tullius. Anseribus cibaria publice locuntur et canes aluntur in Capitolio. Apicius is referred to at 24.2, Codant iuris conditores, codant omnia coquorum ingenia, codant Apici formula. There are also allusions to Vergilian lines, at 33.17 (Aenid, VI.405, Si te nulla mouet tantae pietatis imagine, At ramum hunc, sperit ramum qui ueste latebat, Amoscau), Ego autem ipsum uidi Cerberum ubi, nisi ramus aureus adfuisset, Aeneas non euaerat; and at 21.31 (Aenid, VI.100, obscuris uera in uoluent), Istud plane est quod saepe audiui, obscuris uera inuoluero. Many more Latin (and some Greek) parallels have been found (uide the Commentary, passim), but none of these was necessarily known to the author of the Q. They probably arose from a common use of proverbial expressions, or similar subject matter. Supposed reflections of Rutilius Namatanianus' De Reditu Suo are mentioned in the intro. section on Dedicatee; of Ausonius, and of the fabulists (Aesop, Babrius, Romulus, Avianus), in the intro. sections on Author and on Rhythmic Structure; of Hermetic literature, in the Commentary to pp.30ssq. Cors. saw parallels in the satirists (Juvenal, Seneca, Martial, Petronius, uide the Commentary, passim), but none of them are close enough to prove a satiric source for the Q. Analogies found by Gaiser in Greek papyrus fragments are noted in the Commentary, passim. Many of the glosses written by V3 were adopted from Isidore of Seville (uide the intro. section on Manuscripts). It remains unlikely that the author knew more of Latin literature than the works of Plautus, Terence, Cicero and Vergil, and the name of Apicius.

LATIN COMEDY.

Plautus' Aulularia.

The author claims to be presenting an Aulularia, following in the footsteps of Plautus (5.1, Aulularian hodie sumus acturi, non
ucterem ac nudem, inuentatem et inuentam Plauti peruesteria). The Q. does not bear any direct relationship to any extant Plautine or Terentian comedy other than Plautus' Aulularia, of whose plot it is a sequel, not an adaptation. But the Aulularia has a love and marriage element noticeably absent from the Q. It includes the characters of the Lar Familiaris, who speaks the prologue, and the miser, Eucilio, as well as the slave, a serus currens, Strobilus (who appears in the Strobilos Comedy, identified by Caeser as Menander's Hydria, vide infra), who steals the gold, and thieving cooks. The Q. contains the favourite Plautine characters of a slave (Pantomalus) and a parasite (Mandrogerus). Comparisons between the texts of the Q. and the Aulularia are noted in the Commentary, passim. The choice of titles (5.12, Querolus an Aulularia haec dioatur fabula, uestrum hinc judicium, uestra erit sententia) suggests two separate sources for the play. Quicherat suggested that the double title indicates contaminatio of Plautus' Aulularia and (Plautus') Querolus. Jannaconne proposed a combination of Plautus' Aulularia and Curculio, although the plot of the Curculio bears no relation at all to that of the Q. There are numerous precedents for a story of hidden or disguised gold or treasure, and it is that part of the play dealing with the character of Querolus which would seem to have a different provenance (such as Rutilius' sermo philosophicus, 3.9, although this need not have been a written document, vide the intro. section on Dedicatee).

Plautus' Trinummus.

In Plautus' Trinummus, based on Philemon's Thesaurus (prol.18, Huic Graeco nomen est Thensauro fabulae; Philemon scripsit, Plautus uertit barbare; Nomen Trinumno fecit), the buried treasure of a father, Charmides, who has gone abroad, is similarly known to his friend Callicles, but unknown to his son, Lesbonicus. (ex. arg.1, Thensauro abstrusum abiens peregre Charmides, Remque omem amico Callicili mandat suo; 151, Quoniam hinc est perpectus
Peregrine Charmides, Thesaurusum demonstravit mihi in hisce sedibus; hic in conclui quodam; cf. 6.3, Peregrine undens ornans domi senelit ac reliquit ante aras meas.) The play includes a sycophanta, who is paid "three bob" for his services in bearing two (false) letters from the absent father, whence the title of the play, and there is reference to a Lar (39, Larem corona nostrum decorari uolo. Vxor, venerare ut nobis haec habitatia bonae fortunata euenat, cf. 38.16, Quod bonum, feustum felix quae sit huic domui). There is a love and marriage element noticeably absent from the Q. Luxuria and Inopia appear as the Prologue.

Plautus' Carbonaria/Friuloria; Naevius' Carbonaria; Caecilius Statius' Dardanus.

The Q. could of course have been based on a lost Latin play, possibly Plautine. Gaiser suggested Plautus' Carbonaria or Friuloria, both of which titles he took to refer to one and the same play, although he admitted that it is surprising that Festus, Naevius and Priscian should all call the same piece by two different names. He suggested that friulius means not only "worthless" but also "broken", deriving the term from fric-are ("crumble, rub, break") rather than from frico-are ("rub down"), (fric and frico are frequently interchanged and the etymology is disputed), referring to the shattered remains of the pot, fragmenta (52.6, 53.6, 57.5, 57.14), testulae (52.10), partes (57.10), indima quae frangeretur (51.3), qua explosa et comminuta bustum in pretium uertitur (4.10). Ten fragments of the Friuloria are known to survive; these are: 1. commodo dictitamus. (Gaiser compared 5.9, Nemo sibimet arbitretur dici, quod nos populo dicimus, neque propriam sibimet causam constituant communi ex loco. Nemo alicuie re cognoscat, nos mentimur omnia; but there is no real comparison.) 2. is mihi erat bilis, aqua intercus, querquera, tussis. 3. secuimum me haec multitius, lesiones omnes Lauernae (vel Lauernulae). 4. ubi rorarii estis? - adsum. - ubi sunt accensi? - ecce (nos uel eos). 5. acite nunc, subsidete
omnes, quasi solent triarii. 6. nunc score oportet quod agas, non
ducterier. 7. numera omissa auribus praeficac. (Caiger compared
47.5, Sumite tristitiam, miseri sodales, cucullorum termina,
supposing cucullorum termina to constitute the headdress of
mourning women, but there is no real comparison.) 8. tune
panillae primul sororibus; illud volui dicere, frater-
culabant. (quid)opus est uerbis? 9. (carme Venus) agmina tenere,
at duris Juno strebulis. (Caiger suggested a play on the name of
Strobilos, identifying the Strobilos Comedy as Menander’s Hydria,
uide infra.) 10. O amice ex multis mi une Cephalio. (Caiger
compared 54.22, Tu igitur patris mei amicus ac nodalis perecre
fusti? and 55.19, Dii te servent, amicorum amicis, but there is
no real comparison. He admitted that the name Cephalio does not
occur in the Strobilos Comedy, but suggested that it might be a
Romanisation of the name of Cephalos, who died abroad in the
Strobilos Comedy like Diolo in the Q.) However, the Plautine
authenticity of both the Carbonaria and the Friularia is in
doubt. Caiger admitted that the author of the Q. would have
greatly changed his original through compressions, amplifications
and rearrangements. If both the author of the Q., and the author
of his Latin original (? Plautus’ Carbonaria) are supposed to
have modified their originals, it would then seem perilous to
attempt to reconstruct the plot of the Greek original (? Menander’s
Hydria) from that of the Q. (uide infra). For the Carbonaria
uide the Commentary to 9.3, Eromet iamdudum spud carbonarias
score te nutabrum, tu do pistrini uenis. Caiger derived the title
of the Carbonaria from the coal-bucket in which the cook Libys,
according to his interpretation of the plot of the Strobilos Comedy hides stolen food under the coal. However,
only three fragments of the Carbonaria are known to survive, so
no conclusions can be drawn. These are: 1. ego pernem, sumen
sueris, spectile, callum, glandia. 2. patibulum ferest per urbem,
deinde adfigatur cruci. 3. secundum ipsum aram aurum abscondi.
(of.6.3, Peregre uadens ornam domi sepeliit ac relicuit ante
aratas meas.) The Q. could perhaps have been a "contamination" of
Plautus’ Aulularia and Carbonaria, both deriving from Menander’s Hydria. Gaisser suggested that Plautus’ Carbonaria derived from Menander’s Hydria through the intermediary of Naevius’ Carbonaria, one fragment of which survives: tibi serui multi apud mensam adstant; ille in se adstat, quando edit. He also suggested that Menander’s Hydria was sub-titled Dardanos (vide infra), and was thus the source of Caecilius Statius’ Dardanus, therefore another possible source of the Q. One fragment of this survives: nihil ero mei credo, omnis rea spissas facit.

GREEK COMEDY.


The Q. may of course have been based on a lost Greek original. The remains of Greek New Comedy are mostly fragmentary, so that no firm conclusions can be drawn. None of the extant portions of Menander seems very close to the Q., although his favourite characters of the miser Smicrines and the misanthropist Cnemon are comparable to Euolio and Querolus. Menander wrote a Thesaurus, now fragmentary, as did at least six other comic poets. The fragments of Menander’s Thesaurus refer only to the love interest. Philemon’s Thesaurus was the source of Plautus’ Trinummus (vide supra). Philemon’s and Menander’s Thesaurus have also been suggested as possible sources of Plautus’ Aulularia. Four fragments of Menander’s Thesaurus remains 1. εἶτ’οι μέγηστος ὡς τῶν θεῶν ἐρως/καὶ τιμιώτατος γε τῶν πάνων πολέων/θεοὺς γὰρ οὕτως εἰστὶ

φειδωλὸς σφάδα/ἀνθρώπος οὐδ’οὕτως ἀκριβῆς τοὺς τρόπους,/δὲ οὕθι τούτῳ μερίδᾳ τῷ θεῷ νέμει/τὴς οὐσίας ὅσος μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἐχεῖ, νέοις ἢ τ’οὐσι τούτῳ προστάτειται ποιεῖν/οἱ δ’εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀναβολὰς πολούμενοι/οὕτω προσπατῶνουσι τοῦ χρόνου τόκου. 2. ὅταν δ’ ἔρωτος τόλμων ἀφέλει, οἶκτεται/εἰς τοὺς ιαλέμους τοῖς τούτων ἔγγραφε. 3. πολλοῖς ὑπέκκαμι ἕστ’ ἔρωτος μουσικὴ δίδυς’ ἀφορμᾶς. 4. ἔν δ’ ἀσίτος ἐπὶ μήνας, ὅποιος οὐδὲ στράγγ’ ἔχων. Of Crates’ Thesaurus the name alone remains. One fragment of the Thesaurus
of Diphilos remains; ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ φεύγος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ/λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ περιπολείθαι δυσχερές; as does one fragment of that of Diocippos; μὴ κατακοσμεῖτε δὲ μου/δ ἱωμυκατος. 1: ἀλλὰ μὴν κατακήκωσα/σοῦ κατακολούθων ἐνδοθέν. Two fragments of Anaxandrides' Thesaurus remain: 1. ὅ τὸ σκόλλον εὐρὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὡστε ἵνα, ἄρα μὲν υγιαλέννιν πρώτων ὡς ἢριστον ὑπὸ ὑστόμας ὁφθάως, ἕστερον ὡς εἶναι καλῶς, ὥς πλούτην, τοῦτο, ὅρθος, ἐμαυτέτο/μετά τὴν υγείαν γὰρ τὸ πλούτειν διαφέρει/καλὸς ὁ πειλών ἐστιν ἀληθῶν ἡμιδών. 2. ἀναλαβὼν μὲν ηὐλόν τοῦ ὑμέναν; ἀσ do two of that of Philemon: 1. οὐκ ἔστιν ἔληθες παραλογίσασθ', οὗτ' ἐκεῖν' ὄψαρχα ἡρωστά. 2. κανθάρου σφαίτερος. Two fragments of Archedoicos' Thesaurus also survive: 1. πρῶτον ὑμῖν κειμένων/τῶν ἱκενών πάρειται οἱ κεκλημένοι/δύον κατὰ κειρός/κοῦτεν οὐκ εἰσεὶ λαβων/τὰς λοπάδας ἐπιθέτες ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ἀνθρακας/ἐρραν ἐλαξὶ πάντα καὶ ποιῶ φλάγα./ἐν θ' ὡς τὸ λάχανον αἰ τε τῶν παροιδίων/πάντες ἀνάρα ὁμικότητες εὐφραίνονσι μου/ἐφθαν τὸν ἱκενὸν ἁποδέλωμ', ἔχοντα τοὺς/χυμοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν τῇ ἰμής ἱκθῆν'/ἐις ἢν ἐν ἐμβάθαιτο πᾶς ἐλεοῦσαρος/ἐλθῶν κοτόθη τε παραναλωμένη/σέσωκε μοι τρίκλινα πεντήκοντάμενω/σως. 2. ὀρακμῶν τριῶν γλαυκίσκον.../γῇγγ ϵο κεφαλὴ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τεμάχια/δρακμῶν πάλιν πέντε/ἐν τὴν ορακλῶρον βλου./ὅραμισες τραχήλους. ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν ἠλιον/καθὼς τράχηλον ἐτερον εἰ ποθὲν λαβεῖν/καὶ προάσθαι δυνατον, δὲν ἐκα τοῦτον ἅν/ἐκ τὲν εἴσενεγκείν ταῦτα ἀεί, ἀπληγάμην/οὐδείς ὀδελάκνυν/ἐκπωνώσερον/ἔμα μὲν προασθα παλλα καὶ πολλοὶ σφόδρα/empta δ' ἐν τὶ ἀρχηγῶν ἀγοράσαμι/ἀπωλῆσαμ/κατέδουν ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγων/ἀπαιτηοῦν οἶνον δὲ τοιούτοιν χαμας/οὐκοί. A Latin adaptation of Menander's Thesaurus was made by Luscius Lavinus. In the prologue to his Eunuochus, Terence replies to his rival, Luscius Lavinus', charge of contaminatio, with a criticism of his own about the other's dramatic technique (Atque in Thensauro sorinsit, causam dicere/Prius unde petitur, aurum uua re sit sumum./Quam illic qui petit, unde is sit thensauros sibi/Ant unde in patrium monumentum peruenerit). In the trial the case in Luscius Lavinus' version of the play was opened by the defendant. Terence
objected that of course the trial should have been opened by the plaintiff. The plot is given by Donatus. (ad Ter., Eun., prol. 10,

Arguit Terentius quod Luscius contra consuetudinem litigantium defensionem ante accusationem inducerit. Huius modi enim est Luscii argumentum. Adulescens, qui rem familiarem ad nequitiam prodegerat, servulum mittit ad patris monumentum, quod senex sibi uius maginis opibus apparauerat, ut id aperiret, inlaturas epulas, quas pater post annum decimum caueret inferri sibi. Sed eum agrum, in quo monumentum erat, senex quidam avarus ab adulescente emerat. Servus ad aperiendum monumentum auxilio usus senis, thesaurum eum epistola ibidem repperit. Senex thesaurum tamquam a se per tumultum hostilem illis defossum retinet et sibi vindicat. Adulescens indicem caput, apud quem prior senex, qui aurum retinet, causam suam sic agat: Athenienses, bellum cum Rhodizensibus/Quod fuit, quid ego hic praedicem; et ecclesia, quod tu scias. Quae contra naturam iurisque consuetudinem posita argumenta (arguit et, Bentley) notat Terentius, quod ille ordo potior erat, ut adulescens prior proponeret causam, qui petitor inducitur.)

The remainder of the comedy consisted chiefly in the progress of the law suit.

Menander's Dyskulos.

Of Menander's Dyskulos or Misanthropus, recovered (nearly complete) on papyrus, only the title, and the complaining character, Cnemon, bear any resemblance to the Q. Alfonsi compared this character to that of Theophrastus' Character 17, "Querulousness", to whom he also compared Querolus (uide the intro. section on Characters). The prologue is also spoken by a god, Pan, who expatiates on the worthlessness of hidden treasure. Pan says that the gods will help the daughter of the house as she honours the nymphs; of the Lar Familiaris' care for Phaedria who honours him in Plautus' Aulularia. There is also a slave called Getas, a rascal cook, Daos (the name of a slave in the Strobilos Comedy), and a parasite, all character-types in the Strobilos Comedy. The father of the house also agrees that money is better used than hoarded (813, επίς οὗ τὸν λόγον, ἔστρατον ἐν συνελεξάμην/οὗ συγκατορθάω τὰς ἐμαυτούρως ἔπες γὰρ ἀνί;). The only other tenuous link with the Q. is in the interpretation of dreams. The mother
of the house has a dream which comes true. The plot concerns the misanthropist Cnemon, who is a divorced old man, living alone in the country. He refuses his permission for his daughter to marry a young man, in spite of the pleas of his son, her brother. However, when Cnemon falls down a well and is rescued by the young man, he agrees to the marriage, and also marries his son to the young man's sister. He is reconciled with his wife.

Menander's Hydria/Dardanos; Antiphanes' Hydria.

Gaizer suggested Menander's Hydria, which he supposed was subtitled Dardanos, after the name of the "hero" (demi-god) speaking the prologue, as a source of the Ω. Allusions to both the Hydria and the Dardanos would therefore refer to one and the same play. He identified the Dardanos with the Stroilos Comedy, from the 3rd. century B.C. Stroilos Papyrus, and therefore with the Hydria, from slight internal evidence, and the occurrence of the same name (Dryas), word and three letters on the Stroilos Papyrus as in the fragments of Menander's Dardanos. The Dardanos may well have been the original for Caecilius Statius' Dardanus. Dardanos, an ancestor of the Trojans, linked with the towns of Dardanos on the Hellespont and on the island of Samothrace, and connected with Thracian mystery religions, is with difficulty connected with Athens, the most likely setting for the Stroilos Comedy. Gaizer suggested that Cephalus could have died in Dardanos' homeland, so that the latter thus felt obliged to see that the former's last wishes were carried out and the treasure returned to its rightful owner. The following three fragments of the Dardanos are all that are known to survive of this play: 1. καὶ λαμὰ βασιλεὺς λαβὼν 
τὰ χρήματα. 2. Ἀρδα μαῖ, διενεκὲς ἔσθαι τὸ δεῖ; 3. ἡδομαςί.
Gaizer identified the Stroilos Papyrus fragments (of which he gives photographs) of the Stroilos Comedy (named after the protagonist) with Menander's Hydria from slight internal evidence, and the occurrence of the same name (Libys), word and three letters on the papyrus and in the fragments of the Hydria. Gaizer
rearranged the order of the Strobilos Papyrus fragments, which represent about half of a probable total of approx. 1,000 lines (not including choruses). However, most of these lines contain only one or two, or two or three, words, many of whose letters are doubtful. On average, at least half of each line must be supplied by conjecture. Moreover, of five acts, only the first (minus the prologue), second, and part of the third, are provided by the Strobilos Papyrus. Half of the fourth act and most of the fifth act are provided mainly by analogy with the Q. To the 39 fragments of the Strobilos Papyrus Gaiser added another five papyrus fragments (of which he gives photographs), with slight textual (i.e. letters, words or names coinciding) or internal (i.e. with similar content) identification with the comedy. Although these papyrus fragments of the Strobilos Comedy have been found, they are not sufficient to permit a certain restitution of the play (as can be seen from the portions in parentheses in Gaiser's reconstituted text), which cannot be completed by analogy from the Q, when the original fragments are insufficient to prove the connection. Admitting that the Q and Strobilos Comedy do not correspond word for word, Gaiser suggested that each can help to explain the other. The similarities which he found between the text of the Q and the Strobilos Comedy are noted in the Commentary, passim, but the connection is tenuous. Although the Strobilos Comedy is now only fragmentary, it appears to have included a love interest absent from the Q. According to Gaiser's interpretation, its plot is similar to that of Plautus' Aulularia. According to his reconstruction, a wedding between the young man, Cleinias, son of the dead Cephalos, and the young woman, Flagon, daughter of the dead Nicoephomos, is facilitated by the discovery of a treasure hidden by Cephalos, Nicoephomos' brother, who had married Nicoephomos' widow Kyrrhine after the death of his own first wife (mother of Cleinias) and that of his brother Nicoephomos, and had adopted his brother's daughter Flagon. The discovery of the treasure provides her with a dowry, so that she is not
obliged to marry Demeas, the surviving brother of Cephalos and Nicephomos. Strobilos, sent by Cephalos to reveal the whereabouts of the treasure, intends to steal it for himself by pretending to purify the house of the ill luck that has already caused the death of two of the three brothers. He carries the pot of gold out of the house in a basket, but seeing that the pot is disguised as a funerary urn (the treasure being hidden under the ashes) throws it into the house to frighten the occupants with the return of the ill luck; but when it breaks the treasure is revealed. Meanwhile, the cook, Libys, who is to prepare the wedding feast, is busy stealing food which he hides under coal in a coal-bucket.

Webster (1953, pp.142seq.) and Page (pp.260sqq.) however, could only suggest the following elements of the plot of the Strobilos Comedy according to the five most complete and intelligible fragments: 1. A slave, Strobilos, has been commanded by his young master to make a great effort to obtain for him the company of a young woman. The slave has fulfilled his mission to the best of his ability; he has found her lodging, but not yet conversed with her. 2. Strobilos reproaches his master for estranging himself from his father through his passion for the young woman. 3. Strobilos has discovered a great abundance of treasure. 4. His master enters, and hears what the slave has found. 5. Strobilos converses with another slave, Daos, who offers to assist him in some enterprise or difficulty. The plot of the Hydria is given by Webster (1974, p.151) as follows: "In the Prologue a youth quoted the speech of an old man. The play probably had a double plot. One old man indeed had the hydria which contained the treasure stolen from him by an enterprising slave. Another old man, who preferred the country to the town, was reminded of an ancient misery, which probably means that a child lost in infancy was restored to him. The play ended with a marriage or pre-marriage feast." The characters of the Strobilos Comedy are also different from those of the G. Caiser took the names of the characters of the Hydria from the Strobilos Comedy, although only
Libys occurs in the Hydria as well as in the Strobilos Comedy. Dardanos appears only in the comedy named after him. Daos occurs in Menander's Aspis. Myrrhine occurs in Plautus' Casina. The character of the slave Strobilos(-us) occurs in Plautus' Aulularia and in the Stroibilos Comedy, although Gaiser suggested that he is there a parasite. Gaiser admitted the absence of the girl and the cook of the Strobilos Comedy from the Q., where, he agreed, many details of the original would have been omitted, and others added. So he suggested that Pantomalus' long monologue might have been based on a slave's speech in another comedy of Menander, added by "contamination" to the story of the Hydria. Perhaps Plautus could have adapted the plot of the Strobilos Comedy (by "contamination") for both his Aulularia and his Carbonaria, both of which could have influenced the Q. Indeed, the Hydria and the Strobilos Comedy have also been seen as the original of Plautus' Aulularia, although Webster (1953) ruled this out because a youth spoke the prologue of the Hydria, the Lar Familiaris that of the Aulularia. The identification of the prologue does not, however, affect the contents of the rest of the play. The Strobilos Comedy has also been identified as Menander's Thesaurus, and attributed to Philemon (by Webster) or Diphilos or Alexis. The attribution of the Strobilos Comedy to Philemon because of the occurrence of one and the same fragmentary name in both, as well as internal evidence, is at least as likely as that to Menander for similar reasons. Gaiser saw the Hydria as the basis of Plautus' Carbonaria (subtitled Friolaria, uide supra), perhaps via Naevius' Carbonaria (uide supra). He suggested that this title derives from the coal-bucket in which the cook, Libys, in the Strobilos Comedy hides stolen food under the coal; comparing the food hidden under the coal in the bucket to the pot hidden in the basket, and the gold hidden under the ashes in the pot. Gaiser saw the Carbonaria as the source of the Q., which in turn provided the base of Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia. (This is undisputed, uide the intro. section on Nachleben.) The comic poet Antiphanes also wrote a Hydria, of
which the following two fragments survive: 1. ὃς ὅν λέγω/ἐν γειτῶνοι αὐτῷ κατοικοῦσθαι τινὸς/λόγῳ ἔταλαται ἐλαὶ ὑπ' ἀφίκετο,/ ἄντικες, ἔρημος ὁ ἐκπρόσωπος καὶ συγγενῶν,/ἡδος τι χρυσῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκεφυαν/οντως ἔταλαται·αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοῦνομα/βλάπτουσι τοὺς τρόπους γὰρ ὄντως ὄνναλόν. 2. διὸς ἀνθρώπως δὲ φύς/ἀσφαλές τι κτῆμ' ὑπάρχειν τῷ βιβλίῳ λογίζεται,/πλεύταν ἡμάρτηκεν· ἥ γὰρ εἰσφορὰ τις ἡ παρακεν·τάνδοθεν πάντ', ἥ δὲκρ τις περιπευσὸν/ἀπώλετο, ἢ στρατηγικάς προσώπου, ἢ χορηγὸς αἰρεθέας·μέτα τι χρυσα/παρασχέν τῷ χορῷ δίκος φορεῖ, ἢ τριμερῶν ἀπήγας', ἢ πλέων ἡλικ/τοι, ἢ βαῦλων ἢ καθεδών κατακλυσθοῦν ὑπ’ οἰκτεῶν, ἢ βεβαιων οὐδὲν ἔστι, πλὴν δὲδὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν/ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἡδῶς τις εἰςαναλίσκων/τόκρ. οὐδὲ ταῦτα σφόδρα τι’ καὶ γὰρ τὴν τράπεζαν ἁρπάσαι/κειμένην ἐν τις προσελθῶν· ἀλλ’ ὅταν τὴν ἐνθέσθην·ἐντὸς ἡδὴ τῶν ὀδῶν τυγχάνης κατασκαπᾶς· τοῦτ’ ἐν ἄσφαλεῖ νόμιζε τῶν ὀπαρχῶν μόνον.

Only six fragments of Menander's Hydria are known to survive, along with a reference to its prologue by Quintilian (Institutio Oratoria, XI.iii.91, Cum mihi comedi quoque pessime facere videantur, quod, etiam si iuuenem agent, sua tenem in expositione aut sensis sermo, ut in Hydriae proloco, aut mulieris, ut in George, incidit, tremula uel effeminata uoce pronuntiant. Adeo in illis quoque est aligua utiiosa imitatio, quorum ars omnis constat imitatione). Presumably therefore at least the prologue of the Hydria was extant in Quintilian's time, although he could just be citing a well known example. The reference to a young man is unlikely to support Cairns' theory that the prologue was spoken by the "hero" Dardanos, who would more accurately be described as a god, than a man. The fragments are: 1. ὃς ἦν τῷ μικρῷ, τοὺς φαύλους τρόπους/ἐρμμα· καὶ τῷ μελετῶντι μηδὲ, ἐν/κονάτον ἰκανὸν κτῆμ' ἄγρος τρέφουν καλῶς· ἐκ τῶν ὁχλών δὲ ἧλιος, ἢ τε κατὰ πόλιν/αὕτη τρυφή λάμπει μὲν, εἰς δ’ ἀλίγου κρόσου. 2. γέροντα δυστυχοῦσα/τῶν θ’ αὐτοῦ κακῶν· ἰπαγόμενον λῃθν ἀνέμνησας πάλιν/ἐπὶ τάτυχεν τῇ ἡγείρας. 3. εὐθὺς καταχρῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἀνορωφυγιόν/τάσθην ἱδών. 4. οἱ θρῆκες, Δίβυ/Τρῆκες καλούνται· πάντα νῦν ἡ θῆθ’ ὑδόμοι. 5. οἱ δὲ κατὰ χειρῶν λαβόντες περιμένουσιν, φέλτατον. 6. παρουσα.
Gaiser admitted that the use of the £ for the reconstruction of the Hydria is especially problematical as it results in a circular argument. The £ is used to supply a framework for the Hydria, which is then supposed to be the source of the £. He also used five other unplaced fragments of Menander which he assigned to the Hydria. These are: 1. (frag. 714, ed. Wörte and Thierfelder) ἀπαντᾷ δαλμῷ ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστατι/εϊθες γενομένῳ μυσταγωγός τού βλου/ἀγαθός· κακὸν γὰρ δαλμον'ον νομιστέλων/εϊναι βλου βλάπτοντα χρηστὸν, οὐδ' ἔχειν/κακλαν· ἀπαντᾷ δ' ἄγαθον εϊναι τὸν θεόν· ἀλλ' οἱ γεγομενοι τοῖς τρόποις αὐτοῖ κακοί,·πολλὴν δ' ἐπιπλοκήν τοῦ βλου πεποιμένοι· ἂ πάντα τὴν αὐτῶν δ' ἐβρουλλαν κακῶς· τριφάντες ἀποφαίνουσι δαλμον'αίτιον/καὶ κακὸν ἀκείνιον φαιν,· αὐτοῖ γεγονότες. 2. (frag. 794 K. and Th.) πάντες μὲν οἱ θρήσκες, μᾶλλον δ' οἱ Γέται/ἡμεῖς ἄπαντων, καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶς εὐχομαί· ἐκεῖθεν εἰναι τὸ γένος, οὗ σφόδρ’ ἐγκρατεῖς· ἐκεῖνον (795) γαμεῖ· γὰρ ἢμῶν σῳδὲ εἶς εἶ· μὴ δέκ’/ἐνδέκα γυναικας, δόδεκ’ ἤ πλεῦνες τίνες· ἐν τέσσαρας δ’ ἤ πέντε γεγομένως τόχρος· καταστροφή τίς,· ἀναμέναις,· ἔδωκε,· ἀνυμφός οὕτος ἐπικαλεῖτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ. 3. (frag. 805 K. and Th.) θρῆξ εὐγενῆς εἰ, πρὸς ἅλας ἡγορασμένος. 4. (frag. 482 K. and Th.) ἀσυλλόγιστόν ἔστιν· ἤ πονηρὰ. 5. (frag. 600 K. and Th.) νόμος γονεῖσιν ἱσοθέους τιμὰς νέμειν. He also assigned one unattributed fragment of Greek New Comedy to Menander's Hydria (Kock, Com. Att. Frag., frag. adespost., 743) βάφας ποιήσων μέλαν. He further suggested that frag. 134 of Varro's Eumenides (in Bühler and Heraeus' ed. Petronius) refers to the protagonist of the Strobilos Comedy: Quin mihi cancerratem tuam frontem, Strobile, ommittis? Gaiser also referred to a mosaic (of which he gives a photograph, p. 95) from the Villa Hadriana at Tivoli, near Rome, which portrays four comic masks (an old man, a young man, a girl and a parasite), a lyre, and a broken amphora, dated to the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., which, he suggested, represents a comedy with a plot similar to that of the £, i.e. the Hydria.
Menander's Epitrepontes.

Menander's Epitrepontes, now fragmentary, although parts of all five acts survive, contained the miser Snicrines, father of Pamphila, but it was probably the model for Apollodorus of Carystus' Hecyra (vide Duckworth, p. 149), itself the base for Terence' Hecyra, which has a similar plot: a young wife turns out to be the woman her husband had previously wronged, and her child therefore his. (The Hecyra has very little in common with the O.) The Epitrepontes contained a cook with assistants, and also a love and marriage interest. The only tenuous connection is with carbonarias, 9.3, as one character, Syriscos, is a charcoal-burner, ἄνθρακες.

Menander's Aspis.

Some five hundred lines of Menander's Aspis survive, probably representing about half of the original play (the first two and a half acts). The characters include the slave Daois (who also occurs in the Strobilos Comedy), the miser Snicrines, a cook and his slave, and the goddess Fortuna who delivers the Prologue. There is also a double love and marriage interest in the play. The plot is similar to that given by Gaius for the Strobilos Comedy. The rascally slave Daois devises a stratagem whereby his master Chaireas (step-son of Chairestratos, Snicrines' brother) may marry the daughter of the dead brother of Snicrines and Chairestratos, whom Snicrines himself had wanted to marry for the sake of her dowry. Cleostratos, the son of the dead brother (of Chairestratos and Snicrines) also marries, his bride being the daughter of Chairestratos.

Menander's Apistos.

Only the title of Menander's Apistos is suggestive. Gaius suggested that it may have been the original of Plautus' Aulularia. But only one certain fragment survives: ψυγν, ἐν τοῦ χρυσῶν λάβων/δ ἐπέρων, ἑρπάκαιν ἐβέθες ἐγοραζόντων ἔδραν ἵλεσθαι. (Another possible fragment of this play, some forty lines, occurs in the Antinoopolis Papyrus (15), vide Sandbach's ed., pp. 326-323. The
plot indicated by this fragment may possibly have been similar to that of the Epitrepontes, vide supra.

Menander's Thais.

Gaiser also mentioned Menander's Thais, which, according to Propertius, may have included the character of a naughty slave called Geta, whence, Gaiser suggested, came Geta, or Zeta, in the Q. (Prop., IV.v.43, Sed potius mundi Thais pretiosa Menandri, Cum ferit astutos comica moecha Getas.)
OTHER SOURCES.

Atellan Farce.

Lockwood suggested that the £ could be an Atellana, based perhaps on a work of Pomponius Lucius of Bologna, the most famous writer of Fabulae Atellanae, floruit circa 100 B.C., of whose plays 70 titles are known (see the intro. section on Genre).

Cynic-Stoic Diatribe.

Cors. identified twelve elements of the Cynic-Stoic satirical diatribe found in the £. All these points are illustrated only by very general examples, and some have also been referred to Christianity with equally little plausibility.

1. Graecorum disciplinas, 4.21. Cors. identified this phrase with the diatribe, although it could refer to Greek (comic) drama, or just to Greek literature in general.

2. The diatribe technique of "Socratic" or rhetorical questioning, with presupposed answers, a form of reasoning favoured by Cynics and Stoics; especially of the Lar Familialis to Querolus in Act I.

3. Querolus' continual dissatisfaction with life (κακόπτωσις, cf. Theophrastus' Character, 17, "Querulousness"). Querolus thinks that he is unhappy; if so, this is his own fault, but he is actually proved to be happy. (See Commentary to 16.22 for illustrations of the philosophical point that no-one is content with his lot, but if a god offered men the chance to change places with one another, they would refuse.)

4. Prayers to the gods (including the Lar Familialis) for unattainable or harmful material things having the opposite result to that requested, because the gods reward according to merit.

5. Querolus' examination of conscience and consequent realisation of guilt after supposing himself to be innocent, when questioned by the Lar Familialis. Since Querolus may be seen as a representative of "Everyman" (Jedermann, according to Siss and Dar.) the audience must realise that no one at all is guiltless.
6. The condemnation of poverty by the rich, 14.2, *Semper diues diliens, contra pauper nelegens*.

7. The contrast between appearance and reality, including dramatic irony.Appearances are deceptive; 16.13, *Quid si feliciorem tete edoecus quam sunt isti, de quibus dicturus es?*

8. The concept of autarchy (*aùtdpxeia*), self-control or self-sufficiency; 20.15, *Quid si nescio quis ille alius in corde, alius est in vultu?*, another illustration of deceptive appearances. This also occurs in Epicurean philosophy.

9. The use of proverbial expressions; *uide* the references to Otto in the Commentary, *passim*.


11. The condemnation of adultery, legally connived at, 10.21, *Hoc est quod nec permiti nec prohiberi potest*.

12. The use of parody, especially against religion, here possibly against Christianity, and false prophets, such as Mandrogerus' rigmarole in his description of the various supernatural powers, *pp.30sqq*.

**Hermetic Literature and Folk Tales.**

The *Q* could of course have a base in philosophy, religion or mythology (*uide* the intro. section on History and Thought: Philosophy and Religion). Most Greek tragedies were, naturally, ultimately derived from tales in Greek mythology. Lockwood suggested that Rutilius' *sermo philosophicus* (3.9) was actually a written document on the subject of fate, with examples to illustrate the power of fate, including one, the basis of the *Q*, deriving from Greek New Comedy or Latin *palliata* (but the *sermo* may merely have been a discussion topic, *uide* the intro. section on Dedicated). Boano found parallels in Hermetic literature dealing with the different types of gods and demons which determine man's destiny for Mandrogerus' description of the powers in control of human existence (*uide* the Commentary to *pp.30sqq*). Lockwood suggested
that the Q. was based on a folk tale, the hero of which was Hermes Trismegistus. He thought that the funerary epitaph on the urn was previously applied to Hermes, the hero of a tale of disguised treasure (vide Reeve's article on this inscription). In the Q., the inscription reads (48.8, 57.15), Trierinus Tricipitini filius conditus et semultus hic iacit. H reads Trierinus. In Vitalis of Blois' Aulularia the inscription has become (693), Ossa Tripericii Triperi patris haec tenet urna/Condita cua nituit Caesare Roma suo. Herrm suggested that Trierinus, or Tricerinus, Tricipitinus, represents Tricarinos Tricephalos, the three-headed son of a three-headed father, that is, Geryon, son of Cerberus, a fierce guardian, son of a fierce guardian. But Geryon, the three-headed monster, was the son of his father Chrysaor and his mother Callirhoë. Cerberus, the three-headed watchdog of the Underworld, was the son of his father Typhaon and his mother Echidna. Cerberus appears at 33.17, Ego autem ipsum uidi Cerberum, ubi, nisi ramus suus adfuisset, Aeneas non eusaret. Lockwood suggested that Trierinus, or Trierinus, Tricipitinus, represents Trieriounios Tricephalaios, that is, Hermes Trismegistos or Eriounios, the revealer of a hidden treasure in a folk tale, with the Latin translation of the epitaph producing a clever play on a famous cognomen. (Tricipitinus was the surname of the Patrician branch of the gens Lucretia, the name of the father of Lucretia, whose rape by Sextus Tarquiniius led to the dethronement of Tarquinius Superbus and the establishment of the Republic.) The cinerary urn in the story would, Lockwood suggested, have been substituted for an image of Hermes (a Herr). (Gaiser, however, suggested that the names were originally those of the ancestors of the characters in the Strobilos Comedy, vide supra, Cephalos and Cleinias, the former perhaps Latinised to Cephalio, as in Plautus' Frinolaria. The Latin intermediary ("Plautus") between "Menander" and the author of the Q. would then, Gaiser suggested, have added the "tri" element, translating Cephalos to Tri-Cipitinus, of the Lucretian gens, and replacing Cleinias with Tri-Erinus, from triremis.
(Greek τριήρης), a "trireme", in view of his overseas connection). Lockwood admitted that the story of the £. does not appear elsewhere in Hermetic literature, but he assembled various categories of folk tales of disguised treasure (uīde infra), including the £., which, he suggested, was based either directly on some such tale, or on a Greek or Latin comedy originating in one. Gaizer suggested a possible folk tale origin for the story of Menander's Hydria, or that this play might have derived from a novel originating in a folk tale. Menander would, he suggested, have added the love and marriage interest, which the author of the £. then eliminated, so reverting to the original story. Lockwood's criterion for stories incorporating this folk tale motif was that the treasure should not just be buried or hidden, but disguised in some way so that its true nature should not be realised without solving the riddle of its disguise. Also, someone who attacked the treasure in anger or desperation, as, in the £., by throwing it through the window, might thus reveal its true nature. According to Lockwood, the £. also incorporates a second folk tale motif as a sub-plot in the trick of Mandrogerus, with Sycophanta and Sardanapallus, to steal the pot of gold. This he compared with tales of Fakirs or Wonder-Working Imposters. (Aesop, 196 (Halm) = 419 (Perry), Κλέπτης καὶ Ναύσχεσας; Wright, Latin Stories, 110, De Domina Romana; 120, De Vetula Divinatric.) Gaizer also saw in the £. the theme of the deceiver deceived by his own deception, and compared it with tales of the Biter Bit. (Conon, Narrat., 35; Apuleius, Metamorphoses, IV. 12, about the robber Alcimus killed by his own greed.) However, none of these examples of folk tales cited by Lockwood and Gaizer provides any valid comparison with the £.

Folk Tales of Disguised Treasure. (uīde Commentary to 47.7.)

Aesop, 66 (Halm) = 285 (Perry) = Fabrius, 119, Χνάρωμος καταφράσας ἡγαλμα.

Stobaeus, Florilegium, XXVIII.18 (Meincke, I, p.357 = Nachsmith-Hense, III, p.622), περὶ Ἐντομομακροτομος, "The Hollow Staff".

Conon, Narrat., 38, "The Hollow Staff".
Otto, Sprichwörter, p. 76, no. 350, s.v. carbo 2 (the proverb of gold turning to ashes).

Légrande Aurea, III.8, De Sancto Nicoleo, "The Hollow Staff" (uide Rohde, Appendix, p. 596, note 3, cf. Livy, I.1vi.9).

XXX.5, Julianus Accastata (about treasure hidden in a pot).

Gesta Romanorum, 16, De uita exemplari, "The emperor finds a golden sarcophagus".

109, Qui dixit diabolus per avaritiam in fine decipit ad gehennam, "The Hollow Log".

192, "The emperor finds a golden sarcophagus".

Wright, Latin Stories, 25, Qualiter rusticus quidam abscondit denarios suos in truncu, "The Hollow Log".

86, De Colyn Diabolo (about a treasure chest).

104, De Duobus Caecis, "The Hollow Loaf".

Klapper, Exempla, 84, De Liberio imperatore qui thesaurum inuocit, "The emperor finds a golden sarcophagus".

94, Deus plus potest quam imperator, "The Hollow Loaf".

"The Thousand and One Nights", 875-930, "King Shah Bakt and Vizir El Nahwan" (uide Clouston, II, pp. 53sqq.). (cf. also 218, "The Princess of China", where an evil spirit is to be shut up in a vessel.)

"The Thousand and One Days", "Vizir El Talmulk" (uide Clouston, loc. cit.).

"The Forty Vizirs" (uide Clouston, loc. cit.).

The Hebrew Story of the Honey Pot (uide Gaizer).

The Arabic Story of the Olive Pot (uide Gaizer).

The Bran Pot (uide Gaizer).

Cervantes, Don Quixote, II.45, De Comó El Gran Sancho Panza Tomó La Posesión De Su Ínsula Y Del Modo Que Comenzó A Gobernar, "The Hollow Staff".

Two Italian Stories, "The Roman Occupation of Carthage" and "The Story of Antonio Batisteli" (uide Clouston, loc. cit.).


La Fontaine, IV.8, L'Homme et l'Idole de Bois.

Le Sage, Gil Blas, pref. "Gil Blas au Lecteur" (about buried treasure; with the inscription, "Aqui está encerrada el alma del licenciado Pedro Garcias" = "Ici est enfermée l'âme du licencié Pierre Garcias").
Grimm's *Fairy Tale* 182, "The Little Folks' Presents" (about coal turning to gold and back again).

Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (about choosing caskets).

"The Ballad of the Unthrifty Heir of Linne" (*uide* Clouston, *loc.cit.*).

"The Drunkard's Legacy" (*uide* Clouston, *loc.cit.*).

**Addendum.**

**Menippean Satire.**

Gaiser also found a Menippean influence in the *Q*, seeing parallels in Lucian for the proverb of gold turning to ashes, *uide* Commentary to 47.7.
The Q. is referred to by the following writers in the Middle Ages:

**Liutprand of Cremona.**

"Antapodosis, sine De rebus ab Imperatoribus et Principibus Regibus per Europam gestis", circa 950.

I.11, "Quoniam tete tu neglexisti, pro te ego despiciam mathesim. Mars trigonus, Saturnus Venerem respicit, Iuppiter quadratus, Mercurius tibi iratus, Sol rotundus, Luna in saltu est. Mala fortuna te premit."

cf. 36.14, "Mars trigonus, Saturnus Venerem respicit, Iuppiter quadratus, Mercurius huio iratus, Sol rotundus, Luna in saltu est. Collegi omnon iam genesim tuam, Querole. Mala fortuna te premit."

"Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana", circa 970.

58, Tutores opus est, cuos defensores parat.

cf. 9.22, defensorum te pares.

55, "Mauququam singulis, inquam, haec uestis fieri potest, cum penes nos his utantur oboliariae mulieres et mandrogerontes."

uide the intro. section on Characters about Mandrogerus.

Neither the astrological passage, nor the name of Mandrogerus, occurs in the Florilegia excerpts, which were probably written later, so Liutprand may have seen a complete MS. In view of his date, the only MSS. (we know about) which he could possibly have seen are V, L, R, and the Remensis, although R was probably written later. V was probably in France at this time, as may have been L. R probably originated in Germany. Liutprand is known to have travelled in Europe outside of Italy as far as Constantinople. He was attached to the court of the Holy Roman Emperor. Perhaps he could have seen the postulated lost common source of VLRB.
John of Salisbury.

"Policraticus sive De Mugis Curialium et Vestigis Philosophorum", 1159.

II.25, "Numquid tibi uidetur uerior et fidelior sententia Louis et Martis, quam sententia Creatoris? Non utique Plauti consilio acquiescens, si istud uirium planetis adscripseris. Cum enim Sycophanta Mandrogerum percunctaretur, an illi sint planetae placandi qui numeris totum rotant; eos Mandrogerus nec nostro uisum facile nec dictum affabile esse respondet, adisse quod atomos in ore uoluunt, stellas numerant, sola mutare non possunt sua. Sic itaque a dispositione siderum eventuum necessitatem ingerit, ut illos sale satis urbano eleganter irriduim, qui uisum exeroent in contemplatione eorum, qui uisum fugiunt, et interpellant eos, qui loqui desiderant; et quos atomos in ore uoluunt, uerendum est, ne si atomos genethliaco forte intercidat, in excipienda sententia caelestium labatur."

of. 30.24, "Illos quaeso tu mihi planeta loqueris, numeris qui totum rotant? : : Ipos; nec uisum facile nec dictum affabile, atomos in ore (leg. orbe) uoluunt, stellas numerant, maria aestimant; sola mutare (fata add. H) non possunt sua."

John's knowledge of "Plautus" was probably limited to the Q. He mentions Plautus, Terence and Menander, at I.8, De histrionibus, et mimis et praestulatoribus. "Et quidem histriones erant, qui gestu corporis artque uerborum et modulatione uocis, factas aut fictas historias sub aspectu publico referebant; quos apud Plautum inuenitis et Menandrum, et quibus ars nostri Terentii innotescit."

"Entheticus", circa 1160.

He mentions Mandrogerus (uide the intro. section on Characters about Mandrogerus) at 155, De Mandrogero. "Mandrogerum tali ritu floreus uidemus, / Sub quo nec turpis causa perire potest. / Mandrogeri nugae sapientia summa uidemtur, / Verbaque Mandrogeri formula iuris erunt"; 1362, De Mandrogero. "Mandrogero, qui se solum servare coronam / Et legum regni iactitat esse patrem, / Quo, si falsidicius credendum, iura tueatur/Integra, quo per eum regius existet honor, / Mandrogero, nomen quem libertatis adarit/Ilud in scole sia quis habere uelit."
He refers to "Plautus' Querolus" at 1633, De Querulo, "Plautinum Querolum miraris ubique uidori, / Mancipio tali non carat ulla dominus;/ Non illum placare potest fortuna, Deusae, / Quin sorti semper detrahat atque Dec. / Diuitibus cunctis uidet adstatere ulones, / Ut modo nec Gnatho possit habere locum, / Si dolet cupidus spoliante ulone, / Quis dolet? Satis est, quidquid auras habet."

Neither the astrological passage nor the names of Mandrocerus and Sycophanta occur in the Florilégia excerpts, although the Florilégium Gallicum and Florilégium Angelicum collections were probably being compiled in France about this time, so perhaps John saw a complete MS. Although Gnatho is a character in Vitalis of Blois' Aulularia, this is usually dated later than the works of John of Salisbury. In view of his date, the MSS. (we know about) which he could have seen are V, L, R, P, B, S (and their postulated common source) and the Remensis. John however, uide supra, reads sola mutare non possunt sua, as do the other MSS. of the Q, while H adds fata, presumably copying from the Remensis. V and S probably, and L and P possibly, were in France at this time. R was possibly in Germany, and B possibly in the Low Countries. John spent much of his life in France. He died as Bishop of Chartres. He also went on frequent missions to the Pope in Rome.

Vitalis of Blois.
"Aulularia siue Querolus", circa 1175.

In 792 verses, in elegiac couplets, this is an adaptation of the Q. rather than a direct borrowing from Plautus' Aulularia. (For the suggestion that Vitalis' Amphitryo siue Geta was adapted from a similar intermediary, rather than directly from Plautus' Amphitryo, uide the intro. section on Author. In the Amphitryo, however, Vitalis' story is a reworking of Plautus' plot, rather than a sequel, as it is in the case of the Q.) Vitalis clearly thought that the Q. had been written by Plautus, as is shown by the words of his prologue: 11,"Qui releget Plautum mirabitur altera forsan Nomina personis quam mea scripta notant. / Causa
mea est facto: uult uerba domestica uersus;/Grandia plus aquo
nomina metra timent./Sic ego mutata decisae nomina feci/Poese
pati uersusires tamen una manet./Arguet hoc aliquis mea quod
comedia fatum/Nominet et stellas, atque anet alta nimis./
Nesciisse ferent humilemque ad grandia stulte/Euasisse stilum.
Crimina Plautus habet./Absoluar culpa: Plautum sequor. Et tamen
ipsa/Materise series exigit alta sibi./Haeo mea uel Plauti comedia
nomen ab olla/Traxit, sed Plauti quae fuit illa mea est./
Curtuui Plautum: Plautum haeo iactura beasuit;/Vt placeat Plautus
scripta Vitalis emunt./Amphitrion nuper, nunc Aulularia tandem/
Senserunt senio presa Vitalis open."

Vitalis' Aulularia is included at the end of Ritt. and Crut.'s
edition of the Q. Parallels to the Q. in the Aulularia are noted
in the Commentary, passim, and the remarks which Vitalis' Querolus
makes about his own name are quoted in the intro. section on
Characters about Querolus. The characters in Vitalis' play are:
Querolus, Euclio, the Lar, Pantolabas (for Pantomalus), Sardana,
also called Paulus (for Mandrogerus), Gnatho (for Sardanapallus),
Clinia (for Sycophanta), and Arbiter. Sardana is here a slave
rather than a parasite. He was given his freedom by Euclio in
return for informing his son Querolus about the treasure. A Greek,
he disguises himself as the Roman Paulus, so as not to be
recognised by Querolus (280, "Non ultra dicar Sardana: Paulus ero",
showing the original name Sardanapallus, which would not fit into
hexameter, vide verse 14, quoted supra, split into two.) The plot
is basically the same, although tinged with scholastic philosophy.
Dramatically it is improved by the omission of the slave's long
monologue. Greater verisimilitude is also provided by the reward
of only one-hundredth of the treasure of one thousand talents to
Sardana, whereas the reward of half of the treasure granted to
Mandrogerus in the Q. makes it hardly worth his while to steal all
the treasure and divide it with his two accomplices (although of
course it could be argued that he meant to cheat his accomplices,
or else take a larger share in consideration for arranging the
deception and doing more work). Also in the 12th century version we actually see Euclio dying abroad, rather than hearing a report of his death. Querolus is advised to remain shut up in his house for five days, rather than three, to avoid the return of ill luck. The inscription on the urn is also different: "Ossea Tripericii Triperi patris haec tenet urna/Condita omn nituit Caesare Roma suo." Vitalis of Blois must have seen a complete MS. of the Q. in order to follow its plot (unless he could have read a synopsis of it). In view of his date, he could have seen any of those MSS., mentioned above, which John of Salisbury might have seen. However, in view of the nearness of Blois to Orleans, it is most likely that he would have seen V or L or S.

Vincent of Beauvais.

"Speculum Maius", circa 1250.

He refers to Plautus in Aulularia, that is, the Q., in two sections of his "Speculum Maius", the "Speculum Doctrinale" and the "Speculum Historiale".

"Speculum Doctrinale".

IV.65, De intercessionibus et aduocationibus.

"Plautus in Aulularia. Da mihi aduocati gratiam; uende uocem, uende linguam, iras atque odium loca; in summā pauper estō, et reporta penatibus pecuniarum aliquid sed plus crimineum."

IV.69, De zelo correctione secundum philosophos.

"Plautus in Aulularia. Nemo sibimet arbitretur dici, quod nos dicimus populo, neque sibimet causam constituam communi ex ioco."

V.105, De multiplici miseria huius vitae secundum philosophos.

"Plautus in Aulularia. Imbecilla tantum corpora nobis esse uidentur, at quanto animus infirmior est. Spes, timor, cupiditas, auaritia, felicem esse non simunt."

VI.14, De electione uel acquisitione amicorum.

"Plautus in Aulularia. In amicitiam et fidem stultum ne recoperis. Nam insipientium atque improborum facilius sustinetur odium, quam collegium. Vis te non decipi? Nemini credideris. Vieme tibi
honorem deferri? Inter miseros uiuito; nemini te querulo (sic) nimis sodalem feceris."

"Speculum Historiale".

V.55, De Plauto Poeta Comico, et dictis eius.

nemo ad censum respicit, semper d iiues diligens, e contra pauper neglegens./ Censoribus haec reserua querculo (sic): tu neque diues, neque pauper es./ Haec si cognosceres felix esses, da mihi aduocati crimina, uende uocem, uende linguam./ Irae etque odium loca in summa, pauper esto, et reporta potentibus pecuniarum aliud, sed plus criminum./ Saepe condita luporum fiunt rapinae ulpium./ Nemo sibimet arbitretur dicit, quod nos populo dicimus."

These extracts are all of the Florilgia type. The original Florilgium Gallicum and Florilgium Angelicum collections were probably made in France in the 12th. century. Perhaps Vincent saw one of the original collections, or one of the Florilgia MSS. now extant. The title Plautus in Aulularia, but not Plautus Poeta Comicus in Aulularia, is common in these MSS. for excerpts of the Q. Only the last excerpt, Nemo...dicimus, does not occur in any of the now known Florilgia MSS. He could of course have seen a MS. which is now lost.

Hugo of Trimberg.

"Registrum Multorum Auctorum", circa 1230.

The following reference to the Q. relates to Vitalis of Blois' version: 760, "Querulus (sic) et Merulus hiis adiciuntur,/Qui non, ut in nomine, re confederantur./Nam Querulus (sic) falsidicus totus est ioosus,/Merulus uerdicus et totus seriosus./Inципit Querulus (sic): Committens ollae fragili Queruli (sic) pater aurum/Fecerat in titulo funeris esse fidem./Incipiit Merulus: Cum multos homines in fraude perire uiderem,/Pertimum culpam, si uerba taceando tenerem." (uide Commentary to 11.22, "Feierat saepe qui taeot; tantum est enim tacere uerum quantum et falso dicere").

Molière.

(uide Bonnet's article, "Smikrinès - Eulion - Harpagon").

According to Kappelmacher, the character of Harpagon in L'Avare, 1668, was modelled on Querolus. Havet, however, claimed that, "Dans tout le Molière il n'y a pas un trace qui dérive du Querolus",
and he was probably correct. The story of L'Avaro is nearer to Plautus, with children's love affairs impeded by their father's miserliness; a father scared of other people discovering his fortune; a son tricking his father of money to spend on a girl; a servant current in the character of La Flèche; a mistaken identity and recognition scene; a miser's treasure hidden in a garden discovered by a servant; and a monologue of Harpagon, similar to Duilio's in Plautus' Aulularia, over the loss of his precious money.

Le Misanthrope, 1666, has not the slightest reminiscence of the Q or of Plautus, although it too includes a love affair. Alcestes, like Querolus, has no time for the niceties of polite conversation. The "misanthropist" is a victim of melancholy, but he does have a friend, as does Querolus, for although they claim to hate mankind, the feeling is not mutual.
RHYTHMIC STRUCTURE.

The Q. is written in rhythmic prose, containing a high proportion of iambic-trochaic verse clausulae, but very few (Ciceronian) prose clausulae. There are at least 250 7-syllable verse clausulae (-v----) and at least 150 5-syllable verse clausulae (----v-), but only at least 15 prose clausulae (uide Raven, Appendix A, "A Note on Prose Rhythm and Ciceronian 'Clausulae'"), (not including cases involving elision or hiatus, or a change of speaker, or not ending in a sense pause).

Q. Iambico-Trochaic Verse Clausulae.

3.1 semper magnis laudibus.
3.1 quam dicamus ludioris.
3.7 parvus indulsit labor.
3.8 hoo maneit praemium.
3.9 adderetur gratiae.
3.13 solus nouit nouerit.
4.2 uenit et rupit fiden.
4.3 quidquid montiri fur potest.
4.6 et puram facit.
4.10 per fenestram propulit.
4.13 et partem petit.
4.18 dedicatur nomini.
4.19 uotis nostris et tuis.
5.2 plauti per uestigia.
5.3 fraude deceptum sua.
5.6 fraudulentus et miser.
5.7 si fatigat lectio.
5.12 dicatur fabula.
5.20 ingrati non mali.
5.23 ipsi uosmet fallitis.
6.1 aurum et cautos senex.
6.2 ornam condidit.
6.2 aurum celabat palam.
6.8 ignotus et notus tamen.
6.11 furto conservabitur.
6.13 ille prospexit senex.
6.18 ipsi si fas est deo.
6.16 ridendus magis.
6.23 ille noctes et dies.
7.1 nihil relicatum comperit.
7.2 memet credidi.
7.4 queratur iustius.
7.14 ingratum foret.
7.17 reposcis an furem tenes.
7.20 et conuiciun.
8.15 fatum quod uos dictis.
8.18 immo tu oae.
8.24 uel mysteriis.
9.1 toto splendet corpore.
9.3 dealbatus nescio.
9.4 tu de pistrinis uenis.
9.17 et iustis male.
9.22 defensorern te paras.
9.24 de soeclestis conqueror.
10.1 hoc est de malis.
10.7 nullum quod sciam.
10.9 sed scelus nullum scio.
10.14 laudari quae solent.
10.16 quid de false dicimus.
11.3 quod respondeam.
11.7 quando sic interrovas.
11.8 quid sit quod crimen putes.
11.16 numquam rupisti fidem.
11.19 uerbis non staret fides.
11.21 laboretur et staret fides.
11.23 falsum dicere.
11.25 sequantur haec duo.
12.8 amicitiarum te laesit fides.
12.11 te qui nouit despicit.
12.11 qui nouit diligist.
12.13 quam collegium.
12.22 te non decipi.
12.25 cur accusas perfidos.
13.2 uiam te non decipi.
13.5 nimiis sodalem feceris.
13.9 sit tenendum discito.
13.10 uinum turbas respue.
13.19 tu uel nosti uel facis.
13.21 dicat pauperem.
14.1 censum respicit.
14.2 semper diues diligens.
14.2 contra pauper neglegens.
14.5 paupertatis crimina.
14.12 dura deploratio.
14.15 uixit qui semper tibi.
14.23 isti peiores habent.
14.25 quod deperdant nesciunt.
15.9 illi qui plures habent.
15.11 forte nascantur duo.
15.16 querelam confugit.
16.8 et felicem te negas.
16.20 nullum permittat queri.
16.22 tu fortunam dicito.
17.3 his qui possunt omnia.
17.6 iam neutrum uolo.
17.17 et privati iudicant.
17.18 petus appellaberis.
17.19 quis uos dixit liberas.
18.3 nihil est quod plus uelim.
18.6 solut puluis compleat.
18.6 sudor glutinet.
18.7 fluxos tegmine.
18.8 brunam nudis cruribus.
18.8 foedet limus concolor.
18.14 sed plus criminum.
18.15 est quam laedere.
18.17 illi qui chartas agunt.
18.20 possessor rudis.
18.20 familiaris uicinis nouus.
18.21 funus ut lautum pares.
19.1 heia nec chartas uolo.
19.2 mercatoris sacculum.
19.4 undis et uentis credito.
19.5 saltem uel capsas titi.
19.9 capsas continges titi.
19.13 exoptas toto cum choro.
19.19 nemo gratis bellus est.
19.18 amittenda sunt.
20.4 quandiu tu uixeris.
20.15 esse felicem sinunt.
20.16 publice maeret domi.
20.24 agnoscas uolo.
20.29 quod tu non intellegis.
21.11 ostendendas quam tibi.
22.1 contra te putas.
22.5 intrabit tuas.
22.7 per fenestram defluet.
22.9 fenestras clausero.
22.10 quod mutari non potest.
22.18 ut te nunquam deseram.
22.19 quam semper fui.
22.23 acquiras plurima.
22.27 tamquam latronum conscium.
23.2 tectis ambulant.
23.3 quique curtant balteos.
23.11 nescio quid est praestigi.
23.13 producam foras.
23.18 uehor publice.
23.19 litteratos maxime.
23.20 longe praestantissimus.
24.1 uentus detulit.
24.7 atqui si scias.
24.18 uidit carcerem.
24.19 explodo cum uerbis tuis.
24.21 servent hic bene.
25.6 quod consumpsisset gula.
25.11 nosque qui tecum sumus.
25.12 iam peruenimus.
25.25 frustra clauduntur fores.
25.26 sese distant regulae.
25.26 furos nil nocent.
26.2 incolsa tradu gaudia.
26.3 quae iamdudum diximus.
26.10 sic sunt omnia.
26.15 nos montiri nouimus.
26.24 quem uidi modo.
26.24 talem prorsus nescio.
27.4 quod uidi modo.
27.12 nosti non uacat.
27.24 nunc esset mihi.
28.3 de quo sermo nuno erat.
28.6 difficultas et persuasio.
28.7 paulisper mane.
28.9 ubiiscum uolo.
28.10 si plures uidet.
28.11 quaerebas habes.
28.12 mihi molestus ne sies.
28.13 nos illae una simul.
28.15 nobis est opus.
28.16 uidit et nouit bene.
28.21 quaeso nunc uestram fidem.
28.24 de magis existimo.
28.29 sed paulisper non uacat.
29.1 impera si quid uoles.
29.6 turbis ambulat.
29.9 plus de nobis non licet.
29.11 perquiram non uno modo.
29.12 diuinum uel magum.
29.14 uultu dignitas.
29.16 ut secreto disseras.
30.9 exponas quaesumus.
30.20 obstare quod possit tibi.
30.23 qui totum rotant.
30.25 fata non possunt sua.
31.4 euertant loca.
31.4 diris tempestatibus.
31.13 paucis hoc licet.
31.15 sacello soluite.
31.23 quae nos soli nouimus.
31.24 nocturnae striges.
31.25 absentes hydris congregant.
31.25 praesentes uirgis submouent.
32.1 et turbas amant.
32.9 mensarum solent.
32.9 longe fallaciissimi.
32.15 trisulco uibrant sibilo.
32.16 diris cum olangoribus.
32.18 spicas nonnulli uorant.
32.19 carne ian subrancida.
33.3 -des pandae manus.
33.6 semper donos edidit.
33.7 homines sursum feras.
33.8 cuncti latratu fremunt.
33.10 et commercium.
33.11 at quanti quas.
33.17 uidi cerborum.
33.18 aeneas non euaserat.
33.19 quid de simili.
33.20 gesta quae uos dicitis.
33.21 uoluunt paginis.
34.8 et parentum debita.
34.9 cum tormentis exigunt.
34.10 iuxta terras perculant.
34.11 semperque mensis aduelant.
34.11 quod contingunt auferunt.
34.12 quod relinquunt polluunt.
34.21 facto nascatur bono.
34.24 decreta fatorum regunt.
35.4 nescis dicit.
35.10 plures hoo sciant.
35.21 haec amiciis dicit.
36.1 igni ferro flumine.
36.2 mecum uixerit.
36.21 seruum pessimum.
36.24 iam nunc eloquent.
37.16 illie conditum.
37.19 excludit foras.
37.26 praestabo meam.
37.31 nunc solum fore.
38.1 iam nunc peruola.
38.3 iam nunc et asponibus.
38.10 praecede nos tecum sumus.
38.13 exportetur foras.
38.17 nos praesto sumus.
39.1 si confringantur fores.
39.3 perscrivit manu.
39.4 postulet reddi sibi.
39.7 ut sequantur plurima.
39.11 emendat mora.
39.14 non suggessisti prius.
39.18 iam uolebam dicere.
40.1 primo conspectu uidet.
40.5 densis fultam cerulis.
40.7 placere possit moribus.
40.10 rursus compleatur nouo.
40.14 autem discretio.
40.15 hoo mutari non potest.
40.16 mille sunt praestigia.
40.17 tam gemellas formulas.
40.18 uultus aetas et color.
40.21 sed mali perdunt bonos.
40.23 autem plus iusto imperat.
41.2 inuicem sese docent.
41.4 uaurus non est in suos.
41.7 stulti quam quidem putant.
41.11 naturam quam noctem puto.
41.22 noctem prostrahunt.
42.2 sese uellent hoc modo.
42.4 tributum cogites.
42.6 ancillarum feriae.
42.6 nec manumitti uolunt.
42.7 praeestare possit libero.
42.9 ad sodales pergerem.
42.11 dicant quod uolunt.
42.12 quod dudum peto.
42.15 est abiectio.
42.16 conuiuator iudicum.
42.16 seruulorum servulus.
42.18 circumspetator callidus.
43.2 pondus tan graue.
43.3 portasti foras.
43.8 fortuna mala.
43.10 te seruent homo.
43.10 praeter spem uenit.
43.11 quod laudas modo.
43.14 multis non possit iugis.
43.17 quae iam nuno dabo.
43.18 redire temptabit domum.
43.21 redire temptet res mala.
44.1 tamquam profanos respue.
44.11 tamquam pro memet fecero.
44.18 non ausus fui.
44.25 non oredam mihi.
45.2 secretum locum.
45.7 quod nosti male.
45.12 ipse non semper nitet.
45.16 semper noui te bonum.
45.17 semper felicis facis.
45.20 mores seruaret tuos.
45.21 indulgens quam tu cum tuis.
45.22 nosmet praedicam.
45.24 et laudamus plurimum.
45.25 nos optamus seruuli.
45.26 quidquid optasti mihi.
46.4 quod nosti bene.
46.7 rem diuinam coeperat.
46.8 omnes tunc ibant simul.
46.10 credo diuinam rem gerunt.
46.11 huo adsit cito.
46.15 quam nosti bene.
46.18 non intercludi potest.
47.6 damnum uere plangitur.
47.8 essemus duiites.
47.10 demus funeri.
47.13 me sepulti fallereunt.
47.15 debebatur non mihi.
haec peruersitas.

iustus non tangit dolor.
quismam te morbus tulit.

haec iam non calet.

scripturae fidem.
sic ranciscere.
cultus quem posuit miser.
credidissem graculae.
curti scuassem canis.
suras omnes conscidit.
ne defunctus desines.

dudum diximus.
ludamus modis.
nos iamdum plangimus.

quid rerum gerit.

sed urbane respice.
fustes et uirgas tenent.
aedes irras.

te sacerdos detulit.
predixit magus.
per fenestras ingeri.
quem reliquit cucicio.
talem relinquas filius.
nobis nascetur malum.
perdid mysteriorum.
formidolosus plurimum.

restat nunc mihi.
conjuratos meos.
furtum fecit furibus.
nos iactantes non munus.
liberasti mortuus.
perfecta iam sunt omnia.

ut thesaurum diuidat.
uidisti modo.

posthaec desinas.
quem iamdum noueram.
sese diiceret.
efferrem de domo.
familiaris predixit meus.
fallacissimi.
si nanciscerer.

uenerunt omnia.
ad nos exhibe.
coniectum domi.
sequuntur oetera.

istam lampridem colo.
nuper natus non eras.
ut te dicis bimulum.
non frater tibi.
salutem dicit filio.
thesauri dabis.
da quod possessi diuidi.
55.15 cognoscamus fidem.
55.20 seruasti fidem.
55.21 ille praecepit senex.
56.7 cui quando quomodo.
56.12 haec per istam Ianuam.
56.13 per fenestram redderes.
56.22 proici tuas.
57.7 per me poscint omnia.
57.8 proferri iussuran.
57.12 artes et praestigia.
57.14 fragmentorum paginas.
57.25 congressistis scelus.
58.8 ipsam quam rupi fidem.
58.14 ut multis constat modis.
58.23 quid uis ut respondeam.
59.6 sic se res habet.
59.8 dum furtum negas.
59.11 non tulisti non fuit.
59.16 solus totum nescio.
59.18 nunc restat mihi.
59.19 consincar nefas.
60.6 fortuna mala.
60.9 non uidisti plumbeum.
60.18 edepol quid dicam nescio.
60.19 tu non noueras.
60.22 me lusit modis.
60.25 ille dilexit senex.
61.1 ne permiseris.
61.17 nunc ut ediscam iubes.
61.20 pro magno solent.

Q. Prose Clausulae.

3.3 honore dignum putans.
6.22 cautissime confitebor.
9.2 es recognosco.
9.6 permouet nosmet.
9.7 integro redederetur.
9.24 assertio contioneset.
14.13 certe nihil defuit.
14.26 fructus meos abstulit.
16.1 iam nihil conqueror.
17.20 maiora sunt quae tacemus.
20.25 bodie multum consequeretur.
24.20 somnis funus uidebam.
54.16 extraneum quomlibet.

The iambo-trochaic 7-syllable clausulae produce in effect the second hemistich of an iambic octonarius or septenary, or of a trochaic septenary, and so are reminiscent, to a certain extent, of Plautine and Terentian verse, which was written mainly in
Iambic senarii, septenarii and octonarii, and trochaic septenarii and octonarii. About 100 iambic and trochaic septenarii and octonarii do occur in the Q., perhaps unintentionally, sometimes incorporating alcaicae.

Q. Verse Lines.

3.1 qui das honoratam quitem quam dicamus ludicr.ia.
4.18 uiias incolauis etque felix uotis nostris et tuis.
4.21 qui Graecorum disciplinas orem narrat barb.aro.
5.1 mululariam hodie munus acturi non ueterem ac rudem.
5.19 queroli nuno sortem administro huius ingrati non mali.
6.1 hic enorme pondus auri olim in ornam condidit.
6.5 uni tantummodo rem indicauit fraudulento et perfido.
6.12 fur ergo iam nunc aderit per quem nobis salua res crit.
6.16 temen ne frustra memet uideritis exponere quaedam uolo.
7.7 0 fortuna 0 fors fortuna 0 fenum scoeterum atque impium.
9.18 primum ut apud uosset fieri uideo de persona est quaestio.
10.17 hem quis eutem uerum dict istud commune est abii.
11.25 immo nihil est actum querole nisi sequantur haec duo.
12.11 si te qui nouit desipicet qui non nouit diligit.
12.14 iam intellego quid querere usu brevis uedius remediuin hino dari.
13.19 tu uel nosti uel facis sed hoc mecum tolerabile est.
15.5 seme lauernos cothurnos semper refulus carceres.
18.10 primum postmeridianum aut aestuom aut algidum.
18.12 uende uocem uende linguam iras atque odiuin loca.
19.10 quales habet avarus ille fenerator adivens.
21.31 istud plane est quod saepe audiui obscurs us eua inuolucere.
22.10 quan ut tu excludas uel submouveas quod mutari non potest.
22.18 usquequaque peruagabor ut te numquam deserem.
22.24 uade inquit fures require praedones recipe in domum.
22.25 primum si cognosci atque etiam si probari potuerit.
24.6 quando sic intellegitis quando sic docebitis.
24.15 erant praeterea uncinuli hamati torques et catenulae.
24.27 funus ad laetitiam spectat lacrimae ad risum pertinent.
25.25 tum praeterea inermes quantum inter sese distant regulae.
26.21 noster ille qui mecum est locutus nusquam apparuit.
26.21 neque eleud surripuit intus iste plane homo non fuit.
28.6 magna hercle hominis difficulas et persuasio.
28.6 nunc te amici expectant neque cognati paulisper mane.
31.25 absentes hydres congruent praentes urgis submouveat.
32.13 mannis gutturibus capita attollunt alas pro manibus gerunt.
32.14 primum inter sese linguam trisulco uibrant sibilo.
32.17 non paruo expluantur isti panem neque nouerunt neque uoluunt.
32.18 hordea insectantur fracta et madida spioas nomullu uorant.
33.9 mysterium de religione faciunt et commercium.
33.20 istae sunt quae futura scribunt gesta quae uos dicitis.
34.6 istae sunt quae uota hominum observant atque honores numinum.
34.9 hao atque illao totum per orbem iuxta terras peruolent.
The Lex Conuialis contains at least ten (Ciceronian) prose clausulae, but only at least a couple of verse clausulae, which may be some indication of a difference in authorship (ATIdE the section on the Lex Conuialis).

Lex Conuialis Prose Clausulae.

2 ueste discissus.
4 poenia transibit.
7 contemplationi concedimus.
8 praestetur inspectio.
10 exceedat humanitas.
The highly rhythmical nature of the Q. tempted some scholars to suggest that a verse original of the Q. had been turned into prose by a Medieval scribe. The most thoroughgoing of these scholars was Havet, who published his own verse restoration of the text in his edition. He insisted that his restored verse text was not intended to represent a final version, but to show the way for future scholars. "Le Querulus", he said, "est un texte en vers de la fin de l'antiquité, volontairement mis en prose par un remanier du haut moyen âge". The date of the prose adaptor would, however, have to precede that of the earliest extant MS., V; that is, he would have to date from the very early 9th century or before (and suceede the date of composition, that is, he would have to date from after the beginning of the 5th century). The evidence of the burnt Remensis may suggest a date earlier than the 9th century, and it does not seem likely that a Merovingian scribe would have had the knowledge or inclination for such a major work of recomposition. Nor are the precedents cited by Hav, by any means sufficient in number or style to offer convincing justification of this theory.

Hav. and Herrm. compared the Greek prose fables attributed to Aesop, versified by Babrius, and translated into Latin verse by Phaedrus and prose by "Romulus". (Herrm. suggested a fabulist as the author of the Q., vide the intro. section on Author.) In these cases, however, the fables have been rewritten, without adhering to the original texts, although, necessarily, some of the same words and phrases recur. But since not all the same words are used, "restoration" of the "original" is impossible. This is rather an example
of the school exercise of paraphrase, which is not the same process as that postulated by Hav. (Paraphrase as a school exercise was still in use, and the prose rendering of poets was normal, in Late Antiquity; of. Statius on Homer, Siluae, V.iii.159, *Tu par
daejectus Homero/Ferre iucun senosque pedes aequare solutis/
Versibus et munquam nasu breuiora relinqui;* and Augustine on
Vergil, Confessions, I.17, *Vt dicerem verba Junonis irascentis et
dolentis, quod non possit Italia Teucrorum auertere regem; quae
numquam Junonom dixisse audirem, sed figmentorum poeticorum
vestigia errantes sequi cogebamur, et tale aliquid dicere solutis
verbis quale poeta dixisse uersibus.*)

Hav. also compared Ennius' *Apologus Aesopicus*, from his
Saturae, of which only fragments survive, along with this long
prose paraphrase of one of Aesop's *Fables*, quoted by Aulus Cellius,
but no relevant comparison can be drawn. He also compared Ennius' Euhemerus, a prose work based on Euhemerus' Sacred Scripture which is extant only in fragments and in an epitome by Eusebius.

(Diodorus Siculus used it in the sixth book of his *History* which is now fragmentary.) Ennius' work is extant only in fragments quoted by Lactantius, again ruling out any meaningful comparison.

He also compared the fragmentary Carolingian text, which he restored to hexameters, some leonine, known as the *Fragment de la Haye* (from the Hague M.S., Bibliotheca Regia Hageae Cod. N 921, Monumenta Germania Historica, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingiarum*, III, 708-710). Herrm. gave another verse restoration of this text in iambic-trochaic dimeters (*uide infra*).

Hav. also alluded to many French poems that have been written in prose: "Mais ce procédé, si singulier aux yeux des modernes,
devait paraître naturel aux yeux des gens du moyen Âge. C'est
ainsi que nombre de poèmes français ont, comme on dit, été dérimsés." But this has obviously little or no bearing on the case of the Q.

Hav. aimed to produce comic verse of iambic tetrameters acatalectic or octonarii and trochaic tetrameters catalectic or septenarii. He achieved this mainly by addition, subtraction,
substitution and transposition. He claimed that the present text represents the original with the words jumbled, and that the original may therefore be restored by transposing the words back. The majority of inversions, he presumed, came from the work of the prose adaptor, although some could have been caused by mere caprice on the part of the adaptor, rather than by the need for clarification. Some he admitted could have been caused by accidents of copying by an earlier or later scribe. His inversions, Hav, claimed, satisfied the two necessary criteria of providing a form of verse more regular and more elegant than any similar correction would, and of being more likely than any other from the syntactical point of view. The prose adaptor he presumed to have regularised according to the strict rules of Classical grammar learnt in schools (such as the standard order of words in a sentence), with the result that the word order for the "original" supplied by Hav, has become somewhat irregular, while that which he left untouched, because it suited his rhythmical scheme, seems to flow much more easily, thus producing a blend of two styles hardly likely to represent an homogenous original. (ex. 9.16, Vnum solum est unde responderi mihi uolo; quare injustis bene est et iustis male? became in Hav., Vnum solum est mihi uolo responderi unde; quare injustis est bene et iustis male?) Indeed, Hav, provided a list of 34 different types of grammatical peculiarity which must be allowed into his version of the "original". Certainly, as he said, there is no passage of the Q. where it is not easy to "rectify" some tetrameters by easy "corrections", usually transpositions. He also claimed that some lines are so mutilated as to render them impossible of restoration, while others allow of more than one solution. As he presumed the intention of the adaptor to have been to clarify the text rather than to interfere with the verse, he supposed that this scribe often left a verse line or hemistich intact, resulting in the present mixture of prose and verse. Of 1312 lines (including the Lex Conuialis), Hav. found 111 trochaic tetrameters catalectic without alteration, and 113 iambic
tetrameters acatalectic, plus 22 which could be scanned as either trochaic or iambic, that is 246 lines in all. Of these, only about 55% (138) can be at all convincingly scanned (62 out of 111; 69 out of 113, but of these only 4 iambic, the rest, 65, trochaic; 7, trochaic, out of 22). Certainly, whole lines of iambic and trochaic tetrameters catalectic and acatalectic, or septenarii and octonarii, do occur (vide supra), but not as many as Hav. claimed, while the scansion of these unaltered lines is often doubtful. From this example of Hav.'s "unaltered lines" it can clearly be seen that his 760 "altered lines", produced by various combinations of transposition, inversion, insertion, and substitution in vocabulary, morphology and grammar, should be approached with even greater suspicion. This gave him a total of 1006 lines, leaving 306 lines, of which he supposed 250 more or less mutilated and the remainder (56) either incomplete, irremediably corrupt, or involving licences of quantity. He provided a list of 42 different types of alteration which must be allowed in order to produce verse lines. "Peut-être", he said, "tout ceci rencontrera-t-il des sceptiques, qui persisteront à voir dans le Querulus de la prose ou de la quasi-prose, et considèrent la restitution comme pur jeu. Leur appréciation sera justifiée si, en s'assujettissant à toutes les règles que j'ai suivies, ils parviennent à mettre en vers un discours de Ciceron."

Hav. has, however, managed to turn the Lex Conuialis, written in prose with (Ciceronian) prose clausulae, into verse. As Quintilian said (Institutio Oratoria, IX.iv.52), Nihil non, quod est prorsa scriptum, redigi possit in quaedam versiculorum genera uel in membra. So Orelli said (in his Epistula Critica, p.1xx, to Madvig, vide the bibliography to Dan.'s edition), "Fieri autem posse video, ut transponendo, addendo, demendo, immutando, uocabula pleraque scenae in uarii generis uersus iamboeos, trochaicos, bacchiacoos, omnes inter se sine ordine permixtos redigi possint, ita tamen, ut magna et uix tolerabilis licentia in permultis sit concedenda." Indeed, even for the verses he has
produced, Hav. provided a list of 24 different types of metrical peculiarity which have to be allowed. Several lacunae must also be accepted, along with inconsistencies on the part of the prose adaptor (such as the writing of bonus est for est bonus and est bonus for bonus est). In spite of Hav.'s disclaimer that he did not profess to have provided a definitive version of the "verse original", the lengths to which he had to go to produce verse lines indicate the fruitlessness of the task. Plautus and Terence also suffered alterations for the sake of grammatical clarity, yet their metrical nature is not in doubt. Moreover, it appears rather strange that no MS. or trace of a verse original should have survived.

Klink. published his own verse restoration of the text in his edition. He did not claim to have reproduced the "original" either, but merely to have shown the way. He too aimed to produce regular comic verses, but of greater variety, iambic trimeters or senarii, iambic tetrameters catalectic or septenarii, trochaic tetrameters acatalectic or octonarii, and bacchicae. (It seems unlikely that bacchicae would have been employed in comic verse at this date. Although they occur in the cantica in most of Plautus' plays (ex. Aulularia, 120-131), Terence and Seneca did not use them, nor did the versatile Ausonius.) Klink. also argued for an original in verse altered by later scribes. He did not, however, proceed in an orderly fashion, but "corrected" the "alterations" as his fancy chose, mainly by omission. He removed many words that cannot rationally be explained away as interpolations, non-essential pleonastic words, which a Medieval reviser would have no motive for inserting, but which, when removed, leave the "original" in a rather skeletal state (ex. 6.20, Fatum itaque iam nuno et hominem e diverso audietis, omitting itaque, iam nuno and e diverso). He was also obliged to allow peculiarities of prosody, especially contractions, and the lengthening or shortening of vowels.

Paris suggested that the Q. was written in a debased type of trochaic tetrameters catalectic or septenarii, comparing
Christian hymns such as those of Hilary of Poitiers (O.M.B.L.V. no. 5), Prudentius (O.B.M.L.V. no. 20) and Venantius Fortunatus (O.M.B.L.V. no. 54), with accentual scansion usurping quantitative. (Cors. and Wernsdorf (in Peip.'s edition) also compared Christian hymns, as did Herrm. and Stiss, vide infra.) Paris likened the tetrameters he saw in the Q. to the hexameters of Commodian, "Une forme très libre, qui serait à peu près au tétramètre trochaïque ce que celle de Commodien est à l'hexamètre"; but of course no direct comparison can be made between these two different forms of verse.

Peip, also realised that a number of iambic and trochaic verses could be produced by addition, omission and transposition. Quicherat produced a verse restoration of the "Prologue", in iambic trimeters or senarii, tetrameters catalectic or septenarii, and tetrameters acatalectic or octonarii. Par. thought that the "Dedication" was in verse and the rest in prose, and printed it as such in his third edition. Ber. and Jannacone suggested that the original Classical lines of the play were slowly dissipated by provincial theatre actors (but it is doubtful whether the Q. was in fact performed or intended for the stage, vide the intro. section on Genre).

Dan., at the suggestion of Lambert Danaeus, was the first to propose that the beginning of the Q. was in verse. Danaeus wrote to Dan. after the publication of his first edition (Cod. Bern. 141, no. 98), "Vnum tamen...deesse uidetur, cui in secunda editione mederi poteris, ut tum Prologum illum ad Rutilium, tum Poetae ad populum, in sua metra et numeros distinguas. Etsi enim clodo pede reliqua scapis ille tuus Plautus, hos tamen, quod puto et quod olfacere mihi uideor, scapis certa ratione; sunt enim senarii". For his second edition Dan. therefore intended to write: "Haec Praefatio ad Rutilium, et, qui postea sequitur auctoris ad populum Prologus in sua metra et numeros distinguendus erat. Etsi enim clodo pede, id est, ratione soluta reliqua scapis hic noster Plautus, haec tamen, quod puto et quod olfacere mihi uideor, scapis certa metri ratione; sunt enim senarii."
Dan also suggested that the Q was written in *versu satyrico*, and Herrm. adopted this suggestion, seeing the Q as a kind of Menippean Satire, containing blocks of prose and verse, like Petronius' *Satyricon* and Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, although the Q cannot actually be divided in this way, but only into stretches of monologue or dialogue. The verse parts, Herrm. suggested, were written in regular or irregular iambic or trochaic dimeters, with accentual scansion usurping quantitative, often with assonance or even rhyme, "En dimètres iambiques (ou trochaïques) plus ou moins réguliers, c'est-à-dire pratiquement rhythmique, souvent assonancés ou même rimés". Süss agreed that some of the Q text consists of four foot, eight syllable, verse lines. Herrm. modified the text to produce 60 dimeters, claiming that, "Les résultats de l'hypothèse présentés ici sont suffisants pour qu'on puisse la comparer aux hypothèses rivales". This claim is unsubstantiated, as Hau could point to 246 unaltered tetrameters. Herrm.'s modifications are mainly additions, omissions and inversions, and the completed verses still contain irregularities, such as the lengthening of short vowels under the stress of the verse accent.

For a text in dimeters Herrm. and Süss compared children's songs, soldiers' (triumphal) songs, graffiti, and Christian hymns, written in stanzas of four lines with eight syllables in each, the trochaic dimeter or quaternarius. (For Christian hymns *vide supra* and Ambrose, O.B.M.L.V.nos.9,10,11,12; Venantius Fortunatus, O.B.M.L.V.no.55; Prudentius, O.B.M.L.V.nos.16,18; Sedulius, O.B.M.L.V.no.30.) Herrm. suggested that the Fragment de la Haye (*vide supra*), mentioned by Hau, should be restored to dimeters, as should the Latin prose fables also referred to by Hau, and the African inscriptions (*vide infra*) cited by Bischeler. Barth compared the comic epitaph of Sergius of Pula, and the verses exchanged between the Emperor Hadrian and Annaeus Florus.

(Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Aelianus Spartanus, Hadrian, XVI,3, *Ego nolo Caesar esse*,/Ambulare per Britannos,/Latitare
Herrm. also compared the 2. to the following twelve works, suggesting verse restorations of them to dimeters. 1. Marcellus Empiricus, VIII.191, Nec (Neque Herrm.) mula mulam parit/Nec (Neque Herrm.) lapis lanam fert (tulit Herrm.)/Ne (Neque Herrm.) morbo caput crescat/Nec (del. Herrm.) huic (del. Herrm.) aut si cresuerit tabescat. 2. Four anonymous verses, Te pastores inuenerunt/Sine manibus legerunt/Sine foco (con- add. Herrm.) coxerunt/Sine dentibus ederunt. 3. Verses from the Testamentum Forcelli (in Dücheler and Heraeus' ed. Petronius), De Tergeste usque ad Tergeste/Religet collum de reste. 4. Laevius' Erato- paenia in Aulus Gellius' Noctes Atticae, II.248, Lex Licinia introductitur/Lux liquida haedo redditur. 5. Alphius Avitus' Libri Excellentium, Seu tute malis hospites./Seu tute captiuous habet. 6. The Faliscian or Pescennine verses of Annianus and Septimus Serenus, Causatus in campi patens/Exteraque muri ducere/ Spatiando paulatim trahit/Hostilis ad ualli latus (restored by Herrm. to, In campum patens causatus/Extraque ducere muros/ Hostilis ad ualli latus/Spatiando trahit ess add. Herrm.). 7. Donatus Auctus, Sic uos non uobis (rhyming cues, apes, cues, and boues, and replacing fertis aratra with aratra fertis to parallel uellera fertis). 8. The second pseudo-Vergilian Priapea. 9. The dedicatory prose preface of Avianus' Fables to Theodosius, "restored" by Herrm. to iambic dimeters (involving 25 additions) and the prologue (incipit Tuno oleo corpus tingo,/Mollique palaestra stringo). (The Fables themselves are written in elegiac couplets.) 10. A poem about St. Agatha, Martyris ecce dies Agathae/ Virginis emioat eximiae/Christus eam sibi quam sociat (sic. in Herrm., leg. ? cum sociat uel consociat)/Et diadema duplici (sic in Herrm., leg. ? diademate duplici uel diadema duplex) decorat. 11. Augustine's abecedarian Psalm against the Donatists (O.E.M.L.V. no.23, with the refrain, Omnes qui gaudeatis de pace, modo uerum iudicate). 12. The Medieval "debate" poems, as between wine and
water, clerk and soldier, Summer and Winter (ex. O.E.M.L.V.nos. 75, 209, 210, 257), which are, however, irrelevant to the case of the Q. Indeed, none of Herrm.'s comparisons is really valid. None of the pieces is in the same genre as the Q, and they are by no means as long.

Herrm. also quoted Late Latin grammarians in support of his theory. Terentianus Maurus says that Alphius Avitus (uide supra, no. 5) wrote dimeters, De Litteris, Syllabis et Metris, 2442, pridem Avitus Alphius/ Libros poeta plusculos, / Vnus dimetro perpeti, / conscribit excellentium. Herrm. took the cantica of poetae vulgares, mentioned by Marius Victorinus, to have been iambic dimeters, and suggested that the Q. was one of the "popular poems", its cantica blocks of dimeters, II.iv.14 (ed. Keil, Gramm. Lat., IV.80), Metro quid uidetur esse consimile? Rhythmus quid est? Verborum modulata composito non metrica ratione sed numerosa scenione ad judicium aurium examinata uelut sunt cantica poetarum vulgarum. (cf. Keil, Gramm. Lat., VI.131, Dicimus rhythmum esse ubi tantum legitimi pedes sint et nullo modo certa fine.)

Bächteler compared the metrical system of the Q. to that of certain African inscriptions, for which he proposed his own verse restorations, as did Hav. and Herrm. for some of them. Hav. correctly rejected any comparison between these rustic epitaphs and the cultured and literary text of the Q. Bächteler suggested North Africa as the place of composition of the Q. because of this mistaken analogy (uide the intro. section on Place of Composition). He suggested that the Q. was written in a sort of compromise between prose and iambic verse, with a certain number of prose words intercalated before the clausulae or iambic (or trochaic) senarii (or septenarii or octonarii). Herrm. suggested the restoration of some of the inscriptions to dimeters. The inscriptions cited by Bächteler and Herrm. are the following (from Africa unless otherwise stated):

C.I.I., VI.124 (Rome); A.L./C.E. (=Bächteler and Riese, Anthologia Latina, "Carmina Epigraphica"), II.ii.1520; restored to, Vmbrarum
ae nemoram incolam, ferarum domitricem, Dianam deam uirginem.

C.I.L., VI.10082 (Italy); A.L./C.E., II.1.218; restored to, Gaetula harena prosata, Gaetulo equino consita, Cursando flabris compara, Aestate abacta uirginis, Sperdasa Lethen incolis.

C.I.L., VI.30101 (Italy); A.L./C.E., II.1.849; restored to, Candore pulchro marmoria, Ore. In quo perspicuus corporis Inest effigies numinis.

C.I.L., VIII.241; A.L./C.E., II.1.1521; restored to, Marcellus hie quiescit, Medica nobilis arte, Annis qui fere uixit Triginta et duoibus, Sed cum cuncta parasset Edendo, placitus, Tertium muneris, ante Valida febre crematus Diem defunctus obit.

C.I.L., VIII.645; A.L./C.E., II.1.116; restored to Iulius Maximus huius operis conditor Sibi quidque posteris sponte tribuit muneri. Vt semper manes securum habent locum. (C.I.L., VIII.645-654 all come from the same tomb.)

C.I.L., VIII.646; A.L./C.E., II.1.116; (M. Guérin, Voyages archéologiques dans la régence de Tunis, Paris (1862) I.185); restored to, C. Iulio Proculo Fortunatiano pater Filio memoriae titulum sibi ererpt reddidit. In annis uiginti duobus, quos Parcae praefinierant edito, Innumeris uitae laudibus ommem aetatem reddidit. Nam puer pubertatis exempla optima bene uiuendo dedit, Pubertatis initia iuuenili corde edidit, Iuuentutis uiam maxima exornauit gloria, Sio namque ut in exigu tempore multis annis uixerit, Puer ingenio validus, pubes pudicus, iuuenis orator fuit Et publicas aures tocatus studiis delecatuit suis; In paruo itaque tempore uitae multis laudibus, Inque isto patrio opere iuuenis nunc ut senex Perpetua quiescit requie, conditori per grato spiritu.

C.I.L., VIII.647; A.L./C.E., II.1.116; (Guérin, I.186); restored to, Palliae Saturninae Iulius Maximus quondam suae Nane operis struem dicasuit, semper ut haberet muneri, Simulque memoriam piae coniugis faceret lectori, Inque eo suo tempore semet cum ea concluderet. In annis triginta, quibus datum est, Sat probe mulier cum uiro uixit suo, Nihil potius cupiens quam ut sua gauderet domus, Nam in rebus
mariti et suis, mater communis iuuenis, Simplici animo uiuens uix
muliebrem mundum uindicabat sibi; In uirum religiosa, in se pudica,
in familia mater uits; Irasci unumquam aut insilire quemquam nouerat,
Cultu neglecto corporis moribus se ornabat suis; Et piuim animum
pudore solo comitabantur suo.
C.I.L. , VIIII.648; A.L./C.E., II.i.116; (Guérin, I.187); restored to,
...Caelo fruitur quod semper opusuit sibi. ...Virgo bis demis
morata orbibus. ...Leues hie semulta semper uiiuit sibi.
C.I.L. , VIIII.649; (Guérin, I.188); restored to M. Iulius Maximus
Maulianus.
C.I.L. , VIIII.650; (Guérin, I.189); restored to Pallia Saturnina.
C.I.L. , VIIII.651; (Guérin, I.190); restored to C. Iulius Fortunatianus.
C.I.L. , VIIII.652; (Guérin, I.191); restored to, Victorina.
C.I.L. , VIIII.653; (Guérin, I.192); restored to M. Iul Maximi
conditoris.
C.I.L. , VIIII.654; restored to, Aucronia Rosata pia annorum quinquaginta.
C.I.L. , VIIII.682; A.L./C.E., II.i.116; (Guérin, I.179); restored to,
Licinius Maurus huio operis conditoris; Sibi suique posteris sponte
tribuit/Maneri ut semper manes securn habitarent locum. /Liciuiae
Urbanise Licinius Maurus quondam suae hanc operis struem. /Memoriam
piae conligis faceret lectori/Inque eo suo tempore se simul cum ea
concluderet. /In annis quattuordecim cuibus datum est/Ut ambo una
uiuerent.
C.I.L. , VIIII.1557; A.L./C.E., II.i.116; (Guérin, II.373); restored to,
Arinia Victoria magnis moribus femina, ad cuius seotam numquam
accedi potest. Hic sepultna, sed domi es. De animo certa es cuia
numquam discedis meo. Marcus Notasius dico sepulchrum quod sit
tibi idem et mihi.
C.I.L. , VIIII.2632; A.L./C.E., II.ii.1519; restored to, Alfeno
Fortunato/Visus dicere somno/Liber pater bimatus, /Louis e fulmine
natus, /Basis hanc nouationem/Genio domus sacrandam/Votum deo
dicaui/Praefectus ipse castris./Adas ergo cun Penisco,/Memor hoo
munere nostro/Natis sospite mater; /Facias uidere Romam, /Dominis
munere, honore, / Mactum coronatumque.

G.I.L., IX. 3146 (Italy); A.L./C.E., II. ii. 1520; restored to, Prima
ministra matris magnae matrem refecit magnam et insauruit et
Attini oman insauruit et Bellenam refecit.

G.I.L., XII. 1122 (Gaul); A.L./C.E., II. ii. 1522, restored to,
Borysthenes Alanus/Caesareus uereus, / Per aequor et paludos/ Et
tumulos Etruseos/Volare cui solebat/Pannonicos in apros,/ Neo
ullus insequentem/Dente aper Albicanti/Ausus fuit nocere,/ Vel
extimem salium/Sparsit ab ore caldam./ Ut solet suenire;/ Sed
integer iuuenta,/ Inviolatus artus/Die sua peremptus/Hoc situs est
in acro.

All these inscriptions, however, are totally removed from the
spirit of the Q., and very much shorter, while many are too
fragmentary to allow any valid comparison.

