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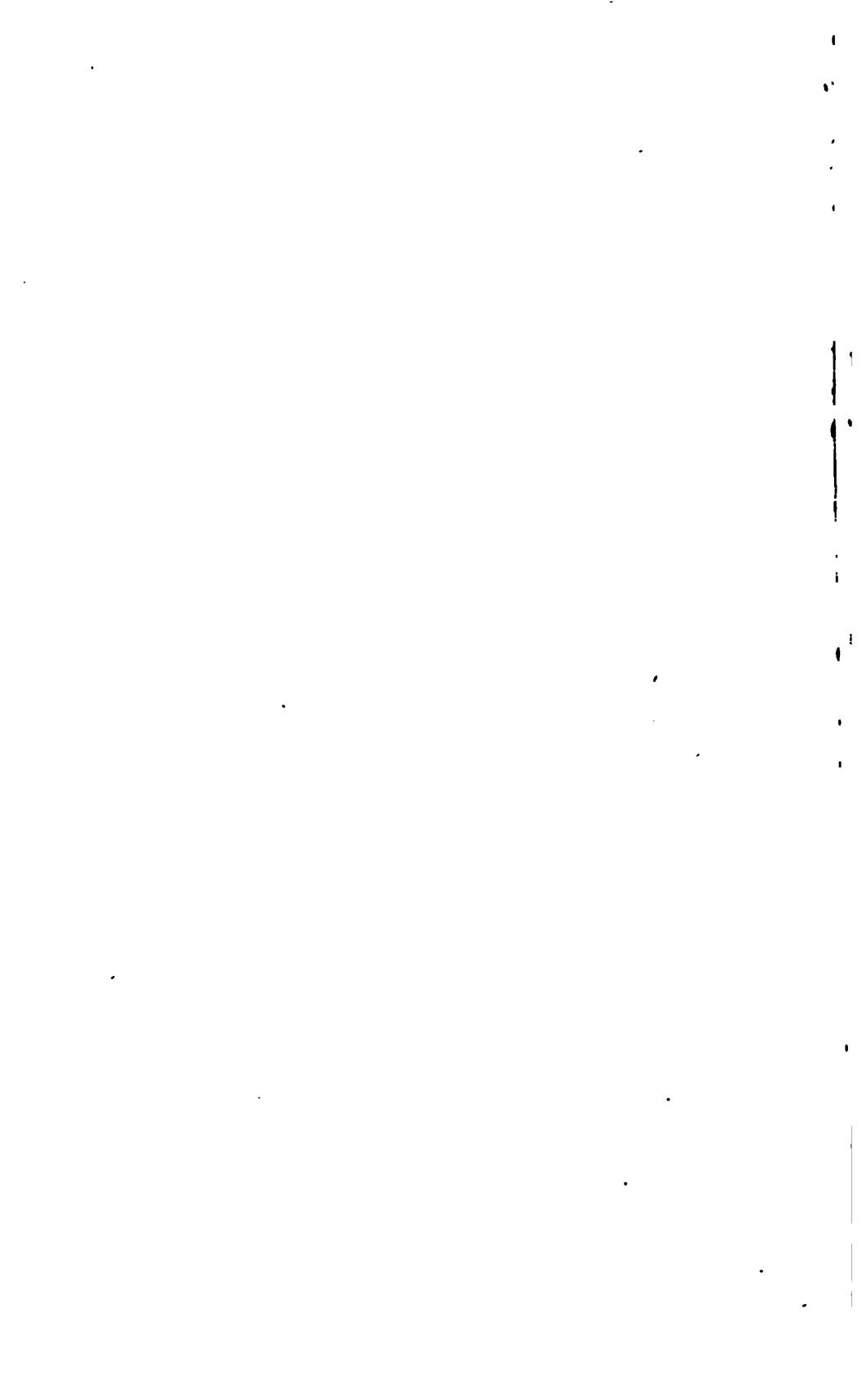














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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXXVII, I.

WHOLE No. 145.

## I.—THE LATEST EXPANSIONS OF THE ILIAD.

The printed texts of the Iliad are remarkably uniform; so much so, indeed, that a collation of Ludwich or Monro-Allen with a text printed early in the nineteenth century, may prove surprising at the first blush. Attention will be given in the present article to no variant smaller than a single line, and under that limitation the uniformity of our printed texts is theoretically absolute. In his edition of the Iliad (1804) Wolf printed 15,693 verses, and the numbering of our editions still points to the same total, each verse retaining the number it bore in Wolf's edition. In practice this harmony is disturbed by the use of brackets, or small type, or by the relegation of certain verses to the critical apparatus, where they must join company with certain other verses that have never made their way into a printed text. Such differences, however, do not shake our concept of a poem of 15,693 lines, and this is what we have in mind when we speak of the modern or printed vulgate.

The chief foundation of this vulgate is the minuscule manuscripts which in turn exhibit such a uniformity, that we can abstract from them the idea of a medieval vulgate. On comparison of the two concepts the first fact to be noted is that the printed vulgate has been expanded by the addition of certain lines. These are: ⊕ 548. 550-2 taken from [Plat.] Alcib. II 149<sup>d</sup>; I 458-61 from Plut. de poet. aud. 26<sup>b</sup>; Λ 543 from Arist. Rhet. II 9, p. 1387<sup>a</sup> 35; Σ 604/5 from Athen. 181<sup>d</sup>. In this direction, however, Wolf did not go so far as Barnes

(1711) who had added II 82<sup>a</sup>. P 99<sup>a</sup>. T 137<sup>a</sup>. Y 66<sup>a</sup>, the text and sources of which are recorded in Ludwich's commentary. None of these lines is found in any manuscript, nor—to anticipate slightly—in any papyrus. Papyri covering the passages in *ΘIP* have not yet been discovered; those available for the others can readily be found in the list given below.

Now the medieval or manuscript vulgate is not a sharply defined idea. On the contrary it is rather like a composite photograph; consisting of a solid nucleus—the lines on which all manuscripts agree—and of a nebulous halo—the lines for which the manuscript testimony wavers. The latter are in comparison with the printed vulgate distinguished as plus or minus verses. The distinction, however, is of little value; partly because it is to a certain extent merely a matter of accident whether a verse has been printed or not, but more because in comparison with an older stage of the tradition all of these wavering lines prove to be plus verses. Disregarding this distinction, therefore, I shall turn next to the task of marking off the boundary between the nucleus and the nebula of the tradition as exactly as possible.

As exactly as possible, because it was to be expected, and is obvious, that the manuscripts suffer from 'surface corruption', to adapt a metaphor that Mr. Murray has rendered obligatorily fashionable. This we must imagine away. The criteria for recognizing it are: 1) the need of the line for the construction; 2) the ease of the mechanical explanation of its omission (haplography); 3) the restriction of the variant to a small number of manuscripts. The application of these criteria cannot be made by rule of thumb, it requires judgment and tact. Consequently, it need occasion no surprise that, while the differences between the extremes are readily recognized, there should remain a number of doubtful cases. Criteria for reducing the number of these, I hope to develop in the course of the present article.