Although some scholars tried to restore the Q. to Classical
quantitative verse, others proposed to read it as Medieval
accentual verse, comparing also Saturnians, presumably
rhythmical rather than metrical. Most scholars, however, admitted
that the Q. was written in prose, albeit rhythmic prose, or a
kind of free verse or blank verse. Norden called it Kunstprosa.
P. de Champenois de Larivey saw the Q. as nothing but "pure prose"
("Et comme vous savez, c'est l'opinion des meilleurs antiquaires
que le Querolus de Pline et plusieurs autres Comédiens qui sont
peries par l'injure du temps, ne furent jamais qu'en pure prose").
Du Méril agreed ("Malgré l'usage suivi constamment par tous les
anciens auteurs comiques, aucune trace de versification ne s'y
laisse apercevoir"). Jarry (uide bibliography for MS. L)
accepted that the Q. was written in a poetic style, but added,
"Mais il n'y a pas l'intention de versification bien arrêtée".
Barth called the language of the Q. semipoetum, both bound by,
and freed from, the rules of metre. He wished that the author had
kept to either prose or verse, and not tried, unsuccessfully, to
combine both ("Quod si Trochaeis illis omnes fere periodos
contaminantibus, abstinuisset; aut puros eos dedisset, uel
Comicos saltem Iambos, poterat optimis inter non plane bonis scriptoribus accenseriu”). He presumed that what verse there was in the Q. accorded with Late Latin practices ("Quomodo sermonem affectarint sequiora saecula"). Cannegieter called it sermo pedestris. (For Barth and Canneg. uide the intro. section on Klink.'s Edition.) In his first edition, Dan. accepted the conclusion of George Buchanan that the Q. was not written in verse, but prose, oratio soluta (although he subsequently agreed with Danaeus' suggestion of a verse introduction, uide supra) ("Hic auctor sermonem suum, paulo ante poeticum, ut re uera est, appellat, sed neque accuratam neque certam pedum legem numerosque observasse, quod mihi affirmavit Georgius Buchananus, uir doctissimus, certissimum est").

The author's own intentions are unclear. He claims to have made use of Rutilius' sermo philosophicus (3.9) in his own sermo poeticus (4.20), which has been assumed to imply verse, or, at least, rhythmio prose.

He claims to be following magnos praeclaros duces (5.14), who have reasonably been identified with Plautus and Terence and other Old Latin comedians no longer extant or surviving only in fragments. Herrm., however, preferred to understand the phrase to refer to Silver and Late Latin authors, such as Annianus and Septimus Serenus, neoterio poets in the time of Hadrian, who were fond of unusual metres, and wrote Falisian or Pseudoennine verses, in iambic dimeters, which he identified as the form of the Q. (He referred to Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, VI.vii.1, Annianus poeta praeter ingenii amoenitates litterarum quocque uterum et rationum in litteris oppido quam peritus fuit et sermocinabatur mira quadam et soita suavitate.) Herrm. supposed the author to have followed these poets in his choice of metre, and Plautus in his choice of plot (investigatam et inuentam Plauti per uestigia, 5.2). Barth referred to Hadrian and Annaeus Florus. Dezimeris understood the phrase to refer to Ausonius and his circle.

Gaizer suggested that the author's patron Rutilius, and other
lost post-Classical writers were his models. Michel, suggested
that the leaders he followed were the African epigraphic poets.

The author excuses himself for writing *cum clade pede* (5.14).
This has prompted various explanations. It has been supposed by
some to indicate prose, rhythmic prose, free verse, blank verse,
or a mixture of prose and verse. Dejeaneris suggested that it
means a line half in prose and half in verse, and referred to
letters from Ausonius to Axius Paulus, his candidate for author-
ship of the Q. (See the intro. section on author), mentioning
some of Ausonius' own poetry and his friend's Delirius, both
written in the same "limping measure"; Ep. 7, *Denique Dissonum*
(Dez., MS. E. vulgo; Pisonem Loeb ed. Hartel, oett.codd.;
Pisonem MS. T; Disonum M.G.H. ed. Schenkl), quem Colononom
(Dez., vulgo; Tollonem Loeb ed. Hartel; tolla nomen oett.codd.;
Tolleno int. MS. T, M.G.H. ed. Schenkl; xωλόνυμον conicicit
Schenkl) existim op prope a philologia appellatum, adhibere
(Loeb ed. Hartel; addere M.G.H. ed. Schenkl), ut iubebas,
recenti versusum tuorum lectiones non ausus, ea, quae tibi iam
cursim fuerant recitata, transmisi. Dez. then took colononom,
Greek χωλόνυμον, as the term for "lame", from the Greek adjective
χωλός, "lame", as in *holiaimbus*, Greek χωλαμβος, a "lame" iambic,
having a final spondee for iamb. But the term χωλόνυμον is
unknown to L&S(Gk.). Dez. referred to dissona carmina in
Statius' Silvae, II.11.114, as meaning the linking of verses of
different metrical,(See nostram quattuor chelya seu dissona
nectit/Carmine sine minax ultorem strinctit iambon). This may,
however, refer to the linking of different feet, as in epic, or,
more probably here, elegiac, verse. Dez. also compared the terms
carmen, sermo, facundus and musicus, used by Ausonius of Axius
Paulus and his Delirius, with the terms used by the author of the Q.
(Ep.7; Versus meos utili et consilio sibi pudore celatos carmine
tuo et sermone praevisiss dum putas eici, represisti. Nam qui
ipse facundus et musicus editionis alienae proiectat audaciam,
consilio, quo suadet, exterret.) The reference in this poem to an
ostrich egg Dez. took to mean not a wine cup, but a comparison of the type of verse with the ostrich who begins by walking (prose) and ends by flying (verse), but an ostrich cannot fly; Ep. 7, Vinum cum biliuo parabo pleustro/Primo tempore Sactones uahendum, /Onum tu quoque passeri marini, /Quod nunc promus ait procul relictum /In fundo patriae Bigerritanae. He took epodos in Ausonius' Ep. 4 to mean metrical clausulae, rather than the more general "epodes" (Perfer in excursu uel teriua millia epodon /Vale salmas lites, quae schola uestra scribit). An "epode" is a lyric poem in couplets, usually of an iambic trimeter plus dimeter, but any combination of a long and short line is possible (except an elegiac couplet). Even in its more specialised sense it means the shorter line of the verse couplet, usually the iambic dimeter following the trimeter, invented by Archilochus and used by Horace. (In Findar's odes the metrically matching strophe and antistrope are followed by a metrically different "epode".) It has nothing to do with clausulae in prose; vide L&$ (Lat.), L&$ (Gr.), O.L.D., T.L.L., s.v. The T.L.L. (V.ii.695.70sq.) takes it to refer to iambic dimeters in Ausonius' Ep. 4. It need hardly be emphasised that Dezeimeris' arguments, based on his own emendations, are unacceptable. Ausonius' metrical virtuosity would never have allowed him to produce a work of doubtful metre, nor would he have encouraged his friends to do so.

Klink. suggested that clodo pede refers to the mixture of iambic and trochaic verse in the $o$. Peip. suggested that it refers to a line of unequal parts, such as the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, with two halves of eight and seven syllables respectively. Hav. suggested that it refers to a foot of unequal length, an iamb or a trochee. Hav. and Herrm. referred to the gloss on clodo pede in V3, Claudum pedem dicit iambum propter breuem et longam quam habent, unde principaliter haeo metra constant. Herrm. suggested that it refers to the iambic sazon or choliambic line, a trimeter in which the last foot is a spondee instead of an iamb (vide supra), quoting the Late Latin grammarian
Marius Victorinus (II.iv.13, ed. Keil, Gramm. Lat., VI.81), whose words are repeated by Rufinus (ed. Keil, Gramm. Lat., VI.557), Genera autem iambici metri sunt duo. Nam ex his alia integra, alia clauda, qua Scasonta seu Choliamba uocant, inducuntur, quorum differentiam paenultima uersus syllaba demonstrabit. Nam si brevis contigerit, erit rectum et intemnum iambicum, ita...sin uero longa, delunbe et claudum, ut est... (cf. Keil, Gramm. Lat., V.622, Est praeterea et claudum tetrametrum trochaicum catalecticum, quod hipponactium nominatur; accipit enim pro trochaeco spondium ante nouissimam syllaban loco impari.) Terentianus Maurus also describes this line, De Litteris, Sylis et Metris, 2525, Et Choriambus unus/Preditus Antibaccho/Claudicat ut priores; 2606, Carmen Pierides dabant./Hoe metrum Choriambicum est,/Quod pars Bacchiacum uocant. In the Q. Herrm. supposed that olodo pede would indicate the substitution of a spondee for an iamb or a trochee. He also suggested that the "limp" could be caused by the loss of a final syllable in a catalectic line, as in the trochaic tetrameter catalectic (already suggested by Peip., vide supra), which is also called a scason or choliambic when its penultimate foot is a spondee.

Süss suggested that olodo pede does not refer to verse at all, but rather to the author’s courage in entering the stage in the first place when he thought of all the previous famous comedians. The "lemens" he considered merely a (mock) self-depreciatory formula of introduction. He gave examples of claudus and claudicare indicating the imperfect nature of something from Quintilian (Institutio Oratoria, X.i.99, In commedia maxime claudicamus); Augustine (on the Church, De Genesi ad Litteram, 1, Vniuersaliter perfecta est et in nullo claudicat et per totum orbem diffusa est); and Amobius (on the perfection of God’s creation and His inability to create something imperfect, i.e. man, Aduerusus Gentes/Nationes, II.46, Aut aliquid fecerit claudum et quod minus esset a recto).

Only the reference to Quintilian is at all relevant to the Q., a comedy.
The author says he intends to follow in the footsteps of Plautus, _investigatam et inuentam Plauti per uesticam_ (5.2). If he realised what kind of verse had been written by Plautus (and Terence) he failed in his attempt. But if he thought that their verse was a kind of rhythmic prose he would have fulfilled his intentions. They wrote prose-like verse; he wrote verse-like prose. It is at the end of Plautine and Terentian lines that their metrical nature is most clearly seen, so by the 4th. or 5th. century they too may have sounded like prose with metrical _clausulae_. As Cicero said (Orator, IV.184), _At comicorum senarii, propter similitudinem sermonis, sic saepe sunt abiecti, ut nonnumquam uix in eis numerus et versus intelligi possit_. The great achievement of Plautine and Terentian verse was the casting of everyday colloquial vocabulary into a verse mould, and this was achieved so well that later many could not tell the difference between it and colloquial prose. Plautus and Terence do not seem to have had any successors in their chosen field, so that their kind of verse was totally alien to the metrical understanding of the Late Empire. Seneca's iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters catalectic are far removed from the old comic senarii and septenarii, which allowed of many more variations, while Ausonian verses (including iambic trimeters and senarii, and trochaic tetrameters catalectic) are brilliant exercises in metrical skill, far removed from the spoken language of Late or Vulgar Latin, which had obviously undergone major changes over the centuries. Sidonius Apollinaris, however, read Terence' _Hecyra_ with his son, comparing it with Menander's _Epitrepontes_, on which it was based. (Ep., IV.xii.1, _Nuper ego filiusque communis Terentianae Hecyrae sales ruminabamus, studenti assidebam naturae meminens et professionis oblitus quoque absolutius rhythmoe comices incitata docilitate sequeretur, ipsa etiam fabulum similis argumenti, id est Epitrepontem Menandri in manibus habebam. Legebatam pariter landabamus iocabamurque et, quae uota communia sunt, illum lectio, me ille capiebat._)
By the mid-6th century Priscian had to inform his contemporaries that Terence had in fact written in verse, not prose. (De Metria Fabularum Terentii, ed. Keil, Gramm. Lat., III.418, Cum non solum Terentius, sed etiam Plautus et Ennius Acciusque et Naevius atque Pacuvius Turpiliusque et omnes tam comediae quam tragoediae ueteres Latinae scriptores eodem metri modo iambici sunt usi, ut omnibus in locis indifferenter ponerent quinque pedes, id est iambum vel tribrachum vel anaesthum vel dactylicum vel spondeum, absque postremo loco, in quo uel iambum uel pyrricum omnimodo posuisse inueniuntur, miror quodam uel abnegare esse in Terentii comediae metra uel ea quasi arcana cuaedam et ab omnibus doctis semota sibi solis esse cognita confirmare.) Priscian was aware that comic verses could be copied out incorrectly by ignorant scribes, and so would need to be restored by the readers (Keil, Gramm. Lat., III.426, His igitur exemplis facillime diligenter omnium possunt comediae metra comprehendere et versus, si quos imperitia scriptorum confuderit, ad integrum restituere musicae locum). Rufinus of Antioch, another ancient commentator on Terence (uide Cybulla, p.47), quoted Cicero and Quintilian, and other grammarians, including Marius Victorinus, Varro, Probus and Donatus, to support his opinion that Terence’s comedies were written in iambic verse, but allowing of so many resolutions as to be mistaken for prose. (ed. Keil, Gramm. Lat., VI.564, Firmianus ad Probum de metris comediae sic dicit: Nam quod de metris comediae requisisti, et ego scio plurimos existimare Terentianas uel maxime fabulas metrum non habere comediae Graecae, id est Menandri Philemonos Diphili et ceterorum, quae trimetris uersibus constat. Mostri enim ueteris comediae scriptores in modulandis fabulis sequi maluerunt. Eupolin Cratinum Aristophanem...Hinc putantur metro carere nee legeulla contineri.) The Late Latin grammarian Marius Victorinus censured the comedians for producing incorrect verses by their desire to imitate everyday colloquial speech, which necessitated breaking the rules for substitution observed by the Greeks (II.iv,15, ed.
Keil, Gramm. Lat., VI.80). His words were repeated by Rufinus (ed.
Keil, Gramm. Lat., VI.557). (Idem Victorinus in alio loco de iambo
sic dicit: Improbatur autem apud tragicos uersas ex omnibus iambis
compositus. Nam quo sit amplior et par trahcne dignitati,
interimunt frequentius in locis dumtextat imparibus pedum
dactylicorum moras et spondeum. Similiter apud comicos laxius
 spatium uersibus datum est. Nam et illa loca, uae propria iambo
debeat, spondeis occupant dactyloqua et anapaesto locis adeaque
disperibus utuntur et paribus. Ita dum cotidiamum sermonem imitari
nituntur, metra uitant studio, non imperitia, quod frequentius
apud nostras uae apud Graecos inuenies.) Terentianus Maurus held
similar views. (De Litteris, Syllabis et Metris, 2232, Sed qui
pedestres fabulas coco premunt, /Vt quae loquentur sumpta de
uitia nutes, /Vitient iamnum tractibus spondiacis /Et in secundo et
ceteris aequa locis, /Fidemque fictis dum procurrent fabulis, /In
metra neocent, arte, non insitia, /Ne sint sonora uerba
conmutudinis, /Paulumque rursum a solutis different, /Necis ista
nostri: nam fere Graecis tenax/Cura est iambe uel nouellis comicis/
Vel qui in uetusta praepulent comedias.)

In the fragmentary Dialogus inter Terentium et Delusorem,
probably of the 7th. century (uide Magnin, and the intro. section
on Genre), possibly written as a preface to a performance of
Terence or of a contemporary comedy, the delusor, referring to
Terence' comedies, no longer knows whether they were written in
prose or verse, An sit prosaicum nescio an metricum. By the Late
and Medieval Latin era, then, the old verse techniques were
forgotten through widespread ignorance and neglect of quantity.
So the metres of Plautus and Terence were no longer generally
understood, although it was probably recognised that they had
written in a form of verse. All the earliest MSS. of Plautus
are written as verse, preserving fairly well even for the cantica
the colometry deriving from ancient editions, and some Plautus' MSS. have sigla to mark off the senarii from the cantica (uide
The 4th. century Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus is written as verse, and the Vetus Camerarii (R) preserves verse lines for the Plautus' plays, but writes the as continuous prose. The 4th. or 5th. century Bembine MS. of Terence similarly preserves the verse lines, as, to a lesser extent, do the MSS. of the Calliopian recension, made at about the same time, which do, however, suffer in varying degrees from the general tendency to make Terence less archaic and more intelligible.

Quicherat gives examples of changes made in the texts of Plautus and Terence to make them more readable or grammatically regular, which destroyed the metre, indicating that the scribes did not understand the workings of the verse. Yet these alterations did not permanently conceal the essential metrical nature of Plautus and Terence, as has been claimed in the case of the O. So although it is unlikely that the scribes realised the nature of the metre they were copying, they nevertheless preserved the verse lines of Plautus and Terence to a certain extent, and must have realised that they were dealing with some kind of verse.

Plautus' plays were lost to the Middle Ages; Terence' plays were known, but generally assumed to be prose. Excerpts from them in the Medieval Florilegia are included in the flores philosophorum (prose) rather than in the flores auctorum (poetry). In the 10th. century Hrotswitha of Gandesheim claimed to be imitating Terence when she wrote six plays in rhythmic and rhyming prose (uide the intro. section on Genre). In the 13th. century Hugo of Trimberg, in his Registrum Multorum Auctorum, a list of authors suitable for reading in schools (uide the intro. section on Nachleben), included Terence as prose; 272, Sallustius et Tullius in usu modernorum/Non sunt et Terentius et plures antiquorum, Qui quamuis docuerint instar ethicorum, Non tamen in numero ponuntur metricorum. Others were not so easily fooled. In the 10th. century Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II) seems to have appreciated that Terence wrote verse. The historian Richerus said of him (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, "Scriptores Rerum
Merouingicarum", III.617), *Levit itaque ac docuit Meronem et Statium Terentiumque Poetas, Iuuenalem cunque ac Persium Horatium-que Satiricos, Lucsnum etiam historiographum. With the dawn of the Renaissance Terence's metrical nature was fully realised, and on the rediscovery of Plautus the humanists immediately recognised the nature of his writing. In their Renaissance editiones principes Plaustus and Terence were naturally printed as verse. It seems hardly credible that the 2 would not or could not by now be identified as verse if that is what it once was.
QUEROLVS SIVE AVVLARIA.
CONSEQUENTIS SIGLOVVM.

Vaticanus Lat. 4929, saec. IX.
Leidensius Vossianus Lat. Q 83, saec. IX-X.
Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 1615, saec. X-XI.
Parisinus Lat. 8121 A, saec. XI-XII.
Bruxellensis Lat. 5328, saec. XII.
Hamburgensis Lat. 185 in Scrinio, saec. XVII (1660).
Vaticanus Reginensis Lat. 314, saec. XII, mutilus.
Ambrosianus Lat. H 14 inf., saec. XV (1430).
Vaticanus Ottobonianus Lat. 1549, saec. XVII.
Rem. Codex Remensis, saec. IX, igne absimptus anno 1774.
addenda.
corrumpa.
(The text is given according to the pages and lines of Ranstr.'s ed.)

PERSONAE.

Querolus. Filius Euclonis.
Lar Familiaris.
Mandrogerus. Parasitus et Magus Fictus.
Sycophanta. Adiutres Mandrogerontis.
Sardanapallus. Parasitus Mandrogerontis.
Pantomalus. Seruus Queroli.
Arbiter. Amicus et Vicinus Queroli.
Rutili uenerande semper magnis laudibus, qui das honoratatam qui
tietem, quam dicas us ludioris, inter proximos et propinquos honore
dignum putans, duplci, fateror, et ingenti me donas bono hoc testi-
monic, hoc collegio, haeo uera est dignitas.

Quaenam ergo his pro meritis digna referam praemia? Pecunia,
illa rerum ac sollicititudinem causa et caput, neque macum abundans
neque apud te pretiosa est. Paruas mihi litterulas non paruas indoluit
labor. Hino honos atque merces, hoc manabit praemium. Atque ut
operi nostro aliquid adderetur gratiae, sermo illo philosophico ex
tuo materiae sumpsimus. Meministine ridere tete solitum illos, qui
fata deplorant sua atque Academico more quod libitum forst destruerre
et assere te solitum? + Sed quantum hoc est? Hino ergo quid in
uero sit, qui solus nout, nouerit. + Nos fabellis atque mensis hunc
libellum scripsimus.

Materia haeo est: pater Queroli nostri fuit auarus Euilio. Hic
Euilio aurum in ornam conessit olim quasi busta patris odoribus
insuper infusis tituloque extra addito. Nauem ascendens ornam
domi fodit, rem nulli aperuit. Hic peregre moriens parasitum ibidem
cognitum filio coheredem instituit tacita scripturae fide si eadem
thesaurum oculitum sine fraude ostenderet. Locum tantummodo

inscriptio plauti aulularia incipit feliciter VL plauti comici
poeta prooemium (prooemium B) in aulularium fabulan inciptur PB
incipit querolus R om. H 3.2 et ante honore add. PB 3.3 putans
Earth, putas w hoo cett. hao H 3.4 hoo cett. hao H 3.6 ac cett.
hao H 3.7 te cett. me H non om. H 3.8 manebit RPHH manebat VL
3.9 sermone cett. sermo ne H 3.10 sumpsimus materiae L 3.12 sed...
noerit cruci. des. Rannstr. hoc est cett. licet H quid cett. quod R
3.14 libellum LH librum L2 cett. 3.15 materia haeo est VLRH
argumentum materia haeo est V3 explicuit (explicit B) prooemium
(prooemium B) materia inciptur PB 3.16 euilio om. H ornam w
urnam H2 conessit L2 cett. cogessit L 3.17 insuper cett. super R
titulo H2 cett. tituloque H nauem cett. nauem PB ornam w urnam H2
3.18 fodit cett. defodit PH infodit B 3.19 cognitum cett. cognito R
instituit cett. constituit R frde cett. fide cett. fidem P eadem w eide F2
thesauri senex ostendit. Oblitus doli parasitus nauem ascendit, ad

Querolum uenit et rupit fidem, magnum mathematicumque sese

fingens et quidquid mentiri fur potest. Ea quae a patrono didicerat

Queroli secretae et familiae quasi divinus loquitur.

Querolus fidem accommodat auxiliumque poscit. Parasitus magus

domum purificat et puram facit, sed ubi primum libero ornam

inspexit, uStere decipitur dolo. Bustum quod simulabatur credit

atque irrisum se putat. Inde, ut aliquatenus se ulcisceretur, ornam

Queroli in domum callide et occulte obrepens per fenestram pro-
pulit. Qua explosa et comminuta bustum in pretium uestitur. Itaque

thesaurus aurum contra rationem et fidem cum lateret perdidit cum peris-

set reddidit.

Postea re comperta parasitus resolvat et partem petit. Sed quia

quidquid abstulerit confitetur, quidquid rettulerit non ducet, primum

furti, post etiam sepulchri violati est reus. Exitus ergo hic est ille

dominus, ille parasitus denuo fato atque merito collocantur sic

ambo ad sua.

Tuo igitur illustri libellus iste dedicatur nomini. Viuas

incolumis atque felix uotis nostri et tuis.

Pacem quietemque a uobis, spectatores, noster sermo poeticus

rogat, qui Graecorum disciplinas et narrat barbaro et Latinorum

uetusta uestro recollit tempore. Praeterea precatur et sperat non inhu-

mana uoce ut, qui uobis laborem indusit, uestram referat gratiam.

4.1 doli oett. dolo R nauem oett. nauim PB ad P2 B2 oett. et P

et ad B 4.2 et om. L (add. L2) 4.3 a om. H (add. H2) 4.4 secreta

oett. seorata L 4.6 ornam oett. ornam H 4.7 dolo decipitur R

4.8 ornam w ornam H2 4.9 propulit V2 protulit w 4.10 in om. H

(add. H2) ueritur H2 oett. uestitus H thesaurus aurum H

thesaurum oett. 4.12 reddidit V2 oett. perdidit V 4.13 quia om. PB

rettulerit VUt retulerit FBH a re tulerit R non om. H (add. H2)

furti H2 oett. fasti H violati Dan. violator w om. B ergo om. R

4.16 atque om. VPB (add. V2) merito om. PB sic oett. suo PB


illustri Dan. illustris w nomini H2 oett. nomine H uius oett.

uigas H 4.19 nostris uotis H (corr. H2) 4.20 poseta ante pacem

add. R, prologus ante pacem add. H a H2 om. w uobis oett. uos PB

noster H2 H nostros oett. sermo om. H 4.22 uestro V2 oett.

nostono B om. V
Aululariam hodie sumus a o tu r i, non ueterem ao rudem, inuesti-
gatam et inuentam Plauti per uestgia. Fabella haec est: felicem hio
fato seruatum suo atque e contrario fraudulentum fraude deceptum
sua. Querolus, qui iam nunc ueniet, totam tenebit fabulam. Ipse est
ingratus ille noster, hio felix erit. E contrario Mandrogerus aderit
fraudulentus et miser. Lar Familiaris, qui primus ueniet, ipse expone
omnia. Materia uosmet reficiet, si fatigat lectio.

In ludis autem atque dictis antiquam nobis ueniam exposcimus.
Nemo sibimet arbitretur dica, quod nos populo dicimus neque
propriam sibimet causam constituat communi ex loco. Nemo aliquid
reocognoscat, nos mentimur omnia.

Querolus an Aulularia haec dicatur fabula, uestrura hino indi-
cium, uestra erit sententia. Prodire autem in agendum non audere-
mus cum olodo pede, nisi magnos praeclarosque in hae parte seque-
remur duces.

LAR FAMILIARIS.

Ego sum custos et cultor domus, cui fuero adscriptus. Aedes nunc
istas rego, e quibus modo sum agressus. Decreta fatorum ego tem-
pero, si quid boni est, ultro accerso, si quid grauus, mitigo. Queroli
nunc sortem administro huius ingrati, non mali. Hic exinde sibimet
sufficiens fuit, quod primum est bonum, nunc autem locuple-
tissimus erit. Sio merium est ipsius, nam quod pro meritis redden-
dum nobis non putatis, ipsi uosmet fallitis. Ordinem autem seriem-
que causas breuiter iam nunc eloquar.

L:

5.1 aucturi cett. actiri B ao y at Dan. 5.2 et inuentam PBH om. cett.
fabella cett. fabula PH 5.3 seruatum V2 cett. seruato V e H om.
cett. 5.4 ueniet w introduetur P2 introduetur ante nunc add. B
5.6 primus H2 cett. primum H ipse cett. ille R exponet cett.
exponat R 5.7 reficiet cett. reficiat H 5.10 loco H loco cett.
5.12 sed an ante querolus add. PB an y aut H2 aulularia H2 cett.
aulularian H 5.13 erit cett. est B 5.14 clodo cett. clode P
sequererum L2 cett. sequeromus L 5.15 duces om. B 5.17 aedes P2
cett. aedis P 5.19 ulro V2 H ultra cett. 5.20 sortem nunc L
(corr. L2) ingrati H non grati cett. hic cett. hinc PB
5.23 nobis V2 nobis y autem H2 cett. aut H seriemque cett. atque
seriem R 5.24 nunc iam H (corr. H2)

Querulus iste noster, siue nostis, omnibus est molestus, ipsi, si fas est, deo, homo ridicule iracundus itaque ridendus magis. Disse-rere cum istoc uolupae est et confutare uanam hominum scientiam.

nihil relictum comperit. Et quid ego nunc facio? Audolare subito
hinc non possum, nimium memet credidi. Oportune hamigerum hic
tritendem video, praesidium hercle non malum. Querolus si molestus
esse hodie non destiterit, faciam ut queratur iustius. Vnde esse hoc
dicam? Piscatores mane haec praeferisse uidi, ipsis forte hoc exedit. 7,5

QVROLVVS. LAR FAMILIARIS.
QVRE. O fortuna, O fors fortuna, O fatum soleratrum atque impium.
Si quis nunc mihi tote ostenderet, ego nunc tibi facerem et consti-
tuerem fatum inesuperabile.
LAR. Sperandum est hodie de tridente. Sed quid cesso interpellare
atque adloqui? Salve, Querole.
QVRE. Ecce iterum rem molestam, salve Querole. Istud cui bono,
tot hominibus hae atque illae aue dicere? Etiam si prodesset,
ingratum foret.
LAR. Misanthropus hercle hio uerus est; unum conspicit, turbas
putat.
QVRE. Quaeo amice, quid tibi rei mecum est? Debitum reposcis
an furem tenes?
LAR. Iracundus nimium es, Querole.
QVRE. Heia, ego officium sum aspernatus, adicit et conuicium.
LAR. Mane paulisper.
QVRE. Non uacat.
LAR. Sic necesse est, mane.

7,1 nuno om. PB hinc subito R 7,2 hinc R2 cett. hio R hamigerum
cess. armigerum B hio cett. hinc R 7,3 molestus L2 cett. moles L
7,4 queratur cett. quareratur B hoo esse PB (corr. P) 7,5 dicam
cett. dicamur B 7,6 et ante lar add. H lar familiaris om. RB
7,7 QVER om. RPBH impium R2 cett. pium R 7,8 tibi nuno R 7,10
quid R2 cett. quod R 7,12 molestum cett. molestem H 7,13 tot
hominibus om. L (corr. L2) 7,15 conspicit cett. conficit B
7,17 quaeo cett. quavo B rei L2 cett. re L debitum reposcis w
debitumne poscis L2 reposcis H2 cett. repositi H 7,20 heia cett.
heia L
QVER. Iam istud ad uim pertinet. Age dic quid uis. 8.1
LAR. Scin tu quam ob causam tridentem istum gestito?
QVER. Nescio, edepol, nisi quod primum propter importunas inuen-
tum esse hoc reor.
LAR. Iddiroo hunc gestito, ut si me attigeris, talos transfodiam tibi.8.5
QVER. Dixin huc fore? Nesci salutatio impune hic datur. Non mala
hercle est condicio. Naeque te contingo neque me tu contigeris.
Vale. Ite et conserite amicitias. Ecce affabilitas prima quid dedit?
LAR. Hanc, ego sum quem requisit quemque accusas, homuncio.
QVER. Ohe talos ego incolumes ferre hinc uolo. 8.10
LAR. Non tu paulo ante fatum accusabas tuum?
QVER. Accuso et persecuror.
LAR. Ades ergo huo, ego sum.
QVER. Tu fatum es meum?
LAR. Ego sum Lar Familiaris, fatum quod uos dicitis. 8.15
QVER. Te ego iamdudum quaero, nusquam hodie pedem.
LAR. Praemonueram de tridente, caue abstine.
QVER. Immo tu caue.
LAR. Ego iam prospexi.
QVER. Quidnam hoc est praestigium? 8.20
LAR. Apage sis, homo ineptissime, hic nullum est praestigium.
Dosi, nisi excipere mauis trina pariter uulnera.
QVER. Attat uero simile est esse hunc nescio quem de aliquibus
uel geniis uel mysteriis. Iste seminudas dealbatusque incedit, toto 8.24

8.1 dic quid oett. quioquid R 8.2 tridentem oett. tridentum H
istum oett. istud R gestito R2 oett. gestio R 8.5 ut om. PB
attigeris R2 oett. attingeris R 8.6 dixin V3 R2 oett. dixine V
dix in R hic impune L 8.7 me tu P2 oett. tu me BH me P
contigeris R2 oett. contingere R 8.8 ite om. B et om. H
affabilitas R2 oett. affabilitas R 8.10 che V3 D2 ce VLPBH hoe R
huc R2 8.11 fatum V2 oett. factum V 8.14 fatum V2 oett. factum V
8.15 quod H2 oett. quid H 8.16 iamdudum H2 oett. iam dico et H
quaero oett. quero R 8.17 abstine L H? abistino V3 abstine VRPH H?
abshino Dan. abi istino Canneg. 8.18 immo tu oett. immotum H est
huc P (corr. P2) 8.23 simile H similem oett. (-em in reg. in V3)
est H om. oett. 8.24 mysteriis oett. ministeriis R iste oett.
ita H incedit H2 oett. cedit H
splendet corpore. Euge Lar Familariis, processisti hodie pulchre. 9.1
Sed non totum intellego. Quod seminudus es recognosco, unde
dealbatus nescio. Ergo met iamudeum apud carbonarias agere te
putabam, tu de pistrinis uenis.
LAR. Hei etiam instud de meo, quod in malis tuis commode iocaris. 9.5
Audi nunc iam. Permoveat nosmet, Querole, tua quamuis inanis
querimonia. Idcirco itaque ueni, ut ratio tibi ex integro redderetur,
quod nemini antehao contigit.
QUER. Tibine rationem rerum humanarum licitum est nosse atque
exponere?
LAR. Et noui et dooce. Proinde quidquid exinde quereris, hodie
totum exprimito.
QUER. Dies deficiet ante.
LAR. Breurer percurre pauca, de quibus nunc tibi exponantur
omnia. 9.15
QUER. Vnum solum est unde responderi mihi uolo. Quare injustis
bene est et iustis male?
LAR. Primum, ut apud uosmet fieri uideo, de persona est quaestio.
Quinam tu uerba promis, tibine an populo?
QUER. Et populo et mihi. 9.20
LAR. Cum tu ipse sis reus, quemadmodum satis tibi aliisque multis
defensorum te paras?
QUER. Ego noui me reum non esse.
LAR. Ergo posthao assertio conticescet, si persona exploditur. Inter
bonos an inter malos tete numeras?
QUER. Etiam quaeritas quid mihi met ipse uidear, cum de sceldestis
conquerar?

9.2 recognoscoccett. recogno P 9.3 te agere R 9.6 iam nunc B
9.8 antehao L2 R2 cett. annum hao R 9.11 quidquid R2 cett.
quiquid R quæreris cett. quaereris P 9.14 tibi nunc L (corr. L2)
9.16 unde cett. de quo R responderi R2 cett. respondere RFB (-i
in ras. in V3) 9.18 usos met cett. uos B 9.19 uerba tu R 9.21 tu
ipse sis Flor. Ang. V* tu tibi ipse sis y tu tibi sis ipse Flor.
Galli e* tu tibi sis ipse sis Flor. Gall. ma* tu satis ipse sis Koen
satis tibi aliisque 0 tibi satis aliisque Gag. sat tibi aliisque
Canneg. satis tibi et aliis Flor. Ang.* satis aliisque VRH L2

*Flor.Anc.V Vaticanus Lat. 3037, saec. XIII.
*Flor.Gal.e Escorialensis Lat. Q 1 14, saec. XIII-XIV.
*Flor.Gal.p Parisinus Lat. 7647, saec. XII-XIII.
*Flor.Gal.n Parisinus Lat. 17903, saec. XII-XIII.
*Flor.Gal.a Atrebatensis Lat. 64, saec. XIII-XIV.
*Flor.Anc.x Altissiodurenensis Lat. 234, saec. XIV.
*St.Vict. Codex St. Victoris, in editione Danielis, nunc perditus.
LAR. Si probo de illis tete esse quos accusas, hoc est de malis, pro 10.1 quibus posthac loquere?

QVER. Si criminiosum me esse conuiceris, necesse est meritis ut meis sonsum accommodem.

LAR. Celeriter nuno mihi responde, Querole. Quanta iam putas fecisse te capitalia?

QVER. Equidem nullum, quod sciam.

LAR. Nullumne? Ergo exoiderunt omnia?

QVER. Immo omnia paene retineo, sed scalus nullum scio.

LAR. Eho Querole, furtum numquam admisisti?

QVER. Numquam ex quo destiti.

LAR. Hahaha, hoo est numquam admisisse?

QVER. Quod uerum est non nego. Adulescens quaedam feci fateor, laudari quae solent.

LAR. Cur igitur destitisti de scelere tam laudabili? Transeamus istud. Quid de falso dicimus?

QVER. Hem quis autem uerum dicit? Istud commune est, abi.

LAR. Idcirco crimen non est? Quid de adulterio?

QVER. Attat etiam hoo crimen non est.

LAR. Quando autem licitum esse coepit?

QVER. Men rogas, quasi tu nescias? Hoo est quod neco permitti nec prohiberi potest.

LAR. Quid ad haec, Querole? Videsme te contra licitum uiuere?

QVER. Si tu me ad haeo reuocas, nemo est innovens.

LAR. Et tamen non de omnibus tete interrogaui, si reminisceris.

QVER. Nihil est amplius.

LAR. Nulli igitur mortem optasti?

QVER. Nemini.

LAR. Quid si conuince?

QVER. Nihil est quod respondeam.

LAR. Dio mihi, si soeceros numquam habuisti.

QVER. Ecce iterum generalia.

LAR. Ergo omnia de omnibus confiteris?

QVER. Quando sic interroga.

LAR. Quando haec tibi leuia uidentur, nescio quid sit quod crimen putes. Dio mihi præterea, quotiens peieraueris. Expone celeriter.

QVER. Bona hora hoc exaudiat. Istud a me semper alienum fuit.

LAR. Quanto amplius quam milies peieraueris, hoc requiro, saltem hoc dico.

QVER. Che illa tu nunc requiris cotidiana et iocularia.

LAR. Non facile intellego, periturium ioculare quid putas. Tamcn transeamus quod, ut uideo, connuætudo iam fecit leue. Quid igitur?

Sociens prudensque sacramentorum nunquam rupisti fidem? Vt alia retioeam, nunquam iurastis amare te quem iuratus oderas?

QVER. Heu me miserum. Quid ego hodie malum cum istoc reperii.

Iurastis saepe fateor, quod constaret uerbis, non staret fide.

LAR. Vrbane igitur peierasti, fieri hoc solet. Quanto mallem ut sermo laberetur et staret fides. Tune Querole, uerbis te absolutum esse credis? Peierat saepe qui tacet, tantum est enim tacere uerum quantum et falsum dicere.

QVER. Omnia igitur peregisti, totum commerui. Vale.

LAR. Immo nihil est actum, Querole, nisi sequantur haec duo:

11.5,6 QVER ecce iterum generalia LAR ergo omnia de omnibus confiteris om. R (add. 10.10) generalia cett. generale LR:


11.22 esse OM. L (corr. L2) peierat V3 cett. periera VH 11.23 et w est Don. 11.24 peregisti w pereg R2
primum contra meritum tuum miserum te non esse ut comprobem; 12.1
secundo etiam felicem tete esse iam nunc ipse intellegas.

QVER. Ergone egomet acrumnosus non sum?

LAR. Es fateor, sed uitio tuo. Atque ut in omnibus reuincare, expone breuiter, de quibus quereris maxime. 12.5

QVER. Primum tibi, geniorum optime, conqueror de amicis.

LAR. Spes bona, quid de inimicis iste faciet? In quo tamen amici-
tiarum te laesit fides?

QVER. Nemo mihi magis molestus quam familiaris neque magis morigerus quam leuiter cognitus. 12.10

LAR. Quidnam hoo mirum est, si te qui nouit despicit, qui non nouit diligent?

QVER. Agimus tibi gratias, Lar Familiaris, tu nos ornas in omnibus.

LAR. Iam intellego quid querere. Visme breuibus remedium hinc dari?

QVER. Valde cupio.

LAR. In amicitiam et fidem stultum ne receperis. Nam insipientum atque improborum fcioilus sustinetur odium quam collegium.

QVER. Quid si sapiens non erit?

LAR. Stultos ingenio rege. 12.20

QVER. Quomodo?

LAR. Vis te non decipi?

QVER. Cupio.


QVER. Maxime.

LAR. Inter miseros uiiito. 12.27
QVER. Prope uera loqueris.

LAR. Visno te non decipi, maxime a tuis?

QVER. Vellem, si fieri potest.

LAR. Dicam quod dictum est prius, nomini te, Querole, nimis sodalem feceris. Res ninium singularis est homo, ferre non patiens parem. Minores despicitis, maioribus inuidetis, ab aequalibus dissentitis.

<QVER> Dic quaeasq, quid placeat.

<LAR> Ergo secondum uitia et mores quid sit tenendum, discito.

Comparas comessationes uinum turbas respue. Quem tu maxime tibimet obligare uolueris, tanto leuius nectito. Conuentus uero et debacchatones et loca friuola non quaero, ut amorem pariant; utinam nihil odiorum darent.

QVER. Quid quod plures huiusmodi societate optime utuntur?

LAR. Noui omnia. Illos mihi tu narras, qui totum occultant. Nimi-

um uel prudentes uel felices sunt quos requiris. Hoc ad Querolum non faiit.

QVER. Est aliuud, quod accusem. Pauper ego sum quidem, sicut tu uel nosti uel facis, sed hoc mecum tolerabile est. Illud prorsus non fero, quod tenuitati nemo ignoscit neque cuiquam< sufficit >

ut aliquem dicat pauperem.

<QVER> Quid prasterea?

uertuntur omnia. Nemo ad facultates, nemo ad oemum
respicit. Semper diues diligens, contra pauper neglegens.
LAR. Censoribus haec reserue, Querole. Nunc autem illud dicito
quod specialiter te inquietat et gravaut, nam ista quae protulisti,
communia sunt et antiqua paupertatis crimina. Tamen tu neque
diues neque pauper es. Hoc si agnosceres, felix eras.
QVER. Scisne me nuper patrem amisisse?
LAR. Servaei praecoerum. Speciale hoo plane est, hoc est, quod
nemini antehac contigit. Quid igitur? Nonne iustum hoo fuit,
patrem ut efferret filius?
QVER. Pateor, sed pater ipse nihil reliquit.
LAR. Dura deploration. Exequias inanes tibi contigisse luges? Irasc-
ceris ergo, non doles. Patri certe nihil defuit, tibique hodie nihil
defit. Non enim hoo parua hereditas. Successem? Senio saltem
extremo sibinet uixit, qui semper tibi. Vtinam tu heredibus tan-
tum relinquas quantum reliquit Eclocio. Dio ergo aliud, iam istino
nihil audio.
QVER. Servus mihi est quem tolerare nequeo, Pantomalus et mente
et nomine.
LAR. Felicem te Querole, si unus tibi est Pantomalus, multi Panto-
malos habent.
QVER. Sed plures audio qui suos etiam laudant.
LAR. Istit peiores habent.
QVER. Cur igitur laudant?
LAR. Quia quid deperdant nesciunt.
QVER. Tempestas maxime fructus meos abstulit, numquid com-
mune hoo fuit?
LAR. Non uno generne homines pumniuntur, tibi tempestas obfuit,

14.1 non ante ad (primun) add. Dan., ante ad (alterum) Ranstr.
14.2 non ante respicit add. Nav. contra om. B contra pauper
esse H 14.8 speciale cett. specialem H 14.9 antehac nemini R
contigit B2 cett. contigit B QVER ante nonne add. R hoo iustum L
14.10 patrem H bustum cett. 14.11 QVER cett. LAR R QVER ante sed
add. R 14.14 defit w desit B2 successem cett. successemne LH
14.15 et ante uixit add. R (corr. R2) uixit H2 cett. uiuat H
14.20 felicem PEBH facilém VLR est cett. es L 14.25 depertant VLR
alter alius pertulit.

QVER. Che consortes mei iamdudum nihil incompodi pertulerunt.

LAR. Fallis turpiter.

QVER. Da quaeso ueniam, ignorabam peculiarem tibi curam esse

hanc de consortibus meis. Adhuc habeo quod obiciam. Vicinus

mihi malus est.

LAR. Eoce rem uere malam. Tamen Querole, de uno isto quantum

etiam hico praestiterim, uide. Vicinus malum pateris unum tantum,

quid faciunt illi, qui plures habent?

QVER. Conserua istum, quaeso, Lar Familianin, ex uoto meo tuere,

quam praestitisti, ne forte nascentur duo.

LAR. Quid si etiam hinc uincimus? Dico quaeso nunc mihi, quem

tu putas felicioirem, tete an istum, de quo quereris?

QVER. Quidnam hic simile est? Aut nunquid dubitari potest,

felicioirem eum esse, qui alterum queri compellit, quam ille qui ad

querelam confugit?

LAR. Hem Querole, uis iam nunc facimus ut infelicioirem esse

hunc soias?

QVER. Valde cupio.

LAR. Sed hoo egomet tibi tantum indicabo. Paululum aurem accom-

moda.

QVER. Cur non aperte loqueris? Nunquidnam etiam tu times?

LAR. Quidni timeam, qui tecum uiuo? Aurem accommoda.

QVER. Age dico. Hahahae, habeat teneat possideat sequet+

cum suis. Laute edepol nos accipis, doctor.

<LAR> Nonne?
<QVER> Certe iam nihil conqueror.

LAR. Quid istuc, Querole? Paululum tibi ita uidetur, rursum ad
ingenium redis. Sed quoniam miserum te non doces, superest ut
feliciem comprobem. Die quaeus, Querole, sanus es?

QVER. Ita arbitror.

LAR. Quanti hoo aestimas?

QVER. Hoc etiam imputas?

LAR. O Querole, sanus es et feliciem te negas? Vide, ne postmodum
feliciem te fuisse scias.

QVER. Iam superius dixeram, bene mecum agitur, sed iuxta alios
male.

LAR. Certe apud te bene.

QVER. Pateor.

LAR. Quid quaeris amplius?

QVER. Quare alii melius?

LAR. Iam istud ad inuidiam pertinet.

QVER. Sed recte inuideo, nam sum deterior inferioribus.

LAR. Quid si feliciorem tete edoceo quam sunt isti, de quibus
dicturus es?

QVER. Tum igitur facies posthao Querolus nullum permittat queri.

LAR. Vt negotium sit breuiss et lucidius, argumenta remoueo. Tu
fortunam dico, cuius tibi condicio placeat, sortem autem quam
ipse volueris iam nunc dabo. Tantum illud memento: ne putes
posse te aliquid deplorare atque excipere, unde aliquid legeris.

QVER. Placet optio. Da mihi diuitias atque honores militares uel
mediocriter.

LAR. Istud tibi praestare ualeo. Verum illud uide, si tu ualeas im-
plere quod petis.

QVER. Quid?

16.1 QVER add. Par. 16.2 istuc cett. istud B 16.3 te miserum B
16.4 comprobem R2 cett. comprobes R 16.6 hoo om. R (corr. R2)
aliis V3 R 16.17 inferior deterioribus Grut. (infor in ras. ante
deterior in P) inferioribus L2 cett. inferioriabus L 16.20 tum
cett. tu B queri cett. quaeri R 16.22 autem R2 cett. aut BH autem
quam cett. antequam R 16.24 legeris u elegeris P2 B2 16.25 placet
V2 R2 H placet cett.
LAR. Potes bellum gerere, ferrum excipere, aciem rumpere?

QUER. Istud nunquam potui.

LAR. Cede igitur praemia atque honoribus his, qui possunt omnis.

QUER. Saltem aliquid nobis tribue in parte hac ciuili et miserabili.

LAR. Vis ergo omnia et exigere et exsoluere?

QUER. Attat hoo excitid. Iam neutrum uolo. Si quid igitur potes,

Lar Familiaris, facito ut sim priuatus et potens.

LAR. Potentiam cuismodi requiris?

QUER. Vt licet mihi spoliare non debentes, caedere alienos, uicinos

autem et spoliare et caedere.

LAR. Hahahe, latrocinium, non potentiam requiris. Hoc modo

nescio edepol, quemadmodum praestari hoc possit tibi. Tamen

inueni, habes quod exoptas. Vade, atque ad Ligerem uiuito.

QUER. Quid tum?

LAR. Illio iure gentium uiuunt homines, ibi nullum est praestigium, ibi sententiae capitales de robore proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus, illio etiam rustici perorant et priuati iudicant, ibi totum

licet. Si diues fueris, patus appellaberis, sic nostra loquitur

Graecia. 0 siluas, 0 solidudines, quis uos dixit liberas? Multo

maiora sunt quae tacemus. Tamen interea hoc sufficit.

QUER. Neque diues ego sum neque robor uti cupio. Nolo iura

haec siluestria.

LAR. Pete igitur aliquid mitius honestiusque, si iurgare non potes.

QUER. Da mihi honorem, qualen obtinet togatus ille nec bonus.

LAR. Et tu togatos inter felices numeras?

QUER. Maxime.
pachus (παχός) Haase pachys (παχός) Hev. appellaberis V3 LB
appellaueris VRF appellauere H Rem. 17.19 siluæ VL silue RPDFH
Rem. quis cett. quid R uos om. R dixit R2 cett. dixit R
17.21 cuis H2 cett. debere H 17.23 potes cett. potest R 17.24 nec
bonus H om. cett. 17.25 LAR et tu togatos inter felices H om. cett.
numeræ H numeræ R muneras cett. 17.26 QVR H quem cett. (muneras
quem maxime VLR quem maxime muneras PR)
LAR. Rem prorsus facilem nunc petisti. Istud etiam si non possumus, possumus. Visme praestari hoc tibi? 18.1

QUER. Hihil est quod plus uelim.

LAR. Ut maxima quaeque taceam, sume igitur tegmina hieme trunca et aestate duplicia, sume lanceos cothurnos, semper refluos carceres, quos pluua soluat, puluis compleat, caenam et sudor glutinet, sume calcceos humili fluxos tegmine, quos terra reuocet, foedet limus conolor. Aestum uestitis genibus, brumam nudis oruribus, in soccis hieines, cancros in tubulis age, patere inordinatos labores, occursus antelucanos, iudios conuiuim primum postmeridianum aut aestuorum aut algidum aut insanum aut serium. Vende uocem, vende linguam, iras atque odium loca. In summa pauper esto et reporta penatibus pecuniarum aliqüid, sed plus criminum. Mura etiam nunc dicerem, nisi quod efferre istos melius est quam laedere. 18.15

QUER. Neque istud uolo. Da mihi diuitias, quales consequuntur illi qui chartas agent.

LAR. Sume igitur uigilias et labores illorum, quibus inuides. Aurum in iuuenta, patriam in senecta quaere, tiro agelli, ueteranus fori, ratiocinatore eruditus, possessor rudis, incognitae familiaris, uicinis: 18.20 nouus, ommem aetatem exsus agito, funus ut lautum pares; heredes autem deus ordinabit. Istis nolo inuideas, Querole. Saepe condita luporum fiunt rapinae uulpium. 18.23
QVER. Heia nec chartas uolo. Tribue saltem nunc mihi peregrini illius et transmarini mercatoris sacculum.

LAR. Age igitur, conscende maria, te tuosque pariter undis et uentis credito.

QVER. Istud egomet numquam uolui. Da mihi saltem uel capsas Titi.

LAR. Sume igitur et podagram Titi.

QVER. Minime.

LAR. Neque tu capsas continges Titi.

QVER. Neque istud uolo. Da mihi psaltrias et concubinulas, quales habet avarus ille fenerator aduena.

LAR. Habes nunc plane tota mente quod rogas. Suscipe quod exoptas toto cum chorco. Sume Paphien Cytheren Briseiden, sed cum pondere Nestoris.

QVER. Hahahe, quamobrem?

LAR. Habet hoo ille, cuius tu sortem petisti. Eho Querole, numquam audisti nemo gratis bellus est? Aut haec cum his habenda sunt aut haec cum his amittenda sunt.

QVER. Adhuc inuenio quod requiram. Da mihi saltem impudentiam.

LAR. Vrbane edepol tu nunc omnia quae negaueram, concupiscis. Si toto uis uti foro, esto impudens, sed sapientiae iactura facienda est nunc tibi.

QVER. Quamobrem?

LAR. Quia saipens nemo est impudens.

QUER. At abi, Lar Familiaris, cum tua disputatione. 20.1
LAR. At abi, Querole, cum tua querimonia.
QUER. Numquamne mutabit calamitas?
LAR. Non quandiu tu uixeris.
QUER. Felices ergo non sunt?
LAR. Sunt aliqui, sed non illi, quos tu putas.
QUER. Quomodo? Si ostendero iam nunc tibi aliquem et sanum et diutius, feliciem hunc negabis?
LAR. Diutius potes nosse. Sanum esse quid putas?
QUER. Corpore bene usalere.
LAR. Quid si aegrotat animo?
QUER. Istud egomet nescio.
LAR. O Querole, imbicilla tantum ubis corpora uidentur, quantum animus est infirmior. Spes timor cupiditas avaritia desperatio non esse feliciem sinunt. Quid si nescio quis ille alius in corde, 20.15 alius est in uultu? Quid si laetus publice, maeret domi? Vt maiora reticeam, quid si uxorem non amat? Quid si uxorem nimis amat?
QUER. Si nemo felix, nemoigitur iustus.
LAR. Etiam hinc respondeo. Sunt aliqui fateor, iusti prope, sed prima est horum calamitas. Estne aliquid, quod requiras?
QUER. Immo edepol, nihil. Meam mihi concede sortem, quando nihil melius repperi.
LAR. Igitur, quamquam feliciem esse te constiterit, tamen etiam nunc beatiorem te futurum ut agnoscas uolo. Aurum hodie multum consequere.
QUER. Ludis nos, fieri hoo non potest.
LAR. Quam ob causam?
QUER. Quia non est uiia.
LAR. Sane difficile est nobis facere atque iuenire quod tu non

20.1 at oett. ast PB at abi oett. ut tibi H ue tibi H2 disputatione oett. disputatione L 20.2 at w aut B2 at abi oett. ut tibi H ue tibi H2 20.3 numquamme H2 oett. numquam te H mutabit VR mutabitur V3 R2 mutabis LPBH 0 ante calamitas add. PB 20.4 LAR R2 oett. QUER R non V3 om. oett. 20.9 esse om. L (corr. L2) 20.14 timor L2 oett. trimor L 20.15 non esse feliciem P2 B2 inesse feliciem LPBH esse
intellegis.

QV ER. Dic quaeo, numquid rex aliquid largietur?

LAR. Nihil.

QV ER. Numquid amious donabit aliquid?

LAR. Nihil.

QV ER. Numquid ex transverso quispwm me heredem instituet?

LAR. Nihil minus.

QV ER. Numquid thesaurus alicubi defossus apparebit ante oculos meos?

LAR. Atqui si thesaurus domi tuae lateret, prius alteri esset ostendendus quam tibi.

QV ER. Et quemadmodum sum habiturus egomet quod mihi nullus dabit?

LAR. Vade iam nuno et quidquid contra te est facito.

QV ER. Cur ita?

LAR. Sio expedit. Fallenti credito et circumuenienti operam atque assensus accommoda. Fures si ad te uenerint, excope libenter, praedones etiam similiter.

QV ER. Tum, si alquis meis aedibus facem subiciet, iuberes me oleum infundere?

LAR. Noueram te crediturum non esse.

QV ER. Fures mihi ao praedones, cui bono?

LAR. Vt si quid tibi spei aut praesidii est, totum suerant.

QV ER. Cur ita?

LAR. Vt sis diues.

QV ER. Quomodo?

LAR. Bona si perdideris tua.

QV ER. Quamobrem?

LAR. Vt sis felix.

QV ER. Quomodo?

LAR. Si fueris miser.

QV ER. Istud plane est quod saepe audiui, obscuris uera inuocuere. Sed quid facere me iubes?

21.1 intelligis cett. intellegas 21.6 numquid cett. numquidnam H
LAR. Quod contra te putas.

QVER. Dico ergo quid sit, ne fortasse aliquid pro me faciam nescius.

LAR. Quidquid egeris gesserisue hodie, pro te fiet.

QVER. Quid si egomet nolo?

LAR. Velis nolis, hodie bona fortuna aedes intrabit tuas.

QVER. Quid si aedes obsero?

LAR. Per fenestram defluet.

QVER. Quid si et fenestras clausero?

LAR. O stulte homo, prius est ut tecta pateant ipsaque sese tellus aperiat quam ut tu excludas uel submoues quod mutari non potest.

QVER. Igitur quantum intellego, non mihi praestetur quod, uelim nolim, faciundum est.

LAR. Neque ego id expectabam ut gratias ageres, sed ut Querolum te constaret in omnibus.

QVER. Tu nunc quo tendis?

LAR. In aedes tuas, immo nostras, me recipio. Inde ibo qualibet, ita tamen usquequaque peruagabor, ut te numquam deseram.

QVER. Incertus ego sum factus magis hodie quam semper fui.

QVfïïl. Quid si aedes obsoro?

LAR. Per fenestram de fluet.

QVER. Quid si fenestras clau sero?

LAR. O stulte homo, prius est ut tecta pateant ipsaque sese tellus aperiat quam ut tu excludas uel submoues quod mutari non potest.

QVER. Igitur quantum intellego, non mihi praestetur quod, uelim nolim, faciundum est.

LAR. Neque ego id expectabam ut gratias ageres, sed ut Querolum te constaret in omnibus.

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LAR. Neque ego id expectabam ut gratias ageres, sed ut Querolum te constaret in omnibus.

QVER. Tu nunc quo tendis?
requiram, ubi inuestigem nescio. Vbinam illa est cohors fuligini-
osa vulcanosa at, quae de die sub terras habitant, nocte in tectis
ambulant? Vbi illi sunt, qui urbane fibulas subducunt, quique cur-
tant baleos? Misi fallor, unum ex ipsis uideo. Atque ecce rem gerit.

Hem, tibi olamo, impostor. Ohe cessa, euge, seruata est fibula. 23.5
Attat spes mihi nulla est, mandato excidi. Interdictum fuerat, ne
obuiarem furibus, uerum ne excluderem, hercle hoc stultum est;
nihil prorsus hino placet. Atque edepol, nisi fallor, ipse qui apud
me est locutus, urbanus est homo. Munquadnam meritum nuno
meum, ut mihi potissimum res diuina ostenderetur? Hio nescio
quid est praestigii. Vereor hercle, ne furtum quod denuntiabat,
iam perfecerit. Ego me hac intus refero, atque hominem si
repperero, continuo producem foras.

MANDROGERVS, SYCOPHANTA, SARDANAPALLVS.
MAND. Multum sese aliqui laudant, qui uel pugnaes feras uel
fugaeas bestias aut uuestigiiis insequuntur aut oubitibus deprehend-
dunt aut cau opprimunt. Quanto mihi maius est ingenium et
lucrum, qui homines uenor publics. Sed quos homines. Diiuites
et potentes et litteratos maxime. Mandrogerus ego sum parasit-
torum omnium longe praestantissimus. Aula quaedam hic iacet,

23.1 inuestigem cett. uestigem R cohors cett. quohors R quohors
R2 23.2 vulcanosa cett. uulganosa H de om. PB 23.3 subducunt R2
cett. subdicunt R 23.5 ohe V3 o+e (sio) R ce VLPBH 23.7 uerum
cett. uirum H ne om. H 23.8 nisi cett. ni B 23.9 numquodnam VL
numquidnam RPB num quoniam H nuno R2 cett. hunc R hoo ante mihi
add. H (corr. H2) 23.11 furtum H2 cett. fustum H 23.14 sycophanta
om. R sardanapallus om. R sardanapallus VLR sardanballus PB
sardinapallus H 23.15 MAND om. R multum sese aliqui om. R (multum
aliqui sese add. R2) aliqui cett. aliquid P uel (primum) om. L
(corr. L2) pugnaes w fugaes V3 (in ras.) 23.16 fugaes w
pugnaes V3 (in ras.) depreshendunt cett. deprahendant B
23.17 opprimunt P2 cett. deprahendunt P maius mihi B ingenium
ckett. inienium R 23.18 qui cett. quod B 23.19 litteratos cett.
ditteranos R ueteranos R2 23.20 longe om. B aula H2 cett. aulas H
Mlius odorem mihi trans maria uentus detulit. Cedant iuris
conditoree, cedant omnia coqorum ingenia, cedant Apici fercula.
Huius ollae conditum solus soiuit Euilio. Quid miramini? Aurum
est quod sequor, hoo est quod ultra maria et terras olet. Quid ad
haec uos dicitis, nouelli atque incipientes nunc mei? Quando haec
discere potestis, quando sic intellegetis, quando sic docebitis?
SYCOPH. Atqui si soias, Mandrogerus noster, quale egomet
somnium nocte hae uidi.
MAND. Dio obsecro, si quiit est boni.
SYCOPH. Nocte hac uidebam thesaurum, quem sperabamus nobis
uensisse in manus.
MAND. Quid tum?
SYCOPH. Videbam ex parte solidos.
MAND. Ah istud non placet.
SYCOPH. Erant praeterea uncini hamati, torques et catenulae.
MAND. Dio quaeso, aliqua insuper non somniasti uincula et
uerbera?
SARD. Infaustum heroile hominem. Solum hio non uidit carcerem.
Ohe homo prodigiosse, ego te iam nunc explodo cum uerbis tuis.
Nocte ista ego in somnis funus uidebam.
MAND. Dii te servent hio bene.
SARD. Et nos ipsi funus illud nescio quo ferebamus.
MAND. Optime.
SARD. Insuper etiam deflebamus defunctum illum, quasi alienum
tamen.
MAND. Audin tu istaeo, stulte homo? Talia egomet iam
manifesta malo quam tua somnia. Funus ad laetiam spectat,
laorimae ad risum pertinent et mortuum nos ferebamus, mani-
festum est gaudium. Ego autem meum uobis narrabo somnium
prorsus manifestissimum. Dicebat nescio quis somnianti nocte
hac mihi thesaurum istum quem requirim mihi seruri manifesta fide nec
cuquam alteri concessum
esse aurum illum inuenire nisi mihi. Sed insuper adiecit, ex istis 25.5
opibus hoc tantummodo mihi profuturum, quod consumeisset

gula.
SYCOPIL Optime edepol somniasti. Quid autem aliud quae-rimus,
nisi tantum quod sufficiat uentri et gulae?
SARD. Pulchre edepol somniasti. Felicem te, Mandrogerus, nosque 25.10
qui tecum sumus.
MAND. Sed heus tu, Syco phanta noster, nisi me fallit traditio, iam
peruenimus.
SARD. Ipsa est platea quam requiris.
SYCOPIL Recurre ad indiculum cito.
MAND. Sacellum in parte, argentaria ex diuereco.
SYCOPIL Vtrumque sic est.
MAND. Ventum est.
SARD. Quid praeteres?
MAND. Domus excelsa.
SYCOPIL. Apparet.
MAND. Ilignis foribus.
SARD. Ipsa est.
MAND. Attat quam humiles hio fenestras uideo. Hage hio frustra
olauduntur fores. Tum praeterea inermes quantum inter sese
distant regulae. Secura hercle regio hio mihi, et fores nil nocent.
Sed interius mihi aurum olet. Alia temptandum est uia. Heia nuno
Syco phanta noster tuque Sardanapalle, si quid uobis ingenii
comitatis et uirtutis, nunc totum ostendite. Ego tamquam Cynicus
magister inuenta et inclusa trado gaudia. Retia usum met obtidete,
dum percurro cubilia. Iam omnia tenes animo, quae iamdudum
diximus quaque exinde meditamur nocte ac die?
SYCOPH. De atrio portious in dextra, sacrarium ad sinistra.
MAND. Recte rationem tenes.
SARD. In sacrario tria sigilla.
MAND. Conuenit.
SYCOPH. Arula in medio.
MAND. Sio sunt omnia.
SARD. Aurum ante aram.
MAND. Hoc iam nostrum est. Quid, ipsius Queroli indicia iam
tenetis?
SYCOPH. Melius hercle quam tua. Tu uide, an diuinare possis,
nos mentiri nouimus.
MAND. Ego istuo in parte haec deambulatum ibo, illino observabo
omnia atque, ubi res uel ratio postularit, continuo hic adero.
SYCOPH. Nos quoque paululum istae secedamus, ne suspicione
improbitas paret.

SVEROLVS. SARDANAPALLVS. SYCOPHANTA.
SVER. Noster ille qui mecum est locutus, nusquam apparuit neque
aliquid surripuit intus. Iste plane homo non fuit.
SARD. Hem ipse est. Vellem hercle audire hunc hominem, quem
uidi modo. Ego magos mathematicosequ noui, talem prorsus

26.1 comitatis H2 cett. comitates H 26.3 percurro cett. percurro L
cubilia cett. cubila L 26.5 dextra sacrarium ad sinistra H om.
cett. 26.6 MAND V3 H om. cett. recte cett. re clare B 26.12 iam
(primum) cett. etiam R 26.14 tua cett. tuae PB 26.17 adero P2
improbatis H 26.20 sardanapallis sycopanta Renstr. sycopanta
sardanapallis codd. om. R sardanapallis VL H2 sardinapallis P
om. R 26.24 uidi modo cett. uidimus PB noui cett. uidi R
nescio. Hoc est divinare, non qualiter facere quidam
risores solent.
QVER. Hæc quemnam diuinum isti esse dicunt?
SARD. Sed hoc nouum est quod uidi modo. Vbi te aspexerit
primum tuo te uocat nomine, dein parentes, servos atque omnem
familiam exponet; quasi nouerit, quid tota gesseris aestate quidue
postea sis acturus, totum edisserit.
QVER. Bellus hercule hic nescio qui est. Non praeterieunda est
fabula.
SARD. Quæso sodés, adgrediamur hominem illum ratione qualibet.
SYCOPH. Et ego hercule uellem, uerum ut nosti, non uacat.
SARD. O me stultum atque ineptum qui non consului statim.
QVER. Cur non omnia agnosco? Salute, amici.
SYCOPH. Salus esto, qui saluos esse nos iubes.
QVER. Quid uos? Secretumne aliquod?
SARD. Secretum a populo, non secretum a sapientibus.
QVER. De mago nescio quid audierit.
SARD. Ita est, de nescio quo nuno sermo erat, qui omnia duinat.
Verum quistan ille homo sit nescio.
QVER. Estne tali quis aliquid?
SARD. Maxime. Ergo, Sycophantu, ut dixeram, per te tuosque, mi
sodes, te rogo ut illæ uenias mecum una simul.
SYCOPH. Iamduänum dixi, ultro et libenter irem, si uacuum nuno
esse mihi.

27.1 hominem post diuinare add. w del. Klink. 27.4 uidi modo oett.
uidimus FB 27.5 te tuo B servos oett. tuos B 27.6 gesseris oett.
gesserit L 27.8 qui L2 R2 oett. quis L8 quid H praeteronda L2
oett. preterendae L est (alterum) L2 oett. es FB sit L 27.10 SARD
Klink. SYCOPH w sodes oett. sollers B 27.11 et 12 permuitat
Thomas 27.12 uerum oett. uirum VH consulere post uirum add. V3
uacat R2 oett. uauat R 27.11 ineptum oett. inertum B consului
oett. consului B 27.14 esse om. R (corr. R2) nos oett. non P
27.15 aliquod R2 oett. aliquid FB 27.17 quid uos H2 oett. qui
duos H 27.19 quistan L2 oett. quidanum L homo om. B 27.20 talis H2
oett. talis H 27.21 tuosque oett. uosque H 27.22 sodas oett.
sides R sodales B illæo P2 oett. illæ P uenias uenias (eio) V3 L
27.23 nuno om. L (corr. L2)
SARD. Mane paulisper.

QVER. Quaesum amice, ne te surripias tam cito, egomet quoque soire cupio quismam iste est, de quo sermo nunc erat.

SYCOPH. Edespol nescio quid aliud mihi est negotii. Cognati atque amici iamdudum me expectant domi.


QVER. Quaesum amice, si mea non est odiosa societas, consulere uobiscum uolo.

SARD. Vereor heroile, ne difficilem se nobis faciat, si plures uident. 28.10

SYCOPH. Optime edespol. Ecce sodes, comitem quaerebas, habes.

Mihi molestus ne sies.

QVER. Quaesum amice, si huius ita uidentur, abeat. Nos illac una simul.

SARD. Atque isto nobis est opus, quoniam hominem illum uident et nouit bene.

QVER. Iustum est ut nobis hodie operam impendas, quoniam sic ratio expostulat.

SYCOPH. Immo heroile iste illum nouit melius atque ille hunc familiariter.

QVER. Sed quaesum nunc uestram fidem, quismam hic homo est uel cuius loci?

SYCOPH. Quantum commerti, Mandrogerus uocatur, hoc scio.

QVER. Attat pulchorum heroile nomen. Iam huc de magis existimo.

SYCOPH. Primum praeterita edicit; si omnia cognoscis, tum de futuris disserit.

QVER. Magnum heroile hominem tu narras. Et consuli hunc non plaacet?

SYCOPH. Volo equidem, sed paulisper non uacat.
23.23 scio cett. nescio R 23.24 hercle om. PB 23.25 cognoscis u
recognoscis P2 23.26 disserit B2 cett. disseris B 23.27 magnum
cett. magum L tu hominem R consuli cett. consulere H 23.29 non
uacat cett. mane R
QVER. Age da operam amicis, nobis quoque similiter impera, si quid uoles.

SYCOPH. Habeo gratiam; quoniam istud uultis, fiat. Sed audite quid loquor, huiusmodi homines impostores esse.

QVER. Hem sodis, ipsud uolebam dicere. Certa ferulas non habet neque cum turbis ambulat?

SYCOPH. Hahahe, tales hercole consulere hic deberet homo curiosissimus.

SARD. Verbis quantum uult ille fallat, plus de nobis non licet.

SYCOPH. Si uobis ita uidetur, placeat ut ego hominem scisciter atque ut omnia perquiram non uno modo. Si mihi ille de omnibus respondere potuerit, sciatis uere esse hunc diuinum uel magum.


QVER. Adgrediamur hominem atque a publico seuocemus, ut secreto disseras.

QVEROLVS. MANDROGERS. SYCOPHANTA. SARDANAPALLVS.

QVER. Salue, Mandrogerus.

MAND. Saluos esse vos uolue.

QVER. Tu quoque inoolum is esto, saecrotum maxime, quoniam laudaris ao diligeris plurimum merito tuo.

SYCOPH. Soin tu, Mandrogerus, quid ex te uolumus noscere?
MAND. Quaenam? Fortasse noui.

SYCOPH. Consulere de quibusdam volumus et cognoscere tuam insignem sapientiam.

MAND. Non equidem constitueram, sed quoniam ita uultis, consulite ut respondeam.

SYCOPH. Quaesumus ut libenter nobis operam tuam impendas. Prolixa nunc disceptatione opus est.

MAND. Dicite quid uelitis.

SYCOPH. Primum ut exponas quaesumus, quae sunt optima sacrorum genera uel cultu facilia.

MAND. Duo sunt genera potestatum, unum est quod iubet, aliud quod obsecundat; sio reguntur omnia. Praeclarior maiorum potestas, sed minorum saepe utilior gratia. Verum de maioribus neque mihi dicere neque uobis audire est utile. Itaque, si et inuidiam et sumptum euitatis, sperate ab inferioribus.

SYCOPH. Quaenam ista sunt obsequia, quibus obsequi nunc oportet?


SYCOPH. Illasne quae so tu mihi planetas loqueris, numeris qui totum rotant?

MAND. Ipsos; neo uisu faciles neo dictu affabiles atomos in orbe uoluunt, stellas numerant, maria aestimant, sola mutare fata non possunt sua.

SYCOPH. Ego met audieram quod ipsi omnia gubernarent.
MAND. Hahahe, hio si aliquid gubernari censes, nescio ubi
snaufragium dixeris. Vbi rerum omnium penuriam esse norunt,
illo homines congregant. Summa est medela, uicissim alia ut
euertant loca. Messes hac atque illac transferunt diris temperatativ-
bus omnesque fructus paucorum improbitas capiit.

SARD. Noveum tibi est transferri messes?

MAND. Istis licet rerum omnium species atque formas ut libuerit
Triticum ex uino subito fieri uideas, uinum ex triticico. Iam flava
seges hordei facile efficitur ex quouis titulo et nomine. Mortales
uero animas siue inferis siue superis addere nullus labor.

SARD. Vides ergo tam potentes placari oportere?

MAND. Hahahe, paucis hoo licet. Sacraria istae nec superba
sunt et sumptuosa maxime; si obaudire uultis, exiguo uotum uos
sacello soluite.

SYCOPH. Et oracula istaeo, ubinam specialiter sunt expetenda?

MAND. Vbi libet, hac atque illac, sursum doersum, in terra in
mari.

SYCOPH. Et quinam infelix reprehendere aut adire possit haec
tam uaga sidera?

MAND. Adire facile est, abire impossibile.

SYCOPH. Quamobrem?

MAND. Mysteria sunt in aditu diversa et occulta, quae nos soli
nouimus: harpyiae, cynocephali, furiae, ululae, nocturnae stringes.

Absentes hydris congregant, praeentes uirgis submuuent. Ita

31,1 gubernari BH gubernare cett. 31.3 congregant PBH non regum
congregant V non regunt V2 non regant LR non regnant R2
31,4 euertant cett. euertat L messes H2 cett. merrer H hae R2
cett. ac R 31,5 fructus B2 cett. fractus B 31,8 uertere cett.
uestere H SARD ante sed add. R quot L2 R2 VFP quo. LRH MAND ante
aliud add. R 31,9 ex (primum) cett. et H uino cett. uinum H ex
(alterum) H2 cett. et H 31,13 sacraria cett. fac raria H istaeo
ckett. ista et R 31,14 uos H soli cett. 31,15 sacello P2 cett.
sacellu P sacellos H 31,16 istaeo w ista R2 expetenda V2 cett.
expressenta V 31,17 in terra om. R et ante in (alterum) add. PB
31,19 quinam cett. quistum B 31,21 non ante faciile add. Peip.
31,23 aditu R2 cett. auditu R 31,24 harpyiae vulgo arpie B
arpigiae L arpigiae VFP L2 arpygiae H cynocephali w capripedes V3
stringes cett. stringes PB
neque absesse licitum est neo adire tutum. Turbas abigunt et turbas amant. Quid plura? Si te numina diligunt, ne tu quioquam hino noueris.

SYCOPH. Atqui sacerdos noster, mysterium how iam displicet. De secundo illo genere anserino edissere atque expone, si quid est boni.

MAND. Isti sunt qui pro hominibus perorant ante aras atque altaria, quibus cygnea sunt capita et colla. Reliquias edere men-sarum solent. Isti sunt hariolorum longe fallaciosimi. Tantum est, quod uota hominum interpretantur et male precemque dicunt, sed responsa numquam eliciunt congrua.


MAND. Non paruo explentur isti. Panem neque nouerunt neque volunt, hordea insectantur fracta et madida, spicas nonnulli vorant. Quidam etiam polenta utuntur et carne iam subbracida.

SYCOPH. En sumptum inanem.

MAND. De istis quondam magnus dixit Tullius, anseribus oibaria publice locantur et canes aluntur in Capitolio.

SYCOPH. 0 genus hominum multiforme et multiplex. His egomet fuisse arbitrator matrem Ciroen, Proteum patrem.

SARD. Edepol neque isti placent. Cynocephalos nuno expone, si
Meliores putas.

MAND. Isti sunt, qui in fanis ac sacellis observant uela et limina, quibus a pectore capita sunt canina, alui des, pendae manus, aeditui custodesque. Isto Hecuba quondam, postquam uere facta est canis, Anubi nupta nostro latranti deo omnibus templis ac delubris semper denos edidit sic a pectore biformes, infra homines sursum feras. Itaque, ubi ignotus precator templum petierit, hinc atque hinc multisono cuncti latratu fremunt. Ut adecas, tantum dabis, ut perorare liceat, multo plus dabis. Mysterium de religione faciunt et commercium. Quae communia sunt et gratuita uendunt

SYCOPH. Actum est, neque istos uolo nihilque inter omnia quae narrasti, improbius puto.

MAND. Felices uos qui non cynocephales pertulistis. Ego autem ipsum uidi Cerberum ubi, nisi ramus aureus adfuisset, Aeneas non euaserat.

SYCOPH. Quid de simiis?

MAND. Istae sunt quae futura scribunt gesta quae uos dicitis, hominumque fata leuibus uolumne paginis. Non quidem periculosae

33.3 alui des LR (des cruc. des.) aluides H alui densi R alui dens l alui obesi Peip. alui tensi Herrm. alui rudes Herrm. alui grandiess Dan. alui desides Dan. alui pedes Koen alui dependentes V3 aluidae et Ritt. alipedes Canneg. albi dentes Dan. atri dentes Cors. auideae Dan. auideae et Don. aridae et Dan. curruae post pandae add. V3 33.4 aeditui H2 cett. aedituis H uere F2 cett. uera P facta H2 cett. factam H 33.5 anubi V2 cett. an ubi VP 33.6 semper denos cett. se per denos P denos L2 cett. denis L homines cett. homines L 33.7 ignotus R2 cett. ignotus R precator cett. praecaturus P 33.9 perorare cett. orare R 33.11 foris cett. foras B et L H2 aut R ut cett. 33.12 potestatesque cett. potestates quae H 33.13 mihi cett. mihiu L facilius R2 cett. faciliis R aditor cett. additur H actur R prole VLPB (cruc. des.) pro re Dan. pro te Kink. prolem R proles Canneg. proles haec Thomas probe Dan. pro leges B pro lite Herrm. pro templis Lennep. cognitur VLRPB (cruc. des.) cognitus V3 cognitor H cognosciatur Dan. cognitur Kink. colitum Dan. paeitum Thomas alloquitur Dan. ianitor Lennep. 33.14 istos cett. istum FB
quae cett. quem B 33.15 puto cett. poto L 33.16 MAND Koen SARD x
non om. H cynocephalos cett. cinocefalso H pertulistas cett.
pertulisti B 33.19 SYCOPH cett. SARD PD de simis cett. de simis B
desimus R 33.21 hominumque cett. hominum quae H paginis paginis
(sic) V (corr. V3)
haeo animalia, sed molesta atque improba. Quas illic sannas, quos
corymbos uides, si nummos asperseris. Nam si insuper
nuces et sorba dederis, omnem popellum ceperis.
SYCOPH. Harpyias quasae praeteristi, quae semper rapiunt et
volant.
MAND. Istae sunt quae uota hominum observant atque honores
numinum. Non solum sollemnia, uerum etiam extraordinaria re-
quirunt et parentum debita. Si aliquid ad diem praesentatum non
est, cum tormentis exigunt. Haec atque iliac totum per orbem iuxta
terras peruolant. Digitos ad praedam excuuent curuis timendos
unguibus semperque mensis aduolant. Quod contingunt auferunt,
quod relinquent polluunt. Istaec prodigia alere quam nosse malo.
Sed neutrum placet.
SARD. Noctiugas etiam praeteristi, celeres, capripedes, hirquico-
mantes.
MAND. Innumerabilia sunt haec prodigia, sed ignaua et uilia.
Solum hoc est quod sequuntur atque observant unioe Panem deum.
SYCOPH. Omnia sacra tute ipse improbasti, quaeam igitur prae-
dicas?
MAND. Quoniam simpliciter interrogastis, scitote inter istaec omnia
nihil esse melius quam ut aliqui fato nasostur bono.
QVER. Et nos ita suspiciamur. Sed fatum ipsum qualiter tandem
coli uel propitiani potest?
MAND. Dicam, genii sunt coledi, quoniam ipsi decreta fatorum
regunt. Isto sunt placandi atque exorandi simulque, si qua intra
aedes latet mala fortuna, uincienda atque exportanda est.

CUER, Pulchre edepol doceš, sed ut facilius nunc sequamur omnia, 
da nobis experimentum tuae potestatis et sapientiae. Quoniam ea 
quaer noueras narrasti, nunc, si potes, ea quae nescis dicoit.

MAND. Non equidem ex integro fieri istud potest. Tamen 
accipite pausa, de quibus intellegatis cetera. Certe ego met neque 
mores neque facultates uestras didici?

SARD. Certum est.

MAND. Tu, Sardanapalle, pauper es.

SARD. Agnosco, uerum tamen uereor ne plures hoc sciant.

MAND. Humili loco natus.

SARD. Ita est.

MAND. Ideo tibi contra regium nomen datum est.

SARD. Ita aiunt.

MAND. Homo es uorax, petulans et calamitosissimus.

SARD. Eho Mandrogerus, numquidnam hoc sum precatus, ut uitia 
enarrres mea?

MAND. Mentiri mihi non licet. Estne adhuc aliquid quod narrare me 
uelis?

SARD. Vtinam ne istaec quidem de me locutus esses. Si quidem 
ulterior, haeo amicos dicoit.

SYCOPH. Ego te, Mandrogerus, hoo exoro, futura nunc mihi ut 
enarrres et ea tantummodo quae sunt bona.

MAND. Ego non possum nisi a capite exposere. Tu, Sycophanta, 
nobili et claro natus es loco.

SYCOPH. Ita est.

MAND. Ab initio nequam.

SYCOPH. Etiam hoc, confiteor, manet.

MAND. Damna te premunt.

SYCOPH. Verum est.
nunquidnam cett. nunquid non B sum cett. su R 35.18 non om. R est-
ne cett. cett. L aliquid FBH om. VLH 35.20 istaeo VLH ista haeo R
ista et PH de me locutus cett. eloquutus H 35.21 haeo cett. hac H
35.22 ne ante mihi add. H (duae vel tres ltt. ante mihi in ras.
in V2) 35.28 manet cett. mane B
MAND. Periculum saepe tibi incumbit igni ferro flumine. 36.1
SYCOPH. Pulchre edepol omnia narravit, quasi qui mecum uixerit.
MAND. Datum tibi est de proprio nihil habere.
SYCOPH. Intellego.
MAND. Sed de alieno plurimum. 36.5
SYCOPH. Iam istud nobis sufficit. Nunc illud de te quaesumus, ut etiam huic responsa tribuas homini minime malo.
MAND. Ita fiat. Heus tu amice, tu non Querolus diceris?
QVER. Dii te servent, ita est.
MAND. Quid horae nuncupamus?
SYCOPH. Inter sextam et septimam.
QVER. Nihil fefellit, de clepsydra respondisse hominem putes. Hem quid igitur?
<MAND> Mars trigonus, Saturnus Venerem respicit, Iuppiter quadratus, Mercurius huic iratus, Sol rotundus, Luna in saltu est. 36.15
Collegi omnem iam genesim tuam, Querole. Mala fortuna te premit.
QVER. Agnosco.
MAND. Pater nihil reliquit, amici nihil largiuntur.
QVER. Verum est. 36.20
MAND. Vis totum audire? Vicinum malum pateris, seruum pessimum.
QVER. Agnosco omnia.
MAND. Vis et nomina seruulorum tibimet iam nunc eloquar?
QVER. Audi cupio.
MAND. Seruus tibi est Pantomalus.
QVER. Verum est.
MAND. Est alter Zeta. 36.28

36.1 tibi saepe H incumbit w incumbuit B2 ferro V2 cett. fero V
36.6 de H om. cett. 36.7 huic P2 cett. hinc Pb 36.8 tu (primum) w
te P2 tu non cett. tu R2 ne Pb diceris cett. deceris H MAND w
sextam w secundam Dan. septimam Flink. tertiam w 36.12 QVER L
MAND L2 cett. SYCOPH Dan. de cett. te B hominem respondisse B
(corr. L2) putes cett. potes H 36.13 QVER ante hem add. Dan.,
trigonius respicit uenerem 36.17 premit oett. premit L premet II 36.24 servulorum oett. famulorum PE iam Thomas etiam u nuno L2 oett. nuno L audire P2 oett. audio P
QVÆR. Manifestum est.
SYCOPH. O sacerdotem diuinum.
MAND. Visne adiuvo amplius? Scisne a me domum tuam ignorari?
QVÆR. Maxime.
MAND. Porticus tibi est in dextra ut ingrediaris, sacrarium et diverso.
QVÆR. Ita sunt omnia.
MAND. In sacrario trina sigilla.
QVÆR. Verum est.
MAND. Tutelae unum, geniorum duo.
QVÆR. Iam iam comprobasti potestatem ac disciplinam, nunc re-
medium promito.
MAND. Vbi celeriter consuli potest et sine sumptu ac mora?
Sacrarium certe solum ac secretum est?
QVÆR. Ita.
MAND. Certe nihil est illio conditum?
QVÆR. Nihil praeter sigilla.
MAND. Solennitas quaedam ibidem celebranda est. Sed religio
tecum omnes excludit foras.
QVÆR. Ut libet.
MAND. Religio per extraneos celebranda est.
QVÆR. Ita fiat.
MAND. Sed quosnam possumnum nunc inuenire tam cito? Optimum
erat atque opportunum, isti si uellent operam nunc tibi dare.
QVÆR. Quaeso amici, officium nunc et religionem impendite. Ego
quoque, si opus fuerit, uobis operam praestabo meam.
SYCOPH. Nihil quidem istino nouimus, sed si ita facto opus est,
fiat.
SARD. Inhumanum est uotis operam denegare.
MAND. Bene dicitis, ambo estis boni.
QVÆR. Pro nefas. Mene quasi ex consilio nunc solum fore. Hem
exclusit L excludat B excludi H 37.23 sed H se V si V2 cett. nunc om. RH (corr. R2 H2) 37.25 uos ante amici add. B amici H2 cett. amico H 37.27 si om. B (corr. B2) 37.29 uotis H2 cett. uotis H operam cett. operatam P 37.31 nunc H2 cett. non L nec H solum fore cett. esse solum B
Pantomale, oeleriter iam nunc peruola et Arbitrum, uicinum nostrum, ubicumque iam nunc reppereris, usque ad nos pertrahe. Sed noui egomet te. Vade iam nunc et cauponibus tete hodie colloca.

MAND. Nescis, Querole, fatum ac decretum momentis regi?

QVER. Quid igitur?

MAND. Hora est synastria, istaec mihi placet. Nisi iam nunc aliquid geritur, frustra huc uenimus.

QVER. Damus igitur intus.

MAND. Tu praecedes, nos tecum sumus. Hec quod excederat, estne aliqua tibi arcula insanis?

QVER. Non una quidem.

MAND. Vna tantum est opus, in qua lustrum illud exportetur foras.

QVER. Ergo et claues largior; ut inclusa excludatur calamitas.

MAND. Omnia sunt peracta. Quod bonum faustum felixque sit huio domui, nos praesto sumus.

PANTOMALVS SERVIS.

Ommes quidem dominos malos esse constat et manifestissimum est. Verum satis sum expertus nihil esse deterius meo. Non quidem periculosum ille est homo, uerum ingratus nimium et rancidus. Furtum si admissum domi fuerit, executur tamquam aliquod scelus. Si destrui aliquid uideat, continuo clamet et maledict, quam male. Sedile mensam lectum si aliquid in ignem inicirat, festinatio nostra.

ut solet, etiam hinc queritur. Tecta si percolent, si confringantur 39.1
fores, omnia ad se revocat, omnia requirit, hercle hic non potest
ferri. Expensas autem rationesque totas propria perscribit manu.
Quidquid expensum non docetur, postulat reddi sibi. In itinere
autem quam ingratus atque intractabilis. Quotiens est autem antelu-
candum, primum uino, dein somno indulgensus, hinc primum est
iurgium. Post autem inter somnum et merum necesse est, ut sequan-
tur plurima: turba trepida, perquisitio iumentorum, custodum fugae,
mulae dispares, juncturae inversae, mulio neon se regens; huic re-
prorsus nova in itinere culpa. Quando autem aliud fuit sit paulisper
patientia totum istud emendat mora.
At contra Querolus causam ex causa quaerit, aliud ex alio ligat.
Nouere inutile carpentum non uult neque animal debile, continuo
clamat, quare istud non suggestisti prius, quasi ille prius uidere
hoo non potuerit. O iniqua dominatio. Ipse autem si culpam fortassit
advertit, dissimalat et tacet et tum litem intendit, quando excusatio
nulla iam subest, ne postea succurrat illud, iam uolebam facere, iam
uolebam dicere. Iam quotiens ultimo citroque extrudimur, necesse
est remeare ad diem. Atque ut agnoscatis penitus artem hominis
pessimi, unam semper ultra iustum nobis largitum diem, ut ad
praescriptum reuertamur. Nonne iste irarum causas quaeritat? Nos
autem semper, quidquid libet aliud alio fuerit tempore, illam nobis
specialiter diem tribuimus, qua redituri sumus. Itaque dominus qui
falli sese non uult neque decipi, quem Kalendis uelit adesse, redire
iubet pridie. Illud autem quale est, quod temulentum exorat etque
agnoscit quam cito? Modum qualitatemque uini in uultu et labiis

39.1 ut om. H (corr. H2) queritur V2 cett. quaeritur V percolent
cott. percolent B confringantur L2 cett. confringatur L
39.2 requirit cett. requiret H 39.3 ferri V2 LRH feri V fieri PB
propria om. R (corr. R2) 39.5 quotiens cett. quoties P est om. R
(corr. R2) autem H2 cett. aut H 39.7 autem H2 cett. aut H merum H?
H2) 39.8 turba cett. turbata et H 39.9 res Klink. rei w
39.10 autem H2 cett. aut H aliud fuit sit VLRPH (oric. des.) aliud
fuit fit A aliud fit B aliud fuit sic Cors. alii id fuit sic Renestr.
aliud fuit si et Hay. aliud alio fuit Hay. aliqu facit iter Peip.
iter alius facit Klink. alius facit sic iter Herrm. 39.15 iniqua w
primo conspectu uidet.

Quiquamne huic possit bene aut seruire aut obsequi?

Calidam fumosam non uult neque calices unguentatos. Quaenam hae sunt deliciae? Vrceolum contusum et infractum, cernophorum exauriculatum et sordidum, ampullam trunoam limosamque densis fultam cerulis non s请假de in tuere, bilem tenere uix potest. Iam exoqgitare nequeo quid sit, quod tam praeuis placere possit moribus.

Vinum autem corruptum tenuatunque lymphis continuo intellegit.

Solemus etiam unum uino admiscere. Nunquid adulterium dicit hoc potest, cum lagoena uetera castrata suco rursus completur novo?

Etiam hoc Querolus crimen indignum putat et, ut est nequitia, suspicatur hoo statim. Ipsum etiam pauxillum argentileuibus tensum tympanis+limari commutarique semper credit, quia factum est semel.

Quantulus est autem discretio? In argento certe unus est color.

Nam de solidis mutandis mille sunt praestigia. Mutare multa facimus et hoc mutari non potest. Has saltan distinguinon oportet tam gemellas formulas. Quid tam simile quam solidus solido est? Etiam hio distantia quaeritur in auro multus, aetas et color, nobilitas, litteratura, patria, gravitas usque ad scriptulos quaeritur in auro plus quam in homine. Itaque ubi aurum est, totum est. Hoc ante Querolus ignorabat, sed mali perdunt bonos.

Ille autem Arbiter, ad quem nuno eo, quam sceleratus est homo.

Seruis aliments minuit, opus autem plus iusto imperat. Inverso

40.1 falli se prorsus non uult neque ciromueniri ut solent post uident add. w del. Klink. (se om. R (corr. R2) ciromueniri R2 H2 cett. ciromuenire H ciromuerit R solent cett. solet H)

40.3 unguentatos cett. ungentos R 40.4 hae sunt cett. sunt heo R contusum cett. contusum R cernophorum uulgo ynoforum w

40.6 cerulis cett. caerulis BH 40.7 moribus possit PB 40.8 uinum P2 cett. unum P autem cett. aut H 40.9 hoc dicit BH (corr. H2) hoc om. R 40.10 uetera cett. ueterae H rursus R2 cett. rursus R 40.11 hoc om. R et om. R 40.12 pauxillum cett. pauxillum L leuibus tensum tympanis cruce. des. 40.13 tympanis cett. triumphanis PB limari P2 cett. ligare P factum cett. falsum R 40.14 autem cett. aut H 40.15 mutare...potest. nam...praestigia Klink. mille cett. millae uel nullae L 40.16 mutare multa B mutare muta P muta remuta cett. oportet R2 cett. portet R 40.18 hie H2 cett. hii H quaeritur cett. quaeritur RH 40.19 scriptulos cett. scriptulos RB quaeritur cett. quaeritur RH 40.21 et ante mali add. R 40.22 autem cett. aut H 40.23 minut L2 cett. munuit L autem cett. aut H
hercle modo, si liceret, turpe captaret lucrum. Itaque, si quando isti casu usu consulto se uident, tunc inuicem esse docent. Et tamen hercle, ut omnia dicantur, si necesse est, malo meum. Adhuc ille noster, qualiscunque est, tamen auarum non est in suis. Solum illud est, quod nimirum crebro umerat semperque clamat. Itaque illis ambobus deus iiratus sit.

circumspecto 42.18 spectator circumspicere et captatorque V2 spectatorem capitorque V et capitorque R 42.19 salutet L2 spectatorem capitorque V et captator 2 42.19 salutet L fastidientes L2 spectatorem fastidiantes L 42.20 uenientibus R2 spectatorem inuenientibus R utaturque spectatorem utatorque R angustis B2 spectatorem angustas B
MANDROGERVS. QUEROLVS.

MAND. Depone ab humeris, Querole, pondus tam graue, satis-

factum est religioni quod tute ipse malam fortunam portasti foras.

QUER. O Mandrogerus, fateor, numquam fieri posse hoc credidi.

Potentiam tuam et religionem ipsa res probet; arcula istaeo iam-
dudum ut a me introlata est quam leuis mihi soli fuit et nunc quam
grauis est duobus.

MAND. Nesois nihil esse grauius fortuna mala?

QUER. Edepol noui et scio.

MAND. Dii te seruent, homo. Mihi ipsi hoc praeter spem uenit,
quod laudas modo. Nullam umquam domum sic purificatam
retineo. Quidquid erat calamitateggestatisque inclusimus.

QUER. Miro urge unde pondus.

MAND. Emarrari subito hoc non potest. Ceterum solet euenire ut
istaeo calamitas moueri multis non possit iugis. Iam istino ergo
ministri nuno mei lustrum istud in fluuios dabunt. Tu autem mo-

nitA quae iam nuno dabo, sensibus imis cape. Mala haec fortuna
quam abstulimus, redire temptabit domum.

QUER. Neo dii sinant. Vna sit illi istaeo et perpetua uia.

MAND. Triduo ergo istoo periculum tibi est, ne haec ad te redire
temptet res mala. Tu igitur uniuerso hoc triduo domi clausus esto
nocte ac die. Nihil de domo tua foris nuno dederis nihilque intra

43.1 querolus om. R sycoophanta add. H 43.2 MAND om. R 43.3 tute
H2 cett. tu H 43.4 om. B sic ante fieri add. B hoo om. R (corr. R2)
43.5 istaeo cett. ista haec R2 PB 43.6 nuno quam H2 cett. num-
quam H 43.8 grauius esse B 43.9 et ante noui add. B 43.10 praeter
ceTT. tpr R uenit L2 cett. euenit L 43.12 inclusimus cett.
includimus R 43.15 istaeo VLH ista haec RPB 43.16 iam ante dabunt
add. B autem cett. aut H monita quae cett. monitasque P non ita
qua L 43.17 mala om. R 43.19 istaeo VLH ista haec PB om. R
43.20 istoo L2 cett. istuo L ne R2 cett. nec R 43.21 tu R2 cett.
tui R

VER. Ego uero ac libens, dum tantummodo inter me ac fortunam meam solum paries inter sit.

MAND. Celeriter hinc <nunc> abi ergo. Hem, Querole, fortiter claude nunc fores.

VER. Factum est.

MAND. Seras et catenas adhibe.

VER. Tamquam pro memet fecero.

MAN DROGERVS. SYCO PHANTA. SARDANAPALLVS.

MAND. Pulchre edepol res processit. Inuentus spoliatus clausus est homo. Sed ubinam ornem respicimus uel ubi arculam istam confringemus atque abscondemus, ne furtum indicia prodant?

SY CO PH. Nescio edepol, nisi ubicusque in flumine.

SARD. Credis, Mandrogerus, praee gaudio ornem illum inspicere non ausus fui.

SY CO PH. Neque ego.

MAND. Atqui hercule ita facto opus fuit, ne mora suspicione afferret.

SY COPH. Verum est.

MAND. Primum fuit ut inueniretur. Istud iam sequitur, tutum est.

SY CO PH. Quidquid libet narres, Mandrogerus, recedamus quaelibet. Ego autem non credam mihi, nisi aurum inspexero.
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44.20 atqui cett. atque R hercle cett. herche R suspicionem cett. suspicionem H suspicionem H 44.22 uerum R2 cett. uertem R
44.24 narres cett. narres PP 44.25 autem cett. aut H credam cett. credo B inspexero R2 cett. intellexero R
MAND. Neque ego dissimulo, pergamus.

SYGPH. Hac atque illac, tantum ad secretum locum.

MAND. Pro nefas, uiuae omnes servautur, ripae frequentantur; pergamus quocumque celeriter.

ARBITER. PANTOMALVS.

ARB. Hem Pantomale, domi quid agitur? Vester ille quid facit?

PANT. Quod nosti bene.

ARB. Ergo queritur?

PANT. Non plane, ita sit nobis incolmus atque propitius.

ARB. Atqui hercle solet esse ingratus.


ARB. Bene, Pantomale noster, tandem pro dominis solus qui haec dictitas.

PANT. Eadem dico ubis absentibus praesentibusque.

ARB. Credo, nam semper noui te bonum.

PANT. Tu nos bonos au semper felices facis, qui nostrum illum bene mones.

ARB. Feci et facio semper.

PANT. Vah, utinam ille mores servaret tuos essetque apud nos tam patientes atque indulgens quam tu cum tuis.

ARB. Non agnosco haec, Pantomale, suffragia; nimium nosmet praedicas.

PANT. Edepol nos omnes scimus et laudamus plurimum. Utinamque illa tibi omnia eveniant, quod nos optamus servuli.

ARB. Immo tibi hercle, pullibus ossibusque uestris eveniat quidquid optasti mihi.
PANT. Ah, cur ita suspicaris? Numquidnam in aliquo nos grauas?

ARB. Non, sed quia uobis naturale est odisse dominos semper sine discrimino.

PANT. Male imprecamus multis, uerum est, et saepe et libere, sed illis sycophantis et maliloquis, quos nosti bene.

ARB. Age iam credo. Sed quidnam tu dominum facere aiebas?

PANT. Rem diuinam coeperat. Magus praesto erat cum ministris. Intus omnes tunc ibant simul.

ARB. Quidnam est hoc, quod fores clausas uideo? Credo diuinam rem gerunt. Euocos illino aliquem.


ARB. Solebant non ita somnicularem ianitores ista in domo.

PANT. Credo hercle, religionis causa ab importunis cautio est.

Eamus huo ad pseudothyrum, quam nosti bene.

ARB. Quid si illic clausum est?

PANT. Ne uereare me duce; noster ille est aditus, claudi, non intercludi potest.

MANDROGerus. SYCOphANTA. SARDANAPALLVS. <QVEROLVS>

MAND. O me miserum.

SYCOPH. O me infelicem.

46.1 ah V3 (in ras.) ha cett. numquidnam cett. numquid non B

46.2 non om. PB 46.5 maliloquis cett. maliloquis vel maliloquas P quos H quod cett. nosti R2 cett. nostis BB 46.6 aiebas L2 cett. aiebat L 46.7 coeperat VLP coeperat R2 B caesperat H

accoperat R 46.9 quod om. R esse ente uideo add. R rem diuinam PB 46.11 theocoles cett. theodes R cito R2 cett. tuto uel tico vel tisto vel tisto R

46.12 hoo om. B 46.15 pseudothyrum

V3 PB pseudothyram VL pseudothyram H ipse dochirum R quam LRH quod cett. (—od in ras. in V3) 46.17 duce cett. nuere FB est ille B

aditus R2 cett. additus R intercludi cett. intercludi R

46.18 potest cett. solet B 46.19 mandrogerus cett. mandrogorus B sycophantam om. R et ente sardanapallus add. VLPBH sardanapallus VL sardanapallus H sardanaballus B sardinaballus P om. R querolus add. Fig. 46.21 MAND om. R
SARD. O me nudum et naufragum. 47.1
SYCOPH. O magister Mandrogerus.
SARD. O Sycoophanta noster.
MAND. O pater Sardanapalle.
SARD. Sumite tristitiam, miseri sodales, cuullorum tegmina. Plus est hoc quam hominem perdidisse, damnun uere plangitur. Quid agitis nuno potentes, quid de thesauris cogitatis? Aurum in cinerem uersura est utinamque totum sic fieret aurum, magis essemus diuites.
MAND. Depone paulisper inane pondus, lacrimas demus funeri. O fallax thesaure, ne te ego per maria et uentos sequor, propter te feliciter nauigaui, propter te feci omnia. Mathesim et magiae sum consecutus, ut me sepulti fallerent? Aliorum fortunam exposui, fatum ignorau meum. Iam iam omnia recognoscui uaria haec phantasmata. Erat hic plane bona fortuna, sed alteri debebatur, non mihi. Nostra haec mutauere fata, thesaurum nos, sed alienum inuenimus. Quaenam est haec peruersitas? Numquam ego fleui meum, nunc plango alienum. Et te, Querole, iustus non tangit dolor?
MAND. Accede, amice, aulam iterum atque iterum uisita. 47.24

47.4 sardanapalle V2 R2 L sardinapalle VH sardanaballe R
sardinaballe P sardapalle R 47.5 SARD cett. SYCOPH. PB sumite V2 cett. summe V sodales cett. sodoles R 47.7 cinerem H2 cett. cineram H 47.8 essemes L2 cett. esse L 47.10 paulisiper H pauper cett. inane P2 cett. mane P 47.11 ego cett. ergo PB sequor P2 cett. sequar PB 47.12 magicam cett. magiam R 47.13 consecutus cett. tonsetutus L consetutus L2 47.14 iam omnia om. R 47.15 sed om. H (corr. H2) alteri L2 cett. alte L debebatur R2 cett. debobatur R 47.16 fata R2 cett. facta R 47.17 haec est LB 47.18 alienum om. R (corr. R2) iustus H2 cett. iustos H 47.19 dolor cett. labor B 47.20 rogus sic H (corr. H2) 47.21 exheredasti cett. exhereditasti R 47.22 quonam A2* quoniam w quo iam Crut. 47.23 olla V3 cett. aolla V tuebitur R2 cett. tutebitur uel turebitur R

*A2 Corrections by the same hand as A.
SYCOPH. Aliam spem quaeerere, amice, poteras; haec iam non calet.

MAND. Perlege quaeo iterum titulum funeris atque omnen scripturas fidem.

SARD. Quaeo inquam sodas, funus egomet quodlibet contingere nequeo, nihil est quod metuum magis.

SYCOPH. Meticulosus homo es tu, Sardanapalle, ego perlego.

Trierinus Tricipitini filius conditus et sepultus hic iacet. Hem me miserum, hem me miserum.

MAND. Quidnam tibi est?

SYCOPH. Anima in faucibus. Audieram egomet clere aurum, istud etiam redolet.

MAND. Quomodo?

SYCOPH. Clastrum illud plumbeum densa per foramina diris flagra-rat odoribus. Numquam ante haec comperi aurum sic ranciscoere.

Vsurario ouilibet faetere hoc potest.

MAND. Quidnam cinerum est odor?

SYCOPH. Ille pretiosus atque tristis, cultus quem poscit miser.

MAND. Honorifice hoc bustum tractatum apparat, cuius adhuc sic redolet dignitas.

SYCOPH. Ego istaeo non pertulissem, si recinenti ao monenti credi-dissem graculae.

SARD. Ego in laqueos non incidissem, si monita curti seruassem canis.

MAND. Et qualiter te admonuit?

SARD. Egredienti mihi ad angiportum suras omnes conservavit.

SYCOPH. Heia quid nunc facimus?

MAND. Vtiam autem, nisi quod dudum diximus, ut nos saltam de filio eius Querolo ulciscoamur probe atque illum, quoniam est credulus, mirificios ludamus modis? Aulam illi per fenestram propellamun, ut et ipse lugere incipiat, quem nos iamdudum plagimus. Pedetemptim accede atque auscultat Querolus quid rerum gerat.

SARD. Consilium placet.

MAND. Accede edepol, sed urbane respice.

SARD. Attat quid ego uideo? Omnes nunc intus homines fustes et uirgas tenent.

MAND. Credo edepol, isti illam malam fortunam expectant creduli. Accede atque homines miris terrifica modis. Malam fortunam illam dicito esse te et comminare tamquam in ades iruas.

SARD. Io Querole.

QVER. Quis tu homo es?

SARD. Forese oeleriter uides.

QVER. Quamobrem?

49.1 tibi om. L (corr. L2) crura cett. cura B enruasset P2 cett. enruassent P mouisses H2 cett. mouisses H 49.2 euclio V2 cett. euclie V illusisti R2 cett. illusti R 49.3 desines cett. desinens L qui H2 cett. quia H qui agelasto illi V3 L2 R2 H qui agelastus est sine ius minimo stans agelasto illi VL quia legatus est sine ius minimo stans agelasto illi R quia agelastus est sine ius (iure B) minimo stans agelasto illi PB (risi pro ius sugg. Dan.) perfido P2 cett. perfidem P 49.4 risit R2 B2 cett. rixit R riset B 49.6 autem cett. at H 49.7 atque cett. atqui B illum atque H (corr. H2) 49.8 ludamus Den. ludamus uel ludamus H ludemus V2 deledemus V3 laudemus cett. illi P2 cett. illam P illi aulam H (corr. H2) 49.9 et H2 cett. est H lugere B2 cett. legere B 49.10 pedetemptim cett. pedetemtim PB auscultat R2 cett. auscula R 49.12 consilium cett. consilium R 49.16 credo R2 crede W 49.17 malam fortunam illam H2 malam fortunam nam illam H illam malam R malam illam cett. 49.18 te esse B irruas R2 H2 cett. insuas H tuas R 49.20 quis cett. cuis B 49.21 fores oeleriter uides cruc. des. fores W foras Werned. uides cett. uide H cruc. des. Renstr.
SARD. Vt domum rursus ingrediar meum.

QVER. Hem Zeta, hem Pantomale, hac atque illae obsistite. Abi hino potius, mala fortuna, quo te sacerdos detulit.

SARD. Hem Querole.

QVER. Quid, rogo, nomen tu uocitas meum?

SARD. Ego sum tua fortuna, quam redituram praedixit magus.

QVER. Abscede hinc; ego hodie fortunam non recipio nec bonam.

MAND. Heus tu, Syrophanta, ad ianuam sta, homines seuocca, dum ego bustum hoo per fenestras ingerco.

SYCOPH. Aperite hanc ianuam.

QVER. Omnes oeleriter huc accurrite.

MAND. Eoce tibi thesaurum, Querole, quem reliquit Evolio. Talem semper habeas, talem relinquas filiis. Omnia sunt perfecta; nos hinc ad nauem oeleriter, ne quod etiam nuno subito hio nobis nascatur malum.


50.1 ut oett. et B mean V2 oett. meum V. 50.2 pantomale P2 oett. pentomale P hac oett. +ae (sio) P 50.5 tu nomen B uocitas oett. uocas B 50.6 tua L2 oett. tu L 50.7 recipio oett. recipiam L nec L2 oett. ne L 50.8 hano ante ad add. R sta om. L (corr. L2) seuocca P2 oett. seuocce L euoca P (se- in ras. in V3) 50.11 oeleriter om. R 50.12 thesaurum tibi B querole om. B 50.14 ne om. P (corr. P2)
subito nunc H (corr. H2) 50.16 ah V3 (in ras.) ha P2 cett. om. P
quidquid PB quod R quid VLH 50.17 ipse cett. ipsi R 50.18 audio
cett. audiero B autem cett. aut H 50.20 leuiter cett. laeniter B
50.22 nobis (alterum) cett. bis H 50.25 metamorphosis V2 H2 LRB
metamorfosis VP metamasofosis H 50.27 nunc (tertium) cett. non B
50.28 ibo cett. ideo PB uerumque H2 cett. meumque H 50.29 egomet
solus R (corr. H2)
LAR FAMILIARIS.

Tandem urna peperit euri grauida pondere uilisque mater grande
puerperium dedit, indigna quae frangeretur. Tanta hoc non meruit
fides. Magna plane sula et memorabilis uno atque eodem tempore
domino fidel persoluit, furtum fecit furibus. O sapiens Euilio,
nos instantes non sumus; thesaurum seruasti uius, liberasti mort-
tuus. Omnes itaque homines nunc intellegant neque adipisci neque
prendere ualere aliquid, nisi ubique faeusat totum ille qui potest.
Quantum ad personam Queroli spectat, perfecta iam sunt omnia.
Sed Mandrogerontem illum furem ac perfidum nuno illaqueari
ulo, qui ubi primum hoc audierit remque ommem agnoverit,
continuo rediturus est, ut thesaurum diuidat. Codicillos etiam pro-
ferre uadebit, quibus ita coheres scriptus est, si sula Querolo
sine fraude ostenderet. Quid huic merito eueniat, nisi quod iam
nuno flet? Ferat quod facere uolsuit, nam quod fecit nostrum est.

QVEROLVS. ARBITER. PANTOMALVS.

QVER. O Arbiter, iamne credis quod uidisti modo?
ARB. Edepol credo et soio.
QVER. Quid tu, Pantomale, dicis?
PANT. Quid ego dico nuno fieri? ut posthac desinas.

51.1 lar familiaris oett. pantomalus R 51.2 urna oett. orna B
pondere H pondere oett. uilisque w uilis quam H2 51.3 puerperium
B2 oett. pueperium R frangeretur P2 oett. frangerentur P 51.4 sula w
urna P2 eodem oett. eodemque B 51.6 uius R2 oett. uius R3 mortuus
H2 oett. mortuos H 51.8 ubique L2 oett. ubi L faeusat oett.
faeant P faeate R totum H2 oett. totam H 51.10 mandrogerontem
oett. mandrogero ante R mandrogerum R2 B senem ante furem add. B
ac oett. atque R perfidem R2 oett. fidem R 51.11 remque R2 oett.
rem quem R remque ommem agnuerit om. H (corr. H2) 51.12 thesaurum
P2 oett. thesaudum P 51.13 querolo oett. querole P 51.14 eueniat w
eueniat R2 51.15 ferat H2 oett. fecerat H facere H2 oett. face H
51.16 querolus om. R arbiter om. R et ante pantomalus add. VLPH
etiamme credis ne credis (sic) H 51.20 nuno dico R fier i w fieri
deseras R queri post desinas add. A2*

*A2 Corrections by the same hand as A.
QVER. Mens mihi gaudium est confusa. Quid primum stuperem et

GAUDEAM? Consiliumme sensis nostri ad divinitatis?

ARB. In primis bonus divinitatis, nam si ad hominem respicien-
dum est, facile intellegitur et apparat furem tibi plus profuisse
quam patrem.

QVER. Quid de memet censes, qui tam tarde agnouerim fragmenta
urnae illius, quam iamudum noueram?

ARB. Ego mihi non credideram, nisi quod ilico inspexi locum
terramque motam, ante hoo non credidi.

PANT. Atqui ego nihil dubitationis recepi, ubi in testulis quasdam
litteras uidi.

QVER. Ergo istaeo omnia Mandrogerus ille fecit?

ARB. Aut quid fieri alicui potest?

QVER. O sceleratum hominem, magnum mathematicumque qui
sece diceret. Egone manibus meis praesidium paternum ut effer-
rem de domo, ego memet domi reconderem, ego ut redeunti
obuiaram thesauro? Hoc est plane illud quod mihi Lar Familiaris prae-
dixit meus, etiam renitenti au repugnanti ventura mihi bona
omnia.

ARB. Quam pulchre factum est, ut cupiditas sic falleretur hominis
fallacissimi.

QVER. Credis Arbiter, meos ut nosti mores munificos nimis, munere
rare hercole possim hominem, si nancisercer, ita ridicule sceleratus
fuit atque ipse sese lusit in omnibus.
ARB. Ille quidem, ut scimus, male meruit perfidus, sed quoniam tibi per illum bene uenerunt omnia, omnes illi bene optamus facto, non merito suo.


ARB. Placet hercule.

QVER. O bone Arbiter, fraudulento isti magnam iniuriam causam nostram adhibuimus. Thesaurum nostrum ab hoo erectum poscamus modo atque adstruamus ab ipso nobis alienum mortuum esse coniectum domi.

ARB. Ita fiat. Consilium placet.

QVER. Propositum ergo retineamus, sequuntur cetera.

MANDROGERVS. QVEROLVS. ARBITER. (PANTOMALVS.)

MAND. Ave, mi Querole.

QVER. Etiam salutas, furcifer, quasi hodie me non uideris?

MAND. Vidi edepol te uisumque iterum gaudeo.

QVER. At ego iam nuno, uiuo, faciam ne tu iterum gaudeas.

MAND. Eho quid commerui?

QVER. Rogas, soeleste, qui hodie domum expilasti meam?

MAND. Missa istaeo face, non sum alienus uobis. Domum egomet istam iampridem colo.

53.1 scimus V2 cett. sciamus V 53.2 illi cett. ille L 53.3 non non (sic) H 53.5 hio ille B hio w huu V2 53.6 fragmenta cett. fragmenta H 53.7 hio w huu V2 53.12 ita fiat H om. cett.

QUER. Iterum ad magicoas? Aurum surripuisti hodie meum.

MAND. Portassis iure feci, nam non debebatur et mihi?

QUER. Pulchre edepol, solus exinde hic fui. Vbinam mihi nuno
tu frater nasoeris et nouellus et senex. Vnde subito tam utestustus,
qui nuper natus non eras? Nam si fratrem meum te esse adseue-
res, perdite, illud nuno restat, ut te dicis bimulum, nam tertio
ille.
anno pater meus Euclio cum est profectus, me herole reliquit
solum atque unicum.

MAND. Superflua sunt ista, coheres ego sum, non frater tibi.

QUER. Non recte edepol fieri istud solebat nam mallem, amice,
fratrem te quam coheredem esse aserras.

MAND. Quid multis opus est, Querole? Quod scriptum est lege.
Sume igitur, noui fiden uestran.

QUER. Herole explorasti. Hem quid istuo est? Senex Euclio
Querolo salutem dicit filio. Quia furtum tibimet fieri metuerem
uel per seruum uel per extraneum quemlibet, Mandrogerontem,
fidelem amicum et peregre mihi cognitum ad te direxi, ut is
tibimet quod reliqui, sine fraude ostendeter. Huio tu medium
thesauri dabis, si fides ipsius atque opera expostulat. Hem sodes,
paululum in parte huo ades. Nihil huio debere res ipsa exponit
et docet, sed usquequaque, si placeat, in summam, si libuerit,
aliqium dabiter munieris. Tu igitur patris mei amicus ac sodalis
peregre fuisti?

MAND. Ispa res doceat.

QUER. Nimirum inde tam fideliter nobis commissa istaeo tace.

Age amice, quoniam institutus es heres, da quod possit diuidi.
MAND. Edepol inuestigavi aedem integrum atque illibatam thesaurum.

QVER. Eho tu mihi thesaurum aliquid dedisti?
MAND. Tu negas?
QVER. Nisi omnia in memoriam redigis, forsitan aliquid exciderit mihi. Quem tu narras thesaurum?
MAND. Quem tibi Ecolio reliquit ego tradidi.
QVER. Et aurum ad te quemadmodum peruenit, homo alienissime?
MAND. Iicabar equidem, fidem postea ut perspiceres meam.
QVER. Tu ergo thesaurum et secretum illud, quod noster senex dereliquerat, abstulisti?
MAND. Vtique hoo tibi cessit bene. Alter enim non reddidisset.
QVER. Age iam, sodes, nos lugisti satis, restitue potius, ueram ut cognoscamus fidem. Diis gratias, uicine Arbiter, quod spes nostra in tuto est.
MAND. Dixin paulo ante facere hoo non potuisse extraneum?
QVER. Agimus gratias.

Dii te servent, amicorum optime, qui et mihi superstiti et defuncto illi seruasti fidem. Sed ubinam quassu aulam illem condidisti? Miit plane quod ille praecipit senex. Exprome thesaurum, diisio celebretur, quoniam praesto est Arbiter.
MAND. Immo potius tu aurum exprome et fidem tuam, quoniam egomet partes explicui meas.
QVER. Fatigas nos, Mandrogerus, an uere loqueris?
MAND. Edepol uere loquer atque honeste, nam qui totum habere potui partem peto.

ERGO I N T E R MANUS TUAS THESAURUM FUIT NOSTRUM? 56.1

MAND. Fuit hercle.

QUER. Tu nusquam hodie pedem, nisi restitues quod abstulisse te fateris, quia ire infitias non potes. Neia inquam, restitues quod abstulisti.

56.5

MAND. Reddidi.

QUER. Gui? Quando? Quomodo?

MAND. Hodie per fenestram.

QUER. Hahahe, tu thesaurum ubi repperisti?

MAND. Apud aedes sacras.

QUER. Quo aditu extulisti?

MAND. Hao per istam ianuam.

QUER. Quid igitur fuit causae, ut per fenestram redderes?

MAND. Tu, inquam, thesaurum illum asportasti foras.

QUER. Pulchre edepol condicionem codicillorum impleuisti, qua praeeptum est, ut thesaurum mihi sine fraude ostenderes. Verum tamen praescriptionem hano transeo, qua uti possum, etiamsi au-

56.15

rum nuno ipse mihi traderes. Haeo superflua sunt, ubi res nus-

quam apparat. Redde quod negas.

MAND. 0 tempora, 0 mores, 0 pater Euclio. Hancine mihi tu domi fidem praedicas? Reddidi, fator, omnesque per deos, ipsumque thesaurum illibatum intra aedes proieo tuas.

56.20

56.1 tuas V3 om. w thesaurum fuit nostrum w thesaurus fuit noster 56.3 pedem w pedes B2 restitues cett. restitulas V3 R (-a- in ras. in V3) fateris te H (corr. H2) 56.4 in ante infitiias add. V3 infitiias cett. inficiatus B inquam V3 R2 (-quam in ras. in V3) inquit w restitues VLR restitue R2 PBH 56.14 tu inquam V2 H2 cett. tum quam H tu quam V 56.15 QUER om. P (corr. P2) pulchre cett. pulchre R qua cett. quia R 56.16 mihi om. R (corr. R2) 56.17 praescriptionem Dan, perscriptionem w qua R2 cett. quia R quam H 56.20 0 patria ante 0 tempora add. PB mores cett. mors H hancine H2 cett. hano me H 56.21 fidem tu domi B praedicas R2 cett. preestabas R redditi cett. reddi H iuro post deos add. R2 56.22 ipsumque cett. ipsum R2 B intra F2 cett. contra P
VER. O Arbiter bone, plus iste admisit quam putabamus. Hic, nisi fallor, ipse est, qui urnam illam funestam nobis proiecit in domum.

MAND. Dii te seruent, ipsam ego proieco. Tandem apparet ueritas.

VER. Dio quaeso Mandrogerus, fragmenta si aspexeris, potesne agnoscere?

MAND. Ita ut compaginari per me possint omnia.

VER. Hem Pantomale, nescio quid paulo ante hic proferr iusseram.

PANT. Praesto sunt partes illae, in quibus titulus inscriptus fuit.

VER. Agnoscimne, Mandrogerus?

MAND. Agnosco hercle. Tandem cessent artes et praestigia.

VER. Si uerum agnoscis, leges celeriter quod scriptum hic fuit.

MAND. Et legi et lege. Cedo huc mihi, Pantomale, fragmentorum paginas. Trierinus Tricipitini filius conditus et sepultus hic iaceat.

VER. Ego sceléstissime, discipis? Si uiorum neglexisti gratiam, etiamne mortuis manus intulisti ad ludum et ludibria? Neque contentus eruisset bustum atque cineres, ultimo per fenestram etiam funestas mihi proiecisti reliquias. Quid ad haec dicis?

Thesaurum abstulisti, uiolasti sepulchrum, perdite; domum meam non solum compilasti, uerum etiam polluisti, sacrilege. Tu negas?

MAND. Quaeo, quandoquidem me fortuna sic destituit, nihil quaeo ulterius. Vale.

VER. At ego hercle quaero, cui mala omnia congensisti, soelus.

Hem Pantomale, numquam ab istoo pedem. Ego iam nunc ubinam praetor sedeat inuestigabo celeriter atque omnia istaeo exequar iure et legibus.

57.1 iste om. B 57.4 ego w ergo E2 57.5 fragmenta cett. fragmenta H 57.7 possint cett. possunt R 57.10 PANT Orelli ARB w illae cett. ille B 57.11 agnoscimne cett. agnosces H agnoscesme H2 57.12 artes cett. partes H 57.13 agnoscis cett. agnosces H 57.14 et (alterum) om. B cedo RBH caedo VLP huo V3 B (-o in ras. in V3) huo cett. fragmentorum cett. fragmentorum H 57.15 trierinus cett. trierinus H tricipitini F2 cett. tricipitui F 57.17 huo V3 (eh-in ras.) huo LRPH heo B discipis VLR despicis H me despicis PP
gratiam cett. gratias R 57.18 manus cett. manum B 57.19 cineres cett. honores H ultimo cett. ultimos H 57.20 dicis cett. dicitis PH 57.22 compilasti V3 cett. copulasti V polluisti H2 cett. polluistiis H 57.23 sio om. L (corr. L2) 57.24 quaero cett. quero P queror B 57.25 at cett. ad H quaero cett. quero P queror B omnia mala B 57.26 pantomale F2 cett. pentomale P ab istoc V3 FB abstoc VLRH
MAND. Quaeso Arbiter, pro me ut uerba facias, nihil nisi ueniam expostulo.

ARB. O mi Querole, numquam tu coeleriter usque ad sanguinem.

Ignosce ac remitte, haec uera est victoria.

QVER. Age reliquiae defunctor illius reconduntur. Quid de thesaurum fiat?

ARB. Quid dicis, Mandrogerus?

MAND. Iuro per deos, iuro per ipsam quam rupi fidem mihi nec aurum nec thesaurum esse.

QVER. Remove paulisper inania; putemus nos paululum in iudicio stare. Ornam certe illam tu abstulisti?

MAND. Factum est.

QVER. Elige nunc, Mandrogerus, utrum uoles, bustum illic an aurum fuit, quandoquidem causa eiummodi est, ut multis constat modis.

MAND. Auribus teneo lupum neque uti fallam neque uti confitear scio. Vrum dixero, id contra me futurum uideo. Dicam tamen, aurum illic fuit.

QVER. Redde igitur.

MAND. Hec iam factum est.

QVER. Factum doce.

MAND. Ornam tu recognoscis?

QVER. Quid uis ut respondeas? Primum egomet aulam non recognosco. Satisme hoc sufficit?

MAND. Quid? Titulum non recognoscis?

QVER. 〈Non magis quam te, quem hodie primum hio noscito. 〉

Sed finge nunc a nobis ornam et titulum recognosci. Redde quod in aula fuit.

58.1 me H2 oett. mem H uerba ut B 58.3 tu FLor. Gall. pae*te w tam Koen 58.4 ac oett. atque B 58.5 illius defunctor L reconduntur R recondentur V3 reconduntur Ritt. 58.10 paulisper oett. paliper R palisper R2 in iudicio paululum L (corr. L2) 58.11 ornam oett. omnia B illam oett. illa B 58.14 quandoquidem R2 oett. quandoquid R constat VLRH constat V3 P constat R2 B 58.16 uti (alterum) om. H confitear P2 H2 oett. confiteor P fateor H 58.17 dico oett. diq R dio R2 58.26 non add. Bongers 58.27 finge oett. fingis B ornam oett. ornam PB 58.28 in om. L (corr. L2)
*Flor.Gall.p* Parisinus Lat. 7647, saec. XII-XIII.
*Flor.Gall.a* Atrebatensis Lat. 64, saec. XIII-XIV.
*Flor.Gall.e* Escorialensis Lat. Q 1 14, saec. XIII-XIV.
MAND. Tu autem quid in aula fuisse dicis?

QVER. Ego interim non propoasui. Tu fare quod uelis.

MAND. Et usus a me aurum quemadmodum postulatis, cum res ipsa bustum et cinerem comprobet?

ARQ. Ergo acquiescis ut bustum illic fuerit?

MAND. Acquiesco, quandoquidem ita sic se res habet. Hac non processit, alia temptandum est uia.

QVER. O stulte, saorilegium confiteris, dum furtum negas.

MAND. Quaeris nihil illic fuit?

QVER. Quidnam igitur postulas? Aurum si fuit, abstulisti, si non tulisti, non fuit.

MAND. Vos quaeso dicate nunc uieissim quidnam illic fuit.

QVER. Nobis interim sufficit purgare nosmet, obiecta repellere, nam si te ingredimus, alia temptandum est uia.

MAND. Quodnam hoo monstr genus est? Ego totum feci solus totum nescio. Iam iam quaeso, quoniam mihi neque res neque causa superest, simpliciter dicate, utrumne furtum an sacrilegium ego commisi, nisi forte illud nunc restat mihi, ut qui furtum non potui, sacrilegium neque uolui, utrumque fecisse conuincaer nefas.

QVER. Etiame circuionine rem geris? Quid aliud autem in causa est, nisi quod praesidium abstulisti et cineres subdisti, unum fraudulenter, aliud nequiter? Neque enim te bustum expetisse, aurum abicisse credere quisquam potest.

MAND. Optime totum hoc asseritur et mihi ipsi ueri simile uidetur. Sed si quid creditis, non est ita.
QVER. Age iam bono animo esto, nil praeter sacrilegium perpetrasti, aurum autem ibi non fuit.

MAND. Furtum igitur non oommisi, dii te servent. Vicimus, nam istoo ego tempore poenam male quam pecuniam debere. Sed illud quae so exponite, unde pondus tantum illic erat?

QVER. Nesois, magus, nihil esse gravius fortuna mala?

MAND. Recogno sco.

QVER. Etiam quaeritas unde pondus? Tegmen urnae illius non uidisti plumbeum?

MAND. Iam iam omnia sibi conveniunt. His pra estigis etiam certus falli non potuisset magus?

ARB. Nondum intellectus, inepte, impositum nobis esse ab illo, quam bene noueras? Vnde autem illi thesaurum homini prope pauperi?

Ao si habuisset ille, ergone iste secretum nescisset patris tibique ille indicabat, quod non crediderat filio? Porro autem, pater familias ille thesaurum si sciebat, illi tandem crediderat loco tibi que illic patuisset aditus?

MAND. Edespol quid dicam nes cio.

ARB. Ergo Euclionem tu non noueras? Habuit senex ille multa haec laetissima, qui te etiam defunctus ridet.

MAND. Edespol tandem intellego. Illius plane hic nequitiam recogno sco, frequenter ille similibus me lusit modis. Quaes o igitur, date ueniam, quod cineres illos abstulisti, aurum credidi.

ARB. Bene exousas, Mandrogerus; agnosco ingenium lepidissimum, agnosco plane Euclionis nostri sodalem, talem semper ille dilexit senex.

MAND. Sine te quaeso me absire.

ARB. Homo Querole, humanum ac misericordem semper fuisse te

60.1 nil VLB nihil RPB 60.2 non fuit ibi B 60.4 poenam cett. poenam B pondus A2*om. w pondus ante illic add. Ber. pondus post erat add. Herrm. 60.6 magus cett. magus H 60.8 quaeritas VP quereritas cett. illius urnae L 60.10 iam (sic, semel) R sibi omnia B praestigiiis cett. praesidiis PB 60.13 autem cett. aut H thesaurum cett. thesaurus B 60.14 so si cett. has R an R2 ergone L2 cett. ergo L 60.15 indicabat H indicaret cett. (indicaret ille B) crediderat cett. crederat F autem cett. aut H pater om. R (corr. R2)
60.16 tandem P2 oett. tantum PB crediderat oett. credat H tibique oett. tibi R 60.17 illio oett. illu B 60.19 non om. PB ille senex P (corr. P2) 60.20 te om. R 60.22 frequenter P2 oett. frequentibus P 60.25 talem oett. tales H dixit R2 dixit w 60.27 sinite L2 oett. sinit L abire me PB 60.28 hem VRP B2 heo B he L ha H fuisse H2 oett. fuiisset H te fuisse PB

*A2 Corrections by the same hand as A.
soio. Hominem tam elegantem abire ne permiseris. Non unius officii homo est, magnum mathematicumque hio habes; tantum, quod primum est, furtum facere non potest. Recipe quaeso amicum ueterem et nouum, quandoquidem pater Euclio solum huno tibi reliquit in bonis.

QUER. Ah, sed furem timeo.

ARB. Quid unum furem metuis? Iam totum hio abstulit.

MAND. Quaesum Querole noster, patri egomet tuo me iam deuo-ueram, tibi nuno seruire cupio, quandoquidem hodie sio misertus es mai. Da uictum, qui uitam indulsi.

QUER. Si ambo ita uultis, fiat. Potesne disoere leges nouas?

MAND. Hahahe, illas egomet ex parte condidi.

QUER. Senatus consultum dico egomet seruiliatinum et parasiticum.

MAND. Ohe, uisque interdictorum capita iam nuno eloquar ad legem Porciam Caniniam Furiam Fufiam consulibus Torquato et Taurea?

QUER. Potesne obseruare omnia?

MAND. Istud apud me paruum est. Tu nuno ut edisoam iubes, ego dooere iam uolo.

ARB. Hui, multarum palmarum hio est. Recipe quaesum iura instructissimum. Talem quaerere homines pro magno solent.

QUER. Quoniam ita uultis, fiat. Sed ubinam illi sunt socii atque adiutores tui?

SYCOPHANTA. QUEROLVS. [SARDANAPALLVS. MANDROGERVS. ARBITER. PANTOMALVS.

SYCOPH. Nosque praesto sumus, O parens ac patronem.

QUER. O Sycophanta, O Sardanapalle, haec uestra est religio? Sed
causas iam hic praestitit, uos abite quolibet.

SYCOPH. Et nosmet scimus, Querole, quoniam tris edaces domus
una non capit. Verum quasumus, uiatici nobis aliquid ut aspergas,
quoniam spem omnem amisimus.

QUER. Viatici ego nobis? Quonam pro merito?

SYCOPH. Nos cum Mandrogeronte huc uenimus.

QUER. Digna causa.

SYCOPH. Nosque praesto sumus, O parens ac patronem. 62.1
QUER. O Sycophanta, O Sardanapalle, haec uestra est religio? Sed
causas iam hic praestitit, uos abite quolibet. 62.2
SYCOPH. Et nosmet scimus, Querole, quoniam tris edaces domus
una non capit. Verum quasumus, uiatici nobis aliquid ut aspergas,
quoniam spem omnem amisimus. 62.3
QUER. Viatici ego nobis? Quonam pro merito? 62.4
SYCOPH. Nos cum Mandrogeronte huc uenimus. 62.5
QUER. Digna causa. 62.6

62.1 sycophanta querolus cett. querolus mandrogerus sycophanta
sardanapallus H syoof et sard R arbitrer add. Naudet pantomalus
add. Ber. 62.2 SYCOPH om. R nosque w nos quoque R2 ac cett. et B
62.3 sardanapalle L V2 R2 sardinapalle VH P2 sardinaballe B
cardanapalle R sardinalalle P religio est B 62.4 hio iam B iam om.
R (corr. R2) praestitit hio H (corr. H2) 62.5 quoniam cett. quam H
tris VLR H2 tres PEB edaces H2 cett. sedes H una domus B
trias quasumus cett. quia sumus PA ut ante aliquid add. P (corr. P2)
aspergas cett. aspargas H 62.7 quoniam cett. quam H 62.8 ego cett.
ergo B 62.9 mandrogeronte cett. mandroge B mandrote R 62.10 ei
ante digna add. R meredem uulnerum...liberam potestatem (= lex
conuialis) post causa add. W subscriptio aulularia plauti
explicita feliciter VL explicit querolus R finit feliciter amen P
finit aulularia plauti comici poetae B finis H
TRANSLATION.
DRA M ATIS PERSONAE.

Querolus. The Son of Euolio.
Lar Familiaris. His Household God.
Mandrogerus. A Parasite, masquerading as a Magician.
Syoophanta. His Accomplices.
Sardanapallus. His Accomplices.
Pantomalus. A Slave of Querolus.
Arbiter. A Friend and Neighbour of Querolus.

SCENE.

The scene is a town square, in front of Querolus' house, with a shrine on one side and a bank on the other. One road leads towards the harbour and the sea, the other to the river and the country. A trident is lying in the road.

(p.3) (Dedication.)

Rutilius, ever worthy of high praise and veneration, providing the honourable rest which we may devote to theatricals and deeming me worthy of repute among your friends and relations, 'tis a double, nay an immense boon, I admit, with which you endow me, by providing this recommendation and fellowship; this is a true honour. What thank-offering can I then bring to you worthy of such benefits? Money, the cause and source of power and problems, is held neither in abundance by me, nor in esteem by you. No small amount of labour on my part has yielded some trifling literary results. Hence my glory and my reward, this prize is everlasting. And in order to make my work more pleasing, I have taken my material from that philosophical discourse of yours. Do you remember how you would make sport of the kind of people who complain about their fate, and how, in Academic manner, you would build up or break down any argument you pleased? But what importance has this? What truth there may be in this will be known by him, who alone knows. I have written this little book for dinner-table conversation.
The plot is as follows: the father of Querolus, our hero, was the miser Buolio. Now at a certain time this Buolio collected together his gold into an urn, as though it were the ashes of his father, pouring unguents in on top and adding an inscription on the outside. When he was starting out on a voyage, he buried the urn in his house, without revealing the matter to anyone. As he lay dying in a foreign country, he made a parasite, whom he had met there, co-heir with his son, by means of a secret codicil, on condition that he would reveal the hidden treasure to him without delay. But the old man disclosed only the location of the treasure. (p.4) Unsuspecting, the parasite took ship, came to Querolus and broke his promise, pretending to be a magician, an astrologer, and anything else a thief could invent. As though divinely inspired, he revealed intimate details of Querolus' household which he had actually learnt from his patron. Querolus put his trust in him and sought his help. The parasite-magician purified and cleansed his house, but as soon as he was free to examine the urn, he was deceived by the old trick. He believed the simulated ashes to be real, and thought that he had been duped. Then, so as to take some revenge, he crept cunningly, in hiding, to Querolus' house, and flung the urn through the window. It shattered in pieces, and so the ashes were turned into riches. Thus, contrary to reason and belief, the treasure lost its gold while it was in hiding, and returned it when it was destroyed. Subsequently, when the truth came to light, the parasite returned to demand his share. But since he had to confess to what he had stolen, and could not prove that he had returned anything, he was accused first of theft, then of violation of sepulchre. So this is the outcome: the master and the parasite each returned again to their own station, according to fate and to their deserts.

To your illustrious name then, this slight work is dedicated. May you live well and happy, in accordance with our prayers and with yours.
(Prologue.)

Our poetic discourse requests peace and quiet from you spectators. It relates Greek learning in a barbarian tongue, and recalls Latin antiquity in your generation. It hopes and prays, moreover, in a voice not inhuman, that he who has devoted his efforts to you may receive your gratitude.

(p.5) It is the "Aulularia" which we are to act today, but not the old and rough version, tracked down and discovered in the footsteps of Plautus. This is the theme: we present a fortunate man, protected by his own fortune, and, on the other hand, a deceitful man, deceived by his own deception. Querolus, who will shortly appear, is the central figure of the whole story. This is our ingratitude; he will be lucky. On the other hand will appear Mandrogerus, our deceiver, who will be unlucky. The Household God, who appears first, will himself explain everything. The subject should appeal to you, even if you find the presentation tedious. For our playful words, however, we crave the indulgence due to antiquity. Let no-one consider that what we have to say to the people at large refers to himself in particular, nor take a commonplace as a personal insult. Let no-one try to recognise anything; we present a complete fabrication. Whether the play should be called the "Querolus" or the "Aulularia" will be for you to judge and for you to decide. But we would not dare to appear lame on stage; did we not follow great and famous leaders in this field.

(Act I, Scene 1.)

Lar Familiiars. (He enters from the house.)

I am the guardian and inhabitant of the house, to which I have been assigned. At present I govern the dwelling from which I have just come. I regulate the decrees of fate; if they contain good, I personally encourage it; if evil, I temper it. At the moment I am directing the destiny of Querolus, an ungrateful man, but not a wicked one. Until now he has had sufficient for himself, which is the greatest good, but now he is actually to become very rich. So has he deserved. For if you do not think that you should be
rewarded according to your deserts, you are deceiving yourselves. Now, however, I shall briefly relate the sequence and order of events.

(p.6) The father of our Querolus, Euclio, was a miserly and cunning old man. At a certain time he hid an enormous weight of gold in an urn. So, honouring the gold as though it were his father's ashes, he was able to conceal it openly. When he was leaving for a foreign country, he buried the urn at home and left it in front of my altar; to his family he entrusted a tomb, to myself, a treasure. The old man went away, but did not return. As he lay dying in a foreign land, he disclosed the affair to one person only, a deceitful and faithless individual. He did not, however, explain to him anything about the tomb or the inscription, either because he forgot, or else because he thought it unnecessary. This, in accordance with fate, was sufficient to ensure Querolus' felicity. So now the treasure is held in ignorance by all at home, and yet known. It would, naturally, be easy for us to reveal the gold to its owner, either by an oracle, or in a dream. But so as to teach mortals that no-one may remove what a god has bestowed, the gold, entrusted to bad faith, will be recovered by a theft. That thief then will shortly appear, who will save the whole situation for us. When he discovers the urn he will presume it to be a cremation burial; that old man had great foresight. He will replace the booty which he stole, and return the whole amount, as he was not content with his share. And so the trickster, by setting a trap for someone else, deservedly brings about his own downfall.

But I should like to explain a few details, so that you will not have seen me to no avail. That Querolus of ours, as you know, is annoying to everyone, even to god, if it is not blasphemy to say so. His anger is ridiculous and rather laughable. It should prove amusing to enter into a discussion with him, and confute the empty wisdom of mankind. So you will now hear fate and man on opposing sides and you must pronounce the verdict. I, however,
shall have to be extremely cautious in admitting that I am his
guardian spirit, lest he do me some mischief, for he never ceases
to curse me day and night. But listen, I can hear him, bewailing
his fate and his fortune. He is coming towards me. He has heard
that his father has died abroad. Alas, how deeply he grieves. As
is usual in human affairs, I suppose it is because (p.7) he has
learnt that he has been left nothing. And what am I to do now? I
cannot suddenly fly away from here, I have committed myself too
far. I am lucky to see a fishing trident, no mean defensive
weapon, by Hercules. If Querolus does not stop annoying me today
I shall give him a juster cause for complaint. I wonder where it
came from? I saw some fishermen go past this morning; perhaps
they dropped it.

(Act I, Scene 2.)

Querolus. Lar Familiaris. (Q. enters from the house.)

Q. Oh fortune, Oh destiny, Oh wicked and impious fate. If someone
were now to show me where you are, I would soon decree and
institute for you an inexorable fate.

L,F. I shall have to rely on the trident today. But why do I not
greet him and address him forthwith? Good day, Querolus.

Q. Now here is another cause for annoyance: "Good day, Querolus".
What good does it do anyone to say "hallo" to everyone everywhere?
And even if it did any good, it would still be annoying.

L,F. By Hercules, here is a true misanthropist. He sees one man
and takes him for a crowd.

Q. Well, my friend, what do you want with me? Are you reclaiming
a debt or accusing a thief?

L,F. You are too irritable, Querolus.

Q. Alas, now that I have spurned his greeting he is adding abuse.

L,F. Wait a little.

Q. I have not time.

L,F. But you must wait.

(p.8) Q. Now this is turning to force. Go on then, tell me what
you want.
L.F. Do you know why I am carrying this trident?

Q. I have not the slightest idea, by Pollux, unless, I suppose, because it was first invented as a safeguard against annoying people.

L.F. I am carrying it to prickle your heels with, if you lay a finger on me.

Q. Did I not say so? One cannot even say "hallo" with impunity here. By Hercules, that is not a bad arrangement. I shall not touch you if you do not touch me. Good bye. Go away and make friends. Just look at the result of your previous courtesy.

L.F. Stay here, it is I whom you are seeking and accusing, you wretch.

Q. Oh no, I want to get out of here with my heels intact.

L.F. Were you not accusing your fate a little while ago?

Q. I am accusing and pursuing it.

L.F. Come here then, it is I.

Q. Are you my fate?

L.F. I am your Household God, which you men call fate.

Q. I have been searching for you for a long time now; you shall not move another step today.

L.F. I warned you about my trident, take care, keep off.

Q. You take care of yourself.

L.F. I have already looked out for myself.

Q. What is this hocus-pocus?

L.F. Be off, you stupid fool, this is no conjuring trick. Stop it, unless you would prefer to receive a three-pronged attack.

Q. How strange; it seems likely that he is one of those guardian spirits or mysterious beings. He is walking about half-naked and clothed in white, his whole (p. 9) body is glistening. Well done, Household God, you have done well today. But I do not understand everything. I know why you are half-naked, but I do not know how you come to be dressed in white. I always thought that you lived in the charcoal furnace, but you come from the mill.

L.F. Ha, it is actually thanks to me that you can joke happily in
the midst of your misfortunes. But listen now. Your complaints, although groundless, move me, Querolus. That is why I have come, to give you a complete account of the human condition, which has never before been granted to anyone.

Q. Are you permitted to know the causes of human affairs and to reveal them?

L.F. I both know and disclose them. Therefore recount today anything about them of which you complain.

Q. The day would be over before I had finished.

L.F. Mention a few items in brief, from which I may explain everything.

Q. There is just one complaint to which I should like to know the answer. Why do the unjust always prosper and the just always suffer?

L.F. Firstly, to do as I see done amongst you mortals, I must ask you who is the plaintiff? On whose behalf do you make your plea, your own, or that of the general public?

Q. Both for people in general and for myself.

L.F. Since you are guilty yourself, how can you set yourself up as a suitable advocate for yourself and so many others?

Q. I know that I am not guilty.

L.F. So the accusation will consequently become null and void, if the prosecutor is discredited? Do you count yourself among the good or the bad?

Q. Are you really asking what I consider myself to be, when I am complaining about wicked men?

(p.10) L.F. If I prove that you are one of those whom you are accusing, that is, one of the wicked, for whom will you then speak?

Q. If you convince me that I am a criminal, I shall have to suit my convictions to my own deserts.

L.F. Now answer me quickly, Querolus, how many capital crimes do you suppose that you have already committed?

Q. None, as far as I know.

L.F. None at all? Have you really forgotten everything?

Q. No, indeed not, I can recall almost everything, but I do not
know of any crime.

L.F. Come now, Querolus, have you never committed a theft?
Q. Not since I stopped.
L.F. Hahaha, is that what you call never committing a crime?
Q. I do not deny the truth. I admit that I did a few deeds in my youth which I had to be praised.
L.F. So why did you cease from such noteworthy crime? Let us ignore that. What can we say on the topic of falsehood?
Q. Ah, but who tells the truth? It is a common crime. Away with you.
L.F. Does that mean it is not a crime? What about adultery?
Q. Come now, that is not a crime either.
L.F. And when was it legalised?
Q. Are you asking me, as if you did not know? That is something which can be neither permitted nor prohibited.
L.F. What have you to say then, Querolus? Do you not see that you are behaving illegally?
Q. If you propose to charge me with that, no-one is innocent.
L.F. And yet I still have not asked you about everything, if you recall.
Q. There is nothing else.
L.F. So you have never wished death on anyone?
(p.11) Q. Never.
L.F. Supposing I convince you?
Q. I should have nothing to say.
L.F. Tell me, have you never had in-laws?
Q. That is another common crime.
L.F. So you plead guilty on all counts?
Q. When you question me in this way.
L.F. Since these items seem trivial to you, I do not know what you would really consider to be a crime. Tell me moreover how many times you have committed perjury. Hurry up and reply.
Q. May Good Luck hear this. That is something I have never done.
L.F. How many times over and above a thousand have you committed perjury? That is what I want to know, just tell me that.
Q. Oh, you mean those trifling falsehoods one tells everyday?
L.F. I do not find it easy to understand what you mean by trifling lies. But let us overlook this item which, as I can see, custom has rendered insignificant these days. What then? Have you never broken your word of honour, knowingly and intentionally? Not to mention the rest, have you never sworn friendship to someone whom you hated after you had sworn?

Q. Alas, woe is me. What a disaster for me to meet him today. I have often sworn, I admit, but so that my oath should stand only in letter, not in spirit.

L.F. You have sworn very cleverly, then. That is what usually happens. How I should prefer that the letter wavered while the spirit stood firm. Do you honestly believe, Querolus, that you are absolved by words? One often commits perjury by remaining silent, for it is as bad not to tell the whole truth as it is to tell lies.

Q. You have covered everything, then; I have deserved it all. Goodbye.

L.F. No, nothing has been achieved, Querolus, unless these two results follow (p.12) firstly, that I prove that it is not contrary to your deserts that you are unhappy; secondly, that you understand for yourself right now that you are actually happy.

Q. Am I not miserable then?

L.F. Indeed you are, I agree, but it is your own fault. However, explain briefly of what you complain the most, so that I may refute you on all points.

Q. Firstly, best of guardian spirits, I have to complain to you about my friends.

L.F. Good Hope, whatever will he do about his enemies? But how has trust in friendship harmed you?

Q. No-one is more annoying to me than my best friend, nor more obliging to me than a casual acquaintance.

L.F. What is so surprising in the fact that the one who knows you despises you and the one who does not know you loves you?

Q. Thank-you very much, Household God, you flatter me on all counts.
L.F. Now I understand what you are complaining about. Do you wish to hear the remedy for this in a few words?
Q. I do, very much so.
L.F. Never take a fool into your friendship or confidence. For the hatred of fools and knaves is easier to bear than their company.
Q. But supposing there are no wise men?
L.F. Rule the foolish with your intelligence.
Q. In what way?
L.F. Do you wish not to be deceived?
Q. Indeed I do.
L.F. Never trust anyone. You have it in your power not to be deceived. Why accuse the dishonest? Do you wish to be respected?
Q. More than anything.
L.F. Live among the poor.
(p.13) Q. What you say sounds like the truth.
L.F. Do you wish never to be deceived, especially by your own family?
Q. I should do, if it were possible.
L.F. Let me repeat what I have just said. Never allow yourself to become too friendly with anyone, Querulus. Man is too singular a creature, he cannot tolerate his peers. You despise your inferiors, you envy your betters, you disagree with your equals.
Q. Tell me, I pray you, what I ought to do.
L.F. Well then, learn what action should be taken according to the vices and characters of men. Shun your colleagues, revelry, wine and crowds. Whomsoever you wish to bind most tightly to yourself, tie so much more loosely. For assemblies and festivals and frivolous jokes are not what I expect to produce friendship; and would that they did not produce hatred.
Q. But how is it that many people get on extremely well in such society?
L.F. I know all about that. You are talking to me about those people who hide everything. Those to whom you are referring are either too clever or too happy. That would not suit Querulus.
Q. There is another accusation I should like to make. It is true that I am poor, as you know; or is it your responsibility? However, I can live with that. But this I absolutely cannot bear: no-one ever forgives poverty, nor is it sufficient for anyone to say that someone is poor.

L.F. What more is there?

Q. What? They add a great deal more. They call it foolishness, negligence, laziness and gluttony. Patience is ascribed to apathy, enterprise to cruelty. Thus (p.14) everything is misrepresented. No-one considers one’s ability, no-one considers one’s means. A rich man is always diligent, a poor man is always negligent.

L.F. Save that for the censors, Querolus. But tell me now what especially upsets and discomforts you, for the points you have already raised are the universal and ancient charges against poverty. And although you are not rich, neither are you poor. You would be happy if only you realised this.

Q. Do you not know that I have recently lost my father?

L.F. So this is how you follow my precepts. This is obviously a very special case. This is something which has never happened to anyone else before. What of it? Is that not how it should be: a son should bury his father?

Q. I accept that, but my father left me nothing.

L.F. What bitter mourning. Are you bewailing the fact that you have met with an empty funeral? You are not grieving, you are angry. Your father certainly never lacked anything, nor do you lack anything today. Truly that is no small inheritance. Are you annoyed? At least the old man, who had always lived for you, lived for himself in his extreme old age. May you leave as much to your heirs as Euclio left to his. Tell me something else then, for I refuse to hear anything about that.

Q. I have a slave whom I cannot bear, Pantomalus by name and nature.

L.F. You are lucky, Querolus, in only having one Pantomalus. Some people have many Pantomali.
Q. Yet I have heard many people actually praising their slaves.
L.F. They have worse ones.
Q. Then why do they praise them?
L.F. Because they do not know what they are missing.
Q. The bad weather has destroyed all my crops in particular. Now is that a universal disaster?
L.F. All men are not punished in the same way. Bad weather has harmed you, (p.15) someone else has suffered in another way.
Q. That is all very well, but my partners have not borne any inconvenience for some time now.
L.F. You are making a big mistake.
Q. I beg your pardon; please forgive me. I was not aware that you took such special care of my partners. But I have something else to add. I have a bad neighbour.
L.F. Now that really is a sorry state of affairs. But Querolus, do you not see how much I have done for you even here in connection with this one man? You are only plagued with one bad neighbour, what do those people do who have many?
Q. Take care of him, I beg you, Household God. Preserve him whom you have given me, in accordance with my prayer, lest perchance two should arise in his stead.
L.F. Supposing I refute you on this point also? Tell me now please, whom you consider to be the more fortunate, yourself, or him of whom you complain?
Q. Is this very likely? Can you possibly doubt that he who drives another to complain is happier than he who takes refuge in complaints?
L.F. Well now, Querolus, would you like me to make you realise right now that he is the more unlucky?
Q. I should like that very much.
L.F. I shall, however, only give you an idea of the situation. Lend me your ear for a little while.
Q. Why do you not speak openly? Do you, too, have something to fear?
L.F. Why not, since I live with you? Lend me your ear.
Q. Go on then, tell me. Hahaha, let him have it, let him keep it,
let him possess it, he and his family. By Pollux, you treat us well, doctor.
L.F. Yes I do.
(p.16) Q. I certainly have nothing to complain about now.
L.F. What is this, Querolus? You will think like that for a short while, and then you will be back to normal. But since you have not shown that you are miserable, it remains for me to prove that you are happy. Tell me, please, Querolus, are you well?
Q. I think so.
L.F. How much do you suppose that is worth?
Q. Do you take that into account too?
L.F. Oh Querolus, are you well and do you deny that you are happy? Take care lest you realise too late how happy you were.
Q. Now I have already said this. I am fortunate in myself, but unfortunate compared to others.
L.F. You are certainly well in yourself.
Q. I agree.
L.F. What more do you want?
Q. Why do others do better?
L.F. Now that smacks of envy.
Q. But I am justifiably envious, for I am in a worse position than my inferiors.
L.F. Supposing I were to show you that you are happier than these people whom you are about to mention?
Q. Then you will see to it that Querolus will not allow anyone to complain ever again.
L.F. So as to keep the discussion brief and lucid I shall dispense with evidence. You name a fortunate person whose condition pleases you, and I shall then give you immediately the lot you choose for yourself. Just remember this. Do not think that you will be able to disparage or remove anything that you have chosen.
Q. This choice pleases me. Give me military riches and honour, if only in moderation.
L.F. I am able to grant you this. But you must see if you are
capable of carrying out what you ask.

Q. What do you mean?

(p.17) L.F. Can you wage war, receive a sword thrust, break through the lines?

Q. I could never do that.

L.F. Then leave the wages and honour to those who can do all this.

Q. Well at least give me some reward in this humble civil life.

L.F. Do you want to collect and deliver the revenue?

Q. Oh dear, I forgot about that. I do not really want to do either. So if you can do anything, Household God, make me both a private citizen and a man of influence.

L.F. What sort of influence do you require?

Q. To be able to despoil those who owe me nothing, to attack those whom I do not know, and, as for my neighbours, both to attack and to despoil them.

L.F. Hahaha, you want brigandage, not influence. By Pollux, I really do not know how to grant you that. Yes, I have found it. You have your desire. Go and live by the Loire.

Q. Why there?

L.F. There men live by the law of nations; there no chicanery is present; there capital sentences are executed on oak and written on bones; there even the peasants are lawyers and private citizens judges; there everything is legal. If you are rich you will be called "patus", as we say in our Greek tongue. Oh you woods, Oh you solitudes, who said you were free? And there are many worse customs which I am not mentioning. However, that is enough for now.

Q. I am not rich, nor do I require the use of oak. I do not like these woodland laws.

L.F. Well then, choose something gentler and more honest, if you cannot fight.

Q. Give me the honour which a worthless bourgeois receives.

L.F. So you count the bourgeois among the fortunate?

Q. Most certainly.

(p.18) L.F. Now you are making a very simple request. Even if we were powerless, we could still do that. Do you wish me to grant
you this?

Q. There is nothing I should like better.

L.F. To pass over the greatest difficulties, put on then that clothing short in winter and doubled in summer; put on those woollen hose; put on those socks which are always falling down, which the rain soaks, the dust fills, the dirt and sweat glue together; put on those sandals with their low loose uppers, which stick to the ground, which are befouled by the mud, itself the same colour as the shoes. Pass the summer with your knees clothed, the winter with your legs naked, winter in slippers, summer in skin-tight boots. Endure irregular labour, pre-dawn meetings, the judge's banquets, first in the afternoon, or in the heat, or in the cold, either inane or serious. Sell your voice, sell your tongue, hire out your anger and your hatred. In short, remain poor, and return home with a little money and a lot of abuse. I could say more even now, were it not better to bury such people than to praise them.

Q. I do not want that either. Give me the riches acquired by bureaucrats.

L.F. Assume then the vigils and labours of those whom you envy. Seek gold in your youth, a homeland in your old age, a raw recruit on your acre of ground, though a veteran in the forum, a learned accountant but an ignorant landowner, familiar to strangers, new to your neighbours, pass your whole life in hatred to provide a lavish funeral. Your heirs, however, will be appointed by god. You should not envy them, Querolus. The wolves' hidden store often becomes the foxes' prey.

(p.19) Q. Oh dear me no. I do not want to be a clerk either. Only grant me now the purse of that foreigner and merchant from across the sea.

L.F. Very well then, cross the sea, commit yourself and your family to the winds and the waves.

Q. I have never wished for that. At least grant me Titus' casket.

L.F. Accept Titus' gout as well.

Q. Certainly not.
L.F. Then you may not touch Titus' casket either.

Q. Nor do I want it. Give me some music girls and pretty little concubines, like those of that mean old foreign money-lender.

L.F. Now you may certainly have what you request with all your heart. Take what you desire, take the whole chorus. Take Paphia, Cythera, Briseis, but along with Nestor's burden.

Q. Hahaha, why should I?

L.F. He whose lot in life you are seeking has this. Look here, Querolus, have you never heard the saying, "No-one is handsome for nothing"? You may either have the one with the other, or lose the one with the other.

Q. At last I have found what I want. At least grant me impudence.

L.F. By Pollux, now you are calmly demanding everything I have already refused. If you wish to make use of the entire forum, be impudent, but you will then have to renounce common sense.

Q. Why?

L.F. Because no sensible man is impudent.

(p.20) Q. Just be off, Household God, with your disputation.

L.F. Just be off, Querolus, with your complaining.

Q. Will misfortune never change?

L.F. Not for as long as you live.

Q. Is no-one happy then?

L.F. Some people are, but not those whom you think.

Q. How so? Supposing I were to show you someone right now, both well and rich, would you deny that he was happy?

L.F. You may know a rich man. But what do you consider to be a healthy man?

Q. Someone whose body is in good health.

L.F. Supposing that he is sick in mind?

Q. I do not know anything about that.

L.F. Oh Querolus, only the weaknesses of the flesh are visible to you. How much more infirm is the mind. Hope, fear, desire, greed, despair, do not allow it to be happy. Supposing someone or other feels one thing in his heart, but shows another on his face? What
if he is happy in public but weeps at home? To overlook graver matters, supposing he does not love his wife? Supposing he loves her too much?

Q. If no-one is happy, then no-one is just.
L.F. I can reply even on this point. I admit that there are a few, who are very nearly just, but they are the most unfortunate of all. Is there anything else you require?

Q. Nothing at all, by Pollux. Grant me my own station, since I have found nothing better.

L.F. Now then, although we have established that you are happy, I still want you to know that even now you are to become luckier. Today you will acquire a hoard of gold.

Q. You are making fun of me. That is impossible.
L.F. Why is that?

Q. Because there is no possible way.
L.F. No doubt it is difficult for us to discover and invent things that you do not (p.21) understand.

Q. Tell me, please. Is a king to bestow some gift upon me?
L.F. No.

Q. Is a friend to give me a present?
L.F. No.

Q. Will someone unexpectedly appoint me his heir?
L.F. No, not at all.

Q. Is a treasure hidden somewhere to appear before my eyes?
L.F. Even supposing there were to be a treasure hidden in your house, it would have to be revealed to someone else before being made known to you.

Q. And how am I to acquire that which no-one is to give to me?
L.F. Off with you now, do whatever is against your own interests.

Q. Why should I?
L.F. Because it is for the best. Put your trust in anyone who deceives you, give your aid and consent to anyone who defrauds you. If thieves pay you a visit, receive them willingly, and robbers similarly.
Q. So if someone were to set my house alight, I suppose that you would order me to pour oil on the fire?

L.F. I knew that you would not believe me.

Q. Take in thieves and robbers, what is the good of that?

L.F. So that if you have any hope or defence remaining, they may remove it.

Q. Why is that?

L.F. So that you may be rich.

Q. How?

L.F. By losing your possessions.

Q. To what end?

L.F. In order to be happy.

Q. In what way?

L.F. By being wretched.

Q. This is obviously an example of a saying which I have often heard about "wrapping the truth in obscurity". But what do you want me to do?

(p. 22) L.F. Whatever you imagine to be contrary to your own interests.

Q. Then tell me what that is, or perhaps I might unwittingly do something in accordance with my own interests.

L.F. Whatsoever you perform or undertake today will turn out favourably for you.

Q. But supposing that I do not actually want it to?

L.F. Whether you want it to or not, good fortune will enter into your house today.

Q. What if I lock up the house?

L.F. It will fly in through the window.

Q. And what if I close the windows?

L.F. Oh you stupid man, the roof would open and the very earth would gape of its own accord, before you could exclude or remove that which cannot be altered.

Q. So far as I can see, then, what will happen, whether I want it to or not, does not depend on me.
L.F. I did not expect that you would give me any thanks, but that you would remain truly querulous in everything.

Q. Where are you going now?

L.F. I am going into your house, or, rather, ours. From there I shall go where I please, though wherever I wander I shall never desert you.

(He returns into the house.)

(Act I. Scene 3.)

Querolus.

I have been rendered more uncertain today than I have ever been. Now what am I supposed to do with such an answer? Was anyone ever given such an oracle, to seek out his own misfortune or at least not to avoid, if at all possible, the assaults of fate? "Lose", he said to me, "all that you have at home, in order to acquire much more". But if all my property were removed, when will I acquire another's, or who will give it to me? "Go", said he, "search out thieves and receive robbers into your house". To begin with, if this were known, and could actually be proved, would not a judge be quite correct to condemn me for being in league with brigands? And then I have no idea where I am supposed to find these villains anyway, (p.23) nor where to look for them. Where is that sooty, fiery, black band, who live under the ground by day and prowl about the roofs by night? Where are they, those pick-pockets who cleverly filch brooches and cut purses? If I am not much mistaken I can see one of them. And look, he is doing business. Ho, you there, I am shouting at you, you thief. Here, stop it. Hurraiy, I have saved my buckle. Oh no, there is no hope left for me. I have disobeyed my instructions. I was ordered not to upset thieves; but not even to shut them out, by Hercules, that is stupid. This is no good at all. Now, by Pollux, unless I am much mistaken, that man who was talking to me was a smart fellow. For what especial merit do I possess, that I in particular should see a vision? There is some trickery afoot here. By Hercules, I am afraid that he may already have committed the theft which he prophesied. I shall take
myself back inside and if I come across my man I shall throw him out of doors forthwith.
(He returns into the house.)

(Act II, Scene 1.)

Mandrogerus. Sycophanta. Sardanapallus. (They enter from the direction of the harbour.)

M. Some people give themselves high praise; those who either follow the trail, or corner in their lairs, or overpower by chance, pugnacious beasts and fleet wild animals. But how much greater is my talent and my reward for hunting men in public. And what men.
Especially the rich, the powerful, the literary. I am Mandrogerus, by far the most outstanding of all parasites. There is a certain pot hidden here, (p. 24) whose scent has been wafted across the seas to me by the wind. Let the creators of sauces admit defeat, let all the talented cooks admit defeat, let all the dishes of Apicius admit defeat. Euclio alone knew what was preserved in this pot. Why are you surprised? It is gold that I pursue; it is gold whose odour wafts over land and sea. What have you to say to this, my disciples, my novices? When will you be able to learn these things, when will you understand them thus, when will you teach them in this way?

Syc. If you only knew, my dear Mandrogerus, what a dream I had last night.

M. Tell me, I pray you, if there was any good in it.

Syc. Last night I saw the treasure, for which we are hoping, already come into our hands.

M. What then?

Syc. It was composed partly of solid gold coins.

M. Ah, I do not like that.

Syc. There were besides little barbed hooks, toros and small chains.

M. Tell me, please, did you not also dream of fetters and blows?

Sard. By Hercules, what an unlucky man. He saw all but the prison. Ho, you marvellous fellow, I shall drive you away right now with your prophesying. Last night in my dreams I saw funeral ashes.
M. May the gods protect you well on this account.

Sard. And we ourselves were carrying those ashes somewhere or other.

M. Perfect.

Sard. Moreover, we were actually bewailing the deceased, as though he were a stranger.

M. Do you hear this, you stupid man? I for one prefer such clear visions to your dreams. A funeral implies gladness, (p. 25) tears indicate laughter, and we were carrying a dead man, which obviously means joy. Now however I shall relate to you my own dream, which was absolutely clear. Someone or other told me last night in my sleep that this treasure which we are seeking was assuredly reserved for me, and that no-one but I would be permitted to find the gold. But he also added that of those riches only those I swallowed would be any use to me.

Syc. By Pollux, that was an excellent dream. For what else are we seeking but enough to satisfy our stomachs and throats?

Sard. By Pollux, that was a beautiful dream. Fortunate are you, Mandrogerus, and so are we, your companions.

M. Now just look here, friend Sycophanta, unless the instructions are wrong, we are already here.

Sard. This is the square that you are seeking.

Syc. Have a look at the directions quickly.

M. A shrine on one side, a bank on the other.

Syc. Both here.

M. We have arrived.

Sard. What next?

M. A lofty house.

Syc. Here it is.

M. Oak doors.

Sard. Here they are.

M. Ah, good! the windows are fixed! here. Hurray, it will not do any good to bolt the doors here. And how feeble the bars are too, and well spaced apart. By Hercules, this is a safe district I have here, and thieves cannot do much harm. But I can
just smell the gold inside. We must try another way. Come along now, my dear Sycophanta, and you too, Sardanapallus, if you possess any talent, (p.26) charm and courage, now is the time to show it all. I, as master of the hunt, shall reveal the prey, corner it, and hand it over to you. You must take your places at the nets, while I beat the lairs. Now keep in mind everything that we have already discussed and thought about the plan day and night.

Syc. From the atrium, a portico on the right, a shrine on the left.

M. You have the picture correctly.

Sard. Three little figures in the shrine.

M. That is correct.

Syc. A small altar in the middle.

M. That is all accurate.

Sard. With the gold in front of the altar.

M. That is already ours. Now do you know the description of Querolus himself?

Syc. Better than yours, by Hercules. Now you must see whether you can foretell the future; we know how to lie.

M. I shall just take a stroll over there in that direction; I shall keep an eye on everything from there, and as soon as circumstances or strategy demands I shall return immediately.

(He retires down the street.)

Syc. Let us too retire a little over here, so that no suspicion of our villainy may be apparent.

(They retire to the side of the stage.)

(Act II, Scene 2.)

Querolus. Sardanapallus. Sycophanta. (Q. enters from the house.)

Q. The person to whom I was talking is not to be seen anywhere and nothing has been stolen indoors. He was obviously not human.

Sard. Ahem, that is our man. By Hercules, I should like to hear that man whom I just saw. I am used to magicians and astrologers, but I have never known anyone like him. (p.27) That is what I call divination, not like the efforts of some jokers.
Aha, what fortune-teller is this about whom they are talking?
Sard. But what I saw just now is something completely new. As soon
as he sees you, first he calls you by your name, then he explains about
your parents, your slaves, and all the rest of your household.
Then, just as if he knew you, he recounts all that you have done
in your past life and all that you will do in the future.
By Hercules, he is a wonderful person, whoever he is. I must
not miss this story.
Sard. I beg you, please let us go and accost the man on some
pretex or other.
Syc. Of course I should like to, by Hercules, but you know that I
do not have time.
Sard. Oh how stupid and remiss of me not to have consulted him
straightaway.
Why do I not find out all about him? Good day, my friends.
Syc. Greetings to you, who greet us.
What are you discussing? Is it a secret?
Sard. A secret from the common people, but not from the wise.
I heard you mention something about a magician.
Sard. That is correct. We were talking about someone who can fore-
tell everything. But I do not know what manner of man he is.
Does such a person really exist?
Sard. He certainly does. Now then, Sycothanta, as I was saying, I
beg you, my friend, in the name of yourself and your family, to
come along there with me at once.
Syc. I have already told you, I should willingly go there on my
own account if I had the time right now.
(p. 28) Sard. Wait a moment.
Please, my friend, do not hurry away so quickly. I too should
like to know what kind of person that man is about whom you were
speaking just now.
Syc. By Pollux, I have some other business to attend to. My family
and friends have been awaiting me at home for some time now.
Sard. By Hercules, he is a very difficult man to persuade. Now
look here, neither your friends nor your relations are expecting you. Wait a moment.

Q. Please, my friend, if my company is not obnoxious to you, I should like to consult him along with you.

Sard. I fear, by Hercules, that he may prove difficult with us if he sees a crowd of people.

Syc. By Pollux, this is perfect. Here, if you please, is the companion you are seeking. You have a companion; so do not bother me.

Q. Please, my friend, if that is what he wants, let him go. We can go there at once together.

Sard. And yet we need him, since he has seen the man and knows him well.

Q. It is only right that you should lend us your aid today, since that is what is required in the circumstances.

Syc. Yes, but, by Hercules, he knows him better than I do, and he knows him intimately.

Q. But now I ask your assistance. What sort of man is he and where does he come from?

Syc. As far as I have discovered, he is called Mandrogerus, that much I know.

Q. Oh, but that is a wonderful name, by Hercules. I already consider him to be a magician.

Syc. First he reveals the past, then, if you recognise it all as accurate, he foretells the future.

Q. You are speaking of a great man, by Hercules. And do you not want to consult him?

Syc. To be sure I do, but I am not free for a little while.

(p. 29) Q. Come, come, assist your friends. Then if you have need of anything, you may give us similar orders.

Syc. Thank-you. Since that is what you wish, so be it. But listen to what I have to say. Men of this sort are charlatans.

Q. Well, well; if you please, I was about to say that. Are you sure that he does not carry wands and walk around with a crowd of supporters?
Byo. Hahaha, by Hercules, this is just the kind of person that such an extremely inquisitive man should consult.

Sard. He may deceive me as much as he likes with words, but he will not get anything more from me.

Byo. If this plan pleases you, it would seem to be a good idea for me to question the man and examine everything he says from all sides. If he can answer me on all counts, you will know for sure that he is a prophet or magician.

Sard. That is an excellent idea. But look, the man himself is passing by here. This is happening just as I wished. Oh what gravity in his gait, Oh what dignity in his face.

Q. Let us approach the man and withdraw him from the throng, so that you may question him in private.

(Act II, Scene 3.)

Querolus. Mandrogerus. Sycophanta. Sardanapallus. (M. joins the others.)

Q. Good day, Mandrogerus.

M. Good health to you.

Q. May you too be well, mightiest of priests, since you are greatly to be praised and adored as you deserve.

Syc. Are you aware, Mandrogerus, of what we wish to learn from you? (p.30) M. What do you want? Perhaps I may know.

Syc. We should like to consult you on certain points and experience your outstanding wisdom.

M. I was not quite prepared for that; but if that is what you want, ask and I shall reply.

Syc. We pray you to give us willingly of your assistance. We need a lengthy exposition at the moment.

M. Tell me what you want.

Syc. Firstly, we beg you to reveal to us what are the best kinds of worship, or the easiest to perform.

M. There are two kinds of powers. There is one which orders, another which obeys. All things are governed thus. The power of the greater is more conspicuous, but the favour of the lesser is
often more useful. On the subject of the great powers, however, it
is not profitable for me to speak or for you to listen. If, there­
fore, you wish to avoid ill-will and expense, rely on the lesser
powers.

Syc. And what are these obedient powers, whom we ought to obey?
M. I shall soon tell you. There are three main ones: the powerful
planets, the importunate geese, and the fierce dog-heads. You may
easily perceive these images in all the shrines and chapels. If
you can manage to evade or placate these three, there is nothing
which will be able to harm you.

Syc. Are you talking to me about those planets, which make the
universe revolve in rhythmic harmony?
M. The same. They are not easy to see nor friendly to address.
They cause the atoms to revolve in orbit, they count the stars,
they weigh the seas. The only thing they may not alter is their
own fate.

Syc. I myself had heard that they govern everything.
(p.31) M. Hahaha, if you think anything here is governed, I do not
know where you would say there was a shipwreck. They assemble men
where they know there to be a scarcity of all commodities. Their
chief remedy is that they ruin each place in turn. They transfer
harvests from one place to another by awful storms, and the wicked
gain all the profits of the poor.

Sard. Is the transference of harvests a novelty for you?
M. They have the capacity to change the shape and appearance of
everything as they please. But by how many stages and transform­
ations. They bid one thing arise from another. You may suddenly
see corn produced from wine, or wine from corn. And a golden crop
of barley is easily produced from any cause or name you like. Nor
do they find any difficulty in dispatching mortal souls to heaven
or hell.

Sard. So you see how important it is to placate such powerful beings?
M. Hahaha, few indeed are permitted to do that. These sanctuaries
are very superior and extremely costly. If you will take my advice,
you should pay your vows in a tiny shrine.

_Syc_. As for these oracles, where in particular are they to be sought?

_M_. Wherever you like, here and there, above, below, on land, on sea.

_Syc_. And is anyone unlucky enough to be able to reach or intercept such wandering stars as these?

_M_. It is easy to go there, but to return is impossible.

_Syc_. Why?

_M_. Mysterious beings guard the entrance, strange, and hidden, known only to us: harpies, dog-heads, furies, screech-owls, nocturnal birds of prey. Those absent are rounded up with serpents, those present are moved on with rods. Thus (p. 32) it is not permissible to leave, nor safe to advance. They drive away crowds, yet they love crowds. What more can I say? If the gods love you, may you know nothing of this.

_Syc_. My dear priest, this mystery certainly displeases me already. So describe and expound that second category, the geese, if there be any good in them.

_M_. These are they who pray for mankind in front of altars and shrines, whose heads and necks are like those of swans. They are accustomed to eat the remains of meals. They are by far the most deceptive of soothsayers. They do nothing but interpret, and that badly, the vows of men, and say prayers, but they have never produced a favourable response.

_Sard_. Are you saying that they are swans? I have seen plenty of geese in near-by shrines, but I have not noticed one swan. They raise their heads with their huge throats, and have wings for hands. First of all they wave their tongues at one another with three-forked hissing. Then, as soon as one has made a noise, they all clash their wings with a dreadful clatter.

_M_. They are not appeased with little. They are not accustomed to bread, nor do they want it. They demand crushed, dunked barley, and some devour ears of corn. Others even eat pearl barley and meat that is nearly rancid.

_Syc_. That is expense wasted.
M. Of them the great Tully once said: "Geese are provided with food in public, and dogs are fed on the Capitol".

Syc. Oh what a many-sided, many-faced race of men. I for one suppose that Circe was their mother and Proteus their father.

Sard. By Pollux, I do not care much for those either. Now explain about the dog-heads, if (p. 33) you think that they are any better.

M. These are they who watch over the curtains and thresholds in shrines and sanctuaries. From the chest up they have dogs' heads, with ... stomachs, and curving hands; they are custodians and temple-keepers. Hecuba, after she became a real dog and married Anubis, our barking god, once gave birth to them, always a dozen at a time, in all the temples and shrines, two-formed from the chest up, as I said, beast above and man below. So when some unwary supplicant makes his way to a temple, they all roar, on this side and that, with dissonant barking. You must pay so much in order to enter, much more, however, to be permitted to make your supplication. They make a mystery and a profit out of religion. Anything common and free they sell at the doors. They must all be propitiated, and if you cannot offer them a little, you must still give them as much as you can. Consider mankind and your own capabilities, and grant us your pardon. Believe me, it is easier to approach a god, than to ... .

Syc. That will be sufficient. I do not want them either; I find nothing more infamous in all that you have said.

M. You are lucky not to have endured the dog-heads. I, however, have seen Cerberus in the flesh, where, had not the golden bough been present, Aeneas would not have escaped.

Syc. What about the apes?

M. These are they who write the future deeds as you call them, and revolve the fates of men on thin pages. These animals are not in fact dangerous, (p. 34) merely annoying and cruel. What grimaces you may see on their faces, what cavorting they will perform, if you throw coins to them. But if you give them nuts and berries too, you will captivate the whole mob.
Syo. If you please, you have overlooked the harpies, who are constantly stealing and robbing.

M. These are they who safeguard the vows of men and the honour due to the gods. Not only do they demand the usual ceremonies, but they also require extraordinary festivals and filial duties. If something is not ready on the appointed day, they exact it by torture. This way and that they fly throughout the whole world, close to the ground. They sharpen their claws for prey, fearful with their hooked talons, and continually swoop down on meal-tables. What they light on they carry off, what they leave they pollute. I prefer to feed these monstrosities than to experience them. But neither alternative is pleasant.

Sard. You have also overlooked the night-wanderers, the swift ones, the goat-footed, the goat-haired.

M. These prodigies are innumerable, but cowardly and vile. The only good thing about them is that they follow and observe none but the god Pan.

Syo. You yourself have condemned all these sacred beings. What then would you recommend?

M. Since you have asked ingenuously, you may know that among all these there is nothing better than for a man to be born with good fortune.

Q. That is just as we thought. But I ask you, how is fortune herself to be worshipped and propitiated?

M. I shall tell you. The guardian spirits are to be cultivated, since they regulate the decrees of fate. They must be placated and won round, and, at the same time, any misfortune lurking (p. 35) in the house should be enchained and removed.

Q. By Pollux, your teaching is wonderful. But grant us some proof of your powers and wisdom so that we may more easily follow all your instructions in future. Since you have told us all that you know, we should like you now, if you can, to tell us what you do not know.

M. That cannot, of course, be completely accomplished. But take a
few examples, from which you may imagine the rest. I have certainly not learnt of your characters or resources, have I?

Sard. Certainly not.

M. You, Sardanapallus, are poor.

Sard. I know, but that, I fear, is common knowledge.

M. Born of humble condition.

Sard. That is correct.

M. That is why you were given, contrariwise, a kingly name.

Sard. So they say.

M. You are a greedy, impudent, and very disastrous man.

Sard. Now then, Mandrogerus, did I ask you to list my faults?

M. I cannot tell a lie. Is there still something else which you would like me to tell you?

Sard. I wish you had not even said that much about me. If you have anything else to say, tell my friends.

Syc. I, Mandrogerus, now beg you to tell me the future, but only insomuch as it is good.'

M. I cannot do that unless I begin at the beginning. You, Sycophanta, were born of a noble and illustrious line.

Syc. That is so.

M. Worthless from the beginning.

Syc. Even that, I must admit, has not changed.

M. You suffer heavily from losses.

Syc. That is true.

(p. 36) M. Dangers often threaten you by fire, sword and flood.

Syc. By Pollux, he relates everything perfectly, as if he had lived with me.

M. It was your lot in life to have nothing of your own.

Syc. I understand.

M. But much from others.

Syc. That is more than enough for us. Now we pray you to grant this man too the favour of your oracular utterances. He is a pretty good fellow.

M. As you wish. Well, my friend, you are called Querolus, are you not?
Q. May the gods preserve you, that is so.
M. What time of day shall we say it is?
Svo. Between the sixth and the seventh hour.
Q. He is not mistaken. You would think that the man was reading from the water-clock. Well, what does that signify?
M. Mars is in trine, Saturn is in aspect with Venus, Jupiter is in quartile, Mercury is angry with him, the Sun is round, the Moon is leaping. I have now collected all your horoscope, Querolus. You are oppressed by bad fortune.
Q. I know.
M. Your father left you nothing, your friends give you nothing.
Q. That is true.
M. Do you want to hear everything? You have a bad neighbour, an atrocious slave.
Q. I recognise all that.
M. Would you also like me to name all your slaves?
Q. I should like to hear you do so.
M. You have a slave called Pantomalus.
Q. That is true.
M. Another is called Zeta.
(p.37) Q. That is correct.
Svo. Oh what divine inspiration.
M. Would you like to hear more? You know that I am ignorant of your house, do you?
Q. Certainly.
M. You have a portico on the right as you enter and a shrine opposite.
Q. That is how they all are.
M. In the shrine are three little images.
Q. That is true.
M. One of your tutelary deity, two of guardian spirits.
Q. At this very time you have proved your power and your knowledge, now produce a remedy.
M. Where would it be possible to make the necessary consultations
quickly and without delay and expense? No doubt the shrine is secret and solitary?
Q. It is.
M. You are sure that there is nothing hidden there?
Q. Nothing but the images.
M. A certain ritual must be performed there. The rites, however, exclude you and everyone else.
Q. As you wish.
M. The rites must be celebrated by outsiders.
Q. So be it.
M. But whom could we find right now at such short notice? The best and most convenient solution would be if these friends of yours would come to your aid now.
Q. I beg you, my friends, fulfil now your duties of friendship and religion. I too, if the need arises, will offer you my assistance.
Syr. We do not actually know anything about that, but if this is what must be done, so be it.
Sard. It would be inhuman to deny help to a request.
M. You have spoken well. You are both good men.
Q. For shame. Am I to be left all alone now as though on purpose?
Ho, (p.38) Pantomalus, come out here straightaway, hurry up. Go and fetch Arbiter, my neighbour, and, wherever you may find him, bring him directly to me. But I know you. Go on with you now, just go and sit yourself down in the inn today.
M. Are you not aware, Querolus, that the decrees of fate are ruled by the moment?
Q. What of it?
M. The hour is under auspicious stars, which pleases me. Unless we accomplish something right away we shall have come here in vain.
Q. Then let us go inside.
M. You go first, we are just behind you. Wait, I have forgotten something. Do you possess an empty chest?
Q. Several.
M. One is all we need, in which to transport the propitiatory sacrifice.

Q. Then I shall provide the keys with which to lock out the bad luck shut up inside it.

M. Everything is prepared. May all that is good, lucky and happy attend this house. We are ready.

(They all go into the house.)

(Act III, Scene 1.)

Pantomalus. (He comes out of the house.)

It is a self-evident and well recognised fact that all masters are evil. However, I have had sufficient experience to state that there is none worse than mine. Not that the man is dangerous, but he is so ungrateful and offensive. If a theft is committed in the house, he rants and raves as though it were a crime. If he sees something destroyed he immediately shouts and swears in a frightful fashion. If a chair, table or couch should be pushed into the fire, which tends to happen when we are in a hurry; (p. 39) even this makes him complain. If the roofs let water, if the doors are broken, he summons the whole household to him, he questions everything; by Hercules, he is unendurable. He even writes out the expenses and all the accounts with his own hand. If any amount is not shown to be an expense he demands that the money be returned to him. But how ungrateful and how unreasonable he is on a journey. For whenever we have to make a start before dawn, we indulge first in wine and then in sleep. Hence his first reproach. Afterwards, however, in the midst of our sleeping and wining, many more reproaches are bound to follow; the restless crowd; the search for the baggage animals; the flight of their keepers; the badly-matched mules; the harnesses round the wrong way; the muleteer unable even to control himself. Any novelty on a journey is a cause of complaint for him. However in any other case the whole affair would be rectified with a little patience and a short delay. But Querolus, on the other hand, seeks for one pretext after another, makes one complaint after another. He does
not like to move off with a broken waggon or a sick animal, and immediately shouts: "Why did you not bring this to my attention before?", as though he could not have seen it before for himself. Oh what unjust slavery. Moreover, if perchance he notices a fault, he pretends to have seen nothing, and keeps quiet, and does not start a quarrel until there is no longer any excuse to hand, so that we cannot be helped afterwards by saying: "I was just about to do that; I was just about to say this". Then again, whenever we are sent off hither and thither, we have to return at an appointed time. And so that you may be fully aware of the artfulness of that wicked man, you should know that he always allows us only one day more than the fixed time-limit in which to return according to instructions. Is that not looking for sources of anger? We, however, regardless of whatever else happened on any other occasion, always devote especially to ourselves the day on which we are to return. The master, therefore, who does not wish to be cheated or deceived, orders whomsoever he wishes to return on the first of the month to come back the day before. And how about the fact that he detests drunkards and recognises them at once? He sees the quantity and quality of the wine on your face and lips (p.40) at first glance. Who then could possibly serve or obey him properly? He does not want his hot water smoky or his vessels greasy. Whoever heard of such fastidiousness? A dented, cracked cup, a dirty, broken-handled jug, a grimy bottle with a broken neck bunged up with thick wax, he does not simply look at any of these. He can hardly control his anger. I really do not know what anyone could think of to appease such a perverse character. Moreover, he realises at once when wine has been thinned and adulterated with water. We also tend to mix one wine with another. Now could any adultery be said to have been committed, when a flagon emptied of its old juice is replenished again with new? Even this Querolus considers to be a disgraceful crime, and such is his nasty-mindedness that he suspects it straightaway. He always believes that even those tiny silver coins, stretched into thin disks,
have been filed and lightened, because it happened once. But what difference does a little make? In silver the colour certainly remains the same. For there are a thousand conjuring tricks for changing gold pieces. We change many things, but this cannot be changed. At least he should not be able to distinguish between these two twin dies. For is there anything more similar to one gold coin than another gold coin? But even here he looks for differences in the gold: profile, age, colour, worth, letters, origin, weight, even to the very smallest scruple, are examined more in gold than in man. And so wherever there is gold to be found, there is everything. Querolus was previously unaware of this, but bad men corrupt good ones.

Now that Arbiter, to whom I am going at the moment, is such a wicked man. He decreases his slaves' rations, then increases their work-load more than is right. By Hercules, he would invert his corn-measure, (p.41) if he could, to gain an illegal profit. And so, if ever they see each other by chance or on purpose, they give each other mutual advice. And yet, by Hercules, to tell all, if I must, I prefer my own master. At least that master of ours, whatever he is like, is still not mean towards his men. The only thing wrong with him is that he beats us too often and is always shouting. May god therefore be angry with both of them.

We, however, are not as wretched or as stupid as certain people think. Some people suppose we are half-asleep because we doze during the day. But we do that because of our vigils, since we stay awake all night. The slave who takes his rest during the hours of daylight is awake all through the night. I believe that nature never created anything better in human affairs than the night. That is our day, that is when we do everything. We visit the baths at night, although the day is enticing. But we bathe with lackeys and maidservants. Is that not the life for a free man? Moreover, what light or brightness there is provides sufficient adornment without publicity. Here I hold naked, whom my master may hardly glimpse dressed. I fondle her sides, I stroke
the loosened tresses of her hair, I sit down beside her, I embrace, I caress, I am caressed. Which of our masters is allowed to do likewise? But the crown of our felicity is that we are not jealous of one another. We all carry out thefts, yet no-one suffers loss, as it is all mutual. However, we spy on our masters and exclude them, for slaves and slave-girls mix only with each other. Woe unto those, whose masters prolong their watches late into the night. (p.42) For you shorten the lives of your slaves by the amount of time you subtract from the night. How many are the free men who would like to transform themselves in this way, being masters in the morning and slaves in the evening. It is never well with you, Querolus. You have to occupy your thoughts with law-suits and taxes, while we are partaking of all these pleasures. For us, however, there are daily weddings, birthdays, jokes, orgies, feasts of the slave-girls. Because of this not all slaves wish to run away, and some of them do not even want their freedom. For who could offer such expenses and impunity to a free man? But I have been sitting here for too long. I believe I heard my master shouting in his usual fashion. It was well for me when he ordered, and gone to join my companions. But what will happen here? The wrong that he will do to me must be accepted and suffered in silence. They are the masters. Let them say what they like for as long as they please. It must be tolerated. Good gods, shall I never be granted what I have sought for so long? That my excessively hard and harsh master should leave municipal office, or civil service, or department headship. Why do I say that? Because after advancement, loss of rank is even more degrading. What then should I wish for him, but that he should do what he already does? May he live as a toga-clad canvasser, a host to judges, an observer at doors, a servant of servants, an itinerant investigator, a skilful spy, a watcher and catcher of hours and moments, an early-bird, a noon-bird, a night-bird. May he impudently greet those who disdain his greeting, may he run to meet those who do not come, may he wear tight new boots in Summer. (He goes into the nextdoor-neighbour's house.)
Mandrogerus. Querolus. (They enter from the house.)

M. Remove such a heavy weight from your shoulders, Querolus. Religion has been satisfied now that you yourself have carried bad fortune out of your house.

Q. Oh Mandrogerus, I admit, I never thought that this could possibly happen. But the outcome is sufficient proof of your power and holiness. The little chest which I just brought in was so light for me alone and now it is so heavy for us two.

M. Do you not know that there is nothing heavier than bad fortune?

Q. By Pollux, I did know and do know.

M. May the gods preserve you, my friend. This experience that you were praising just now was also contrary to my expectations. I cannot recall any house thus purified. We have locked up all the calamity and poverty there was.

Q. By Hercules, I am amazed as to the origin of this weight.

M. I cannot explain this straightaway. But it often happens that such calamity cannot be removed even by many yoke of oxen. So at this very moment my ministers are going to take our purificatory sacrifice hence and throw it into the river. For your part, you must take the advice which I am about to give you very much to heart. The bad fortune which we have removed will try to return home.

Q. May the gods forbid. May this be its one and everlasting road.

M. So for the next three days you run the risk that the evil spirit will try to return to you. So you must stay shut up in your house day and night for the whole duration of these three days. From now on do not allow anything to leave your house, nor receive anything inside (p.44) the building. Reject all your neighbours, your relations, your friends, as though they were unclean. Let no-one harken even unto good fortune, should she herself come shouting and knocking at your door today. However, once these three days are over, you will never again have in your home that which you yourself have shut out of it. Go on inside then.

(p.43) (Act III, Scene 2.)
Q. Indeed I shall, and that right willingly, provided at least a wall alone separates me from my fortune.

M. Be off hence then, quickly now.

(Q. goes inside the house.)

M. Ho, Querolus, lock the door securely now.

Q. (inside) I have done so.

M. Fasten the bolts and chains.

Q. (inside) I shall do so as if my life depended on it.

(Act III, Scene 3.)

Mandrogerus. Sycophanta. Sardanapallus. (S. and S. enter from the house.)

M. By Pollux, things have gone smoothly. We have found, despoiled, shut up our man. But where shall we take a look at the urn or break and hide this little chest, so as to leave no clues about our theft?

Syc. By Pollux, I do not know, unless somewhere by the river.

Sard. Would you believe it, Mandrogerus, I have not dared to look into the urn for joy.

Syc. Nor have I.

M. Yes, but that is just as it should be, by Hercules, or our delay would have aroused suspicion.

Syc. That is true.

M. The first problem was to find it. Now for the rest. It is safe.

Syc. Whatever you wish to tell us, Mandrogerus, let us retire a little. As for myself, I shall not believe it until I have examined the gold.

(p.45) M. Nor shall I, I cannot pretend otherwise; let us proceed.

Syc. This way or that way, providing that it is a safe place.

M. By the devil, all the roads are occupied, the river-banks are crowded, let us go somewhere, anywhere, quickly.

(They retire in the direction of the river.)

(Act IV, Scene 1.)

Arbiter. Pantomalus. (They enter from the neighbour's house.)

A. Well, Pantomalus, what is happening at home? What is your
master doing?
P. You know very well.
A. So he is complaining?
P. Not exactly, so may he be safe and propitious towards us.
A. Yes, but, by Hercules, he is usually ungrateful.
P. Well, what else would you expect? That is the way of the world.
Does the sky ever apportion its favours equally? Even the sun himself does not always shine.
A. Well done, my dear Pantomalus, you must after all be the only slave to say such things in front of his master.
P. I say the same whether you are present or not.
A. I believe you, for I have always known you to be a good man.
P. You always make us good and happy, by giving our master such good advice.
A. I have always done so and always will.
P. Ah, if only he observed your character and was as patient and indulgent with us as you are with your slaves.
A. I do not recognise this testimonial, Pantomalus; you praise me too much.
P. By Pollux, we all know you and praise you very highly. And may all the wishes which we poor slaves make concerning you come true.
A. No, rather on you, by Hercules, and on your skin and bones be accomplished all that you have wished on me.
(p.46) P. Ah, why be so suspicious? Are you accusing us of anything?
A. No, but it is nevertheless natural for you slaves always to hate your masters without distinction.
P. That is true, we curse many of them vigorously and often and uninhibitedly, but they are the ones who are sycophants and slanderers, as you well know.
A. Very well then, I believe you. But what did you say that your master was doing?
P. He had begun a religious ceremony. A magician was present with his attendants. Then they were all going into the house together.
A. But what is this? How is it that I see the doors closed? I suppose they are performing the religious ceremony. Call someone out thence.
P. Ho, Theocles, ho, Zeta. Come here quickly, someone. But what is this? There is complete silence; there is nobody here.

A. The doormen used not to be so sleepy in this house.

P. By Hercules, I suppose it is a precaution against being disturbed by untimely callers, because of the ceremony. Let us enter here by the back door, which you know well.

A. Supposing that it is closed too?

P. Never fear with me as your guide. That is our entrance; it can be shut, but not locked.

(They enter the house by the back door.)

(Act IV, Scene 2.)

Mandrogerus, Sycophanta. Sardanapallus. Querulus. (M., S. and S. enter from the direction of the river. Q. is inside his house.)

M. Oh wretched me.

Syc. Oh unhappy me.

(p. 47) Sard. Oh naked and wretched am I.

Syc. Oh master Mandrogerus.

Sard. Oh my friend Sycophanta.

M. Oh my father Sardanapallus.

Sard. Assume your sadness, my pitiful brothers, put on the covering of a hood. This is worse than the loss of a man. It is a true loss that we are bewailing. And what will you do now with your powers, what do you think about the treasure? Gold is turned to ashes, and would that all gold were thus changed; we would be the richer.

M. Put down for a moment your useless burden, let us shed tears for this funeral. Oh deceptive treasure, truly I followed you across seas and winds, for you I voyaged successfully, for you I underwent all trials. Did I acquire astrology and magic merely to be deceived by the dead? I told another's fortune; I did not know my own fate. Now indeed at last I realise the significance of all those various visions. There certainly was good fortune here, but destined for another, not for me. Here our fates have been changed; we have found a treasure, but it was someone else's. What is this
perversity? I never wept for a relation of my own, but now I am bewailing another's. As for you, Querolus, does no just sorrow move you?

Sard. Oh cruel gold, what illness carried you off? What pyre thus consumed you? What magician stole you away? You have dis继承ed us, treasure. Whither shall we flee, so many disowned? What court will receive us? What pot will protect us?

M. Come, my friend, examine the urn again and again.

(p.48) Syc. You should have some other hope, my friend; this one has grown cold.

M. Please read out the inscription again, and all the words of the epitaph.

Sard. Rather I beg you to do so, please. I for one cannot touch anything to do with death; there is nothing that I fear more.

Syc. You are a timid man, Sardanapallus; I shall read it: "Here dead and buried lies Trierinus, son of Tricipinus". Oh, woe is me, woe is me.

M. What is the matter with you?

Syc. My heart is in my mouth. I have heard that gold smells, but this stinks.

M. How?

Syc. This leaden lid exhales baleful odours through its numerous perforations. Never before have I come across such rancid gold. Even a moneylender would say that it stunk.

M. What is the smell of the ashes?

Syc. An odour sad and rich, as is required by sorrowful adoration.

M. This cremation seems to have been treated with honour, since it smells so much of dignity.

Syc. I should never have endured all this had I listened to the advice the jackdaw sang.

Sard. I should not have fallen into the trap had I heeded the warnings of the short-tailed dog.

M. And how did he warn you?

Sard. As I entered the alley-way he snapped all round my ankles.
M. Would that he had gashed your legs too, so that you could not have moved a step forward. Oh deadly Euclio, was it not enough to fool me while you were alive? Will you not stop even now that you are dead? But did I not deserve it, since I put my trust in that straight-faced trickster? In fact he laughed at my fortune even in his own death.