To facilitate the checking of my work I give a list of the passages which I regard as due to surface corruption—including in it instances of transposition of lines, since these may either originate in the omission of a line or lead to it. For many of the passages reference to Ludwich's commentary is sufficient; but some I have placed in a second list either



because the omission, tho poorly attested, is in itself possible, or because the variant is common to a small group of manuscripts, or occurs in a manuscript of importance,<sup>1</sup> or finally because it coincides (in my belief accidentally) with an omission or athetesis of an ancient critic.

A 40. 41. 64-5. 142. 167. 215-45. 237<sup>a</sup>. 266. 267. 375<sup>a-c</sup>. 443<sup>a</sup>. 465-7. 468-9. 476-7. 490. 524 575. 588. 597. B 100. 103. 104. 152. 166-81. 172<sup>a-d</sup>. 194-5. 235. 274 275. 285-91. 355-7. 388-9. 427-9. 430. 431. 494-505. 504. 563-600. 565-7. 623. 634 643<sup>ab</sup>. 645. 672. 750. 793. 862. Γ 7. 9-15. 57. 74-94. 88. 163. 199. 224-5. 229. Δ 5. 24. 34<sup>a</sup>. 67<sup>a</sup>. 68-72. 70-2. 71. 72. 95-8. 135. 157<sup>a</sup>. 158. 161. 193. 199-200. 226. 252. 295. 296. 334. 378. 401-2. 446-7. 501. E 14. 31-5. 76. 101<sup>a</sup>. 141. 144. 166. 204. 258-61. 266-7. 272. 384. 385. 386. 398. 462. 611-7. 616<sup>a</sup>. 639. 691. 723/5. 740<sup>a</sup>. 782. 836<sup>ab</sup>. Z 51-2. 91. 113. 163-4 (wide-spread haplogr.). 172-4. 235. 246. 247-50. 267. 303-5. 385. 400-1. 479. 499/500. H 245. 358-9. 395/6. 396. 402<sup>a</sup>. 413<sup>a-d</sup>. 429-31. 447-60. Θ 127-8. 153-213. 159-60. 220. 227. 306-7. 312. 374. 406-19. 433. I 90. 127. 285. 390. 398-9. 408. 568-9. 574. K 117. 128-42. 206. 228. 230. 311-2. 320<sup>a-d</sup> (= 309-12). 530-4. Λ 128. 160. 196-9. 269-72. 313<sup>a</sup>. 359<sup>a</sup>. 569. 595. 800-1. M 138. 195. 232-3. 379. 418-9. 428. 434. N 26. 46. 80. 119. 158-60. 184. 202. 227<sup>a</sup>. 340. 364. 482. 528. 529-31. 530-1. 533. 535. 556-8. 618. 634<sup>a-c</sup>. 655. 681. 692. 721. Ξ 5. 96. 216. 274. 293. 302. 312. 389-90. 406. 490-2. 494. O 80. 152<sup>a</sup>. 155. 162-78. 192. 193. 195. 200-2. 205. 208. 210. 211. 212. 213. 284. 288-90. 315. 380. 418. 471-2. 479-80. 556. 568. 586. 673. 675. 705. 735. Π 50. 58. 83. 92. 124. 143. 193. 214. 222. 224. 248-9. 262-4. 265-6. 308. 336-7. 382-3. 384. 448-51. 478<sup>a</sup>. 482. 497. 527. 582-5. 620. 673-82. 704-6. 712. 803. 829. P 70-1. 80<sup>a</sup>. 90-167. 121. 154. 346-51. 363. 434. 483. 489. 505-10. 524-6. 644-5. 656. 658. Σ 8. 40. 89. 208. 219-20. 269. 277. 462. 483. 484. 485. 553/5. 588-90. 601. T 63. 71. 154. 274. 306. 348<sup>a</sup>. 384. Y 29. 61. 86-8. 112. 116-89. 226<sup>a</sup>. 273. 309. 387-8. 401. Φ 67. 69-71. 72. 342. 387. 477<sup>abc</sup>. X 209. 252. 399. 509. Ψ 107. 137-8. 157. 200-2. 217. 223-4. 244. 374-7. 377. 409. 515-6. 629. 642. 835. 845. Ω 99. 121. 295-312. 305. 326/7. 330. 340-5 (hapl.). 356. 414. 444. 578-9. 648. 654. 694. 695. 713-4.

A 299 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 540<sup>a</sup> (= 538) add. DY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>.—B 83 om. Fr;

<sup>1</sup> The variants of Θ Σ A B G P<sup>x</sup> S T are given completely.

131 om. Fr<sup>1</sup>, add. Fr<sup>2</sup> im. (130-3 *đθ*. Ar.); 139 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 143 om. it., add. im. J, *đθ*. Ar.; 291 om. it., add. im. H; 312-3 om. it., add. im. H (haplography in both cases); 320 om. T<sup>1</sup>, add. T<sup>2</sup> im.; 502-5 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 528 *đθ*. Zen., partim om. Ub<sup>1</sup>; 553 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> (553-5 *đθ*. Zen.); 575 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 606 om. it., add. im. F; 608 om. it., add. im. F<sup>2</sup>; 684 om. Y<sup>b</sup>U, add. Y<sup>b2</sup> im.; 687 om. F, add. F<sup>2</sup> im.; 734 post 735 pos. A (cr. m. 2.); 741 om. it., add. im. F<sup>2</sup>; 744, 746 om. U<sup>a</sup>, add. U<sup>a2</sup>; 757-8 om. F<sup>d1</sup>, add. F<sup>d2</sup> im.; 785 om. it., add. im. F<sup>b</sup>; 859 obelo notat P. Bodl., om. it. ss. Y<sup>b</sup> (haplogr.); 871 om. J.—Γ 128 om. P; 129 om. it. Ub<sup>p</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 139 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 238 om. it., add. U im.; 356-7 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 415 om. D<sup>b</sup>; 438 om. it. ss. Y<sup>b</sup>.—Δ 55 om. Nb<sup>1</sup>, add. Nb<sup>2</sup> im. (55-6 *đθ*. Ar.); 87 om. it., add. im. T; 115 om. E<sup>1</sup>, add. E<sup>2</sup> im.; 117 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (*đθ*. Ar.); 118-21 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 121 om. Ub, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 133 om. Y<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>c1</sup>, add. Y<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>c2</sup>; 149 *đθ*. Ar.; 148 post 149 pos. W<sup>1</sup>; 149-50 om. Ub, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 149-53 om. X<sup>c</sup> (haplogr.); 150 om. Nb<sup>1</sup>, add. Nb<sup>2</sup> im.; 214-7 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 230 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 248 om. it., add. im. L; 253-6 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 369 om. A, add. A<sup>2</sup> im.; 441 om. T<sup>1</sup>, add. T<sup>2</sup> im.; 450 om. O<sup>s</sup> (Allen); 504 om. it., add. im. W.—E 11 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 11-4 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 13 om. M<sup>1</sup>X<sup>b1</sup>, add. M<sup>2</sup> im.; 41 om. L, add. L<sup>2</sup> im.; 79 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 81 om. P<sup>x1</sup>; 248 om. U<sup>a</sup>; 299 post 300 pos. Ub<sup>1</sup>; 338 om. H<sup>b</sup>; 356 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 359 om. D<sup>b</sup>J<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup> add. J<sup>2</sup>L<sup>2</sup> im., post 360 coll. KY<sup>b1</sup> (cr. Y<sup>b2</sup>) (haplogr.); 360 om. D; 438-9 om. A<sup>2</sup>; 712 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 783 post 784 pos. A<sup>1</sup>; 836 om. it., add. im. W; 839 post 840 pos. P<sup>1</sup>; 863 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 907-9 om. L<sup>1</sup> add. L<sup>2</sup> im.—Z 104 om. it., add. im. Y; 105 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 118 om. P<sup>1</sup>, add. P<sup>2</sup> im.; 199 om. it., add. im. C<sup>b</sup>; 262 post 263 pos. G; 265 post 268 poni voluerunt G<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>; 428 om. P<sup>x</sup>P<sup>c</sup>; 456 post 457 coll. P; 461 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 469 post. 470 coll. W<sup>b</sup>; 511 om. it., add. im. B.—H 15 om. it., add. im. G, om. U<sup>o</sup> (Allen); 18 om. it., add. im. Y; 79, 86 om. it., add. im. P<sup>b</sup>; 221 post 223 coll. T<sup>1</sup>; 293 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. im. Ub<sup>2</sup> (*đθ*. Ar.); 308<sup>a</sup> add. WP (M<sup>o</sup> Allen).—Θ 19 om. it., add. im. B; 130 om. it., add. im. K (sine paraphrasi); 131 om. M<sup>1</sup>X<sup>b</sup>; 284 om. X<sup>b1</sup>, add. X<sup>b2</sup> im., om. Zen., *đθ*. Aristoph. Ar.; 454, 547 om. G; 557-8 om. H<sup>b</sup> (easy haplogr. and cf. previous list), om. Zen., *đθ*. Aristoph. Ar.; 559 om. P<sup>x</sup>.—I 28 om. X; 29 om. it., add. im. P; 30 om. it., add. im. F; 44 om. T<sup>1</sup>, *đθ*. Ar.; 67 om. T<sup>1</sup>; 95 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>; 221 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 267-9 om. T<sup>1</sup>;