Syr. Alas, what are we to do now?
M. What indeed, except, as I said a moment ago, at least avenge ourselves properly on his son Querolus, and make fun of him in miraculous ways, since he is superstitious? Let us throw the pot at him, secretly, through the window, so that he too may begin to bewail the man whom we have already lamented for some time. Advance on tiptoe and listen to what sort of thing Querolus is doing.

Sard. I like the plan.
M. Go on, by Pollux, and look carefully.
Sard. But what is this that I see? Everyone inside is now holding clubs and sticks.
M. By Pollux, I believe those credulous fools are awaiting the expected bad fortune. Advance and terrify the man in a terrible manner. Say that you are the awaited bad fortune, and threaten to rush into the house.

Sard. Ho, Querolus.
Q. (inside) What manner of man are you?
Sard. Open the door quickly and see.†
Q. (inside) Why?
(p.50) Sard. So that I may re-enter my house.
Q. (inside) Ho Zeta, ho Pantomalus, on guard here and there. Rather you be off hence, bad fortune, whither the priest took you.
Sard. Ho, Querolus.
Q. (inside) Why are you calling my name, I ask you?
Sard. I am your fortune, which the magician told you would return.
Q. (inside) Go away from here, I am not entertaining fortune today, not even good fortune.
M. Hoy, Syoophants, stand by the door, call the men aside, while I
throw these ashes through the window.

Syc. Open this door.

Q. (inside) Quickly, everyone, run over here.

M. Here is your treasure, Querolus, which Euclio left to you. Such may you always possess, such may you leave to your sons. It is over; let us leave here quickly and make for the boat, lest some evil even now may suddenly befall us here.

(M. and Syc. leave in the direction of the harbour. Sard. remains.)

(Act IV, Scene 3.)

Sard. Ah, whatever happens today must be borne. But I shall just run back a little here. I shall have lost the mystery unless I hear Querolus' words for myself. For he is an extremely credulous and timorous man. How he must now be in horror of the dead. I shall apply my ear here quietly. Ha, what do I hear? They are all rejoicing and dancing inside. I have no hope left. I shall listen again; it is the end, happiness has come to them, but to us, misery. Inside they are all looking for bags and cases and boxes, they are handling gold, solid gold coins are jingling inside. Alas, woe is me. There was life, where we thought that death was buried. We wretches were mistaken, but not simply, we went astray, but not once. A transformation has occurred here; we took away a burial, but we threw back gold. But what shall I do now? All that remains for me now is to be regarded as a thief. I shall go to join my fellow conspirators, so that I do not have to bewail such a calamity and true funeral by myself.

(He goes away in the direction of the harbour.)

(Lar Familiaris. (He enters from the house.)

At last the urn has given birth, heavy with the weight of gold, and the worthless mother has borne a mighty child; she did not deserve to be broken. Such great fidelity did not warrant this. A truly great and memorable pot, at one and the same time she kept her promise to her master and committed a theft from the thieves. Oh wise Euclio, we are not boasting; you guarded the treasure alive
and released it dead. Now therefore let all men know that they can neither gain nor lose anything without the omnipresent favour of the omnipotent. Insofar as regards the person of Querolus, everything has now been accomplished. But now I wish to ensnare that thieving and deceitful Mandrogerus, who will immediately return to share the treasure once he has heard about this and learnt of the whole affair. He will even dare to produce the codicil, in which he is named co-heir, provided that he reveals the pot to Querolus without deception. What should happen to him, according to his deserts, except what is now already about to take place? He will pay the penalty for his intentions, for his achievements are of our making.

(He returns into the house.)

(Act V, Scene 2.)

Querolus. Arbiter. Pantomalus. (They enter from the house.)

Q. Oh Arbiter, can you believe what you just saw?

A. By Pollux, I believe it and know it.

Q. What do you say, Pantomalus?

P. What do I say you should do now? I think that you should stop complaining from now on.

(p.52) Q. My mind is confused with joy. What should I admire or rejoice at first? The plan of my old father, or that of the gods?

A. Primarily the gift of the gods; for if we are to consider men, it is easily realised and apparent that the thief was of more benefit to you than your father.

Q. What do you think of me, who was so slow to recognise the fragments of that urn, which I had known for so long?

A. I would not have believed it myself except that I had immediately inspected the place where the earth had been moved; before that I did not believe it.

P. I, however, was never in any doubt, once I saw certain letters on the sherds.

Q. So it was that rascal Mandrogerus who contrived all this?

A. How could it be otherwise?
Oh that wicked man, who said he was a magician and an astrologer. Was I to carry my paternal support out of my own house with my own hands? Was I to shut myself up in the house? Was I to obstruct the treasure as it tried to return? This is clearly what my Household God foretold to me, when he said that all good gifts would come my way even if I struggled and fought against them.

A. How nicely this was calculated to deceive the cupidity of that highly deceitful man.

Q. Would you believe it, Arbiter — you know that I am too generous by nature — I should, by Hercules, be capable of rewarding the man, if I could find him, as he was so ridiculously wicked and always fell into his own trap.

(p. 53) A. That treacherous wretch, as we know, certainly deserved ill, but since everything has turned out well for you thanks to him, we all wish him well in consideration of the outcome, not of his deserts.

Q. Hallo, hallo, what is this? Unless I am mistaken it is Mandrogerus himself coming over there. Why is he returning here? I suppose he is going to perform some new sleight of hand here again. In with you quickly, Pantomalus, and bring here to us the fragments of that urn.

(P. goes into the house.)

A. By Hercules, that is a good idea.

Q. Oh my dear friend Arbiter, let us bring down a great disaster on that fraud. Let us now demand our treasure that he has stolen, and pretend that he has thrown some foreign corpse into our house.

A. Let us do so. It is a good plan.

Q. Let us keep to our proposal, then the rest will follow.

(Act V, Scene 3.)

Mandrogerus. Querolus. Arbiter. Pantomalus. (M. enters from the direction of the harbour.)

M. Good day, my dear Querolus.

Q. Are you still greeting me, you criminal, as though you had not seen me today?
M. By Pollux, I have seen you and I rejoice to see you again.
Q. But I, on the other hand, if I live, shall see to it right now that you do not rejoice again.
M. Ho, what have I done to deserve that?
Q. Do you ask, you wicked man, you who stripped my house today?
M. Away with these details; I am not unknown to you. I have been cultivating this house for a long time now.
(p.54) Q. Back to your magic tricks? You stole away my gold today.
M. Perhaps I had a right to do so, for was it not owed to me?
Q. By Pollux, that is nice, up to now I was the only child here. Now then, where did you spring from, my brother so young and yet so old? How have you suddenly become so aged, when you were recently unborn? For if you assert that you are my brother, you wretch, the fact still remains that you must admit to being only two years old, as it is now the third year since that father of mine, Euclio, departed and left me, by Hercules, his one and only child.
M. That is all a waste of time; I am your co-heir, not your brother.
Q. By Pollux, that is not going to turn out very well, for I should prefer you, my friend, to claim to be my brother rather than my co-heir.
M. What need is there of more, Querolus? Read what is written. Take it then; I know that I can rely on your integrity.
Q. By Hercules, you have put it to the test. Ho, what is this? "The aged Euclio sends greetings to his son Querolus. Since I feared that you might be robbed by some slave or stranger, I have sent to you Mandrogerus, my faithful friend, whom I got to know in a foreign country, to show you, without deceit, what I have left for you. You are to give him half of the treasure, if his good faith and actions warrant it." Ho, if you please, come over here a little way in this direction. The actual document explains and proves that I do not owe him anything, but to some extent, if it pleases, in short, if it seems good, I shall give him some reward. So you were my father's friend and companion abroad?
M. The very writing proves it.

Q. Naturally it is on this account that you so faithfully pass over in silence that which was entrusted to you. Come then, my friend, since you have established yourself as heir, give me something to share.

(p.55) M. By Pollux, I discovered the treasure and gave it to you entire and untouched.

Q. What? You gave me a treasure?

M. Do you deny it?

Q. If you do not remind me of everything, I may perhaps overlook something. What treasure are you talking about?

M. The one Euclio left you and I restored to you.

Q. And how did you come by the gold, you, an utter stranger?

M. I was joking, of course, so that you would recognise my good faith afterwards.

Q. So you stole a secret treasure which my old father had left behind?

M. This at least turned out well for you. For no-one else would have returned it.

Q. Come now, please, you have fooled us enough; rather restore it, so that I may recognise your true good faith. Thanks be to the gods, neighbour Arbiter, that our hope is secure.

M. Did I not say just now that a stranger would have been incapable of doing this?

Q. I give you my thanks. May the gods preserve you, my dearest friend, who kept your promise both to my dead father and to myself surviving. But where, I beg you, have you hidden the urn? Let the old man's instructions be completely fulfilled. Produce the treasure, and it will be quickly shared, since an Arbiter is present.

M. No, rather you produce the treasure and prove your good faith, since I have carried out my part.

Q. Are you making fun of me, Mandrogerus, or telling the truth?

M. By Pollux, I am telling the truth and speaking honestly, for I could have kept the lot but am only seeking my share.
So our treasure was in your hands?

M. It was, by Hercules.

Q. You will not move a step from here today, unless you return what you admit you stole, since you cannot deny it. Ho, I said, return what you stole.

M. I have returned it.

Q. To whom? When? How?

M. Today, through the window.

Q. Hahaha, where did you find the treasure?

M. By the holy shrine.

Q. By what exit did you remove it?

M. There, through that door.

Q. Then what reason did you have to return it through the window?

M. But it was you, I tell you, who carried the treasure outside.

Q. By Pollux, you have certainly fulfilled the condition of the codicil, whereby you were instructed to show me the treasure without deception. However, I shall overlook that condition, which I could invoke, even if you were to hand over the gold to me in person. All this is superfluous when the subject is nowhere to be seen. Return that which you refuse.

M. Oh what an age, Oh what morals, Oh father Euclio. Is this the good faith which you promised that I should find at home? I have returned it, I swear, by all the gods, I threw the treasure itself, untouched, into your house.

(p. 57) Q. Oh my dear friend Arbiter, this wretch has done worse than we supposed. He it is, unless I am mistaken, who threw that funeral urn into our house.

M. May the gods preserve you; I did throw it in. At last the truth is appearing.

Q. Tell me, please, Mandrogerus, if you were to inspect the pieces, would you recognise them?

M. Indeed I should be able to reconstruct the whole pot.

Q. Ho, Pantomalus, I ordered you to bring something hither to me a short while ago.

(P. enters from the house.)
Here are the pieces on which the inscription is written.

Do you recognise it, Mandrogerus?

M. By Hercules, I do recognise it. At last let the tricks and sleights of hand come to an end.

If you really recognise it, read quickly what was written there.

M. I have read it once and can read it again. Here, Pantomalus, give the fragments of the epitaph to me. "Here dead and buried lies Trierinus, son of Tricipitinus."

Well, you infamous rascal, can you see clearly? If you despised the favour of the living, did you also have to raise your hand against the dead to make sport and fun of them? Not content with uprooting these funeral ashes, you finally threw the sepulchral remains at me through the window. What have you to say to this? You have stolen a treasure, you have violated a sepulchre, you impious scoundrel; not only did you pillage my home, but you also polluted it, you irreligious devil. Do you deny it?

M. Please, since fortune has thus deserted me, I desire nothing further; farewell.

I, however, by Hercules, do desire something more, since you have loaded all your wickedness onto me, you wicked man. Ho, Pantomalus, do not move an inch away from him. I am going straight-away to enquire quickly where the praetor is in session, and shall pursue all this according to justice and the laws.

I beg you, Arbiter, to speak in my defence; I ask only his pardon.

Oh my dear Querolus, never be so quick to resort to bloodshed. Forgive and forget; that is true victory.

Come then, the remains of the deceased are to be buried. But what is to be done about the treasure?

What do you say, Mandrogerus?

I swear by the gods, I swear by the very faith which I have broken, that I have neither money nor treasure.

Forget these inanities for a while; let us imagine for a moment that we are appearing in court. You certainly did remove that urn?
M. That is a fact.
Q. Now choose, Mandrogerus, which you will prefer, whether it was ashes or gold there, since the case is of such a kind that it comprises many angles.
M. I have a wolf by the ears, and do not know how to plead innocent or guilty. Whichever I say will be against me, I can see. But I will speak: it was gold there.
Q. Then return it.
M. I have already done so.
Q. Prove it.
M. Do you recognise the urn?
Q. What do you want me to reply? Firstly, I myself do not recognise the urn. Is that sufficient?
M. What? Do you not recognise the inscription?
Q. No more than I do you, whom I first met here today. But suppose now that I do recognise the urn and the inscription. Return what was in the pot.
(p. 59) M. But what do you say was in the pot?
Q. I have not yet determined. You may say what you like.
M. And how can you demand gold of me, when the actual object proves it to have been funeral ashes?
Q. So you agree that there was a cremation there?
M. I do, since that is the way it is. I am not getting on very far like this. I must try another way.
Q. Oh you idiot, you admit the sacrilege while denying the theft.
M. Yet supposing that there was nothing in it?
Q. Then what are you demanding? If there was gold, you stole it; if you did not take it, there was not any.
M. I beg you, now say in your turn, what was in it?
Q. It is sufficient for us at present to justify ourselves and repel your objections, for if we attack you we shall have to try another way.
M. What sort of mystification is this? I did it all myself, but I am the only one to know nothing about it. Right now, I beg you, since I have neither means nor defence left, tell me simply,
whether I have committed a theft or a sacrilege, unless perchance it now remains for me, although I did not manage to commit a theft nor intend to commit a sacrilege, to be convicted of both crimes.

Q. Are you still pleading your suit in a roundabout way? For in what else does the case consist, but your stealing of our support and substitution of ashes, the former deceitfully, the latter impiously? For no-one can possibly believe either that you coveted a funeral, or that you threw away gold.

M. That is all very cleverly asserted and sounds like the truth even to me. But if you will believe anything, it is not like that.

(p.60) Q. Come now, be of good cheer, you have perpetrated nothing but sacrilege, for there was no gold there.

M. So I did not commit a theft, may the gods preserve you. We have won, for at this moment I should prefer to owe penance rather than money. But explain this, I beg you, whence came this heavy weight?

Q. Are you not aware, magician, that there is nothing heavier than bad fortune?

M. I realise that.

Q. Do you really ask whence came that weight? Did you not see the leaden lid on the urn?

M. Now at last everything fits together. Could not even an accomplished magician be fooled by such tricks?

A. Do you not yet understand, you fool, that we have been imposed upon by that man whom you knew so well? For where would a practically impoverished man acquire such a treasure? And if he had had one, would the son not then have known his father's secret, and did the latter reveal it to you, when he did not even entrust it to his own son? Consider again, if the head of the household knew of the treasure, would he, I ask you, have entrusted it to that place and have opened the way there to you?

M. By Pollux, I do not know what to say.

A. You did not know Euclio then. That old man had lots of pleasant tricks like that, and even dead he is still laughing at you.

M. By Pollux, at last I understand. I clearly recognise his
malice in this; he often made fun of me in similar ways. I beg you therefore, forgive me for removing the ashes; I thought that they were gold.

A. That is a good excuse, Mandrogerus. I recognise a very charming wit, I clearly recognise a companion of our old friend Euclio; that old man always loved people like you.

M. Please let me go.

A. Come now, Querolus, I know that you have always been humane and merciful. (p.61) Do not permit such a clever man to escape. He is a man of many parts; here you have a magician and an astrologer. The only thing wrong with him, which is most important, is that he cannot manage to commit theft. Receive him, I beg you, as a friend lost and found, since your father Euclio left him alone as your inheritance.

Q. Yes, but I fear a thief.

A. But why should you fear one thief? He has already stolen everything.

M. Please, my dear Querolus, I devoted myself to your father in time past, now I should like to serve you, as you have taken such pity on me today. Give me a livelihood, since you have spared my life.

Q. Since you both wish it so let it be. Can you learn new laws?

M. Hahaha, I took a part in founding them.

Q. I mean the servile and parasitic decrees of the Senate.

M. Oh, would you like me now to recite the chapters of the interdicts in the Porcian, Caninian, Furian and Rufian laws, passed during the Consulship of Torquatus and Taurea?

Q. Can you abide by all the provisions?

M. That is a small thing to ask me. You are now ordering me to learn them, when I want to teach them.

A. Hoho, he has won many a first prize. Receive, I beg you, someone so versed in the law. Men usually seek such a person at a great price.

Q. Since you wish it so let it be. But where are those companions and helpers of yours?

Pantomalus.

(S. and S. enter from the direction of the harbour.)

Syc. Here we are, present and correct, Oh father and patron.

Q. Oh Sycophanta, Oh Sardanapallus, is this your piety? But he has already put your case, you may go now wherever you please.

Syc. Yes, Querolus, we too know that one house cannot support three gluttons. But we beg you, allow us a few travelling expenses, since we have lost all hope.

Q. I? Give you money? How have you deserved it?

Syc. We came here with Mandrogerus.

Q. That is a good enough reason.
THE "QUEROLVS",

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY,

by Miss. Rosemary Dorothy O'Donnell, M.A.,

of Bedford College,

submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

in the University of London, 1980.

(Volume II.)
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COMMENTARY.
inscriptio: Only R, the Vetus Camerarii of Plautus (Ritschl's B), recognises the work as the Q, although it does not indicate that it is not by Plautus, as it includes it after the Plautus' plays, among which is Plautus' Aulularia. The other MSS. call it "Plautus' Aulularia." (The Florilegia MSS. quote excerpts from the Q under the heading Plautus in Aulularia.)

3.1-3.14 Dedication.

3.1 Rutili: For the possible identification of Rutilius with Rutilius Namatianus, vide the intro. section on Dedicatee. (Hav. suggested a lacuna before Rutili, adding Namatianus.)

3.1 venerande: venerandus is recognised in the lexica as an official form of address only for a pope or a bishop from the 5th century, vide Souter, e.v.; but cf. also ex. pseudo-Verg., Culex, 25, Octavi venerande; Aus., Ep., IX.2, Venerande pater.

3.1 honoratam quietem: honoratae is used of "honourable retirement" in the Law Codes, ex. Cod. Theod., XII.i.55.3. Honoratissima quiete donetur. (Dezeimeris, wishing to see Axius Paulus as the author of the Q, vide the intro. section on Author, compared Aus., Ep., VIII.26 (to A.P.), Otia τῇ ἐκλεισμαί σεγερ συμπλήρωσε Μοσαλή; VIII.43 (to A.P.), Αμβοίτιτρα οντα τετελομένη otia utia.)

3.2 ludicris: ludicrum usually refers to such public entertainments as sports or games, but may also refer to the theatrical arts, a "play", ex. Tac., Hist., I.32, Vt si in circo aut theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent; Cod. Theod., XV.vi.2.1, Ludicras artes concedimus agitari ne ex nimia harum restrictione tristitia generetur.

3.2 proximos et propinquos: Such alliterative word pairs of virtual synonyms are common, vide infra, passim. These are presumably the friends and relations of the author's patron, although editors from Ritt. on have suggested that these designations may be technical terms for the holders of certain Imperial offices, ex.
the Proximi Sacrarum Scriniarum, the three Scrinia Palatina, of Memoriae, Epistolarum and Libellorum, under the control of the Magister Officiorum (a post held by Rutilius Namatianus).

3.3 putans: Barth’s suggestion for the MSS. putas. The mistake could have occurred from the omission of a nasalisation stroke over the a. (PB add et before honore; Dan. added me before honore. Thomas qui, Barth quod. Hav. added hoc after dignum, Klink. quod, Peip. dum. Thomas also suggested the addition of et qui before inter. A monosyllabic addition after dignum would introduce a seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula, vide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure.)

3.4 collegio: cf. 12.18, Nam insipientium atque improborum facilium sustinetur odium quam collegium. collegium usually refers to a formal, established, "society" or "college", but although Cannegieter suggested that some priestly college is indicated here, it seems more likely that it refers to "friendship" or "social intercourse", ex. Sen., De Ben., VII.iii.2, Ruptis totiens affinitatis amicitiae collegii foederibus. (Des. compared Aus., Ep., XII.96, Vt genitor Augustus dedit/Collegio nati Probum; XXVIII.36, Primus in Aonidum qui te collegia duxi.)

3.5 his pro meritis: Anastrophe.

3.5 digna referam praemias; cf. Hor., Odes, IV.8, Donarem pateras grataque commodus,/Censorine, meis aera sodalibus;/Donarem tripodas, praemia fortium/Uraiorum, neque tu pessima munera/Ferres, duiete me scilicet artium,/Quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,/Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus/Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum./Sed non haec mihi uis, non tibi talium/Res est aut animus deliciarum egenis./Caudes carminibus; carmina possumus/Donare et pretium dicere muneri;/Aus., Act. Grat. Grat. Aug., Ago tibi gratias, imperatore Auguste; si possem, etiam referrem, sed nec tua fortuna desiderat remunerandi uicem nec nostra sugerit restituendi facultatem; Cens., De Die Nat., I.5, Quare, cum dona pretiosa
necue tibi per animi uirtutem desint, necue mihi per rei tenuitatem
supersint, quodcumque hoc libri est, meis opibus comparatum,
Nataliti titulo tibi misi....Ita ergo, a quo plura in litteris
percipi, tibi haec exigua reddo libamina. (Dez. compared the
Ausonian passage; Herrm., wishing to see Avianus as the author,
uide the intro. section on Author, compared Av., Fab., VII.2,
Muneribus dignas; VII.11, Haec tamen ille sibi credebat praemia
ferri; VII.16, Manera pro meritis si cupis ista dari; Phaedrus,
Fab., III, praeaf., 30, Honori et meritis dedicans illum tuum.)

3.5 pecunia illa rerum ac sollicitudinum causa et caput; (Alliterative)
word pairs of virtual synonyms. cf. Prop., III.7., Ergo sollicitae
tu causa pecunia uita.

3.6 neque mecum abundans neque apud te pretiosa est; For the
interchange of use between apud and cum in Late Lat., uide Ranstr.,
Q.Stud., pp.101seq; Bonnet, pp.603seq; Cornu, in A.L.L., XIII,
p.287.; Geyer, in A.L.L., II, pp.26sqq.; Heyl, s.v. apud; Johnston,
s.v. cum; with exx. and bibliog.; cf. 13.19, Sed hoc mecum
tolerabile est; 16.10, Bene mecum acitur sed iuxta alios male;
16.12, Certe apud te bene; 23.8, Iste qui apud me est locutus;
26.21, Noster ille qui mecum est locutus; 45.20, Essetque apud nos
tem rationem atque indulesens quam tu cum tuis; 61.17, Istud apud me
paruum est. In Class. Lat. locui apud aliquem is the equivalent of
coram aliquo, not cum aliquo, as here. apud te replaces the ethic
dative tibi; apud me and mecum are similarly used. (At 13.19 Ban.
suggested malum for mecum; Ranstr. suggested mihi for mecum.)

3.7 paruas mihi litterulas non paruas indulsit labor: (Dez.
compared Aus., Techno., praeaf., In tenui labor at non tenuis
gloria; Ep., VII (to Axius Paulus, quoting Verg., Georg., IV.6),
Delirus tuus in re tenui non tenuiter laboratus. Dez. suggested
that the Delirus could be the Q. or a similar work.)

3.7 litterulas: For litterulae, diminutive, plural, meaning
"studies", uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., with nuances such as
"erudition" or "little learning".
3.7 indulsit: For the various uses of indulgere in the Q., vide Heyl, s.v., with exx.; cf. 4.23, Qui nobis laborem indulsit; 39.6, Primus uino dein sommo indulgeramus; 42.12, Nunquamme indulgendum est mihi quod dumma peto; 45.21, Ten patiens atque indulgens quam tu own tuis; 61.10, Da uictum qui uitam indulsi. The weakened meaning, "to grant, bestow", is frequent in Late Lat., vide Donnet, p.296, with exx. from Greg. of Tours.

3.8 manebit: VL read manebat, but the context requires the author to hope for future everlasting fame as his only desired reward and thanks for his patron's hospitality. (Wernsdorf defended the past tense in the sense of literature having constituted his recompense.) For manere, "to remain, stay", weakened in Late Lat. to the meaning of esse, "to be", vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.88; Heyl, s.v., Rasi, in A.L.L., XV, p.483; T.L.L., s.v. (VIII.i.290.13sqq.); Weyman, in A.L.L., XV, p.382; with exx. and bibl.); cf. 35.28, Etiam hoo confiteor manet. (Orelli suggested manabit, meaning "hence will flow my reward.") cf. Verg., Aen., I. 605, Praemia digna feraunt....609, Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt; Quint. Curt., IX.iv.18, Quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod praemium ipsos manere?

3.8 atque: For the connective use of atque at the beginning of a sentence, cf. 12.4, Atque ut in omnibus requincere; 23.4, Atque ecce rem merit; 23.8, Atque edenol nisi fallor; 28.15, Atque isto nobis est opus; 39.19, Atque ut aposcatis penitus; similarly ac, 60.13, Ac si habuisset ille; cf. also et, 7.1; vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.88seq. (Hav. suggested atqui here; at 28.15 Pithou suggested atqui, where an i could have been lost by haplography in the beginning of isto.) atque may have an adversative as well as a connective sense, vide T.L.L., s.v. (II.1077.15sqq.), with exx., and the observation, Fere omnibus locis hic aut ille atque coniecit.

3.9 sermone illo philosophico ex tuo: Anastrophe. philosophicus, as opposed to philosophus, is post-Class., vide the lexica, s.v., with exx. For sermo philosophicus cf. sermo poeticus, 4.20.
3.10 meministine ridere tete solitum: Ellipse of esse.

3.11 academico: This may mean simply "philosophically", or could refer specifically to the Neo-Platonic philosophy popular in the Late Empire. (Dez. compared the method of the school of Saints mentioned in Aus., Ep., IV.11, Perfer in excursu uel teriuga millia epodon/Vel salsas lites quas schola uestra serit./Nobiscum inuenies nullas quia linguimus istic/Nuarcum ueteres cum sale rellicuias.)

3.12 destruere et asserere te solitum: Ellipse of esse. For the use of asserere and assertio in the Q., uide Heyl, s.v., with exx.; Johnston, p.40; cf. 54.11, Nam mallem amice fratrem te quam coheredem esse asseras; 59.24, Optime totum hoc asseritur; 9.24, Ergo posthac assertio contioescit. The metaphorical meaning, "to assert, affirm, confirm", and an "assertion, affirmation, confirmation", uide Souter, s.v., is more common than the literal meaning, "to liberate a slave" and a "formal declaration of status as a slave or free man", but is only found in Late Lat., where it is frequent, uide Bonnet, p.295. asserere may also mean "to defend", uide T.L.L., s.v. assertio, meaning affirmatio, confirmatio, declaratio, defensio, (II.369.16sq.), with reference to assertio in the Q., meaning defensio (II.369.75).

3.12 *sed quantum hoc est‖: H reads *sed quantum licet. The meaning is obscure. "But how much is this" could refer to the amount of material the author has borrowed from his patron, or to the importance of this material, or of his method in borrowing it, or of Rutilius' philosophical method. The reading of H may be correct, but it does not seem to make better sense. "But how much is allowed" could refer to the amount of material the author has dared to borrow from his patron, or to how much he feels he ought to say about Rutilius' philosophical method. H's reading would imply the ellipse of an infinitive such as sumere. quantum is used for quot in the Q., uide 10.5., but this meaning does not offer any help here. (Herrm. punctuated after rather than before the following hinc, but this does not help to explain the meaning.)
Barth suggested *secatundum hoc est*, meaning that the problem must be dealt with according to Rutilius' philosophical method.)

3.12 *hinc*: In a construction widespread in colloquial Lat., especially Old Lat. and Late Lat., although it also occurs in Class. Lat., a pronominal adverb takes over the function of the case of a noun or relative pronoun, with or without a preposition. This is especially noticeable in the Ơ., where there are several exx. of this use of *hinc*, also of *inde*, *unde*, *istinc*, *exinde*. *HINC*: here, *Hinc ergo quid in uero sit, for*, *ex.*, *harum rerum*, partitive genitive; 5.12, *Querolus an Aulularia haec dicatur fabula uestrum hinc iudicium uestra erit sententia, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*, (Dan. suggested *dehinc*, Canneg. *hic*); 12.14, *Vime breuibus remedium hinc dari, for*, *ex.*, *harum rerum*, *de hac re*, (Bongars suggested *huiic*, meaning *ei rei*, or *his*, meaning *eis rebus*, an attributive dative dependent on *dari* and antecedent of the previous quid); 15.12, *Quid si etiam hinc uincimus, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*, or *de hoc homine, de isto uicino*; 20.19, *Etiam hinc respondeo, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*, *de hoc*, (R reads *huiic*, A reads *hio*); 23.8, *Nihil prorsus hinc placet, for*, *ex.*, *harum rerum*, (Dan. suggested *abhinc*); 32.2, *Ne tu quicquam hinc noueris, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*; 39.1, *Etiam hinc queritur, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*, *de hoc*; 39.6, *Hinc primum est iurgium, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*, *uide T.L.L., s.v.*, meaning *de hac re* (VI.iii.2802.69sqq.), with *exx.*; *ex*. Plaut., Aul., 291, *Fide adeo obsoni hinc iussit dimidium dari*; Sid. Ap., Ep., V.vi.2, *Si quid hinc tibi tuisque suspicacionis incutitur; Paul. of Nola, Carm.*, XXI.25, *Quid ego hinc modo plura loquar? INDE*: 54.25, *Nimium inde tam fidéliter nobis commisa istaeac taces, for*, *ex.*, *de hac re*, *de hoc; uide T.L.L., s.v.*, (VII.i.1117.84sqq.), with *exx.*; *ex*. Drac., Rom., V.204, *Fortior est diues iuuenis macis inde timendus. VNDE*: 9.2, *Quod seminudus es recognosco unde dealbatus nescio, for*, *ex.*, *de quo, quamobrem, quem ob causam*; 9.16, *Vnum solum est unde responderi mihi uolo, for*, *ex.*, *de quo*, (H reads *de quo*); 16.24, *Ne putas posse te aliquid deplorare etque excipere unde aliquid
legeris, for, ex., de quo, harum rerum; 43.13, Miror hercle unde pondus, for, ex., de quo; 54.4, Vnde subito tam uetustus, for, ex., de quo; 60.5, Vnde pondus tantum illio erat, for, ex., de quo; 60.8, Etiam cuaceritas unde pondus, for, ex., de quo; 60.13, Vnde autem illi thessaurum, for, ex., de quo; ex. Cato, De Art., V.3, Duae aut tres familias habeat unde utenda roset, for, ex., a quibus; of the legal term, unde petitur, "the defendant", ex. Cic., Ep. ad Fam., VII.11, Eco omnibus unde petitur hoo consili daderim. ISTING: 14.16, Iam istino nihil audio, for, ex., de hac re; 37.27, Nihil quidem istino nouimus, for, ex., de hac re; uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning iStarum rerum (VII.ii.517.37sqq.), de ista (hac) re (517.44sqq.), with exx; ex. Plaut. (516.81seq.), Pseud., 1164, Nemento ergo dimidium istino mihi de praeda dare; Rud., 1077, Equidem neque ergo partem posso mihi istino de istoc uidulo. EXINDE: (5.20, Hic exinde sibimet sufficiens fuit, seems to have a temporal rather than a causal sense. A temporal contrast does appear to be made between what he had needed up till now, exinde, and the fact that now, nunc, thanks to the Lar, he is going to be very rich. The use of exinde as a terminus ante quern, "to date", rather than a terminus post quern, "since the Lar adopted him", is noted only here and at 54.3, uide infra, by the T.L.L., s.v., meaning adhuc, nunc usque (V.ii.1059.18sqq.). Löffstedt (1911) pp.230seq., also took it as being equivalent in meaning to usque adhuc. Sima too first took it to be temporal, but later, in view of so many other examples of this usage of the pronominal adverb, he presumed that exinde here must be similarly causal. Ranstr. accepted the causal interpretation.); 9.11, Proinde quidquid exinde quereris, for, ex., de hac re, de rebus humanis. (Ranstr. preferred a temporal meaning here, "continually", uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning continuo, incessanter (V.ii. 1059.14sqq.). The supporting exx. from Apuleius are otherwise explained by Wiman, p.57: Ap., Met., VIII.27, Näm mater mueri, mortem deplorans acerbam filii, fleta et laorimosa, fuscaque ueste contectr, ambabus manibus trahens cinerosam canitiem, heuulans et exinde proclamans, stabulum irrumpit meum, exinde, causal, "about it",

26.4, Quaeque exinde meditamur nocte ac die, for, ex., de hac re. (Hav. preferred a temporal meaning, deinde, "thereafter, afterwards", a terminus post quern.); (54.3, Solus exinde hic fui, also seems to have a temporal meaning here as at 5.20, vide supra, contrasted with the following nunc, although MSS, first thinking it temporal, later presumed that it must also be causal. On the temporal use of exinde, Ranstr. pointed out that exinde should be equated with usque hic, not with usque alone, as Løfstedt (1911) pp.230 seq., as can be seen from this passage, where hic is local, meaning "here", and exinde alone means "up till now".); vide T.L.L., s.v.; meaning de eo (V.ii.1509.16sqq.), with exx.; ex. Cassiod., Inst. Diu., I.13, Deinde Sanctus Ambrosius...exinde sex libros eloquentiae suae more confecit, quos appellavit Hexameron. For further exx. and bibliog., vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.98sqq.; Bonnet, p.580; Løfstedt (1911) pp.108seq., (1918) pp.94sqq., (1933) II, pp.133sqq., esp. pp.149sqq.; Kullendorff, p.77; L.H.S.; II.ii.2, pp.208sqq.; Menge & Thierfelder, section 491; Svennung (1935) p.358; Tièrner (1938) p.73; Wackernagel, I, pp.298seq.

3.12 hinc ergo quid in uero sit?: The meaning is obscure. If this were asking how much truth there was in Rutilius' sermo philosophicus, it would not be very complimentary to the author's patron, unless the answer implied were "a great deal". Dan. suggested that the question concerned what truth there was in the arguments which Rutilius constructed and demolished. The author could also be asking how much truth there was in the statement that he has borrowed from Rutilius' work, so that only those acquainted with his patron's work would know how much of it he had taken, vide infra. He could also be asking what (philosophical) truth there was in the ideas expressed on stage.
3.13 *qui solus nouit nouerit*: The meaning is obscure. It is possible that this refers to (the Christian?) god, uide the intro. section on History and Thought; Religion, meaning "God alone knows", as V3 glosses, deus; cf. 51.8, Omnes itaque homines nunc intellegent neque adipsi neque perdere valere aliquid nisi ubique faueat totum ille qui potest; or this may be Rutilius, or anyone who knows his *sermo philosophicus*. Klink, supposed the author to be saying that he will leave the establishment of the truth to philosophers rather than to comic poets. Cors., finding it counterproductive to attempt to rationalise such vague allusions in a text such as this, preferred to understand a deliberately vague "who knows". (Barth, suggested unus for solus, but this would hardly help to elucidate the meaning. Herrm. suggested *qui solus materiam nouit*, adding materiam, "the subject", from 3.15, materia haec est. Dez. suggested *qui saecus norit*, meaning "he who is no stranger to the finesses of the language", as a compliment to the audience, comparing Ter.; Ad., prol., 10, *Qui utramuis recte norit ambas nouerit.*)

3.13 *nos fabellis atque mensis hunc libellum scrismus*: (Dez. compared Aus., Ep., VIII.25 (to Axius Paulus), οὖκ ἤδον ἐκπολύν nec mensae accommodus ulli.)

3.13 *fabellis*: For *fabula* meaning "conversation" in Silver and Late Lat., uide Forcellini, s.v., with exx.; this passage is, however, the only ex. of the diminutive used in this way known to the T.L.L., s.v., meaning *sermo* (VI.i.6.67seq.).

3.13 *fabellis atque mensis*: Hendiadys for "dinner-table conversations". Reading aloud at table was a practice which survived from Antiquity into the monasteries. Literary, theatrical, philosophical and musical entertainment at dinner is recorded by Stevens, p.72; uide also the intro. section on Genre.
3.14 *libellum*: The reading of LH. The other MSS. read *librum*, but the diminutive, which also occurs at 4.18, while *liber* does not recur, produces a seven-syllable iambic trochaic clausula.

3.15-4.17 Argument.

3.15 materia haec est; The plot is here outlined for the first time, cf. 6.1. (Denz. compared Aus., Gryphus, praef., Fuit autem inertiolae huius ista materia.) For the transference of the author's attention from himself and his affairs to the plot of his play, vide 4.20, with *exx.* from Plautus and Terence. For the plot, cf. Plaut., Aul., *arg.* I. Senex auarus uix sibi credens Euclio/Domi suae defossam multis cum oribus/Aulam inuenit rursumque penitus conditam/Exsanguis anens seruat; *arg.* II, Aulam repertam aurum/mansam Euclio/Vi summa seruat miseriis affectus modis: Vitalis of Bilois, Aul., *arg.*, Committens omne fragili Queroli pater aurum/Feceat in titulo funeris esse fidem./It perecit, Seruo moriens secreta recludit./In Querolum redit ille dolum./Fit marus utque domum Queroli expet, hanc subit, olla/Tollit, in titulo fallit, ossa putat./Redditur, inicitur laribus, confringitur, aurum/Fundit, adest Querolus, fusas talenta legit./Mentitur servus quia rettulit ultero fidemque/Inuenit in fraude, creditur, acta placet.

3.15 Euclio; E. is the protagonist of Plautus' Aulularia. The action of the *Q.* takes place after his death, and therefore provides a sequel to the plot of the Aulularia, not a reworking thereof, vide the intro. section on Characters.

3.16 ornam; *ornas* for *urna* is unknown to the lexica. It is only quoted from the *Q.* in DuC., while the O.L.D. gives "*ornas* see *urna*" (but the requisite volume is yet to be published).

3.16 busta; *bustum* and *busta*, here and frequently in the *Q.*, refer to the actual ashes, the burned body itself, rather than to the tomb or grave, as *V*3 glosses, cineres; vide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v.; *ex.* Stat., Theb., XII.247, Et egena sepulchri/Busta iacere reor.

3.17 *titulique*; viz. Trierinus Tricipitini filius conditus et semultus hic iacet, 48.8, 57.15. For *titulus* meaning "epitaph,
sepulchral inscription\textsuperscript{4}, \textit{uide} L\&S. (Lat.), \textit{s.v.}, with \textit{exx.}; \textit{ex.}
Pliny, \textit{Ep.}, VI.x.3, \textit{Cinerem sine titulo sine nomine iacere}. The
epitaph would have been inscribed on the pot prior to its reuse
as a cinerary urn after being used as a jug.

3.17 nauem ascendens ornament domi fodiit rem nulli aperuit: \textit{of.} Plaut.,
\textit{Trin.}, \textit{arg.}, \textit{Thesaurus abstrusum abiens peregre Charmides/Remque
ornem anico Callicoli mandat \textit{meo}. 

3.17 ascendens: The present participle is used for the future
participle in Silver and Late Latin. Euclio must have buried his
\textit{uide} K\&S., I, pp.755sqq., with \textit{exx.}, especially from Livy,
particularly indicating intention.

3.17 ornem: \textit{uide} 3.16.

3.18 fodiit: Simple for compound verbs are common in Late Lat. For
\textit{fodiere}, "to dig", for \textit{defodiere}, "to dig out, bury", or \textit{infodiere},
"to dig in, bury", the \textit{T.L.L.}, \textit{s.v.} (VI.i.993.63), knows only
Pomp. Mela, I.ix.57, \textit{Mortuos fimo obiit plangunt nec cremare aut
fodiere fas putant}. (\textit{Here} \textit{PH} \textit{read} \textit{defodiit}, \textit{B} \textit{reads} \textit{infodiit}. \textit{cf.}
Plaut., \textit{Aul.}, 8, \textit{Auril thesaurum clam omnis in medio foco/Defodiit.
An i with a nasalisation stroke for the \textit{in} of \textit{infodiit} could have
been omitted by haplography after the \textit{i} of the preceding \textit{domi}.)
Other \textit{exx.} of simple for compound verbs in the 2. are: \textit{esse} for
\textit{adesse}, \textit{est} for \textit{adest}, 46.12, \textit{fuit} for \textit{adfuit}, 59.10; \textit{uide} Heyl,
\textit{S.v.} \textit{esse}; \textit{ex. Ennod., Ep.}, VII.xviii.3, \textit{Oatumnoeris et filio tuo
futurum}. (\textit{At} 46.12 \textit{H} \textit{reads} \textit{adest}. The \textit{ad} could have been lost by
careless repetition of the previous \textit{est} instead of \textit{adest}.) \textit{ferre}
for \textit{efferre}, \textit{auferre} or \textit{sufferre}, \textit{tulit} for \textit{extulit}, 47.20,
\textit{tulisti} for \textit{abstulisti} or \textit{assulisti}, 59.11; \textit{cf.} 59.10, \textit{abstulisti};
\textit{uide} Heyl, \textit{S.v.} \textit{ferre}, with \textit{exx.}; Souter, \textit{S.v.} \textit{ferc}, meaning
\textit{auferre}, from the 4th. century; \textit{ex.} Verg., Buc./Bol., V.34, \textit{Post-
guan te fata tulerint}. (\textit{At} 59.11 \textit{L} \textit{reads} \textit{assulisti}.) \textit{seruare}
for \textit{observare}, \textit{seruantur} for \textit{observantur}, 45.3, \textit{seruassem} for
obseruassem. 48.23; uide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v., with exx., for seruare as a common synonym of obseruare. (At 45.3 Herrm. suggested obseruantur, Ritt. asseruantur.) uenire for evenire, uenit for evenit, 43.10, uenerunt for euenerunt, 53.2; uide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v., for uenire, of events, meaning "to happen"; ex. Tac., Ann., XIV.43, Quod hodie uenit. (At 43.10, Mihi ipsi hoc praeter spem uenit, L reads euenit; cf. Ter., And., 436, Praeter spem uenit.


Euclio's motives in burying the urn, when he had already disguised it, seem somewhat confused, although he could he supposed to have been taking double precautions. However, as has been suggested, this confusion could be the result of an insufficiently skilful blending of two different motives, that of buried treasure and that of disguised treasure, uide the intro. section on Sources.

3.18 moriens; uide 3.17, ascendens; of. 6.5, moriens. The participle may have a present sense here, as Euclio was actually dying at the time. For the last words of someone while actually dying, of. Cic., Cato Maior de Sen., XXII.79, Moriens Cyrus Maior haec dicit; XXII. 82, Cyrus quidem haec moriens.

3.18 hic peregrors moriens parasitum ibidem cognitum; of. 54.17, Mandrogerontem fidelem amicum et peregrors mihi cognitum.

3.19 filio coheredem; For esse coheres alicui, uide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v. coheres; ex. Hor., Sat., II.v.54, Solus multis coheres; Petron., Sat., LXXVI.2, Coheredem me Caesari fecit.
3.19 tacita scripturae fide: cf. 48.4, Titulum funeris atque omnem scripturae fidem. scripturae fides probably means no more than
scriptura, as Hav. suggested in Revue de Philologie (1879) p.90, n.1 (comparing tituli fides for titulus on an inscription).
scriptura as a legal term refers to a section of a will, ex. Cic.,
De Inv. Rhet., II.xl.117, Deinde ex superiore et ex inferiore
scriptura docendum id quod quaeratur fieri perspicuum. Quae autem
ex omni considerata scriptura perspicua fiant haec ambigua non
opertere existimare. tacita, "silent", is most obviously interpreted
as written, not spoken, as V3 glosses, id est non uerbo sed scripto.
(Klink. understood this to refer to the fideicommissum, an
unofficial declaration of will, usually in letter form (here
Euclio's letter), introduced under Justinian, but with different
shades of meaning according to the period, formerly unrecognised,
but later legally allowed. Although not necessarily legally
binding, its moral obligation was felt to be strong. Having less
formal phraseology than a will, though still a formal document, it
could be used by foreigners, widows, orphans, etc. A Roman abroad,
unable to fulfill the complicated formalities of a regular will
with some of his fellow citizens as witnesses, could turn to it if
he felt that his last hour had come. His only way of transferring
his inheritance would be by means of a heres fiducarius (here
Nandrogerus), who would undertake the execution of the will against
compensation. A fideicommissum could also be made dependent on
certain conditions (here si eidem thesaurum occultum sine fraude
ostenderet), and might allow of more than one interpretation. uide
P.W., s.v. fideicommissum, with refs. to the Law Codes, and bibliog.)

3.20 sine fraude: cf. 51.14, Codicillos etiam proferre audebit
quibus ita coheres scriptus est si aulam Querolo sine fraude
ostenderet; 54.19, Vt is tibimet quod reliqui sine fraude
ostenderet; 56.16, Pulchre edepol condicionem codicillorum
impleuisti qua praecedentum est ut thesaurum mihi sine fraude
ostenderes.
3.20 tantummodo: Euclio only revealed to Mandrogerus the location of the treasure, not the nature of its disguise.

4.1 obitus doli: The MSS. punctuate after ostendit; Barth punctuated after doli, but it seems unlikely that this should be understood of the senex in view of other passages where we are given to understand that Euclio acted intentionally. (6.13, Sic ille prosperit senex; 49.2, O Euclio funeste parumne uiuus illusisti? Ne defunctus desines? Et quid ego non merui qui acelasto illi et perfido fidem accommodavi? Et fortunas meas in ipso risit exitu; 51.5, O sapiens Euclio...thesaurum servasti uiuus liberasti mortuus; 52.2, Consilium senis nostri an diunitatis?; 60.12, Impositum nobis esse ab illo quem bene noueram; 60.21, Illius plane hic nequitiam recogmosco frequentier ille similibus me lusit modis.) At 6.6, however, Euclio is described as obitus: Cui tamen siue obitus siue supernaucum putans de busto et titulo nihil expexit. The author appears to leave the choice of motive to the reader, as if he himself were as yet unsure of his character's motives. (cf. 5.12, where the choice of title is similarly left to the reader: Querolus en Aulularia haec dicatur fabula uestrum hinc iudicium uestra erit sententia.) Yet supposing obitus doli to be understood of the parasitus, we are nowhere told that Euclio ever revealed the full truth to Mandrogerus. Perhaps the latter should have been wary in view of what he already knew of the former's tricky character, cf. 49.2, supra. Dolus need not refer to the particular deceit practised on this occasion, but to any deceit or fraud. For obitus in the sense of "unmindful of", "oblivious to", rather than "forgetful of", vide O.L.D., s.v. obliuiscor, meaning "to forget about something that one ought to remember, to fail to consider or bear in mind", with exx., although no exact parallels. cf. Vitalis of Elois, Aul., 699, Siue dolo siue nos aliam depredimus uernam./Siue ut desperet feceret ille dolor.

4.2 rupit: (Hav. suggested the present rumpit, to be supplied by the simple addition of a nasalisation stroke over the u, as he
regarded ascendit and venit as historic presents; but these three verbs are all perfects. A present venit would destroy the seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula, venit et rupit fidem.

4.2 magum mathematicumque: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms. magus and mathematicus are also linked at 26.24, 52.14, 61.2. Mandrogerus is also called a diinus (ex. at 27.3) and a sacerdos (ex. at 29.21). magus: A member of an Eastern, Egyptian, Persian or Druidical priestly caste, especially a Persian wise man, as the Magi who visited Jesus; also anyone given to occult arts, particularly in a bad sense, a magician, conjurer, enchanter, sorcerer, poisoner; a physician; Jesus, because of His miracles; Simon Magus; a Christian martyr; a Christian heretic; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. mathematicus: Originally a mathematician, but used of an astrologer in post-Aug. Lat.; ex. Juv., Sat., XIV. 248, Nota mathematicis genesis tua sed graue tardas/Expectare colus (cf. 36.16, Colleio omnes ian genesis tuam Querole). Astrologers, frequently incorrectly associated with magicians, were widely suspected of being imposters; (cf. 29.4, Huiusmodi homines impostores esse); uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. diinus: A prophet, seer, soothsayer, fortune-teller, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. sacerdos: A priest, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

4.2 esse fingens: Ellipse of esse.

4.3 quidquid: Ellipse of antecedent id.

4.4 Queroli: (Canneg. suggested Querolo, indirect object of loquitur, but Queroli is the possessive genitive of secreta et familiaria.)

4.4 secreta et familiaria: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

4.4 diinus: uide 4.2.

4.5 fidem accommodat: For the various uses of accommodare in the Q., cf. 10.4, Necesse est meritis ut meis sensum accommodem; 15.20, 15.23, Aurem accommoda; 21.17, Et circumuenienti operan atque assemnum
accommoda; 49.4, Qui agelasto illi et perfido fidem accommodauit; uide Heyl, s.v., meaning praebere, adhibere, with exx.; ex. Paul., Dig., XXVIII.vi.43.3, Vnus ex heredibus institutis, qui tacitam fiden accommodauerat, ut non capienti partem ex eo quod a ccepserat daret; Claud., De Bell. Gild., I.425, Juuentus/Nixa hastis, pronaque ferox accommodauit aures.

4.5 magus: uide 4.2.

4.6 purificat et puram facit: cf. 43.11, Nullam umquam domum sic purificatam retineo. A figura etymologica. Not only is the house "purified" or "cleansed", it is also "plundered". et puram facit should not therefore be deleted as a gloss, as Dan. suggested. These words provide a five-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.143.

4.6 ornam: For orna for urna, uide 3.16. (H reads urnam.)

4.7 metere decipitu dolo: uide 4.1. This supports the theory that Euclio's treachery was intentional.

4.7 bustum: uide 3.16.

4.7 simulabatur: There is a mixture of present and past tenses in the narrative here. For the use of the historic present, uide infra, 4.13. (For simulabatur Hav. suggested simulatur; for credidit Dan. suggested credit; for putat Dan. suggested putuit, Barth putabat; for ulcisceretur Klink. suggested ulciscatur.)

4.7 credidit: uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning putare aliquid uerum esse (IV.iI.1134.76sqq.), with exx.

4.8 irrisum se putat: Ellipse of esse.

4.8 se ulcisceretur: cf. 49.8, Quid autem nisi quod dudum diximus ut nos saltem de filio eius Querolo ulciscamur probe.

4.8 ornam: For orna for urna, uide 3.16. (H corrects to urnam.)

4.8 ornam Queroli in domum...per fenestram propulit: (Reekmans compared Pap. Rylands, II.125.24,25,26,27,28; (Loeb, Select Pap., II. 279), ἐκκενδόσας τὰ προκείμενα ἔριψεν ἐν τῷ ὀλυμπ. ου τὴν πυξίδα κενήν, δὲ καὶ ὑμολόγησεν τὴν πυξίδα δὲ προφέρεται κενήν.)
4.9 propulit: The MSS, read protulit. V2 corrects to propulit; cf. 49.8, Aulam illi per fenestram propellamus clanculum. (Crut. suggested propulit, Kink. proiecit. For proicere, cf. 56.22, Ipsumque thesaurum illibatum intra aedas proieci tuas; 57.2, Qui urnam illam funestam nobis proiecit in domum; 57.4, Ipsam ego proieci; 57.20, Vltimo per fenestram etiam funestas mihi proieciisti reliquias.)

4.10 explosa et comminuta: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

4.10 explosa: A scenic term, explodere literally means "to hiss, hoot, boo or clap an actor from the stage"; it is also used more generally, and metaphorically, uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning dissolvere, dirumpere (V.i.1740,39sq.), quoting this passage; cf. 9.24, Ergo posthac assertio continget si persona exploditur, where persona, a "part" or "character", would fit the scenic connotation of the verb, uide T.L.L., loc. cit. (30seq.), quoting 9.24, with ex., for explodere(aliquem)meaning repeller; 24.19, Ohe homo prodigioso ego te iam nunc explodo cum uerbis tuis, where either or both meanings may be appropriate. explodere is also used as a legal term meaning "to reject, disapprove or accuse", uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning rejicere, abolere, abhorriere (loc. cit., 29sq.), which would also be appropriate at 9.24.

4.10 bustum: uide 3.16.

4.10 bustum in pretium uertitur: of. Hor., Odes, III.xvi.9, Conversum in pretium doc; Anth. Graec./Pal., IX.44, χρυσόν ἄνηρ εὐρών ἔλιπε βρόχον·εὔσαρ ὡς χρυσόν/ἄν λάκεν οὐχ εὐρών ἤπει ὃν εὔρε βρόχον.

4.11 thesaurus...reddidit: of. Flaut., Aul., arg., I.13, Per dolum mox Buclicio/Cum perdidisset aulam, insperato inuenit. (Des. compared Aus., Epigr., 36 (Epitaph. Her., 30), Hoc peruenite fugis, hoc fugiente peris (of which Ausonius was probably not the author); Anth. Graec./Pal., IX.448, δοσ' ἔλομεν λαβόμεθα', δοσ' ὁ πχ ἔλομεν φερόμεθα.)
4.11 thesaurus aurum: The reading of H. The other MSS. read thesaurum. This mistake must have arisen from the running-together of the two words in the hyparchetype of the other MSS. thesaurus aurum supplies a subject and an object for the following verbs. "Treasure" and "gold" are similarly personified at 47.20, O crudel aurum...Exheredasti nos thesaure.


4.11 fidem: fides, "belief", here implies "expectation", uide O.L.D., s.v., meaning "belief, conviction, credance", and "the range or possibility of belief, what can be believed", with exx.

4.11 cum lateret perdidit cum perisset reddidit: (A pair of seven-syllable iambic-trochaic clausulae. Various suggestions have been made with the aim of improving the sense of this passage. Substitutes which would retain the rhythm are, for lateret, haberet; for perdidit, prendidit, prodidit, reddidit or repperit; for reddidit, prodidit or perdidit.)

4.13 reuolat: The narrative continues in the historic present; uide Adams (1976) p.69, (1977), p.51, with exx., for the use of the historic present in Vulgar Lat. ("The historic present was probably as common in colloquial narrative as in the historic register"); also K.&S., I, pp.114sqq., with exx. and bibliog.

4.15 violati: Dan.'s suggestion for the MSS. reading violator. violati describes sepulchri as genitive of the charge with reus. (Although, as Johnston argued, it would be possible for sepulchri to be an objective genitive dependent on violator, this would separate furti awkwardly from reus, and destroy the structural parallel of primus furti with post etiam sepulchri violati.)

4.16 fato atque merito: cf. 5.22, Sic meritum est ipsius, nam quod pro meritis reddendum uobis non putatis ipsi nosmet fallitis; 51.14, Quid huic merito exuinet nisi quod iam nunc fiat? Ferat quod facere uoluit, nam quod fecit nostrum est; uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Religion and Philosophy. Here the problem of
Fate or Fortune, or (Divine?) Providence, is introduced for the first time. *fato atque merito* would appear to be a contradiction in terms: either the issue is already predetermined, or the protagonists are rewarded according to their deserts.

4.16 *collocantur sic ambo ad sua; collocare* is more usually followed by *in* and other prepositions, than by *ad*, *uide T.L.L.*, *s.v.* (III.i.1643.71sq.), with *exx.* of *collocare* with *ad* having other shades of meaning, but only this passage referring to a human condition or profession.

4.18 *tuo...tuis*: The end of the Dedication (*uide 3.1*).

4.18 *illu*stri: Dan.'s suggestion for the MSS. *reading illustris*. The work is dedicated to the "glorious name" of the author's patron, *uide Heyl, s.v.* As Dan. realised, the author must be using this term of his patron, and would hardly presume to describe his own *libellus* as *illustris*. Barth suggested the addition of *uir* before *illustris*, as *uir* could have been lost by haplography in the *ur* at the end of *igitur*. But the word *uir* occurs nowhere else in the *q.*, and it cannot therefore be assumed that the patron, Rutilius, was indeed the *uir illustris* Rutilius Namatianus, *uide the intro.* section on *Dedicatee*. (*Rut. Nam.* was a *uir illustris* as Praefectus Urbis and Magister Officiorum. For the honorific title of *illustris*, to which several ranks were entitled, *uide P.W.*, *s.v.*; *T.L.L.*, *s.v.* (VII.i.394.69sq.), with *exx.* and bibliog.)(Dan. also suggested *tui igitur illustris*, "of your illustrious self", genitive of description of his patron's "name", *nomini*, but the existing arrangement of *tuo...nomini* neatly encloses a compliment to the author's patron.)


4.20-5.15 *Prologue.*
4.20 pacem quietemque: A word pair of virtual synonyms. (quietemque should not therefore be deleted as a gloss as Quicherat suggested.) The demand for silence is conventional at the beginning of ancient comedy; cf. Plaut., Amph., prolo., 15, "Ita huic facetis fabulae silentium/Itaque aqui et iusti hic erroris omnes arbitri./Nunc cuius iusso uenio et quamobrem uenerim/Dicam simulque ipse eloquar nomen meum"; 24, "Verum profecto hoc petere me precario/A uobis iussit leniter dictis bonis"; 38, "Nunc iam huc animum omnes quae loquar aduertite"; 95, "Nunc uos animum aduertite/Dum huius argumentum eloquar comoediae"; As., prolo., 1, "Hoc agite multis, spectatores, nuntiam"; 5, "Age nunc reside, caue modo ne gratiis./Nunc quid processerim huc et quid mi uolerim/Dicam; ut sciretis nomen huius fabulae;/Nam quod ad argumentum attinet, sane breue est./Nunc quod me dixi uelle uobis dicere/Dicam"; 14, "Date benigne operam mihi"; Capt., prolo., 54, "Profecto expedit fabulae huio operam dare"; Cas., prolo., 1, "Saluere iubeo spectatores optimos,/Fidem qui facetis maximi, et uos fides./Si uerum dixi, signum clarum date mihi;/Ut uos mi esse aequos iam inde a principio sciam"; 21, "Vos omnes operes magno esse oratos uolo/Benigne ut operam detis ad nostrum gregem"; 29, "Aures uociuae si sunt, animum aduertite;/Comoediae nomen dare uobis uolo"; 87, "Valeta, bene rem gerite, et uincite/Virtute uera, quod fecistis antehac"; Cist., prolo., 197, "Bene ualete et uincite/Virtute uera, quod fecistis antehac"; Men., prolo., 1, "Saluatem primum iam a principio propitiam/Mihi atque uobis, spectatores, nuntio"; 4, "Quaeso ut benignis accipiatibus auribus,/Nunc argumentum accipite et animum aduertite"; Mil., prolo., 85, Comoediae quam nos acturi sumus/Ut argumentum et nomen uobis eloquar; Poen., prolo., 3, "Sileteque et tacete atque animum aduertite,/Audire iubet uos imperator histricus,/Bonoque ut animo sedeate in subselliis"; 16, "Bonum factum est, edicta ut seruetis mea"; 44, "Haec quae imperata sunt pro imperio histrico,/Bonum hercle factum pro se quisque ut meminerit./Ad argumentum nuno uicissatim uolo/Remigrare, ut uaeque mecum sitis emanures"; 58, "Quaeso operam date"; 123, "Vos aequus animo noscite"; 126, "Valeta, adeste"; 128, "Valeta atque adivuate ut uos seruet salus"; Rud., prolo., 31, "Nunc,
huc qua causa ueni, argumentum eloquar"; 82, "Valet, ut hostes uestri diffi{ant sibi"; Trin., prol., 5, "Siquidem operam dare promittitis"; 16, "Sed de argumento ne expectetis fabulae"; 22, "Valet, adeste cum silentio"; Truc., prol., 9, "Sed hoc agamus qua huc uentum est gratia"; Vid., prol., 8, "Faxo scibitis"; 9, "Prius noscite alia; sane scitis, ipsas est;/Credo argumentum uelle uos pernoscere;/Intellegetis potius quid agant, quando agent"; Ter., Ad., prol., 22, "Dehinc ne expectatis argumentum fabulae"; 24, "Facite aequanimitas/Poetae ad scribendum augeat industiam"; And., prol., 1, "Poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum adpulit;/Id sibi negoti creditit solum dari,/Populo ut placent quas fecisset fabulas"; 8, "Quae so animum attendite"; 22, "Dehinc ut quiescant porro moneo et desinant/Maledicere, malefacta ne noscant sua./Fauete, adeste aequo animo et rem cognoscite"; Rum., prol., 1, "Si quisquam est qui placere se studet bonis/Quam plurimis et minime multos laedere,/In his poeta hie nomen profitetur sumum./Tum si quis est qui dictum in se incolementis/Existimaret esse, sic existimet,/Responsum, non dictum esse, quia laesit prior"; 44, "Date operam, cum silentio animum attendite"; Heaut., prol., 35, "Adeste aequo animo, date potestatem mihi/Statariam agere ut liceat per silentium"; Hec., prol., 8, "Alias cognostis eius; quae so hanc noscite/Orator ad uos uenio ornatu prologi"; 28, "Nunc quid petam, mea causa aequo animo attendite"; 43, "Nunc turba non est; otium et silentium est;/Agendi tempus mihi datum est; uobis datur/Potestas condecorandi ludos scenicos./Nolite sinere per vos artem musicam/Recidere ad paucos; facite ut uestra auctoritas/Meae auctoritatis fasuATRIX adiutrixque sit"; 55, "Mea causa causam accipite et date silentium"; Phor., prol., 24, "Nunc quid uelim animum attendite"; 30, "Date operam, adeste aequo animo per silentium".

4. 20 a uobis: R2 adds the a. For rogare aliquid ab aliquo, vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; Ranstr., Q. Stud., p. 90; Georges, p. 2149; Lodge, p. 565. ex. Flaut., Per., 39, Qua confidentia rogare
tu a me argentum tantum aude. PB read uos for nobis, which would imply either construing rogare with two accusatives (uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.), or regarding both uos and spectatores as vocative. (Peip. suggested that nobis is dative of advantage, and pacem quietemque nobis a greeting like pax uobiscum, but this is unparalleled. The greeting always shows pax in the nominative, without any addition such as quies.)

4.20 nos ter: The reading of H. The other MSS. read nostros, but RC corrects to noster.

4.20 sermo poeticus: cf. sermo philosophicus, 3.9. This would seem to imply that the author intended to write in a poetical style, although "poetical" does not necessarily mean "metrical" or "rhythmical", uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure.

4.21 qui Graecorum disciplinae ore narrat barbaro et Latinorum: cf. Av., Fab., praef., Cum in utroque litterarum generc et Atticos Graeca eruditione superes et Latinitate Romanos. (Dez. compared Aus., Ep., X.9 (to Axius Paulus), Si riguam laeitis recolis Pimplefida musis.)

4.21 Graecorum: The Romans admitted that all their literary genres (except satire, Quint., Inst. Or., X.1.93, Satura cuidem tota nostra est) derived from the Greek. Graecorum disciplinae could indicate Greek literature, perhaps New Comedy, and Latinorum uetusta perhaps the Old Latin palliatae of Plautus and Terence. (Cors. identified this phrase with the Cynic-Stoic distibue.) uide the intro. section on Sources; also 17.19, Sic nostra loquitur Graecia, and the intro. section on Place of Composition. A few Greek terms are used in the Q, uide the Commentary, passim, and there is evidence in, ex., Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris, for continuing knowledge of Greek in 4th. and 5th. century Gaul (uide 17.19).

4.21 barbaro: barbarus is not usually heard in the mouth of a Roman about the Romans, except in the character of a foreigner, in
jest, or in scorn; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. It is, however, used facetiously of Romans and Italians by Plautus, as if from a Greek point of view. The plays of Plautus and Terence were "translated" from Greek to Latin, i.e. barbarian, non-Greek. The term occurs frequently in Plautus: As., prol., 11, Demophilus scripsit, Maccus vertit barbarae; Bacch., 121, O Lyde, es barbarus; 123, Is stultior est barbaro noticio; Curs., 150, Fite causa mea ludii barbari; Mil., 211, Nam os columnatum poetae esse insaudit barbarar; Most., 828, Non enim haec multifagus opifex opera fecit barbarus; Stich., 193, Haeo uerba subigunt me uti mores barbaros/Discan; Trin., prol., 19, Philemo scripsit, Plautus uertit barbaro.

If ore barbaro is opposed to Graecorum disciplinas, it must mean Latin, and Latinorum uetusta be opposed to uestro tempore. But the parallel arrangement of clauses also links Graecorum disciplinas with Latinorum uetusta, and ore barbaro with uestro tempore. ore barbaro could be opposed to both languages, Latin and Greek. The author was probably a Gallo-Roman, but could, as a Gaul, be thought of as a "barbarian". He may therefore be apologising for barbarisms in his Late Latinity (uide Geyer, in A.L.L., II, pp.25sqq., "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gallischen Lateins"). In his discussion of the Bagaudae (uide the intro. section on Place of Composition), Salvian of Marseilles saw the Romans as "barbarians" in their treatment of the peasants who therefore fled to the barbarians for more equitable treatment, De captivating. Dei, V. (cf. 17.9sqq.) v.21,

Inter haec uastantur pauperes, uidae gemunt, orphani proculcantur, in tanti ut multi eorum et non obscuris natalibus editi et liberaliter instituti ad hostes fugiant, ne persecutionis publicae afflictione moriantur, quaerentes sollicit apud barbaros Romanorum humilitatem quia apud Romanos barbarum inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his ad quos confluentes discrepant ritu, discrepant lingua, ipso etiam ut ita dicam corporum atque indigeriarum barbaricarum foeter dissertation, malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem quam in Romanis inustitiam saevientem. 22, Itaque passim uel ad Gothos uel ad Bagaudas uel ad alios usque dominantes barbaros migrant et commigrasse non paenitet. Malunt enim sub specie captiuitates uiere liberi (cf. 17.19) quam sub specie libertatis (cf. 17.19) esse captiui. Itaque nomen ciuium
Romanorum aliquando non solum magno aestimatur sed etiam magno emptum nunc ulter repudiatur ac fugitum, nec utile tantum sed etiam abominabile paene habetur. 23 Et quod esse malus testimonium Romanae iniquitatis potest, quam quod plerique et honesti et nobiles et quibus Romanus status summo et splendori esse debuit et honoris, ad hoc tamen Romanae iniquitatis crudelitate compulsri sunt ut nolint esse Romani? Et hinc est quod etiam hi qui ad barbaros confugiunt barbari tamen esse coguntur, scilicet ut est pars magna Hispanorum et non minima Gallorum, omnes denique quos per uniuersum Romanum orben fecit Romana iniquitas iam non esse Romanos. vi.24, De Bagaudis nunc mini sermo est, qui per malos iudices (cf. 17.17) et cruentos spoliati (cf. 17.9), afflicti, necati, postquam ius Romanae libertatis (cf. 17.17) amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt. Et imputatur his infelicitas sua, imputamus his nomen calamitatis suae, imputamus nomen quod ipsi fecimus; uocamus rebelles, uocamus perditos, quos esse compulimus criminosis. 25, Quibus enim aliis rebus Bagaudae facti sunt nisi iniquitatus nostris; nisi improbitatibus iudicium (cf. 17.17); nisi eorum proscriptionibus et rapinis, qui exemptionis publicae nomen in quaestus propria emolumentum uerterunt et indictiones tributarias praedas suas esse fecerunt? Qui in similitudinem immum bestiarum non rerum traditos sibi sed deuerant, nec spoliis hominum ut plerique latrones (cf. 17.10) solent sed laceratione et iam ut ita dicam sanguine paseobantur. 26, Ac sic actum est ut latrocinii (cf. 17.10) iudicum (cf. 17.17) strangulati (cf. lex conu.17) homines et necati, inciperent esse quasi barbari quia non permettebant esse Romanis. Acquirerunt enim esse quod non erant quia non permettebant esse quod fuerant, coactique sunt uitam saltem defendere quia se iam libertatem (cf. 17.19) uldebat penitus perdidisse. Aut quid aliud etiam nunc agitur quam tunc actum est, id est ut qui adhuc Bagaudae non sunt esse coguntur? Quantum enim ad uim et quae injurias pertinet compelluntur ut uelint esse, sed imbecillitate impediuntur ut non sint. Sic sunt ergo quasi captivi, iugo hostium pressi, tolerant supplicium necessitate non uoto, animo desiderant libertatem (cf. 17.19) sed summa sustinent seruiutem.

4.22 precatur et sperat: A word pair of virtual synonyms. The sermo is personified with rogat, narrat, recolit, precatur and sperat, with additional word play provided by ore barbaro and inhumana uoce.

4.23 uoce: (Dan. suggested uice or uicem, meaning that "in turn" for the author's work for his audience's amusement, he required their co-operation. As Cav. pointed out, uice would produce a
seven-syllable iambic trochaic clause. Klink suggested præce.
Bongars suggested inhumano uoto. These scholars seem to have missed
the joke. That a "discourse" should have a "voice", and that "not
inhuman", is just the kind of personificatory word play favoured
by the author; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p. 90.)

4.23 induisit: uide 3.7. (Dan. compared Aus., Technop., praef.,
Quam temen si tu indulseris, ut nis Afranius in Thalde, Maiorem
laudem quam laborem inueneris; Ep., II, Persiusi sti mihi quod
epistolae meas spud Capuan tibi redditae concinratio inhumanus non
esse t.)

4.23 referat gratiam; referre gratiam elsewhere means "to give
thanks", but here it clearly means "to receive thanks", uide T.L.L.,
s.v. gratia, with referre, meaning accipere (VI.i.i.2220.10), only
known from this passage.

5.1 Aululariam: The double title, Querolus an Aulularia, is given
at 5.12. Hence the mistaken attribution to Plautus. The plot of
the Q is not an adaptation of, but a sequel to, that of Plautus' Aulularia. The designation aulularia indicates that the play is
about a pot, aula.

5.1 sumus acturi: Periphrastic future indicative with future
participle; cf. 16.19, dicturus es; 21.12, sum habiturus; 39.23,
redituri sumus; 47.22, redituri sumus; 51.12, rediturus est; uide
K.&S., I, p.163; L.H.S., II.i.i.2, p.312; with exc. and bibliog.

5.1 non ueterem ac rude: of. Min. Fel., Oct., XIX.4, Omitto illos
ueteres ac rude: Ter., En., prol., 19, Quam nuno acturi sumus/
Menandri Eumuchum... Coleam esse Naeni et Plauti ueterem fabulum;
Plaut., Cas., prol., 5, Qui utuntur uino ueteres sapientia puto/Et
qui libenter ueteres spectant fabulas/Antiqua orera et uerba cum
uobis placent./Aequum est placere ante alias ueteres fabulas;/Nam
nuno nouae quae prodeunt comediae/Multo sunt nequiores quam numni
noui./Nos postquam populi rumore intellleximus/Studiose expetere
uos Plautinas fabulas/Antiquam eius edimus comediai./Quam uos
probastis qui estis in senioribus;/Nam iuniorum qui sunt non norunt,
scio;/Verum ut cognoscant dabimus operam sedulo./Hae cum primum
acta est, uicit omnis fabulas./Ex tempore flos poetarum fuit;/Qui nunc abierunt hinc in communem locum./Sed tamen absentem
presunt pro praequentibus. (Sass compared Tac., Agr., III.3. Vel
incondita ac rudi uoce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimoniunm
praesentium bonorum componuisse; Ap., Met., I,1, Siquid exotici ac
forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero. Dez. compared Aus.,
Cryphus Terrarii Numei, praef., Dein cogitans mecum qui dono non
illud Catullianum, Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum (Cat., I), sed
Amouostrov et uerum, Cui dono inlepidum rudem libellum, non diu
quaesuii; En., VII (to Axius Paulus), Vide, mi Paule, quam ineruim
lacessieris, in uerbs rudem, in eloquendo hiulcwn, a propositi
discrepantem, in uersibus concinuationis inexpertem, in caullando
nec natura uenustum nec arte conditum, dilutis salis fellis ignaii,
nec de mimo planipem, nec de comediis histrionem; Bissula, ep.
praef. (to Ax. Paul.), poema... rudia et incohata. Cors.,
following Herrm.'s suggestion of Avianus as the author, vide the
intro. section on Author, compared Av., Fab., praef., Quas rudi
latinitate compositas elegis sum explicare conatus. Herrm. also
compared this passage, in his own emended version, Non latinitate
rudi/Sed elegis scriptas dedi.) (Dan. suggested at for ac, a
mistake of o for i. Sass accepted this suggestion, seeing an
antithesis here, with ueterem applying to Plautus' work, and rudem
a (mock-) self-depreciatory apology for the author's own "imperfect"
work, vide 5.14. The o. could also be thought of as "new", rudis,
in comparison with the plays of Plautus and Terence. On the other
hand, Plautus' work could well be described as "young" or "fresh",
rudis, as coming near the beginning of Roman dramatic writing. V3
glosses rudem with incultum, "rude" or "unpolished", which the
Latin dramatists might appear in comparison with the Greeks, vide
4.21. The main objection to at was pointed out by Reeve, who
noted that non...et... was at no period of Latin the correct
rendering of "not...but...".)
5.2 inuestigatam et inuentam: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms. PBH add et inuentam, omitted by VLR.

5.2 fabella haec est; (Dez. compared Aus., Cento Nuptialis, praef., Etenim fabula de nuptiis est et ulit nolit (cf. 22.5) alter haec sacra non constant.)

5.2 felicem hic inducimus; (Herm. added ingratus here, but such an addition is unnecessary and would be out of place stylistically, as felicem...fato seruatum suo balances fraudulentum fraude deceitum sua; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.90.)

5.3 e contrario: The reading of H. The other MSS. omit e, which must have been lost by haplography at the end of atque in their hyparchetype; cf. 5.5, e contrario.

5.3 fraudulentum fraude: The figura etymologica is reinforced by alliteration; cf. felicem...fato.

5.4 ipse...ille noster hic: Such an otiose accumulation of pronouns is typical of comedy and of Late Lat., showing the general tendency for the meanings of words to be weakened in Late Lat., and the specific loss of demonstrative force in pronouns (ille, ipse and iste are used for is, illustrating their decline to the status of articles); uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.91; Bonnet, pp.298sqq.; Löffstedt (1933), II, pp.191sqq., (1936), pp.56sqq., with exx. and bibliog.

5.5 ingratus: of. 5.20, Huius ingrati non mali; 45.10, Atqui hercle solet esse ingratus. At 45.10 ingratus means "ungrateful", but here and at 5.20 it comes nearer to "discontented, bad tempered, pessimistic, peevish, grumbling, fault-finding", uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning non contentus (VII.i.1562.71sqq.), with exx.

5.6 Lar Familiaris qui primus ueniet ipse exponet omnia; (Dez. compared Aus., Lue. Sept. Sap., prol., 50, Veniet ludius/ Edisserator harum quas teneo minus. Gaius compared Plaut., Trin., prol., 17, Senes qui hoc uenient i rem uobis aperient; Ter., Ad., prol., 23, Senes qui primi uenient i partem aperient.)
5.7 *materia uosmet reficiet si fatisat lectio*; (Dez. compared Aus., Parent., praef., Scio versiculis meis euenire ut fastidiose lecuntur, quippe sic meritum est eorum (cf. 5.22, Sic meritum est ipsius), sed quosdam solet commendare materia, et aliquotiens fortasse lectorem sollem lemma sollicitat tituli, ut festivitate persuasus et ineptiam ferre contentus sit; Technon., 4, Quae quidem omnia quoniam innumerae materia deuenustat lectio henigna conciliat. Herrm. compared Av., Fab., praef., Huius ergo materiam ducem (cf. duces, 5.15) nobis Aesopum noueris.)

5.7 *materia*: The plot, theme or subject-matter (partly taken from Rutilius, 3.10, Sermone illo philosophico ex tuo materiam sumpsimus).

5.7 *lectio*: Reading (aloud) or recitation, or, perhaps, "the passage to be read", "reading matter", rather than the actual reading, a Late Lat. meaning; uide Heyl, s.v., with exx. (especially in Christian Lat., uide Souter, s.v., with exx.). For lectio as a play-reading, as opposed to acting, acturi, 5.1, agendum, 5.13, uide the intro. section on Genre. (Klink. suggested dictio, the "style"; Herrm. suggested electio, the "choice" between titles; Hav. suggested λεξις, the "style".)

5.9 nemo...nemo...: cf. Ter., Resut., prolo, 30, Ne ille pro se dictum existimet. (Dez. compared Aus., Lud. Sept. Sap., IV, Solon, 56, Quodque uni dictum est ut quisque sibi dictum putet; Rissula (dedicated to Axius Paulus), Quippe tua possunt populum non timere; Vespa, Judicium Coci et Pistoris Judice Vulcano (Bisch. & Riese, Anth. Lat., I, "Carm. in Cod. Script.", i, 199, "Carm. Cod. Salm.",) 3, Ille ego Vespa precor cui duae saene dedistis/Per multas urbem populo spectante fauorem. Herrm. compared Av., Fab., praef., Quod in se iocorum communium specie utae argumenta contineat. Gaiser, seeing Plautus' Frinolaria as a source of the Q., uide the intro. section on Sources, compared Plaut., Friu., frag. 1, commodo dictitemus.)

5.10 *causam*: Perhaps with legal overtones of a "cause, case, law suit". The author wishes to avoid an accusation of libel.
5.10 *loco*: The reading of H. The other MSS. read *locus*. For *locus communis* as a "commonplace" (more commonly *loci communes*), vide the lexica, *s.v.* communis and locus, with *exx.* ex. Quint., Inst. Or., II. iv. 30, Cum eo quidem uix ullus est ten communis locus qui possit cohaerere cum causa, nisi alicui proprio quaestionis uinculo copulatus.

5.11 *recognoscat*: *recognoscere* here has the meaning of *agnoscere*, "to recognise*. *nosco*, *agmoscere*, *comoscere* and *recognoscere* seem to exchange meanings in the Q., as elsewhere; vide the lexica, *s.v.*, with *exx.*; especially *T.L.L.*, *s.v.* cognoscere, meaning *agnoscere* (III.i.1507.61sq.), quoting 29.25; Souter, *s.v.* *recognoscere*, meaning "acknowledge", "become acquainted with"; also Heyl, *s.v.* *agmoscere*, meaning *recognoscere*, with *exx.* of *agmoscere* meaning *comoscere*. *nosco*: Primary meaning "to know", synonymous with *sciere*; cf. 43.8, Nescis nihil esse grauis fortuna mala? :: Edepol noli et *scio*; 60.7, Nescis, magus, nihil esse grauis fortuna mala? :: Recognosco. *agmoscere*: Primary meaning "to recognise", usually of subjective knowledge; cf. 6.10, Sed ut agnoscant homines nemini auferre posse quod dedit deus, probably primary meaning, possibly meaning *comoscere*; 14.6, *Hoc si agmosceres felix eras*, perhaps primary meaning, or meaning *comoscere*, *intellegere* or *comperire*; 20.24, Tamen etiam non beatorem te futurum ut agmoscas uolo, meaning *comoscere* (Peip. suggested *comoscias*); 27.13, Sur non omia agmosco?, meaning *comoscere* (Peip. suggested *recognoscere*); 35.10, *Agmosco, uerum tamen uere ner ne plures hoc sciant*, probably primary meaning, possibly meaning *concedere*; 35.18, *Agmosco*, probably primary meaning, possibly meaning *concedere*; 36.23, *Agmosco omnia*, probably primary meaning, possibly meaning *concedere*; 39.19, *Atque ut agmoscatis penitus artem hominis pessimi*, probably primary meaning, possibly meaning *comoscere*; 39.26, *Atque agmoscit quam cito*, probably primary meaning, possibly meaning *comoscere* (*B* reads *comoscit*); 45.22, *Non agmosco haec*, Pantomale, *suffragia*,...
primary meaning; 51.11, Qui ubi primum hoc audierit remque omnem
agnovertat, probably meaning cognoscere; 52.6, Qui tam tarde
agnoverint fragmenta urnae illius quam iandum nueram, probably
primary meaning (Heyl suggested the meaning recognoscere); 57.6,
Fragmenta si aspexeris potesse agnoscer?, probably primary
meaning (Heyl suggested the meaning recognoscere); 57.11, Agnosce
Mandrocerus? :: Agnosco hercle. :: Si uerum agnoscis, probably
primary meaning (Heyl suggested the meaning recognoscere); 60.24,
Agnosco ingenium lepidissimum, probably primary meaning; 60.25,
Agnosco plane Euclio nus nostris sodalem, probably primary meaning.
cognoscere: Primary meaning "to get to know, learn, find out",
usually of objective knowledge, synonymous with intellexere,
comperire; cf. 22.25, Primum hoc si cognoscisc atque etiam si probare
potuerit, probably primary meaning, although it may here be used
as a legal term, meaning "to examine a case in law", vide L.&S.(Lat.),
s.v., with exx.; 28.25, Si omnia cognoscis, probably meaning
agnoscere or concedere (P2 corrects to recognoscis; Orelli
suggested agnoscis; vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.117; the T.L.L.,
III.i.1507.67, quotes this passage meaning agnoscro, with ex.).
recognoscere: Primary meaning "to recollect, recall to mind", and
therefore "to recognise"; cf. 5.11, Nemo aliquid recognoscet,
probably meaning agnosco; 9.2, Quod seminudus es recognosco,
unde dealbatus nescio, probably meaning noscere or scire; 47.14,
Iam iam omnia recognosco uaria haec phantasmata, probably meaning
noscere or scire, possibly cognoscere or agnosco ("to understand
the meaning of"); 60.7, Nescis, magus, nihil esse praeius fortuna
mala? :: Recognosco, of. 43.8, Nescis nihil esse praeius fortuna
mala? :: Edopol noui et scio, the questions being identical, the
answers are presumably synonymous in meaning, so that recognosco
means noui (noscere) or scio (scire) (Klink. suggested the meaning
agnoscere); 60.21, Illius plane hic nequitiam recognosco, probably
meaning agnosco.

5.12 Querolus en Aulularia; vide the intro. section on Sources.
The double title reflects the two strands of the plot uneasily joined: that of the eternal complainer, comprising most of Act I, and the monologues of Pantomalus, Act III, Scene 1, and of the Lar, Act V, Scene 1; and that of the pot of gold which occupies the rest of the play.

5.12 hinc: vide 3.12.


5.13 prodire autem in agendum: (Dez. compared Aus., Ind. Sept. Sep., IV, Solon, De more Graeco prodeo in scaenam Solon.)

5.14 omn clodo pede: The image is that of stepping onto the stage, and his "lameness" probably refers to some sort of rhythmical ormetrical "foot", vide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure. Miss referred it simply to the "imperfect" nature of the work, cf. rudem, 5.1.

5.14 magnos praeclarosque: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

5.14 in hac parte: This probably refers to the genre and/or type of rhythmical structure; vide the intro. sections on Genre and Rhythmic Structure. Caiser referred it simply to the author's not daring to produce such a trifling work as a comedy before a distinguished audience had he not illustrious predecessors to follow.

5.15 duces: Presumably Plautus and Terence, but vide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure for other suggestions (Old, Silver or Late Lat. authors). cf. Ter., Heaut., prol., 20, Habet bonorum exemplum, quo exemplo sibi/Licere id facere quod illi facerunt putat.

5.16 Act I, Scene 1. There is a similar expository scene by the Lar Familiaris at the beginning of Plautus' Aulularia. Deities perform
similar introductory rôles in Plautus' Amphiýryo (Mercury), Bacchides (Silenus), Cistellaría (Auxílium), Rudens (Arcturus), and Trinummus (Luxuria and Inopia). (Gaiser compared the prefatory rôle of the "hero" Dardanos in Menander's Dardanos, which he identified with the Hydria as a source of the G., uide the intro. section on Sources.) For the character of the Lar, and references to illustrations, uide the intro. section on Characters.

5.17 ego sum custos et cultor domus: cf. 8.15, Ego sum Lar Familíaria fatum quod uos dicìtis: Plaut., Aul., prol., 2, Ego sum Lar Familíaria ex hac familia/Vnde exewtem me aspexistis: hanc domum/Iam multos annos est cum possideo et colo/Patri auque iam huius qui nunc hoc habet. (Following these parallels, Studemund suggested the addition of Lar Familíaria before ego, whence it could have been omitted by haplography after the character designation.)

5.17 custos et cultor: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms.

5.17 cui fuero adscriptus: We are not told by whom. (God? Fate?) uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Religion and Philosophy.

5.18 decretà fatorum ego tempero: cf. 34.24, Ipsí decretà fatorum regunt. The Lar here claims some control over Fate. He functions not only as the Lar of the house, but also as Querolus' Genius, uide the intro. section on Characters. (Gaiser compared Menander, frag. 714 (K. and Th.) about "demons", which he assigned to the Dardanos, ἄπαντι δαμων ἀνέρι συμπαρασταται/εθές γενομένως μυσταμγής τοῦ βλου/ἀγαθῆς·κακὸν γὰρ δαμων'ού νομιστέον/εῖναι βλον βλάπτοντα χρηστῶν οὔδ'ἐχειν/κακλαν·ἀπαντα δ'ἄγαθον εἰναι τὸν θεόν./ἔλλ'οι γενομένοι τοῖς τρόποις αὕτοι κακολ./πολλὴν δ'ἐπιπλοκὴν τοῦ βλον πεποιημένοι/ἡ πάντα τὴν αὕτων δι'ἀδιαλλαγαν κακῆς/τρίψαντες ἄποδαλνουσι δαμων'αῖτιον/καὶ κακὸν ἐκεῖνον θαλον αὕτοι γεγενότες.

5.19 si quid boni est ulter accerso sì quid grauius mitigo: Anaphora.
5.19 ultero: The reading of H. The other MSS. read ultra, corrected by V2. The a probably changed to a under the influence of the initial of acceso.

5.20 ingrati: The reading of H; of ingratus, 5.5. The other MSS. read non grati. The non probably represents the incorrect resolution of an abbreviation in the hyparchetype of the other MSS., by analogy with non mali. of Prosper of Aquitaine, Carmen de Ingratibus, praeef., 3, Aduersum ingratos; 684, Vos igitur soli queruli solique superbi/Vos soli ingrati. (Gaiser compared Men., Hydr., frag. 401 (K. and Th.), ώς ήδε ζη μεσότιν τούς φασάνας τρόπους/θρημα·καὶ ζή μελέτην μηδὲ Εν/πονηρόν Ικανόν κτήμ' άγρος τρέφων καλός./έκ τῶν δελμῶν δε ζήλος ἢ τε κατὰ πόλιν/κατη τρυφῇ λάμπει μὲν, εἰς οὔδεμαν χρόνον.)

5.20 exinde: uide 3.12.

5.21 sufficience fuit: Periphrastic past indicative with present participle; uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.388seq., with exx. and biblog.

5.22 sic meritum est ipsius: This observation provides an introduction to the following sententia. However, it is hard to see how Querolus has merited any especially favourable treatment, indeed, he seems to have fared rather better than he deserved already, as the Lar goes on to prove to him; uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Philosophy.

5.22 nam quod: The causal quod clause replaces a conditional si clause. For quod conditional (also temporal, adversative, explicative, causal, final, consecutive and concessive), uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.579seq.; Svennung (1935) pp.500sq.; especially pp.508seq.; with exx. and biblog.; ex. Epist. Aurell., CXXXVII.12 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, XXXV.563.20), Et nos quidem dispensationis nostri memores neceesse est eos repetitiae legationis officio conuenire, quod affectus, salvationis suae, si respectu dei, si rationis intuitu, non mouentur.

5.22 reddendum: Ellipse of esse. For gerundive for future passive, uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.312seq., with exx. and biblog.
5.23 uobis: The MSS. read nobis. V2 corrects to uobis, matching vosmet and the two second person plural verbs. This is probably a simple mistake of n for u. (But cf. 60.12, Nondum intelligis inepte, impositum nobis esse ab illo quem bene noueras?, where Arbiter includes himself with the deluded Mandrogerus, although he himself had no part in the affair. It is possible that the Lar could be generalising here and including himself, although a divine being, as under the control of human destiny. For the use of the "modest, polite or rhetorical" plural, where the speaker unites his opinion with that of others connected in some way with the sphere of the speaker or hearer, uide 6.9. Grut. suggested a nobis, seeing the Lar as an agent of (Divine) Providence, rewarding men according to their deserts. Ritt. suggested bonis, although surely the bad should get their just deserts just as much as, if not even more than, the good.)

5.23 ordinem autem seriemque: A word pair of virtual synonyms. cf. Cic., Ad Marc. Brut. De Diu., I.iv.125, Fatum autem id appello quod Graeci ελαφρύνω, id est ordinem seriemque causarum; Pro Scaur., XVIII, Quoniam habet seriem quandam et ordinem contracti negotii; Amm. Marc., XXIX.iii.1, Confunditur ordo seriesque gestorum; uide Hagendahl (1924) p.170 (n.2, "Die series ist eine Musere, mechanische, zufällige, der ordo eine innerliche, ideale, notwendige Vereinigung").

5.24 causa: The meaning of causa in Late Lat. is weakened to that of res, "thing"; uide T.I.L., s.v., meaning res (III.i.700.62sqq.); also O.L.D., s.v., meaning the "subject" of a speaker or writer; and Johnston, s.v., meaning the "argument" of a play; with exx. Here perhaps it refers to the "subject-matter" or "plot" of the play.

6.1 pater huius Queroli Euclio: The plot is here outlined for the second time, cf. 3.15.

6.2 hic enorme pondus auri eim in ornam condidit: cf. Plaut., Aul., 808, Quadrilibrem aulam auro onustam habeo; 821, Quadrilibrem inquam aulam auri plenum.
6.2 ornam: uide 3.16.

6.2 busta: The addition of V3; cf. 3.16, busta patris; also 6.7, 6.13. (Canneg. suggested ossa, but the word is not used in this way elsewhere in the Q.)


6.3 uadens: uide 3.17. (For the supposed Christian significance of this word, uide 21.14.)

6.3 ornam: uide 3.16.


6.4 mihi thesaurum commendavit: cf. Plaut., Aul., procl., 8, Venerans me ut id seruarem sibi; 581, Atque istuc aurum quod tibi concreditum est.

6.5 abiit neque redit senex: cf. Plaut., Most., 957, Hinc peregre eius pater/Abiit. (The narrative is in the past tense here, cf. commendavit and indicavit. H reads abiit and VPH read redit, but these are mistakes caused by the omission of i by haplography, not correct presents, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.142.)

6.5 moriens: uide 3.17.

6.5 moriens uni tantummodo rem indicavit: cf. Vitalis of Blois' Aulularia, where the dying Euclio is actually seen confiding in his slave, there called Sardana. (ex. 185, Edomitus longo Queroli pater orbe uiarum/Vergabat Lachesis in sua fata manserat./Mortem inuitabat adiuta labore senectus./Proxima mors seruo credere cuncta iubet.)

6.6 fraudulento et perfido: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

6.6 siue oblitus siue superuacuum putans: uide 4.1.

6.7 Querolo: (Herrm. suggested Queroli, supposing the i to have been lost by haplography in the beginning of iuxta, giving a descriptive genitive with fata, "Querolus' fate."
6.7 iuxta: For the meaning secundum, from the 3rd. century, uide Bonnet, pp.589sqq.; Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p.24; Heyl, s.v.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.236; T.L.L., s.v., meaning secundum (VII.ii.752.31sqq.); with exx. and bibloig.

6.8 thesaurus domi habetur: H alone gives domi; cf. 6.3, ornam domi sepelit.

6.8 omnibus ignotus et notus tamen: Oxymoron, of. Plaut., Rud., 1043, Quamquam ad ignotum arbitrum me appellis, si adhibebit fidem,/ Etsi ignotus est, notus; si non notus, ignotissimus est.

6.9 erat sane facile: The indicative is used to express possibility, power, obligation or necessity (ex. facile est, difficile est, necesse est, licet, deocet, oportet, possum, debec); also in conditions, cf. 13.3, Vellem si fieri potest; 37.23, Optimum erat atque oportetum, isti si uellent; 42.9, Fas erat me facere quod praecepsit; 56.17, Qua uti possum, etiamsi aurum nunc ipse mihi traderes (where Herrm. suggested possem); 57.5, Fragmenta si asperexeris, potesne agnosce; uide K.&S., I, pp.170sqq.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.327seq.; with exx. and bibloig.

6.9 facile nobis: The Lar associates himself with divinity or destiny and claims divine powers, although he is never actually seen to use them, uide 5.18.

6.9 nobis: First person plural for singular, the "modest, polite or rhetorical" plural; cf. 12.13, Agimus tibi gratias, Lar Familiaris; tu nos ornas in omnibus; 17.4, Saltem aliquid nobis tribue; 60.12, Nondum intellegis inepte, impositum nobis esse; uide K.&S., I, pp.86sqq. ("Dieser Plural wird aus Bescheidenheit und Höflichkeit statt des Singularen gebraucht, indem der Redende seine Ansicht oder Handlung als auch anderen, die auf irgendeine Weise in die Sphäre des Redenden oder Handelnden gehören, gemeinsam darstellt"); L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.19seq., with exx. (although no exact parallels) and bibloig.

6.9 respondid: The technical meaning of responsid, "a reply from an oracle", uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., would be appropriate here.

6.10 agnoscent: uide 5.11.

6.10 nemi

6.10 quod dederit deus: A relative clause for the protasis of a conditional ("whatever a god has given" for "if a god has given something"); cf. 39.24, Itaque dominus suem Kalendis uelit adesse redire iubet pridie ("whomsoever the master wants to return" for "if the master wants someone to return"); uide K.&S., II, pp. 282, 309; L.H.S., II.ii.2, p. 564; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Cic., In Verr., IV.xxiii.52, Qui uideret equum Trojanum introductum urbem captam diceret ("whosoever had seen it, had said that the city was taken" for "if someone had seen it he would have said that...").

6.11 deus: A god or the God? For the use of deus in the singular (God?) or plural (gods), uide the Index Verborum, s.v. For the problem of the author's religion and attitude towards Christianity, uide the intro. sections on History and Thought; Religion and Dedicatee.

6.11 fidei malae creditum est: cf. Plaut., Aul., 615, Thae fide concreddi aurum, in tuo luco et fano est situ. "Good faith" and "bad faith" were recognised legal terms; uide the lexica, s.v. fides, with exx. (R reads male.)

6.12 salua res est: cf. Plaut., Aul., 207; Capt., 284; Epid., 124; Ter., Ad., 643; Dim., 268; salua res est. (Gaiser compared Men., Hydr., frag. 403 (K. and Th.), εὖθες καταχρήσεις αὐτοῦ ἀνομωρυγμένην / μᾶτην λοῦν.)


6.13 sic ille prosperit senex: uide 4.1. Here we are given to understand that Euclio had been intentionally cunning before his death.

6.14 qui: The second qui, which balances the first in this chiastic arrangement, is added by FSH.
6.14 parte: The reading of RPB. VLM read partem; V3 corrects to parte. contentus is usually constructed with the ablative, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. The mistake probably arose from an accidental stroke over the a taken as a nasalisation stroke; uide Ranstr., Q Stud., p.91. (Peip. suggested partem petere; cf. 4.13, partem petit; 55.27, partem peto. In post-Aug. Lat. contentus is frequently constructed with an infinitive, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. Canneg. suggested partem contempserit for partem contentus erit, uide infra. Dez. suggested pastu, uide 17.18, where he suggested pastus for patus, meaning that Mandrogerus was not content merely to be Querolus' parasite and to receive food from him, but also coveted his gold.)

6.15 non: The negative sense required by the context is supplied by the addition of non by PBM. (Bongars suggested non contentus, Crut. incontentus, Barth ni(ne) contentus. These suggestions would also explain the mistaken addition of a final m on parte from an incorrectly resolved abbreviation. incontentus, however, occurs only from contendere, not from continere, and means not "discontented", but "unstretched", of a stringed instrument, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.) (Although the same five-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula would be given by qui parte contentus non fuit, or parte contentus qui non fuit, or parte non contentus qui fuit, or qui parte non contentus fuit, the additional non destroys the seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula which would be given by qui parte contentus fuit. The only position in which a negative would avoid this would be before parte, qui non parte contentus fuit.)

6.15 fuit: (V3 corrects to erit, and Canneg. suggested contempserit for contentus erit, uide supra. Barth suggested fuit.)

6.15 bene: Johnston interpreted this as meaning "successfully"; Canneg. as "happily". Mandrogerus' treachery actually worked well, but with a happy ending for Querolus. (cf. feliciter, 47.12, Propter te feliciter nauigavi.)
6.15 alteri fraudem inforat damnum sibi: cf. Vitalis of Blois, Aul., 702, Capta est fraus mea fraude senis. For the theme of the deceiver deceived by his own deception, uide the intro. section on Sources. (Herrm. compared Av., Fab., XXXIII (the fable of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs); also II.7, At ubi promissis aquilam fallacibus implet/Experta est simulam perfida lingua fidem; XX.15, Nam miserum est, ineuit, praesentem amittere praedam/Stultius et rursum uota futura secui.)

6.16 exponere quaedam uulo: For usile with the infinitive for the future indicative, uide L.H.S., II.i.2, p.314, with exx. and bibliog.

6.17 Querolus: uide the intro. section on Characters.

6.18 si fas est: cf. Plaut., Bacch., 1025, Si me fas est; Ter., Hec., 387, Si ius si fas est; Cic., Tusc. Disp., V.xiii.30, Si hoc fas est dicit; Pro Mur., XXXVII.80, Si eos hoc nomine appellari fas est; Quint., Inst. Or., II.xiii.1, Si aliter facere fas non sit; Rut. Nam., De Red. Sac., I,585, Si fas est.

6.18 dec: uide 6.11.

6.18 disserere cum isto: The Lar foresees Scene 2, where he cross-examines Querolus until his answers prove the opposite of what he is trying to prove.

6.19 uolupse est: For the rare neuter adjective form of the adverb uolup, uide Souter, s.v., with exx. uolupse est is a favourite Plautine expression; ex. Amph., 958, Mil., 277, 747, 1211, Poen., 1195, 1333, Rud., 892, 1176, Stich., 506, Truc., 704; also Ter., Hec., 857, Phorm., 610.

6.19 hominum: (Bongars suggested hominis, but the Lar is generalising about human knowledge, not that of one particular individual, Querolus.)

6.20 fatum: The Lar here identifies himself with a personified fate, uide 6.9, whereas before, uide 5.18, he was a moderator of fate.
6.20 e diverso; cf. 37.5, e diverso; 25.16, ex diverso; uide Heyl, s.v. e diverso, with exc., for the different meanings of this phrase, which is common, but not Class., uide O.L.D., s.v. diversus, with exc.


6.21 genuum: uide 5.18.

6.23 cessat: cf. 57.12, Tandem cessent artes et praesticia; uide Heyl, s.v., with exc., for cessare meaning desinere.

6.23 noctes et dies: (H reads noctes ac dies, cf. 26.4, 43.22, nocte ac die; but those are both singular, whereas the plural is employed here; cf. Cic., De Or., I.lxi.260, noctes et dies.)

6.23 eccum: cf. 29.13. A common colloquial form of ecce, uide the lexica, s.v., with exc. This is the reading of A. The other MSS. read et cum, from a confusion of t for c.

6.24 fatum et fortunam: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms. For the rôle of Fate and Fortune in the Q., uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Philosophy.

6.24 patrem peregre mortuum audiuit: Ellipse of esse. Querolus has already heard the news of his father's death, presumably from a message which arrived on the same ship as did Mandrogerus. He cannot have heard the news from Mand., who wishes to appear as a stranger. (In the Strobilos Comedy, seen by Gaiser as a source of the Q., uide the intro. section on Sources, according to Gaiser's interpretation of the plot, the parasite or slave Strobilos, who is to attempt to cheat Cleinias, is the one to give him the news of his father's death.)

6.25 ut sunt humana; uide 47.6, quoting Juv., XIII.130, where the loss of money is felt much more deeply than the loss of a man; of Plaut., Cist., 194, Ut sunt humana, nihil est perpetuum bonum. (Grut. compared Mart., IV.Ixx, Nihil Ammiano praeter aridam restim/ Moriens relicuit ultimia pater ceris./Fieri putaret posse quis.)
Maronille./Vt Ammianus mortuam patrem nollet?; VI.lxiii.7, Hecin
deflebit uero tua fata dolore?/Si cupis ut ploret des, Mariana,
nihil.)

6.25 *credo:* For *credo,* absolute, inserted, like *puto* or *opinor,* as
an expression of opinion ("I think", "I suppose"), *vide* the lexica,
*s.v.*, with *exx.*

7.1 *nihil relictum:* Ellipse of *esse.*

7.1 *et quid ego nunc facio?:* For *et* connective at the beginning of
nihil nullus dabit?; 31.16, *Et oracula ista sep ubinam specialiter
sunt expectenda?; 31.19, *Et quisnam infelix deprehendere aut adire
possit haec tam uaga sidera?; 47.18, *Et te, Querole, justus non
turrit dolor?; 48.25, *Et qualiter te admonuit?; 49.3, *Et quid ego
non merui qui acerasto illi et perfido fidem accommodavi? Et
fortunas meas in ipso risit exitu; 55.8, *Et suum ad te quemad-
modum peruenit, homo alienissime?; 59.3, *Et uos a me suum quemad-
modum postulastis?* *cf.* also *ataque.* 3.8; *vide* Ranstr., Q.Stud.,
p.89; Svennung (1922), pp.91sqq.; T.L.L., s.v. et (V.ii.890.51sqq.);
with *exx.* and *bibliog.* (Here Orelli suggested *equid* for *et quid,*
from a confusion of *t* for *c*; at 31.19 Grut. suggested *equismm*
for *et quisnam,* from a confusion of *t* for *c*; at 49.3 Orelli
suggested *equid* for *et quid,* from a confusion of *t* for *c,* Grut.
*et cui* for *et*; at 55.8 the editor of the Pesaro edition (Pis.)
suggested *at* for *et,* from a confusion of *e* for *a.*

7.1 *facio:* The indicative for the deliberative subjunctive,
especially common in Old and Late Lat.; *cf.* 49.5, *Heia quid nunc
facimus?; *vide* L.H.S., II.i.2, p.308, with *exx.* and *bibliog.*

7.2 *nimium memet credidi:* *cf.* 19.4, *Te tuosque pariter undis et
uentis credite.* Here the Lar had not put too much trust in himself
(which would be *mihimet*), but had ventured too far. The divine
Lar's fear at the thought of Querolus' anger seems highly
contrived, *vide* the intro. section on *Characters.*
7.2 oportune: cf. 37.23, oportunum. The spelling with only one p is usual in Late Lat., vide Souter, s.v., with ex.

7.2 hamigerum: "Hooked", either hook-shaped or with hooks attached, as V3 glosses, hamos genrentem. It is only known from this passage in the T.I.L.L., s.v., hamiger (VI.iii.2522.6seq.). (The MSS. omit the aspirate, but this omission is corrected by V3 and R2; vide 7.13.) (For an illustration of just such a hooked trident, vide G. Fouet, La Villa Gallo-Romaine de Montmaurin, "Galil, Supplément" XX (1969), p.179, fig. 78.)

7.4 unde esse hoc dicam? cf. 46.11, Quidnam esse hoc dicam? Here the author found it dramatically necessary to explain the existence of the trident, an object foreign to the scene, vide the intro. section on Genre.

7.4 hoc: The neuter, "this thing", refers to the masculine "trident", tridens (hunc), cf. 8.4, Primum propter importunos inuentum esse hoc rer. For the generalising neuter relative for a masculine or feminine antecedent, vide K. & S., I, pp.61seq., with exx. and bibliog.

7.6 Act I, Scene 2.

7.7 O fortuna, O fors fortuna, O fatum: cf. 6.24, Fatum et fortunam clamitat; Ter., Phorm., 841, O fortuna, O fors fortuna; Decimus Laberius, incert., prol., Fortuna immoderata in bono acque atque in malo. (Herrm. compared Av., Fab., XII, De Rustico et Fortuna, where all misfortunes are attributed to Fortuna, who is ignored in times of success. Gaiser compared Men., Hydr., frag. 402 (K. and Th.), ἔφοντα δύστυχοντα τῶν ἀδίκων κακῶν/επαγγελμον λήθην ἀνέμνησας πάλιν/βαλ τάξειν ζῆγειρας. In Act II, Scene 1 of the Strobilos Comedy, according to Gaiser, Demeas similarly complains to his "daimon" about the death of his brother.)

7.7 fortuna: bona fortuna and mala fortuna recur throughout the play, vide the Index Verborum, s.v. fortuna, and the intro. section on History and Thought: Philosophy. The Roman goddess of Good Luck, Fortuna, was the equivalent of the Greek Tyche.
7.7 fora fortuna: In Rome the goddess Fors Fortuna had a temple in the Forum Boarum and another on the banks of the Tiber (cf. Livy, XXVII.11.)

7.7 fatum: The Fates, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, were responsible for spinning, measuring and cutting the thread of life. Throughout the fate appears to be assimilated to deity, cf. the intro. section on History and Thought: Philosophy.

7.8 si quis nunc mihi tete ostenderet: Dramatic irony, for the Lar, identified with fate (8.15), is about to appear.

7.8 facerem et constituerem: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

7.9 fatum inexsuperabile: A play on words; Querulus wishes to inflict a terrible fate on Fate.

7.10 sperandum est hodie de tridente: sperare de here means "to rely on", cf. Sperare ab, 30.15, Sperate ab inferioribus; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Veget., III.13, Sperare de peditibus. The lexica do not seem to know any exx. of sperare ab.


7.10 interpellare atque adloqui: A word pair of virtual synonyms.


7.12 rem molestam: For Querulus' disagreeable nature, uide the intro. section on Characters. For dislike of crowds, cf. Mon., Dysck., proL., 7, καὶ δόσκολος πρὸς ἄπαντας ὁ διὰ χαλιπῶν τ᾿ ὁχλως; 335, ἐξερχόμενο δὲ τοῦτον ἄν ποῆσαι βρόχωσι; Aelian, Ἑν., ΧΙΒ, μακάριον δὲ ἦγισα τὸν Περσαν κατὰ ὧν πρόσως ἐκεῖνον ὄραν νεν ὃς καὶ ὁδόνυς συνήθειας, ὑπεράνω τοῦ τοὺς προσαγορεύειν εἶναι καὶ συμπάθειας; Libanius, Decl., XXVI.7, καὶ μὴν κάκετον δελύνων ἐξελάσκαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ τῆς προσφέρεσις οὐδὲ ὁδόποδεν εἰς τὸν μιὸν εἰσελθὸν τόν δεῖνα χαλρέλν. ὁ γὰρ ἔγγοι, μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅσῳ τοῦ βῆματος τὸ κέδρος.
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οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐλπὶς ἄξιως ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, βεβηλώ παρὰ τὸ χειρεῖν ἀκούσαι γιγνεται.

7.12 cui bono: Ellipse of est. Final dative of advantage, meaning "of what benefit is it" (sc. to me), as V3 glosses, ad quod bonum; cf. 21.21, Fures mihi ac praedaes cui bono.

7.13 haec et eae illac: cf. 31.4, 31.17, 34.9, 45.2, 50.2.

7.13 aue: The MSS. read haue. V3 corrects to aue. Aspirates were often mistakenly omitted or added in colloquial Lat. (This is especially noticeable on inscriptions.) An additional aspirate may also represent a hypercorrection. (Catullus (84) mocked those who unnecessarily affected an aspirate in their speech.) Souter, s.v. haue, gives this as a better spelling of aue. The T.L.L., s.v. aue (II.1300.40sqq.), with exx., notes that haue is more frequent than aue (especially on inscriptions, although the oldest seem to give aue). Quintilian seems to regard haue as the original, preserved in popular speech, the learned wrongly omitting the aspirate (Inst. Or., I.6.21, Multum enim litteratus cui sine aspiratione et producta secunda syllaba salutarit; suere est enim haure).

7.15 misanthropus: Greek μισονθέρων; vide Souter, s.v., referring to this passage, with ex. The MSS. read mesantropus, from a confusion of ε for ι, and omission of the aspirate, vide 7.13. H2 corrects. (Herrm. referred this to the rich young man, mentioned by Rutilius Namatianus, De Res. Soc., I.517, who into self-imposed exile as a monk, vide the intro. section on Dedicated.)

7.15 unum conspicit, turbas putat: Parataxis for a conditional clause, vide L.H.S., II.i.2, p.657, with exx. and bibl.

7.15 turbas: cf. 13.10, Compares coemessationes unum turbas respue; 29.6, Certe ferulas non habet necue cum turbis ambulat; 32.1, Turbas abigim et turbas amant; 39.8, Turba trepida; vide Heyl,
s.v., meaning multitudo; Cramer, in A.L.L., VI, pp.341sqq. ("Was heißt Leute?"); with exx.

7.16 putat: For putare with two accusatives (unum and turbas), "to consider something/one to be something/one else", vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

7.17 debitum reposcis an furem tenes?: A double disjunctive question, with an introducing the second half; cf. 55.25, Fatigas nos, Mandrogerus, an uere loqueris?; vide K&S, II, p.525; L.H.S., II.i.ii.2, p.465; with exx. and biblog. (L2 corrects debitum reposcis to debitum ne poscis, to give ne introducing the first half.) tenere here seems to have a meaning similar to putare, 7.16. It can mean "to hold in mind, know, comprehend, apprehend", vide the lexica, s.v., with exx., although no exact parallels. (Hav. trans., "ou est-ce que tu cries au voleur").

7.20 officium: General for specific, as V glosses, sio salutationis; vide O.L.D., s.v., with exx., especially of a ceremonial visit.

8.1 iam istud ad uim pertinet: cf. 16.16, Iam istud ad inuidiam pertinet; Plaut., Capt., 750, Vis haec quidem herole est; Bud., 733, Vi agis mecum; Truc., 753, Vis est experier; Ter., Ad., 943, Vis est haec quidem; Suet., Diu. Jul., 82, Ista quidem uis est.

8.1 age die quid uis: cf. Plaut., Amph., 391, Dio si quid uis. For the imperative age used as an exhortatory particle, cf. 15.24, Age dicit; 19.3, Age rigid cooscende maria; 29.1, Age da operam amicis; 46.6, Age iam credo; 48.5, Age reliquias defuncti illius reconduntur; 60.1, Age iam bono animo esto; vide the lexica, s.v., with exx. For an indirect question with the indicative instead of the subjunctive, vide infra, 8.2. (R reads quicquid for die quid, giving a relative instead of an interrogative.) vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.92seq.

8.2 scit tu quam ob causam tridentem istum gestito: The indicative for the subjunctive in an indirect question is common in Old, Late and Vulgar Lat, especially after verbs of thinking, feeling, etc.,


8.4 *hoc*: *uide* 7.4.

8.5 *idoirc*: For *idoirc* with *ut* or *ne* denoting purpose, *uide* L.&S. (*Lat.*), s.v., with exx.


8.6 nec: For ne...quidem; cf. 39.9, Milio nec se resens; 42.6, Propter hoc quidem neo manumitti uolunt; 50.7, Ego hodie fortunam non recipio nec bonam (where L reads ne for nec, corrected by L2); cf. also neque for ne...quidem, 59.19; uide Bonnet, pp.311seq.; Hartel, in A.L.I., III, p.26; K.&S., II, pp.44seq.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.447seq.; L.&S.(Lat.), s.v.; Lefsteed (1907), pp.38seq.; (1911), pp.88seq.; (1942), I, p.342; Lundström, p.127; Solonius, p.337; Tidner (1938), pp.94seq.; with exx. and bibliography; ex. Rut. Nam., De Red. Sue, I.393, Cetera mendacis deliramenta catastae/Nec puerum in somnis credere posse reor; 444, Dum mala formides neo bona posse pati.

8.8 ite et conserte: Second person plural for singular. (For first person plural for singular, uide 6.9.) uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp. 20seq., with exx. and bibliography, of the "reverential plural", used in Late Lat. to address emperors, popes, etc.; but cf. ex. already in Ovid, Trist., II.65, Inuenies ues trici praecox nominis ilic, addressing Augustus. (Querolus could also be thinking of mankind in general, as the Lar observed, 7.5, Vnum conspicit, turbas putat, and therefore uses the plural.)

8.8 amicitias: (Dez. compared Aus., Idyll, XIV.31, Vinc et amicitias semper cole.)

8.8 affabilitas: uide Heyl, s.v., with exx.; although this does not necessarily refer to his "conversation" here, as Heyl, but merely to his "friendliness" in general, a synonym of amicitias.

8.10 cbe: The MSS. omit the aspirate, reading ce, uide 7.13.

8.11 non: For non for nonne, expecting a positive answer, uide O.L.B., s.v. non, meaning nonne, with exx. (Dan. suggested num.)

8.12 accuso et persecurus: Ellipse of direct object (fatum meum).

8.13 ego sum: Ellipse of complement (fatum tuum).

8.15 Lar Familiaris fatum: The Lar assimilates himself to Fate, uide 6.20.
8.15 quod: A neuter relative pronoun by attraction (from fatum) with a masculine antecedent, frequent even in Class. Lat.; vide K & S., I, pp.37seq.; with exx. and bibliog.

8.15 fatum quod uos dicitis: Ellipse of esse.

8.16 quaero: The present is regularly used in Latin of past actions which continue into the present (English progressive perfect, "have been"), especially with temporal adverbs such as iam (iam- pridem, iamdudum); vide K & S., I, p.117; L.H.S., II.i1.2, p.305; with exx. and bibliog.

8.16 nusquam hodie pedem: Ellipse of a verb of motion; of 49.1, Ne nusquam inde mouisses pedem; 56.3, Tu nusquam hodie pedem; 57.25, Nusquam ab istooc pedem; Ter., Ad., 227, Nusquam pedem.

8.17 praemonueram: The pluperfect denotes completion in the past, and is used of an action that was completed before another was begun. of the following passages, with similar connotations of intervening time; 16.10, Iam superius dixeram; 19.21, Tu nunc omnia quae negueram concupiscis; 23.6, Interdictum fuerat; 27.21, Vt dixeram; 30.4, Non equidem constituieram; 30.27, Ergo sudieram; 38.10, Hec quod exciderat; 48.1, Aliam spem quaerere, amice, poteras; 48.11, Audieram ergo; 52.8, Ergo mihi non credideram; 55.12, Quod noster senex dereliquerat; 57.9, Nescio quid paulo ante hic referri iussarem; 60.15, Quod non crediderat filio; 60.16, Illi tandem crediderat loco; 61.8, Patri egomet tuo iam deuoueram. vide Adams (1976), p.67; Bonnet, pp.639seq.; K & S., I, pp.138seq.; L.H.S., II.i1.2, pp.320seq.; Löffstadt (1911), pp.152seq., (1918), pp.96seq.; Salo, pp.290seq.; Wackernagel, I, p.190; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Capt., 17, Vt dixeram ante; Caes., De Bell. Gall., IV.iv.3, Ex eis sedificiis quae trans flumen habuerant demigrauerunt.

8.17 caue abstine: Imperatives in asyméston, vide L.H.S., II.i1.2, p.471, with exx. and bibliog. L reads abstine. H reads either abstine or abstinence. The other MSS. read abstinence. V3 corrects to abstine. This mistake probably arose from a confusion of c for e.
For the absolute use of abstinere, uide T.L.L., s.v. (I.197.41sqq.), with exx., ex. Plaut., Men., 166, Abstines? uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp.92seq. (V3's correction, abistinco, presumes the omission of an i. Feip. suggested that abistinco could be a Late Lat. strengthened form of istinco, so that here it could possibly be an example of a pronominal adverb replacing a noun or pronoun case, with or without a preposition, uide 3.12, with exx., including istinco; but the T.L.L. (I.100.22seq.) cites abistinco only from this passage, although abhinc (T.L.L., I.74.53sqq., with exx.) and abinde (T.L.L., I.99.1sqq., with exx.) are similarly used. Cannel. suggested abistinco, presuming the omission of two i's; cf. Plaut., Most., 851, Abi istinco. case abi istinco would also produce imperatives in asyndeton.}

8.20 quidnam hoc est praestigium; cf. 8.21, Hic nullum est praestigium; 17.15, Ibi nullum est praestigium; 23.11, Hic nescio quid est praestigia; 40.16, Mille sunt praestigia; 53.5, Novum credo aliquid praestigium iterum hac exhibet; 57.12, Tandem cessent artes et praestigia; 60.10, His praestigiis certus falli non potuisset magus; uide DuC., s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; with exx. of praestigium, Late Lat. for praestigia(ae), "tricks", "sleights of hand."


8.21 praestigium; uide supra, 8.20.

8.22 trina periter vulnera: From the three prongs of the trident.

8.24 uero simile est esse: Dative for the usual genitive, of. ueri simile, 59.24; uide the lexicae, s.v. uerum and similis, with exx. of uero simillius and uero simillimum, but apparently only the following, not an exact parallel, of uero simile: Quint., Inst. Or., II. iv. 2, Argumentum quod falsum sed uero simile comicèae fingunt.
Dan. suggested ueri simile here.) H reads simile est esse. The other MSS. read simillem esse. This mistake probably arose from the omission of an e in the sequence simil-e est (ō) esse (ē), the remaining abbreviation sign being taken as a nasalisation stroke for the e of simile, giving simillem. uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.93.

8.23 hunc nescio quem de aliquibus: For de with the ablative for the partitive genitive, of. 10.1, Si probo de illis tete esse; 28.24, Iam hoc de magis existimo; uide K.&S., I, pp.425 seq., with exx. and bibliog.; L.&S.(Lat.), s.v., with exx. (For ex with the ablative for the partitive genitive, uide 23.4.)

8.23 aliquibus: (Herrm. suggested alitibus, referring to 32.14, Alas pro manibus gerunt, a description of the geese; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.93 seq. Such pleonastic combinations of pronouns (hunc nescio quem de aliquibus) are frequent, uide 5.4.)

8.24 geniis: The Lar is Querolus' Genius, of. 6.21.

8.24 mysteriis: of. 31.23, Mysteria sunt in aditu diversa et occultat; 32.4, Mysterium hoc iam disolcit; 33.9, Mysterium de religione faciunt et commercium; 50.17, Perdidi mysterium. (Here R reads ministeriis. At 33.9 and 50.17, Herrm. suggested ministerium. However, at these two places it probably has the meaning of "mystery" or "secret". Elsewhere it seems to refer to some mysterious being or power. So V3 glosses 8.24, Id est priuatis dis, 31.23, Id est dii quorum secreta latent.) uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning monstrem (VIII.1757.60 seq.), with exx., citing 8.24, 31.23, 32.4.

8.24 iste seminudus dealbatus incedit toto splendet corpore: The Lar has been transformed to his divine appearance, uide the intro. section on Genre.

8.24 dealbatus: albatus means "clothed in white", uide T.L.L., s.v. (I.1488.24 sqq.), with exx. dealbatus means "coloured or painted white", "whitewashed or plastered", "covered with white"
(as with snow), or "cleaned, cleansed, purified" (in Christian Lat.);
uide T.L.L., s.v. dealbo (V.i.80.59sqq.), with exx. The passages
from the Q. are the only ones known to the T.L.L. (81.12sqq.) to
have the meaning "clothed in white". (Here and at 9.3, unde
dealbatus, Klink. suggested albatus. At 9.3 the de could have
been added by ditto graphy from the end of unde.)

9.1 processisti hodie pulchre; cf. Ter., Ad., 979, Syre, processisti
hodie pulchre.

9.2 totum; In Late Lat. totum is used for omnia; cf. 9.12, Hodie
totum expromit; 11.24, Omnia igitur peregristi, totum commerui;
13.15, Nouri omnia; illos mihi tu narras qui totum occultant; 17.17,
Ibi totum licet; 30.23, Numeris qui totum rotant; 36.21, Vis totum
audire; 39.11, Totum istud amendet more; 40.20, Itaque ubi aurum
est totum est; 51.8, Totum ille qui potest; 59.15, Ego totum feci
solus totum nescio; 59.24, Optime totum hoc asserit; cf. also
toti for omnes, 39.3, Expensas autem rationesque totas propria
persorbit manu; totus for omnia, 47.8, Vtinamque totum sic fieret
aurum; uide Bonnet, p.276; Heyl, s.v.; Hofmann, p.87; Löfstedt
(1911), p.69, (1936); pp.209sqq., (1959), p.323; Souter, s.v.;
Svennung (1922), p.76; Wöllflin, in A.L.L., III, p.470; with exx.
and bibliog.; already colloquial in Old Lat., ex. Plaut., Mil.,
212, Cui bini custodes semper totis horis occupant.

9.2 quod; For indirect statement with quod and the indicative,
uide 30.27. For quod meaning cur, uide L&S.(Lat.), s.v., meaning
"wherefore, why, that", with exx.; ex. Plaut., Aul., 92, Ne causae
quid sit quod te quisquam cuaserit.

9.2 ess; For indirect question with the indicative, uide 8.2.

9.2 recognosco; uide 5.11.

9.2 unde; uide 3.12.

9.3 dealbatus; uide 8.24.

9.3 unde dealbatus nescio; Ellipse of es.
9.3 carbonarias: For carbonarius, adjective, "charcoal", substantive, "a charcoal burner", *uide* the lexica, *s.v.*, with *exx.*; *ex.* Plaut., Cæs., 437, *Exo remittam ad te virum/Gar furca in urbem tamquam carbonarium.* For carbonaria, "a charcoal furnace", *uide* DuC., *s.v.*; *T.L.L.*, *s.v.* (III.432.3sq.); with *exx.* For the proverb, *de calcaria in carbonarium*, "from bad to worse" ("out of the frying pan into the fire"), *uide* Otto, p.64, no.295, *s.v.* calcaria, with *exx.*; *ex.* Tert., *De Carne*, VI, *Peruenimus igitur de calcaria quod dici solent in carbonarium.* The Lar, as guardian of the hearth, should be black from the soot, as opposed to the floury Penates from the storehouse or flour-mill, *de pistrinis*, 9.4. (*uide* the intro. section on Characters about the Lar Familiaris). There may also be a reference to a character in the Carbonaria (so. femina), "The Charcoal Woman" (a female charcoal burner), the title of a lost Plautus play, *uide* 6.4. Three fragments from this play, preserved in Festus, Nonius and Priscian, are included in the Plautus editions of Ritschl and Leo. Priscian also refers to a play of the same name by Naevius, a fragment of which is included in the Loeb collection, *Fragments of Old Latin*, II, ed. Warmington. (Caiser traced the sources of the *q.* through Plautus' Carbonaria back to Menander's *Hydria*, which he equated with the Strobilos Comedy, *uide* the intro. section on Sources. He derived the name Carbonaria from the coal-bucket in which the cook Libys, according to his interpretation of the plot of the Strobilos Comedy, hides stolen food under the coal. He suggested that the Lar took over the rôle of the Prologue in the Carbonaria from Dardanos in the *Hydria*, which he also equated with Menander's *Dardanos*. He suggested that *pistrinis* may refer to the baker's hand-mill which Plautus is supposed to have worked while writing comedies, according to Aulus Gelius, and that the author may have found this joke by Plautus against himself already in Plautus' Carbonaria, indicating that the play, a reworking of Naevius' Carbonaria, was produced while Plautus was working at the mill. According to Aul. Cell., *Noct. Att.*, III.iii.11, Plautus wrote three comedies while working
at the mill, one of which is unidentified; this, Gaiser suggested, could be the Carbonaria:

Peruntur autem sub Plauti nomine comoediae circiter centum atque triginta, sed homo eruditissimus L. Aslius quinque et uiginti eius esse solas existimavit. Neque tamen dubium est quin istaeo quae scriptae a Plauto non uidentur et nomini eius addiciumtur, ueterum postarum fuerint et ab eo retractatae et expolitae sint ac propterea resipient stilum Plautinum. Sed enim Saturionem et Addictum et tertium quandam, cuius nunc mihi nomen non subpetit, in pistrino eum scripsisse Varro et plerique alii memoriae tradiderunt, cum pecunia omni, quam in operis artificum scaenicorum pepererat, in mercatibus perdita inops Romam redisse et ob quaeendum uictum ad circumagens molas, quae trusatiles appellantur, operam pistori locasset.

cf. also Min. Pel., Oct., XIV, Homo Plautinae prosapiae ut pistorum praecipius us postremus philosophorum. Herrm. here saw a reference to the Forêt de la Charbonnière, Siluae Carbonariae, which, with the River Lys and the sea, formed the boundary of Frankish territory at the end of the 4th. century; but the Liger, 17.13, is the Loire, not the Lys, uide the intro. section on Place of Composition.)

9.3 agere: Possibly a reference to the dramatic "acting" of the Lar as a character in the Carbonaria.

9.4 pistrinis: The flour-mill was where slaves were sent for punishment by forced labour, a frequent threat of masters in comedy. Plautus, vide supra 9.3, is traditionally supposed to have turned a hand-mill for a baker, a most degrading occupation, when his business affairs failed, and to have written plays while employed there.

9.5 heia etiam istud de meo: Ellipse of est. cf. 51.15, Nam quod fecit nostrum est.


9.6 nosmet: The Lar associates himself with fate or the gods, vide 6.20.

9.7 querimonias: A play on Querolus' name; cf. Querolus' introductory speech in Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia: Natus ego ut quererer semper
Querolusque nocatus/Ut uiuam querulus et mea fata querar,/Mira mei 
video praesagia nominis audi/Nomen quae mea sint fata notabis eo./ 
Sum miser atque meo mea nomino nomine fata/Asperitasque noui 
nominis omen habet.

9.7 idcirco itaque: Pleonastic particles, uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., 
p.94; Heyl, s.v.; Lefstedt (1907), pp.31sq.; T.L.L., s.v. idcirco 
(VII.i.178.33sq.); with exx.; ex. Salv. of Marseilles, De Gub. Dei, 
III.viii.38, Idcirco itaque sit dominus. For idcirco with ut, vide 8.5.

9.8 quod nemini antehae contigit: cf. 14.9, quod nemini antehae 
contigit.

9.8 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.


9.11 et noui et doceo: Ellipse of direct object.


9.12 totum: uide 9.2. (Here it may be correctly used to mean "all 
of it", the whole of a unit as opposed to its fractions, rather 
then "everything", the whole of a group as opposed to its members.)

9.12 hodie totum expromito: Future for present imperative. The 
future imperative is frequently used in colloquial Lat. without 
any particular significance. Technically the relative imperative, 
it looks forward to contingent rather than immediate fulfilment, 
and is chiefly used in laws, maxims, etc. It would therefore be 
appropriate for the Lar adopting a superior divine tone towards 
Querolus. cf. 12.27, Inter miseros uiiito; 13.9, Quid sit tenendum 
discito; 13.11, Tento leuis nectito; 16.23, Tantum illud memento; 
17.7, Facito ut sim priuatus et potens; 17.13, Vade ad Ligerem 
uiiito; 18.21, Omen aetatem exesus ajiito; 19.4, Te tuosque pariter 
undis et uentis credito; 21.14, Quidquid contra te est facito; 
21.16, Fallenti credito; 34.20, Scitote inter istaeo omnia; 37.12, 
Nuno remedium promito; cf. also dicito, 11.12, 14.3, 15.24, 16.22, 
35.3, 35.21, 49.18; uide also 18.13, esto (18.13, 19.22, 27.14,
29.21, 43.21, 60.1; vide K.S., I, pp.198seq.; L.H.S., II.i.2, p.341; with exx. and bibliog.


9.14 paucam...omnia; cf. 35.6, Tamen accipite paucam de quibus intellegatis cetera.

9.16 unde; vide 3.12.

9.16 quare iustis bene est et iustis male; cf. Cic., De Nat. Deor., III.xxxii.81, quoted above; Salv. of Marselles, De Gub. Dei, I.i.1, Et ideo in hoc saeculo bonos plerumque miseros malos beatos esse; Ennius frag. 265 (ed. Jocelyn = 271 6th. ed. Ribbeck = 318 2nd. ed. Vahlen), Nam si current bene bonis sit male malis, quod nunc abest; Plaut., Amph., prol., 34, Nam iusta ab iustis iustus sum orator datus./Nam iusta ab iustis impetrari non decet./Iusta autem ab iustis petere insipientia est.

9.18 quaestio; A legal term for an "investigation, inquiry". The judicial examination before a trial, the praecidium, vide P.W., s.v., determined whether the plaintiff or defendant were slave or free; cf. assertio, 9.24, vide 3.12. Here the plaintiff will be judged to be "just", bonus, or "unjust", malus. Legal satire is apparent in the Lar's following dispute with Querolus, vide the intro. section on History and Thought: Legal History.

9.21 satis tibi; The word tibi has become misplaced in the MSS., which read cum tu tibi ipse sis reus quemadmodum satis aliisque.... This may be corrected by moving tibi to follow satis. A tibi accidentally omitted at the end of a line in the archetype could have been replaced in the margin and then mistakenly taken to refer to the end of the previous line. (The length of a line in the
archetype seems to have been about thirty letters and spaces, as can be seen from 26.5, where a whole line is omitted.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cum tu tibi} \\
\text{ipse sis reus quemadmodum satis} \\
\text{aliiisque multis defensorem te paras}
\end{align*}
\]

The _que_ would then have become meaningless with the loss of _tibi_, and was therefore omitted in _L_ (corrected by _L2_) and changed to _qua_, giving _quam_ in _PB_. Ranstr., however, _uide Q Stud._, pp. 96 sqq., preferred Klink.'s transposition of _tibi_ and _satis_, following a suggestion of Koen, already considered and rejected as a possibility by Dan. Ranstr. suggested that _satis_ and _tibi_ came at the end of subsequent lines, but that in the archetype _tibi_ was copied for _satis_ in the first line as well as in its place in the second line. The mistake was corrected by adding _satis_ in the margin, which was then taken as the correction of the second _tibi_, so that the two words changed places.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cum tu tibi} \\
\text{satis} \\
\text{ipse sis reus quemadmodum tibi} \\
\text{aliiisque multis defensorum te paras}
\end{align*}
\]

(Gagnér suggested _tibi ipse_ in the first place and _tibi satis aliiisque_ in the second place. He suggested that _satis_ was accidentally omitted at the end of the second line in the archetype, where _tibi_ would then have become the last word as in the first line, and the correction added in the margin by the abbreviation _sis_.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cum tu tibi} \\
\text{sis} \\
\text{ipse sis reus quemadmodum tibi} \\
\text{aliiisque multis defensorum te paras}
\end{align*}
\]

He suggested that _sis_ was then taken into the common source of _pnae_ (the _Florilegium Gallicum_, _uide_ the intro. section on Manuscripts), at the end of the first line, giving _sis_ twice (_cum tu tibi sis ipse sis reus_), the second _sis_ being omitted in _e_. The complete MSS. correctly resolved the abbreviation, but took it as the correction of the second _tibi_, not an addition (giving _satis aliiisque multis_. However, as Gagnér himself agreed, the _Flor. Gall._
excerpts of the Q. were taken from V3; so in the second place here V3 and pmae read tibi aliique. In the first place the reading of V remains the same as that of the other MSS. So the mistaken repetition of satis probably arose from the common source of pma. Cors. left tibi in the first place, and suggested faris for satis in the second place, from a confusion of f for s, written f or f, and r for t. faris is used at 59.2, Tu fare quod velis.) satis is an adverb modifying paras. Dan. suggested that satis is an adjective qualifying reus or defensor. satis as an adjective, however, is generally used impersonally (satis est, etc.), as a complement (after the verb "to be", etc.), or with a noun in the genitive, not qualifying a noun in the nominative, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. As an adverb it modifies verbs, adjectives, adverbs and adverbial expressions. The exx. Ranstr. gives in Q.Stud., p.97, of satis as an adjective (which qualifies nouns) are in fact all of satis as an adverb modifying adjectives (ex. Plaut., Most., 228, Sat ero dies), while reus and defensor are both nouns, not adjectives, uide the lexica; s.v.; with exx.

9.22 defensorem te paras; cf. Ter., Eun., 770, Feri, huic ipsi est opus patrono, quem defensorem para; Liutprand of Cremona, Rel. de Leg. Const., 58, Tutores opus est quos defendores parat.

9.22 defensorem; (Emr. suggested that this may refer to the defensor civitatis or municipalis or rei publicae or coloniae or loci or senatus or publicus or plebis, titles of provincial magistrates from the second half of the 4th. century, rather like "ombudsmen", whose chief duties were to protect the rights of the under-privileged lower-classes in town and country against, for example, unjust taxation or false information on the census list; uide Jullian, VIII, p.65; Lot (1947), pp.322sqq.; P.W., s.v.; with exx. and biblio. In Cod. Theod., I.xxix.8, they are given the job of suppressing brigandage, insanii latronum, cf. latrocinium, 17.11, uide the intro. section on Place of Composition, with reference to the Bagaudae: Per omnes regiones, in quibus fera et periculi
sui nescia latronum feruet insenia, probatissimi quique atque

districtissimi defensores adsint disciplinae et cotidianis

actibus praesint, qui non sinant crimina impunitate coalescere.)


10.1 de illis: uide 8.23.

10.3 criminosa: For criminosa in Late Lat. meaning "guilty,
criminal", reus, scelerosus, rather than "accusatory, reproachful",
as in Class. Lat., uide DaC., s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; with exx.; ex.
Salv. of Marseilles, De Gub. Dei, IV.xii.56, Quod magis rei et
criminosi sumus. (Gaiser compared IV.i.i.i, Nego ullum esse quam-
libet mazni criminis reum cui se acquiescat torqueri.)

10.3 necesse est: Vivid present for immediate or simple future,
erit, characteristic of early and late colloquial Lat., especially
with temporal adverbs (as iam, nunc); cf. 10.16, Quid de falso
dicimus; 16.2, Paululum tibi ita uidetur rursurn ad ingenium redia
(where Orelli suggested uidebatur and redbis); 20.19, Etiam hinc
respondeo (where B reads respondebo); 23.12, Ero me hac intus
refero; 24.6, Quando haec discere potestis (where Ber. suggested
poteritis); 24.19, Ero te iam nunc explodo; 26.2, Ero tamquam
cynicus magister inuenta et inclusa trado gaudia; 27.5, Primum tuo
te uocat nomine; 27.7, Tutm edisserit; 44.23, Istud iam sequitur
(where Herrm. suggested sequetur); 48.7, Ero perleoa; 53.6, Aiquod
praestigium iterum hae exhibit; 53.13, Sequuntur cetera (where Den.
suggested sequentur or sequantur); uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.144;
illum dum ueniat et uenio tecum Alexandriae et deduco te usque ad
naueam); Bonnet, pp.634seq. (with exx. from Greg. of Tours of the
present used for the future and the past); Erikson, pp.60seq.;
Glassen, pp.183seq.; Hofmann (1925), pp.111seq.; Konjetzny, in
A.L.H., XV, p.336; K.S., II, pp.119seq.; L.H.S., II.i.i.2, pp.305seq.

10.4 *sensum*; (Herrm. suggested *censum.*)

10.4 *accommodem*; *uide* 4.5.

10.5 *qua*n*ta*; For *quot*; cf. 13.23, Hui *quantum adiciunt*; 42.2, Quanti sunt ingenui cui transfigurare sese uellent. (At 13.23 the *Florilegia* MSS. read *quanta.* At 42.2 Hav. suggested *quam mult*; Klink. suggested that *quant* could have its usual sense, meaning, for example, "chief citizens"). The first occurrence of this usage appears to be Prop., I.v.10, At tibi curarum milia quanta dabit. In Vulgar and Late Lat. categories of size and quantity became confused. For *quantum* for *quot* in Late Lat. to avoid the monosyllable, *uide* Palmer, p.169. *uide* also Bonnet, pp.276sqq.; Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p.30; Heyl, s.v.; Johnston, s.v.; L.H.S., II.i.2, p.110; Löfstedt (1911), pp.147sqq., (1933), II, p.43; Svennung (1922), p.76, (1935), pp.322sqq.; Tidner (1938), p.55; with *exx.* and bibliog.


10.6 *fecisse*; (Hav. suggested *perfectisse,* but for simple for compound verbs, *uide* 3.18.)

10.6 *capitalia*; cf. 17.16, Sententiae capitales. Theft, fraud, adultery, the threat of murder, perjury, and breach of faith, *uide infra,* 10.10-11.16, are here all regarded as capital crimes, punishable by death or loss of civil rights.
10.9 paene: (Reeve suggested that the reading of H, prope, is correct, as prope recurs three times elsewhere in the 2, 13.1, 20.19, 60.13, and paene nowhere else.)

10.9 retineo: For memini; cf. 43.12, Nullam unquam domum sic purificatum retineo (where Peip. suggested redhibeo and Wagner, in his review of Peip.'s ed., relinquuo); 53.13, Propositum ergo retineamus sequuntur cetera; uide Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p.31; Heyl, s.v.; with exx.; ex. Aul. Gell., Noct. Att., XVII.ix.16, Siue ille Hadrabal est siue quis alius est non retineo.

10.10 eho: The MSS. read heo, from the misplacement of the aspirate, uide 7.13.

10.10 numquam: The reading of H. The other MSS. read nullum, but the play on nullum comprises three repetitions, 10.7, 10.8, 10.9, followed by a similar triple play on numquam, 10.10, 10.11, 10.12.

10.11 numquam: The reading of H. R reads nullum; the other MSS. nusquam. (Orelli suggested nullum unquam.) cf. Plaut., Men., 780, Nusquam equidem quicquam delicui.

10.11 ex quo: Ellipse of antecedent (eo tempore).


10.16 dicimus: Present for future, uide 10.3. (Herrm. suggested dicemus, but this would destroy the rhythm of the seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.141.)
10.17 istud commune est; cf. Ter., Phorm., 245, Communia esse haec fieri posse ut ne quid animo sit nouum.

10.18 quid de adulterio; Ellipse of a verb of saying (dicimus).

10.19 non; H omits non, but this cannot be the correct reading, for such a reply would make little sense of the Lar's answer.

10.23 quid ad haec; Ellipse of a verb of speaking (dicimus).

11.1 nemini; vide 6.10.

11.2 quid si convinco; Ellipse of direct object (te), or absolute, convincree meaning "to win an argument, law-suit", vide T.L.L., s.v., meaning obtinere litem (IV.876.43sqq.), with exx. from the Law Codes; ex. Cio., In Cat., I.4, Quid taceas? Conuincam, si negas.

11.4 si; si is used to introduce direct or indirect questions in the indicative or subjunctive in Late Lat. of. 16.27, Verum illud uide si tu ualeas implere quod petis; 24.9, Dic obsecro si quid est boni. (Here Herrm. suggested umquam for nunquam. si in dependent clauses, expressing interrogation or doubt, and nearly equivalent to num, but expressing a looser connection, "if, whether", is Class., but rare; si with a negative indirect question is very rare; but ex. Ter., Eun., 383, Vide amabo si non cum aspicias os impudens/Videtur.) vide Ranestr., Q.Stud., p.105; Bonnet, pp.675sqq.; K.& S., II, pp.488sqq.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.543seq.; Lofstedt (1907), p.35, (1911), pp.327sqq., (1918), pp.58sqq.; Salonius, pp.310sqq.; Svennung (1935), p.514; Tidner (1938), p.157; Wahlén, pp.158seq.; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Sulp. Sev., Dial., II.xi.3, Dic mihi si umquam in bello fuisti.

11.4 soceros; For socieri, plural, meaning "parents-in-law", vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Verg., Aen., II.456, Seepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat/Ad soceros et suo puere Astyanacta trahebat. (Par. suggested socios, Canneg. socerum.)

11.6 omnia de omnibus; Polyeptoton.

11.8 haec tibi leuia uidentur; Ellipse of esse.
11.9 peieraueris: (V and H, here and at 11.11, read perieraueris. V3 and H2 correct. At 11.22 they read perierat for peierat. peierare is the form used in Class. and Late Lat., not perierare, as Peip. The original form is periurare. perierare seems to occur only in Plaut.; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.)

11.10 bona hora: The personification of the hour is here invoked as witness to the oath. The hours, Horae, were nature goddesses of the seasons, identified as Eirene, "Peace", Eunomia, "Order" and Dike, "Justice". Hora, the wife of Quirinus or Romulus, was worshipped as a goddess after her death.

11.11 peieraueris: uide 11.11.

11.12 saltem hoc dicito: Future for present imperative, uide 9.12. For dicito, cf. also 14.3; Nunc autem illud dicito; 15.24, Aeq dicito; 16.22, Tu fortunam dicito; 35.3, Ea quae nescia dicito; 35.21, Haeo amicis dicito; 49.18, Malam fortunam illam dicito esse te.


11.13 cotidiana et iocularia: (Herrm. suggested the addition of periuria, but this is ellipse of a noun with adjectives used substantively.)

11.14 periurium ioculae: Ellipse of esse. cf. Ter., And., 782, Iocularium in malum insciens paene incidi; Phorm., 134, Iocularem audaciam; Plaut., Rud., 1373, Non tu iuratus mihi es? / Iuratus sum et nunc iurabo si quid uoluptati est mihi / Tus iurandum rei seruandae non perdendae conditum est.


11.15 transeamus quod: Ellipse of antecedent id. (Herrm. suggested the addition of istud, comparing 10.15, Transeamus istud; uide Fargues' review of Herrm.'s ed. in Revue des Études Anciennes XL (1938), pp.199sq.)

11.16 sciens prudensque: uide Otto, s.v. scire 2, p.312, no. 1605; cf. Ter., Fun., 90, Et taedet et amore ardeo et prudens scienti/
Viuus uidensque pereo nec quid agam scio; Heaut. 633, Si peccavi, mi Chremes, insciens feci; Nec. 108, Equidem plus hodie boni/ Feci imprudens quam sciens ante hunc diem umquam; Phorm. 660, Scientem an imprudentem; Cic. Ep. ad Fam. VI. vi. 6, Vt in fabulis Amphilareus, sic ego, prudens et sciens ad pestem ante oculos positam sum prefectus; Ep. ad Att. X. ix. A. 5 (Caelius), Ne te sciens prudensque co demittas unde exitum uides nullum esse; Pro Planc. XVI. 41, Non enim si aut Plancius ita uixit ut offenderet sciens neminem, aut tu ita errasti ut eos edera imprudens; Pro Marcel. V. 14, Prudens et sciens tanquam ad interitum ruere voluntarium; Sen. Ep. CXIV. 21, Qui non casu errant sed scientes ulentesque; Consol. ad Marc. XVII. 6, Sed prudens sciensque uenisset; Suet. Nero 2, Quod sibi prudens ac sciens minus noxium temperasset; Lact. Inst. Diu. II. iii. 3, Sed prudens et sciens pedem lanqueo inserit; VI. xii. 13, Prudens ac sciens in hos se lanqueos induit; Jer. Ep. LIV. 2, Sciens et uidens in flammam mitto manum; Adv. Ruf. I. 32, Sciens ego et prudens in flammam mitto manum; Eunod. Ep. I. 19, Et caelestis mandati sententiam sciens prudensque neglegere; Boeth. De Cons. Phil. IV. 1, Quae fieri in regno scientis omnia potestis omnia sed bona tantummodo ulentis; Cassian Col. XVII. 31, Prudens ut dicitur lanqueo pedem indidi; O. P. N. L. V. pp. 345 seq., "Poems from the Arundel Collection", no. 232, 0 lanqueo/Causam lanqueo uideo/Nec caueo/Videns et prudens pereo.

11.16 sacramentorum..fides: cf. 3. 19, Scripturae fides.

11.17 ut alia taceam: The author likes to create a sense of mystery by writing secretive phrases supposing the suppression of some (more) important information; cf. 17. 20, Multa maiora sunt quae taceamus, tamen interea hoc sufficit; 18. 14, Plura etiam nunc dicere nisi quod esserre istos melius est quam leedere; 20. 17, Vt maiora reticem. At 18. 4, all the MSS., including H, med. Vt maxima quaeque taceam. At 20. 14, all the MSS., including H, med. Vt maiora reticem. Here H reads, Vt alia reticem, the other MSS., Vt alia taceam.
11.18 *heu me miserum*: cf. 46.21, *o me miserum*; 46.22, *o me infeliciem*
48.9, *Hem me miserum, hem me miserum*; 50.23, *Heu me miserum*; Plaut.,
Aul., 721, *Heu me miserum*; Ter., Ad., 309, *Ah me miserum*; Hec.,
74, *Heu me miserum*; Phorm., 187, *Heu me miserum*; Cic., Ep. ad Att.,
IX.vi.6, *Miserum me*; Pro Rab. Post., XVII.45, *Miserum me*; Sall.,
Jug., XIV.9, *Heu me miserum*.

11.19 *quod*: Ellipse of antecedent id.

11.19 *constaret*: (PB read *cum starret*, from a confusion of u for o
and m for n.)

11.19 *quod constaret* umerbis non starret fide: cf. Plaut.,
1355, *Meus arbitratus est lingua quod iuret mea*; Cic., De Off.,
III.xxix.108, *Euripides, iureui lingua mentem iniuratum gero*;
Eurip., Hipp./Phaedr., 612, † γλῶσσ'δμωμοχ', † ς δε φην δνμοτος.

11.20 *urbane*: cf. 19.21, *Vrbane edepol tu nunc omnia quae negaueram
concupiscis*; 23.3, *Vbi illi sunt qui urbane fibulas subducunt*; 49.13, *Accede edepol sed urbane resspic*; also *urbanus*, 23.9, *Iste
qui arud me est locutus urbanus est homo*. The perjorative sense of
the adverb is rare, although the adjective is used in a bad sense,
meaning "forward" or "impudent", vide the lexica, e.v., with *exx.*.
although no exact parallels. At 19.21 the adverb certainly seems
to mean "impudently". At 11.20 it seems to mean "cleverly" or
"cunningly", at 49.13, "carefully". At 23.3 and 23.9 the adverb
and adjective refer to a "clever" or "cunning" thief.


11.21 *tune*: (PB read *tunc*, from a confusion of c for e.)

11.21 *absolutum*: absolure is used as a legal term meaning "to
acquit", vide the lexica, e.v., with *exx.*. This is a (mock-)trial
of Querolus, vide 9.18.

11.22 *peierat*: vide 11.9.

11.22 *peierat...dicere*: vide Otto, e.v. *tacere* 3, p.339, no. 1734;
of. Aus., Epiced., in Patrem, praef., 2, Falso me autem morte eius obita dicere et uerum tacere eiusdem piculi existima; Cio., Pro Roso, An., XIX.54, Quae cum taces nulla est concedis; Pro Sest., XVIII.40, Non infiniendo confiteri uidebatur; De Inuent., I.xxxii. 54, Si tacebitur elicienda responsio est, aut quoniam taciturnitas imitatur confessionem pro eo ac si concessum sit concludere aortebit argumentum; Sen. Rhet., Controu., X.ii.6, Sed silentium uidetur confessio; Jer., Adu. Ruf., III.2, Ne uidear tacendo crimen agnosceré; Paul., Dig., L.xvii.142, Qui tacet non utique fatetur sed tamen uerum est eum non negare; Hugo of Trimberg, Resp. Mult. Aust., 760, Pertimui culpam si uera tacendo tenerem; Soph., Trach., 813, τί στῇ ἀφέρεσι; οὖ κάτωσθ᾽ δοθενεξ'/ξυνηγορέτζ συγκά τῇ κατηγορψ; Eurip., Iphig. Aul., 1142, αὐτῶ δὲ τὸ σιγῶν ὀμολογοῦντος ἐστι σου/καὶ τὸ στενάξειν πολλά.

11.23 et; et for a form of esse is illustrated by Lofstedt from the Peregrinatio Aetheriae, (1911), p.43, and from Tertullian's Apologeticum, (1918), p.94. It occurs especially in relative clauses, ex. Tert., Apol., XLVIII.9, Elus est nihilum ipsum, cuius et totum. (Dan. suggested est.)

11.24 omnia igitur peregisti: of. the Lar's remark, 11.20, Vrban igitur peierasti. Querolus is probably intentionally sarcastic, with a pun on verbs of a similar sound.

11.24 peregisti: (R2 corrects to peragi, which would be Querolus' confession, matching commerui, but peregisti matches peierasti.)


11.25 nihil est actum. Querola, nisi sequantur: The indicative is regular in the apodosis of a condition implying the certainty of the result had it not been for an interruption preventing this result; uide K.&S., II, pp.397seq., with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Cio., Ep. ad Fam., XIII.x.3, Praeclare uiceramus, nisi spoliatum inermem fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium.
12.1 contra meritem tuum: uide 5.22.
12.2 intellegas: Ellipse of ut. (Klink. suggested the addition of ut before esse.)
12.4 es: The reading of H. The other MSS. read et. (Creelli suggested eh, Canneg. ero.)
12.4 atque: uide 3.8.
12.4 in omnibus: of. 12.13, Tu nos ornas in omnibus; 22.15, Sed ut Querolum te constaret in omnibus; 52.24, Atque ipse sese lusit in omnibus.
12.5 de quibus: Ellipse of antecedent (ea).
12.7 spebona: of. 11.10, bona hora; Plaut. Rud. 231, Spes bona, obsucro. habueta mihi. Spes was a personification of "Hope", honoured with a public cult and a temple in Rome; uide P.W., s.v., with exx. of inscriptions.
12.7 faciet: facere is used in Lat. in place of another verb, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. (Here in place of queri.)
12.8 amicitierum...fides: of. 3.19, scripturae fides.
12.9 molestus: Ellipse of est (added by Hav.).
12.10 morigerus: Ellipse of est (added by Hav.).
12.11 si te qui nouis despexit qui non nouis diligit: of. Mart., I.112, Cum te non nossem dominus regemque vocabam/hunc bene te noui, iam mihi Priscus eris.
12.13 agimus...nus: uide 6.9.
12.14 breuibus: Ellipse of a noun with an adjective used substantively (uelpis).
12.16 **valde**: cf. 15.19, **Valde cupio**. For **valde** meaning "Very (much)", *uide Bonnet*, p.308; **Wölfflin**, in *A.L.L.*, I, pp.92sqq.; with **exx.**

12.17 **in amicitiam et fidem stultum ne receperis**: cf. **Man.**, frag. 694 (ed. **Kock**, *Com. Att. Frag.*), φρόνησιν δοκῶν ἄφροσυν μὴ χρῆ φιλοις, ἵππι κεκλήσει καὶ σὺ παντελῶς ἀφαν. (This fragment, assigned to **Menander** by **Gaiser** and **Kock**, was rejected as **Menander's** by **Körte** and **Thierfelder**.)

12.18 **collegium**: *uide* 3.4.

12.21 **quomodo?**: The question remains unanswered; cf. 56.7, **Cui? Quando? Quomodo?**, where the first question likewise remains unanswered.

12.22 **vis te non decipi**: cf. 13.2, **Vis te non decipi**.

12.24 **ne credideris nemini**: The double negative, colloquial in early and late Lat., produces an intensified negative, not a positive; *uide* **Ranstr.**, *Q.Stud.*, p.95; **L.H.S.**, II.i.2, pp.802sqq.; **Lüdstedt** (1911), pp.95sqq.; (1933), II, pp.200sqq.; **Norberg** (1944), pp.109sqq.; **Svennung** (1935), p.535; **Wackernagel**, II, pp.299sqq.; also **P. Thomas**, "Sur quelques irrégularités dans l'emploi des négations en latin", in *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, XXVIII (1885) pp.1sqq.; with **exx.** and bibliog.; **ex.** **Plaut.**, **Mil.**, 1411, *Iura te non noctiturum esse homini de hac re nemini*; **Tib.**, IV.vii.8 (Sulpicia), *Ne legat id nemo*; **Petron.**, *Sat.*, LXXVI.3, Nemini tamen nihil satis est. (Herrm. suggested to for ne.)

12.24 **nemini**: *uide* 6.10.

12.24 **in tua est potestate ne decipiari**: For **ne** for **ut non** in a consecutive clause, *uide* **L.H.S.**, II.i.2, pp.641sqq.; with **exx.** and bibliog.


13.2 **vis te non decipi**: cf. 12.22, **Vis te non decipi**.

13.3 **potest**: *uide* 6.9.
13.4 *dicam quod dictum est prius:* cf. Ter., Eun., profl., 41. Nullum est iam dictum quod non dictum sit prius.

13.4 *quod:* Ellipse of antecedent id.

13.4 *prius:* At 12.24.

13.4 *nemini:* uide 6.10. (Klink. suggested nulli, comparing the following quotation from Martial.)

13.4 *nemini te, Querole, nimis sodalem feceris:* cf. Mart., XII. xxxiv.8, Si uitare noles acerba quaedam/ Et tristes animi cauere morsus/Nulli te facias nimis sodalem;/Gaudebis minus et minus dolebis. (Core. compared Av., Fab., IX.23, Ne facile alterius repetas consortia, dixit./Rursus ab insana ne capiare fera.)

13.5 *ferre non patiens paret:* cf. Ter., Heaut., 202, Pateretur nam quem ferret si parentem non ferret suum. For the pleonastic use of different forms of sense-related verbs, especially to do with bearing something and having the negative connotation of the impossibility of the task, vide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.95; Hagendahl (1924), p.212; Lefstedt (1933), II, pp.181seq.; with exx.; ex. Amm. Marc., XXXI. vi.6, Vectigalin perferre posse non sufficiientes sarcinas graues. (Grut. suggested fere for ferre.)


13.6 *despicitis...inuidetis...dissentitius:* This is the reading of all the complete MSS. The third person singular with homo, followed by the second person plural, refers to mankind in general. The linking of the second person singular (feceris) and plural shows Querolus to be the representative of mankind. (Hav. and Canneg. took homo as their subject throughout. Hav. emended to despicit, inuidet and dissentit; Canneg. to despicit is, inuidet is and dissentit is. The excerpt MSS. regularly altered the texts of their quotations to fit into the contexts of their own particular passages. Here the reading of Flor. Gall. pnae and Vincent of
Beauvais, uide the intro. sections on Manuscripts and Nachleben, despicimus, inuidemus and dissentimus, would adversely affect the sense of the passage in the text of the Q., as the Lar is opposing himself to humans at this point. Cagnère, however, accepted the reading of Flor. Call b. decipiems, inuidem, dissentium, matching patiens, although he altered decipiems to despiciemus.

13.8 The character designation was added by Grut.
13.9 The character designation was added by Grut.
13.10 compares: Canneg. suggestion for the neuter plural compara of the MSS. A substantive in asyndeton seems to be called for, cf. the following comessationes, unum, turbas. (Grut. suggested cum pare, comparing parem, 13.6. Reeve suggested compita, "crossroads", from competa, the reading of H; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., for competum as an alternative spelling to compitum. This mistake would have arisen from a confusion of a for e and r for t. The crossroads would be a place to avoid if one did not wish to meet people.)
13.10 turbas: uide 7.15.
13.11 tanto: The correction of P2. The MSS. read quanto. (cf. also 10.5, quanta for quot, and the confusion of the terms for amount and size in Late Lat. However, no examples seem to be known of tantus for quantus.)
13.11 conuentus: uide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning concubitus (IV.849.37sqq.), quoting this passage; with exx.; but there is no need to suppose that it has this connotation here.
13.12 debacchationes: A synonym of comessationes; uide A.L.L., II, p.471; T.L.L., s.v. (V.1.83.28sqq); with exx. (Gaiser compared Salv. of Marseilles, De Gab. Dei, VII.iv.18, Feruidae libidinis debacchatione grassantes.)
13.12 ioca friiola: (Gaisser suggested that this refers to Plautus' Friuolaria, which he identified with the Carbonaria as a source of the G, uide the intro. section on Sources.)


13.16 sunt quos: Ellipse of antecedent eos.

13.17 facit: For the absolute use of facere, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Ovid, Her., XVI.192, Ad talem formam non facit iste locus.


13.19 uel facis: Querulus regards the Lar as Fate, uide 6.20.


13.20 quod tenuitate nemo ignoscit: cf. Plaut., Stich., 174, Propter pauperiem hoco adeo nomen reperi/In quia paupertas fecit ridiculus foram; Hor., Odes, III.xxvi.42, Magnum pauperies opprobium iubet/Quod is et facere et pati; Juv., Sat., II.152, Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se/Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.

13.20 sufficit: Orelli added sufficit here, Peip. after pauperem; but that would destroy the five-syllable iambic-trochaic clausula, dicat pauperem. sufficit provides a better parallel to ignoscit than Hav.'s sat est or Orelli's other suggestion, satis est. Dan. suggested licet. uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.102.

13.21 ut aliquem dicat pauperem: Ellipse of esse.

13.22 〈LAR〉: The character designation was added by Koen.

13.22 quid praeterea: Ellipse of a verb of speaking (dicunt).

13.23 〈VER〉: The character designation was added by Koen.

13.23 quantum: uide 10.5.
13.23 somniwm: The reading of VLR. PBM read somnum. H2 corrects to somnium; V3 corrects to somnum. For somnium for somnus, "dreams" for "sleep", and vice versa, cf. 24.20, Nocte ista ego in somnis frutum uidebam (where Herrm. suggested somniis), uide Lofstedt (1942), I, pp. 55sqq.; Wistrand, p. 25, with exx. and bibliog. These passages could of course be mistakes caused by the addition or omission of an i through dittography or haplography, but the confusion is found throughout Lat., and the plural of "sleep", somni, is regularly used for "dreams", somnia; ex. Prop., II.11.6, Vidi te in somnis fracta mea uita carina, somnium and somnus are correctly distinguished at 6.10, Aut response aut somnio; 24.8, Quale egomet somnium nocte haec uidi; 24.27, Talia egomet etiam manifesta malo quam tua somnia; 25.2, Somnium prorsus manifestissimum; 39.6, Dein somno indulsemus; 39.7, Post autem inter somnum et merum; 41.10, Somni uigilat tempore. cf. Plaut., Most., 490, Ait uenisse illum in somnis ad se mortuum./: Nempe ergo in somnis?:... In somnias????/... Sed ecce quae illi in somnis mortuus.


14.1 censum: (Herrm. suggested sensum.) The census was a five-yearly assessment of the income of Roman citizens, by which they were given a certain rank and were liable therefore for a specific level of taxation; uide P.W., s.v.
14.2 respicit: (Ranstr. added non before ad censum, Dan. before ad facultates, Hav. before respicit. A non could possibly have been omitted by haplography after nemo because of the similarity between their abbreviations, but it is not necessary for the meaning, as Querolus is complaining that his judges do not take his means or rank into account when assessing his wealth.)

14.2 semper diues diligens: Ellipse of est (added by Hav. before semper).

14.2 contra pauper negligens: Ellipse of est (added by Hav. before contra).

14.3 censoribus: uide censum, 14.1. The censors were the two Roman magistrates, chosen every five years, in charge of the census. (Later they came to exercise the office of censor of morals and conduct, and punished the moral or political crimes of those of higher rank by consigning them to a lower order.)


14.6 tu neque diues neque pauper es: (Des. compared Aus., Epicedion in Patrem, 7, Non opulens nec egoens; 23, Felicem scui non qui quod uellet haberet, Sed qui per fatum non data non cuperet.)

14.6 hoc si agmoceres felix eras: In Late Lat. the imperfect indicative is used to express the unreal present in the apodosis of a condition, especially with esse; uide Ranstr., O.Stud., p.104; Erikson, pp.63seq.; L.E.S., II.ii.2, p.328; with exx. and bibliog.; ex; Salv. of Marseilles, De Gab. Dei, V.vii.29, Et quidem ipsum hoc quamuis durum et inhumanum minus tamen grave atque acerbum erat, si omnes aequaliter atque in commune tolerarent. (B reads esses, but this would destroy the seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula given by eras. Klink. suggested fores or fueris.) For agmocere, uide 5.11.
14.8 speciale hoc plane est; cf. 14.4, Quod specialiter te inquietat et grauat.

14.9 nemini; uide 6.10.

14.9 quod nemini antehae contigit; cf. 9.8, quod nemini antehae contigit.

14.9 iustum hoc fuit patrem ut efferret filius: (Dez. compared Aus., Parent., praef., 18, Et praeter iustum funera nulla fleas; De Hered., 5, Justa quidem series patri succedere.)

14.10 patrem: The reading of H, in antithesis with filius. The other MSS. read bustum, pater occurs four times in succession, 14. 7, 10, 11, 13.

14.12 dura deploratio; Ellipse of est (added by Hav.).


14.14 non enim hoc parua hereditas; Ellipse of est (added by Par.).


14.15 qui semper tibi; Verbal ellipse (uixit).

14.16 quantum reliquit Euclio; Dramatic irony, referring to the treasure.

14.16 istino; uide 3.12.

14.18 Pantomalus: A pun on his name, uide the intro. section on Characters. cf. gloss in P2, totus malus; gloss in V3, Pantomalus nomen est ex Graeco Latinoque compactum et dicitur quasi totus malus, pan enim Graeco totum sonat; Vitalis of Alois' Aulularia, where the slave is called Pantolabus. (Hav. suggested the addition of male before et monte et nomine, presumably lost by haplography.)
14.20 felicem: The reading of PBH, VLR read facilem, from a confusion of a for e.

14.20 multi: (Ritt. suggested the addition of multos after multi.)


14.24 cur igitur laudant?: Ellipse of direct object (eos).

14.25 dependant: (The reading of VLR. PBH read perdant. The de could have been adopted by dittoigraphy from the end of the preceding quid. For simple for compound verbs, vide 3.18.)

14.26 tempestas maxime fru tus meos abstulit: cf. 31.4, Messae haec atque illac transferunt diris tempestatibus omnesque fructus paucorum improbitas capit.

14.26 maxime: (Dan. suggested maxima.)

14.26 numquid: An interrogative adverb with a colloquial tone, numquid is used in a direct question where there is no exactly corresponding term in English; cf. 15.14, Aut numquid dubitari potest (where Hav. suggested num iam, Herrm. nunc iam, Peip. numquidnam); 21.2, Numquid rex alicui largietur (where Grut. suggested num quis); 21.4, Numquid amicus donabit alicui (where Grut. suggested num quis); 21.6, Numquid ex transuerat quipiam me heredem instituit (where H reads numquidnam); 21.8, Numquid thesaurus alicubi defossus apparebit ante oculos meos (where Klink. suggested num); 40.9, Numquid adulterium dicai hoc potest; 45.11, Caelum numquid aequaliter administratur; vide also 15.22, numquidnam. One syllable words tended to be strengthened in Late Lat. For num reinforced with guid, as numquid (especially in Christian Lat., ex. Vulg., Rom., IX.14, Numquid iniquitas apud Domum?), vide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.112; Bonnet, p.324, with exx. from Greg. of Tours (ex.
Hist. Franc., IV, 26, Gai ille, numquid, sit, Romanam adisti urben);
Kullendorff, pp. 72 seq.; L.H.S., II, ii. 2, pp. 542 seq., with exx. and
bibliog.

15.1 alter: For alius, cf. 15.15, qui alterum querit compellat;
21.10, Prius alteri esset ostendendus quam tibi; 55.13, Alter enim
non reddidisset; also alius for alter, cf. 20.15, Quid si nescio
quis ille alius in corde alius est in uultu; 30.11, Duo sunt genera
potestatum, unum est quod iubet, alius quod obsecundat; 59.22, Nisi
quod praesidium abstulisti et cineres reddidisti, unum fraudulententer
alium nequiter. alter and alius are not infrequently interchanged
in Class. Lat., and in Late Lat. alter commonly means "another" as
opposed to oneself. Strictly speaking, alter designates the
similarity of two objects, alius a difference in the objects
contrasted. alter is the comparative and alius the superlative.
uide Bonnet, pp. 278 seq.; Heyl, s.v. alius and alter; L.H.S.,
II, ii. 2, pp. 207 seq.; Löffstedt (1911), p. 145; O.L.D., s.v. alius
meaning alter and alter meaning alius; Svennung (1922), p. 75;
T.L.L., s.v. alius meaning alter (I. 1648. 70 sqq.) and alter meaning
alius (I. 1748. 39 sqq.); with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Amph.,
785, Tu peperisti Amphitruonem, ego alium peperi Sosium; Caes.,
De Bell. Gall., I. 1, Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres,
quarum unam incognit Belgae, aliam Aquitanis, tertiam qui ipsorum
linguae Celtae nostri Galli appellantur; Cic., De Off., I. 2, Nulla
uitae pars, necque publicis, necque privatis, necque forensibus, necque
domesticis in rebus, necque si tecum agas quid, necque si cum aliero
contrahas, uaeare officio potest.

15.2 ohe: The MSS. omit the aspirate, reading oe, uide 7.13.
15.2 consortes: cf. 15.5; uide DuC., s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; with exx.
consortes means literally a "relative", "relation", metaphorically
a "colleague", sodalis, aequalis, here a "neighbour", coninus,
uicinus.
15.3 fallis: In Late Lat., active and transitive verbs are used for middle or passive or reflexive or intransitive or absolute, with ellipse of an object or reflexive pronoun. (For ellipse in general in Late Lat., vide Løfstedt (1952), ch. 2.) (Here Peip. suggested falleris.) cf. 36.12, Nihil se fellit (where Dan. suggested Nihil se fellit). fallere is used transitively elsewhere in the Q., ex. 5.23, Ipse vosmet fellitas. vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.110; Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., absolute (VI.i.181.14sqq.), (although it gives the meaning of mentiri for this passage (181.43), and for 36.12 (181.53) notes, id est horam accurate praeditit); with exx.; ex. Stat., Silv., II.vi.29, Non fallo; Salv. of Marseilles, De Gub. Dei, III.x.54, Quamuis in hoc se fellerim, multi enim horrent, sed paucissimi suitant. Other verbs used in this way in the Q. are: dissimulare, 45.1, absolute, meaning "dissemble", vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Cic., Pro Mur., XIX.40, Etiam illos qui dissimulant, non solum eos qui fatentur; also Heyl, s.v., meaning "deny", negare, with exx.; excusare, 60.24 (where Herrm. suggested the addition of te after excuses), vide T.L.L., s.v., meaning purcare, satisfacere, justificare, defendere (V.ii.1301.39sqq.), with exx.; ex. Mart., Sat., I.lxx.17, Sic licet excuses; Quint., Inst. Or., V.xiii.2, Patroon neget, defendat, transferat, excuset, dopersecur, molliat, minuat, anertat, despiciat, derideat; lauare, 41.13, Lauamus, the reading of VLR. PFB read Lauamur. For lauare in Plautus and Terence meaning "to wash oneself", vide Lodge, s.v.; Jenkins, s.v.; McGlynn, s.v.; with exx.; ex. Plaut., Aul., 612, Nunc lauabo ut rem diuinam faciam; Bacch., 105, Eamus hinc intro ut laues. vide also Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.110; Løfstedt (1920), pp. 19sqq. (with exx. in Tertullian); licere, 17.18, totum licet, either with ellipse of an infinitive (facere), or licet with the neuter pronoun totum as its subject, vide T.L.L., s.v., with a noun as its subject (VII.ii.1362.53sqq.), with exx.; ex. Sen., Apoc., VIII.3, Athenis dimidium licet. Alexandriæ totum; mutare, 20.3, mutabit, the reading of VR. V3 and R2 correct to mutabitur.

15.5 de consortibus meis: de with the ablative for objective genitive; uide L.H.S., II.i.2, p.67, with exx. and bibliog.; L.&S.(Lat.), s.v., with exx. For consortes, uide 15.2.

15.5 adhuc: cf. 41.3, Adhuc ille noster qualiscunque est tamen anurus non est in multis; uide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning insuper, praeterea (1.662.18sq.); with exx.

15.5 habeo quod obiciam: Ellipse of antecedent id.

15.5 vicinus mihi malus est; uide Otto, s.v. vicinus l, p.370, no. 1893; cf. Plaut., Merc., 771, Nunc ego uerum illud uerbum
esse experior uetus./Aliquid mali esse propter uicinum malum; Pallad.,
I.vi.6, Tria mala aequa nocent, sterilitas, morbus, uicinus; Hesiod,
Works and Days, 346, πᾶμα κακὰς γείτων, δόσον τ’ ἄγαθὸς μὲν’ ἄνελαρ;
γείτων ἐσοφ/πάντως πασεῖν πονηρῶν Ἰ μαθεῖν σε δεῖ/ἐὰν ἄγαθον ὑ ῥ γεῖτονος
γείτων ἐσοφ/ὡς προσδόξεςκες ἄγαθα καὶ προσμανήσεις.(This fragment,
assigned to Menander by Gaiser and Kock, was rejected as Menander’s
by Körte and Thierfelder.)

15.7 ecce rem uere malum; ecce magis by the accusative in Old and Late
Lat., where it is used as a preposition, but only the nominative
in Class. Lat.; vide K.& S., I, pp.273seq.; L.H.S., II.i.i.2, pp.48,421; with exx. and bibliog.

15.8 hic: (B reads hinc, and MSS suggested that hinc is here used
as at 3.12, referring to de uno isto; vide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.99.)
15.9 faciant; (Ritt. suggested faciant, Herrm. facient, but the
direct question is in the present indicative.)

15.11 quem; Ellipse of antecedent id.

15.11 praestitisti; For praestare meaning dare, "give, lend, offer",
from the 4th. century; vide Souter, s.v.

15.12 hinc; vide 3.12.
15.13 putas; vide 8.2.

15.13 feliciorem; Ellipse of esse.

15.14 dubitare; vide Heyl, s.v.; Johnston, s.v.; with exx. of
dubitare with accusative and infinitive, rare in Class. Lat., but
frequent in Late Lat.; ex. Lact., Inst. Din., II.v.20, Quis dubitet
semperiternam noctem futurum fuisset.

15.15 altemus; vide 15.1.

15.16 queralam: A pun on Querolus’ name; vide the intro. section
on Characters.
15.17 *uis iam nunc facimus:* In late colloquial Lat.

*Nelle* is often followed by the indicative instead of a subordinate clause with (*ut* and) the subjunctive; *uide* Hofmann (1925), p. 112; L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp. 529 seq.; with *exx.* and bibliog.; *ex.* Vitae Patrum, VI.iii.2, *Vía dicimus duodecim psalmos.* (Dan. suggested *façiamus.*) For *nelle* with the subjunctive without *ut,* *uide* 18.22.

15.19 *uulde:* *uide* 12.16.

15.20 *accomoda:* *uide* 4.5.

15.22 *numquidnam:* *numquid* (*uide* 14.26) may be strengthened by *nam.* (P2 reads *numquid*; Hav. suggested *num quidnam.*) *cf.* 35.16, *Numquidnam hoo sum precatus* (where P reads *numquid non*); 46.1, *Numquidnam in aliquo nos grauas* (where P reads *numquid non*; Klink. suggested *numquid nos*); *uide* L.H.S., II.ii.2, p. 463, with *exx.* and bibliog.

15.22 *etiam tu:* As a divine being, the *Lar* should not fear the human Querolus, *uide* 7.2. So V3 glosses, *cum sis deus.*

15.23 *accomoda:* *uide* 4.5.

15.24 *ace:* *uide* 8.1.


15.24 *sequet: This cannot be the object of the three preceding verbs. That must be understood from what the Lar whispered to Querolus. The meaning required here seems to be "for himself and (with) his family", although *suis could perhaps refer to the neighbour's possessions rather than to his family. This would be given by a dative, *sibique, or a nominative, *ipseque, but not by an accusative or an ablative. *sequcum suis is euphonious but apparently meaningless. Ber. suggested that there is verbal ellipse here. Various emendations have been suggested, *uide the *app. crit., of which Herrm.'s *sequ seems the easiest palaeographically.

15.25 *doctor: (Herrm. suggested *decotor, meaning a "bankrupt", a rare technical term, referring to Querolus' neighbour, Arbiter, rather than *doctor, a "teacher", referring to the Lar. He imagined Querolus apostrophising the absent Arbiter, presuming that Arbiter had been ruined by providing sumptuous (laute) banquets for Querolus and his family and friends. This hardly matches the picture Querolus paints of his relationship with his "bad neighbour".)

15.26 **LAR**: The character designation was added by Pis.

16.1 **VER**: The character designation was added by Par.


16.2 *uidetur: *uide 10.3.


16.3 *redit: *uide 10.3.

16.3 *miserum te: Ellipse of *esse.

16.4 *feliciem: Ellipse of *te *esse.

16.8 *sanus es et *feliciem *te negas: cf. 20.7, Aliquem et sanum et diuitem *feliciem.
16.8 felicem te: Ellipse of esse.


16.10 superius: cf. 13.19, Hoc mecum tolerabile est. For the adverb superius, comparative, for supra, positive, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.


16.15 quare alii melius: Ellipse of esse.

16.16 iam istud ad inuidiam pertinet: cf. 8.1, Iam istud ad uim pertinet.

16.17 sed recte inuideo: cf. Plaut., Truc., 742, Quia pol mauelim/Mihi inimicos inuidere quam me inimicis meis./Hoc inuidere alii bene esse, tibi male esse, miseria est. (Herrm. compared Av., Fab., XXII, De Cupido et Inuido, for the evil result of greed and envy.)


16.18 feliciorem tete: Ellipse of esse.


16.20 facies: facere with a subjunctive clause without ut is rare except in the imperative and as faxo and faxim; uide T.L.L., s.v. (VI.i.105,1sq.), with many exx. with these forms; also Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.107seq.; L.R.S., II.ii.2, pp.530seq.; with exx. and bibilog.; ex. Plaut., Stich., 175, Paupertas fecit ridiculus forem. (Hav. added ut after facies, Klink. after nullum.)
nullum: For nenum, cf. 21.12, nullus for nemo, frequent especially in Late Lat.; uide Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p. 27; Heyl, S.V.; and the lexica, S.V.; with exx.

brevibus: Ellipse of a noun with an adjective used substantively (uorbig).

fortunam...condicio...sortem: cf. Plaut., Merc., 145, Dio mihi an boni quid usquam est quod quisquam uti possit/Sine malo omni aut ne laborem capias cum illo uti uoles; Hor., Sat., I.i.

(no-one is content with his lot and each envies his neighbour, but if a god offered men the chance to change places with each other they would refuse), 15, Si quis deus, en ergo, dios/Iam faciam quod multis, eris tu, qui modo miles/Mercator, tu, consultus modo, rusticus, hinc vos/Vos hinc, mutatis discoedit partibus. Eia/

Quid statis? Nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis; Bosth., De Cons. Phil., II, prose 4; Plut., De Tranquillitate Animi; (Dez. compared Aus., Idyll, XIV, Ex Graeco Pythagoricon de Ambiguitate Eligendae Vitae, which points out the disadvantages of every lot in life: at home, abroad, in the country, at sea, etc.); Timocles, frag. 6 (ed. Kock, Com. Att. Frag., from his Dionysiosauai), διότι δὲ καὶ ἀλλοι ἡν τι σοὶ δοκῷ λέγειν.../ἀνερωπός ἐστι ζητοὺς ἐπιποιον φόβει.../καὶ πολλὰ λυπήρ᾽/βεις ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρει.../παραφυκὰς σὺν φροντίδων ἀνείρητον/ταύτας...ό γὰρ νοῦς τῶν λόγων λήφθην λαβὼν/πρὸς ἄλληθρῳ τος ψυχαιβηθεῖς πάθει.../μεθ᾽ ἱδρυμένης ἀπῆλθε παλύδευσες ἄμα.../τοῦ γὰρ τραγῳδοῦς πρώτον, εἶ/βοδλείς, σκόπεις.../μὲν δὲ γὰρ πένης...πτωχότερον αὐτοῦ καταμαθῶν τὸν θέλεσιν...γενόμενον ἡν τὴν πενθαν ὧδην φέρει.../ο νοσὸν τὶ μανικὼν ἀλκημέων ἔσκεψατο.../ἀφθάρμει τῆς...εἰεὶ δὲ κενεῖδαι τυφλοῖ./τέθνηκε τῷ παῖς.../ καὶ δὲ κεκοδακε.../χωλὸς τῆς ἐστὶ.../τὸν φιλοκήθην ὅρῳ...γέρων τῆς ἄτυχες...κατέμαθεν τὸν ὅλνεα.../ἀπαντα γὰρ τὰ μετέχου...ἡ πέπονθε τῆς/ἀτυχήματι ἀλλοις γεγονότι...ἐννοοῦμενος...τοῖς αὐτῶς αὐτοῦ συμφορᾶς ἦττον στέναι.


16.23 ne putes: A second person prohibition with ne and the subjunctive usually takes the perfect tense, and the present is rare in Class. Lat., although frequent in the comic poets; vide K.&S., I, p.188; L.H.S., II.i.2, pp.336seq.; with exx. and biblog.; cf. the parallels quoted at 28.12, Mihi molestus ne sies; also 28.2, Ne te surripias tam cito (where Hav. suggested surripe); 46.17, Ne uereare me duce; also with nihil, 44.1, Nihilque intra aedes recipias.

16.24 deplorare atque excipere: A word pair of virtual synonyms. (Ber. suggested aut for atque.)

16.24 deplorare: vide T.L.L., s.v., meaning deflere, lugere, conqueri (V.i.574.65sq.), with exx. (Peip. suggested deoptare; Ritt., deflorare.)

16.24 excipere: vide T.L.L., s.v., meaning excludere, reciere, negare (V.ii.1248.43sq.), with exx.


16.25 placet: The reading of H. The other MSS. read placet. V2 and R2 correct to placet. cf. 49.12, Consilium placet.

16.25 honores militares: The first wish is for the life of a soldier.

16.26 mediocris: "Moderately", vide the lexica, s.v., with exx. Querolus' wishes are modest; cf. 17.4, miserabili.

16.27 praestare: vide 15.11.

16.27 si: vide 11.4.

16.28 quod petis: Ellipse of antecedent id.

17.1 bellum gerere, ferrum excipere, aciem rumpere: cf. Cio., Pro Sest., XXXVII.80, Num defuit gladiis? Num repugnavit? Num ut gladiatoribus imperari solet ferrum non recepit?

17.2 istud numquam potuis: cf. 19.5, Istud egomet numquam uolui.
17.4 nobis: uide 6.9.

17.4 in parte hac ciiuli: The second wish is for the life of a "civil servant". The MSS. other than H omit hac. For pars ciiulis, uide Heyl, s.v., with exx.; cf. Sidonius Apollinaris' description of civilian life, Carm., V.564, Quid loquor hic illum qui scrinia sacra gubernat, /qui cum ciiulis dispenset partis habenas/Sustinet armati curas.

17.4 miserabilis: cf. 16.26, mediocris. Querulus' tempers his requests with modesty. The term is passive, not active, "pitiable" not "pitying", as suggested by Heyl (s.v. pars ciiulis). (B reads miserebili. Peip. suggested ministerialis; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., for ministerialis used substantively in Late Lat. of an Imperial official; ex. Cod. Theod., VIII.vii.5, Hii dumtaxat qui ministeriales et paedagogiani et silentarii et decuriones existunt. Herrm. suggested munerabili, but the term is unknown to the lexica. Cors. suggested the adverb miserabili, which is known only from the following exx.: Verg., Aen., XII.338, Miserabile caesis/Hostibus insultans; Juv., Sat., VI.64, Sicut in amplexu subito et miserabile rannit; Stat., Theb., X.416, Miserabile frondens; XII.55, Queritur miserabile (glossed with miserabiler); Paul. of Nola, Carm., IX.2, Miserabile flentes.)

17.5 et exigere et exsolvere: "To exact and discharge", payment of taxes, etc.; uide Souter, s.v. exigo, absolute, meaning "to exact taxes, tax", with exx.; ex. Cassiod., Ver., II.xii.1, Ut quibus non fuerunt in exigendo compendia grauem subeant in reddendo iacturan.

17.7 facite: uide 9.12.

17.7 priuatus: cf. 17.17; priuati. The third wish is to be a powerful man in private life. In Imperial times a priuatus was a private citizen, not belonging to the Imperial family. At 17.17 a priuatus appears to be opposed to a "lawyer".

17.9 spoliare: cf. Salv. of Marseilles, De Cub. Dei, V.vi.24 (quoted at 4.21).
et spoliare et caedere: cf. Livy, XXXII.xii.10, Insecuti caedentes spoliantesque causas. Querolus' wishes have been seen as a reflection of contemporary events, uide the intro. section on Place of Composition, with reference to the Bagaudae, and to the various barbarian tribes.

17.11 latrocinium: cf. Salv. of Marseilles, De Cab. Dei, V.vi.25, 26 (quoted at 4.21). The term is used of the Bagaudae. cf. Preneg., IX.iv.1, Cum latrocinio Bagaudicoe rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani príncipi inuocaret; Aurel. Vict., De Caes., XXXIX.17, Namque ubi conmerit (Diocletianus) Carini discessu Aelianum Amandumque ner Galliam exercita menu arrestium (cf. 17.17, rustici) non latronum, cuos Bagaudas incolae uocant, populatis late agris, plerasque urbium tentare, Maximianus statim fídem amicitias, quamquam semiagrestem militiae tempore atque ingenio bonum, imperatorem iubet. In Cod. Theod., I.xxix.8 (quoted at 9.22), the defensores have the job of suppressing brigandage, insania latronum. In Cod. Theod., IX.xiv.2, army deserters are compared to brigands, Nullus parcat militi cui obuiari telo oporteat ut latroni; cf. also Cod. Theod., VII.xviii.15, Qui relictis militaribus castris se ad depraedationes uel latrocinium contulerint securitatem publicam non cuadent.

17.12 praestari: uide 15.11.

17.13 inueni: Ellipse of direct object.

17.13 habes: Possibly a statement, but probably second singular indicative for imperative; cf. 19.12, Habes nunc plane tota monte quod rogas (where Herrm. suggested habean or habe); 28.11, Comitem quaerebas, habas; also uides, 49.21, Fores celeriter uides, with exx. quoted there; also third person plural indicative for imperative, 58.5, Reliquiae defuncti illius reconduntur. (Here Herrm. suggested habeo or habe.) The indicative for imperative occurs in Vulg. Lat., especially on inscriptions; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp.108seq.; Adams (1976), p.68 ("The imperatival present
indicative is a vulgarism, attested in the Pompeian inscriptions, which is reflected in Romance. The usage probably implied the necessity of the immediate fulfilment of the act", ex. Anon. Val., II.78, In trinitatem lanceola non mittis); Hagendahl, in Festschrift Lundström, pp.282sqq.; Hofmann (1911), p.59, (1925), p.83; L.H.S., III.ii.2, pp.326sqq.; Salo nius, pp.294sqq.; Svenn un g (1935), pp.458, 464, 648; Tidner (1938), pp.15seq.; Wahlén, pp.135seq.; with exx., and bibl og.

17.13 quod exoptas: Ellipse of antecedent id.


17.13 atque: The MSS. other than H omit atque.

17.13 Ligerem: The Loire, the boundary of Gallia Lugdunensis and Aquitania; cf. gloss in V3, Ligerem dicit a nominatu Liger quem ponit Albis Tibullus, Carnutis et flavi caeruli lympha Liger (Tib., I.vii.12). The name Liger is used of the Loire, in the Q, and in the Lex Salica, as it is in Caesar's De Bello Gallico, not of the Lys in Flanders, uide the intro. section on Place of Composition. (Caes., De Bell. Gall., VII.5, Quis cum ad flumen Ligerim unissent quod Bituriges ab Aeduis diuidat; 55, Noviodunum erat oppidum Aedorum ad ripas Ligeris omputum loco positum; 59, Iam Caesar a Gerrouia discessisse audiebatur, iam de Aedorum defensione et secundo Galliae motu rumores adferebatur, Gallique in colloquii interolusum itinere et Ligeri Caesarem inopia frumenti coactum in provinciam contendisse confirmabant.) G. Des Marez, uide Ganshof, in Festschrift Tait, suggested that Liger refers to the Lys in the Lex Salica because at the end of the 4th. century the first stage of Salic Frankish colonisation was bounded by the River Lys, the North Sea and the Forêt de la Charbonnière (siluae carbonariae). Herrm. (1923) suggested that Liger also refers to the Lys in the Q, and this prompted his interpretation of the term carbonaria at 9.3.

**17.15** illic...ibi...ibi...illic...ibi: Anaphora.

17.15 *iure gentium: ius gentium*, the "law of nations", cf. gloss in V.3, *Ius gentium* est sedem occupatio, aedificatio, munitio, bella, captiuitates, seruitutes, postliminia, foedera, paces, indutiae, legatorum non violandorum religio, conubia inter alienigenas prohibita. Et inde *ius gentium* dictum quia eo *iure omnes fere gentes utuntur; cf. Isid. of Seville, *Etymol. sive Orig.*, V.6, Quod sit *Ius Gentium*, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. *Digest*, I.1.9 = Calvis, *Inst.*, I.1, *De Iure Civili et Naturali* = Just., *Inst.*, I.2, *De Iure Naturali et Gentium et Civili*. (Omnes populi, qui legibus et moribus rectorum, partim suo proprio, partim communi omnium hominum *iure utuntur, nam quod quisque populus ipse sibi *ius* constituit id ipsius proprium ciuitatis est vocaturque *ius* civile quasi *ius* proprium ipsius ciuitatis, quod uero naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit id apud omnes populos peraeque custoditur vocaturque *ius gentium quasi quo iure omnes gentes utuntur.*) The *ius gentium* was also identified with "natural law" by Cicero, *De Off.*, III.v.23, Nec uero hoc solum natura, id est *iure gentium*, sed etiam legibus populorum quibus in singulis civitatisibus res publica continetur eodem modo constituta est, ut non licet sui commodi causa nocere aliqui; and opposed to "civil law", III.xvii.69, Maiores aliud *ius gentium* aliud *ius* civile esse voluerunt, quod *civile* non idem continuo *gentium*, quod autem *gentium* ide* civile esse debet. For *ius gentium* opposed to "natural law", cf. ex. *Tryph.*, *Dig.*, XII.vi.64, Si quod dominus servo debitum, manumississe soluit, quamuis eximiares ei aliqua teneri actione, tamen repetere non poterit, quia naturale aequalior debita, ut enim libertas naturali *iure* continetur, et dominatio ex *gentium* *iure introducta est, ita debiti ratio in condictione naturaliter intellegenda est. Here, however, *ius gentium* seems to refer to the law of nature or lawlessness, called *iatrocinium*, 17.11. (Ganshof suggested either that it was only the law of nations which was able to regulate the relations between the Gallo-Romans and the barbarian federates, or that the national law of the barbarians...
seemed like the law of nature. The Pagaudae are supposed to have set up their own law courts, vide the intro. section on Place of Composition. For legal satire, vide the intro. section on History and Thought; Legal History.)

17.15 praestigium; vide 8.20.

17.16 sententiae capitales; vide 10.6; cf. Firm. Mat., Math., I.i.ii.
4.20, Tunc accusaciones, tunc uincula, tunc carceres, tunc damnationes, tunc contra eum capitales sententiae proferuntur.

17.16 de robore: Probably some form of physical punishment. Various explanations have been put forward: Justice in the open air or at the crossroads or in the woods or in the forest clearings, rather than in a court-room or a town; a trial under an oak tree or at the foot of an oak or at the stump of an oak. For this use of de Thomas compared Plaut., Most., 1104, Tum consilia firma ora sunt de diuinis locis. A sentence carried out with oaken cudgels. Miss pointed out that Querolus' answer, Neque robore uti cupidio, indicates an instrumental meaning. For de with the instrumental ablative ("with"), vide Lofstedt (1911), pp.104seq., (1933), II, pp.454sqq.; T.L.L., s.v. (V.i.62.18sqq.) with exx. and bibliog.; exx. Ovid, Met., VI.80, Percussamque sua similat de cuspidre terram; Ann. Marc., XXIX.i.ii.8, In hoc negotio protectores,....de fustibus praeter solitum caesi (where the editors unnecessarily suggested a lacuna after de). Execution by hanging from an oak. A Gallic or Germanic legal system of ascertaining the will of the gods by shaking or picking out wooden tablets marked with sacred signs, the configuration of these signs indicating the divine judgement. (cf. Tac., Germ., 10, Auspicia sortescue ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori deciasam in sarculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam uestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Max, si publice consultatur, sacerdos ciiitatis, sin priusim, inse rater familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur.) Laws written up on trees or
wooden tables and thus published, as were the Twelve Tables at Rome. The strength, robur, of the laws, as of oak.

17.16 scribuntur: cf. Plaut., Pseud., 545, Quasi cum in libro scribuntur calamo litterae/Stilis me totum usque ulmeria consoribito.

17.17 in ossibus: Probably some form of physical punishment. Various explanations have been put forward; Some sort of rough and ready justice, the punishment of the guilty, or suffering of the weak at the hands of the strong, by beating their bones (under the skin); cf. 45.26, Immo tibi hercle bellibus ossibusque uertris ueniant qui quad optasti mihi. A sentence carried out with bone weapons. Dem. deleted in to give an instrumental ablative, but for in with the instrumental ablative ("with"), uide Løfstedt (1933), II, pp.452sqq.; T.L.L., s.v. (VII.i.792.3sqq.); with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Vulg., Luke, XXII.49, Si percutimus in gladio; Judges, XV.15, Inuentamque maxillam..., arripiens, interfecit in ea mille uiros. The ascertaining of the will of the gods by lots, etc., uide 17.16, but using bone tablets. (The Chinese also used inscribed "oracle bones" in divination.) Bone styli for writing on wax, or bone pens. Writing on animal bones. (Thomas compared the Arabic custom of writing laws, etc., on the shoulder blades of camels, oxen, sheep or goats.) For in meaning "on" a surface, with verbs of writing, uide O.L.D., s.v., with exx. Punishment by amputating limbs, the relevant parts being marked for this purpose. A Germanic custom of throwing the bones taken from a wound against a shield to ascertain, according to the noise, the degree of the wound, for compensation.

17.17 rustici: cf. descriptions of the Bagaudae: Aurel. Vict., De Caes., XXXIX.17 (quoted at 17.11); Cros., Adu. Pag., VII.xv.2, Dehinc cum in Gallia Amandus et Aelianus collecta rusticorum manu, quos Bagaudas vocabant, perniciosos tumultus excitauissent, Maximinianum cognomento Herculium Caesarem fecit (Diocletianus), misitque in Gallias cui facile agrestium hominum imperitam et
confusam manum militari uirtute composit; Butrop., Breu., IX.xx.3,
Ita rerum Romanarum potitus (Diocletianus), cum tumultu rusticani
in Gallia concitassent et factioni sua Bagaudarum nomen imponerent,
duces autem haberent Amandum et Aelianum, ad subigendos eos
Maximianum Herculium Caesarem misit, qui leuibus proeliiis arcrestes
domuit et pacem Galliae reformavit; Jer., Chron. ad Abr., an. 290
(=pseudo-Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine, Chron., an. 286, Monumenta
Germania Historica, "Auctores Antiquissimi", IX.i.445), Diocletianus
in consortium regni Herculium Maximianum assumit. Qui rusticorum
multitudine oppressa quae factioni (seditioni Tiro) sua Bagaudarum
nomen indiderat, pacem Gallis reddidit. For rustic woodland justice,
uide 17.16.

17.17 *E u t r o p , B r e u ., IX. xx . 3 ,

17.17 judicant; cf. Salv. of Marseilles, De Gub. Dei, V.vi.24,25,26
(quoted at 4.21).

17.17 totum; uide 9.2.

17.18 licet; uide 15.3.