269 om. T; 397 om. T<sup>1</sup>; 474 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 484 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>; 659 om. J<sup>1</sup>Q<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup>Q<sup>2</sup>X<sup>2</sup> im.; 660 om. X.—K 52 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup>, post 53 coll. D<sup>b1</sup> (51-2 *đθ*. Aristoph. Ar.); 147 om. Y<sup>c1</sup>; 189 om. Y<sup>c1</sup>; 217 om. it., add. im. J; 400 om. Y<sup>c1</sup>; 473 post 474 coll. H<sup>1</sup>J<sup>1</sup>P; 474 om. T<sup>1</sup>P<sup>x</sup>.—Λ 107 om. T<sup>1</sup>; 312 om. Y<sup>c1</sup>; 315 om. P<sup>1</sup>, add. P<sup>2</sup> im.; 367 om. it., add. im. B; 541 om. Y<sup>c1</sup>; 615 om. T<sup>1</sup>; 635 om. L, add. L<sup>2</sup>; 774-5 om. H<sup>1</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.—M 47 om. HT, add. H<sup>2</sup> im., post 48 coll. E<sup>b</sup>; 197 om. A<sup>1</sup>, add. A<sup>2</sup> im.; 332 om. Y<sup>c1</sup>; 363-4 om. J (haplogr.), 364 add. J im., 363 post 364 coll. Y<sup>1</sup> (363 *đθ*. Ar., om. Eust.); 369 om. O<sup>b</sup>X; 374 om. Σ (haplogr.); 390-3 om. it., add. im. J (haplogr.); 432 om. ΘL<sup>1</sup>E<sup>c</sup>, add. L<sup>2</sup> im.—N 24 om. it., add. im. J; 61 om. H<sup>b</sup>; 157 om. S<sup>2</sup>, add. S<sup>3</sup> im.; 378 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup>; 422 om. it., add. im. A; 439-41 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>H<sup>b</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 576 om. it., add. im. G; 592 ante 589 coll. G; 602-6 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im. (hapl.) (om. P. Brit. Mus. 732, hab. P. Morgan); 645 om. T, add. T<sup>2</sup>; 690 om. it., add. im. D<sup>b</sup>; 727 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 730 om. X.—Ξ 42 om. P<sup>x</sup>, post 43 coll. C<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup>; 101 om. Y<sup>c</sup>; 102 om. P; 108 post 109 coll. D<sup>b1</sup>; 157-8 om. Σ (haplogr.); 193 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 206-7 om. it., add. im. U<sup>b</sup>; 303 post 304 coll. D<sup>b1</sup>; 306<sup>ab</sup> add. Σ (= Σ<sup>b</sup>); 391 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 395 post 396 pos. D<sup>b1</sup>; 397 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 399 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 417 om. Y<sup>c</sup>; 489 om. it., add. im. T.—O 43 om. P<sup>x</sup>U<sup>b1</sup>Q<sup>d</sup>, add. U<sup>b2</sup> im.; 163 om. it., add. im. D<sup>b</sup>; 206 s. p. Y<sup>b</sup> (*đθ*. Zen.); 259 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 262 om. Y<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>; 344 om. U<sup>b1</sup>, add. U<sup>b2</sup> im.; 366<sup>ab</sup> (= 1-2) add. G; 417 om. P<sup>x</sup>, post 418 coll. Y; 482 s. p. Y<sup>b</sup>, om. N; 513 om. H<sup>1</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 551 om. Σ (haplogr.) (om. P. Berol. 230, hab. P. Morgan); 658 post 659 coll. O<sup>b</sup>; 692 om. M<sup>1</sup>, add. M<sup>2</sup> im.; 709-10 om. P<sup>x</sup>.—II 12 om. it., add. im. N; 42-3 om. J<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>p</sup>(?)E<sup>c</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im. (hapl.); 51-2 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 98 om. B<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>, add. B<sup>2</sup> im.; 99 om. N<sup>1</sup> (97-100 susp. Zen., *đθ*. Ar., haplogr.); 153-4 om. P<sup>x</sup> (cf. A. J. P. XXXV 148); 231 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 305 om. it., add. im. D<sup>b</sup>; 344 om. L; 400 om. it., add. im. P; 484 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 501 om. J<sup>1</sup>, add. J<sup>2</sup> im.; 514 post 515 coll. G<sup>1</sup>; 618-20 om. U<sup>d</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>Z; 636 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 731 om. U<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>1</sup>Z, add. U<sup>b2</sup>Y<sup>2</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>; 816 om. H<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 830 iterat Σ.—P 12-3 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 67/9 om. P<sup>x</sup>N<sup>1</sup>, add. N<sup>2</sup>; 68 om. D<sup>b1</sup>, add. D<sup>b2</sup> im.; 141 om. A<sup>1</sup>, add. A<sup>2</sup> im.; 190 om. Y<sup>c</sup>; 316 om. T; 349 om. R; 352-3 om. Y<sup>b</sup> (hapl.) (om. P. Berol. 9783, cum 353 inc. P. Oxyrh. 772); 357 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 423 om.