17.18* patus: According to the context, this must be a (local?)
synonym for "rich", otherwise unattested. For the intrusive
aspirate in B, patus, uide 7.13. V1 clearly does not know the
meaning of the word, glossing, Id est quem alii debeant pati,
patos enim Graeco pati dicitur etiam patus perturbator. Miss
suggested that it is some barbarian, Gallic or Germanic, or
Bagaudic, term, quoted sarcastically by the Gallo-Roman author.
DuC., s.v., takes it as the Byzantine Greek πατος, meaning "riches,
wealth, treasure", πλούτος, thesaurus, diuitiae. In Ancient Greek,
uide L.&S.(Gk.), s.v., with exx., it means a "path", "floor", or "dirt",
the Latin pons, "causeway", English "path". Gaiser referred to the
glosses, Corp. Gloss. Lat., IV.136.14, Patus, auribus magnis
ceruiis; V.574.54, Patus, auribus magnis vel ceruiis; where he
took it to mean planus, "level, flat". (Ber. suggested hypatus,
the Greek ὑπατος, Latin summus, the "highest, lowest, uppermost,
furthest, first, best", used as a substantive to refer to the
*For patus, uide also the addendum at the end of the Commentary.
Roman consul, uide Forcellini, s.v., with exx. Ber. referred this to the Bagaudan leaders Aelianus and Amandus, mentioned in the quotations, 17.17. Peip. suggested pastus, "pasture, food, prey, pillage". Dez. referred this to his own conjecture at 6.14, qui pastu contentus (non) fuit, and to 61.10, Da uictum qui uitem indulsisti. He applied it metaphorically to the gullible provider of this sustenance, although it is usually only referred to the "pasture, food, fodder" of animals, rarely of humans. Dez. compared Lesage's Diable Boiteux, ch. 19, "Un homme riche est toujours gracieux des grands quand il se rend leur vache à lait". Wagner's pacus, Hav.'s pachys, and Haase's pachus, are all transliterations of the Greek παχῦς, "rich, fat, wealthy", Class. Lat. magnus, Late Lat. grossus, uide L.&S.(Ok.), s.v., with exx. Herrm. compared modern French "gros", the synonym for a rich bourgeois in Stendhal's Le Rouge et le Noir, ch. 24, "Un Gros. C'est le mot des vallées du Jura pour exprimer un homme riche". Cav. suggested patulus, from patus, "wide, broad", amplus, diuus, comparing the Swedish equivalents, an extension of meaning from trees to people which he considered suitable for use in woods and meadows.)

17.18 appellaberis: The passive voice is required, so the future passive of LB and V3, rather than the perfect active, appellaueris, of VRP, must be read. The mistake occurred from the confusion of u for h. (Klink. suggested the form appellabere, which would account for H's appellauere.)

17.19 Graecia; uide 4.21, Graecorum disciplinar, and the intro. section on Place of Composition, for the question of the author's nationality. "Our Greece" is in fact Gaul. Greek culture flourished in Gaul. Gaiser (p.327) quoted ethnographical writers for evidence of the high degree of Greek civilisation in Gaul. There is ample evidence for the survival of Greek in Gaul and the West in the 4th. and 5th. centuries A.D. (Ausanus' father, an eminent physician, was said to know Greek better than Latin, Epiced. in Patr., 9, Sermone impromptus Latio uerum Attica lingua/Suffecit culti
Greek grammarians taught at Bordeaux. They are commemorated by Ausonius in Carmen, V.8. Citarius Siculus Syracusanus, a Greek grammarian of Bordeaux, is commemorated in Carmen, V.13, and two Greek grammarians, Crispus and Urbicus, are commemorated in Carmen, V.21. Of Ausonius' Elegues, no. 2 comes from the Greek, and nos. 3 and 4 are written partly in Greek. His Technopaegnion is a discourse on Latin and Greek letters and monosyllabic words. Of Ausonius' Epistles, nos. 8 and 9 are written (partly) in Greek, no. 21 contains a list of the Greek classics in his possession, and no. 22, to his grandson, telling him not to be afraid of school, advises him to read Homer and Menander, Ep. XXII. 46, Prima menebo/Conditor Iliados et amabilis orae Menandri/Enolueda tibi. Of Ausonius' Epigrams, nos. 14, 15, 16, 42, 44, 90 come, he says, from the Greek; nos. 21, 47, 49, 50, 51, 57, 82 are written (partly) in Greek; and no. 1 has a Greek title. All the following are, in fact, based on epigrams in the "Greek Anthology": nos. 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 34, 35, 42, 43, 51, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 90, 91, 95, 96, 102. Sidonius Apollinaris read Terence' Hecyra with his son, comparing it with Menander's Epitrepontes, on which it was based, Ep., IV.xii.i, quoted in the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure. Paulinus of Pella complained that he had been forced to learn Latin too young, although he was already familiar with Greek from conversing with the servants. Indeed, he read Homer and Plato at five years of age, Euch., 72, Nec aero exacto primi mox tempore lustri/Doctata Socratis et bellica plasmata Homerii/Erroresque legens conoscer e cogor Vlixis,/Protinus et libros etiam transire Maronis/Vix bene comperto iubeor sermone Latino,/Colloquio Craiorum adaeque factus famulorum,/Quos mihi iam longus ludorum imnverat usus. Symmachus had to resuscitate his own Greek with some difficulty in order to be able to read Greek with his son, Ep., IV.xx.2, Dum filius meus Graecis litteris initiatur ego me denuo studiis eius uelut eequalis adiunxi. Repuerascere enim nos iubet pietas ut litterarum dulcedinem
liberis nostris labor participatus insinuet. Rufinus translated
the Greek Origen into Latin. Jerome translated the Greek Eusebius
into Latin, as well as the Vulgate Bible, some from the Greek
Septuagint as well as from the Hebrew. Augustine confessed that he
was a poor Greek scholar, Confess., I.13, Quid autem erat causae
cur Graecas litteras oderam quibus puerus imbuebar ne nunc
cuidem mihi satis exploratum est. Adamauam etiam Latinas non
quas primi magistri sed quas docent qui grammatici vocantur. Nam
illias primas ubi legere et scribere et numerare discitum non minus
onerosas poenalesque habebras quam omnes Graecas; cf. also I.14.)
The Q. is a palliata (uide the intro, section on Genre), presumably
set in Athens, and the suggested emendation of Graecia to Gallia
is therefore unnecessary. (Gallaecia, Galicia in N.-W. Spain,
and Rhaetia, in the Swiss Alps, have also been suggested.)

17.19 0 siluae: cf. Sen., Hipp. sive Phaedra, 718, 0 siluae.
17.19 0 siluae 0 solitudines cuia uos dixit liberas: (Mass saw
this passage as a criticism of poetic glorification of rural life.
Although there are no directly corresponding passages for the
notion that freedom lives in the woods, he compared the ideas in
Horace, Ep., I.7, showing the hardships incurred in trying to run
a farm in the country as compared to a business in the city, and
Epode, II, in which praise of rural life is given a satirical tone
by the unexpected ending,

Haec ubi locutus faenerator Alfius, Iam iam future rusticus,
Omnem rededit Idibus necuniam Quaerit
Kalendis ponere. cf. also Quint., Inst. Or., X.iii.22,23,24, Non
tamen protinus audiendi, qui credunt artissima in hoc nemora
silusque, quod illa caeli libertas locorumque amenitas sublimem
animal et beatiorem spiritum parent....Quae siluarum amenitas et
praeterlabentia flumina et inspirantis ramis arborum surae
ooluorumque cantus et insa late circumciciendi libertas ad se
trahunt, ut mihi remittere notius voluptas ista uidetur
cogitationem quam intendere. Caizer suggested that this passage
refers to the dispensing of justice in the open air, uide 17.16.
Gaiser suggested that this refers to a Gaul "free" from the Roman Empire. He saw the first reference to a "Free Gaul" in Caesar, De Bell. Gall., I.xlv.3, Si iudicium Senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Gallian, quam bello victam suis legibus uti uulosisset; cf. IV.xxviii.4, (Suetambri) seque in solitudinem ac siluas abdiderant. (Carausius proclaimed a "Gallic Empire" in 290 A.D.) But freedom without Roman restraint had now, Gaiser suggested, been used by the Bagaudae to overturn civilization, resulting in anarchy. Dez. referred to the proclamation of the freedom of Greece by Flaminius, whom he identified with quis, and saw as a forerunner of Rutilius Namatianus' friend Exuperantius, the pacifier of Armorica; uide the intro. section on the Dedications; cf. Livy, XXXIII.xxxii.5; Flor., Max., I.xxiii.12, Graecia uero ueterem statum reddidit ut legibus uineret suis et suita libertate frueretur; Rut. Nam., De Red. Snc, I.213, Cuius Armoricae pater Exuperantius oras/Nunc postilimum pacis saepe docet;/Leges restituit libertatemque reducit/et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.


17.20 multo maiora sunt quae tacemus; uide 11.17.

17.21 robore uti; uide 17.16 for ways in which Querolus might have made use of oak.

17.23 iurare: "To quarrel", technically, "to sue at law", "to carry on a law suit", ius agere, litiare; uide Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. (VII.ii.668.30sqq.); with exx; especially from the Law Codes.

17.24 tocatuus: The fourth wish. cf. 42.13, ex tocatu; 42.16, Viust ambitor tocatuus; where we are given to assume that Querolus is already a tocatuus. V3 glosses, Sic senator uel aliquis de ordine curiae. tocatuus was originally the designation of a Roman citizen as opposed to a Roman soldier or a foreigner, and of a "client" as opposed to a "patron"; cf. 18.10sqq., 42.16sqq., which could refer
to the salutatio at which the toga had to be worn; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Juv., Sat., VII.141, An tibi servii/Octo, decem comites; an post te sella,togati/Ante pedes. In Later, Imperial, times, toga tus was the designation not only of the middle class citizens as opposed to the lower class plebs or tunicati, but also of a lawyer or a civil servant; uide P.W., s.v.; Sout er, s.v., meaning "a counsel", "an advocate", "a high civil ser vant"; with exx.; ex. Cod. Theod., VI.ii.26, Togati quoque praetorianae atque etiam urbicariae praefecturae o cterique omnes.

17.24 nec bonus; H supplies an omission in the hyparchetype of the other MSS. The remaining text, ...numeras? QVER maxime was altered by the (hyparchetype of the) other MSS. to muneras quem maxime to try to make sense of it.

18.1 etiam non possumus possumus; cf. Dracon., I, praef., 20, Nos licet nihil ualemus mos tenem gere ndus est. A seeming contradiction in terms. Duck. trans., "Even if I have no power, I can still do that". Miss saw this as an unsuccessful attempt at antithesis. Canneg. suggested non poscimus possumus; Dr. Hall suggests non uolumus possumus.

18.2 praestari; The reading of BH. The other MSS, read praestare. V3, L2 and R2 correct to praestari. The mistake must have arisen from a confusion of e for i. The passive infinitive is required with hoc, unless an ellipse of me be assumed.

18.4 ut maxima quaeque taceam; uide 11.17. For the description of a toga tus, cf. Juvenal's description of a client hastening to an early morning salutatio, Sat., III.126, Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod/Pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte toga tus/Currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire/Praecipitem iubeat, dudum uigilantibus orbis,/Ne prior Albinae et Modian collega salutet; V.19, Habet Trebius, propter quod Rumpere com mum/ Debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne/Tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,/Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore, quo se/
Frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae; also Mart., Sat., XII.

xxvi.7, At mihi quem cogis medios abrumpere somnos, Et matutinum ferre patique lutum/Quid petitur? Rurta cum pes uagos exit aluta,/Et subitus crassae decidit imber aequae.

18.4 tegmina: (For tegmina trunca, humili tegmina, 18.7, and cucullorum tegmina, 47.5, G. compared Av., Fac., V.7, Aptait suis incongrua tegmina membris; XV.7, Et simul erectae circumdans tegmina caudae.)

18.5 cothurnos: This usually refers to boots, as worn for hunting or tragic acting, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. Johnston, s.v., suggested woollen socks, "probably worn in cold weather". Other suggestions are footwear, shoes, buskins, leggings, breeches, hose, stockings and boot-laces.

18.5 refluos: "Flowing back", here presumably meaning "falling down" and describing the carceres, as the cothurnos are already described as leneos, although Johnston took it to refer to cothurnos.

18.6 carceres: P8 and R2 read calceos, but they are the next item. These must be some sort of boot or shoe, but none of the lexica know this meaning of the word. Perhaps this was some kind of footwear fastened with criss-cross thongs, which thus "imprisoned" the feet. (Peip. suggested laceros, an adjective, with refluos, describing cothurnos, but stylistically a substantive appears necessary. Hav. suggested compagos, the joints of the foot or shoe, but the correct form would be compages or compagines.)

18.7 calceos: The Roman shoe, like an English sandle. (uide D. Charlesworth and J. H. Thornton, "Leather found in Mediobogdum, the Roman fort of Hardknot" in Britannia IV (1973) pp.141-152, especially pp.150seq., "A studded shoe with a more-or-less open upper, the sole cut separately and the upper attached between the insole and the lower layers, generally about five thicknesses. It has loops through which thongs of leather would pass to tie it.") calceos is the usual word for shoes in general, uide the lexica,
s.v., with exx., but here perhaps a certain sort of footwear, such as ankle boots, is indicated.

18.7 humili fluxos tegmine; uide 18.4. Some part of the shoe, the (top or bottom) "covering", must be loose and near to the ground. (Dan. suggested fultos.)

18.7 quos terra renocet; Personification of the ground. Presumably the shoes often stick in the mud.

18.8 foedet; Hav.'s suggestion for the MSS. reading fraudet. Personification of the mud, which is the same colour as the shoes.

18.8 aestum...bruman: VPP read aestu; RLH read aestum, and V2 corrects to aestum. V3 corrects to bruman; the MSS. read bruma. The final m of bruman may have been lost by haplography in the initial n of nudis, or both final m's lost by omission of a nasalisation stroke.

18.9 soccis; Socks or slippers as worn by comic actors and "ballet" dancers, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

18.9 canecros; The constellation cancer, the crab, which the sun enters at the Summer solstice, hence the Summer; as V3 glosses, ferren solstitialit.

18.9 tubulis; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.108. V3 glosses, caliris hiemalibus. cf. 42.20, Vtaturque in aestu tubulis angustis et nouis. Here Flor. Gallae read tabulis; at 42.20, Flor. Gall. mae read tabulis. The word is used of pipes and tubes, such as water pipes, metal ingots, and box tiles. Some kind of leg or foot covering must be understood here, such as trousers, leggings, or tight boots, named from their shape (cf. "drain-pipe trousers"), but this meaning is otherwise unknown to the lexica. Hav. and Herrm. trans. "bottes". DuC., s.v., and Forcellini, s.v., interpret it as tegmina tibiaalia. Souter, s.v., gives the meaning "a thick sock". Johnston, s.v., suggested that these were high boots with a close-fitting top worn in Winter. Whatever they were, they are clearly opposed to soccis, while the antithesis of vestis genibus and nudis cruribus clearly suggests a leg-covering of some kind.
18.10 occursos antelucanos: This suggests the plight of a client at his patron's salutatio; vide 17.24, togatus. cf. quotations from Juvenal and Martial at 18.4; antelucandum, 39.5.

18.10 judicia conuiium: cf. 42.16, conuiator judicum. The iudex is not necessarily a "judge", but any higher "magistrate"; vide DIc., s.v., with exx. ex. Amm. Marc., XVII.xii.21, Resalis Vitrodorus Viduari filius regis et Agilimundus subregulus aliqua optimates et judices uarii populi praeidentes.

18.12 uende uocem uende linguam iras etque odium loca: Anaphora. of. Sen., Hec. Fur., 172, Hic clamosi rabiosa for/i uerdens improbus iras et uerba locat; Mart., Sat., VII.xliv.8, Non cynicus non tu stoicu esse potes; vendere nec uocem Siculis plausumque theatris.

18.13 in summa pauper esto: cf. 19.22, Esto impudens; 27.14, Saluus esto; 29.21, Tu quaque incolumis esto; 43.21, Tu iicitur universo hoo triduo domi clauses esto; 60.1, Are iam bono animo esto; for future for present imperative, vide 9.12. es is nowhere used in the q. (Hav. suggested es at 60.1.) vide Heyl, s.v., with exx. from the Vulgate of esto replacing es. For avoidance of the monosyllable es, vide Palmer, p.169. ("Yet another manifestation of the constant striving after forceful expression in the popular language is its preference for words of fuller form.... In the Latin Bible esto is used for es, and uade does duty for i." For uade vide 21.14.) (Koen suggested pauperes esto, from edere.)

18.13 reporta: (Hav. suggested reportato to match the future esto.)


18.14 efferre...laedere: The double meanings produce a play on words. The former may mean "to praise", laudare, as V3 glosses, laudibus extellere, or "to carry out a corpse for burial", sepelire, vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; the latter, "to insult", or "to

18.15 nisi quod: uide 8.3.

18.15 laedere: Ellipse of direct object (istos).

18.16 neque istud uolo: cf. 19.10, neque istud uolo.

18.17 illi qui chartas agunt: The fifth wish. V3 glosses, chartularii. These must be scribes or secretaries involved in paper work, tabellarii or tabularii ("civil servants"), although the phrase is otherwise unknown; uide Porcellini, s.v. chartularius; DuC., s.v. charta; cf. Cod. Just., X.lxxiii.3.1, Chartas publicas agere permisit.

18.19 senecta: post-Aug. Lat. for senectus, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., senecta provides a matching three-syllable contrast to iuuenta.

18.19 tiro agelli ueteranus fori: A military metaphor.

18.20 eruditus: The reading of V. The other MSS. read erudite, and V3 corrects to erudite. A vocative might just be possible as the Lear is talking to Querolus. However, he is not addressing him as a ratiocinator, but imagining his life as one. Dan. suggested that erudite is an adverb, but ratiocinator eruditus is a pair with possessor rudis, as the preceding and following four words all form contrasting pairs.

18.21 exoros: "Hated" not "hating", the passive meaning in Late Lat., uide Heyl, s.v.; Souter, s.v., from the 4th century; T.L.L., s.v., meaning odiosus, inuisus (V.ii.1595.42sqq.); with exx.; the T.L.L. gives the meaning here as odio sis ceteris.


18.22 heredes autem deus ordinabit: cf. Sen., De Breu. Vitae, especially ch. 19, on the theme that the same end awaits all. (Cors. compared Justin., XVII, i, Agathoclem filium, quem in successionem regni ordinauerat.)
18.22 deus: uide 6.11.

18.22 nolo inuides: With uelle, male and nolle, when the idea of wishing is emphatic, the subjunctive without ut may be used; cf. 36.24, Vis et nomina servorum tibimet iam nunc eloguari; 61.14, Visne interdictorum capita iam nunc eloguari; 54.10, Nam mallem amice fratrem te quam coheradem esse asseras; vide K.&S., II, pp. 227sqq.; L.H.S., II..ii.2, pp.529seq.; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Vitae Patrum, III, 195, Vis pater vel duodecim psalmos canamus; Livy, XXII, xxxix.20, Malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti clues laudent; Plaut., Pers., 245, Nolo ames. (Hav. suggested noli inuides, but noli with the perfect subjunctive is not an imperatival formation; vide K.&S., I, pp.195sqq., especially pp. 202sqq.; L.H.S., II..ii.2, pp.336sqq.) For uelle with the indicative, uide 15.17.

18.23 saepe condita lunorum sunt repinae ulpium: uide Otto, s.v. ulpes 7, p.379, no. 1945. (uide G. Thiele, Der Lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosafassungen des Phaedrus Heidelberg (1910) no. 56, Romulus' fable Vulpes Inaida, which illustrates this proverb. Herrm. compared Phaedrus' fable De Patricie et Infantae; Avianus' fable De Rustico et Lupo; Babrius' fable 16, "The Disappointed Wolf").

18.23 condita: The wolf's Winter store. Heyl, s.v., with exx., referred this to its later, especially 4th. century, meaning of a (military) granary.

19.2 mercatoris: The sixth wish is for the life of a merchant.


19.3 conscendere maria te tuosque pariter undis et uentis credito: cf. 7.2, Nimum memet credidi. For conscendere maria for conscendere nautum, cf. conscendere aequor, Verg., Aen., I.381, Bis demis Phrygium conscendi nautibus aequor. (Herrm. suggested transcende.) cf. also Sen., Heo. Fur., 152, Carbase uentis credit dubius/Neuitae lavos aura complente sinus; Med., 304, Animen leuibus credidit paris; Claud., De Raptu. Pros., I, praef., 5, Trancuillis
primum trepidus se credidit undis; Anth. Lat. (ed. Bisch. and Riese), I, 266, Hic est ille suis nimium qui credidit undis; 268, Crede ratem uentis.


19.5 istud ecomicum numquam uolui; cf. 17.2, Istud numquam potui.

19.5 saltem uel: Pleonastic, uel having the sense of saltem in Late Lat.; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.94; Bonnet, p.315, with exx. from Greg. of Tours; Hofmann (1925), p.114; L.H.S., II.i.2, p.502; Salonius (1920), p.344; with exx. and biblog.

19.5 capsa: The seventh wish. A caps is a container, but there do not seem to be any other examples of it containing money; uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning receptaculum variarum rerum (III.362.25sqq.).

19.6 Titis P.W., s.v., lists the various holders of the name. There is no reason to suppose that it refers to the emperor Titus or Vespasian (both called Titus Flavius Vespasianus, contra T.L.L. III.362.29.)

19.7 podagram: cf. Juv., Sat., XIII.96, Fauper locupletem optare podagram/Nec dubitet Ladas si non est Anticyra nec Archicene.

19.10 neque istud uolo; cf. 18.16, neque istud uolo.

19.10 concubinula: The diminutive of concubina is unattested elsewhere; uide Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. (IV.99.44seq.).


19.12 quod rogasi: Ellipse of antecedent id.

19.13 quod exoptas: Ellipse of antecedent id.

19.13 Paphien Cytheren Briseiden: Greek accusatives. Briseiden is the reading of B. The other MSS. read Briseiden, from a confusion of a for i. The accusative of Briseis is Briseida, Greek, or Briseidam or Briseudem, Latin. Briseiden is probably a coinage by the author, although a corruption could have occurred from its similarity with Paphien and Cytheren. The names chosen are
evocative of love, as V. glosses, nomina psaltriarum meretricum.

Paphia: A girl from Paphos on Cyprus, also a title of Venus, who had a famous temple in the city on this, her sacred island.

Cythere: A girl from Cythera, another island, in the Aegean, famous also for the worship of Venus, whence her titles Cythereis or Cytherea or Cythereia. (Cytheris was the name of a celebrated courtesan, the mistress of Mark Anthony, and subsequently of Gallus, who mentioned her in his poems under the name Lyocoris.)

Briseis: Achilles' booty from Troy; she was expropriated by Agamemnon to replace his relinquished Chryseis, and this led to the quarrel between the two and Achilles' withdrawal from the fight. The name was subsequently applied to other handmaidsens,

uide T.L.L., s.v. (II.2194.42sqq.).

19.14 pondere Nestoris: uide Rastr., Q.Stud., p.109. pondus is a euphemism for the testicles, either ruptured and impotent, or outsize and virile; the former clearly more appropriate here, although Hav. and Herrm. took it to mean excessive virility. cf.

Juv., Sat., VI.324, Nil ibi per ludum simulabitur, omnia fient/Ad uerum, quibus incendi iam frigidus seuo/Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit. So pondus Nestoris may be the equivalent of Nestoris hirnea. V. glosses pondere with hirnea. For a description of a hirnea, cf. Celsus, VII.18. uide DaC., s.v. pondus, explaining this passage as qui hirnea laborat; also Micheler (1880), pp.394seq., referring this to an illness of old men interfering with their sexual enjoyment. Juvenal's Nestor is a type of man worn out with years, from Nestor, the oldest army leader in the Trojan war. For Nestor as an epitome of old age, uide Otto, s.v. Nestor 1, p.242, no. 1223. cf. also Mart., Sat., VII.xxxv.4, Judaem nulla sub cute pondus habet; Cat., LXIII.5, (Attis) Deoluit ilei acuto sibi pondera silice; Aug., De Civ. Dei, XXII.8, Non solum a paralysi uerum etiam ab informi pondere genitalium cum baptizaretur salus effectus est; Arnob., Adu. Gent./Nat., VII.34, Quodsi possent adscribere usitatudines aegritudines et corporales diis morbos,
non dubitarent eos lienosos, lipmulos atque entrocelicos dicere, eo quod insi et liensi et lippi sunt saepe et ingentium herniarum magnitudine ponderosi; Vulg., Levit., XXI, 20, Si gibbus, si lippus, si albuginem habens in oculo, si iurem scabiem, si impetiginem in corpore, vel herniasus, nec accedet ad ministerium dei si fuerit ponderosus; Greg. Magnus, De Cura/Reg. Past., I, De Ponderosis.

19.16 ideo: uide 10,10.

19.17 nemo pratis bellus est: uide Otto, s.v. bellus, p.54, no. 246.

19.17 aut haec cum his habenda sunt aut haec cum his amitterenda sunt: cf. Ter., Heaut., 325, Aut haec cum illis habenda sunt aut illa cum his amitterenda sunt. L reads illis here, but in this passage haec and his are repeated, whereas in Ter. haec and illis match illa and his.

19.19 inuenio: For the historic present, uide 4,13. The present was used for the past especially by the comic poets in verbs of speaking; uide K.&S., I, pp.114sqq., with exx. and bibliog. (Hav. suggested inueni.)

19.19 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

19.19 impudentiam: Querolus' eighth and last wish.


19.21 negauerem: The reading of H. The results of his final wish would include those of all the other requests. For the pluperfect, uide 8,17. The other MSS. read negauerim, which would be the subjunctive in a relative sentence of tendency; uide L.H.S., II,ii,2, pp.558seqq., with exx. and bibliog.


20.2 querimonia: A pun on the name of Querulus; uide the intro. section on Characters.

20.3 mutabit: uide 15,3.
20.4 _non_ The addition of _V̄_ omitted by the MSS. The sense requires a negative; _uide_ Ranstr., _Q. Stud._, p.104. (Herrm. suggested _numquam dum_ for _non quondam_.)

20.4 _quamdiu tu uixeris_ The indicative (here future perfect) with _quamdiu_ meaning "as long as" is Class.; _uide L. & S. (Lat.), s.v._, _exx._, with _exx._. (However, Heyl, _s.v._ _quamdiu_, took _uixeris_ as perfect subjunctive; _uide_ Georges, _s.v._ _quamdiu_; _L.H.S._, II.ii.2, p.606; Tidner (1938), p.197; with _exx._ and biblio.; for _quamdiu_, meaning "until", with the subjunctive, for _dum_ with the subjunctive, or _donec_ with the indicative, from the loss of the correlative _tamdiu_.)

20.6 _sunt aliquid sed_ cf. 20.19, _sunt aliquid...sed_.

20.6 _quos tu putas_ Ellipse of accusative and infinitive ( _flices esse_).

20.7 _et sanum et diuitem felicem_ cf. 16.8, _Sanus es et felicem teneras_.

20.8 _felicem hunc negabis_ Ellipse of _esse_.

20.11 _si_ (Herrm. added _quis_ after _si_; _uide_ Ranstr., _Q. Stud._, p.111. The imaginary subject of _seerrotat_ is easily understood from the context and the verb; _uide_ Wackernagel, I, p.113, with _exx._, for the omission of the subject; here because the sentence is related to an infinitive, _valere_, with an unspecified subject.)

20.15 _non esse felicem sinunt_ The correction of _P2PB_. _LRPB_ read _inessae_; _H_ reads _inessae_; _V̄_ corrects to _esse felicem non sinunt_. The confusion in the MSS. probably arose from the incorrect resolution of an abbreviation, such as _ne_(_φ_), with the accidental addition or omission of an _ε_, giving _non_ or _an_ or _in_ or _ni_ or _me_ or _neminem_, with _esse_ or _est_. Dan. suggested _esse_ or _nustainability_; Barth. suggested _inesse_; Grat. suggested _nominem esse_. The excerpt MSS. _F, St. Vict._ and _St. Gerv._ (_uide_ the intro. section on _Manuscripts_) read _me esse_. _V̄_’s correction, _esse felicem non sinunt_, would destroy the seven-syllable _iambo-trochaic clausula_ given by
esse felicem sinunt. (For an instead of non, Corr. compared 26.14, 
Tu uide an diuinare possis, and gave exx. of sentences beginning 
with an in Plaut., exx. As., 837, An tu esse me tristem putas; 
Amph., 964, An id loco dixisti; referring to L.H.S., II.ii.2, 
pp.465sqq.) Throughout Lat., from Old Lat., and especially in 
colloquial and Late Lat., there is a tendency for stressed words, 
such as non and similar adverbs, to be separated from the words to 
which they refer and moved nearer to the beginning of the 
sentence, particularly before weak words, such as forms of esse; 
pp.41sqq., (1933), II, pp.397sqq.; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. 
Cic., Ep. ad Fam., XII.xii.1, Nunc illa non ego quidem dici 
tentopere desiderabo quam sentiri a te ipso.

20.15 nescio quis ille: The imaginary subject of ualere, 20.10. 
For the collection of pronouns, uide 5.4.

20.15 alius: uide 15.1.

20.16 alius: uide 15.1.


20.18 si nemo felix nemo igitur iustus: Double ellipse of est. 
(For the suggestion that this could refer to the Christian doctrine 
of original sin, uide the intro. section on History and Thought: 
Religion.)


20.19 respondes: uide 10.3.

20.19 sunt aliqui fateor iusti prope sed prima est horum calamitas: 
(For the suggestion that this could refer to the Christian idea 
that God chastises most those whom he loves best, uide the intro. 
section on History and Thought: Religion.)

20.20 aliquid: For aliud. aliquis with the idea of alius implied 
is not uncommon; uide L&S. (Lat.), s.v., with exx.; ex. Cic., Brut., 
44, Vellem aliquid Antonio praeter illum libellum libuisset scribere.
20.23 constiterit: For the subjunctive after quamquam, regular in post-Aug. Lat., uide L.H.S., II.i.i.2, pp.602seq., with exx. and bibliog.

20.24 futurum: Ellipse of esse.

20.24 cognoscas: uide 5.11.

20.29 difficile: B adds non before difficile; Bongars suggested the addition of haud. But the sentence is intentionally ironic and a negative sense is understood.

20.29 facere atque inuenire: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

20.29 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

21.1 intellegis: H reads intellegas, which could be subjunctive in a relative sentence of tendency; uide 19.20.


21.2 rex: Although the title is commonly supposed to have been anathema to a Roman writer, this is not strictly accurate; of. the use of the designation barbarus, 4.21. The term is used of the patron or rich and influential friend of a client or parasite; of. rex conditum in the Lex Conuiualis (17) of the "master of the feast", glossed in P2aspater parasitorum; of. the use of βασιλεύς in Greek comedy, uide L.&S.(Gr.), s.v.; uide Frankel, pp.191sqq. (trans. Munari, pp.182seq.); F. White, "Amicitia and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome", in J.R.S. LXVIII (1978) pp.74-92 (p.81, n.26, "From the time of Plautus on, it was familiarly applied to the lordly figure who maintained a host of parasites and clients"); of. Plaut., As., 918, Regem perdidii; Capt., 92, Non postquam meus rex est potitus hostium; 825, Non ego nunc parasitus sum sed regum rex regaliam; Men., 902, Meus Vlixes suo qui regi tentum conciuit mali; Stich., 286, Si rex obstatit obuiam regem ipsum prius peruerito; 456, Me meum obtenturum regem ridiculis meis; Trin., 207, Sciant id quod in aurem rex reginac dixerit; Ter., Phorm., 338, Immo enim nemo satis pro merito gratiam regi referit;
Hor., Ep., I.vii.37, Saene uercundum laudasti rexque paterqve/Audisti coram; I.xvii.13, Si pranderet holus patienter regibus uti/Nollet Aristipus, Si sciret regibus uti/Fastidiret holus qui me notat; I.xvii.20, Ecuus ut me nortet alat rex; I.xvii.43, Coram rege sae de paupertate tacentes; Juv., Sat., I.136, Rex horum uacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit; V.14, Fructus amicitiae magnae cibus imputat hunc rex/et quamuis rarum tamen tamen imputat; V.129, Quis/Perditus ut dicat rega bile; Mart., I.oxii, Cum te non nossem dominum rocemque uocabam/Nunc bene te noui, iam mihi Priscus eris; II.xviii.5, Sun comes ipse tuus timidique antemulo regis; II.xviii.8, Qui rex est regem maxime non habeat; II.lxviii.1, Quod te nomine iam tuo saluto/Quem regem et dominum prius uocabat; II.lxviii.5, Reges et dominos habere debet/Quo se non habet atque concupiscent/Quod reges dominique concupiscunt; III.vii.5, Regis superbi sportulae recesserunt; V.xix.13, Timidique uocant haec munera reges; Sen., De Const./Firm. Sen., 15, Si in conuiniio regis recumbere infra mensam uescique cum se mis ignominiosa officia sortitis iubesit; Stat., Silv., III.ii.92, Starem prope bellica regis/Sigma mei; Colum., I, praef., 9, Circumolitantis limina potentiorum somnumque regis sui rumoribus aurgentias; Sid. Ap., Ep., IX.xiii.4, Dum rex conuiuii circa ordinandum moras nectit oxyrurum; Anth. Lat. (Dmoh. and Riese), I.i.252, Consules sunt cuotannis et noui proconsules;/Solus aut rex aut poeta non cuotannis nascitur; 407 (?Seneca), Viue et amicitias regum fuge; 408 (?Sen.), Viue et amicitias omnes fuge; uerieus hoc est/Quam regum solas effuge amicitias. In the Later Empire, rex was also used of the Emperor; vide Souter, s.v., from the 2nd. or 3rd. century; W. Simon, Claudian Panegyricus de Consulatu Manlii Theodori (Carm. I.16 & 17), Berlin (1975) p.145, with bibliog.; cf. Claud., Carm., XVII.35, Supplicibus responsa uenis/Cracula regis; XXIV. (De Cons. Stil., III) 112, Nuncuam libertas gratior extat/Quam sub regem pig; Sen., De Clem., I.iii.3, Nullum tamen clementia ex omnibus magis quam regem aut principem decet; I.iv.3, Ideo principes regesque et cuocunque
aliō nomine sunt tutores status publici; II. i. 3, In cuibus urba
principes rogescque jurarent; II. v. 2, Sectam Stoicorum tamquam
duram nimis et minime principibus regibusque bonum daturum
consilium. (For the suggestion that rex could refer to the ruler
of a barbarian kingdom after the fall of the Western Roman Empire,
vide the intro. section on Place of Composition. After 430 Aquitania
Secunda was under the control of the Gothic King Theodoric.)

21.2 aliquid: (Wernsd. suggested aliquid here and at 21.4, but aliquid
is the object of the verbs largietur and donabit, and the nouns
rex and amicus do not require qualification; vide Renstr., Q. Stud.,
p.112.)

21.2 largietur: largiri, "to distribute largess", was an Imperial
prerogative, under the charge of the office of Sacrarum Largitionum.


21.6 ex transuerso: This probably means "unexpectedly", ex
inopinato, subito, praeter spem; vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.;
cf. Petron., Sat., 55, Quod non expectes ex transuerso fit; Scribon.
Larg., Compos., 231, Indignis enim multis haec calamitas ex
transuerso accidit. But V3 glosses, Id est per adoptionem, and it
may possibly mean, as Hey1, s.v., with ex., "a distant relative";
cf. Caius, Dig., XXXVIII.x.3, Sexto gradu sunt supra triauns
triaua, infra trinemos trinermis, ex transuerso fratris et
sororis abnepos abnepis. (Cors. compared Av., Fab., III.5, Ne
tibi transverso placeant haec deuia note.)

21.6 heredem: Dramatic irony.

21.6 instituet: (H reads instituit, from a mistake of i for e, as
the future, not the past, matches the corresponding verbs,
largietur, donabit and apparchit.)

21.8 thesaurus...meos: Dramatic irony.

21.10 thesaurus...tibi: Dramatic irony.


21.14 uade: cf. uade, 17.13, 22.24, 38.3, uadens, 6.3; uide the intro. section on Dedicatee. MSS found this form of introduction to instructions reminiscent of the Biblical uade, ex. Matth., XIX. 21, John, IX.7; but this is a popular expression which was adopted by the Christians into their own Sondersprache, and became characteristic of the style of the Gospels. The imperative uade was used in Vulgar Latin to avoid the monosyllabic i; uide 18.13; Adams (1976), p.110.


21.15 our ita: Verbal ellipse (faciam).


21.17 fures si: Hyperbaton.

21.17 praedones etiam similiter: These three words are omitted by the MSS. other than H. They account for the mention of praedones at 21.21, Fures mihi ac praedones, and 22.24, Vade, inquit, fures require praedones recipi in domum. The omission in the hyparchetype of the other MSS. was probably caused by homoio-tleuton with libenter; cf. 25.3, 42.6. For omission caused by homoio-tleuton, uide Mau, in Frick, ed. Mela (uide bibl. for MS. V).

21.18 aliquis: In Class. Lat., quis replaces aliquis after si, nisi, ne, num, but aliquis is common; cf. 34.8, Si aliquid ad diem praesentatum non est (where Klink. suggested quid); 38.24, Si aliquis in ignem inicet; uide Bonnet, pp.298sqq., with exx. and bibl.
21.19 oleum infundere: uide Otto, s.v. oleum 2, p. 253, no. 1283; cf. Cic., Hort., XXII.21, Ad iuuenilem libidinem copia voluptatum giscit ita ut ignis oleo; Hor., Sat., XXXIII.231, Adde poemata nunc hoc est oleum adde camino; Ap., Met., IX.36, Quod est oleum flammæ quod sulfur incendio quod flagellum furiae; Jer., Ep., XXXII.8, Quid oleum flammæ adicius; LXXXVII.7, Quasi oleum flammæ adiciens; CXXV.11, Ne aut offerentem delicatos cibos renuendo oleum igni adicias; Reg. Monach., 3, Ne aut offerentem delicatos cibos renuendo contristes aut si acceneris oleum igni adicias; William of Blois, Alda, 370, Camino/Admixtum est oleum lignaque sicca rogo; Lucian, Tim., 44, πληθυνε και ἐλατή κατασβειναι.


21.22 praesidium: Here with an added monetary connotation; cf. 52.15, Exone manibus meis praesidium paternum ut efferrem de domo; 59.21, Praesidium abstulisti et cineres subdidisti; uide DuC., s.v., giving the meaning in the Q. as peculium, pecunia, bona, facultates; Bonnet, p. 290, for an extension of the military meaning to the general, "help", "aid", "assistance", with exx. from Greg. of Tours. (ex. Hist. Franc., VI.4, Et obrupto omne praesidio fingentes se illud in thesauro regis recondere.)

21.24 ut sis diues...ut sis felix...si fueris miser: (For the suggestion that this refers to the Christian promise to the poor of the Divine Kingdom and eternal riches, uide the intro. section on Dedicatee. Herrm. compared Av., Fab., X.15, Man miserum est, incuit, praeantem smittere praedam/Stultitius et rursum uota futura sequi.)

22.1 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

22.1 quod contra te putas; cf. 21.14, Quidquid contra te est facito.

22.2 ne: For ne with aliquid, uide 21.18, si with aliquis.

22.3 speris pesserimae; cf. 27.6, pesseris...sia acturus.

22.5 uelis nolis; cf. 22.12, uelim nolim; uide Otto, s.v. velle 1, p.362, no. 1852; cf. Aus.; Cento Nupt., praef. (quoted at 5.2); Donatus ad Ter., Eun.; 1059, "Si efficio hoc postulo ut mihi tua domus te praesente absente pastet"; Proverbiale est Praesente absente, ut Sursum deorsum, Uitro citro, et cetera huiusmodi, quod Fanda nefanda, Iusta injusta, Digna indigna, Velit nolit; Cic., De Nat. Deor., I.vii.17, uelim nolim; Sen., Rhet., Controu.; IX.iii.8, uelim nolim; Sen., Ep., CVII.4, Ducunt uolentem fata nolentem trahunt; Apoc., 2, uelit nolit; De Ben., II.xviii.7, Si uis scire an uelim efficie ut possim male; Mart., VIII.xiv.16, uelis nolis; Aus., Prof., Burgid., XX.14, uelit nolit; Val. Max., III.vii.3, uelis nolime; Gaius, Inst., II.153, siue uelit siue nolit; Aug., De Serm. Domini in Monte, II.33, uelint nolint; pseudo-Aug., Quaest. Vet. et Nou. Test., 115, De Fato, uelis nolis; Jer., Ep., LIV.14, uelimus nolimus; LVII.9, uelint nolint; CXVIII.5, uelis nolis; CXXX.9, uelim nolim; Ado. Jouin., II.17, uelint nolint; Last., Inst. Div., V.x.9, uelint nolint; Tert., De Animo, LVIII.1, uelis ac nolis; Arnob., Ado. Gent./Nat., I.43, uelint nolint; Eunod., Vita Epiph., 192, uelis nolis; Hom., II., IV.43, καὶ γὰρ ἔγου σοι δῶκα ἡκὼν ἡκονις γε οὐφί; Eurip., Iphig. Teur., 512, φεσνω τρόπον γε ὡ τιμινθε ἡκὼν ἡκών; Hec., 566, καὶ ὥκου θέλων τε καὶ θέλων οἶκτρῳ κόρης.

22.7 per fenestram defluet; Dramatic irony.

22.9 prius...quam: Tthesis. For prius est ut and quam ut with the subjunctive, uide Heyl, s.v. prius, with exx.; ex. Salv. of Marseilles, De Gub. Dei, V.xii.51, Et non prius est ut de uita homines quam de iniquitate discendat.
22.9 tecla: The reading of H. The other MSS. read hae.

22.10 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

22.10 quod mutari non potest: Fate; for the rôle of Predestination in the play, uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Philosophy and Religion.

22.12 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

22.12 uelim nolim: uide 22.5.

22.13 faciundum: This is the older form of the gerund(ive), uide Wackernagel (1920), pp. 276sqq. RPB read faciendum.

22.14 querolum: A pun on the name of Querolus; for his personality, uide the intro. section on Characters.

22.15 in omnibus: uide 12.4.

22.18 ut te numquam deseram: cf. Cons., De Die Nat., 3, Genius autem ita nobis adsiduus observator adpositus est ut ne puncto ouidem temporis longius abscedat. (uide also 34.24.)

22.19 Act I, Scene 3.


22.20 quinquam: The possessive genitive with the substantive oraculum replaces the dative of the indirect object with the verb datum est. This replacement of the objective dative by the adnominal genitive is common colloquially throughout Lat., unusual in Class. Lat., but used with considerable freedom in Late Lat. Löfstedt gives six pages of exx. from Cic. to Med. Lat. Here H reads cuiquam and B2 corrects to cuiquam. Grut. suggested cui usquam. For exx., bibliogr., and the history of this usage, uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp. 104sqq.; Bonnet, p. 553; Hagendahl, in Festschrift Lundström, p. 288; Kähler, pp. 43seq.; Löfstedt (1907), p. 63, (1911), p. 273, (1920), pp. 7sqq., (1933), II, pp. 168sqq.

22.21 oraculum: uide 31.16.


22.24 aliena quando aut quis dabit: Anacoluthon (for aliena quando dabuntur aut quis dabit. H reads et for aut.)

22.25 cognosci: uide 5.11.

22.27 sed ubinam...ubi...ubinam...ubi: Anaphora.

22.27 modo: For the temporal use of modo relating to near future time, especially in Late Lat., uide R. Nestr., Q. Stud., p. 113; Lefstedt (1911), pp. 240 sqq.; Svennung (1922), p. 153; Tidner (1938), p. 163; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Peregrinatio Aetheriae, XV.1, Nan siuis ecce modo pedibus duco uos ibi; cf., of near past time, 43.10, Mihi ipsi hoc praeter spem uenit quod laudas modo.

23.1 ubi inuestigem nescio: cf. Ter., B. M., 294, Vbi inuestigo... incertus sim.

23.1 illa...cohors...quae...habitant...ambulant: The relative pronoun and verb are plural after the collective antecedent. The gender and number of a relative may be determined by the sense, not by the form, of the anteecedent, and a collective noun is frequently followed by a plural verb; uide L.H.S., Ill.1, 2, pp. 436 sqq., with exx. and bibliog. (Hav. suggested qui for quae; Klink. suggested habitat for habitant.)

23.1 fuliginesa: Late Lat., for Class. Lat. fuliginea; uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning fuligine aspersus (VI.1.1522.78 sqq.), with exx.
The Lares are also described as covered with soot, uide 9.3, cf.
Prud., Peristephe., X.261, Fuliginosi ture placantur lares.

23.2 vulcanosa: For Class. Lat. vulcanea or vulcania, the word
seems to be unknown elsewhere; uide Souter, s.v., trans. "living
near the fire".

23.2 de die...nocte: cf. 41.8, de die...noctibus.

23.2 terras: Accusative of motion for ablative of place; uide
Ranstr.', Q.Stud', p.146; Heyl, s.v. sub; with exx. of the Late Lat.
confusion of the distinction between accusative and ablative with
prepositions; ex. Commod., Instr., I.xxxiii.6, Latronibus tuti sub
regia tecta manentes. (Peip. suggested terra; Klink., terris.)

23.2 nocte: (For nocturnal life, cf. 41.11sqq., Pantomalus'
description of the night-time activities of the lower classes.)

23.3 urbane: uide 11.20.

23.3 curtant: curtare is very rare, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

23.4 balteos: cf. Tac., Hist., II.68, Incuriosos milites,
urnacula utebantur urbanitate, quidam spoliauere, abscessis furtim
balteis, an accincti forest, rogatis. (Err. referred to P.W.,
s.v. marsupium, for a money purse attached to a girdle, or a
money belt thrown over the shoulder like a sling.)

23.4 unum: Perhaps Querolus pretends to catch sight of a thief
among the spectators. (For a thief in the audience, cf. Euclio's
monologue in Flaut., Aul., 713, Perii, interii, occidi. Quo curram?
Quo non curram? Tene, tene. Quem? Quis?/Necoio, nil video, caecus
eo atque equidem quo eam aut ubi sim aut qui sim/Nequeo cum animo
certum investigare. Obscero ego uos, mi auxilio./Oro, obtestor,
sitis et hominem demonstratis, quis eam abstulerit./Quid ais tu?
Tibi credere certum est, nam esse bonum ex ulitu cognosco./Quid
est? Quid ridetis? Noui omnes, soio fures esse hic complures;/Qui
uestitu et creta occultant esse atque sedent quasi sint frugi./Hem,
23.4 ex ipsi: For ex with the ablative for the partitive genitive, uide K.&S., I, pp.425seq.; Lefstede (1942), I, pp.147, 401; with exx. and biblio. In Class. Lat., ex and de are more common with unus than the genitive.

23.4 atque: uide 3.8.


23.5 impostor: Late Lat. for a "cheat", "fraud"; cf. 29.4, Huismodi homines impostores esse; uide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning deceptor, illusor, fraudator (VII.i.667,25sqq.); with exx.; ex. Salv. of Marseilles, De Gub. Dei, I.ii.7, Id est de veris et fidelibus Christianis an de falsis et impostoribus doleant.

23.6 spes mihi nulla est: cf. 50.21, Nulla spes mihi est.

23.6 excidi: "I fell short of", "I forgot"; uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning frustrari, destitui (V.ii.1237,22sqq.), with exx.; ex. Quint., Inst. Or., II.xxvii.25, Et medicus...medicinae fine non excidet.

23.6 interdictum: cf. 21.17, Fures si ad te uenerint excipe libenter.

23.6 fuerat: uide 8.17.

23.7 obuiarem: cf. 52.17, Ego ut redeunti obuiarem thesauro; uide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning obuiam ire (IX.317,41sqq.); with exx. in Late Lat.; ex. Salv. of Marseilles, Ep., IV.21, Si uel in hoc filii parentibus obuient.

23.7 uerum: Probably conjunctive, "yes, but", sed, rather than substantive, "the truth", as Herrm. H reads uirum.

23.8 hinc: uide 3.12.

23.8 atque: uide 3.8.

23.8 apud: uide 3.6.

23.9 urbanus: uide 11.20.
23.9 *numquodnam*: A strengthened interrogative pronoun, *numquias*, with enclitic *nam*, like *quisnam*. *Num* is frequently joined as an enclitic to an interrogative word; *uide* L.&S. (Lat.), s.v., with *exx.* (RPB read *numquidnam*, *uide* 15.22. H reads *numquoniam*. Klink. suggested *quodnam*.)

23.9 *meum*: Ellipse of *est*.

23.11 *praestigiis*: *uide* 8.23.

23.12 *intus*: For *intro*, cf. 38.9, *Eamus igitur intus*; 44.4, *Abi ergo intus*; 46.8, *Intus omnes tunc ibant simul*; 53.6, *Abi celeriter intus*; *uide* T.L.L., s.v. (VII.ii.106.42 sqq.), with *exx.*

23.12 *refero*: *uide* 10.3.

23.13 *producam*: Ellipse of direct object (*eum*).

23.14 *Act II, Scene 1.*

For Mandrogerus, Sycothanta and Sardanapallus, *uide* the intro. section on *Characters*. (In *Vitalis of Blois' Anularia*, Mandrogerus becomes Sardana, and his two accomplices are called Gnatho and Clinia.)


23.18 *qui*: H reads *quod*, causal; but the relative may be used in a causal sense; *uide* K.&S., II, pp.292 sqq., with *exx.* and *bibliog.* ex. Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, VII.xxxi.1, *Fuit enim mirifica uigilantia qui suo toto consulatu somnum non uiderit.*
23.20 *olla*: The old form of *olla*; *uide L.&S.* (*Lat._), s.v. *olla*; cf. gloss in *P2*, *Pro olla unde Aulularia*.

24.1 *odorem*: cf. 24.4, *olet*; for a metaphor about the smell of gold, cf. *Plaut.*, *Aul.*, 63, *Neu persentiscat aurum ubi est absconditum*; 216, *Aurum hic olet*. (Gaiser compared *Men.*, *Dard.*, frag. 95 (Körte and Thier.), ἡδόσμασεν; *Pap. Hibeh* (B.M.), 5, frag. a.II, Ἀπόλλων καὶ θεός τοῦ πνεύματος. *Page and Webster*, however (*uide the intro. section on Sources*), thought that *Strobilos* here refers not to an unpleasant smell, but to a fragrance. He imagines that a divinity is calling him, and that he perceives the fragrant odour which accompanies the advent of the gods.)


24.2 *iuris conditores*: A double play on words: *ius* meaning "law" or "broth", "sauce"; *conditor* from *condere* (*conditor*), "to found" or *condire* (*conditor*), "to season"; cf. 61.12, *Ilas egomet ex parte conditi*; 61.19, *Iura instructissimum*. *Plaut.*, *Cas.*, 511, *Ibo intro*, ut id quod alius condit coquus,/Ego nunc uicissim ut alio pacto condiam; *Cist.*., 471, *At ego nunc ab illo mihi caueo iure iurando tuo.*/Simile est ius iurandum amantum quasi ius confusium; *Epid.*., 292, *Iura qui et leges tenet*; 522, *Atque me minoris facio prae illo qui omnium/Legum atque iurum factorem conditor cluet*; *Poen.*., 587, *Hodie iuris coctiores non sunt qui lites creant/Quam sunt hi qui, si nihil est quicum liti gent, lites emunt*; *Rud.*, 1374, *Ius iurandum rei servandae non perdendae conditum est*; *Cic.*., *In Verr.*, II.i.46.


suffragio comparatos Apicianis plausibus ingerebantur; Jer., Ep.,
XXIX.1, Non sunt suae epulae quae non et placentam redoleant
quas non condit Apicius; Tert., De Pall., V.7, Taceo Nerones et
Apios Rufos; De An., XXXIII.4, Quod condimentis Apicianis et
Lurcanianis humatur; Venant. Fort., Carm., VII.ii.3, Tu refluas
Cicero tu noster Apicius extas; Dio Cass., LVII.xix.5, Μάρκου
Γαβρίου Απικίου γεγομένου, Απικίου έκείνου ής πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ἀσωτὰ ὑπερβάλετο οὕτως ὅτε, ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν ποτε ἔθελθασα δός τε
ἡδν καταναλώκει καί δός έτέλεσαν, τηγω ήτι διακόσιαι καὶ
πεντηκόντα αὐτῆς μυριάδες περιεῖτον, ἐλυπήθη τε ής καί λυμῷ
τελευτήσειν μέλλων καὶ έαυτόν διεφθέρην.

24.3 huius ollae conditum solus scuit Euclio: Dramatic irony.

24.3 ollae: The aula of 23.20. (H reads aulae.) A synonym of urna.

24.3 conditum: A play on words, cf. conditores, 24.2; 18.24,
condita luporum. (H reads condimentum; Hav. suggested condituram.)

24.4 olet: vide 24.1; cf. 25.27, Sed interius mihi surum olet;
48.11, Audieram exomet olerem surum istud etiam redolet.

24.5 nouelli atque incipientes: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

24.5 nouelli: The meaning "beginners", tirones, rather than "new",
"young", noui, iuvenes, as nouellus, 54.4, is unknown to the lexica.
It usually refers to animals or plants; the only ex. where it is
used of people, of children, seems to be Tib., II.ii.22, Ludat et
ante tuos turba nouella pedes.

24.5 incipientes: "Beginners", or, as DuC., s.v., discipuli; vide
T.I.L., s.v., meaning nouicii, discentes, tirones (VII.i.913.55sqq.),
with exx.; ex. Quint., Inst. Or., I.ii.26, Ita incipientibus atque
adhuc teneris condiscipulorum quam praeceptoris...imitatio est.

24.5 quando haec discere potestis? quando sic intellegestis? quando
sic docebitis?: Anaphora.

24.6 potestis: vide 10.3.
24.7 Mandrogerus: For the vocative in -us, uide 60.6, magus.

24.8 somnium: uide 13.23. It is uncertain whether the following dreams should be interpreted as foretelling actual events, or the contrary; uide the intro. section on History and Thought:Dreams and Portents. (In the Strobilosa Comedy, according to Gaiser's interpretation, uide the intro. section on Sources, a young man's dream is fulfilled in an unexpected way.) For dreams whose fulfilment is to be found in the play, cf. Plaut., Curio., 260sqq.; Merc., 225sqq.; Miles, 380sqq.; Most., 434sqq.; Rud., 593sqq.

24.8 uidi: uide 8.2.

24.9 dic obsecro: For a conditional with an imperative for the apodosis, uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.604, with exx. and bibliog.

24.9 si quid est boni: cf. 32.5, Si quid est boni; 35.23, Et ea tentummodo quae sunt bona.

24.10uidebamus thesaurum: cf. Plaut., Stich., 667, Quis somnisuit aurum. The imperfect tense is used in narrating, especially from memory (such as dreams); cf. 24.10, sperabamus; 24.13 uidebamus; 24.15 erant; 24.20, uidebamus; 24.22, ferebamus; 24.24, deflebamus; 25.1, ferebamus; 25.3, dicebat; uide K.&S., I, p.124; L.H.S., II. ii.2, p.317; with exx. and bibliog.

new gold coin of 70 grain, was introduced by Constantine into the West in 410 and into the East in the 420s to replace the previous standard gold coin, the aureus; vide Heyl, s.v., with exx. and numismatic bibliog. For the falsification of the solidus, vide 40.15.

24.14 istud non placet: Mandrogerus is displeased either with the fact that the treasure was only partly composed of gold coins, or with the fact that it was in solidi because good dreams presage bad, and vice versa, vide 24.27. V3 glosses, Quia litterae superscriptionis quibus uerba consistunt deceptionem significant, unde dicitur, mihi uerba dedit. Artemidorus of Daldis wrote a work in five books on the interpretation of dreams, Oneirokritika, in the mid-2nd century A.D. For him, coins meant pain and sorrow.

24.15 uncinuli hamati torques et catenulae: These could all be pieces of jewellery or instruments of torture. The criminal connotations would be unlucky, and could be an indication of the risks involved in obtaining the treasure. V3 glosses, Uncus in se redit, hamus haeret, torques ad se complotuntur, catena sibi connectitur, quae omnia praedam reuocari designant. For Artemidorus (Π.Σ), female adornments boded ill for men, good for women; lines, rods, hooks and poles for fishing indicated pain and danger through trickery and ambush.


24.15 hamati: cf. 7.2, tridens hamiger. The MSS. omit the aspirate, vide 7.13. P2B2 gloss with circulati. hamatus means either "hook-shaped" or "furnished with hooks"; vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

24.15 torques: "Torcs" or "neck-chains", vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

24.15 catenulae: A rare diminutive of catena, for catella; vide Heyl, s.v.; Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. (III,608.12sqq.); with exx.
24.19 explodo: uide 4.10; for the tense, uide 10.3.


24.20 funus: Abstract for concrete, the dead body; cf. 24.22, Et nos ipsi funus illud nescio quo ferebamus; 48.5, Funus egonet quodlibet contingere necueo; cf. busta, 3.16; ex. Prop., I.xvii.8, Haecine parva meum funus arena tegit. Dramatic irony; the prediction is realised at 46.21 sqq., when they discover the (supposed) funerary urn of Euclio's father.

24.21 dii: H reads dii, the other MSS. di. Elsewhere the MSS. all give the plural dii: 36.9, 42.12, 43.10 (where L reads di), 43.19, 55.19 (where SA read di), 57.4, 60.3. At 55.15 the MSS. all read diis, except for LH, which read dis. The plural of deus is dei or dix or di, uide the lexica, s.v.

24.22 nescio quo: They were going "somewhere or other". H reads nescio quod, they were carrying "some corpse or other".

24.22 et nos ipsi funus illud nescio quo ferebamus: Dramatic irony. For Artemidorus grief indicated joy; to carry someone, power, to be carried, weakness.

24.24 deflebamus defunctum illum quasi alienum: Dramatic irony; cf. 47.17, Numquam ego fleui meum nunc plango alienum. The dead man who actually causes them to weep in vexation is in fact Euclio. cf. Sen., Ep., XII.3, Quid te delectauit alienum mortuum tollere; Petr., Sat., LIV.1, Ne necessae habereant alienum mortuum plorare.

24.24 defunctum: Rare for mortuum, a dead person; cf. 49.2, Ne defunctus desines; 55.20, Qui et mihi superstiti et defuncto illi servasti fidem; 58.5, Acre reliquiae defuncti illius reconduntur; 60.20, Qui te etiam defunctus ridet; uide L&S.(Lat.), s.v., with exx.; exx. Quint., Inst. Or., XII.x.61, Hic orator et defunctos excitabit; V.xiv.15, Bona ad me pertinent solus enim sum filius defuncti.
24.26 *iam*: The MSS. read *etiam*: *uide* Ranstr., *O. Stud.*, p. 113. Ranstr. suggested *iam*: Herm. *et iam* or *et tam*: Thomas *tam*. (Corsi. noted the frequency with which *tam* is used with an adjective in the *Q.*, giving eleven *exx.*; *ex.* 40.17, *tam* simile.) *cf.* 36.24, *Vis* et nomina servulorum tibinet *iam nunc eloquar*, where *iam* is Thomas' suggestion for *etiam* of the MSS. In both cases *iam* must have been changed into *etiam* by ditto graphy of the preceding *-et*. At 36.24 the combination *iam nunc* is produced by the emendation, *cf.* 61.14, *Vis ne interdictorun capita iam nunc eloquar*; also *iam nunc*, 33.2, 36.3. *iam nunc eloquar* is a five-syllable iambic trochaic clausula.

24.27 *funus...pertinet*: In dreams, events may be foretold by their opposites; *cf.* Aus., *Ephem.*, VIII.32, *Sunt et qui fle tus et gaudia controversum/Coniectant*; Ap., Met., IV.27, *Nam prae ter quod diurna quietis imaginis falsa perhibentur, tum etiam nocturna visiones contrarios eventus nonnumquam pronuntiant*. Denique flere et ussimulare et nonnumquam insignari lucrum prosperumque prouentum nuntiant, contra ridere et mellitis dulciolis nentrem saginare uel in voluptatem Veneream conuenire tristitiae animi languore corporis damniique ceteris uel exactum iri praedication. For Artemidorus (II.4.9) a dream of death for oneself indicated life; also freedom for a slave, but death if he was the steward of the house; marriage for a bachelor; separation from his wife for a married man; victory in games; travel abroad if at home, a return home if abroad. In general, a dream of death was indicative of some sort of good luck.

25.1 mortuam nos ferebamus: Dramatic irony.


25.4 *thesaurum istum quem requirimus mihi*: These words were lost in the hyparchotype of all the MSS. except Ε, by haplography of *mihi*.

25.5 *illum*: *illum* for *illud* is late, found especially in Christian Lat.; *uide* T.L.L., s.v. *ille* (VII.i.340.59sqq.), with *exx.*
exx. Peregrinatio Aetheriae, XIX.18, Et ad illum palatium superiorem quod habuerat primitus rex Agarthus; Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc., VII.36, Nec remansit in Galliis qui regnum illum regere possit. (V3 R2 B read illud.)

25.6 profuturum: Ellipse of esse.

25.6 quod consumpsisset gula: The prophecy is fulfilled at the end of the play when Mandrogerus becomes Querolus' parasite. V3 glosses, Hoc totum completum est quoniam thesaurum repserit et eo reiecto pro parte uictum muneratus est. cf. Plaut., Aul., 194, Inhavit aurum ut debet. (For exx. of gula metaphorically meaning "greed", vide the lexica, e.g.; also G. Orlandi, " Sul Testo di quattro Commedie Elegiache" in Sandalion II (1979) pp. 267-302, p. 279.) (Herm. compared Av., Fab., 37, where the dog (parasite) gives up its freedom for food, while the lion stays hungry but free.)

25.9 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

25.10 Mandrogerus: Vocative, vide 24.7.

25.10 nosque qui: The correction of R2. The MSS. read nos qui, the -que having been lost by haplography with the following qui.

25.12 traditio: vide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v., meaning "teaching", "instruction" (not "tradition"), with exx.; but no exact parallels for the kind of short description implied here.

25.15 indiculum: Paris' suggestion for the aediculum of the MSS. indiculum, a "short note" or "chapter heading", and indiculus, a "short list" or "catalogue", in Late Lat. mean any small piece of writing; vide Duc., s.v., meaning epistola, sed propriie ea qua quod praecipitur; Souter, s.v.; Tull., s.v., meaning parua epistula, instructio (VII.1.1164.27 sqq.); with exx.; ex. Sym., Ep., VI.48, Quae ad urbem pertinent indiculi cohaerentis lectione nosceotis. (Dan. suggested aediculum, which could refer to Euclio's description of the locality, with a chapel, sacellum, outside, or of the house, with a shrine, sacrarium, inside. The plural,
sediculae, is used of a human habitation; in Plaut., Epid., 402, the singular, sediculum, is used of a room.)

25.16 sacellum in parte argentaria ex diverso: Double ellipse of est. (Hav. added laeua after parte. Herrm., in his notes, suggested the addition of laeua or dextra. In his text and trans., he specified the left side. These buildings are not the same as those of 26.5, the former being outside the house, the latter inside.)


25.16 argentaria: Ellipse of noun with adjective used substantivally; taberna, a "bank".


25.20 domus excelsa: Ellipse of est. This description of the house (cf. also 26.5, 37.5) and its windows prepares for the dénouement of Act IV, Scene 2, 49.6sqq., when the urn is finally thrown through the window.

25.22 ilignis: ilignus or iligneus means "oaken", from the wood or foliage of the holm oak, ilex; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

25.26 secura hercle regio hic mihi: Ellipse of est.

25.26 nil: nihil is used elsewhere, 41 times, in the Q., except at 60.1, where RPB read nihil (A reads nihil here); uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.143. nil is here used adverbially, meaning "in no respect, not at all", uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; it gives a five-syllable iamb-trochaic clausula.
25.27 interius: Comparative for positive adverb, intra; uide L.& S. (lat.), s.v., with exx. (cf. uterius for ultra, 35.21.)

25.27 aurum oleat: Metaphor about the smell of gold, uide 24.1, 24.4.

25.27 alia temptandum est uia; cf. 59.7, 59.14, alia temptandum est uia; Ter., And., 670, Hec non successit alia adrediamur uia; Verg., Georg., III.8, Temptanda uia est qua me quoque possim/Tollere homo.

25.28 si quid ubiis ingenii comitatis et uirtutis: Ellipse of est. cf. Plaut., Capt., 410, Nam tua opera comitate et uirtute et sapientia/Feciisti.

26.1 cynicus magister: A play on words: a cynic, and the master of the hounds or leader of the dog pack. The root meaning of the Greek κυνικός, "dog-like", is not so used elsewhere. For the hunting metaphor, uide 23.15; cf. Plaut., Mil., 268, Si ita non renerio, ibo odorans quasi canis uenaticus/Usque donee persecutus uolpem ero vestigiis; Pers., 123, Cynicum esse egentem oportet parasitum probe.

26.2 tradas; uide 10.3.

26.4 exinde; uide 3.12.

26.5 de striciio porticus: For de with the ablative for post with the accusative, the T.L.L., s.v. (V.i.50.6sq.), knows only this ex.; but de is similarly used to express distances from one place to another, uide loc. cit., with exx.; ex. Peregriatio Aetheriae, XIX.4, Alios longius de ciuitate in secretioribus locis habentes monasteria.

26.5 dextra sacrarium ad sinistram: These words, about the length of a line (uide 9.21), were omitted in the hyparchetype of all the other MSS. apart from H. cf. 37.5, Porticus tibi est in dextra ut ingrediaris sacrarium e diverso. Here there is a double ellipse of est.
26.6 **HAND**: The character designation was lost, probably at the end of the omitted line, in the hyparchetype of all the MSS. except H. V3 correctly rectified this omission.


26.7 in sacra tria sigilla: cf. 37.8, in sacra tria sigilla.

Ellipse of **mgt.** (Gaiser compared Pap. Heidelberg, C.406, frag. 2, 


26.16 in parte hac: uide 25.16.

26.16 deambulatum ibo: The supine in -um with a form of ire is used as a periphrastic future in Plaut., and continues throughout Lat. to Late Lat.; uide K.&S., I, pp.721sqq., with exx. and biblog.

26.17 res uel ratio: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms. cf. 4.11, rationem et fidem; Amm. Marc., XXI.xvi.6, Cum id posceret tempus et ratio.

26.18 ne suspicionem improbitas paret: cf. 44.20, ne mora suspicionem afferret.

26.20 Act II, Scene 2.


26.24 uidi modo: (Here and at 27.3, PB read udimus. This mistake probably arose from a confusion of the abbreviations, udim* for udimus and udim* for udi modo.)


27.1 hoc est diuinare; cf. Plaut., Curc., 248, Solus hic homo est qui sciat diuinitas. All the MSS. add hominem after diuinare. It was deleted by Klink.; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp.114 seq. hominem is perhaps a doublet of hominem, 26.23, where it may have been written at the end of a line, and mistakenly added two lines down after diuinare. (diuinare hominem would be the accusative and infinitive with hoc est; but uide T.L.L., s.v. hic, hoc est (VI.iii.2709, 1sqq.), where there are many exx. of hoc est, but not with the accusative and infinitive; cf. id est, uide T.L.L., s.v. id, id est (VII.ii.467, 82sqq.), where there are many exx. of id est, although none with the accusative and infinitive. Cav. compared Plaut., Merc., 620, Hem istucinest operam dare/Bonum sodalem. diuinare usually has as its object an accusative of thing, not of person, cf. 27.18, Qui omnia diuinat. Ranstr. suggested omnino with the negative non. In Late Lat. omnino with the negative was popular; uide Q. Stud., p.114; Janssen, pp.87sqq.; Ledstedt (1911), p.170; Salouius, pp.28, 165, 191; with exx. omnino non, "not at all", is not used elsewhere in the Q. prorsus non is used at 13.19, nihil prorsus at 23.8. Ranstr. suggested that omnino could be a variant for prorsus, which has just occurred at 26.24, prorsus nescio, to avoid repetition. The addition of the initial h could be easily explained, as the aspirate is frequently added or omitted incorrectly, uide 7.13. Herrm. suggested nomen, which would give an accusative object to diuinare, but does not seem to make sense.)

27.1 qualiter; cf. 34.22, Sed fatum ipsum qualiter tandem coli uel propitiari potest; 43.25, Et qualiter te admonuit; 50.19, Qualiter nunc ille exhorrescit mortuum (where Hav. suggested quomodo); uide Bonnet, p.677; Forcellini, s.v.; Georges, s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; Hofmann (1925), p.114; Johnston, s.v.; with exx. of qualiter for quomodo in Late Lat.; ex. Colum., I.iv.6, Sed quan refert qualis fundus et quomodo colatur, tunc uilla qualiter aedificetur et quan utiliter disponatur.
27.2 riroses: "Swindlers", "rogues", rather than merely "mockers", "scoffers"; a rare word, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., although no exact parallels for its meaning here.

27.3 diuinum: uide 4.2.

27.3 dicunt: Ellipse of complement (cum or hominem).


27.4 ubi te aspexerit: cf. Plaut., Pseud., 750, Vbi te aspexerit narrabit ultra quid sese uelis; Trin., 206, Quod quique in animo habet aut habiturus est sciunt; 209, Quae neque futura neque sunt tamen illi sciunt.

27.5 uocat: uide 10.3.

27.6 gesseris...sis acturus: cf. 22.3, egeris gesserisue.

27.6 quidue: A disjunctive for a copulative, as often throughout Lat., not only in Late Lat., where it is widespread. -ue is frequently used for -que in interrogative and relative pronouns; uide Lofstedt (1942), I, p.348, with exx.; ex. Plaut., Ag., 636, Videtin uiginti minae quid nolle possunt.

27.7 sis acturus: For the periphrastic future subjunctive with the future participle, uide L.H.S., II.i.2, p.312, with exx. and bibliog. (For the periphrastic future indicative with the future participle, uide 5.1.)

27.7 edisserit: uide 10.3.

27.8 hic nescio qui: For a collection of pronouns, uide 5.4.

27.10 SARD: The MSS. assign this line to Sycophanta. Klink. gave it to Sardanapallus, as he, who is supposed not to have consulted Mandrogerus, is the one who is trying to persuade Syco., who has, to go.

27.10 sodes: uide 27.21.

27.10 adgrediamur hominem: cf. 29.15, adgrediamur hominem.
27.11, 12 Thomas reversed the order of these two lines, so that Sycophanta replies in the negative to Sardanapallus' request, and Sard, then regrets that he has let slip an opportunity.

27.12 uerum: (VH read uirum, uide 23.7. V3 added consulere, to give an accusative and infinitive with uaeat.)

27.11 consului: Ellipse of direct object (sum).

27.13 agmosca: uide 5.11.

27.13 saluete amici: Querolus can be surprisingly polite when it is in his own interests so to be, considering his earlier protestations against unnecessary greetings, 7.12.

27.14 salus esto qui saluos: Polyptoton.


27.15 quid uos: Ellipse of a verb of speaking.

27.15 secretumne aliquod: Ellipse of est, or of a verb of speaking.

27.16 secretum: Double ellipse of est.

27.17 auduius: uide 14.22.

27.18 de nescio quo nunc sermo erat: cf. 28.3, de quo sermo nunc erat.

27.21 ut dixeram: At 27.10. For the tense, uide 8.17.

27.21 mi sodes: sodes is used as a substantive, for sodalis, which also occurs in the Q., uide the Index Verborum, s.v. (E reads sodalis.) sodes also occurs, with its normal adverbial meaning, "please", as a contraction of the conditional phrase si audes, at 27.10, quaeso sodes; 28.11, ecce sodes; 29.5, hem sodes; 48.5, quaeso incuan sodes; 54.19, hem sodes; 55.14, ace iam sodes; but in all these cases it could also have the meaning sodalis. For the contraction sodes, uide Jenkins, s.v. sodes; Lodge, s.v. audeo; McGlynn, s.v. audeo and sodes. For sodes as the vocative of sodalis (with mi), uide Rannstr., Q.Stud., pp.115seq.; DnC., s.v.;

(In Late and Med. Lat., similarly confused words are frequently confused, although they are etymologically unconnected, as a result of colloquial use and later misunderstanding; vide Adams (1976), p. 25, "In Vulgar texts by a process of lexical contamination certain words frequently acquire the sense of other, unconnected, words of similar form"). (Cors. compared Av., Fab., IX. 19, Dio sodes guidem tremido tibi rotulit ursa.)

27.22 mecum una simul; cf. 28.13, Nos illac una simul; Plaut., Aul., 655, Quid hic intus alter erat tecum simul; Most., 1037, I mecum hinc obsecro ad te una simul; Persa, 170, Quamquam ego uinum bibo et mendata non conscui simul bibere una; Poem., 553, Scimus rem omnem, quippe omnes simul/Didicimus tecum una; 1147, Et una nutritem simul; Pseud., 410, Simonem una simul/Cum suo vicino Callipho; Ter., Heaut., 907, Mecum una simul; Vitalis of Klois, Aul., 521, Si tibi dulce meum quidquid fuit aut eriti umquam/Ael semel ut uideam fac modo. (Hav., comparing 28.13, where una simul stands alone with ellipse of a verb of motion, deleted venias here; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p. 94.)

27.23 iamdudum dixi; At 27.12.

28.1 mane paulisper; cf. 28.7, paulisper mane.

28.2 quaeso amice; cf. 28.8, 13, quaeso amice.

28.2 surripias; vide 16. 23.

28.3 est; vide 8. 2.

28.3 de quo sermo nunc erat; cf. 27.18, de nescio quo nunc sermo erat.
28.6 difficul\tas et persuasio: Ellipse of est. Hendiadys, it is "difficult to persuade" him. (This refers to Sycophanta.)

28.7 paulis\per\ mane: cf 28.1, mane paulis\per\.

28.8 am\ic\es: (P reads amici; but Querolus addresses himself to Sycophanta, and then refers to both of them.)

28.8 odios\es: Ellipse of indirect object (tibi).

28.8 consul\ere: Ellipse of direct object (cum).

28.9 ubisc\um uolo: cf. Vitalis of Blois, Aul., 539, Me quoque participem non inuideatis amici.

28.10 difficil\em: (This refers to Mandrogerus.) cf. Vit. of Blois, Aul., 551, Soilicet in turbam latius miracula fundet.


28.11 quaerebas hab\es: cf. Plaut., Most., 210, Tu iam quod quaerebas habes.

28.12 mihi molestus ne s\ies: cf. Plaut., Amph., 924, Irata ne sis; Aul., 458, Molestus ne sis; Mon., 250, Molestus ne sis; 502, Mihi odios\us ne sis; 627, Mihi molestus ne sis; Most., 771, Molestus ne sis.

28.12 s\ies: For the tense, uide 16.23. The form is archaising, common on early inscriptions and in early poets; uide the lexica, s.v. sum, with exx. (R reads scies; Herrm. suggested fies.)

28.13 abe\at: The MSS. read habe\at. For the unnecessary aspirate, uide 7.13.

28.13 nos illac una simul: Ellipse of a verb of motion (ex. pergamus); cf. 27.22, Ta rexo ut illac uenias mecum una simul.


28.19 *nouit*: Dramatic irony. The three villains certainly do know one another very well.

28.21 *diuinum vel magnum*: A word pair of virtual synonyms; *vide* 4.2.

28.21 *sicio*: (R reads *nescio*; but his name is known, although not his origin.)

28.24 *pulchrum hercle nomen*: Ellipse of *est*.

28.24 *iam hoc de magis existimo*: For *de* with the ablative for the partitive genitive, *vide* 8.23. *de magis existimo* gives a five-syllable iambic trochaic clausula. (Melissus suggested *te* for *de*, taking *magis* adverbially, but this would destroy the clausula.) For *hoc* for *hunc*, neuter for masculine pronoun, *vide* 7.4.

(Thomas suggested *hunc*; Canne. *hinc*. Herrm. took *hoc* as the neuter accusative direct object of *existimo*, trans. "C'est ce que j'estime d'abord chez les magiciens". ("I already consider this to be the sign/the attribute/worthy of a magician.") Klink. took *hoc* as an ablative (sc. *nomin* with ellipse of an accusative and infinitive: "I consider (him to be) one of the magicians because of this". For a similar omission of a subject accusative (here *sum*) and infinitive (*esse*), to be understood from the context, cf. 60.22, *Nee ueniam quod cineris illos abstuli aurum* (sc. *illos esse* oradii). *vide* Rans., *O. Stud.*. p. 114)

28.25 *cognoscis*: *vide* 5.11.

28.27 *magnum*: (L reads *magum*; but Mandrogerus has already been recognised as a magician at 28.24. Wernsd. similarly suggested *pro mago* for *pro mago* at 61.20, but that is also unnecessary.)
28.27 consul: (R reads consulere, which would make hunc the accusative object of an accusative subject, te, understood, with an active infinitive, rather than the accusative subject with a passive infinitive.)

28.28 placet: Ellipse of indirect object (tibi).

28.29 paulisper non uacat: (R reads paulisper mane, perhaps from the mistaken analogy of 28.1, mane paulisper, and 28.7, paulisper mane.)

29.1 age: uide 8.1.


29.3 quoniam istud uultis fiat: cf. 61.21, quoniam ita uultis fiat; Ter., Ad., 945, Si vos tanto opere istuc uultis fiat; Sen., Apoc., 33, Sed quoniam placet...et tu ita iubes fieri fiat.

29.4 quid: quid for the relative quod is archaic; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.105; L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.554; with exx. and bibliog. (R2 and R read quod.) (For quod for quid, uide 38.10.)

29.4 impostores: uide 23.5. Dramatic irony; for false magicians, uide 4.2.

29.5 sodes: uide 27.21.

29.5 ipsum: For ipsum; uide Bonnet, pp.298sqq.; DuC., s.v., with exx. in African Lat.; Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p.24; Johnston, s.v.; Souter, s.v., for the neuter ipsum, on the analogy of istud and illud, from the 4th. century; T.L.L., s.v. ipse (VII.ii.296.43sqq.); with exx. and bibliog. (R reads ipsum id; Dan. suggested istud.)

29.5 certe: cf. 35.6, Certa ego met neque mores neque facultates uestras didici. For certe as an (ironic) interrogative, uide L.&S.(Lat.), s.v., with two exx.; ex. Suet., Aug., 33, Certa patrem tuum non occidisti.
29.5 *ferulas: ferula*, a stick or rod, usually a whip or cane for the punishment of slaves or schoolboys; *uide* Otto, *s.v.*, p.135, no.658, with references to schoolmasters. It could also refer to a magic wand, as of Circe or Hermes; or to the ruler or pointer, *radius*, used by Classical mathematicians and astronomers for writing or drawing on the abacus (dust board) or pointing to the globe. The *T.L.L.* *s.v.* (VI.i.599.60seq.), does not know what to make of its use here, *dubium quo pertineat*.

29.6 *turbit*; *uide* 7.15. ([H. de la Ville de Mirmont referred this to false magicians and their companions, *cf.* Ap., *Met.*, books 8,9.)

29.9 *fallet*; Ellipse of direct object (*nos*).

29.9 *licet*; Ellipse of infinitive.

29.11 *non uno modo*; Litotes.

29.12 *divinum uel magum*; *uide* 4.2; a word pair of virtual synonyms.

29.13 *eccum*; *uide* 6.23.

29.14 *quaia in increasa grauitas, quaia in uultu dignitas*; Anaphora with verbal ellipse. (Hav. added *est* after *grauitas*.)

29.15 *adgraviamur hominem*; *cf.* 27.10, *adgraviamur hominem*.

29.15 *seuocemus*; Ellipse of direct object (*eum*).

29.16 *disseras*; The subject is Sycophanta, who is to question Mandrogerus. LH read *disserat*, in which case Mand. would be the subject.

29.17 Act II, Scene 3.


29.20 *uos*; *PH R2* and *V3* read *esse uos*; *B* reads *uos esse*. The pronoun appears to have been lost by haplography at the beginning of *uolo* or at the end of *saluus* in the hyparchetype of all the MSS. except *H*. If *uos* was then added as a correction in the hyparchetype, this would account for its addition as a correction in *R2* and *V3*,...
its different positions in P and B, and its omission in L; uide Ranstr., Q Stud., p.142; Studemund's review of Peip.'s ed., p.621.


29.21 sacerdos: uide 4.2; cf. 32.4, Atqui sacerdos noster; 37.2, O sacerdotum diuinum; 50.3, Quo te sacerdos detulit.

29.23 Mandrogerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

29.23 volumus: uide 8.2.

30.4 constituem: uide 8.17.

30.6 operam tuam impendas: uide 28.17.

30.11 potestatum: For astrological references, and possible philosophical, religious and political satire in the following descriptions, uide the intro. section on History and Thought. In Christian Lat., potestates signify "angels", "angelic powers", "authorities in the spiritual world"; uide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v., with exx. For the meaning of "superior authorities", "powers", cf. the Class. Lat. meaning of a "person in public office", a "magistrate", extended to mean a "ruler" or "supreme monarch"; uide loc. cit., with exx. For potestas, abstract for concrete, meaning "one who has authority", uide Löfstedt (1959), p.154. Here potestates has been referred to magistrates, courtiers, emperors, priests and philosophers. (Boano found parallels in Hermetic literature dealing with the different types of gods and demons which determine man's destiny for Mandrogerus' description of the powers in control of human existence; uide the intro. section on Sources. On greater and lesser powers, he compared Asclep., III.19.b, Ergo uero nec eorum dico omnium sed magnorum quorundam et principalium...Deorum genera multa sunt...eorumque omnium pars intelligibilis alia uero sensibilis...Sunt ergo omnium specierum principes dix intelligentes quorum est princeps appellatio abaca. Hos consequuntur dix quorum est princeps appellatio abaca.)
30.11 alius: uide 15.1.
30.12 praeclarior: Ellipse of est.
30.13 utilior: Ellipse of est.
30.15 sperare abs: uide 7.10.
30.16 obsequia cuius obsequi: Figura etymologica.

30.16 obsequia: For the Late Lat. meaning of "servants", "ministers" or "court officials", uide Duc., s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning ministri, conitatus (IX.184,54sqq., plural IX.185,2sqq.); with exx. V3 glosses, Id est dìi metonymice. From the 4th. century, uide Souter, s.v., with exx., obsequium is used of civil or military service. (Boano compared Asclep., I.9, Dilectus dei caeli cum his quae insunt omnibus una est obsequiorum frequentatic; I.9.b, Hunc ergo sic effectum conformatumque et tali ministerio obsequique.)

30.18 planetae: "Planets", wandering stars; Late Lat. for Class. Lat. stellae errantes: uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

30.20 in fanis et sacellis: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

30.20 intueri: The hyparchetype of all the MSS. apart from H omitted a line: facile intellegera haec tria tu si euadere, si was therefore added before intueri to try to make sense of what remained. But all the MSS. read intueare, a non-existent form. V3 corrects to intueri. The form intuere might be a possible correction, as the -ere ending could account for the subsequent omission of a line ending in euad-ere, but this active form is only known to occur in the imperative. (Commod., L.xxxi.1, Intuito plene dictum Rebeccaee de caela; I.xxxix.5, Intuito dicta Salomonis.) Dan. suggested intueari, but this form is also non-existent. (The form intuor exists, but it is uncertain whether it is first (intuari) or third (intui) declension: Plaut., Most., 836, Profecto nullam equidem illic cornicem intuor; Sen., Hipp. sìue Phaedr., 893, Quod monstrum intuor; also the form intuitur, either third (intui) or fourth (intuirí) declension: Ter., Hasuat., 403,
Quisnam hie adolescents est qui intuitur nos, third declension according to the scansion intui, third declension, occurs in a fragment of Turpilius' Paedio quoted by Nonius (ed. Lindsay, vol. III, p. 755, no. 470, section 30, frag. 159), Intui et contui: pro intueri - Turpilius, Paedio, Tamen oculi ex longa intercapedine adpetunt cupidé intui.) uide T.L.L., s.v., cum admiratione (VII ii. 90.15 sqq.), with exx., ex. Quint., Inst. Or., XII. x. 65, Hunc ut deum homines intuebuntur; cum expectatione auxilii (VII ii. 94.8 sqq.), with exx., ex. Cic., De Rep., VI. 12, Ta senatus, ta omnes boni, te socii, te Latini intuebuntur; for intuei with the accusative.

(Instead of intuei, Danaeus suggested inthurare, modified by Dan. to inturare, from thur, "incense", meaning thure placare, a synonym for turicare, comparing incerare from cera, but this is unknown elsewhere. Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp. 118 sqq., followed Dan.'s suggestion of inuocare. He suggested that the corruption resulted from the omission of a stroke of the u, cf. 52.10, ibi for ubi; the confusion of u and e, cf. 32.16, con for cum; and of c and e, cf. 11.21, tune for tune. Dan. also suggested mitigare; Herrm. suggested reuereri.)

30.20 potueris nihil est: For a conditional with si and the future perfect indicative followed by the present indicative, uide L.H.S., II. ii. 2, p. 661, with exx. and bibliog. Already in Plaut., the type si fuerit... est is regular in Late Lat.; ex. Plaut., Poen., 671, Rex sum si ego hodie ad me hominem adlexero.

30.21 possit: For the restrictive relative, nihil est quod, with the subjunctive of tendency, cf. 48.6, Nihil est quod metuam magis, uide K. & S., II, p. 278, with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Capt., 741, Post mortem in morte nihil est quod metuam mali.

30.22 planetas: The planets, the first class of lesser powers. These have been referred to magistrates, provincial governors, prefects, vicars, priests and philosophers.
30.22 loquere: uide Heyl, s.v., with exx., for loqui meaning nominare, commemorare. (cf. eloqui, 61.14, Visne interdictionum capita iam nunc eloquar.)

30.22 numeris: "By numbers"; the plural numeri has the technical meaning of "mathematics" or "astronomy"; uide L.&S., (Lat.), s.v., with exx.; ex. Sid. Ap., Epithal., XV.79, Thales hoc etiam numeris perquirit/Inquirit et astris.

30.23 tum: For tum for omnia, uide 9.2. The word is used of the whole universe in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura.

30.24 nec usui faciles nec dictu affabiles: cf. Verg., Aen., III. 621, Nec usui faciliis nec dictu affabilis ulli; Accius, Philoct., frag. 544, Quem neque tueri contra neque affari queas; John of Salisbury, Policrat., II.25 (uide the intro. section on Nachleben),

Numquid tibi uidetur uerior et fidelior sententia Louis et Martin, quam sententia Creatoris? Non utique Plauti consilio acquisescet, si uestum urium planetis aedipserit. Cum enim Sycophanta Mandrogerum perculcutearet, an illi sint planetae placandi qui numeris totum rotant; eos Mandrogerus nec nostro usui faciles nec dictu affabiles esse respondet, adiicen quod atomos in ore uolumunt, stellas numerant, sola mutate non possunt sua. Sic itaque a dispositione siderum euentuum necessitatem ingemit, ut illos sale satis urbano eleganter irrideat, qui usum exercent in contemplatione eorum, qui usum fugiunt, et interpellant eos, qui loqui desigantur; et cum atomos in ore uoluant, uerendum est, ne si atomos genethliaco forte intercidat, in excipienda sententia caelestium labatur.

30.24 dictu affabiles: A play on words from the root meaning of affabilis, "easy to talk to".

30.24 atomos: A Greek word, ἀτομος, for the ultimate component of matter, incapable of further division; uide L.&S., (Gk.), s.v., with exx.

Maria: For the influence of the moon on the sea, 

25.25 For the influence of the moon on the sea, uide P.M., euv. Mond. The planets were also supposed to send storms to shake the seas.

25.25 sola mutare fata non possunt sua: For fata sua, cf. 3.11, qui fata deplorent sua. The reading of H. The other MSS. omit fata, perhaps by haplography with sua. With or without fata, the sentence ends in a seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula, sua alone could refer to their fate, lives, concerns, etc. (Boano compared Asclep., III.19.6, Septem sphaerae quae vocantur habent obiuravm, id est sui principem quam fortunam dicunt aut clauam, a quae immutantur omnia lege naturae, stabilitate firmissima, sempiterna agitazione variata.)

27.27 audieram: uide 8.17.

31.1 **gubernari**: The reading of BH. The other MSS. read **gubernare**, which could be understood with ellipse of **planetas** as the subject of the accusative an infinitive; cf. 30.27, *Ipsi omnia gubernarent.*

31.2 **naupriagium**: Ellipse of esse. A nautical metaphor; with **gubernare** meaning both "to steer" a ship, and "to rule" the ship of state.

31.3 **conregent**: FBH read **conregent**, V2 LR non **regant** (or **regunt**), V **non regunt conregant**. An initial abbreviation for **con** seems to have been wrongly resolved into **non**, instead of, or as well as, **con**, and one or other, or both, resolutions taken into the text.

31.4 **messe**: This has happened to Querolus, 14.26, *Tempestas maxime fructus meos absulit.* cf. Verg., Ec., VIII.100, *Atque satas alio uidi traducere messe.* Tib., I.viii.19, *Cantus uicotis fruges traducit ab agris.* The elements do have the power to ruin harvests with tempests. As H. de la Ville de Mirmont pointed out, this became linked in popular superstition with the supposed magical power of moving crops by incantation. For the confusion of magic with astrology, *uide* 4.2.

31.4 **hac etque illae**: *uide* 7.13.

31.7 **species etque formas**: (Boano compared Asclep., III.19.b, *Qui diversis speciebus singulis diversas formas facit*; III.35, *Formae sed immutantur totiens, quot hora momenta habet circuli circumcurrentis, in quo est ille omniformis quem diximus deus.*)

31.8 **quod**: (HLR read **quod**, which, with a change of punctuation, would give a causal clause: *Sed quod gradibus et transfusionibus aliud ex alio iubent, triticum ex uino subito fieri uides, uinum ex tritico.*)

31.8 **transfusionibus**: *uide* Heyl, s.v., with *exx.*, meaning a "transformation", "metamorphosis".

31.8 **aliud ex alio**: Polyptoton. Ellipse of **fieri**.
31.9 triticum ex uino...uinum ex tritico: cf. Gaius, Inst., IV.66, Adeo ut quibusdam placet non omni modo uinum cum uino aut triticum cum triticum compensandum, sed ita si eiusdem naturae qualitatisque sit. (H. de la Ville de Mirmont suggested that this refers to some magical transformation, uide 31.4, messes. Boano noted that barley and wine were traditional offerings to Isis and Osiris; uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee. Emr. noted that taxes might be paid wholly or partly in kind, and that the salary of soldiers and officials could be paid in kind, as were slaves' rations; cf. Arbiter's slaves' rations measured out by the bushel, modio, 41.1.)

31.11 inferis: B2 glosses, Id est mortificare.
31.11 superis: B2 glosses, Id est uiuificare.
31.11 siue inferis siue superis: (Boano referred this to sursum deorsum, 31.17, with Hermetic parallels about life after death.)

31.11 nullus labor: Ellipse of est.

31.13 paucis: V3 glosses, Id est diuitibus.

31.14 obeudire: This is another spelling of oboedire or obedire, "to obey"; uide Bonnet, p. 491; Forcellini, s.v.; Löffstedt (1911), pp. 261sqq.; T.L.L., s.v. oboedio (IX.133.53sqq., esp. 61sqq.); Tidner (1922), p. 184; with exx. and bibliog. Löffstedt opposed Bonnet's argument that this spelling represents a semi-learned recomposition. (Klink suggested audire.)

31.14 uos: The reading of H. The other MSS. read soli, perhaps by mistake at the end of a line under the influence of soli, 31.23, also possibly at the end of a line. Either uos or soli would give a seven-syllable iambic trochaic clauseula.


31.16 oracula: VRPH read oracula, but all the MSS. read oraculum at 22.21.
31.16 et oracula istaec ubinam specialiter sunt expetenda: (Boano compared Asclep., III.xxxvii.9, Et horum, O Trismegiste, deorum qui terreni habentur euocatio cuiusmodi est qualitas?)


31.17 sursum deorsum: uide Otto, s.v. sursum, p.336, no. 1716; cf. Plaut., Amph., 1112, sursum uersum; Capt., 656, sursum uersum; Ter., Eun., 278, sursum deorsum; Heo., 315, sursum prorsum; Donat. ad Ter., Eun., 278, Ne sursum deorsum cursites, quod est laboris; 1059 (quoted at 22.5); Cic., Ep. ad Att., V.x.5, sursum deorsum; Sen., Ep., XLIV.4, sursum deorsum; De Prov., V.9, Sursum oportet ac deorsum est; Petr., Sat., LVIII.4, nec sursum nec deorsum; LXIII.9, Quod sursum est deorsum faciunt; Lucil., frag. 703 (ed. Bisch.), modo sursum modo deorsum; Claud. Mam., De Statu An., II.iii.6, Dextra et laeua, sursum ac deorsum, altera et altera sunt; III.xiv.10, Dextrum sinistrum, sursum deorsum, anterius et posterius; Greg. Cypr., Leid., I.61, ἄνω κάτω πάντα. (Boano compared Herm., I.v.10, ἅνω κάτω ἢνω ἢνω, these being the two stages by which souls descend to earth and reascend to heaven.)


31.21 facile: (Peip. added non before facile; but this would spoil the antithesis between adire facile and adire impossibile, "it is easy to go there, but impossible to return").


31.24 harpyiae: uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.119sqq. Here and at 34.4 the MSS. read arpiac, except for B, which reads arpiac. For the omission of the aspirate, uide 7.13. For the form and function of the harpies, uide 34.4.

31.24 cynoccephali: V3 corrects to capripedes, the "goat-footed", uide 34.14. For the nature of the "dog-heads", uide 32.25. (In the catalogue of supernatural powers, the harpies are mentioned here and at 34.4, where they are described, and the dog-heads are
mentioned here and at 32.25, where they are described as the last of the three groups of Mandrogerus' division of the lesser powers, potestates minores, 30.18. Otherwise this division into three groups, planetae, anseres, cynocephali, 30.18, is followed. However, at the end of the last group, the dog-heads, at 33.19, Sycophanta introduces descriptions of the simiae and harpyiae, and at 34.14 Sardanapallus mentions the noctuagi, celeres, capripedes, and hircuicomantes.)

31.24 furiae: The furies, Allecto, Tesiphone and Megaera.

31.24 ululae, nocturnae strigae: These are both names for the screech-owl; cf. glosses in V3: Vlula uolucris a planctu luctuque uocatur, cum enim clamat aut fletum imitatur aut gemitum. Unde et eund ausures tristitiam si lamentetur, tacens ostendere furtur prosperitatatem. Strix suis nocturna clamando stridet unde et nominatur. Asserunt etiam iniqua praecinit omnia et ide placanda. Asserunt etiam ex hominibus strigae fieri quae noua puerperia laedunt. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. sive Orig., XII.vii.38, Vlula suis à Tej ον διόδτελα, id est a planctu et luctu, nominata, cum enim clamat aut fletum imitatur aut gemitum. Unde et eund ausures si lamentetur tristitiam, tacens ostendere furtur prosperitatatem; 42, Strix nocturna suis habens nomen de sono uoccis, quando enim clamat stridet. De sua Lucanus.... Sed et quidem asserrunt striges ex hominibus fieri.) cf. Luc., De Bell. Civ., VI.689, Quod trepidus bubo cuod strix nocturna queruntur; Hor., Erod., V.20, Plumanque nocturnae strigis; Stat., Theb., III.511, Nocturnaeque semunt striges et feralia bubo/Dama canens; Sen., Heo., Fur., 688, Omenque triste resonat infaustae stigres; Med., 736, Et raucae strigae; Dracont., Rom., X.306, Qualis in exustis per sordida tecta ruinis strix nocturna sonat rostro stridente per umbras. (strix, strige, may originally have meant a "bat"; vide D'Arcy W. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Birds, Oxford (1936) p.268.)
31.25 hydriis: V3 glosses, Idrus serpentis aquatilis est enim ὄφω "aquam. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. sive Orig., XII.iv.21, Graeci enim aquam ὄφω vocant. Hydres aquatilis serpens.) (Boano, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee, thought that these snakes were sacred to Isis and Serapis, comparing Ovid, Am., XIII.7, Per tua sistra precor, per Anubidis ora uerendi, / Sic tua sacra pius semper Osiris anct, / Pigraque labatur circa donaria serpent, / Et comes in pompa corniger Apius eat.)

31.25 virgis: (Boano saw these rods as a Gallic attribute of Osiris, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee.)

32.1 nec adire tutum: Ellipse of est.

32.1 turbas: uide 7.15.