P; 534 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>4</sup> im.; 543 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 544 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 570 om. NY<sup>b1</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup> (s. p.) im.; 602 post 604 coll. B<sup>1</sup>; 609 om. E<sup>b</sup>; 618/9 om. S; 623 om. U<sup>d</sup>; 659-60 om. M<sup>1</sup>C<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup>, add. M<sup>2</sup> im. (hapl.); 690-1 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 759 bis S<sup>1</sup>.—  
 Σ 37-8 om. Z<sup>p</sup>Z; 47 om. E<sup>c</sup>F<sup>21</sup>, add. F<sup>22</sup> im.; 59-60 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 123 post 124 coll. J; 136 om. S, add. S<sup>4</sup> im.; 149-51 om. H<sup>1</sup>Q<sup>d</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 159 om. U; 221 om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 267 om. G; 348, 399 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (non Z); 403 ante 400 coll. S<sup>1</sup>, cr. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 410-2 om. P<sup>x</sup>F<sup>21</sup>, add. F<sup>22</sup> im. (hapl.); 480 om. H<sup>1</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 501 om. H<sup>b</sup>, post 502 coll. BD<sup>b</sup>; 540 post 541 coll. Db<sup>1</sup>; 603 post 606 coll. Z<sup>p</sup>Z ac.; 608 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.—T 118 om. H<sup>1</sup> et in lac. U<sup>d</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 270 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 371 om. U<sup>1</sup>, add. U<sup>2</sup> im.—Y 44-6 om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, add. Σ<sup>2</sup> im.; 98 om. S; 159 post 160 coll. ΣCY; 160 om. O<sup>b</sup>; 161 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (non Z); 172-3 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 225 om. G<sup>1</sup>Z<sup>1</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup>Z<sup>2</sup> im.; 287 om. it., add. im. A; 295 om. it., add. im. C; 316-7 om. Σ<sup>1</sup> (add. Σ<sup>2</sup> im. uv.); 396 om. S.—Φ 96 om. Ub (connected with intrusion of 96<sup>a</sup> in Σ<sup>1</sup>?); 148 om. Σ; 195 om. Zen., Megacleides, O<sup>5</sup> (Allen); 239 om. M; 348 om. G; 429 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 504 om. G; 519 om. it., add. im. P; 524 om. H<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> (haplogr.); 525 om. T<sup>1</sup>, add. T<sup>2</sup>, post 526 coll. Σ (haplogr.); 548-50 om. T<sup>1</sup>, add. T<sup>2</sup> im. (haplogr.); 551 om. in lac. M<sup>1</sup>, add. M<sup>2</sup>; 594 om. it., add. im. A; 598 om. H<sup>b</sup>.—X 70-1 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 140 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 200 /1 confusion in Y<sup>b</sup> (199-201 *del.* Ar.); 211 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 212 om. it., add. im. A; 268-9 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup> (hapl.); 272 om. Ub, Par.; 274 ir. A, 274-5 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (hapl.); 327-30 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (hapl.) (329 *del.* Ar.); 349-50 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (hapl.); 381 iteratus S<sup>1</sup> (del. S<sup>2</sup>); 393 om. Z<sup>p</sup> (393-4 *del.* Ar.); 464 om. H<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 466 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.—Ψ 7, 68 om. HU<sup>d</sup>; 152 om. S<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>1</sup>L<sup>2</sup> im., post 156 coll. B (στίχος κάτω im.); 154 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>E<sup>c</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 173-4 om. S<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup> im.; 243 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 273 om. ΣY<sup>b1</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 283-4 om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, add. Σ<sup>2</sup> im. (hapl.); 318, 326 om. Ub<sup>1</sup>, add. Ub<sup>2</sup> im.; 352-7 om. Ub (hapl.); 356/7 om. HY<sup>b1</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 364 om. G, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 439 om. Ub; 441 om. H<sup>1</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im.; 467 post 468 coll. HU<sup>d</sup>; 468 om. H (?); 505 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 622 om. it., add. im. A; 705 om. G; 726-7 om. G; 746 om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, add. Σ<sup>2</sup> im.; 837 om. Ub, post 838 coll. Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> (hapl.); 839 om. J<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>, add. J<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup> im. (hapl.); 842 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 854-5 om. S<sup>1</sup> et in lac. H<sup>1</sup>, add. S<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup> (hapl.); 861 om. it., add. im. Y; 866 om. B<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>,

add. B<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>; 889<sup>a</sup> add. G.—Ω 26 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 118 post 119 coll. D<sup>c1</sup>U (cr. D<sup>c2</sup>); 125 om. G<sup>1</sup> add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 290 om. Σ<sup>1</sup>, add. Σ<sup>2</sup> im.; 293 om. U<sup>b1</sup>, add. U<sup>b2</sup> im.; 312 om. Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>; 318 om. G<sup>1</sup>, add. G<sup>2</sup> im.; 392 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup>; 399–400 om. Z<sup>p</sup>; 430 om. T<sup>1</sup>, add. T<sup>2</sup>; 435 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup> im.; 451 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 528 om. T; 556 om. Y<sup>b1</sup>, add. Y<sup>b2</sup> im. (556–7 *ἀθ.* Ar.); 665 om. P<sup>x</sup>; 764 om. it., add. im. Y; 789 om. T.

As the amount of surface corruption here assumed may seem to some inordinately large, it may be mentioned that, with the exception of E 141. B 320. Δ 87. 369. 441. 450. H 15. Θ 308<sup>a</sup>. I 44. Δ 107. N 422. Ξ 306<sup>ab</sup>. Φ 195, it is all passed unnoticed in the Oxford text.

Surface corruption, more wide-spread, may be due either to inheritance from a common ancestor, or to the fact that a particularly strong temptation to haplography has led to 'accidental' coincidences. Here I should class the following passages, marking with an asterisk those for which papyrus evidence is extant:

A 486: om. it. TLN<sup>a</sup>E, add. im. T<sup>2</sup>L<sup>2</sup>N<sup>a</sup>E<sup>2</sup> (no note).

\*B 484: Huc transp. vm. 487 B<sup>2</sup>MG<sup>a</sup>HPE<sup>c</sup>X<sup>b</sup>—487 Huic subiungit vm. 493 B<sup>2</sup> (vss. 484–93 diverse ordinari litteris iub. b BL<sup>1</sup>N<sup>4</sup>TV<sup>1</sup>—485 vm. 487 hic pos. i Bm<sup>5</sup>M<sup>8</sup>U<sup>9</sup>V<sup>10</sup>).

\*Γ 283: om. BM<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>EX<sup>b</sup> (om. BCL<sup>20</sup>Mo<sup>2</sup>TV<sup>9</sup>V<sup>20</sup>).

E 841: post hunc proxime coll. 846 A<sup>1</sup>D<sup>b1</sup> (del. D<sup>b2</sup>) GWPE<sup>b</sup>K<sup>b</sup>X<sup>b</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup> (numeris adscr. cr. A<sup>r</sup>: ἐν ἀλλῷ οὗτος ὁ στίχος μετὰ τέσσαρας στίχους κείται)—846 utroque loco habet P. (no note).

Z 381–5: om. H<sup>1</sup>P<sup>b1</sup>, add. im. P<sup>b</sup>; 386 et ante 381 et post 385 habet A<sup>1</sup>, cr. A<sup>2</sup>; 381 partim ex 386 dedit D<sup>b</sup> (380<sup>a</sup> = 386 A L<sup>12</sup>V<sup>16</sup>V<sup>19</sup>V<sup>22</sup>V<sup>23</sup> al.).

\*H 240: post 241 coll. SGY<sup>c</sup> Eust. (o L<sup>10</sup>N<sup>4</sup>U<sup>10</sup> Eust.).

Θ 244: om. Θ, ante 242 coll. P<sup>1</sup>, ante 243 KC<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup>X (no note).

Θ 415: vm. 401 post 414 add. Z<sup>p</sup> (non Z); vm. 401 pro 415 dedit T; vm. 401 cum v. l. ἐξέρπει post 415 add C<sup>b</sup>XY<sup>c</sup> (v. 401 pro 415 r T, utrumque q N<sup>4</sup>).

\*A 545: om. H (om. i).

Σ 222: om. TU<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>p1</sup>(?)O<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>, add. U<sup>b2</sup> im. (no note).

T 360: post 361 coll. NY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>K<sup>c</sup>Y<sup>c</sup>(h).

Φ 213: om. Barberin. Vat. (om. Mo O<sup>5</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>12</sup>V<sup>22</sup>).

Φ 250: om. H<sup>1</sup>, add. H<sup>2</sup> im. (om. i M<sup>4</sup>M<sup>10</sup>V<sup>14</sup>).

Turning to the other extreme, I will give a list of the passages for which the testimony of the manuscripts wavers seriously.

\*A 265 (= Hes. Scut. 182): om. ASBMDFrGJD<sup>d</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>EW<sup>b</sup>-XX<sup>c</sup>Z et m. 1 D<sup>c</sup>HTWY<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>s</sup>U<sup>s</sup>X<sup>b</sup>, ante 264 pos. Ub<sup>n</sup>N<sup>a</sup> (om. vulg.); hab. FP<sup>v</sup>E<sup>c</sup>P<sup>d</sup>U<sup>c</sup>YY<sup>c</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> et m. 2 D<sup>c</sup>H etc. (hab. b e al.).

\*A 463<sup>a</sup> (= B 426): om. vulg.; hab. P<sup>s</sup>H<sup>b</sup>E<sup>c</sup>E<sup>d</sup>Y<sup>c</sup>Y<sup>o</sup> et im. TY<sup>b</sup>W<sup>b</sup>X<sup>b2</sup> (no note).

\*A 464<sup>a</sup> (idem): om. vulg.; hab. im. D<sup>c2</sup>H<sup>b</sup>P<sup>d</sup> (hab. L<sup>11</sup>V<sup>o</sup> al. [marg. M<sup>12</sup>M<sup>c</sup>V<sup>12</sup>]).

\*B 168 (= 17): om. ABMGJQ<sup>b</sup>E et m. 1 SD<sup>b</sup>TU<sup>b</sup>N<sup>a</sup>E<sup>s</sup>-U<sup>s</sup>X<sup>b</sup>X<sup>c</sup> (om. d o ABCT al.); hab. D<sup>c</sup>FF<sup>r</sup>HY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PX et m. r. SD<sup>b</sup> etc.

\*B 206 (∞ I 99): om. ASBMD<sup>b</sup>DGHTLN<sup>a</sup>QX<sup>b</sup>X<sup>c</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> et m. 1 D<sup>b</sup>JP<sup>s</sup>E<sup>s</sup>CED<sup>c</sup>FF<sup>r</sup>JU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>PU<sup>s</sup>XY; hab. D<sup>c</sup>FF<sup>r</sup>WU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PC<sup>b</sup>-E<sup>c</sup>UU<sup>s</sup>U<sup>c</sup>XY et m. 2 D<sup>b</sup>J etc. (στίχος νόθος C<sup>b</sup>E) (hab. abcghq, om. cet.)

\*B 558: om. ADF<sup>r</sup>GU<sup>b</sup>E<sup>s</sup>Y et m. 1 D<sup>c</sup>FHKY<sup>b</sup>F<sup>b</sup>C (om. bghi A al.); hab. BMF<sup>c</sup>JF<sup>b</sup>F<sup>d</sup>F<sup>p</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PF<sup>s</sup>U<sup>s</sup>U<sup>c</sup>X, et m. 2 D<sup>c</sup>F etc.

\*B 642<sup>a</sup> (∞ Z 223): hab. Q; om. cet. (no note).

\*Γ 86<sup>a</sup> (= H 349): hab. BMTLPY<sup>s</sup>Y<sup>p</sup>E<sup>b</sup>CC<sup>b</sup>EE<sup>c</sup>K<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup>XX<sup>c</sup> et m. r. GWF<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup> im. (hab. efq BCT al.); om. ASHJN<sup>a</sup>Ω.

\*E 42 (= Δ 504): om. ABM et m. 1 TEX<sup>b</sup> (om. ABCT V<sup>20</sup>V<sup>20</sup>); hab. Ω et m. 2. TEX<sup>b</sup>.

\*E 57 (= 41): om. BLX<sup>b</sup> et m. 1 ASMT(K?)N<sup>b</sup> (om. eo ABCTU<sup>s</sup>V<sup>32</sup> al.); hab. Ω et m. 2 AS etc. et ir. K<sup>2</sup>.

\*E 58<sup>ab</sup> (= 295-6): hab. it. WU et im. m. 2. LU<sup>b</sup>; om. cet. (no note).

E 377<sup>a</sup> (∞ B 820. E 313): add. W im.; om. cet. (no note).

E 468<sup>a</sup> (= 248): add. HU<sup>b</sup> (hab. i); om. cet.

E 901 (= 402): om. SBLH<sup>b</sup>QC<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> et m. 1 MD<sup>b</sup>TKY<sup>b</sup>U (E<sup>b</sup>?) (om. eh BCDT al.); hab. A (A<sup>r</sup>: ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ στίχος οὗτος οὐχ εὐρηται) DFF<sup>r</sup>GJWU<sup>b</sup>N<sup>a</sup>PE<sup>k</sup>K<sup>b</sup>N<sup>b</sup>U<sup>s</sup>XYZ et m. r. MD<sup>b</sup>T-KY<sup>b</sup>UE<sup>b</sup>.

\*Z 461<sup>a</sup> (∞ B 256 + ⊕ 79): hab W<sup>b</sup>; om. cet. (no note).

H 150<sup>a</sup> (= 40, 51): hab. F<sup>1</sup>U<sup>b1</sup>CC<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup> im. G<sup>3</sup>; om. cet.

H 151<sup>a</sup> (idem.): hab. D<sup>b</sup>F<sup>2</sup>P<sup>y</sup>Y<sup>s</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>E<sup>c</sup>E<sup>k</sup>W<sup>b</sup>XYZE<sup>s</sup> im. P<sup>2</sup>F<sup>22</sup> (hab. bfgq al.); om. cet.