32.2 quid plura: All the MSS. add Querole before si; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.121. Klink. deleted it. It may represent the mistaken addition of a character designation. Mandrogerus is only answering the questions of Sycophantus, and first turns to Querolus at 34.24. The latter is not named until 36.8, Ncus tu amice tu non Querolus diceris. Peip. suggested emending to quaeris, cf. 16.14, Quid quaeris amplius. For ex. of the neuter quid with verbal ellipse, uide K.&S., II, pp.497sqq.; ex. Cic., Diu. in Quint. Caeo., II. xxiii.50, Sed quid plura?

32.3 hinc: uide 3.12.

32.4 sacerdos: uide 4.2.

32.4 mysterium: uide 8.24.

32.5 anserino: cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist., X.56, anserini generis; Colum., VIII.v.10, At pauonio et anserino paulo amplius ter nouenis. The geese were sacred to Rome, having saved it from the Gauls. It has been suggested that the geese and swans, olores, 32.12, are a parody of (pagan or Christian) priests or monks. (Boano, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee, noted that geese were sacred to the Nile and to Isis and Osiris, comparing Ovid, Fasti, I.453,
Nec defensa iuuent Capitolio quo minus anser/Det iecur in lanceas
Inachi lauta tuas. The daughter of Inachus was Io, identified with
Isis.)

32.5 si quid est boni: cf. 24.9, si quid est boni; 35.23, Et ea
tantummodo quae sunt bona.

32.8 capita et colla: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms.
It has been suggested that this description refers to white priestly
vestments or fillets.

32.9 hariolorum: For the omission of the aspirate in the MSS. apart

32.9 tantum est quod: cf. 34.17, Solum hoo est quod; 41.4, Solum
illud est quod. The restrictive relative clause, explicative of
the demonstrative, here forms an awkward circumlocution for "only".
Here the meaning is "there is this, so much, to be said as regards
their duties, that they...", i.e. they do some good, or only so
much, with the objection, 32.11, explaining why or how they are
fallacissimi. 34.17 means "they do nothing but...", or "their only
redeeming feature is that they..."; 41.4, "the only fault that I
have to find in him is that he...".

32.10 et: et has an explicative force before the adverb; cf. 35.22,
Futura nunc mihi ut enarres et ea tantummodo quae sunt bona; 50.25,
Errauimus et non semel. The second part of the sentence introduced
by the conjunction provides a closer meaning or explanation of the
first part of the sentence. (Herrm. suggested et or set here and at
35.22; Par. suggested set or sed at 50.25, e could have been lost
by haplography in the end of enarres or errauimus.) uide Ranstr.,
Q.Stud., pp.121seq.; K.&S., II, p.25; Thurnell, pp.1sq.; Tidner
(1938), pp.123sq.; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Cio., Phil., V.26,
Tum in bello et maxime ciuili.

32.10 males Ellipse of dicunt. male-dicere means "to curse", "to
abuse"; uide the lexica, e.V., with exx. In Christian Lat. it
means "to put a curse on", "to anathematise". (Dan. suggested uale, understanding uale-dicunt.)

32.11 elicunt: The reading of H. The other MSS. read eligunt; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.121. elicunt and eligunt were often interchanged in MSS., uide T.L.L., s.v. elicere (V.ii.366.21) and eligere (V.ii.376.50). (Cors. suggested edicunt, comparing 28.25, Primum praeterita edicit.)

32.13 neminem: For nullum, as an adjective; uide L.& S. (Lat.), s.v., with exx.; ex. Ter., Ad., 259, Pretrem homini nemini esse primarum artium magis principem.

32.14 alas pro manibus gerunt: This has been referred to monks' habits.

32.15 linguam trisulco uibrant sibilō: This has been referred to monks' chanting.

32.15 linguam: The reading of LR. They each wave one tongue. VPEH read lingua, probably from the omission of a nasalisation stroke. V3 gives the plural, linguas.

32.15 trisulco: Transference of the epithet; their tongues are forked. (Ber. suggested trisulcam.)


32.16 cunn: (VH read con, showing the confusion between u and o.)

32.17 panem neque nouerunt neque uolunt: cf. 34.17, panem deum. (Gaiser compared Per. Heidelberg, G.406, frag. 8.II, ἱπτω, a barley-loaf.) (Klink. here saw a reference to the placentae or libae, (honey) cakes offered in sacrifice which were commonly used as food in priestly families and came to usurp the place of bread, comparing Hor., En., I.x.10, Vique saecroditis fugitiumus liba recuso/Pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placitis.)
32.18 insectentur: The T.L.L., s.v. (VII.i.1856.2sqq.), gives only this passages, and Verg., Georg., I.155, Quod nisi et adsiduis herem insectabere rastris, as exx. of the metaphorical use of the word, de rebus naturalibus quasi impugnandis.

32.19 carne iam subruncida: cf. Cic., In Luc. Pis., XXVII.67, Extracta mensa non conohylis aut piscibus sed multa carne sub- runcida.

32.20 on sumptum inanem: on is only the nominative in Class. Lat., but also the accusative in Old and Late Lat.; uide K.&S., I, pp.273sqq.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.48; with exx. and bibliog.

32.21 anseribus cibaria publice locantur et canes aluntur in Capitolio; cf. Cic., Pro Rosc. Am., XX.56, Anseribus cibaria publice locantur et canes aluntur in Capitolio, ut significant si fures usurint; Pliny, Nat. Hist., X.xxiv.51, Quam ob causam cibaria anserum censure in primis locant; gloss in V2, Anseribus idcirco diuinis fiunt honores quod eorum clangore Gallorum inopinum ascensus in Capitolium noctu deprehensus est. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. sive Orig., XII.vii.52, Iste uigilans noctis assiduitate clangoribus testatur. Nullum autem animal ita odorem hominis sentit ut anser, unde et clangore eius Capitolium ascensus in Capitolio deprehensus est.)

32.23 genus hominum: This has been taken to indicate that the author is really talking about men when he mentions geese and swans, rather than about supernatural beings.


32.24 Circe: The magical goddess on the island of Aeaea, who temporarily changed some of Odysseus' companions into swine; uide Hom., Od., Bk. X; cf. gloss in V2, Quae mutabat homines. (cf. Isid.
of Seville, Etymol. siue Orig., VIII.ix.5, Pertur et quaedam maga famosissima Circe quae sociis Vlixis mutavit in bestias.) (Herm. compared Rut. Num., De Red. Soc., I.525, Num rogo deterior circiae secta uenenis/Tunc mutabantur corpora nunc animi, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee.)

32.24 Proteum: The prophetic Old Man of the Sea on the island of Pharos, who transformed himself into various shapes to avoid prophesying; uide Hom., Od., IV.349sqq.; Verg., Georg., IV.368; cf. gloss in V3, Qui transformabat se ipsum.

32.25 cynocephalos: The dog-faced baboon, probably Simia invus, Linn. or Simia hanadryas, Linn. For references, uide P.W., s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. (IV.1590-57sqq.); cf. gloss in V3, Cynocephali similis sunt simis sed facie ad modum canis unde et nuncupatur. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. siue Orig., XII.ii.32, Cynocephali et ipsi similis simiis sed facie admodum canis unde et nuncupati; XI.iii.15, Cynocephali appellantur eo quod canina capita habeant quoque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur; cf. Aug., De Gli. Dei, XVI.8, Quid dicam de cynocephalis quorum canina capita atque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur?) The term was also used of the dog-headed Egyptian god, Anubis; cf. 33.5, Anubi... nostro latranti deo; Tert., Apol., VI.8, Serapideum et Isidem et Harpocratem cum suo cynocephalo Capitolio prohibitos; Lact., Inst. Epit., XVIII.xxiii.6, Postmodum puer per cynocephalum inuenitur; Min. Fel., Oct., 22, Isis perditum filium cum cynocephalo suo et caluis sacerdotibus luget, planxit, anquirit...max inuenito paruulo, gaudent Isis, exultant sacerdotes, cynocephalus inuentor gloriatur.

(For an illustration of one of the curious effigies of cynocephali which were discovered among the ruins of the temple of Isis Campensis built by Caligula, now in the Capitoline Museum, uide A History of Rome and the Romans from Romulus to John XXII, ed. R. Laffont, Eng. trans. S. Rodway, London (1962) p.61, fig. 160.)

The cynocephali are thought to represent magistrates or courtiers or priests or doorkeepers.

33.3 *aluī* + *des* + *pandae manus*: The archetype appears to have read *des*, which was probably also in *V*, before its erasure by *V*\(^2\). *V*\(^3\) glossed *pandae* with *dependentes*. *PB*\(^{s}\) *densi* represents their (or their source's) attempt to give an intelligible reading. Possibly a nasalisation stroke over the *e* could have been omitted, giving *densi*, "thick", with *aluī", "stomachs"; but used to describe (a part of) the "human" body it is unprecedented, uide the lexica, s.v.


33.4 Hecuba: For the omission of the aspirate in the MSS., uide 7.13. After the fall of Troy, Hecuba became Odysseus' booty. He took her with him to the Thracian Chersonese, where she found the dead body of her son Polydorus. Before the fall of Troy, Priam had sent Polydorus, his youngest son, to Polymester, King of the Bistones, for protection; but when Troy fell, Polymester murdered Polydorus, keeping for himself the gold that Priam had sent with him. In revenge, Hecuba blinded Polymester and killed his two sons, after which she turned into a dog, called Maera, and jumped into the sea to escape from the Thracians. uide Eurip., Hec.; Hom., II., XXIV.495sqq.

33.4 postquam uere facta est canis; As opposed to the rationalizing interpretation of the story, according to which she was called a dog because she howled in anger or died a dog's death by being stoned by the Thracians; cf. gloss in V3, Cum captiua duceretur a Graecis; Plaut., Men., 714, Non tu scis mulier Hecubam quapropter canem/Graii esse praedicabant.

33.5 Anubi nupta nostro latranti dec; cf. Verg., Aen., VIII.698, Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis; Prop., III.xi.41, Ausa Ioui nostro latrantem opponere Anubim; Aug., Confess., VIII.23, Anubem latratum Anubis, the Egyptian god with a jackal's head, supposed by the Greeks and Romans to be that of a wolf or dog, was identified with the Greek Hermes and the Roman Mercury.

33.5 nostro: Mandrogerus claims an Egyptian connection to heighten the mystery. (Hence the argument for a North African origin, uide the intro. section on Place of Composition.)

33.6 semper denos; Hecuba was an ancient example of extraordinary fertility.

33.7 precator: A "suppliant" or "supplicant"; uide Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p.29; Usener, in A.L.L., II, pp.228sqq.; with exx.

33.8 ut adeas tantum dabis; cf. Cic., In Verr., II.v.45.118, Ut adeas tantum dabis ut cibium tibi uestitumque intro ferre licat tantum.
33.9 perorare: "To complete a speech", uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., in Christian Lat. means "to pray".

33.9 mysterium: uide 8.24.

33.9 religione: uide L.&S.(Lat.), s.v., with exx. religio means "the rites and ceremonies as well as the entire system of religion and worship". Here the meaning is "religion"; at 37.18, "religious laws"; 37.21, "religious ceremony"; 37.25, "duty to the gods", as opposed to officium, "duty to men"; 43.5, "holiness"; 46.14, "religious ceremony"; 62.3, "good faith".

33.10 commercium: This is presumed to mean either that priests made a business monopoly out of religion, or that officials misused their rôle as mediators between rulers and subjects to their own advantage.

33.11 istis omnibus litandum: Ellipse of est.

33.11 et: The reading of L and H2. R reads aut. The other MSS. read ut, showing the confusion between a and u.

33.11 si paruo nequeas at quanti ques: cf. Ter., Fun., 75, Nisi ut te redimas captum quam quesas/Minimo si nequeas paullulo at quanti quesas. (cf. William of Blois, Alde, 221, Iam nihil a superis gratia datur, omnia magno/Constant, magna breue munera munus emunt./Templa loquant etiam superi sua, pontificatum/Vendit pontifici Iuppiter ipse suo./Gratia summorum merx est nam gratia gratia gratia/Non datur, hanc solus prodigus emptor habet./Venditur introitus templi prohibetque sacerdos/Ante Iouem uacans munere ferre manus./Dat gratia nemo quia gratia nemo recepit;/Vendit quisque quia uendidit alter ei.)

33.12 potestates: uide 30.11, Duo sunt genera potestatum. Mandrogerus is either addressing his hearers, and including himself, nobis, with gods and priests, or apostrophising some absent deities, and counting himself as an ordinary mortal.

33.13 deus: uide 6.11.
33.13 prole cognitum: Numerous emendations have been suggested; uide the app. crit. pro re (Dan.) or pro te (Klink.) for prole (VLPH) would show a confusion between r, t and l; cognitor (h) for cognitum (VLRPB) a confusion between o and u. The quae comparison ("it is easier to approach a god than to...") might suggest a similar construction before and after, with a passive verb, such as cognitum (or perhaps cognoscitum (Dan.), shortened by abbreviation), balancing aditur, and a nominative noun, such as proles (Canneg.), parallel to deus. (Thomas suggested proles (haeo) pascitur; Lennep. suggested pro templis ianitor.)

33.16 Koen's correction of the MSS. reading SARD. The conversation at this stage is a dialogue between Mandrogerus and Sycophanta.

33.17 Cerberum: Mandrogerus appears to associate the dog Cerberus with the dog-headed cynocephali.

33.17 ramus aureus: On the Cumaean Sibyl's advice Aeneas found the golden bough on a tree in a wood near Lake Avernus and gave it to her when she accompanied him to the Underworld to consult his father Anchises. She showed it to Charon as a sign to him to ferry them across the Styx, and gave it to Proserpina as a gift; uide Verg., Aen., Bk. VI; esp. 136, Latet arbore opaca/Aureus et foliis et lento uimine ramus; 405, Si te nulla mouet tantae pietatis imago,/At ramum hunc, aperit ramum qui ueste latebat./Admoscas.

33.18 euaserat: In unreal conditions, especially after a negative protasis, the indicative is used of attempted, interrupted, unfinished and expected actions; uide K.&S., II, pp.397seq., with exx. and bibl.; ex. Flor., II.xiii.19, Et peractum erat bellum sine sanguine, si Pompeiam Brundisii opprimere potuisset.

33.19 quid de simius: Ellipse of a verb of saying (ex. dicas).

33.19 simius: The monkeys have been referred to clerks or historians. (Boano, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee, noted that monkeys were sacred to Isis and Osiris, comparing
Prud., Peristeph., X.256, Venerem precaris, complacere et simiam; Placet sacratus aspis Aesculapii,/Crocodillus ibis et canis cur displicent?)

33.21 non quidem periculosae haec animalia: Ellipse of sunt; cf.
38.21, Non quidem periculosus ille est homo.

34.1 sannas: For sanna, a "mimicking grimace", especially in mockery, derision, uide L.&S.(Lat.), s.v., with exx.; cf. gloss in V3, Id est irisiones quae ad nares pertinent. (cf. ex. Pers., Sat., V.91, Sed ira cadat naco rugosaque sanna.)

34.2 corymbos: Greek χόρμβος. None of the known meanings of this word, uide Porcellini, s.v., Souter, s.v., appear appropriate here. It means: a "cluster", of fruit or flowers; a "calyx"; a "nipple"; a "tassel"; a "heap"; a "top", "peak" or "summit"; the "elevation of the earth"; the "stern of a ship". Johnston, s.v., suggested the rising or bristling of the hair in anger. The T.L.L., s.v. (IV. 1081.17 seq.), is uncertain of the meaning here, and inclines to Scaliger's cymbid, meaning "somersaults". V3 glosses with collustationes, "struggles". Dan. suggested columbos, "duces", "pigeons", or cymbos, "swimming baths" (sic). Tumebus suggested (to Dan.) ronchos, "smoring", "smeering" or "jeering". The Greek χόρμβος means a "diver" or "swimmer". Boano compared Tib., I.vii. 45, Sed uarii flores et frons redimita corymbis, where corymbi are the ornament of Osiris, thought to be a cluster of (ivy) berries. (Monkeys were sacred to Isis and Osiris, uide 33.19.) In Sid. Ap. they are clusters of ivy berries, or, possibly, of grapes; Ed., VIII.ix.4.11, Hinc baceas quatiam uel hinc corymbos; Carm., XXII.72, Aeternum nitet ipse genas; creuere corymbis/Tempora et auratum uerrit coma concolor axem. Perhaps this is a cluster of monkeys produced by their scuffles and mingling.

34.2 asperseris: cf. 62.6, Vatici nobis aliquid ut aspergas. For aspersere meaning dare, uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning addere (II. 820.15 sqq.), with exx.; (with reference to money, cf. ex. Cic.,
Pro Caec., VI.17, about an inheritance. The MSS. add non before
the verb. Dan. deleted it, supposing the result to ensue when they
scramble for the coins, in view of the following insuper. But it
could result from their anger at not receiving anything.

34.3 popellum: Dan.'s suggestion for the MSS.' pupillum. The
mistake arose from a confusion of u for o and i for a.

34.4 harpyiae: For the spelling, uide 31.23. The harpies, Celaeno
(according to Vergil) or Podarge (according to Homer), Aêlo and
Ocyptete (according to Hesiod), had the body of a bird and the head
of a woman, and were ravenously greedy. Such food as they did not
steal to eat themselves they would befoul; uide Verg., Aen., III.
209sqq., where they snatch away and pollute the food of King
Phineas of Thrace; cf. Ap., Met., X.15, Vt olim harpyiae fuer
quaes diripiebant Phineias dapes. The harpies are supposed to
represent rapacious tax collectors or other officials, or greedy
priests; cf. Rut. Nam., De Red. Suo, I,607 (uide the intro. section
on the Dedicatee), Non olim sacri iustissimus arbiter auri/Circon-
sistentes repulit harpyias?/Harpyias, quarum discernitur unguibus
orbis,/Quae pede glutineo quod tetigere trahunt,/Quae luscam
feciunt Argum, quae Lynceae caecum,/Inter custodes publica furta
uolant./Sed non Lucillum Frateria praeda fefellit,/Totque simul
manibus restitit una manus; Plut., Luc., VII.5, ἡμαῖκῶν δανειστῶν
καὶ τελωνῶν οἷς ὄψερον μὲν ὄψερ ἄρχειας τὴν ἄφθερα ἄρχειντας
ἀβεῖν ὁ Λοσκούλλος ἡγήσατε; Sid. Ap., Ep., V.vii.4, In executionibus
harpyiae.

34.6 honores numinum: In Christian Lat., honor means a "fee",
"honorianum" (of the clergy), uide Souter, s.v.; with exj in
Class. Lat., abstract for concrete, it can mean an "honorary gift",
uide L.&S.(Lat.), s.v.; with exj, so honores could refer here to
"honoraria" for certain officials.

34.7 sollemnia...extraordinaria: Ellipse of nouns with adjectives
used substantively (tributa).
34.8 aliiquid: uide 21.18.

34.8 præsentatum: Late Lat. for oblatum; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

34.9 cum: Ellipse of id, antecedent of aliiquid, 34.8.

34.9 haec etque illae: uide 7.13.

34.10 curuis timendos unguibus: cf. Juv., Sat., VIII.129, Nec per conuentus et cuncta per oppida curuis/Vnguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno; XIII.169, Raptuaque per aera curuis/Vnguibus.

34.11 quod contingent auferunt quod relinquunt polluunt: cf. Verg., Aen., III.209 sqq., uide 34.4. (234, Polluit ore dapes; 243, Vestigia foeda relinquunt.)

34.14 nootiuagous: The following are all attributes of Silenus. nootiuagus, "night-wandering", is an epithet of the heavenly bodies and sleep.

34.14 oeleres: These are presumably spirits created by the author, as the word does not seem to be used in a similar context elsewhere.

34.14 capripedes: "Goat-footed", an epithet of rural deities, including satyrs and pans; cf. gloss in V, Capripedes sunt satiri. Hi uidentur homunciones aduncis nibibus cornitis frontibus caprinis pedibus numinaque siluarum dicuntur. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. siue Orig., XI.iii.21, Satyri homunciones sunt aduncis nibibus cornua in frontibus et caprarum pedibus similes.)

34.14 hierquicamanentes: "With hair like a goat's"; uide Heyl, s.v. The T.L.L., s.v. (VI.iii.2823.68 sqq.), knows only this ex.

34.17 solum est hoc quod: uide 32.9.

34.17 panem deum: cf. 32.17, Panem neque nouerunt neque uolunt; a play on words with the god, Pan, and panis, "bread"; cf. Vespa, Indicium Coci et Pistoris Indice Vulcano (uide 5.9), 45, Illu praecedunt Panes facio mihi panes. PB read panem dominum. This mistake probably arose from an incorrectly resolved abbreviation (dm for deum confused with dni for domini).
34.20 sitote: uide 9.12.

34.21 aliqui: Adjectival, for aliquis, substantival. (V3 B read aliquis. Herrm. suggested nascatur for nascatur, to make aliqui plural.) uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.123; T.L.L., s.v. aliquis.

34.22 et nos ita suspicamur: H alone gives nos. (Hav. suggested the addition of nos after ita.)

34.23 coli uel propitiarii: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

34.24 dicam: Mandrogerus now begins to stage-manage a pretext for entering the lararium.

35.2 ut facilis: For ut for quo in a final clause with a comparative, uide L.H.S., II.i.i.2, p.642, with exx. and bibliog. ex. Plaut., Amph., 110, Nunc de Alcumena ut rem teneatis rectius.

35.4 ea quaes necis dicito: cf. Plaut., Trin., 221, Qui sciant quod nesciant.

35.5 equidem: (H reads quidem. These two words appear to be used indistinguishably in the Q., uide the Index Verborum.)
35.7 *u*estras: The adjective agrees in gender with the nearest substantive, *facultates*, feminine, rather than with *mores*, masculine; *uide* K. & S., I, p.45, with *exx* and *bibliog.*; *ex*. Vell. Pat., II, xxi, 1, *Viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae dare militem.*

35.7 *d*idici: (For *exx*. of *discere* meaning *cognoscere*, *uide* Heyl, *s.v.*, although the primary meaning, "to learn" (by heart) is dramatically appropriate here.)

35.10 *a*gnosco: *uide* 5.11.

35.11 *h*umilis loco natu: *Ellipse* of *es* (which Hav. added after *natu*).

35.13 *r*egium nomen: *uide* the intro. section on *Characters*; *cf*. Cic., *De Rep.*, III, frag. inc. 4, *Sardanapallus ille uitiis multo quam nomine ipso deformior.*

35.15 *es*: (H reads *est*, but this would make *Mandrogerus* refer to *Sardanapallus* in the third person, whereas he is addressing him in the second person.)


35.16 *h*oc: A demonstrative pronoun followed by *ut* with the consecutive subjunctive is explanatory; *uide* L.H.S., II, ii, 2, p.640, with *exx* and *bibliog.*

35.18 *m*entiri mihi non licet: Dramatic irony.

35.18 *a*liquid quod: The reading of PBH. The other MSS. omit *aliquid*, which would mean ellipse of the antecedent.

35.20 *si* quidem ulterior: *Ellipse* of *est*.

35.21 *u*leterior: Comparative for positive adverb, *ultra*; *cf*. 57, 24; *uide* L. & S. (*Lat.*), *s.v.*, with *exx*. (*cf*. interius for *intra*, 25.27.)

35.22 **Mandrogerus**: Vocative, *uide* 24.7.

35.23 *et*: *uide* 32.10.

35.23 ea tantummodo quae sunt bona: cf. 24.9, 32.5, *Si quid est boni*.

35.25 nobili et claro: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

35.28 *manet*: *uide* 3.8.

36.1 *igne ferro flu mine*: Types of the death penalty. *ferro* probably implies execution by the sword. (For the "triple death" by fire, water and sword, *uide* W. Rutherford, *The Druids and their Heritage*, London (1978) p.119, "It has been pointed out by several scholars that the principal methods of sacrifice, those of burning, drowning and hanging, correspond with the three elements of the ancient world, fire, water and earth, which also associates it with alchemy").


36.6 *illud de te quaesumus ut*: The reading of H. The other MSS. omit *de*, lost perhaps by haplography at the end of *illud*, or from similarity with *te*. On the other hand, H's *de* could have been added by dittography of *te*. *uide* L.&S.(Lat.), s.v. *quaero*, with *exx.*, for *quaero* with the accusative of thing desired (*ex.* *id*), and with the subjunctive (alone or with *ut* or *ne*) of thing desired. The person from whom it is desired may be in the accusative alone, or in the ablative with a preposition (*ab*, *de* or *ex*).


36.8 *non*: For *nonne*, expecting an affirmative answer; *uide* O.L.D., s.v. ("in questions, especially surprised or indignant, expecting a positive answer"), with *exx.*; *ex*. Plaut., *Amph.* 402, *Non sum ego servus Amphitryonis Sosia?*

36.8 *Querolus*: All Querolus' causes of complaint (about father, neighbours, friends, slaves), 12.6sqq., were shown by the Lar to
be for the best, whereas Mandrogerus now takes them all to be for the worst. (cf. Vitalis of Blois, Aug., 573,

O iuenis, iam fata sequar tua, Sardana dixit, Sumque artis pro te prodigus ipse meae. Vt mage te noscas, Querolus tibi nomen, iniqua/Fata, fames seruat stria, patre cares. Fantolabus tibi serus, edax et inutile monstrum, Qui satur emisit, quique sit ipsa fames. Extremam primamque domum geminæ Laris aræ/Impediment, totus lar uacet ille Lar./ Ergo iarem totum sibi Lar possedit, ut esset In lare prosperitas, si foret ara Laris/Lar nihil est; finxere deos trepidantia corda; Aut miser aut felix lar erit arte mea./Qua domus interior uestit ueterem Laris aram, Terra tument modice; pessimus ille locus. Pessimus ille locus, dis detestabilis ipsis, Quem timeat uel Lar, si sit ipse deus./Iam genesim deprendo tuam, uel quod tibi signum Occidit, uel quod mundus in astra feret./Egoecerus oriens, qua linea solsticialis Precipitāt Canorum, primus agebat iter./Rex orientis era, quem Penona dioiraus, illi Scorpius in cauda Piron adesse dabat./Petontenque Sol retrogradum ibatur agebat, /Et Venus a Libra pulsa iacebat hebes./Vim facio stellis castique carmine fata;/ Omnia gaudebunt arte pieta mea.)

36.10 quid horae nuncupamus: This is an unknown expression for telling the time, so Ber. suggested that the question is actually as to Querolus' natal hour, a necessary prerequisite to casting his horoscope.

36.11 SYCOPI: The character designation was deleted by Canneg., but it seems unlikely that Mandrogerus should answer his own question. (Dan. suggested that Querolus' reply might start here.)

36.11 sextam et septimam: The MSS. read sextam et tertiam. Klink suggested septimam for tertiam; Dan., secundam for sextam. cf. Sen., Apoc., II.3, Tam en inter sextam et septimam erat. (The sixth hour was from 11a.m. to 12noon; the seventh from 12noon to 1p.m.; the third from 8a.m. to 9a.m.; the second from 7a.m. to 8a.m.)

36.12 OVER: The MSS. give this line to Mandrogerus, although the first reading of Ι attributed it to Querolus. This is surely the latter's admiring comment.

36.12 sefellit: uide 15.3.
36.12 de clepsydra respondisse: For de with the ablative for secundum with the accusative, uide L. & S. (Lat.), a.v., with exx. For the water clock, Greek κλεψύδρα, cf. glosses, in V3, Id est gnomae cuius umbra deprehenduntur horae in lineis hemispherii; and in P, horologium aquaticum and B, horologium. (For the use of the water clock in the calculation of the natal hour by the method of ascensions, the angle of the sun with the horizon being measured by the gnomon, astrolabe or clepsydra, uide Bouche-Lerclercq (1899), p. 589.)

36.14 MAND: Dan. added the character designation for Mandrogerus, as he is telling Querolus' fortune. cf. Liutprand of Cremona, Anapod., I. 2, Quoniam tete tu neglexisti, pro te ego despiciam mathesim. Mars trigonus, Saturnus Venerem respicit, Iuppiter quadratus, Mercurius tibi iratus, Sol rotundus, Luna in saltu est, mala fortuna te premit. uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Astrology. A horoscope is drawn in E2 to accompany this passage. (Such an attempt is, however, doomed to failure from the start through lack of information. There is no knowing what sign is in the ascendant, what signs the sun, moon and planets occupy, and with what they aspect, although the scholiast places the sun and moon in Aquarius, with the sun nearer the perimeter of the circle, the moon nearer the centre. Moreover, the diagram has the signs of the zodiac proceeding in the wrong direction, from Aries to Pisces clockwise, rather than anticlockwise. Mercury and Venus are wrongly positioned too far from the sun. Mercury can never attain an angular distance from the sun of more than 23° nor Venus of more than 48°. In the diagram, Mercury and Venus are in Aries, with Mercury on the perimeter of the circle and Venus towards the centre, slightly out of line with Mercury, in the direction of Taurus. Mercury is therefore at an angle of 60° from the sun, and Venus at an angle greater than this. Mars is in Gemini near the perimeter of the circle, Jupiter is in Taurus on the perimeter of the circle, and Saturn is in Libra nearly midway between the perimeter and the centre of the circle. A triangle is drawn between
Gemini, Libra and Aquarius, representing Mars trigonus, and a
square between Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius, representing
Jupiter quadratus.) V3 also gives a lengthy gloss on the
calculation of the horoscope, derived from Firmicus Maternus,
describing the diametrum (opposition), trigonum (trine), quadratum
(quartile) and hexagonum (sextile).

36.14 Mars trigonus: Greek ἐπίγωνος. Mars is in trine aspect, but
we do not know what with, although we may presume that it is with
the sun, or, possibly, with Saturn. (If with Saturn, there may be
a reference to Firm. Mat., Math., VI.iii.8, Saturnus et Mars
trigoni, Si Saturnus Marti fuerit trigonica radiatione coniunctus,
...facient lucra maxima...) Nor do we know in what sign Mars is
supposed to be. Mars is usually indicative of bad luck or violence,
while a trine aspect is usually considered harmonious, efficacious
and favourable.

36.14 Saturnus Venerem respicit: Saturn is in aspect with Venus.
When in aspect the planets were supposed to look at each other
(respicit). But we do not know what kind of aspect. Perhaps they
are in opposition. However, they are not necessarily diametrically
opposite to each other, but may be in one of the polygonal aspects,
or merely on opposite sides of the chart of the horoscope. An
opposition was usually considered antipathetic by the Greeks, but
sympathetic by the Chaldeans. Nor do we know what signs they are
supposed to occupy. Saturn is usually indicative of bad luck.

36.14 Jupiter quadratus: Jupiter is in quartile aspect, but we
do not know what with, although we may presume that it is with the
sun, or, possibly, with Saturn or Venus. Jupiter is usually
indicative of good luck, while a quartile aspect is usually
considered discordant, antipathetic and unfavourable. V3 glosses,
Et haec minax est radiatio maliciosaque potestate composita.

36.15 Mercurius huic iratus: Mercury is in an unfavourable
conjunction with Jupiter, but we do not know how or why. Perhaps
they are in opposition.
36.15 Sol rotundus: Either a nonsensical joke stating the obvious and introducing the third principal mathematical figure, the circle, to the triangle and the square, or, possibly, referring to an eclipse.

36.15 Luna in saltu: Referring either to a "leap" year, month or day in the lunar calendar, or, possibly, to the moon at its position of greatest power, exaltation, in conjunction with the sun and creating an eclipse. (The Metonic cycle of nineteen lunar years, which reconciles the lunar and solar years, has 235 lunar months. It comprises twelve years of twelve lunar months of twenty-nine or thirty days each, the last month of each year having thirty days; six years of thirteen lunar months of twenty-nine or thirty days each, the last month of each year having thirty days; and one year of thirteen lunar months of twenty-nine or thirty days each, the last month having twenty-nine days. So at the end of this last month in the cycle, the twenty-ninth day is followed, exceptionally, by the first day of a lunar month. This anomaly is the "leap" of the moon.)

36.15 est: To be understood elliptically with Mars, Iuppiter, Mercurius and Sol, as well as with Luna. (Hav. added it after each of those words.)

36.16 omnem: Untrue; besides the seven planets, the rising sign of the zodiac and time, date and place of birth would be necessary to cast the horoscope.

36.16 genesim: Greek ζυγοειδος, a "horoscope"; cf. Juv., Sat., XIV. 248, Nota mathematicis genesis tua; uide 4.2, magnum mathematicumque, with gloss in V2, Geneses enim hominum per duodecim signa caeli describit, siderumque cursus nascentium mores actus et eventus praedicare consuet. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. sive Orig., III, praef., Astronomia est disciplina quae cursus caelestium siderum etque figuras contemplatur omnes atque habitudines stellarum.)
36.16 mala fortuna: uide 7.7. None of this information is of the kind that could be drawn from a horoscope.

36.18 agnosco: uide 5.11.


36.21 vicinum malum pateris serum pessimum: cf. 15.5, Vicinus mihi malus est; 14.18, Servus mihi est quem tolerare nequeo Pantomalus est mente et nomine.

36.23 agnosco: uide 5.11.

36.24 uis...eloquar: uide 18.22.


36.28 Zeta: uide the intro. section on Characters.

37.2 sacerdotum: uide 4.2.

37.3 uisme: Ellipse of prolatative infinitive (audire).

37.3 adhuc: Late Lat. for etiam. (Klink, suggested etiam or inasuper.) uide Heyl, s.v., with exx.

37.3 a me domum tuam ignorari: Dramatic irony.

37.5 porticus tibi est in dextra ut ingrediaris, sacrarium e diverso: cf. 26.5, De atrio porticus in dextra, sacrarium ad sinistra. (Hav. added in sinistrale before e diverso.)

37.6 e diverso: uide 6.20.


37.10 tutela: The tutelar deity of a place, uide P.W., s.v., closely linked, and frequently combined, with the idea of the genius.

37.10 geniorum: The guardian spirit of a person, uide P.W., s.v., and 34.24, later identified with the Lar and linked with fortune.


37.16 certe nihil est illic conditum: Dramatic irony.

37.17 nihil praeter sigilla: It seems surprising that Querulus does not know the location of his grandfather's (supposedly) buried ashes, in view of 6.4, Peregre uadens ornam domi sepeliit ac relicuit ante aras meas, tumulum suis mihi thesaurum commendauit. He should not have forgotten the existence of such an object of veneration. Forgetfulness is a very feeble excuse, 52.4, Quid de memet censes qui tam tarde agnouerim fragmenta urnae illius quam isandudum noueram?

37.18 solennitas: Late Lat. for a "festival", "celebration"; uide Heyl, s.v., with exx.; ex. Amm. Marc., XXIII.iii.7, Sacrorum solennitate prisco more completa.

37.18 religio: uide 33.9.

37.19 tecum omnes: This implies "all with, as well as, you", for the ceremony is to be conducted by "strangers", extraneos, 37.21, that is, Syeophanta and Sardanapallus, while members of Querulus' household are to be excluded.


37.21 religio: uide 33.9.

37.21 per extraneos: per with the accusative usually denotes the secondary agent, but it may replace (a or ab with) the ablative of primary agent or instrument; cf. 53.2, per illum; 54.16, Vel per seruum uel per extraneum; 57.7, per me; uide O.L.D., s.v. ("through the instrumentality or agency of"), with exx.
37.23 **sed**; The reading of **H.** The other MSS. read **si**. (Although **si** with a condition would make perfect sense as the conclusion of Mandrogerus' directions at 37.21, **quosnam** can only introduce a question. Canneg. suggested **quos iam**, but although **iam** and **nunc** frequently occur together in the **O.** uide the Index Verborum, they are never separated, as here by **possimum.** Naudet suggested **quosdam**; Klink., **quos non** or **quos nunc.**)

37.23 **optimum erat**; **uide 6.9.**

37.24 **opportum**; **uide 7.2.**

37.24 **operam nunc tibi dare**; **uide 28.17; of.** Plaut., Epid., 25 (quoted at 29.1).

37.25 **religionem**; **uide 33.9.**

37.26 **ubis operam praestabo meam**; **uide 28.17.**

37.27 **istinc**; **uide 3.12.**

37.27 **sed si ita facto opus est fiat**; **of.** Ter., Haest., 359; Scilicet/Facturum esse, in eum iam res redit locum/Vt sit necessus.

37.29 **inhumanum est uotis operam denegare**; **uide 28.17.**


37.21 **mene quasi ex consilio nunc solum fore**; For the accusative and infinitive in exclamations, **uide K.&S., I, pp.719sqq.,** with **exx.** and bibliog. This use of an accusative and infinitive interrogatively without a principal verb expresses strong indignation. The speaker contemplates the fact described by the accusative and infinitive and asks himself whether it is possible. **ex.** Verg., Aen., I.37, Mene incepto desistere victam.

38.1 **Pantomale**: (Gaiser, **uide the intro. section on Sources**, suggested that Querolus' unmotivated orders to Pantomalus to fetch Arbiter originated in those of Demeas to Daos to fetch Cleinias in (his interpretation of the plot of) the Strobilos Comedy.)
38.1 peruola: (Dez. compared Aus., Ep., XI.36, Peruola/Cum scrinio et musis tuis; XXV.44, Haec fare cursim nec moretus peruola.)

38.2 reperegis: Ellipse of direct object (cum, which Klink. added before iam).


38.4 colloca: Compound for simple verb, meaning simply "place, put", rather than "hire out"; uide Banstr., Q.Stud., p.113; T.L.L., s.v., meaning locare (III.1643.80sq.), with exx. (Grut. suggested loca.)

38.5 fatum: The reading of H and V2. The other MSS. read factum.

38.5 fatum ac decretum: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

38.5 momentis regi: H reads regi, the other MSS. rei. All the MSS. read momentis; Pith. suggested momentis. In view of 38.7, some reference to time may be appropriate. A momentum in astrology is a point of time. H's momentis regi would mean an "admonitory king"; momentis rei, in the other MSS., "admonitory circumstances". Peip. suggested momentis rei, meaning "the ever-moving succession of events". Herrm. suggested momentis dei, an "admonitory deity".

38.7 symastria: Greek συναστρία, a substantive in apposition to hora, rather than an adjective, in which form it is unknown. It means a "favourable conjunction of the stars", uide DuC., s.v.; L.&S. (Gk.), s.v.; Souter, s.v.; with exx.; cf. gloss in P2 B2, constellationaria.

38.7 placet: (R reads placet, probably mistaking istaec, feminine singular, for neuter plural.)

38.7 nisi...uenimus: A double meaning: for Querolus, the lustration would not be performed; for the three conspirators, someone or something might interrupt their project.

38.9 intus: uide 23.12.

38.10 quod: For quid; uide Bonnet, pp.298sqq.; Løfstedt (1933), II, pp.77sqq. (ch. 5, "Zum Gebrauch von Quis und Qui"); with exx. and biblio.; cf. also alciui for aliquis, 34.21 (and quid for quod, 29.4).
38.10 exsiderat: uide 8.17.

38.11 arcula inanis: cf. Vitalis of Blois, Avl., 647, Sardana, mi Querole, fac istis arca parcetur/Si non est uaeua max uacetur, sit./ Immo omnes, inquit, nisi forte quod aere plenum est/Esse negas uaeum plenaque cuncta putes. (Gaiser compared Pap. Heidelberg, G. 406, frag. 9.1, συμφάηα, and B.M. (B.L.), Pap. Hibeh, 5, frag. 1.a, συμφάηα, a basket being used for a similar purpose, according to him, in the Strobilos Comedy; uide the intro. section on Sources.)

38.12 non una quidem: Litotes.

38.13 lustrum: A "purificatory sacrifice", "expiatory offering", originally that made by the censors on behalf of the whole people once every five years, after completing the census, uide 14.1; cf. 43.16, Iam istinc ergo ministri nunc mei lustrum istud in fluuios dabunt; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

38.15 inclusa excludatur: Oxyronon; cf. Ter., And., 386, Vt ab illa excludar hoc concludar.

38.16 bonum faustum felixque: Dramatic irony; against his wishes, his prayers come true. cf. Plaut., Cas., 382, Quod bonum atque fortunatum sit mihi; 402, Quod bonum atque fortunatum mihi sit; Trin., 41, Bona fausta felix fortunataque eueniat; Ter., And., 956, O faustum et felicem hunc diem; Cic., Div. in Quint. Caec., I.xiv. 102, Quod bonum faustum felix fortunatique esset; Varro, De Ling. Lat., VI.86, Quod bonum fortunatum felix salutareque sit; Lucr., De Rer. Nat., I.100, Exitus ut classi felix faustusque daretur; Livy, I.xvii.10, Quod bonum faustum felixque sit; I.xxvii.7, Quod bonum faustum felixque sit; II.lxix.7, Vt illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant; III.xxxiv.2, Quod bonum faustum felixque; III. liv.3, Quod bonum faustum felixque sit; VIII.xxv.10, Quod bonum faustum felix; X.viii.11, Quod bonum faustum felixque sit; XXIV. xvi.9, Quod bonum faustum felixque; XXVI.viii.7, Felix faustumque imperium; XLII.xxx.10, Quod bonum faustum felixque; Suet., Aug., LVIII.2, Quod bonum, inquit, faustumque sit; Cal., XV.3, Quod bonum felixque sit; Ap., Met., II.6, Quod bonum felix et faustum
itaque licet; XI.29, Quod felix itaque ac faustum salutareque sit tibi; Firm. Mat., De Err., XX.6, Sit faustum felixque; Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Flav. Vopisc., Tac., IV.4, Quod bonum faustum salutareque sit; XVIII.2, Quod bonum faustum felix salutareque sit; C.I.L., VI.30975, Quod bonum faustum felixque sit; XII.4333, Quod bonum faustum felixque sit; XIV.2112, Quod faustum felix salutareque sit; Corp. Gloss. Lat., IV.314.36, Bonum faustum felixque, hoc est faustum quod felix; IV.593.48, Bonum faustum felixque, hoc est faustum quod felix; V.271.66, Bonum faustum felixque, hoc est faustum quod felix; Vitalis of Blois, Aul., 635, Omen in aede bonum, dixit, quern Gnatho secusus/Intonat exclamans, omen in aede bonum. (Gaiser compared B.M.(B.L.), Pap. Hibeh, 5, frag. a.1, xαλά.)

38.17 nos praesto sumus: cf. 62.1, nos praesto sumus.

38.18 Act III, Scene 1. Pantomalus' monologue.


38.20 meo: Ellipse of a noun with an adjective used substantively (domine).

18.21 periculosus: cf. 33.21, Non quidem periculosae haec animalia.

18.21 rancidus: uide Heyl, s.v., with exx., for the meaning "fastidious", "angry" or "annoying"; ex. Ap., Met., I.26, Eiasi aliquando rancidi senis loquax et famelicum convivium. (Cors. compared Ennod., Ep., III.11, Despicientes rancida potentum fastidia honorem uestrum.)

18.23 destrui: "Destroyed"; cf. 3.11, destruere et asserere; Dan.'s suggestion for the MSS. reading destitui, "forsaken" or "overlooked", which usually refers to people, "deserted" or "abandoned", rather than to things left undone; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex.
Quint. Curt., III.xiii.11, Vehicula quaque a suis deserta. (Peip. suggested desert tui and Wagner desert ei, meaning "lacking to you/one" or "to him").

38.23 uideat: PB read uiderit, which would match fuerit, 38.22, but uideat matches iniciat, 38.24.

38.23 quam male: cf. 39.26, quam cito; 40.22, Quam sceleratus est homo; uide Hofmann (1926), p.65, with exx., for the frequency of exclamations in colloquial Lat., including quam with an adjective or adverb.


38.24 festinatio nostra ut solet: Parenthesis.


39.1 percolent: uide 15.3.

39.1 confringentur: cf. Plaut., Stich., 325, Quisnam obsacro has frangit fores?/Eam gratia fores efringis?

39.2 omnia ad se recocat, omnia requirit: Anaphora.

39.3 expensas autem rationesque: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

39.3 expensas: Ellipse of a noun with a perfect passive participle used substantively (pecunias). cf. 42.7, Quis enim tantam expensam tantamque impunitatem praestare possit libero. uide Heyl, s.v., with exx., for expense used as a substantive meaning "expenses" in Late Lat.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning pecunia, summa (V.ii.1645.23sqq.), with exx.

39.3 autem: autem is used to mark the various points Pantomalus makes in his monologue; cf. 39.5,5,7,15,22,25, 40.8,14,22,23, 41.9,13,14,18,20, 42.5.


39.4 postulat: Ellipse of id, antecedent to quidquid.
39.5 _antelucandum_: The verb _antelucare_ is unattested elsewhere, _uide_ Souter, s.v., but the meaning is clear; cf. gloss in P2 B2, Id est _ante lucem surgendum_; and _antelucanus_, 18.10.

39.6 _somno_: _uide_ 13.23.

39.6 _indulcens_: _uide_ 3.7.

39.6 _hinc_: _uide_ 3.12.

39.7 _iurgium_: (Herrm. compared Av., Fab., I.14, _Iurgia nutritia cum mihi uerba darent_; IV.2, _Iurgia cum magno conservare Ioue_.)

39.7 _summa_: _uide_ 13.23.

39.7 _merum_: H reads either _merum_ or _metum_. The other MSS. read _metum_. Thomas suggested _merum_. The reference should be to wine, not fear, as the slaves have so far showed no sign of being afraid of their masters; _uide_ Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.124. For _Inter somnum et merum_, cf. 39.6, _Primum uino dein somno indulcens_; the slaves have been drinking too much and fallen asleep. (Dan. suggested _motum_, which could possibly refer to their (com)motion on waking up, but probably not, as Klink. suggested, to their departure, which meaning only occurs in Verg., _Aen._, IV.297, _At regina dolos, quis fallere possit amantem_/ _Praesentit, motusque expectit prima futuris_, and Luc., _De Bell. Civ._, IV.734, _Ipse sub aurorae primos expedere motus_; _uide_ Georges, s.v. Dan. also suggested _temetum_, which would also refer to wine, the _te_ possibly lost by haplography in the previous _et_.)

39.8 _turba_: _uide_ 7.15.

39.8 _turba trepida_: (H reads _turbata et trepida_, which would describe _perquisitio_, but each of the other nouns at this point is described by only one adjective.)

39.8 _perquisitio_: _uide_ Duc., s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; Souter, s.v.; with _exx._, meaning "investigation", "(re)search".
39.9 juncturae: Post-Class. for the "harnessing", "trappings", of an animal; uide T.L.L., s.v., de ipso juco uel frenie (VII.i.651.75seq.), with exx.; ex. Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Jul. Capit., Ver., V.4, Data et ueshicula cum mulabus et multionibus cum juneturias argenteis.

39.9 nec: uide 8.6.

39.9 res: Klink.'s suggestion for the MSS.' rei, a mistake caused, perhaps, by the influence of huo; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.124seq.

39.10 aliud fuit sit: cf. 52.13, Aut quid fieri aliud potest; 59.20, Quid aliud autem in causa est. B reads aliud fit, A aliud fuit fit. Numerous emendations have been suggested. The context clearly opposes the actions of reasonable people in a similar situation to those of the unreasonable Querolus. When such difficulties occur to people other than Querolus, they are easily overcome with a little patience and delay. Ranstr. suggested alii id fuit sic, uide Q.Stud., pp.124sqq., pointing out that alii and id could very easily be written together in the MSS. to produce aliid or aliid or aliud or aluid or aluid or aluad. He argued that alii would mean "to another", although this is elsewhere in the Q. (four times) expressed by alteri. He cited statistics from Plaut., Ter., Apul., and Boeth., to support this interchange of alii for alteri. id occurs four times in the Q., once in the formulaic id est. esse with an adverbial complement is common in Late and colloqu. Lat., frequently followed by a dative of advantage; uide the exx. and bibliog. in Ranstr., loc. cit.; Hofmann (1926), p.166; L.H.S., II.i.2, p.414; exx. id with ita in Plaut., Men., 460, Si id ita esset; illi with ita in Plaut., Asin., 870, Ego istuc scio, / Ita fore illi. esse with sic occurs in the Q. at 25.17, utrumque sic est; 26.10, sic sunt omnia; cf. ita, 37.7, ita sunt omnia.

Ranstr. further pointed out that the expression of the same concept in a short space by a collection of terms such as res, id, totum,
istum, is totally in keeping with the pleonastic tendencies of the author, cf. ex. 18.1,2, rem, istud, hoc. He also gave exx. of the confusion between o (sic) and t (sit), exx. 6.23, 29.13, et cum for ecum. Cors., also noting this confusion, suggested aliu d fuit sic. (Hav. suggested reading culpae for culpa and sit et for sit, punctuating before culpae and after fuit, so understanding aliu d fuit with culpae and sit et with paulisper...mora. He also suggested aliu d alio fuit (cf. 39.12, aliu d ex alio), presuming alio to have been lost by haplography with aliu d. The suggestions of Klink., iter autem quando alius facit, Peip., quando autem alius facit iter, and Herrm., quando autem alius facit sic iter, introduce the emendation iter facit. Pargues, in his review of Herrm.'s ed., showed, with exx. from Verg., that Herrm.'s addition of sic, from sit, to the conjecture of Klink. and Peip., alius facit iter, in order to prevent the cacophony of a double it in iter and facit, is unnecessarily perfectionist.)


39.11 mora: uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.126. The seven-syllable iambo-trochaic clausula shows mora to be ablative. (Klink. added et before mora to link it with patientia, but this is probably nominative, the subject of emendat.)

39.12 causam ex causa quaerit aliu d ex alio ligat: Polyptoton.

39.12 aliu d ex alio ligat: cf. 39.22, aliu d alio; Quint., Inst. Or., Xii.26, vt aliu d ex alio haeret; Cic., De Fin., III.xxii.74, Quid non sic aliu d ex alio nectitur; De Leg., I.xix.52, Atque ut ex alio alia nectatur.

39.12 ligat: (Canneg. suggested litigat, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.127, for exx. of similar constructions with religare and nectere.)

39.13 mouere: (Ritt. suggested the passive moueri. The active would not, however, involve Querolus moving the cart himself, doubtless he would have a slave to do it for him.)
39.13 continuo clamat: (uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.127. The suggestions of Peip., continuo conclamat, Herrm., continuo clamat, and Klink., clamatque continuo, are unnecessary.)


39.18 ultrō citroque: uide Heyl, s.v.; Otto, s.v. ultrō, p.354, no. 1814; cf. Donat. ad Ter., Bon., 1059 (quoted at 22.5); Prisc., Inst. Gramm., XV.15, Ac cist citro unde ultrō citroque. Cicero pro Roscio...; Cic., Pro Rosc. Am., XXII.60, Postea homines cursare ultrō et citro non destiterunt; Corp. Gloss. Lat., II.293.35, Vltro citroque ultrō; V.43.3, Vltro citroque huc atque illuc citro ad nos ultrō illuc; Claud. Mam., De Statu An., II.iii.6, Dextra et laeua sursum ac deorsum ultrō et citro sunt.

39.19 atque; uide 3.8.

39.19 cognoscatis; uide 5.11.

39.20 ad praescriptum; cf. 61.14, ad legem; for ad meaning secundum, uide T.L.L., s.v. (I.549.69sqq.), with exx.

39.22 aliud alioc Polyptoton; cf. 39.12, aliud ex alioc.

39.22 quidquid libet aliud alioc fuerit tempore; cf. 44.24, Quidquid libet narres; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.128.

39.23 redituri sumus; uide 5.1.

39.26 *agnoscit* uide 5.11.

39.26 *quam cito* uide 38.23.

40.1 *primo conspectu uident*: After *uidet* the MSS. add falli se prorsus non uult necque circumueniri ut solent, which was deleted by Klink. as a repetition of 39.24, falli se se non uult necque decipiri.

40.2 *aut seruire aut obseu*: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

40.3 *calidam fumosam*: Ellipse of a noun (*aquam*) with an adjective (*calidam*) used substantively. The most obvious meaning for this feminine singular adjective is "hot water"; *uide T.I.L., s.v. calida* meaning *aqua* (III.151.75 sqq.), with *exx.* Dan. supposed that *fumosam* refers to "steaming", i.e. too hot, (drinking) water. As Dan. suggested, this would be a typically impossible demand from Querolus, since it is hardly possible to prevent hot water from steaming. But although *fumus* can mean "steam" as well as "smoke" (*exx.* Verg., Georg., II.217, Quae tenuem exhalet nebula fumosque uolucre; Vitruv., VIII.viii.2, Et is, qui ex his ab ignis uapore fumus suscitatur cum resedit in solum furni, inuentur esse argentum uium; Ovid, Met., I.571, Deiectuque graui tenues acitantia fumos/Nubila conduit), *fumosus* is only used in this way here and in Donat. ad Verg., Aen., VII.465, Et furore quodam aeuuans una mensura specie qua continetur excedit et longius erecta fumosis tumebus furtur, according to the *T.I.L., s.v., de aqua caelefacta* (VI.i.1540.20 sqq.). Par. suggested that the water tasted of smoke, from the wood smoke by which it was heated. So Hav.'s trans. "d'eau chaude qui sente la fumée", and Herrm. "d'eau chaude fumeuse". The word can mean "smelling of smoke" (*exx.* Pliny, Nat. Hist., XVIII.xxxi.74, 318, Hoc et defrutum coquendi si ligno contingatur us aedutum et fumosum fieri putant). Wine was mellowed in the smoke. (*exx.* Mart., XIV.cxxiii, Massiliae fumos miscere nuiabum undis/Paroe puerc. constet ne tibi plus aqua, fumi Massiliae being Marselles wine; Tib., II.i.27, Nunc mihi fumosos ueteris profertae Falernos/Consulis et Chio soluitae uinola...
mocado, [Fumi] Falerni being Falernian wine.) The wine was kept in the smoke-chamber, fumarium, a warm, smoky attic room, to mature. Gaiser suggested heated (mulled) wine. However, the feminine singular calidam must refer to aqua, not uinum. (Br. suggested calidarium, a water cauldron ("kettle", "sausage"), vide T.L.L., s.v., meaning uas coquinariaum (III.151.12sqq.), with exx. (exx. Gloss. Scal., V.597.50, aenulum calidarium; V.616.43, Creaes sunt fuscinae ad carnes ex calidariis efferendas; Dacher., Instr., II.3, Creaes in paralipomena fuscinae ad carnes de calidariis preferendas Graecum est.) A sooty and smoke-blackened vessel would fit in with the following list of greasy pots, cracked jugs, etc. Grut. suggested patinam from R2's gloss, patenam, a "dish" or "pan", here a wine jar, grimy from exposure to smoke.)

40.3 calices unguentatos: The wine cups are smeared with greasy finger marks; cf. Hor., Sat., II.iv.78, Magna mouet stomacho festidia seu puer unctis/Tractaut calicem manibus dum furta ligurrit./Sua grauis ueteri oraterae limus adhaesit. (Hav. suggested the addition of manu or manibus after unguentatos.) (Cors. also compared Hor., Sat., II.ii.68, Nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam/Cornuius praebet acuam uitium hoc quoque magnum.) (cf. also Boileau, Sat., III, (des verres) "Où les doigts des laquis, dans la crasse tracés,/Témoinaient par écrit qu'on les avait rincés").

40.4 urceolum contusum et infractum: A small urceus, a little pitcher or water jug, battered or dented, and broken.

40.4 oenophorum exauriculatum et sordidum: A wine vessel, Greek olvosφoc, with its handles broken, and dirty. Souter, s.v., and the T.L.L., s.v., meaning ansas fractas habentem (V.ii.1194.14sqq.), only know exauriculatum from this passage. (Gaiser compared Alexis, frag. 270 (ed. Kock, Com. Att. Frag.), ζη τα συντελεσµίνων.)

40.5 ampullam truncam limosamque densam sultan cerulis: A small amphora, truncated (probably with its neck broken), and muddy or
dirty. For limosamque Dan. suggested rimosamque, "full of cracks", perhaps to be understood with the following phrase, i.e. the cracks plugged with thick wax, and this is preferred by the T.L.L. (V.ii.1194,14 sq.). Other suggestions for the meaning of fultam are "smeared", "covered", or "filled". The literal meaning, "supported on", might indicate that the bottom was covered with thick wax. (Peip. suggested denstic, "kneaded", for densis.)

40.6 bilem: Bile; either choler (yellow bile) or melancholy (black bile). P2 glosses, Id est amaritudinem fallis.

40.8 uinum...lymphis: (For the combination of wine and water, Bacchus or Liber and Fons or the Nymphs, Gaiser compared Plaut., Stich., 699, Vitrum fontine an Libero/Imperium te inhibere mauig; Men., Dysk., 946, άλλος δὲ κεραίων έπιευα γέροντα πολιον ήπ/ξυλίνε κόλλον είς κάτος, μεγαθός τε νάμα Κόμψων; Plato, Laws, VI.773, οδ γάρ μονον εννοείν δι' πόλιν είναι δει δόκην κρατήρος κεκραμένην, οδ μανεμένος μὲν οίνος εγκεκριμένος ειτ, κολαζέμενος δε όπό νήσενος έτερου θεού καλήν κοινωνίαν λαβών αγαθόν πώμα και μέτριον ἀνεργίζεται.)

40.9 uinum uine: Polyptoton.


40.9 adulterium: A metaphor on the theme of adultery.

40.10 lacoena: A wine bottle, vide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

40.10 castrata: A metaphor on the theme of castration; vide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning privata (III.547,55 seq.); for exx. of the metaphorical use; a vulgar figure, according to Cic., De Or., III.xli.164, Nolo dico morte Africani castratem esse rempublicam... quamuis sit simile tamen est in utroque deformis cogitatio similitudinis.

40.10 suco: With uete re and nulo, meaning uino, as P2 P2 gloss. (Ritt. suggested sacco, referring to the straining or filtering of wine through a bag or sack, vide T.L.L., loc. cit., presuming this
passage of the Q. to have this sense; cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist., XIV. 138, Quin immo ut plus cabiamus sacco frangimus uires; XIX. 53, Inueterari uina saccisque castrari; XXIII. 45, Vtilissimum omnibus sacco uiribus fractis; Plut., Quaest. Coniur., VI. 7, a discussion as to whether it is right to strain wine.)

40.11 crimen; cf. 10.18, Attat etiam hoc crimen non est.

40.11 ut est nequitia; Parenthesis.

40.12 pauxillum argenti; "A little silver", perhaps referring to the tiny coins of the Late Empire, and silver, as opposed to the gold solidi of 40.15. cf. Plaut., Aul., 112, Fauxillum parui facere quin nummum petet; Theophrastus, Charac., IV (vide the intro. section on Characters), 11, καὶ τὸ ἄργυρον ὑπὶ παρὰ τοῦ λαμβάνων ἀποδοξμάζειν, λαν λέγων μολυθρόν εἶναι.

40.12 †pauxibus tensum tympanis; limari refers to the filing down of coins. tensum means "stretched". Millenbach suggested that tendere here means ferire, "to stamp a coin", although this sense seems unattested elsewhere. Wernae. suggested tuncum, meaning percussum or excussum, "beaten (out)". For tympanis, Greek τύμπανον, vide Forcellini, s.v.; Georges, s.v.; Heyl, s.v. tensum; L.&S. (Gk.&Lat.), s.v.; Souter, s.v. P2 glosses it as follis. The known meanings of tympanum are: a "drum", "tambourine", or similar musical instrument; the "triangle" of a pediment, or "panel" or "leaf" of a door; the "covering" of a cart or wagon; a round, concave, "bowl" or "plate" ("mess tin"); part of a flour mill, or of a wine or oil press; a solid wooden "wheel" or "roller"; a large "wheel" in a crane for raising weights, ex. in the docks for unloading ships, or in a ram or pile-driver; a "drum" or "wheel" in a machine such as a water organ or a water clock; a "drum stick", "stick" or "cudgel". Orelli suggested that the phrase refers to thin leaves or plates of metal, probably silver, perhaps coins, or the moulds for coins, or the die with which coins are stamped; although the coins themselves may already have been
mentioned in *pauxillum argenti*. Thomas, in *Festschrift Frederico*, p.40, suggested that coins or light disks, *leuibus tympanis*, of base metal, were covered, *tensum*, with a thin coating of silver, *pauxillum argenti*. The meaning would seem to be that a small amount of silver has been either stretched out into thin disks or beaten out with rollers, to form coins, which are subsequently filed down.


40.15 *nam...praestigia. mutare...potest*; Klink. reversed the order of these two sentences in the text, so as to understand that it is easy to alter gold, but not silver. The MSS. order may, however, be retained, understanding *hoc* to refer to "this fact" which "cannot be changed". For *hoc* meaning "this thing", *cf. ex.* 14.14, *Non enim hoc parua hereditas.* (P2 glosses *hoc* with *argentum*.)

40.15 *solidis; uide* 24.13.

40.15 *praestigia; uide* 8.20.

40.15 *mutare multa*; The reading of PP. The other MSS. read *mutare remuta*, which mistake would seem to be due to an incorrect separation of the words. A contrast is drawn between *mutare multa* and *mutari non potest*. *Mutare*, of money, may mean "to counterfeit"; *uide* P.W., *s.v.* *Mmza*, with refs. and bibliog., for forgery, including silver-plating and the adulterating of gold and silver, later imitations of the tiny coins, and the differentiation between solidi of different issues but legally the same value, with the appropriate punishments. (Johnston suggested that *mutare* means "to pass money not regarded as legal tender", although this meaning is not attested elsewhere. On the subject of falsification of money, Dez. (1876), p.93, n.1, referred to *Aue*., *Ex.* 4, to Theon, including a reference to counterfeit money.)
40.16 *et*: *et* is used with disjunctive force in Late Lat.; *uide* Bonnet, p. 315; Hofmann (1925), p. 114; *L.H.S.*, III.11.2, p. 502; Löffstätter (1911), pp. 197 sqq.; (1959), p. 21; Svennung (1935), p. 495; Tidner (1922), pp. 34 sqq.; with *exx.* and *bibl.* For other *exx.* of *et* for *set*, *sed* or *et*, *uide* 32.10. For the connective use of *et*, *uide* 7.1.

40.17 *formulas*: Either a "mould", or a "model", "copy", anything made in a mould; also a "shape", "image", "outline", "form", "structure", "pattern", "type"; *uide* Souter, *s.v.*; *T.l.L.*, *s.v.* (VI.1.111, 111 sqq.), explaining its meaning here as *nummos formatos*, referring to *exx.* of *forma* with this meaning; *uide* O.L.B., *s.v.* *forma*, with *exx.* meaning "the impression stamped on a coin (in some cases perhaps - a die used to stamp coins)", "a mould for casting metal"; *T.I.L.*, *s.v.* *forma, de numorum formatorum generibus* (VI.1.1082.51 sqq.), with *exx.* (For *forma* as a coin die, *uide* A. Burnett, "Catalogues, Coins and Mints", in *J.R.S.* LXVIII (1978) pp. 173-178, p. 177; cf. *Ulp., Dig.*, LXVIII.22.8, *Qui*, cum in moneta publica operarentur, extrinsecus sibi signant pecuniam forma publica, uel signatam furantur, hi non uidentur adulterinam monetam exercuisse, sed furtum publicae monetae fecisse.)

40.17 *solidus solidos*: Polyptoton.

40.18 *auro*: Gold is (semi-)personified. (For the comparison of men with money, coins, *gold*, cf. *Theog.*, I.119, χρυσος κιβόδιλοι καὶ δρυγῶν ἀναχετὸς ἡτησ/κόρνε, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν ἤδιον ἀνδρὸν σοφή/εἰ δὲ φίλων νόσος ἀνδρὸς ἐκεί στηθέσσι λεληθή/ψυρῆς ἐκα, ὁδιον ὄξπιν φρεσίν ἑκορ ἔχερο/τούτο ἁθές κυβόδιλτατον πολησε βροτοῖσιν/, καὶ γνώναι πάντων τούτου ενηπρότατον, ὁδ γὰρ ἐν εἷλετης ἀνδρός νόσον οὐδὲ γυναικὰ/πρίν κειρθεώς ὅσπερ ὑπογυγου ὀ/οβε ἱεν εἰκάσασις ὅσπερ ποτ' ἐς βριον ἠλώνον/πολλάκι τάρ γὰρ γνώμην ἐξαπατῶν' ἱδεῖν; *Eurip., Med.*, 516, ὁ Ζεύς, τε δὲ χρυσοῦ μὲν δὲ κιβόδιλος ἄ/τεκμηρί/ἀνθρώποισιν ὅπασας σαφῆ/ἀνδρῶν ὄξπιν χρὴ τὸν καθὸν ὀλεθνεῖν/, οὐδὲς χαρακτῆρ ἐμπλέχοισα οἰματι; *Arist.*, *Plut.*, 862, ξοίκε δὲ εἰλναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος 957, ὅτι ἐστ' ἐκείνου τοῦ
40.18 ultus: The details enumerated are equally applicable to gold and to men. B and V originally, read ultus. The other MSS. read ultus. Elsewhere in the Q, ultus is used (at 20.16, 29.14, and 39.26, where L2 corrects to ultus). ultus is the "face", metaphorically the "look" or "appearance" of things. (Klink suggested that this could refer to the emperor's portrait head on coins.)

40.18 setas: The "age" of people or things.

40.18 color: The "colour" of things or the "complexion" of people.

40.18 nobilitas: The "rank" of people and "excellence" of things.

40.18 litteratura: "Literature", "education", "culture", and, here, the "inscription" on coins, as V glosses, superscriptionis.

40.19 patria: The "nationality" of a person, "origin" of a coin.

40.19 gravitas: The "weight" of a coin, "gravity" of a person.

40.19 scriptulos: RB read scripulos. Various spellings of the word for a "scruple", scrupulum/s (1/24 of an uncia) were current in
Late Lat.; *uide DuC.*, s.v.; Georges, s.v.; Souter, s.v.; with *exx.*; the masculine being rarer than the neuter. The spelling here shows its imaginary derivation from *scriptum*. Here it refers to the weight of a coin or "scruples", "doubts", in a person.

40.19 *quaeritur*: A multiple subject with a singular predicate is usual in Class. Lat. with things as the subject, and the predicate agrees with the nearest noun. With persons as the subject a plural predicate is the norm. *uide K.&S.*, I, pp.44sq., with *exx.* and biblio.

40.20 *totum*: *uide* 9.2.

40.21 *mali perdunt bonos*: (Gaiser compared Men., *Thais*, frag. 187 (K. and Th.), ἕθεξυσσυν ἡν χρησὶν ὑμιλαί κακαί; Vulg., IV Cor., XIV.33, *Corrumpunt more bonos colloquia mala.*)

40.22 *Arbiter*: *uide* the intro. section on *Characters*.

40.22 *quam*: *uide* 38.23.


40.23 *inverso hercle modio*: The *modio* is the measure of his slaves' rations, the Roman measure of dry capacity of about a peck (two gallons). The vessel itself was cylindrical; *uide* P.W., s.v. *Ranstr.*, *uide* *O.Stud.*, p.128, supposed the meaning here to be "turned round", that is, upside down, so that by merely filling the curved indentation in the bottom of the vessel it would appear to be full up, showing the drastic character of Arbiter's greed. Klink* supposed it to mean "turned inside out", which would seem to be impossible. (Gaiser compared Juv., *Sat.*, XIV.126, *Servorumuentres modio castigat iniquo/ipsae quoque emurient.*) cf. Theophrastus, *Charac.*, XXX (uide the intro. section on *Characters*), 11, καὶ τὰ τούλιτα φείδων ἐκ τῶν πάνδακα ἐλεξεχρουμένη μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τὸις ἐνοῦν σφόδρα ὡς ἀποφῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια; Pherecrares, frag. 105 (ed. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*), λαβοῦσα μὲν τῆς χολυκύνος τῶν πάνδακ' ελεξεχρουσεν.
41.1 *captaret*: The reading of H. The other MSS. read *liceret*. P repeats *silicetet*; R2 corrects to *eliceret*. (Ranst., uide Q. Stud., p.128, accepted *eliceret*, giving a play on words with *liceret*. The initial *e* he presumed lost by haplography with the final *e* of *turpe.*)

41.2 *casu uel consultu*: An alliterative word pair.

41.2 *inuicem*: uide Heyl, s.v.; Johnston, s.v.; Thielmann, in A.L.L., VII, pp.362sqq.; with exx.; for the use of *inuicem* with the reflexive to express reciprocity, *inuicem* as replacing *inter se* in Late Lat.; ex. pseudo–Quint., Decl., I, erg., Accusant as *inuicem* caecus et nouerca.

41.3 *si necesse est*: Verbal ellipse. (Herrm. added *eligere* after *est.*) The *si* clause is probably parenthetic to the *ut* clause; uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.129. The *ut* clause could possibly be dependent on the *si* clause; cf. 10.3, Si criminogum me esse conuiceris necesse est meritis ut meis sensum accommodem. For a reverse order of clauses, with a subordinate clause; a subordinate clause governing the previous subordinate clause; and a Main Clause governing the last subordinate clause; uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.734; Nägeisbach, pp.639sqq. ("Ein Hauptsatz mit zwei Nebensätzen verschiedener Graden"); with exx. and bibliog.

41.3 *meum*: Ellipse of a noun with an adjective used substantively (dominum). A change of attitude from 38.20, *Mibil esse deterius meo.

41.3 *adhuo*: uide 15.5.

41.4 *ille noster*: *ille noster* is used to refer to the dominus here and at 45.17; *ille uester* at 45.6; *ille meus* at 42.9, 42.13.

41.4 *auarus in suo*: For *in* meaning aduersus, "towards" (a person), uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Cic., De Or., II.xl.163, Si fereae partus suos diligunt, qua in liberos nostros indulgentia esse debemus.

41.4 *solum illud est quod*: uide 32.9.
41.6 deus: uide 6.11.

41.7 et: (Herrm. suggested set, but the adversative here is given by tamen. For et for set, sed or at, uide 32.10.) For Pantomalus' portrayal of the slaves' life, uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Social History; cf. Plaut., Stich., Act V, Scenes 4, 5, 6, 7.

41.8 somulento...somniculamur: Figura etymologica. For somulentus, "sleepy", uide Heyl, s.v., with exc. (PM read somulentus, showing the confusion of o for u.) somniculari, "to be sleepy", does not seem to occur elsewhere.

41.9 de die...noctibus: cf. 23.2 de die...nocte.


41.10 somni: uide 13.23. All the MSS. read omni. Thomas suggested somni. The initial s of somni must have been lost by haplography with the final s of horis. omni uigilat tempore would contradict the previous diurnis quiescit horis. The emendation somni tempore contrasts with diurnis horis, while uigilat opposes quiescit.

41.11 quauamus: uide 15.3.

41.14 luminis autem uel splendoris: Partitive genitive with illud, "what light there is". A word pair of virtual synonyms.

41.15 subornatur: "Adorns"; not used elsewhere of light, uide the lexica, s.v.

41.15 quod...quod: Double ellipse of antecedent id.

41.15 publicet: For publicare meaning "to make known, make public, publish, reveal, disclose", uide L.& S. (Lat.), s.v., with exc.; ex. Justin., I.vii.15, Non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia, nisi etiam matrimonii reticenda publicaret, prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset.

41.16 quam: Ellipse of antecedent eam.

41.17 capillorum: (Cors. suggested papillarum.)
41.17 volumina: The word is not otherwise used of hair, but its root verb, uolue, is; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Juv., Sat., VI.495, Altera laeum/Extendit nectitque comas et uoluit in orbes.

41.17 adsideo amplerous foueo foueo: The deponent amplexi could have a passive rather than an active meaning here, matching foueo. Two pairs of verbs, active passive active passive, would give better stylistic balance than three actives and one passive. For the passive meaning, uide T.L.L., s.v. (I.989.33sq.), with exx.; exx. Petr., Sat., frag. 5, Animam nostro amplexam recte: Diom., Gramm. (ed. Keil, Gramm. Lat., I.479.15), Demophon, dictus a duabus longis, a cuibus utrimque media breuis amplexititur.

41.18 illud: Ellipse of est.

41.19 zealotypa: Greek, ζηλότυπος, "jealous", uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. of. Plaut., Stich., 726, En tibi hoc primum omnium,/Haec facetia est, amare inter se riaales duos,/Vno cantharo potare, unum scortum ducere;/Hoc memorabile est, ego tu sum, tu es ego, uniamini sumus,/Vnam amicam amamus ambo, necum ubi est, tecum est tamen,/
Tecum ubi autem est necum ibi autem est, neuter neutri inuidet.

41.19 furta: The plural is used especially of illicit love affairs, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

41.20 mutuum: of. Ter., Ad., 804, Communia esse amicorum inter se omnia.

41.21 coniugatio: (uide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. (IV.323.9sq.); with exx.; giving the meaning coniunctio, copulatio, here; ex. Arnob., Adv. Gent./Nat., II.16, Et nos corporum coniugationibus nascimur. This meaning is unnecessary here. The slaves and slave-girls have no dealings with their masters, they only associate with each other. Herrm. suggested coniuratio.)

42.2 quanti: uide 10.5.

42.2 ingenui: For the idea of the slave's lot in life being preferable to that of a free man, of. Hor., Sat., II.7, where
Davus proves himself to be happier than his master (Horace), who is never content with his lot, but would not want to change it were he given the chance.

42.3 *numquam tibi bene Querole:* Ellipse of *est.* H adds *bene,* omitted by the other MSS. (Acceptance of H's *bene* and punctuation after *Querole* renders unnecessary the emendation of *numquam* to fit the syntax of the following sentence.)

42.4 *exercemus:* The reading of H. This gives a finite verb after *cum,* instead of the infinitive, *exercere,* of the other MSS.

42.4 *sunt lites aut tributum:* The reading of H. The hyperarchetype of the other MSS. omitted *sunt lites.* The remaining *sunt tributum* made no sense alone, so RPB changed *sunt* to *autem,* giving *tu autem,* perhaps influenced by *nobis autem,* 42.5.

42.5 *nobis autem:* Ellipse of *sunt* with the possessive dative.

42.5 *nuptiae natales ioca debacchationes ancilarum feriae:* cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 446, *Id ne nos miremini homines servulos/Potare, amare atque ad cenam conducere; Licet haec Athenis nobis.*

42.5 *debacchationes:* uide 13.12.

42.6 *propter hooc non omnes fuge serui, propter hooc quidam nec manumitti volunt:* All the MSS. except H omit the first clause, an omission probably caused by the anaphora.

42.6 *nec:* uide 8.6.

42.7 *expensam:* uide 39.3.

42.7 *praestare:* For *praestare* meaning *dare,* uide 15.11.

42.8 *meus ille:* uide 41.4.

42.8 *clamuit:* Pantomalus has just heard, or imagines that he has just heard, his master's voice. (Dan. suggested *clamabit,* from a confusion of *u* for *h,* meaning that Pantomalus was expecting to hear it any minute.) H reads *clamat.* cf. Plaut., *Aul.* 37, *Sed hie senex iam clamat intus ut solet.*
42.9 fas erat: uide 6.9.

42.9 id est ut ad sodales pergerem: cf. 38.3, Vade iam nunc et cauponibus tete hodie colloca. Both Querolus' and Pantomalus' words are sarcastic.

42.10 accipienda et mussitanda injuria est: cf. Ter., Ad., 207, Accipienda et mussitanda injuria adulescentium est.

42.11 libuerit: (This refers to the masters, not the gods, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.129. Hav. suggested the addition of diis or deo after quandiu.)

42.12 dii: uide 24.21.

42.12 indulgendum: uide 3.7.

42.12 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

42.13 <sit>: Ranstr., uide Q.Stud., p.130, suggested that sit may have been lost by haplography with ut. Dan. suggested sit after nimis. (Sáss suggested fiat after ut; Hav. fiat after nimis. Hav. also suggested cupit after nimis; Klink. agat after nimis.)

42.13 meus: uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.129 seq. L, and originally V, read omnis. The corruption probably occurred from a mistaken abbreviation, omis for Ms. Peip. suggested dominus, diis. For meus ille referring to the master, uide 41.4.

42.13 ex: Late Empire magistracies included ex-consuls, ex-quæstors, etc., but these terms are otherwise unknown. The phrases probably refer to former occupations; uide T.L.L., s.v. (V.ii.1102.29sq.), with exx. of various positions (ex comitibus, ex cubiculariis, ex medico, ex monacho, ex negotiatores, ex praefectis, ex principibus).

42.13 ex municipiæ: For municipiæ, a "citizen of a borough", meaning curialis in Late Lat., a "town-councillor", such as a "decurion", uide Johnston, s.v.; Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning magistratus municipal, decuric, curialis (VIII.1646.58sqq.); with exx., especially from the Cod. Theod., and including this passage; exx. Cod. Theod., X.iii.5, Penes municipes collegiatores et corporatus
urbium singularum; Aus., Mos., 402, Quos curia summos/Municipum uidit proceres propriumque senatum.

42.13 ex togato: For togatus, uide 17.24.

42.14 ex officii princeps: "Chief of staff" or "head of department". In Late Lat. officium had the meaning of an "office" or "staff", and princeps that of "the head of a group of bureaux", uide Souter, s.v., from the 6th century; P.W., s.v. princeps, with exx. of princeps officii. (exx. Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Ael. Lamprid., Alex. Squ., XXXII.1, Neo magistri quidem aut principius officiorum; Helio. X.2, Vt ab omnibus officiorum principius sic haberetur quasi domini maritus esset; Sym., Rel., XXIII.10, Sum ad eius aedes semel atque iterum princeps officii commeasset; 11, Hoc ubi princeps officii comperit...cum princeps officii mel sub conspectu Romanae plebis auditur; 12, A principibus officii utriusque perducitur.

42.14 indulgentiam: uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning favo, gratia (VII.i. 1247 sqq.), with exx.; also the verb indulgere, 3.7. From the 4th century, indulgentia was a term for the remission of punishment, or of tax payment; uide Duc., s.v.; Souter, s.v.

42.15 abiecit: uide Heyl, s.v.; Johnston, s.v.; Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning contemptio, condicio humilis (I.92.43 sqq.); Wolflin, in A.L.L., IV, pp.288 seq.; with exx.; for the meaning "humble position". Wolflin also gave the meaning de magistratu uel imperio deposito uel deponendo; ex. Cassian, Collat., I.vi.3, Neo privatione omnium facultatum seu dignitatum abiectione contingit.

42.16 facit: cf. gloss in V3, Quod supra (i.e. pp.16 sqq.) Querolus postulabat ad gloriam et felicitatem id nunc ortat ei Pantomalus ad miseriam in sui ultionem. (Ranstr. suggested furit, uide Q.Stud., p.130; Cors. suggested cupit; Herrm. iacit; Miss facere fastidit.)

42.16 uiuat: The following accumulation of new and rare words, seven nouns with -tor suffixes, is heaped up to produce an effect of comic grandiloquence.
42.16 ambitus: uide Heyl, s.v., meaning is qui ambit; Souter, s.v., meaning "a candidate for office who canvasses"; T.L.L., s.v., accedente notione retendi (I.1857.34sqq.), with exx. (Caiser compared Salv. of Marseilles, De Cub. Dei, V.x.53, Tun praecipue illi nouorum honorum reliquis ambitores.) (Herrm., following the reading of Flor. Gall.n, arbiter, referred the following description to Arbiter, not to Querolus.)

42.16 togratus: uide 17.24.

42.16 conuiiatus: A host or guest, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

42.16 iudicium: uide 18.10, iudicis conuiium.

42.16 observer: In Late Lat. a 'watcher, observer'; uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning is qui observat (IX.201.41sqq.), with exx.; ex. Fliny, Paneg., 40, Nemo observer nem castigator assistet.

42.17 ianuorum: An "observer of doors" was traditionally a lover, but perhaps here he could be a client at a salutatic, uide 18.4.

42.17 seruulorum seruulus: The diminutive is also used at 36.24, 45.25. (Sass suggested that the phrase has a Biblical sound, like Canticum Cantiorum, the "Song of Songs", and uanitas uanitatum, the opening of Ecclesiastes; cf. seruus seruorum, Genesis, IX.25; uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee. cf. also Rutilius Namatianus' description of the Bagaudae on the Loire and their pacification by Emperorantius, De Red. Snc, I.216, Et seruos familis non sinit esse suis; uide the intro. section on Place of Composition.)

42.17 rimator: Late Lat. for an "investigator, searcher"; uide Souter, s.v., meaning a "searcher, explorer, rummager", with exx.

42.17 circumforanus: uide T.L.L., s.v. circumforan(s)us, meaning is qui circum fora proficiscatur (III.1146.35sqq.), with exx. (Ritt. suggested circumforenus.) cf. gloss in V3, Circumforanus est qui aduocationum causa circum fora conuentusque uagatur. (cf. Isid. of Seville, Etymol. siue Orig., X.44, Circumforanus qui aduocationum causa circum fora et conuentus uagatur.)
42.17 **circumspectator**: The masculine does not appear elsewhere, although the feminine form, *circumspectatrix*, occurs in Plautus and Apuleius; *uide* the lexica, *s.v.*, with *exx.*; *ex.* Plaut., *Aul. 41*, *Circumspectatrix cum oculis emissicis*. Souter, *s.v.*, gives the meaning here as "one who looks round (to catch something)".

42.18 **speculator**: *uide* Souter, *s.v.* Originally a military term for a "spy" or "scout", the meaning extended to any "searcher" or "explorer".

42.18 **spectator**: *uide* the lexica, *s.v.*, with *exx.* This is someone who strives to obtain something, *ex.* a "legacy-hunter".

42.20 **tubulisc**: *uide* 18.9.

43.1 **Act III, Scene 2**.

43.2 **deponem...pondus**: *cf.* 47.10, *Depone paulisper inane pondus*.

43.2 **satisfactum**: (Gaiser compared B.M. (B.L.), Pap. Hibe, 5, frag. b.11, *lixv...*)

43.3 **religionis**: *uide* 33.9.

43.4 **Mandrogerus**: Vocative, *uide* 24.7.

43.5 **religio**: *uide* 33.9.

43.8 **nescis nihil esse grauius fortuna mala**: *cf.* 60.6, *nescie, magus, nihil esse grauius fortuna mala*. (Gaiser compared B.M. (B.L.), Pap. Hibe, 5, frag. b.11, *sapne of ttc.*)


43.10 **diis**: *uide* 24.21.

43.10 **praeter spem uenit**: *cf.* *Ter.*, *And.*, 436, *praeter spem uenit*.

43.10 **uenit**: *uide* 3.18.

43.11 **purificatam**: Ellipse of *esse*, *cf.* 4.6, *Purificat et puram facit*. 
43.12 retineo: uide 10.9.

43.12 inclusimus: cf. 38.15, Vt inclusa excludatur calamitas.
(Hav. suggested exclusimus.)


43.15 istinc: The T.L.L., s.v., meaning deinceps, protinus (VII.i.517.36 seq.), with ex., takes istinc here to mean "immediately, straightaway"; uide also 3.12, for istinc meaning de hoc re; but here surely it simply means "thence, from there", i.e. from the house — to the river.

43.16 lustrum: uide 38.13.

43.16 in fluusios dabunt: cf. Luor., De Rer. Nat., VI.1170, In fluusios partim celidos ardentia morbo/Membra dabant. (For the place where the container is to be disposed of (43.16), or that whence the misfortune has been ousted (43.11), Gaiser compared Pap. Heidelberg, G.406, frag. 14.1, ποτ. and κόπνος.)


43.19 nec: For ne; uide Löffstedt (1942), I, p.339, with exx. (Ber. suggested ne.)


43.19 nec dixi sinant: cf. Plaut., Bacch., 468, Ne di sierint; Merc., 323, Ah ne di sierint; Pliny, Ep., II.i.i.3, Vel illud enim nec dixi sinant; Petr., Sat., CXII.7, Nec istud, inquit, di sinant; Quint. Curt., X.vi.20, Nec di sierint.
43.19 una sit illi istaeo et perpetua uia: cf. Cic., In Pis., XIV. 33, Vt omnes exsecrarentur male precarentur unam tibi illam uiam et perpetuam esse uellent; Turpil., Thrasyl., frag. 7, Age aee arredere atque istuc utinam perpetum itiner sit tibi.

43.20 istoc: For istoc for istud in early and late Lat., uide T.L.L., s.v. iste (VII.ii.495.74sqq.), with exx., including this passage.

43.21 universo hoc triduo: cf. Ter., Eun., 224, hoc triduo universo. In Vitalis of Blois' Aulularia the limit is five days; 667, Et tamen admoeno clausa ostia, clausa fenestras, Obice luminibus robora, pone seras; Si qua patet Phoebi radiis hanc obstrue rimam, Vt uel Phoebi auditum rimula clausa necet; Armatus defende Lares, si quid strepat umquam/Hoc ades et clam as, sors inimica fuge./ Importuna Lares uolet reuisere notos./Atque ita continuis quinque diebus agas.

43.21 esto: uide 18.13.

43.22 foris: For foras; cf. 43.3, Tute ipse malam fortunam portasti foras; uide Erikson, p.41; O.L.D., s.v.; Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v.; foris for foras (VI.i.1046.3sqq., 1048.36sqq.), and foras et foris commutantur (1047.60sqq.); with exx.; ex. Epiph., Interpret. Eiancel., 22, In regno dei foris sicitur. (Ritt. suggested foras.)

44.1 recipias: uide 16.23.

44.1 proferes: cf. Plaut., Aul., 90, Caue quemquam alienum in aedes intromiseris.

44.2 bonam fortunam: Dramatic irony. Querulus obeys his instructions, cf. 50.7, Ero hodie fortunam non recipio nec bonem. cf. Plaut., Aul., 98, Profecto in aedae meas me absente neminem/Volo intro- mitti, atque etiam hoc praedico tibi/Si bona fortuna ueniat, ne intromiseris.

44.2 hodie: (Gaiser compared Pap. Heidelberg, C.406, frag. 14.1, τημερον.)
44.4 *quod ipse ex ipsa excuseris; Polyptoton. Double meaning: for Querolus, misfortune; for Mandrogerus, treasure.

44.4 *abi ergo intus; uide 23.12.

44.5 *ego uero ac libens; cf. Ter., And., 337; *ego uero ac libens. Verbal ellipsis (ex. abibo).

44.5 *dum tantummodo; For the frequency of such pleonasms throughout Lat., and especially in Late Lat., uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p. 94; Hagendahl (1924), p. 214, in Festschrift Persson, pp. 74 seq.; Janssen, pp. 34 sqq.; Lofstedt (1918), pp. 37 sqq.; (1959), pp. 22 seq.; Norberg (1939), II, p. 185; with exx. of tantummodo, tantum, with unus, solus, solum, etc.

44.6 *meam; (Wagner suggested malam; Hav. mean malam.)

44.6 *solum partes inter sit; cf. Cic., In Cat., I.v.10, Dummodo inter me atque te murus inter sit.

44.7 *hinc nunc abi ergo; The MSS. read humo (hinc B) abige (abert VH). Klink. suggested hinc nunc, which could have coalesced into humo. Peip. suggested (hinc) abi ergo, cf. 44.4 abi ergo intus.

(Herrm. suggested hinc abit; Hav. suggested ergo abi.) Peip. suggested that an abbreviation for abi ergo, abi ², could have been incorrectly resolved to abige or abert. The MSS. reading gives the second person singular imperative, abige, with the accusative direct object, humo, which does not make (much) sense. The imperative could possibly be used intransitively, uide 15.3, meaning "be off", although Mandrogerus has no need to repeat his injunction as Querolus is only too willing to obey his instructions. B's hinc would give the direction, "hence". (Klink. suggested huc, "hither"). Lofstedt (1907), p. 86, followed Klink.'s addition of te from Canneg.'s suggestion, hinc te abige (Ber. suggested te hinc abige), supposing the imperative to be used reflexively. As Peip. suggested, te would thus supply the direct object removed by substituting hinc for humo. However, this would seem rather a
harsh command for Mandrogerus to give to Querolus, whom he is
trying to swindle. Moreover, the verb does not seem to be used
intransitively or reflexively anywhere else. The reading of H,
and, originally, of V, gives the first person singular perfect
indicative, aberi, with the accusative direct object, hunc, which
does not make (much) sense. Ranstr., uide Q. Stud., pp.131sqq.,
suggested that this could be an aside by Mandrogerus to himself.
He pointed out that i and e are commonly confused (exx. 7.15,
mesantropus for misanthropus; 19.13, Bresiden for Briseiden).
For abigere meaning "to drive away", cf. 32.1, turbas abigunt;
uide Heyl, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. (I.95.67, giving hunc abige).

44.7 fortiter: For firmiter; uide Bonnet, p.289; Hartel, in A.L.L.,
III, p.21; with exx. and bibliog.

44.10 seras et catenas; cf. Ap., Met., V.9, Domum seris et catenis
obditam custodientem.

44.11 tamquam pro memet fecero: Ellipse of direct object (id).
For future perfect for future simple, common in colloquial and
Late Lat.; cf. 50.16, Quidquid hodie acciderit; uide K.&S., I,
pp.147sqq., with exx. and bibliog.; exx. Plaut., Stich., 351, Eco
fecero; Ter., Phorm., 882, Fecero.

44.12 Act III, Scene 3.

44.13 pulchre: (For pulchre and prae gaudio, 44.17; Gaiser
compared B.M. (B.L.), Pap. Hibeh, 5, frag. f, χαλεψευ, βοώ.)
For the thieves' joy at stealing the treasure, cf. Plaut., Aul.,
701, Pioiis diuitiis, qui aureos montes colunt ./Eco solus supero.
Nam istos reges oteros/Memorare nolo, hominum mendicabula;/Eco
sum ille rex Philippus. O lepidum diem./Nam ut dudum hinc abii,
multo illo adueni prior/Vultoque prius me collocavi in arborem/
Indeque expectabam, aurum ubi abstrudebat senex./Vbi ille abit,
ego me deorsum duco de arbores./Ecodio aulam auri plenam. Inde ex
eco loco/Video recipere se senem: ille me non uidet./Nam ego
declinavi paululum me extra uiam./Attat, eccum ipsun. Ibo ut hoc
condam domum.
44.14 ornam: uide 3.16.

44.14 respicimus: (Herrm. suggested respiciemus, to match the futures confingemus and abscondemus, for which H reads abscondimus and confringimus, matching the present respicimus.)

44.17 Mandrogerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

44.18 ornam: uide 3.16.

44.19 neque ego: Verbal ellipse (ex. credam).

44.20 ne mora suspicionem affert: cf. 26.18, Ne suspicionem improbitas paret.

44.23 istud: That is, the process implied in respicimus, confingemus, abscondemus.

44.23 sequitur: uide 10.3.

44.24 Mandrogerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

44.25 ego autem non credam mihi: A verb usually governing the dative, credere, is juxtaposed with a dative reflexive, mihi, which is not its object, but a pleonastic dative of advantage. The object of credam would be tibi. uide Adams (1976), p.29, with exx. ("It is a feature of Late Latin, also paralleled earlier, especially in Plautus, that dative reflexive pronouns are often attached pleonastically to verbs, whether transitive or intransitive. The dative is akin to one of advantage: it expresses more intensively the interest of the subject in the action or verbal idea.")

45.1 dissimulo: uide 15.3.


45.3 servantur: uide 3.18.

45.4 pergamus quocumque celeriter: (Gaiser compared E.M. (E.L.), Pap. Hibeh, 5, frag. a.II, τρέχειν...διαφυγής.)
45.4 celeriter: The MSS. read celeri. B reads caeleres. V3 corrects to celeriter. vide Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp.133seq. celeriter, vide T.L.L., s.v. (III.753.34seq.), with exx., occurs otherwise twelve times in the Q, vide the Index Verborum. The ending could have been lost in the abbreviation celerit, the t being dropped after the i. Klink. defended celeri, supposing it to be a doublet of celeriter as breui is of breuiter, but there is in the T.L.L., s.v. (III.753.26seq.), only one other, doubtful, ex. of the adverb celeri. (Calvus, Carm., frag. 12, where the MSS. read Frigida iam celeris uergatur Vistinis ora, and the editors made various conjectures involving celeri.) Norberg (1943), pp.34sqq., and Wistrand, pp.23sqq., gave exx. of heteroclite second and third declensions, especially in Late Lat., but it seems unlikely that celeri is the second declension form of the adjective celere, for mixed forms of celer are unknown elsewhere. Papi. suggested celerere, as the confusion between i and e is common (vide supra, 44.7, cf. 7.15, 19.13), although this form of the adverb is by no means as common as celeriter, vide T.L.L., s.v. (III.753.13sqq.), with exx.; ex. Plaut., Cura., 283, Ita nunc subito propere et celere objectum est mihi negotium. Cors. suggested the comparative celerius, which could have been shortened by the loss of the abbreviation, an apostrophe, for the last two letters, celeri.

45.5 Act IV. Scene 1.

45.6 uester ille: vide 41.4. cf. Ter., Heaut., 473, Syrus cum illo uestro consurrat.

45.7 bene: The reading of H, meaning "as you know well", cf. 46.5, qua nos ti bene; 46.15, quam nos ti bene. The other MSS. read male, meaning "as you know, badly".

45.9 incolumis atque propitius: A word pair of virtual synonyms.
(Hav. was wrong to delete incolumis atque as a gloss on propitius.)

45.11 sic se res habet: The MSS. apart from H omit se. cf. 59.6, ita sic se res habet; Plaut., Aul., 47, At scin cumodo tibi res
se habet; Bacch., 1063, Dico ut res se habet; Cas., 333, Opinione melius res tibi habet tue; Most., 544, Verum ut ut res sese habet; Trin., 749, Eloquem ut res se habet; Ter., Ban., 800, Scio tu ut tibi res se habeat; Heaut., 702, Aperta ita ut res sese habet narrato; Phorm., 820, Lactua num ut meae res sese habent; Cic., Ep. ad Att., I.xiv.5, Romanae autem se res sic habent; II.xxii.1, Nunc se res sio habet; V.i.3, Quae res se sio habet; Ep. ad Fam., III.v.3, Ea res sio se habet; XV.i.5, Hoc autem tempore res sese sic habet; Ep. ad Quint. Frat., I.i.43, Nunc vero res sio sese habet; Tusc. Disp., V.63, Sic se res habet; De Fin., II.105, Sed res se tenem sic habet; De Leg., I.36, Et res se sio habet; De Orat., II.vi.23, Sic enim se res habet; De Nat. Deor., II.ix.23, Sic enim res se habet; III.xxxvii.89, Sic enim res se habet; Brut. de Clar. Orat., XVIII.71, Sic enim sese res habet; Tim. de Vau., 44, Sic se res habet; Pro Rosc. Am., XXIV.66, Sic se res habet; In Quint. Caec., I.23, Sic enim se profecto res habet; Lact., Inst. Diu., VII.xxii.2, Aliter enim quam res habent.

45.13 solus: Ellipse of es.
45.16 nouit e bonum: Ellipse of esse.
45.17 nostrum illum: uide 41.4.
45.20 apud...cum: uide 3.6.
45.22 agnosco: uide 5.11.
45.24 scimus et laudamus: Ellipse of direct object (te).

45.26 tibi: H omits tibi, but as immo is the last word of folio 19 recto in H Scissius may well have skipped tibi by mistake, and Reeve was perhaps wrong to follow H and delete tibi. The repetition of Pantomalus' tibi by Arbiter is probably intentionally sarcastic.

45.26 pellibus ossibusque; cf. Plaut., Aul., 564, Quia osca ac pellis totus est ita cura macet; Capt., 135, Ossa etque pellis sum misera macitudini: Theocrit., Idyll, II.89, a†ē δὲ λουπά/δοτ' ἦ τη καὶ δέμα.

45.27 optasti: H reads optastis, which would agree with the second person plural uestrīs.

46.1 numquidnam: uide 15.22.

46.1 grauæs: As a legal term grauare means accusare; uide Souter, s.v., with exx., meaning "to inflict a charge upon", from the end of the 3rd century.