H 368-9 (= 348-9): om. A<sup>1</sup>HJK<sup>1</sup>; hab. SBMΩ (s. p.

D<sup>b</sup>K<sup>2</sup>), praemissis ἐν ἄλλῃ καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι κείνται A<sup>r</sup>. (om. il AM<sup>4</sup>M<sup>7</sup>U<sup>1</sup>U<sup>2</sup>V<sup>2</sup>V<sup>3</sup>V<sup>32</sup>).

H 380 (ω Δ 730): om. AS<sup>1</sup>DG<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>; hab. S<sup>2</sup>BMG<sup>2</sup>Ω (s. p. D<sup>b</sup>K<sup>2</sup>), praemissis ἐν ἄλλῃ καὶ οὗτος ὁ στίχος A<sup>r</sup> (om. cho AL<sup>9</sup>N<sup>4</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>15</sup>).

Θ 123 (= E 296. Θ 315): om. S<sup>1</sup>BMGH<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>TY<sup>2</sup>K<sup>1</sup>U<sup>b1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>p</sup>-E<sup>d</sup>E<sup>k</sup> (om. efho B); hab. AS<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>L<sup>2</sup>Ω (s. p. D<sup>b</sup>K<sup>2</sup>).

\*Θ 183: om. ASBMH<sup>1</sup>J<sup>p</sup>W<sup>p</sup>P<sup>2</sup>TK<sup>1</sup>U<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>L<sup>1</sup>H<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>i</sup>E<sup>b</sup>-X<sup>b1</sup>YZ<sup>p</sup> (om. vulg.); hab. D<sup>b</sup>FH<sup>2</sup>WU<sup>b2</sup>L<sup>2</sup>PF<sup>2</sup>XX<sup>b2</sup> al. (s. p. K<sup>2</sup>); \*Ἐκτωρ Ἀργείους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους γε Y<sup>n</sup> (hab. acdgg al.).

Θ 224-6 (= Δ 7-9): om. ASBMΩ (om. vulg.); hab. D<sup>b</sup>F-G<sup>2</sup>HWU<sup>b2</sup>Y<sup>b2</sup>PCP<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>2</sup> (hab. begi al.).

Θ 277 (= M 194): om. ASBMU<sup>b1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>Q<sup>1</sup>Ω (om. vulg.); hab. D<sup>b</sup>FHWU<sup>b2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>Q<sup>2</sup>E<sup>c</sup>YZ (hab. gimp Ang. V<sup>20</sup>).

Θ 383 (= E 721): om. S<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>MT<sup>1</sup>KLX<sup>b1</sup> (om. BCDL<sup>2</sup>L<sup>4</sup>M<sup>4</sup>-N<sup>4</sup>TU<sup>2</sup>V<sup>2</sup>V<sup>6</sup>V<sup>6</sup>V<sup>14</sup>V<sup>20</sup>V<sup>32</sup>); hab. AS<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>X<sup>b2</sup>Ω (s. p. Y<sup>b</sup>).

Θ 410 (= O 79): om. A<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>GY<sup>2</sup>K<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>r</sup> (om. h ABC M<sup>10</sup>U<sup>11</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>12</sup>V<sup>14</sup>V<sup>20</sup>); hab. A<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>Ω (s. p. K<sup>2</sup>).

Θ 465<sup>a</sup> (= 355): hab. B<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>O<sup>b</sup>XY (hab. q L<sup>12</sup>M<sup>12</sup>MoV<sup>1</sup>V<sup>32</sup> [m. r.]); om. cet.

Θ 466-8 (= 35-7): om. AS<sup>2</sup>B<sup>1</sup>MD<sup>b</sup>FGJT<sup>1</sup>WKU<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>1</sup>X<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>Z (466 solum om. H) (om. vulg.); hab. S<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup> (H) T<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>PQ<sup>2</sup>E<sup>b</sup>CC<sup>b</sup>E<sup>c</sup>O<sup>b</sup>XYZ (hab. bcdilpq al.).

I 224<sup>a</sup> (formula): hab. HE<sup>c</sup>Z et im. F<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>2</sup> (hab. m Bm<sup>5</sup>Mc L<sup>16</sup> mg.); om. cet.

I 627<sup>a</sup> (= H 373): hab. D<sup>b</sup>FT<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b</sup>CC<sup>b</sup>E<sup>c</sup>O<sup>b</sup>UXYZ (s. p. K<sup>2</sup>) (hab. bcdgmpq); om. cet.

K 191 (formula): om. AS<sup>1</sup>GJTK<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PE<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>c1</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> (om. hkl no AN<sup>4</sup>T); hab. S<sup>2</sup>BMD<sup>b</sup>HQF<sup>2</sup>XYZ (s. p. K<sup>2</sup>).

K 531 (= Δ 520): om. ABMGJT<sup>1</sup>PE<sup>b</sup>X<sup>b</sup> (om. lm ABC Ge Gf T al.); hab. SD<sup>b</sup>T<sup>2</sup>Ω.

\*A 316<sup>a</sup> (= B 173): hab. T<sup>2</sup>E<sup>c</sup>Y<sup>c</sup> (s. p. K<sup>2</sup>) (hab. M<sup>4</sup>M<sup>6</sup>O<sup>5</sup>U<sup>b</sup> al.); om. cet.

\*A 485<sup>a</sup> (= H 220): hab. O<sup>b</sup>X et im. B<sup>2</sup> (hab. q L<sup>4</sup>O<sup>2</sup>V<sup>16</sup>V<sup>32</sup>); om. cet.

\*A 662 (= II 27): om. AS<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>HP<sup>w</sup>Y<sup>2</sup>K<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>Q<sup>1</sup>Ω (om. fhio ABCN<sup>4</sup>); hab. S<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>JPQ<sup>2</sup>XYZ<sup>p</sup>Z (s. p. K<sup>2</sup>).

\*M 162<sup>a</sup> (= O 114): hab. CEY<sup>c</sup> et s. p. GY<sup>b2</sup> (hab. g. Ge L<sup>4</sup> et im. M<sup>12</sup>PaU<sup>10</sup>V<sup>20</sup>); om. cet.

\*M 219 (= 201): om. A<sup>1</sup>S<sup>1</sup>BMH<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>QX<sup>b</sup> (om. i ABCDL<sup>10</sup> M<sup>12</sup>U<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>20</sup>); hab. A<sup>2</sup>S<sup>2</sup>F<sup>c</sup>H<sup>2</sup>JL<sup>2</sup>X<sup>b2</sup>Ω.

\*M 424<sup>a</sup> (ω 155 + Σ 534): hab. H<sup>b</sup>Y et s. p. Y<sup>b</sup> (hab. h. V<sup>9</sup> marg.); om. cet.

\*N 218<sup>a</sup>: τῶ μιν ἐισώμενος προσέφη κρείων ἐνοσίχθων, hab. HPC et im. S<sup>2</sup>TL (hab. i L<sup>19</sup>M<sup>9</sup>T); τῶ μιν ἐισώμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, hab. DY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup> (hab. h V<sup>27</sup>); om. ΣAS<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>Ω.

\*N 255 (ω 219): om. ΣABS<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup> (om. d ABCDTV<sup>18</sup>-V<sup>32</sup>); hab. D<sup>b</sup>DHJD<sup>d</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PF<sup>2</sup>XYZZ<sup>p</sup>P<sup>c</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>K<sup>2</sup>.

\*N 266<sup>a</sup> (= 255): hab. S<sup>2</sup> im. (hab. O<sup>7</sup>D m. r.); om. cet.

\*N 316 (ω Λ 490 + E 410): om. AS<sup>1</sup>BMT<sup>1</sup> (om. ABCDM<sup>4</sup> TV<sup>16</sup>V<sup>20</sup>V<sup>32</sup>); hab. D<sup>b</sup>DHJD<sup>d</sup>KU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>PF<sup>2</sup>XYZZ<sup>p</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>.

\*N 463<sup>a</sup> (= E 602): hab. JD<sup>d</sup>U<sup>b</sup>P (hab. L<sup>4</sup>. M<sup>8</sup>); om. cet.

\*N 464<sup>a</sup> (idem): hab. Y<sup>c</sup> (hab. P<sup>1</sup>U<sup>10</sup> mg.); om. cet.

\*N 566<sup>a</sup> (= 649): hab. J et im. S<sup>2</sup>E<sup>b2</sup> (hab. V<sup>28</sup>V<sup>29</sup>); om. cet.

\*N 567<sup>a</sup> (= 543): hab. E<sup>c</sup> (no note); om. cet.

\*N 731: om. AS<sup>1</sup>BMH<sup>1</sup>TP<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>ZZ<sup>p</sup> (om. ei ABCDO<sup>5</sup>TV<sup>16</sup>-V<sup>32</sup>); hab. D<sup>b</sup>DJD<sup>d</sup>KP<sup>x</sup>U<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LCC<sup>b</sup>E<sup>c</sup>F<sup>2</sup>O<sup>b</sup>UXYY<sup>c</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>-H<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>, cum ἐν ἄλλῃ A<sup>r</sup> (hab. vulg.)

\*N 749 (= M 81): om. A<sup>1</sup>H<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup> (om. adik AV<sup>1</sup>V<sup>12</sup>); hab. SBMD<sup>b</sup>DΩ, et im. A<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup>.

\*N 808<sup>a</sup>: no note (hab. U<sup>10</sup>U<sup>11</sup>); om. cet.

\*Ξ 70 (= M 70): om. A<sup>1</sup>SBM<sup>1</sup>DKU<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>b1</sup>H<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>c</sup> (om. ahk ABCDO<sup>5</sup>V<sup>1</sup>); hab D<sup>b</sup> (s. p.) et GHJTPXYZ et im. A<sup>1</sup>M<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>-Y<sup>b2</sup>.

\*Ξ 269 (ω 276): om. ΣAS<sup>1</sup>BM<sup>1</sup>DGTY<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>F<sup>2</sup>U (om. vulg.); hab. D<sup>b</sup>HJU<sup>b</sup>PCE<sup>c</sup>U<sup>d</sup>XYZ et im. S<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup> (hab. begi al.).

\*O 481 (= Γ 337 etc.): om. AD<sup>b</sup>NGHJTY<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>PE<sup>b</sup>C<sup>b</sup>F<sup>2</sup>-O<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>d</sup>RU<sup>d</sup>YZZ<sup>p</sup> (E<sup>c</sup>) (om. vulg.); hab. SBMU<sup>b</sup>X (hab. fr BCDL<sup>2</sup>U<sup>10</sup>V<sup>20</sup>).

\*Π 129<sup>a</sup> (ω 39): hab. NY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PE<sup>c</sup>UY<sup>2</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>. (hab. h L<sup>5</sup>V<sup>18</sup>); om. cet.

\*Π 288<sup>a</sup> (= B 850): hab. P<sup>x</sup>; om. cet. (no note).

\*Π 381 (= 867): om. ΣASBMD<sup>b</sup>N<sup>1</sup>GHJPU<sup>d</sup>ZZ<sup>p</sup> (om. vulg.); hab. N<sup>2</sup>DU<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>F<sup>2</sup>XY et s. p. Y<sup>b</sup>. (hab. chl p McN<sup>4</sup>).

\*Π 614-5 (= N 504-5): om. AS<sup>1</sup>BMNGH<sup>1</sup>TU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b1</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>PE<sup>b</sup>-F<sup>2</sup>UU<sup>d</sup>ZZ<sup>p</sup> (om. vulg.); hab. H<sup>2</sup>JE<sup>c</sup>XYY<sup>c</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>b2</sup> (s. p.) (hab. p. Ang. L<sup>19</sup>M<sup>7</sup>M<sup>12</sup>V<sup>29</sup>).

Π 689-90 (ω P 177-8): om. ΣAS<sup>2</sup> (689-90 om. ϕ<sup>9</sup>ADO<sup>5</sup>-U<sup>11</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>12</sup>V<sup>14</sup>V<sup>16</sup>); 690 om. H<sup>1</sup>U<sup>d</sup> (om. i); hab. cet.



P 145<sup>a</sup> (= E 474): hab. P (no note); om. cet.

P 585 (formula): om. ABM<sup>1</sup>GT<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>p1</sup>Q<sup>d</sup> (om. ir ABCGeT-V<sup>22</sup>); hab. SM<sup>2</sup>NJT<sup>2</sup>Ω.

P 683<sup>a</sup> (= 118): hab. HPU<sup>d</sup> (hab. iM<sup>8</sup>); om. cet.

\*Σ 200-1 (= Δ 800-1, Π 42-3) om. ΣNJ; hab. AΩ; 201 om. SD<sup>b</sup>TCE<sup>c</sup>Q<sup>d</sup>RZZ<sup>p</sup>Y<sup>1</sup> (no notes).

\*Σ 381 (= 16 + 127 etc.): om. A<sup>1</sup>S<sup>2</sup>NGU<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>p</sup> (om. AGeL<sup>10</sup>-L<sup>11</sup>N<sup>1</sup>U<sup>2</sup>U<sup>4</sup>U<sup>11</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>16</sup>); hab. A<sup>2</sup> (ἐν ἄλλω καὶ οὗτος εὐρέθη, ἀπέ-στραπτο δὲ A<sup>r</sup>) S<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>Ω.

\*Σ 427 (= Ξ 196): om. ΣGH<sup>1</sup> (om.  $\Phi^0$ irGeV<sup>10</sup>); hab. AH<sup>2</sup>Ω.

\*T 19<sup>a</sup> (adaptation of formula): hab. HE<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>d</sup> et im. G<sup>2</sup> (hab. ilq DL<sup>2</sup>L<sup>12</sup>M<sup>4</sup>); om. cet.