46.2 odisse dominos: For the eternal enmity between slaves and their masters, cf. 38.19, Omnes cuiusque dominos malos esse constat et manifestissimum est; uide Otto, s.v. servus, p.319, no. 1637, with exx.; cf. Sen., Ep., XLVII.5, Deinde eiusdem arrogantiae proverbia iactatur, totidem hostes esse quot seruos. Non habemus illos hostes sed facimus; Macrob., Sat., I.xi.13, Vnde putas arrogantisimum illud manasse proverbia quo iactatur, totidem hostes nobis esse quot seruos; Festus (ed. Müller, p.261, line 29), Quot serui tot hostes, in proverbio est.

46.4 male: The verb imprecari is neutral, and may be given a good or bad connotation according to its context. Here it is used absolutely, with the indirect object, uide T.L.L., s.v. (VII.i. 675.77 sqq.), with exx.; ex. Tert., De Carne Christi, XII.5, Et bene et male defuncto cuique imprecatur anima. (Klink. suggested mala, direct object.)

46.4 sed: Verbal ellipse (imprecamur).

46.5 maliloquis: uide Heyl, s.v., with exx.

46.5 quos: The reading of H. The other MSS. read *quod*, meaning "which fact", giving an expegeetical relative clause, referring to the whole sentence, not just to the two categories of detested masters. cf. *quam* for *quod*, 46.15; although 45.7 reads *quod resti bene* (*the reading of H. The other MSS. read *quod resti male*). 46.6 *age*: uide 8.1.

46.7 *magna*: uide 4.2.

46.8 *intus*: uide 23.12.

46.9 *clausus*: Ellipse of *esse*. (R2 adds *esse*.)

46.11 Theocles: uide the intro. section on Characters.

46.12 *quidnam esse hoc dicam*: cf. 7.4, *unde esse hoc dicam*.

46.12 *nemo est*: uide 3.18.

46.13 *sonniculari*: uide 41.8.

46.14 *religionis*: uide 33.9.

46.14 *ab*: The T.L.L., s.v. *osutio* (III.713.9sqq.), knows only this ex. with the preposition *ab* (and only one other ex. with a preposition, *de*).

46.15 *quam*: L.R.H., and possibly V, originally, read *quam*; V3 and PB read *quod*, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., pp.134sqq. *pseudothyrum*, Greek *θυσίαρ*, a back or secret door (cf. glosses in V3, Pseudotirum vel pseudoformum ostium est secretum, and PB, Ostium est remotum a publico), is usually neuter; uide DuC., s.v.; Forcellini, s.v.; L.& S. (Lat. & Gk.), s.v.; Souter, s.v.; with exx. *clausum est*, 46.16, does not indicate its gender, as this is impersonal, the passive form of the intransitive *claudere*, uide T.L.L., s.v., absolute (III.1301.69sqq.), with exx. H reads *pseudothyrum*, feminine, agreeing with *quam*, but such a form is unknown, uide the lexica, s.v.
It appears to be masculine in Jer., Ep., VI.4, with aliquem. Other words for "door" in Lat. are feminine, as porta, ianua, fora, uuluae, or neuter, as posticium, ostium, limen.

46.17 ne uereare; uide 16.23.

46.17 noster ille est aditus: For the slaves' entrance, cf. Plaut., Stich., 458, Est etiam hic ostium/ Aliud posticum nostrarum haruno aedium / Posticum partem macis utuntur aedium.

46.17 claudi non intercludi: Figura etymologica.

46.17 Act IV, Scene 2.


46.22 O me infeliciem; cf. Cic., Tusc. Disp., IV.xxxiv.73, Heu me infeliciem. For their disappointment at the loss of the treasure, cf. Plaut., Aul., 721, Heu me miserum, misere perii / Male perditus, pessime ornatus eoque/Tantum semiti et mali maestitiaeaeque/Hic dies mi obtulit, famem et pauperiem./Peritissimus ego sum omium in terras:Nem cuid mi opus est uita, qui tantum auri /Peridi, cuod concustodii/Sedulo? Ekomen me defraudavi/Animunque meum geniumque meum/ Nunc eo aliis laetificantur/Mec malo et damno. Pati necuo.

47.2 Mandrocerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

47.4 pater: (Hav. suggested frater.)

47.5 tristitiam: (Dan. suggested tristitia, preferring a causal ablative rather than an accusative object in apposition to termina, presuming the final m of tristitiam to have been derived by dittoigraphy from the initial m of miseri.)

47.5 cucullorum: A form of head covering, here, as V3 glosses, tristitiae simia; uide D.&S., s.v.; P.W., s.v.; T.L.L., s.v.; meaning uelamentum uel tegmentum capitis (IV.1280.74ssq.); with exx. From the 4th. century, uide Souter, s.v., it was the term for a monk's habit of cloak plus hood, or the cowl alone. (For the
suggestion that this is a parody of Christian monks, miseri sodales, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee. Gaiser suggested that this might constitute the head gear not only of monks but also of mourning women, and compared Plaut., Friu., frag. 7, Superaboque omnis argutando praeficas; Kock, Com. Att. Frag., frag. adespot., 743, βάψας ποιήσω μέλαν.

47.5 tertia; uide 18.4.

47.6 plus...plangitur: cf. Juv., Sat., XIII.130, Quandocuidem accepto claudenda est ianua demno/et maiore domus remitma maiore tumultu/Planguntur nummi quam funera. Nemo dolorem/Fingit in hoc casu uestem diducere summam/Contentus uexare oculos unmore coacto;/ Floratur lacrimis amissa pecunia ueris. (Herrm., suggesting that this is a parody of Christian hermits, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee, compared Rut. Nam.; De Red. Soc, I.517, Aduersor scopulos damni monumenta recentis/Perditus hic uiuo funere cius erat;/Impulseus furiis homines terrasque reliquit.)

47.7 potentiae: These must be the "powers" previously described by Mandrogerus, 30.11sqq.

47.7 aurum in cinerem uersum est; cf. 4.10, bustum in pretium uertitur. (Hav.' suggested uertitur here.) cf. also 60.23, Date ueniam quod cinereis illos abstulisti, aurum credidi. For gold/treasure turning to coal/ashes, uide the intro. section on Sources, and Otto, s.v. carbo 2, p.76, no. 350; cf. Plaut., Rud., 1257, Si aurum si argentum est omne id fiat cinis; Hor., Odes, III.vi.8, Conuerso in pretium deo; Tib., I.ix.12, At deus illa/in cinerem et liquidas munera uertat aquas; Phaedr., Fab., V.vi.6, Carbonem, ut siant, pro thesauro inuenimus; Lucian, Cata., 8, περὶ τῶν χρηματῶν ἐντὰς τῶν μέγαν εἶχον ἡςαυρὸν κατωρμυγμένον; Tim., 41, πάθεν τοσότου χρυσοῦν; ἢ ποῦ ὄναρ ταύτα ἔστι; δέδω γοῦν μὴ ἄνθρακας εὑρώ ἄνεγράμμον-ἀλλὰ μὴν χρυσὸν ἐστὶν ἐκπηρμον, ὑπέρυθον, βαρὺ καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν ὑπερήυμον; Zoux., 2, τὸ ὃ ἐκ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄνθρακες ἴμων ὡς αὐσαυρος ἤσαν; Hermot., 71, ἄνθρακας
μοι τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀποφήγων· Philop., 32, τὸ γοῦν τοῦ λόγου ἐκεῖνο, ἄνθρακες ἡμῖν ὁ θησαυρὸς πέφηνε· Nauig., 26, καὶ ἡ ἐκείνη ἀποφήγη, πάντα ὁχέται καὶ ἄνθρακες σοι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἔσται; Zenob., II.1, ἄνθρακες ὁ θησαυρὸς πέφηνεν. ἔδω τῶν ἐφ’ ὅς ἠλπίσαν διάφευσις-θένων. μέμνηται αὕτης δουκιλαντὸς· τὸ γοῦν τοῦ λόγου ἐκεῖνο, ἄνθρακες ἡμῖν ὁ θησαυρὸς πέφυκε καὶ πάλιν, ἄνθρακας μου τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀπέφηγας; Niceph., Progymnas., 23, καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὴν παρομοίαν ἄνθρακας εἰρήσω τοῖς θησαυροῖς; Alciphon, Ep., IV.xviii.13, ἐὰν ἐκαστὸς τοὺς σεμνοὺς ἐρωτας εἷς ἂλλον αὐτὴν μετατεθεικόναι ὑπὸ σκοπός μοι πάντες οἱ θησαυροί γενόσονται; Goethe, Faust, Part II, Act 2, "Ich suchte nach verborgen-goldnen Schatze, und schauerliche Kohlen trug ich fort".

47.8 utinamque totum sic fieret aurum, magis essemus diuites: (Cors. suggested that this might be intended to parody moral sentiments of a Christian kind about poverty in this world's goods and riches in Heaven, vide the Intro. section on the Dedicated.)

47.10 depone pauperisper inane pondus• cf. 43.1, Depone ab humeris, Querole, pondus tam gravae.

47.10 pauperisper: The reading of H. The other MSS. read pauper. (pauper would be either vocative, addressed to Sardanapallus, his interlocutor, or accusative, in asyndeton with inane, describing pondus. Thomas suggested that pauper could have been introduced by association of ideas with diuites.)

47.11 propter te feliciter nauigau, propter te feci omnia: Anaphora.

47.12 feliciter: (Hav. suggested felix; Klink. bene.) cf. Vitalis of Blois, Aul., 703, Vae mihi qui spacia terrarum immensa ocucrit/ Vt labor iste daret ossa legenda mihi.

47.12 omnia; (Herrm. suggested somnia, referring to Mandrogerus' dreams.)

47.12 mathesim et magicam: An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms.
47.12 *mathēsim*: "Astrology", Greek, μαθησις; uide DaC., s.v.; Souter, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning doctrina astrologiae (VIII.473.13sqq.); with *exx.*; ex. Sid. Ap., Carm., V.130, Percurrit mathēsim numeris interrogat umbras.

47.12 *magicam*: cf. 54.1, Iterum ad magicas; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.106; Heyl, s.v.; Löffstedt (1933), II, pp.242seq.; Rolfe, in A.L.L., X, p.241; T.L.L., s.v. magica, sc. ars (VIII.52.18sqq.), magica-orum, neut. pl. (52.31sqq.); with *exx.* and bibl. Ellipse of a noun with an adjective used substantively.

47.14 *reconoscere*: uide 5.11.

47.15 *phantasmata*: Greek φαντασματα; Mandrogerus' dreams, 25.2sqq.; uide Porcellini, s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; with *exx.*; ex. Pliny, Ep., VII. xxvii.1, Igitur perquam uelim sose esse alicuid phantasmata et habere propriam figurem numerum numenque aliquod puteus, an inanem et uariam ex metu nostro imaginem accipere.

47.16 *mutare*: uide 15.3.

47.16 *thesaurum*: The author here appears to be speaking through his characters; Mandrogerus is not yet supposed to know that he has discovered Querolus' treasure. (Klink. suggested that the ashes of his grandfather should represent a treasure for Querolus. Miss suggested that a funerary urn should be interpreted as signifying a treasure, according to the interpretation of dreams as foretelling their opposites, 24.27, Funus ad laetitiam spectat.)

47.16 *alienum*: uide 24.24.

47.18 *alienum*: uide 24.24.

47.18 *et*: uide 7.1.

47.20 *cruedula aurum*: The gold is (semi-)personified.

47.20 *morbus*: uide Bonnet, p.204; Heyl, s.v.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.79* (sic); for *morbus* meaning a (fatal) "disease", "illness"; with *exx.*
47.20 tulit: uide 3.18.

47.20 quisnam te morbus tulit? quis te sic rogus adussit? quis te surripuit magus?: Anaphora. In the interrogative, the pronoun quis is often used as an adjective, for qui, especially in early, Late and Vulg. Lat.; cf. 48.17, quisnam for quinam; uide Bonnet, pp. 298sqq.; K.&S., I, pp.655seq.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.554; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Truc., 708, Quid ibi agatur, quis est intro, qui foras/Veniat.

47.22 quonam: The MSS. read quoniam. A corrects to quonam. (Grut. suggested quo iam.)

47.22 redituri sumus: uide 5.1.

47.22 quae nos aula recipiet? quae nos olla tuetur?: Anaphora. A pun on aula, the old form of olla, uide 23.20, 24.3, a synonym for urna, meaning "pot", and aula, meaning "hall, court".

47.24 uisita: For uisitare with the sense of inspicere, uide Souter, s.v., meaning "to examine, inspect", from the 4th. century.


48.2 calet: haec, both aula, containing the ashes, and spes, are now cold. cf. Plaut., Pocen., 914, At enim nihil est nisi dum calet hoc agitur.

48.3 perlege: (Hav. suggested lege, but cf. 48.7, perleco.) cf. Vitalis of Blois, Aul., 683, Scripta leguntur eis, dubitantque ea scripta leguntur./Et qui scripsit legit, addubitat ne leget.


48.5 eodes: uide 27.21.

48.6 nihil est quod: uide 30.21.

48.6 metuam: In spite of such squeamishness, and Euclio's successful precautions in disguising the contents of the urn with ashes and strongly-smelling funerary ointments, the verisimilitude is rather strained by the fact that the crooks do not inspect its contents before throwing the urn away.
48.7 ego perlevo: uide 10.3. Ellipse of direct object (id, titulum).
48.8 Trierinus Tricipitini filius conditus et sepultus hic iacet:
Also at 57.15. cf. Vitalis of Blois, Aug., 693, Ossa Tripericii
Triperi patris haec tenet urna/Condita cum nituit Caesare Roma suo.
H reads Trierinius, uide Reeve. uide also Lockwood (1913), and the
intro. section on Sources. This epitaph probably represents merely
a liking for foreign-sounding names (to create an air of mystery,
uide 11.17) on the part of the author, without any further
significance.
48.9 hem me miserum: uide 11.18, 46.21.
48.11 SYCOPH: Klink. gave the line to Sycophanta, who is currently
conversing with Nandrogerus. The MSS. read SARD.
48.11 clere aurum istud etiam redolet: For a metaphor concerning
the smell of gold, cf. 48.15, uide 24.1,4; cf. Juv., Sat., IV.110,
Quantum uix redolent duo funera.
48.14 claustrum: The lid; cf. 60.8, Tegmen urnae illius non uidisti
plumbum. uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning opercula (III.1321.13sqq.),
with exx. (Any handy cover would be used to top a funerary urn in
ancient times, especially a sherd of pottery. A leaden lid would
not therefore be out of place on an earthenware pot.)
48.14 diris: RPB read duris, from a confusion of u for i, arising
from the addition (or omission) of a stroke.
48.14 fragrat: S alone reads fragrat; V3 reads fragrat; the other
uide Conn. (V9) p.195, with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Greg. of Tours.
MSS. fragrat; from a confusion of 1 for r, clere, redolere and
Mir. St.Jul., I, low, tact, martur, cladere fragrat.
fragrare mean "to smell", either pleasantly or unpleasantly,
according to the context, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.
48.15 rauncescere: For rauncescere, from a confusion of u for e;
all MSS. read rauncere.
uide Porcellini, s.v.; Hoyl, s.v.; with exx.
48.16 usurario: A "moneylender", uide Souter, s.v., with exx.
48.17 quisnam: uide 47.20.

48.18 ille: Ellipse of est.

48.19 tractatum: Ellipse of esse.

48.21 recintenti ac monenti: A word pair of virtual synonyms.
(Klink was wrong to delete ac monenti as a gloss on recintenti.)

For animals as omens, cf. Plaut., Aul., 624; Non temere est quod
corvus cantat mihi nunc ab laeua manu, Simul radabat pedibus
terram et uoce croocibat sua; Hor., Odes, III.xxvii.1, Impios
perrae recintentis omen/Ducat et praegnans canis.

48.22 graculae: The feminine is Late Lat. for the masculine; uide
Duc., s.v.; T.L.L., s.v. graculus (VI.i.2133.23sq.); with exx.;
suggested gracula.)

48.23 curti: Of animals, "docked" or "castrated"; uide L.& S. (Lat.),
 s.v., with exx.


48.25 et; uide 7.1.

48.25 qualiter; uide 27.1.

48.26 suras omnes: omnis, "all", singular, is frequently used for
totus, "the whole of" (cf. 9.2, totus for omnia, totus for omnis,
toti for omnes), uide T.L.L., s.v. (IX.612.28sq.), with many exx.
(ex. Caes., De Bell. Gall., V.xiii.7, Ita omnis insula est in
circuitu uicies centena millium passuum). There do not, however,
seem to be any exx. of such a use for omnes, plural. omnis and
omnes are also used figuratively to mean both (cf. also 37.7, Ita
sunt omnia, where omnia refers to two items, a portico, porticus,
and a shrine, sacrarium); uide T.L.L., s.v., figurante tamquam de
binis (IX.616.42sq.). Here the T.L.L. first of all rejects
those exx. (not including the G.) where omnes appears to mean
literally ambo or uterque, quoting exx. from the grammarians for
omnes referring to three or more items, but not to two (ex. Serv.
ad Verg., Aen., XII.198, Nam omnis de duobus non dicimus). omnes, plural, is used figuratively by hyperbole (where reference to two specific "people" is widened to include others/everyone in general), uide T.L.L., s.v. (616.53sqq.), with exx. (exx. Claud., De Raptu Prog., III.291, His increpat omnes vocibus, 313, Discendent omnes, referring to Diana and Minerva; Cic., De Fin., II.105, Graecum enim hunc uersum nostis omnes, referring to Torquatus and Triarius). omnis, singular, is used figuratively by anaphora, uide T.L.L., s.v. (616.68sqq.); O.L.D., s.v. ("applied to things logically thought of as occurring in pairs"); both with several exx. of omnis sexus (ex. Tac., Ann., VI.19, Iacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, illustres ignobiles dispersi aut aegerati). There do not, however, seem to be any exx. of such a use for omnes, plural. (Dr. Hall suggests the translation "both" here.)

48.26 conscidit: B R2 and H2 read conscidit; H reads conscedit; the other MSS. conscedit, which hardly makes sense. conscidit gives a seven-syllable iambic-trochaic clausula.


49.2 ne: For ne alone for ne...guidem or nonne, uide Bonnet, p.312; Hartel, in A.L.L., III, p.26; Heyl, s.v.; Johnston, s.v.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.447sqq.; Lundström (1948), p.127; with exx. and biblog. (Johnston added guidem after defunctus.) ne for ne...guidem is a solecism according to Quint., Inst. Or., I.v.38, with the ex. ne hoc fecit, omitting guidem. uide also 8.6, neco for ne...guidem. (Dan. suggested neco here.) ex. Claud. Man, De Statu An., III.14, Scilicet quod in hoc praestertim loco ne potissimus orator quisque potuisset.
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49.2 defunctus: uide 24.24. cf. 60.20, Habuit senex ille multa
haec laetissima qui te etiam defunctus ridet. (Caesar compared
Pap. Heidelberg, G.406, frag. 4.1, δαυμ...)

49.3 et: uide 7.1.

49.3 agelastos: Greek ἀγελαστός; uide Souter, s.v.; meaning "someone
who never laughs"; a nickname of Marcus Crassus, grandfather
of the triumvir; cf. Cic., De Fin., V.xxx.92, At hoc in eo Marco
Crasso, quem semel ait in uita risisse Lucilius, non contigit ut
ea re minus agelastos, ut ait idem, uocaretur; Tusc. Disp., III.
xv.31, Marci Crassi illius ueteris, quem semel ait in omni uita
risisse Lucilius; Pliny, Nat. Hist., VII.xix.18.79, Ferunt Crassum,
auum Crassi in Parthis interemti, numquam risisse et ob id
agelastum uocatum; Lucil., incert. 1300 (ed. PMoh.), Secundum illum
quoque de quo semel in uita Crassum ait risisse Lucilius, similem
habent labra lactucaen asino carduos comedente. Nunc semel in uita
Crassum risisse agelastum tradunt; Solin., I.72, At Crassum, auus
eius quern rapuerunt bella Parthica, quod numquam riserit agelastus
cognominabatur. Here agelasto forms an oxymoron with risit, 49.4.
A gloss on the word has been incorporated into the text of (the
hyparchetype of) all the MSS. except Η (uide the app. crit.),
Agelastus est sine risu minimo stans.

49.4 accommodaui: uide 4.5.

49.4 et: uide 7.1.

49.5 heia quid nunc facimus: uide 7.1.

49.6 nisi quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

49.6 dudum diximus: They must be presumed to have said this off
stage before the beginning of this scene.

49.7 ulciscamur: uide Georges, s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; with ex.; for
ulcisci with de; ex. Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Spart.,
Sept. Seu., XI.3, Quasi hoc genere as de senatu posset ulisci.
cf. Vitalis of Elois, Aul., 715, Vittius reputo, suoniam sperare
uetaemur, hvt subesat stertili saudia longa spei, Confinxi Querolo
Fortunam uelle redire; Ne pateant aditus, credulus arma tenet, Qua
lateri paries extremus deficit et se: Non bene contingit, indicat
olla Lari, Accurret Querulus, irasceturque sepulchro; Hunc tritaui
tumulum iam sciat esse nepos: 729, Ergo reditur/Missaque per rimam
fecerat ura sovm.

49.8 ludamus: H reads ludamus or laudamus; Dan. suggested ludamus.
The other MSS. read laudamus; V2 corrects to ludemus; V3 glosses
with deludemus. uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.138. ludamus matches
ulciscamur, present subjunctive. ludemus would be future indicative.
(For future indicative for imperative, uide infra, 49.21.)

49.9 clanculum: uide Stowasser, in A.L.L., VI, pp.563seq., with exx.
49.9 quem: Ellipse of antecedent eum.

49.10 quid rerum gerat: For quid rerum, partitive genitive, for
quae res, uide K.&S., I, p.432, with exx.; exx. Plaut., Aul., 54,
Ne me observare possis quid rerum geram; 117, Rogitant me ut
ualem, quid acem, quid rerum geram; Mil., 397, Quid rerum gesserim.

49.12 consilium placet: cf. Plaut., Curc., 351, consilium placet.

49.13 urbane: uide 11.20.

49.16 credo: The correction of R2, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.139.
The MSS. read credo, probably by dittography from the initial e of
edepol.


49.19 io Querole: (The following confrontation between Querolus
inside his house and the conspirators outside would perhaps
provide a more logical sequence of questions and answers if it
were assumed that 49.21 to 50.3 have been misplaced, and should be
removed from their present position and inserted between 50.11 and
50.12, allowing 50.4 to follow directly after 49.20.)

49.20 quis tu homo es: cf. Plaut., Trin., 970, quis tu homo es.
49.21 *fores celeriter uides*: All the MSS. except H read uides. H reads uide. Brmr. defended the MSS. reading, interpreting: either:

*fores celeriter - uides*, meaning "(come) outside quickly, then you will soon see (who is there)"; answering Querolus' question, 49.20, *Quis tu homo es?*, but not explaining 50.1, *Vt domum rursus ingrediari mean* (which implies that he asks for the door to be opened), with ellipse of a verb of motion in the imperative (*ex ueni or uade, cf. 8.16, Muscquam hodie pedem, 56.3, Tu muscquam hodie pedem, 57.25, Nuncuam ab istoc pedem, also 50.13, Nosc hinc ad nauem celeriter), asyndeton, parataxis, and present for immediate future (*uide 10.3*), giving *exx.* and refs. for all these common elements of colloquial Lat.; or: *fores - celeriter uides*, meaning "(come) outside, then you will soon (quickly) see (who is there)"; answering Querolus' question, but not explaining 50.1.

Brmr. took *fores* as an adverb, for foras, not a substantive, listing the variants of foris, including foras and fores, from the T.L.L. *uide* also 43.22, *foris* for *fores*, Wernsd. suggested *fores* for *fores*, from a confusion of *a* for *e* (cf. *e* for *a*, 49.8). (T.L.L., s.v., foras for foris (VI.i.1040.18sq.), fores for foris (1040.25sq.), foras et foris commutatur (1047.60sq.); with *exx.* although all with variant readings and/or emendations; *exx.* Apic., VIII.vi.8, Oeo piper fricabis et asperges foris (fores) salem purum multo cum coriandri semen; Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc., II.7, Aditum per quem foris (fores/foras) euaderit quae; Pliny, Nat. Hist., XI.xviii.54, Procedit foris (foras/fores) non nisi migraturo examine; Venant. Fort., Carm., VI.v.85, Proprodire foras (foras) tandem sed turba morosa.) With *fores* meaning *foras*, or Wernsd. 's conjectured *fores*, H's imperative *uide*, meaning "look outside quickly (and you will see who I am)", would answer Querolus' question, but not explain 50.1. The present indicative *uides* could also be used imperatively, *uide* 17.13 (*exx.* Verg., Aen., VI.760, Ile uides pura juenesci qui nititur hasta; Sen. Rhet., Controu., I.ii.8, Vides enim liberalis in domo tua esse coepli). With *fores* meaning "door",
the sense required is clearly "open", so that (50.1) Sardanapallus, alias "misfortune", may re-enter his old home, although this does not answer Querolus' question; cf. 50.10 Aperite hanc ianuam. (cf. Plaut., Bacch., 368, Pandite et aperite propere ianuam hanc Orci obscure; Stich., 309, Aperite atque adproperate fors facite ut pateant.) Canneg. suggested the ellipse of an imperative such as aperite, meaning "(open) the door quickly and you will soon see". Klink. suggested uide, with ellipse of a command (such as ut aperiatur), but with uideres simple for compound, providere, uide 3.18. (exx. Ter., Hesaut., 458, Aliud lenius sodes uide (so. ut nobis praebeas); Cic., Ep. ad Att., V.i.3, Ut prandium nobis uideret; Hom., Od., VIII.443, αὕτως νῦν ἡ αἰώνα; Theocrit., Idyll. XV.2, οὐν δὲ σφον.) Dan. suggested the imperative reclude. Ransstr., uide Q.Stud., p.139, suggested reclude or pandles. Corr. aperies, future indicative for imperative. (cf. 54.19, Huic tu medium thesauri dabis; 56.4, Heia, incuan. restitues quod abstitisti; uide K.&S., I, p.144; L.H.S., II.iii.2, pp.310seq. with exx. and bibliog.; exx. Hor., Ars Poet., 385, Tu nihil inuita dices Minerua; Cic., Ep. ad Fam., V.xii.10, Tu interea non cessabis et ea quae habes instituta perpolies nescumque diliges.) Koen suggested recludas and Wernsd. uadas, present subjunctive for imperative. (uide K.&S., I, p.186; L.H.S., II.iii.2, pp.335seq. with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Merc., 388, (387, Habe bonum animum...); Taces; uide also 16.23, present subjunctive for prohibitions.) Also present subjunctive are the suggestions of Dan. ades, Herrm. mi des, Wernsd. uidues, Crut. uioles. Canneg. suggested sodes, meaning "if you please" or sodes, uide 27.21. (Dan. also suggested celerites for celeriter uides, an unknown frequentative form of celerare.)

50.2 hac atque illac; uide 7.13.

50.3 potius; (so. quam ut ruraus incrediaris domum meam/tuam.)

50.3 mala fortuna; cf. Plaut., Bud., 501 (quoted at 43.17). (Ransstr., Q.Stud., pp.137seq., pointed out that Querolus would not be
expected to call his interlocutor *fortuna* until told who he is, but that fortune has always been *Querolus'* greatest enemy, and that 50.1, *Vt domum rursus ingredior meam*, indicates the identity of the speaker. Sardanapallus then confirms, 50.6, that he is fortune, and *Querolus, 50.7*, repeats his demand for him to go. For the order of the lines at this point, *uide 49.19.*

50.3 *sacerdos*: *uide 4.2, 29.21.*

50.6 *redituram*: Ellipse of esse.

50.7 *nec*: *uide 8.6.*

50.7 *bonam*: *Querolus* obeys Mandrogerus' instructions not to admit even good fortune, 44.2, *Ipsam bonam fortunam clamantem pulsantem—que hodie nemo audiat.*

50.8 *sta*: For *stare ad ianuam* cf. *Cic., De Or.*, II.lxxxvi.353, Juenes *stare ad ianuam duos quosdam cui sum magnopere euocarent*. The MSS. all read *sta.* *Querolus* gives Pantomalus two commands in asyndeton, *ad ianuam sta* and *hominis seuoca.* (It is unnecessary to add *hunc* after *ianuam*, as Klink; or to change *sta* to *istam*, as Peip., or *istac*, as Hav., giving Pant. only one command.)

50.8 *seuoca*: (PB alone read *euoca,* the *g* probably lost by haplography at the end of *hominis.*)


50.14 *nos hinc ad nauem celeriter*: Ellipse of a verb of motion.

50.14 *ne quod etiam nunc subito nobis nascatur malum*: Dramatic irony.

50.16 *Act IV, Scene 3.*

50.16 *quidquid*: PB alone read *quidquid;* R reads *quod* and the other MSS. read *quid.* *quidquid* was probably changed into *quid* by haplography.
50.16 acciderit: uide 44.11.
50.18 autem: Here autem adds an explanation, as often in parenthesis; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Caes., De Bell. Civ., III. lxxxvi.4, Ita sine periculo legionum et paene sine uulnere bellum conficiemus. Id autem difficile non est cum tantum equitatu ualeamus.
50.18 formidolosus: The word is rare in the passive sense; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.
50.19 qualiter: uide 27.1.
50.19 exhorrescit: Sardanapallus supposes that Querolus is already terrified by the contents of the urn. (Grut. suggested the future, exhorrescet.)
50.19 mortuum: The dead man's ashes from the urn.
50.20 leuiter: B reads leuiter. u could easily have been mistaken for m, but for leuis and leuiter used in the sense of lenis and leniter, uide Hagendahl (1940), p. 59; Lefstedt (1950), pp. 78sq.; with exx. and bibl. ; ex. Cat., LXIV. 273, Leuiterque sonant plongere cachini.
50.20 omnes intus gaudent tripliament: (Gaiser compared Men., Dard., frag. 93 (K. and Th.), καλ λαμα βαχχεει λαβων τα χρηματα.)
50.21 nulla spes mihi est: cf. 23.6, Attat spes mihi nulla est.
50.22 nobis male: Ellipse of est.
50.22 capssas: uide 19.5.
50.22 scrinia: There are no other exx. before Med. Lat. of this word for a receptacle referring to one containing money; uide DuC., s.v., with ex.
50.23 heu me miserum: uide 11.18, 46.21; cf. Vitalis of Blois, Anl., 747, Hei mihi, clamavit, aurum latitabit in olla./Hei mihi, Decerta est frauda mea fraude mea./Heu mendax titulus. Cur ossa vocaerat aurum?/Hypocrite tituli frauda mea frauda perit.
50.25 errauius miseris non simplier, errauius et non semel: Anaphora. (Par. was wrong to delete the second clause as a gloss on the first.)

50.25 et: uide 32.10.

50.25 non semel: Litotes. They have been deceived twice, first hoping to find gold and finding ashes, then realising that the supposed ashes were gold after all.

50.27 sed quid ego nunc: Verbal ellipse (ex. facio, faciam); cf. 7.1, Et quid ego nunc facio.

50.27 nunc: (E reads non for the third nunc, but, uide Ranstr., O.Stud., p.95, the repeated nunc may be indicative of Sardanapallus' confusion.)

50.27 ut pro fure iam nunc tener: Dramatic irony.

51.1 Act V, Scene 1. The Lar's speech provides an epilogue to the first part of the play, and a prologue to the rest.

51.2 auri grauidae pondere: cf. Plaut., Aul., 808, 821 (quoted at 6.2); Verg., Aen., I.359, Ignomum argenti pondus et auri; Cic., In Verr., II.i.17.45, Athenis audistis ex aede Minervae grane auri pondus oblatum; Varro, Sat. Men., frag., ἀλκος οὐτος Ἀπακλῆς, 1, Grauidaeque mater peperit Ioui puellum; Vitalis of Elois, Aul., 735, In rediv arca tibi cum multo faenoris usu/Aurum quod tu leant retulit olla tibi/Plus fecere di quam quod sperare liceret./Fraus fallit fures, stant tua tuta tibi. H alone reads pondere; the other MSS. read pondera, influenced perhaps by the ending of grauidae. The urn is "heavy with the weight of gold". uide Ranstr., O.Stud., p.139. (pondera as the object of peperit would be very awkward, although defended by Cors., and grauidus with the genitive (auri) is very rare, uide T.L.L., s.v. (VI.ii.2272.7sqq.), with exx.; exx. Sil. It., II.220, Mellis anes grauidae; Aug., In Psalm., XCIX.2, Fauci versus sunt magnarum rerum graudii.) For pondus and pondera, poetic, of the fruit of the womb, uide L.&S. (Lat.), s.v., with exx;
exx. Ovid, Am., II.xiv.14, Justa recusasset pondera ferre Thetis; Met., IX.685, Iamque ferendo/Vix erat illa graem maturo pondere uentrem; Prop., IV.i.100, Et facerent uteri pondera lenta moram; Mart., XIV/cli, Longa satis nunc sum dulci sed pondera uenter/Si tumeat fiam tunc tibi zona breuis; Stat., Silv., III.iv.77, Ferre timent famulae netorum pondera matres.

51.5 *furum fecit furibus*: Figura etymologica.

51.6 *nos iactantes non summus*: For *nos non iactamus*; the periphrastic present tense with the present indicative of *esse* and the present participle is frequent in colloquial Lat.; *uide* Hartel, in A.L.L., III, pp.36sqq., with exx.

51.8 *valere*: Ellipse of subject of infinitive (*se*).

51.8 *totum*: *uide* 9.2.

51.8 *totum ille qui potest*: V3 glosses, *sic deus*; cf. 3.13, *Qui solus nouit nuerit*; *uide* the intro. section on History and Thought: Religion.

51.10 *Mandrogerontem*: For this form of the accusative, *uide* the intro. section on Characters.

51.11 *ubi primum hoc audierit*: Probably from Sardanapallus, cf. 50.28, *Ibo ad coniuratos meos ne tantum facinus uerumque funus solus exomet defleam*.

51.11 *agnuerit*: *uide* 5.11.

51.12 *rediturus est*: *uide* 5.1.

51.12 *codicillos*: The "codicil" to a will; *uide* the lexica, *s.v.*, with exx. For the text of Buolio's letter, cf. 54.14sqq. V3 glosses, Est autem codicillus scriptura nulla uerborum indigens sollemnitate, sed sola testatoris voluntate qualicunque scripturae significatione expressa, cuius beneficio defunctorum voluntatibus constat esse subuentum, propter legalium difficultatem uerborum, uel propter necessitatem adhibendorum sollemnium.
51.13 coheres; cf. 3.19, Hic nerecre moriens parasitum ibidem
comitum filio coheredem instituit tacita scripturae fide si eadem
thesaurum occultum sine fraude ostenderet.

51.13 si aulan Querolo sine fraude ostenderet; uide 3.20.

51.15 nan quod fecit nostrum est; cf. 9.5, Heia etiam istud de meo.
The Lar claims the part of destiny in the action of the play, uide
the intro. sections on Characters and History and Thought: Philosophy.

51.16 Act V. Scene 2.

51.17 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

51.18 (credia...credia: (Gaiser compared B.M.(B.L.), Pap. Hibeh,
180, frag. 1.II, πελθημαυ μοις.)

51.20 fieri? queri: Pap. suggested the addition of queri. The
MSS. read fieri alone, omitting queri, probably by haplography
because of the similarity of the two infinitives. uide Ranstr.,
adds queri at the end of the line, where it could have been lost
by haplography with OVER at the beginning of the next line, but
posthaco desinas gives a five-syllable iambic-trochaic clausula.
queri is a pun on the name of Querolus, uide the intro. section
on Characters. (Dan. suggested fieri or fere to replace fieri.)

52.1 stupeam et gaudeam: A word pair of virtual synonyms. (Hav.
was wrong to delete et gaudeam as a gloss on stupeam. V3 reads an
for et; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.140.)

52.2 consilium, senis nostri; (Gaiser compared Euclio’s wisdom,
praised by the Lar, 51.5, O sapiens Euclio, to Men., frag. 600 (K.
and Th.), about reverence for deified ancestors, φυγος γονευν
λογισάους τιμᾶς νέμεις; and B.M.(B.L.), Pap. Hibeh, 180, frag. 2,
ημας, and τοὺς ὁφρανοτς.)

52.2 senis nostri an diuinitatis; (Both delimit consilium, so it
is unnecessary to add bonum, as Klink., to match bonum diuinitatis,
or donum, as Herrm.; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.140.)
52.2 diuinitas: For diuinitas for deus, abstract for concrete, uide Hoyl, s.v., with exx. and the intro. section on History and Thought:Religion. (This ambiguous syncretic term was used by Christians, such as Salvin of Marseilles and Sidonius Apollinaris, and pagan philosophers, such as Symmachus and Macrobius, of their respective "gods", a compromise to avoid offence to either side.) It was also used of deified emperors; uide Boissier (review of Herrm.'s ed.).

52.3 bonum: (Orelli suggested donum; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.140.) For bonum as a substantive, uide T.L.L., s.v. (II.2098.42sqq.), with the genitive (2099.42sqq.), with many exx.

52.6 amouerim: uide 5.11.

52.7 quam iam dudum noueram: There seems to be some confusion as to whether Querolus knew of the existence of the urn and the ashes, not the treasure, before, or not; cf. 58.23sqq.


52.9 terramque motam: Ellipse of esse.

52.10 ubi: Dan suggested ubi. All the MSS. read ibi, from a confusion of i for u, probably caused by an omission of a stroke of the u.

52.10 testulis: The diminutive testula, a "small potsherd", is rare, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

52.13 aut: aut for an or num in direct and indirect questions is colloquial and Late; uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, p.465 ("Aut...ist schon im Vulgärlatein gelegentlich zur Einführung einfacher direkter Fragen verwendet worden"); Norberg (1944), p.100; Svennung (1922), p.91;
T.L.L., s.v. aut meaning an (II.1575.62sqq.); with exx. and bibl.; ex. Ter., And., 396, Aut non sex totis mensibus/Prius olfecissem.

(Dan. suggested at.)

52.14 magnum mathematicumque: uide 4.2.

52.15 sese diceret: Ellipse of infinitive esse. sese diceret gives a five-syllable iamb-trochaic clausula. B reads se. H omits qui.
Either of these alternatives would give a seven-syllable clausula.

52.16 domi reconderem: Klink.'s suggestion for the domine conderem of the MSS., probably caused by false word division and confusion of n for r. Confusion also seems to have arisen from the additions in P, domine conderetur, and B, domi creditum, after paternum. Either two passages, one the original text and one a gloss, must have occurred in the archetype, or one phrase was expanded into two, first written before its correct place, and then left unerased when added later in the correct place. (Hav. suggested domi ut conderem, to match ut efferrem and ut...obuiarem.)

52.17 obuiarem: uide 23.7.

52.17 hoc est: cf. 22.5, Velis nolis hodie bona fortuna aedex intrabit tuas.

52.17 mihi: All the MSS. except H omit mihi.

52.18 bona omnia: (L reads omnia bona, uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.141.)

52.20 falleretur hominis fallaciissimi: Figura etymologica.

52.22 meos ut nosti mores munificos nimis: Parenthesis.

52.22 meos: The MSS. read meus; R2 corrects to meos. (Ber. suggested the vocative, mi, agreeing with Arbiter.)

52.22 mores munificos nimis: Ellipse of esse. Although the Lar (5.20), Pantomalus (38.21) and Arbiter (45.10) characterise Querolus as ingratus, Pant. does admit, 41.4, Tamen anurus non est in mos.

53.2 per illum: uide 37.21.
53.2 uenerunt: uide 3.18.

53.4 eminus: A military term, used with general application in Silver and Late Lat.; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

53.5 hic: For huc, V2 reads huc; cf. 53.7, hic for huc, where V2 also reads huc; 57.8, Nescio quid paulo ante hic preferri iusseram (where Klink. suggested huc). hic for huc could very easily have been produced by a confusion of i for u caused by the omission of a stroke, uide ibi for ubi, 52.10; but cf. domi for domum, 53.11; foris for foras, 43.22; intus for intro, 23.12, 53.6. For the colloquial and Late contamination of the termini in quem and in quo, uide Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.144; Bonnet, pp.522sqq.; Eriksen, p.41; Hofmann (1925), pp.106sqq.; K.&S., I, pp.588sqq.; L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.277sqq.; Löfstedt (1911), pp.171sqq.; (1933), II, p.450; Norberg (1937), I, p.79, (1939), II, p.193; Saloni, pp.212sqq.; Svennung (1922), pp.44sqq.; (1935), pp.382sqq.; T.L.L., s.v. hic meaning huc (VI.iii.2763.34sqq.); Tidner (1938), pp.57seq.; Wahlén, p.182; with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Pseud., 737, Sed istio servus ex Gavyno hic qui aduenit quid sapit.

53.5 praestigium: uide 8.20.

53.6 exhibet: Present for future, uide 10.3. L and P omit the h. For the omission of the aspirate in general, uide 7.13; in this verb, uide T.L.L., s.v. (V.ii.1416.12sqq.), with exx., especially in Plautus and on inscriptions. For exhibere praestigium, cf. T.L.L., s.v. exhibere (V.ii.1428.7sqq.), with exx. of exhibere negotium, molestiam, alicui (exx. Plaut., Amph., 894, Atque illi dudum neus amor negotium/Insunti exhibet; Capt., 817, Vt sciant alio nos quae exhibent molestiam). (Herrm. suggested exciet, future. Ritt. suggested exhibit, future of exire, meaning "to issue, turn out", uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning oriri, fieri (V.ii.1363.66sqq.).)

53.6 intus: uide 23.12.

53.7 hic: uide 53.5.
53.9 calumnium: A "false accusation"; v3 glosses, Calumnia est falsi criminis accusatio; uide Heyl, s.v., meaning iniuria, crimen; T.L.L., s.v., meaning incommunium, iniuria (III.188.76 sqq.); with exx.

53.10 modo: (uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.113. This refers to their future demanding, not, as Herrm., to Pandrogerus' previous stealing.)

53.11 adstruamus: uide Heyl, s.v.; Johnston, s.v.; T.L.L., s.v., meaning affirmare, probare, ostendere (I.979.4 sqq.); with exx.


53.11 mortuum: The ashes, cf. 50.19.

53.11 domi: For domum; uide 53.5; ex. Plaut., Trin., 841, Pol quamquam domi cupio apperiar.

53.12 ita fiat: These two words are omitted by all the MSS. except H.

53.13 retineamus: Dan.'s suggestion. The MSS. all read retineam. The -ua ending must have been lost in an abbreviation, such as an apostrophe, in the archetype, retineam'. (Herrm. suggested retineam ut; Hov. retineamus iam.) For the meaning of retinere, uide 10.9.

53.13 sequuntur: uide 10.3.

53.14 Act V, Scene 3.

53.16 etiam salutas: cf. Plaut., Amph., 683, Sic salutas atque appellas quasi dudum non uideris.

53.17 te uisumque: Ellipse of esse.

53.18 uiuo: For si omitted in an oath or strong affirmation, uide Blase, in A.L.L., X, pp.543 sqq., with exx.; ex. Vulg., Num., XIV. 28, Dic ergo eis, uiuo ergo, ait dominus, sicut locuti estis audiente me, sic faciam uobis. (RPB added si.) cf. also Plaut., Men., 903, Si quidem uiuo; Most., 1566, Si uiuo; Cas., 116, Si uiuo; Ter., And., 866, Si uiuo; Pun., 989, Si uiuo.

53.18 ne: uide 49.1.

53.18 gaudeas: The reading of H. The other MSS. read facias. (Herrm. added salutare after facias; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.141.)

53.21 missa istaec fac: cf. Ter., Ban., 90, missa istaec fac.

53.21 face: The archaic form of the imperative, especially frequent in Plautus and Terence; uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; Ranstr., Q. Stud., pp. 142 seq.; ex. Plaut., Pseud., 18, Face me certum quid tibi est. (Herrm. suggested fac.)

53.21 ubis: Referring either to Querolus and Arbiter; or to those present, including Pantomalus; or to Querolus and his household; similarly uestrem, 54.13, where B reads tuman.

53.22 iam pridem s: There seems to be some confusion as to whether Mandrogerus had previously been a parasite in Euclio's house and knew Querolus (as in Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia). 53.21, Non sum alienus ubis. Domum egomet istam iam pridem colo, and 61.3, Recipe queso amicum ueterem et nouum quandocuidem pater Euclio solum hunc tibi reliquit in bonis, seem to suggest that he had once been known to them. Mand. could have assumed the disguise of a magician in order to fool Quer. Duc., however, says in his letter that he met Mand. abroad, 54.16, Mandrogerontem fidelem amicum et peregre mihi cognitum ad te direxi; cf. also 3.18, Peregre moriens parasitum ibidem cognitum.

54.1 iterum ad magicas: Verbal ellipse.

54.1 magicas: uide 47.12.

54.1 aurum surripuiusti hodie meum: cf. Plaut., Aul., 392, Aurum rapitur; 709, Eofodio aulan surri plesam; 763, Aulan aurii, incuam, te repusso quam tu confessus mihi/Te abstulisse; 772, Tu id aurum non surripuiosti.

54.2 nam non: The reading of PB. H reads nam; VLR read non. (Ber. suggested nonne; Dan., num; Hav., num non; Klink., numque.)

54.3 exinde: uide 3.12.
54.3 hie: (Johnston suggested that hie is a pronoun, replacing
em, uide Bonnet, pp.298sqq.; but it is more probably an adverb.)

54.4 et nouellus et senex: Oxymoron.

54.4 unde: uide 3.12.

54.4 unde subito tam uetustus: Verbal ellipse (ex. es).

54.6 bimulum: (Par. suggested trimulum.)

54.6 tertio: cf. Plaut., Most., 79, Triennium qui iam hince abest;
440, Triennio post Aegypto aduenio domum; Stich., 30, Nam uiri
nostri domo ut abierunt hic tertius annus; 137, Qui abhinc iam
abierunt triennium; 214, Quae inter continuum perdidi triennium.
(For the magic number three, Caiiser compared Pap. John Rylands
Library, Manchester, 16(a), frag., 3, τρις.)

54.8 solum atque unicum: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

54.9 superflua: cf. 56.18, Hace superflua sunt; uide Heyl, s.v.,
with exx.; ex. Sen., Ep., XLV.4, Et inuenissent forsitan necessaria
 nisi et superflua quae sissent.

54.10 fieri istud solebat: The reading of all the MSS. does not
make sense. It has been suggested that s and u, and t and s or m,
have been confused. Cos. suggested uolebas, which would make
Querolus address Mandrogerus. Thomas suggested uolebat, which
would make Quer. refer to Mand. over his head, or, as Brnr.
suggested, complain about his dead father's wish, in his will, to
make Mand. his co-heir. Herrm. suggested uolebam, which would make
Quer. regret his own wish not to have Mand. as his brother, so
that now, which is worse, Mand. claims to be his co-heir.

54.10 mallem...asseras: uide 18.22.

54.11 asseras: uide 3.12.

54.12 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

54.13 sume: Ellipse of direct object (ex. id, sc. quod scriptum est).
54.13 uestrem: uide 53.21.

54.14 explorasti: Ellipse of direct object (ex. eam, sc. fidem meam).


54.14 senex Buclio: Querolus reads from his father's letter (uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Legal History).


54.15 metuerem: The subjunctive after quia (and quod), causal, especially in Late Lat., is probably used by confusion with that in virtual Oratio Obliqua; uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.575, 586, with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Sid. Ap., Ep., VII.xiv.10, Barbaros uitas quia mali potentur.

54.16 uel per serum uel per extraneum: uide 37.21.

54.16 Mandrogerontem: For this form of the accusative, uide the intro. section on Characters. (R reads Mandrogerum.)

54.17 peregremi: For the accusative meaning mittere, uide Bonnet, p.293; Forcellini, s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; Souter, s.v., meaning "to send letters, persons with letters, etc."; T.L.L., s.v., de missione eorum qui cum mandato, cum litteris, sim., ire aliquo iubentur (V.i.1248.39sqq.); Wolfflin, in A.L.L., IV, p.100; with exx.; ex. Ambr., Ep., XII.7, Legatos fratri et compresbyteros nostros direximus, quos petimus ut et clementer audire dignemini.

54.18 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

54.18 sine fraude: uide 3.20.

54.18 medium: Adjective for substantive, meaning dimidium; uide Bonnet, p.275; Forcellini, s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; Löffstedt (1911), p.253; Nögelsbach, p.281; Svennung (1922), p.139, (1935), pp.584sqq.;
Medium spatium ciuitatis emensi. Mandrogerus would, surely, have been wiser to accept half of the treasure, than to have shared the whole of it with two other people. In Vitalis of Elois' Aulularia, he is, with greater verisimilitude, only to receive one hundredth; 240, *Mille talenta ferat, tu tibi sume decem*; 312, *Aede mea, dixit, mille talenta latent* / *Portio prima tibi centesima fiat aceri*; 777, *Virtus morte senex, habeo mi Sardana, dixit, /Ollae commissa mille talenta domi, /Tu tibi sume decem, Queroli sint cetera.*


54.19 *sodes*: *uide* 27.21.

54.20 *in partem*: *uide* 25.16.

54.20 *huc*: (Dan. suggested *hec; uide* Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.145.)

54.20 *res ipsa exponit et docet*: cf. 54.24, *Ipsa res docet*; 59.3, *Cum res ipsa...comprobet.*

54.20 *exponit et docet*: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

54.21 *in summam*: For *ad summam* or *in summa*. (Dan. suggested in *summa*.) *uide* Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.145; Heyl, *s.v.*, with *exx.; ex.*

Livy, XXXIV.iii.5, *Id modo quaeritur si maior parti et in summam prodex.*


54.24 *ipsa res docet*: *uide* 54.20.

54.25 *inde*: *uide* 3.12.

54.25 *nobis commissa istaeo taces*: cf. 53.21, *Missa istaeo face; Hor., Sat., I.iv.84, *Fingere qui non uisa potest, commissa tacere;/ Qui nequit*. Dan. suggested *nobis commissa for nobiscum missa* in the MSS., probably caused by mistaken word division and confusion.
of u for o. All the MSS, read *tace*, but an indicative is required here, not an imperative, and Dan. suggested *taces*.

54.26 *quod*: Ellipse of antecedent *id*.

55.3 *thesaurum*: Neuter, with *aliquot*. (Dan. suggested *aliquem* or *alicuando*.) cf. 56.1, *Ergo inter manus tuas thesaurum fuit nostrum*.

60.13, *Vnde autem illi thesaurum homini praepe nauperi*. At 56.1 *V3* and *R2* correct to *thesaurus nostor*; Peip. suggested *aurum nostrum*. (Herrm. was mistaken in stating that the original *V*, rather than its corrector, gives the masculine at 56.1.) At 60.13, *B* reads *thesaurus*. Klink. suggested that verbal ellipse should be understood at 60.13 (*ex. suspicaris*), in which case *thesaurum* would be accusative with ellipse of infinitive *esse*, rather than nominative with possessive dative. (*ex. Hor., Sat., II.v.102, *Vnde mihi tam fortum tamque fidelem*.) Ranstr., *Q.Stud.,* pp.146seq., also suggested that *thesaurum* could be accusative at 60.13, but accepted the neuter at 55.3 and 56.1. Elsewhere in the 2. *thesaurus* is masculine, *uide* the Index Verborum, *s.v.* At 55.2 the accusative *thesaurum* could be masculine or neuter, with *integrum* and *illibatum*. *thesaurum* is frequently neuter in Late Lat., and already in Petronius, probably there to highlight the vulgarity of the speaker; *Sat., XLVIII.8, Letterae thesaurum est.* *uide* Bonnet, p.346; *DuG., s.v.*; Porcellini, *s.v.*; Georges, *s.v.*; Hoyl, *s.v.*; with *exx.*

55.5 *nisi omnia in memoriam redigis*: cf. *Ter., Phorm.,* 383, *Tu qui ais redire in memoriam.*

55.7 *quem*: Ellipse of antecedent *eum*.

55.8 *et*: *uide* 7.1.

55.9 *equidem*: The MSS, except *B* and *H* add a second *equidem* after *fidem*, deleted by Dan. as a mistaken repetition.

787, Fraus fuit absque dolore furtuumque fidele; probata est/In furto
pietas, in pietate fides.

55.12 dereliquerat: uide 8.17.
55.13 alter: uide 15.1.
55.13 reddidisset: Ellipse of direct object cum (thesaurum).
55.14 sodes: uide 27.21.
55.14 nos lusisti: Ranstr.'s suggestion for soluisti, the reading
of all the MSS. Dan. had already suggested lusisti, and Herrm. the
addition of nos, ludere is used transitively with a pronominal
accusative object in the Q, ex. 20.26, Ludis nos. The initial so-
of soluisti could have arisen from dittography with sodes. (soluisti
makes little sense. It could possibly be transitive for intransitive,
uide 15.3, meaning "you have fulfilled your obligation" (to Euclio
and/or to Querolus), with Quer. speaking ironically as at 55.13, 18,
or "you have talked enough" (now it is time for action); uide
L.&S.(Lat.), s.v. soliere, absolute, understanding, exx. rem, "to
pay"; or te, "to acquit or absolve" (yourself); or linguam or ora,
"to speak"; or poenam, "to pay the penalty"; or fidem or promissum,
"to fulfil a promise".)

55.14 restitue: Ellipse of direct object cum (thesaurum).
55.15 fidem: LR and V2 add the character designation MAND before
diis, but this remark clearly belongs to Querolus, as he addresses
his neighbour Arbiter.
55.17 MAND: The character designation is omitted by the MSS., but
added by B2. The remark clearly belongs to Mandrogerus, referring
to his previous words, 55.13, Alter enim non reddidisset.
55.18 QVER: Klink. added the character designation, missing from
the MSS. It seems more likely that this is Querolus' ironic
answer, cf. 55.15, Diis gratias, than part of Mandrogerus' speech.

55.19 amicorum optime: (Gaiser again, cf. 54.22, compared Plaut., Friu., frag. 10, 0 amice ex multis mi une Cephalico.)


55.21 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

55.22 Arbiter: A pun on his name; uide the intro. section on Characters.

55.25 fatigas: uide Heyl, s.v., meaning illudere; T.L.L., s.v., meaning ludibrio habere (VI.i.35.76sqq.); with exx.

55.25 Mandrogerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

55.25 en: uide 7.17.

56.1 tuas: V3 alone gives tuas. (Hav. suggested the addition of tuas before manus.) manus tuas is in antithesis with thesaurum... nostrum. uide Renstr., Q.Stud., p. 147.

56.1 thesaurum: uide 55.3.

56.3 tu nusquam hodie pedem: uide 8.16.

56.3 restitues: cf. 56.4, restitues; Querolus repeats his demand. (V3 and B read restitueas, but the condition is envisaged as a real or logical one, rather than an unreal or ideal one, uide K.&S., II, pp. 387sqq., with exx. and bibliog.)

56.3 abstulisse: cf. Plaut., Aul., 716, Hominem demonstratis quis eam abstulerit; 763 (quoted at 54.1).

56.4 inquam: V3 alone gives inquam; the other MSS. read inquit.

56.4 restitues: Future indicative for imperative, uide 49.21. (R2 and PBH read restitue.)

56.4 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

56.7 cui? quando? quomodo?: The answer, Hodie per fenestram, only answers the last two questions, the reply to the first obviously being "to Querolus".
56.9 tu thesaurum ubi repperisti; of. Plaut., Aul., 240. Ne me thesaurus repperisse censeas; 818, Repperi. :: Quid repperisti; 828, Si repperissem? Repperi hodie ere divitiis nimiis. :: Vbinam.

56.11 extulisti; Ellipse of direct object _sum_ (thesaurum). (Hav. added _sum_ at the end of the line.)

56.13 redderes; Ellipse of direct object _sum_.

56.16 _sine_ freude; uide 3. 20.

56.17 _praescriptionem_; Dan.'s suggestion for the MSS. _perscriptionem_, which probably originated in a mistaken resolution of an abbreviation for the prefix. _perscriptio_ is "an entry in a book" or "a written assignment"; _praescriptio_ "an exception or demur in law"; _uide_ Forcellini, _s.v._, with _exx._; _ex._ Quint., Inst., Or., VII.v.3, Sum ex præscriptione lis pendet de ipsa re quaeri non est necesse.

56.17 _possum_; _uide_ 6. 9.

56.18 _superflua_; _uide_ 54. 9.

56.18 _ubi_; For local, modal, temporal, and (as here) causal, meanings of _ubi_, _uide_ Lüfstedt (1911), p.130, with _exx._; _ex._ Cic., Pro Quint., XXII, 71, Accusa ubi _ita_ necesse est.

56.19 _quod_; Ellipse of antecedent _id_, and prolative infinitive _reddere_.

56.19 _reddes quod negas_; cf. 58. 19, _Redde igitur_; Plaut., Aul., 634, _Redde huc sig.;_ 651, _Redde huc_; 653, _Id meum quidquid habes reddes;

829, _I reddes aurum._ :: _Redem/Es aurum? :: _Redde_, inguam, ut _tu hic reddatur._

56.20 _o tempora, o males_; _uide_ Otto, _s.v._ _tempus_, _tempora_ 6, p.343, no. 1752; _cf._ _Cic._, _In Cat._, I.i.2, _o tempora, o males_; _In Verr._, II.iv.25.56, _o tempora, o males_; _Pro Deiot._, XII.31, _o tempora, o males_; _De Domo_, 53, _o tempora, o males_; _Mart._, IX.lxx, _Dixerat_, _o males, o tempora, Tullius olim..._Cur nunc, _o males, cur nunc_, _o

56.21 fidem: Ellipse of esse.


56.21 reddidis: uide 56.19. Ellipse of direct object (ex. sum, sc. ipsum thesaurum).

56.21 omnesque per deos: The verb may be omitted in exclamations in the accusative; uide K.&S., I, p.273; L.H.S., II.i.i.2, p.43; with exx. and bibliog. cf. 53.8, Iuro per deos. (R added iuro after deos.)

57.2 urnam illam funestam: (Corsi. compared Av., Fab., XXIII.3, Nobilis hunc uidem funesta in sede sepulchri.)

57.4 didi: uide 24.21.

57.5 Mandrogerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

57.5 potesne: uide 6.9.

57.6 agnoscere: uide 5.11.

57.7 compaginari: cf. paginas, 57.15; uide Forcellini, s.v.; Heyl, s.v.; Souter, s.v., meaning "to put together, join, complete"; T.L.L., s.v., meaning componere, coniungere (III.2000.72sqq.); with exx.; exx. Greg. of Tours, Hist. Franc., II.34, De mundi principio et de diversis aliis conditionibus libros sex uersu compagnatus; Amm. Marc., XXI.i.i.1, Axiculis cuibus orbis erat compaginatus in unum exussias.

57.7 per me: uide 37.21.
57.18 manus: (B reads manum, but the singular is unnecessary, as he is thought of as using both hands.)

57.18 ad ludum et ludibria: Figura etymologica. An alliterative word pair of virtual synonyms.

57.19 contentus eruisse: contentus with an infinitive is frequent in post-Aug. Lat., uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.

57.19 cineres ultima: (H reads honorae ultimos, "last rights").


57.22 sacrilega: Vocative adjective, cf. perdite, 57.21. (Peip. took it as an adverb, comparing Tert., Anon., XII, 2, Et in ipso opere sacrilega.)

57.23 quaeso...quaero: Figura etymologica. quaeso was the original form of quaero, uide L.& S,(Lat.), s.v.

57.24 ulterius: uide 35.21.

57.25 quaero: Ellipse of direct object (ex. aliquid). (B reads quieror.)

57.25 sclerus: Abstract for concrete, in Vulg. Lat., especially Plautus and Terence, as a term of reproach; uide L.& S,(Lat.), s.v., with exx., meaning "villain, rogue, rascal, scoundrel".

57.26 numquam ab istoo pedem: uide 8.16.

57.27 praetor: The praetor sitting in a court of justice is a sign of Republican times, and is an anachronism under the Empire; uide P.W., s.v. cf. Plaut., Anon., 759, Iam quidem hercle te ad praetorem rapiam et tibi scribam dicam.

57.28 iure et legibus: cf. Plaut., Epid., 292, Iura qui et leges tenet.

58.1 quaeso Arbiter: cf. Vitalis of Blois, Anon., 773, Arbiter inciderat litii, cui Sardana, nostris/O bone judiciis Arbiter,
incuit, aedēs;/Arbitrioque tuo dissentio nostra quiescat,/Et ius et
fidei præmia nonde meae.

58.3 numquam tu celeriter usque ad sequinem: cf. Plaut., Trin.,
1060, Aha nimium, Strasim, saeuier; Ter., And., 199, Vsque ad
necem; 863, Ah ne saeu tantopere; Hesaut., 1052, Age quaeso ne
tam affirmat Chrœme. The complete MSS. read te, the excerpt MSS.
tu. For ellipse of a verb of motion, cf. 8.16, Musquum hodie pedem;
56.3, Tu numquam hodie pedem; 57.25, Numquam ab istoc pedem. For
celeriter with ellipse of a verb of motion, cf. 50.14, Nos hinc ad
nauem celeriter. For ellipse of a verb of motion, frequent in
with exx. and bibliog. (Den. suggested celerites, an unknown
frequentative form of celerare, uide 49.21. Herrm. suggested
scelerites, an unknown frequentative form of scelerare. Orelli
suggested excitates or irritates; Grut. te scelera celeriter. Thomas
suggested te ulciscere, comparing 4.8, Vt aliquatenum se
ulcisceretur. Ranstr., Q. Stud., p.113, followed Klink.'s
suggestion of tam for te, with verbal ellipse.)

58.4 ignosce ac remitte: (For Herrm.'s suggestion that this has a
Christian significance, uide the intro. section on the Dedicatee.)

58.4 victoria: cf. Plaut., Trin., 309, Dum uiuit, victor victorum
cluit.


58.5 reconduitur: The MSS. read reconduitur, present indicative
for imperative, uide 17.13; ex. Pallad., XII vii.8, Duracina
seruantur condita muria et oxymelle, uel... in sole siccantur ac
pendent. V3 corrects to recondantur, future indicative for
imperative, uide 49.21. Ritt. suggested recondantur, present
subjunctive for imperative, uide 49.21.

58.7 Mendrogerus: Vocative, uide 24.7.

58.8 iuro per deos iuro per ipseam: Anaphora.
58.10 in indicio: For legal satire in Querolus' and Arbiter's mock-trial of Mandrogerus, *uide* the intro. section on History and Thought: Legal History.

58.11 ornam: *uide* 3.16.


58.14 fuit: *uide* 8.2.


Aristaeus, Ep., II.3, ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν λόγον τῶν ὄων ἦχω, δὲν οὔτε κατέχειν ἐν πολύ δυνατόν, οὔτε μὴν διλέγουν ἀφείναι.


58.17 futurum: Ellipse of esse.

58.19 redde igitur: uide 56.19.

58.21 factum: Ellipse of esse.

58.22 ornem: uide 3.16. (Klink. suggested urniture.)

58.23 primum: Querolus proposes two alternatives, irrespective of the truth. The second begins with nunc, 58.27. (This legal game has led to the suggestion that the author was a lawyer, uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Legal History.) cf. also Rutilius' dialectical method, 3.11, Quod libitum forst destruere et assere te solitum.


58.26 non: Bongars added non. A negative sense is required, as Mandrogerus denies knowing Querolus or the fragments of the urn.

58.26 te quem primum hic noscito: cf. Plaut., Amph., 686, Immo equidem te nisi nunc hodie musquam uidi centium; Trin., 960, Quod sibi me dedisse dixit, quem ego qui sit homo nescio./Neque oculis ante hunc diem musquam uidi, eine urniture crederem.

58.27 ornem: uidi 3.16. (PB read urniture.)

58.27 quod: Ellipse of antecedent id.

59.1 quid: The MSS. add another quid after aula, deleted by R2. Orelli suggested deleting the first quid, uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.96. (Such repetitions do, however, occur, uide Löfstedt (1933), II, pp. 196seq., with exx. on inscriptions; ex. C.I.L., VI.10219, Quod si quis id monumentum partemue eius uendere quis uolet.)
59.2 ego interim non proposui: Ellipse of direct object (ex. rem, causam). cf. 59.13, Nobis interim sufficit purgare nostrum.


59.2 quod: Relative, with ellipse of antecedent id. (LR read quid, indirect question; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.148.) For the development of the subjunctive in relative clauses (with jussive, optative, potential, prospective, qualitative, concessive or adversative connotations), uide L.H.S., II.ii.2, pp.558sqq., with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Plaut., Asin., 29, Dio obsacro hercle serio quod te rozem.

59.3 et: uide 7.1.

59.3 res ipsa: cf. 54.24, Ipse res docet.

59.4 bustum et cinerem: A word pair of virtual synonyms. Ellipse of accusative and infinitive (ex. aurum, sc. id quod in aula fuit, esse).

59.5 acquiescis: For acquiescere meaning "to acquiesce in, give assent to", uide T.L.L., s.v., meaning concedere, nelle (I.424.79sq.), usually with an (accusative and) infinitive (I.425.1sq.), rather than with ut and the subjunctive (I.424.70sq.), which usually means permentere, sinere, but here in the Q. means concedere (I.424.74sq.); cf. with ne and the subjunctive meaning concedere, ex. Sid. Ap., Ep., V.xix.2, Qui tuis uotis atque amicitii hoc acquiesce...ne constringat poena raptorem.

59.6 ita sic se res habet: uide 45.11.

59.7 alia temptandum est uia; cf. 59.14, alia temptandum est uia;
uide 25.27, alia temptandum est uia.

59.10 fuit: uide 3.18.

59.11 tulisti: uide 3.18.

59.12 nunc: The MSS. apart from H omit nunc.

59.13 fuit: uide 8.2.

59.14 incredimur: For adgredimur (substituted by Klink.); uide
T.L.I., e.x., ui hostili (VII.i.1570.13sq.), with exx.; ex. Front.,
Strat., II.v.42, Lacedaemonios a tergo ingressus itinere oppressit.
cf. Plaut., Trin., 963, Adgrediendum est hic homo mi astu.

59.14 alia temptandum est uia: uide 59.7. The MSS. apart from H
omit alia and est; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.141.


59.15 solus: solus is in anthesis with totum, and should be under-
stood with both totum feci and totum nescio.

59.16 neque res neque causa: A word pair of virtual synonyms.

59.18 commisi: uide 8.2.

59.19 neque: For ne...quidem; uide 8.6, for the same use of nec,
with exx. and bibliog.; ex. Tac., Ann., III.29, Sed neque tum fuisse
dubitauerim, qui eiusmodi precos occulti illuderent. (Herrm.
suggested non, to give non...non; Hav. suggested neque for non at
59.18, to give neque...neque; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.143.)

59.20 circuisione: cf. Ter., And., 202, Na. aperte inam rem modo
locutus nil circuisione usus est.


59.21 subdidisti: The reading of H. The other MSS. read abdidisti.
The s could have been lost by haplography at the end of cinerea (cf.
horia (s)omni, 41.10), and the u confused with a (cf. 33.11, ut,
where L reads at and R aut). For subdidisti, meaning "substitute",
uide Porcellini, s.v., with exx. abdidisti, "hide, remove" (the buried ashes), is opposite to the facts and to the story involved in Querolus' and Arbiter's plan; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.149. The T.L.L., s.v. abdo, meaning removere (I.56.59sqq.), includes this passage, pointing out, with exx., the confusion in vulgar pronunciation between abdo and addo. (Canneg. suggested addidisti, "add".) uide also Johnston, s.v. abdidisti, and Thielmann, in A.L.L., III, p.472, who both suggested the meaning "throw away". (Abbot suggested readdidisti, "return". Bongars suggested abiecisti, "throw away", cf. 59.23, abiecisse; 50.26, Rustum abstilimus, aurum abieicimus. Klink. suggested adiecisti, "throw to, add"; Cors. abduxisti, "take away"; Herrm. subduxisti, "remove, steal, take away"; Klink. attulisti, "bring, carry to".)

59.22 alius: uide 15.1.

60.1 esto: uide 8.1.

60.1 bono animo esto: cf. Ter., Phorm., 965, bono animo es. (Caiger compared advice by his master to a defeated parasite to cheer up to Ter., Ad., 839, Exterme frontem...modio modo hilarum facte; and to Varro, Sat., Bumen, frag. 134, Quin mihi caperratam tuam frontem, Strobile, omittis, which he linked by name to the Strobilos Comedy, uide the intro. section on Sources.)

60.1 esto: uide 18.13.

60.3 dii: uide 24.21.

60.5 unde: uide 3.12.

60.5 pondus: A2 adds pondus, omitted by the MSS. Ber. suggested the addition of pondus after tantum; Herrm. after erat. V3 glosses tantum with ponderis. cf. 60.8, unde pondus; uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.143. (However, Løfstedt (1911), p.147, tried to show that such an
addition may be unnecessary, as the notion of a heavy weight could be understood from the context. *uide* also *L.H.S.*, II.ii.2, p.206; *L.& S.* (Lat.), s.v. *tantum*, neuter absolute; with *exx.* and *bibliog.* *tantum* used as a substantive means "so much", as *tanti* and *tanta* mean "so many"; *ex.* *Plaut.*, *Bacch.*, 272, *Tantum debuit.*

60.5 *erat*: *uide* 8.2.

60.6 *nescis, magus, nihil esse praetuius fortuna mala*: Querolus sarcastically repeats Mandrogerus' words from 43.8, *nescis nihil esse praetuius fortuna mala*.

60.6 *magus*: The vocative differs from the nominative in form in the second declension only, and even there the nominative is sometimes used instead, especially in Late Lat.; *uide* *L.H.S.*, II.ii.2, pp. 24 seq., with *exx.* and *bibliog.*; cf. also the vocative Mandrogerus, 24.7, *uide* the intro. section on Characters, *exx.* *Plaut.*, *Asin./* 664, *Da, meus ocellus, mea rosa, mi anima, mea uoluptas; Cas./*, 137, *Meus festus dies/Meus pullus passer, mea columba, mi lepus.*

60.7 *recognosco*: *uide* 5.11.

60.8 *unde*: *uide* 3.12.

60.8 *unde pondus*: Verbal ellipse.

60.9 *plumbeum*: Ellipse of *esse*, cf. 48.14, *Clastrum illud plumbeum.* It still seems unlikely that Mandrogerus should not have been suspicious of the weight. A leaden lid would need to be very thick indeed to compare in weight with the quantity of gold implied at 50.22, *Omnes intus saccos capsas scrinia requirunt, aurum isti tractant, solidi intus tinniunt.*

60.10 *praestigias*: *uide* 8.20.

60.12 *impositum nobis esse ab illo*: *uide* 4.1.

60.12 *nobis*: Arbiter may be including himself as Mandrogerus' "defence counsel", cf. 58.1, *Quaeso, Arbiter, pro me ut uerba facias.* He has not been deceived, although he and Querolus have
planned to confuse Händ by pretending that Qur. has been robbed.
(Dan. suggested ubiś, from a confusion of =center for ㋕, Bongars suggested tībi.) (uīde also 6.9, the "rhetorical plural", where
the speaker identifies himself in some way with the interests of
his interlocutor.)

60.12 illo: Euclio.


60.13 illi: Euclio.

60.13 thesaurum: uīde 55.3.

60.14 se: uīde 3.8, atque.

60.14 ille: Euclio.

60.14 istrate: Querolus.

60.15 ille: Euclio.

60.15 indicabat: The reading of H; cf. sciebatur, 60.16. The other
MSS. read indicaret.

60.15 crediderat: uīde 8.17.

60.15 pater familia ille: Euclio.

60.16 thesaurum: Ellipse of esse.

60.16 crediderat: uīde 8.17. Ellipse of direct object eum (thesaurum).

60.20 defunctus: uīde 24.24. cf. 49.2, Ne defunctus desines?

60.21 recognosco: uīde 5.11.

60.23 aurum credidī: Either in apposition to cineres, or with
ellipse of an accusative and infinitive (eōs esse). uīde 47.7,
Aurum in cinerem uersum est.

60.24 excusas: uīde 15.3.

60.24 Mandrogerus: Vocative, uīde 24.7.

60.24 agnosco: uīde 5.11.
60.25 *agnosc*; uide 5.11.

60.25 *talem*: For the singular, cf. 61.20, *Talem quaerere homines pro magno solent*. H reads *tales*, plural, but this is perhaps by dittography from *semper*.

60.25 *dilexit*: The MSS. read *dixit*. R2 corrects to *dilexit*. (Peip. suggested *duxit*.)

61.2 *magum mathematicumque*: uide 4.2.

61.4 *amicum ueterem et nouum*: Oxymoron. cf. Plaut., Cist., 199, Sernato uestros socios ueteres et nouas. Mandrogerus is an old friend to Euclio, but new to Querolus, although Mand. claims to have known Quer. for a long time; uide 53.22.


61.8 *denouerem*: uide 3.17.

61.9 *misertus*: For *misverita*, ante- and post- Class., uide T.L.L., s.v. *misereor* (VIII,1114.84sqq.), with exx.

61.10 *uictum qui uitem*: Adnominatio or paronomasia.

61.10 *indulsisti*: uide 3.7.

61.11 *leges nouas*: (For legal satire, uide the intro. section on History and Thought: Legal History.)

61.12 *condidi*: uide 24.2.

61.13 *senulianum et parasiticum*: A word pair of virtual synonyms. Invented *senatus consulte*, puns on the servile and parasitic existence.
61.13 *seruilianum*: "Servile". (There were three *leges Seruillianae*: the *Lex Seruilliana Judicaria*, introduced by Quintus Servilius Caepio; the *Lex Seruilliana de Pecuniis Repetendis*, introduced by Caius Servilius Glauce; the *Lex Seruilliana Agraria*, proposed by Publius Servilius Rullus, but defeated through the opposition of Cicero.)

61.13 *parasiticum*: "Parasitic".

61.14 *uisne...eloquar*: *uide* 18.22.

61.14 *interdictorum*: An *interdictum* was the legal term for a praetorian interdict, a provisional decree of the praetor, prohibiting some act, especially in disputes of private persons respecting possession; *uide* the lexica, *s.v.*, with *exx.*

61.14 *eloquar*: *uide* 30.22.

61.14 *ad legem*: For *ad* meaning *secundum*, *uide* 39.20; *ex* Cic., *De Orat.*, III.xlix.190, *Hence igitur*, Crassus incuit, *ad lem*. (Grut. was mistaken in taking *ad legem* as a verb, *adlegem*, "mention, relate, recount").

61.14 *legem*: The following alliterative names are puns with reference to the servile and parasitic existence. In most cases they do go back to actual people or laws, although the contents of these are mostly unknown. *cf.* Cic., *In Verr.*, II.i.42.109, *Cedo mihi leges Atinius Furas Fusiis;* Caius, *Inst.*, I.42, Praeterea *lege* Fufia Caninia certus modus constitutus est in servis testamento manumittendis; Paul., *Sent.*, IV.14, *Ad Legem Furiam Caniniam. Nominatim tantum servi testamento manumitti secundum legem Furiam possunt...Quoties numerus servorum prouter legem Furiam Caniniam icundus est...Lege Furia Caninia cauetur ut certus servorum numeros testamento manumittatur. (For similar puns, *cf.* Plaut., *Asin.*, 372; *Capt.*, 160; *Curc.*, 442; *Persa*, 701; Trin., 1020.)

61.15 *porciam*: From *porcus*, a pig, "porcine", with reference to the parasite's greed; *cf.* the Testamentum Porcelli, in *Bthc.'s* 6th. ed. of

(The Lex Porcia, named after the people's tribune Publius Porcius Laeca, made it illegal for proconsuls and their staff to make visitations outside their official provinces except for specified purposes.)

61.15 caniniam: From canis, a dog, "canine", with reference to the parasite's fawning nature.

61.15 furiam: From fur, a thief, "thievish"; or from furiae, the furies, "furious".

61.15 fusiam: RPB read fusiam. Perhaps from fu, "fie, for shame". (The Lex Furia or Fugia Caninia was concerned with testamentary manumission. A Lex Furia and a Lex Fugia de Manumissionibus both occur in Cicero.)

61.15 consulibus: The names of the consuls seem to represent the punishments in store for those who break the above laws.

61.15 torquato: From torques, a "toro", "neck-chain" or "collar", which could be used for attaching criminals. (Titus Manilius Imperiosus Torquatus was consul in 347, 344 and 340 B.C.; Titus Manilius Torquatus in 235 and 224 B.C.; Titus Manilius Torquatus in 165 B.C.; and Lucius Manilius Torquatus in 65 B.C.)

61.15 taurea: From taurus, a bull, "taurine"; perhaps with reference to a bull's hide whip used for chastisement. There is no know example of a Taurea(s) as consul.

61.17 apud me: vide 3.6.

61.18 ego docere iam uolo: cf. Plaut., Mil., 354, Praecorta facito ut nemincris...: Cedo/Vel decem edocebo. The insertion of the Lex Conuialis at this point was suggested by Dan., uide Ranstr., Q.Stud., p.142. (also by Com., Klink., Thomas, Hav., Duck., Herrm. and Cors.) The Lex Conuialis occurs in all the complete MSS. immediately after the last words of the Q., digna causa, and before the explicit. V3 glosses it with, Querolus iura parasitica profert docens unde praemia debeat expectare. It is unlikely that the Lex is by the same author as the Q., as it employs ("Ciceronian") prose clausulae, rather than (Plautine or Terentian) iambic-trochaic verse clausulae, uide the intro. section on Rhythmic Structure. It probably became mistakenly attached to the Q. in the early Middle Ages.


61.19 iura instructissimun: For ius, uide 24.1. L and R read iura. R2 corrects to iuris. V3 gives iuris. EBH read iure. The ablative iure or the genitive iuris would be expected with instructus, or the preposition in with the ablative, in iure; cf. Cic., De Or., I.lviii.249, Cur ergo non eidem in iure ciuili...satis instructi esse possimus. The T.L.L., s.v. instruo (VII.i.2024.5), knows only this passage with the internal or Greek accusative, but gives other exx. with the ablative and genitive.

61.20 talem: uide 60.25.

61.20 magno: uide 28.27.

61.21 quoniam ita multis fiat: uide 29.3, quoniam istud multis fiat. (Gaiser pointed out that it is irrational for Querolus to receive
as his parasite someone who has tried to cheat him, whereas, in the Strobilos Comedy, according to his interpretation of the plot,uide the intro. section on Sources, Cleinias is justified in welcoming Strobilos to his wedding feast as he had helped to forward his marriage. However, Plautine slaves may be welcomed at the end of a play in spite of their misdeeds, cf. ex. at the end of the Most., Men., and Ecid.)

62.1 Act V, Scene 4.

62.2 nosque praesto sumus: cf. 38.17, nos praesto sumus.

62.3 religio: uide 33.9.

62.5 scimus...quoniam...capit: uide 30.27.

62.6 aspergus: uide 34.2.

62.8 uiaticum ego ubis: Verbal ellipse (aspergam).

62.9 Mandrogeronte: For the form of the ablative, uide the intro. section on Characters.

62.10 digna causa: Some lines may have been lost at the end of the play, but there cannot be much missing, as the fourth scene of the fifth act has been reached with all the characters on stage. Querolus has been reconciled to Mandrogerus, and agreed to recompense Sycophanta and Sardanapallus. The treasure has returned to its rightful owner. For the Lex Comitualis at this point, uide 61.18.

addendum.

17.18 patus: Opelt (in his review of Emr.'s ed.), p.317, noted that pat forms an element in several Celtic names, uide A. Holder, Alt-Celtischen Wortschatz, Leipzig (1904), II, pp.951sqq., for names beginning with pat-, including the female name Pata (C.I.L., III.i.3134).
addendum.

61.15 torquato: (Marcus Junius Silanus Torquatus was consul in 19 A.D.; Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus in 53 A.D.; Lucius Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas in 94 and 128 A.D.; Lucius Volusius Torquatus at the end of the 1st. century A.D.; Gaius Bellicus Flavius Torquatus Tebanianus in 124 A.D.; Gaius Bellicus Torquatus in 143 A.D.; Gaius Bellicus Calpurnius Torquatus in 148 A.D.; Marcus Metilius Aquillus Regulus Nepos Volusius Torquatus Fronto in 157 A.D.; and Lucceius Torquatus before 190 A.D. Another Torquatus, and another Nonius Torquatus Asprenas, are also known to have been consuls.)
LEX CONVIVALIS SIVE DECRETVM PARASITICVM.
The Lex Conuiualis or Decretum Parasiticum occurs in all the complete extant MSS. of the Q, after the text of the Q, and before the explicit. It was probably not written by the author of the Q. (uide the Commentary to 61,18.)

The text is given according to the line nos. of Bisch. and Heraeus' 6th. ed. of Petronius, p.267. (uide the Bibliography.)

The sigla are the same as those for the text of the Q.

Mercedem uulnerum uictus accipiat. Parasitus in conuiuio si fuerit ueste discissus, a rege conuiuii duplam mercedem repar- rationis accipiat. De liuoribus in quadrantem solidi unius, de tumoribus in trientem poena taxabitur. Quod si et tumor fu- erit et liuor, solidi unius bessem iure optimo consequetur.

Vnam uero unciam $\gamma$raposiae$^+$contemplatione concedimus. Placuit autem ut etiam de plagis et vulneribus inflixis summo strepitu criminali amicorum praestetur inspec- tio, ita ut dodrantem solidi nec inspicientum gratia nec largi- entis excedat humanitas. In luxu autem et ossibus loco motis usque ad deuncem solidi iniuriarum commodum placuit extendi.

Iam porro de ossibus fractis placuit conuenitque, ut in minu- talibus solidus, in principalibus uero ossibus argenti libra proti- nus tradetur. Quae autem uel principalia uideri ossa debe- aut uel minuta, medicorum tractatus inueniat. Si autem para- situs amplius quam praefinitum est uoluerit postulare, plus petiti periculo stranguletur. Rex conuiuii iniuriarum merita etiam voluntariiis decertationibus cogatur exsoluere, ita ut praemium criminosi <in> mercedem transeat uulnerati. In tantum autem parasitus consuli iura uoluerunt, ut si vulneribus afflictus con- testata lite defecerit, heredibus eius paterni laboris ac meriti praemia non negentur. Quod si parasitus quamuis tractatus incommode, tamen de malis suis intestatus occiderit, unde actor non egerit, agere non poterit. Qui causas mortis non reddiderit, insepu- tus abiciatur. Et haec omnia sic constituimus, quasi inter
Hominum liberorum et aequalium lasciuiens turba desaeuiat. Nam si a patrone uel seruo patrioni parasitus contra leges pertulerit iniuriam, habebit fugiendi libertatem.

Translation.

The vanquished is to receive the price of his wounds. If his clothing has been torn the parasite shall receive from the king of the feast twice the cost of the repairs. Damages for his bruises shall be valued at a quarter of a solidus, for his bumps, at a third. But if he has suffered both bumps and bruises, they shall equal two-thirds of a solidus, and deservedly so. Indeed, we allow one ounce of gold in consideration of the medical expenses. Moreover it is also decreed that in the case of blows and wounds that have been inflicted, his friends may make an inspection with full criminal proceedings, yet only in so far as the favour of the inspectors and the generosity of the donor shall not exceed three-quarters of a solidus. However, in the case of a dislocation or bones out of
joint, it is decreed that reparation for the injuries should be extended to eleven-twelfths of a solidus. Now moreover, in the case of broken bones, it is agreed and decreed that a solidus in the case of minor bones, but a pound of silver in the case of major bones, should be handed over forthwith. Now as to which bones should be deemed major and which minor, a medical examination shall decide. If, however, the parasite should want to demand more than is prescribed, he shall be silenced by an action for excessive demand. The king of the feast is bound to pay the cost of injuries even in voluntary contests, in such a way that the fine from the guilty party pays the damages of the injured party. The law has, moreover, wished that the interests of parasites shall be protected to the extent that if one who has been wounded dies, after he has brought a suit, his heirs shall not be denied the rewards and deserts of their father's labours. But if the parasite, no matter how badly he may have been treated, dies of his injuries intestate, if the plaintiff has not brought an action about it his heirs shall not be entitled to act. Anyone who has not given the reasons for his death shall be cast out unburied. We have established all these regulations in this fashion, as regarding a rowdy band of free and equal men should they rage amongst themselves. But if the parasite has received, illegally, an injury from his patron or from his patron's slave, he shall be granted complete freedom to retire.

Commentary.

1 mercedem uulnerum: For the place of the Lex Conuialis, vide 61.18. The beginning of the Lex may be lost. For a Lex Conuialis, cf. the Lex Tap(p)illa Conuialis, mentioned by Festus (ed. Müller, p.363), Tap(p)illum Legem Conuialen ficto nomine conscrisit ioco o carmine Valerius Valentinus cuius meminit Lucilius hoc modo, Tap(p)illum rident legem conuialen optimi. The whole of the Lex is a legal satire, an imaginary law based on the principle of monetary compensation for injury.
1 uictus: This refers to the parasite "vanquished" in a scuffle.

2 ueste discissa: cf. Ter., Ad., 120, Discidit uestem resarcietur.

2 rero consueui: cf. 17, rex consueui, where P2 glosses pater parasitorum; the "king of the feast" or "master of ceremonies", Class. Lat. magister bibendi, Greek συμποσίαρχος; vide also 21.2.

2 reparationis: "Restoration, repairs, renewal", used from the 4th century, vide Souter, s.v., but not, apparently, of clothes (exx. Prudent., Cath., X.120, Mors haec reparatio vita est; and C.I.L., III.352, 7000, of thermæ). Hav.'s reparationis is unnecessary. The genitive is used for the dative, vide 22.20.

3 de liuoribus in quadrantem solidi unius: cf. gloss in V3, Liucore notatus solidi qui et sextula dictur id est sex siliquis. The amounts of damages increase steadily except for line 6: line 3, \(\frac{1}{4}\) = 6 siliquae; line 4, \(\frac{1}{3}\) = 8 siliquae; line 5, \(\frac{2}{3}\) = 16 siliquae; (line 6, one ounce = 6 solidi); line 9, \(\frac{3}{4}\) = 18 siliquae; line 11, \(\frac{11}{12}\) = 22 siliquae; line 13, one solidus = 24 siliquae, and one pound = 72 solidi. Line 6 seems to be out of sequence; the requisite number here would be 17 siliquae, but this was not a recognised amount. One ounce should come between one solidus and one pound. (It seems unlikely that \(\frac{1}{6}\) of a solidus = 2 siliquae, unciam solidi, should be understood by unam unciam in line 6, as solidi is everywhere else specified, and this number would still be out of place.)

3 quadrantem: quadrena, \(\frac{1}{4}\) of a solidus = 6 siliquae.

3 solidi: For the solidus, vide 24.13.

3 unius: The reading of H. The MSS. read illius. V2 corrects to unius, cf. 5, solidi unius.

4 de tumoribus in trientem: cf. gloss in V3, Tumore trientem id est siliquis bis binis.

4 trientem: triens, \(\frac{1}{3}\) of a solidus = 8 siliquae.

4 quod si et tumor fuerit et liuor solidi unus bessem: of. gloss in V3, Utroque pariter bissem siliquas habent sexdecim.

5 bessem: besseis, 3 of a solidus = 16 siliqueae.

5 iure optimo: This phrase is frequent in Plautus, ex. Amph., frag. 4, Optimo iure infringatur aula cineris in camut.

6 unam vero unciam: of. gloss in V3, Justiore uncia constante ternis solidis.

6 unciam: uncia, one ounce or six solidi, a disproportionate amount of damages, uide line 3.

aposiææ: Böck suggested that aposia is a form of apusia, from the Greek ἄνυσία, uide T.G.L., s.v., giving the meaning of excoctio here from the gloss in the text (uide infra), as does Duc., s.v. excoctio means "boiling", "baking" or "burning", uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. ἄνυσία may also have the meaning of the Lat. intertrimentum, "that which is rubbed in" (sometimes a seasoning made of ingredients rubbed in), or the waste "slag" obtained from smelting metallic ore (cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat., II. 253.51, ἄνυσία xαλκοῦ hoo intertrimentum). The usual meaning is an "absence" or "deficiency". Souter, s.v. aposia, gives the meaning here as "complete cooking". Johnston, s.v., suggested the meaning of a "sore", "clotted blood", but there does not seem to be any other evidence for this meaning. Dan. suggested aporia, from the Greek ἀποσία, and common in Christian Lat., uide Souter, s.v. aporia, meaning "embarrassment, doubt, perplexity, difficulty, confusion, distress, care, concern, anxiety". It may also mean paupertas.
"poverty", uide DuC., s.v. Dan. also suggested the meaning "wound", from the Greek ἀδόρροος or ἀδόρροος, an "afflux", "emanation", "flowing", "stream". He also suggested apozia, a form of apozema, a "decocction" (a boiling down so as to extract an essence, or the resulting liquid), from the Greek ἀνόζεμα, "ferment". Klink. suggested that this refers to a medicament to heal the wound, while Souter, s.v., gives the meaning of "medicinal decocction" to apozema or apozima. The context requires some meaning such as "injuries", "discomfort" or "medical expense". After apoziae the MSS. all add hoc est excocctio, which Dan. deleted as a gloss. (For the meaning of excocctio, uide supra.)

6 contemplatione: The reading of H. V reads contemplationi. The other MSS. read contemplationis. The ablative with dependent genitive, "taking into consideration", "in consideration of", is frequent in Late Lat., mostly in the jurists, uide L.& S.(Lat.), s.v., with exx.; ex. Paul., Sent., II.xxxii.6, Quocumque tempore contemplatione mortis inter uirum et uxorem donatio facta est.

8 inflixis: The reading of H, referring to wounds "inflicted". R reads defixis. The other MSS. read infixis.

8 summo; summo strepitu criminali means perhaps "with full legal proceedings". Dan., followed by Bmch., suggested summo strepitu criminali, meaning "without resort to a proper legal investigation".

8 strepitu; strepitus criminalis may possibly be a term for "legal proceedings", cf. Cod. Theod., IX.xix.22, Vitimam autem finem strepitus criminalis, quem litigantem discerpantemque fas non sit excidere, anni spatii limitamus.

8 criminali: The reading of H (already suggested by Dan.). The other MSS. read criminari. (For criminalis as opposed to civialis, referring to "criminal" rather than "civil" law, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx.; ex. Soaev., Dig., XLIX.v.2, Ante sententiam appelleri potest, si quaestionem in civili negotio habendam iudex interlocutus sit, uel in criminali, si contra legas hoc faciat.)

9 *dodrantem*: *dodrans*, 3/2 of a solidus = 18 siliqueae.

9 *luxus*: The reading of RPBH. *VL* read *luxu*. Böch. suggested *luxo*.

The mistake must have occurred from a confusion of *o* for *u*, cf.

54.25. *luxus* is a rare ante- and post-Class. word for a "sprain" or "dislocation", *uide* the lexica, s.v., with *exx*.; ex. Cato, De Re Rust., 160, Luxum sicut est hoc cantione sanum fiet. (DuC., s.v., only knows *lomus*, the reading of *VL*, from this passage, meaning *intestina animalium*.)


11 *deuncem*: *deunx*, 1/18 of a solidus = 22 siliqueae.


13 *solido*: A whole coin, the obvious completion of the table of increasing damages.

13 *libra*: One pound in weight, the final amount on the scale of enlarged damages.

15 *parasitus...praefinitum...postulare plus petiti periculo*: For a similar alliteration of *p*, cf. Sen. Rhet., *Controu.*, I.vii.4, Plus polliceris cuam petitur.

16 *voluerit postulare*: The reading of *H*. The other MSS. read *postularit*.

16 *plus petiti periculo*: The accuser finds himself accused. *periculum* is a legal term for a "lawsuit", "writ", "sentence", etc.,
and petere for "to sue at law", "to bring an action"; vide the lexicon, s.vv., with exx. V3, in a lengthy gloss, interprets this as demanding either too much; or at the wrong time (ex. in advance); or at the wrong place (ex. if stipulated at a certain other place); or for the wrong reason (ex. a legally invalid demand).

17 stranguletur: This can hardly be taken literally, "strangled" (to death), although it is used figuratively, "tormented" or "tortured"; vide L.& S. (Lat.), s.v., with exx.; ex. Cod. Theod., XII.iii.1, Venditor necessitate coactus addicit interpellat iudicem competentem omnesque causas singillatum cuius strangulatur exponat (meaning, "by which he is forced to the sale"). According to V3's gloss, parasites, unprotected by law, ran the risk of being "strangled" (financially) by illegal actions: Verum cuoniam parasitorum bona quae nulla uidentur leum saueritas non attincit, iuguli periculo ab illicitis exactionibus inhibit. Salvius of Marseilles speaks of peasants "strangled" by harsh judgements taking refuge with the Bagaudae, Dei, V.vi.25, vide 4.21.

17 rex conuiuii: vide line 2.

18 voluntarii: cf. gloss in V3, Id est non incitatis ab illo (sc. regis) sed sponte initis parasitis. (Hav. followed Canneg.'s voluptuariis, comparing Aul. Cell., Noct. Att., VI.iii.52, In decursibus ludioris aut simulacris proelium voluptuariis fieri.)

19 crimenosi: Meaning rei, vide 10.3.

19 in: Wernsd.'s addition; possibly lost by haplography in the -i at the end of crimenosi and/or the m- at the beginning of mercedem.

19 praemium crimenosi in mercedem transeat vulnerati: The gloss in V3, Id est plus accipiat laedens quan laesus, seems to have this the wrong way round.

21 contestata lите: The injured party must have begun an action against his attacker before his death, in order for his heir to
qualify for compensation. cf. gloss in V3. Lis contestata uidetur cum index cenerit audire necrotium ab utraque parte. The litis contestatio formed the formal introduction to a lawsuit. Both parties made declarations before the praetor to prepare the question for its transference to the judge. At these proceedings the parties called upon certain persons to be witnesses, so as to keep an oral record of what happened before the praetor. ex. Cic., Pro Rosc. Com., XI.32, Lite contestata, iudicio damnii iniuria constituto, tu sine me omen Plaucio decidisti. uide P.W., s.v. litis contestatio, with exx. and bibl.og.

23 de malis suis: The cause of death, qualifying occiderit. intestatus is used absolutely to describe the parasitus. (Duck., however, understood de malis suis with intestatus, meaning that the parasite has not called witnesses to testify to the wrongs done to him.)

23 intestatus: "Intestate", without making a will, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx. (Here, perhaps, without calling witnesses, or bringing or answering a suit.)

23 unde: For de quibus (malis suis), uide 3.12.

23 unde actor non egerit: These words are omitted by all the MSS. except H. The omission must have been caused by homoioteleuton.

23 actor: This legal term for the plaintiff, uide the lexica, s.v., with exx., should probably be read for H's actusor; ex. Cic., De Part. Orat., XXXII.110, Sed accusatorem pro omni actore et petitore appello.

23 unde actor non egerit heres acere non potuit: The most acceptable meaning would seem to be that if the deceased parasite had not initiated an action for damages before his death, his heir would not subsequently be entitled to take action.

24 qui causas mortis non reddiderit insciultus abiciatur: This has usually been taken to refer to a corpse, the cause or author of
whose death is unknown, being denied burial. (Klink suggested that it refers to a dying parasite actually refusing to reveal the name of his attacker.) Dan., however, understood it as indicating the death penalty, without burial, for a murderer with no sufficient reason for his crime. (Suicides without justifiable motive were refused burial.)

25 quasi: "Just as if it were"; this refers the above provisions to a case between equals, whereas the following refers to that between a parasite and his patron.

26 re: Dan.'s addition. Bach preferred the addition of ludum before lasciuiens. (He suggested that ludum could have been lost in the end of aequalium.)

27 nam si a patrono uel servo patroni parasitus contra leges pertulerit injuriam: The parasite (presumably a freed man) was not entitled to bring an action for damages against his patron. Nor was he allowed to act against his master's slaves, who were under the latter's protection. All he could do was to leave his service.
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