T 177 (= I 276): om. ΣSD<sup>b</sup>NGHJY<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>K<sup>c</sup>Q<sup>d</sup>U<sup>d</sup>Y<sup>c</sup>A<sup>2</sup> (om.  $\Phi^0$  vulg.); hab. BMTU<sup>b</sup>PCF<sup>2</sup>N<sup>b</sup>XYZ (hab. bcef BN<sup>1</sup>-N<sup>4</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>16</sup>).

T 361<sup>a</sup> (= Π 267): hab. PC<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup> (hab. bq V<sup>22</sup>); om. cet.

Y 3<sup>a</sup>: hab. M<sup>2</sup>E<sup>c</sup>; om. cet. (no note).

Y 135 (ω Θ 211): om. S<sup>1</sup>BMNJTP<sup>x</sup>U<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>L<sup>1</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PE<sup>b1</sup>C<sup>1</sup>N<sup>b</sup>-RU<sup>d</sup>Y<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>c</sup> (om. vulg.); hab. ΣAGHQ<sup>b</sup>C<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup>XZZ<sup>p</sup> (νόθος im. X) et im. S<sup>2</sup>L<sup>2</sup>E<sup>b2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>2</sup> (hab.  $\Phi^0$  bdipq A).

Y 223<sup>a</sup> (= Hes. Th. 279): hab. E<sup>b</sup>C (hab. l); om. cet.

Y 224<sup>a</sup> (idem): hab. M<sup>2</sup>PY et im. G<sup>2</sup>Z<sup>2</sup> (hab. g M<sup>8</sup>M<sup>10</sup>V<sup>10</sup>); om. ASM<sup>1</sup>Z<sup>1</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>Ω.

Y 312 (ω X 176): om. ΣASBM<sup>1</sup>NGHU<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>Y (om.  $\Phi^0$  bghipr ABCDV<sup>22</sup>); hab. M<sup>2</sup>JP<sup>x</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>PE<sup>b2</sup>XY<sup>c</sup>Z<sup>p</sup>.

Y 447 (= Π 705): om. ΣS<sup>1</sup>NHJTU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>P<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>1</sup>Z (om. vulg.); hab. AE<sup>v</sup>BMP<sup>x</sup>E<sup>c</sup>XZ<sup>p</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>Y<sup>2</sup> (ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ στίχος οὗτος οὐ κεῖται A<sup>r</sup>) (hab. bcpq ABCN<sup>1</sup>).

Φ 96<sup>a</sup>: hab. Σ (hab.  $\Phi^0$ ); om. cet.

Φ 158 (ω B 850): om. ΣASNG<sup>1</sup>H<sup>1</sup>TP<sup>x</sup>L<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>ε</sup> (om.  $\Phi^0$  iopr A Ang. N<sup>4</sup>U<sup>2</sup>U<sup>4</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. BMG<sup>2</sup>H<sup>2</sup>JY<sup>b</sup>L<sup>2</sup>H<sup>b</sup>P<sup>2</sup>XYZ.

Φ 434 (= A 595): om. ASBMH<sup>1</sup>U<sup>b1</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>U<sup>d1</sup> (om. eil ABCDN<sup>4</sup>O<sup>5</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>12</sup>); hab. NGTY<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>CE<sup>c</sup>F<sup>2</sup>XYZ et im. H<sup>2</sup>-U<sup>b2</sup>PU<sup>d2</sup>.

Φ 480 (ω B 277): om. ΣASBMNGJTY<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>PQ<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> (om. vulg.); hab. HU<sup>b</sup>E<sup>c</sup>F<sup>2</sup>XUU<sup>d</sup>XYZ (hab. gipq Mc).

Φ 510 (= E 374): om. ΣAS<sup>1</sup>BMNHU<sup>b1</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>U<sup>d</sup> (om.  $\Phi^0$  cdhklp ABCDO<sup>5</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. GJTPE<sup>c</sup>XYZZ<sup>p</sup> et im. S<sup>2</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>.

\*X 10<sup>a</sup> (= Δ 33): hab. Σ (hab.  $\Phi^0$ ); om. Ω.

\*X 121 (ω Σ 512): om. ASHZ<sup>p</sup> (om. npr ADM<sup>10</sup>U<sup>9</sup>V<sup>1</sup>); hab. BMNJU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>PXYZ.

X 316 (= T 383): om. A<sup>1</sup>S<sup>1</sup>HU<sup>d</sup>, Par. (om. i AD); hab. ΣΩ.

X 330<sup>a</sup> (= O 48): hab. P; om. cet. (no note).

\*Ψ 565 (ω 624, 797): om. ΣABMHTPU et it. U<sup>b</sup>YZ<sup>p</sup> (om. bgk ABCN<sup>1</sup>TV<sup>1</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. SNGJY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>b</sup>XY<sup>c</sup>Z.

\*Ψ 628<sup>a</sup> (ω Δ 669): hab. U<sup>b</sup>; om. cet. (no note).

\*Ψ 804: om. A<sup>1</sup>SG<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>P<sup>x</sup>UU<sup>d</sup> (om. o AL<sup>10</sup>L<sup>10</sup>L<sup>20</sup>N<sup>4</sup>U<sup>11</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>11</sup>V<sup>12</sup>V<sup>16</sup>V<sup>24</sup>); hab. BMNΩ et im. A<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>.

\*Ψ 864 (= 873, Δ 102): om. ΣSNT et, v. Ludw. ad 866, B<sup>2</sup> (om. gL<sup>10</sup>L<sup>10</sup>O<sup>5</sup>TU<sup>2</sup>U<sup>4</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. AB<sup>1</sup>Ω.

\*Ω 558 (ω π 388 + κ 498): om. SG<sup>1</sup>TP<sup>x</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>LU<sup>d</sup>Z<sup>p</sup> (om. bD-GfTU<sup>5</sup>U<sup>9</sup>U<sup>11</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>11</sup>V<sup>14</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. A (οὗτος ὁ στίχος οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ A<sup>r</sup>) BMG<sup>2</sup>ZΩ.

\*Ω 693 (= Ξ 434, Φ 2): om. ASNGJTE<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>1</sup>, Angel., Barberin., Crypt., Vat. 915 (om. aflo A Ang. Gf. V<sup>11</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. BMD<sup>c</sup>HY<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>PXZZ<sup>p</sup> et Y<sup>2</sup> im.

\*Ω 790 (= A 57): om. AD<sup>c</sup>TY<sup>b</sup>LH<sup>b</sup>UU<sup>d</sup>YZZ<sup>p</sup>, Barberin., Crypt. (om. bceg AGfN<sup>1</sup>TV<sup>22</sup>); hab. SBMNHJU<sup>b</sup>E<sup>x</sup>PE<sup>b</sup>XY<sup>c</sup>.

There remain a number of passages in which the disturbance of the manuscript tradition is not so marked. It is possible that in some the disturbance is secondary and accidental. In other cases, however, it seems probable that the harmony of the manuscripts is secondary, having been brought about by the assimilation of the manuscripts in the later stages of the tradition.

\*B 141 (= I 28): no note (om. V<sup>22</sup>) ἐν τισιν οὐ φέρεται sch. T.

\*Γ 78 (= H 56): om. AG<sup>1</sup> (om. AGeN<sup>4</sup>V<sup>15</sup>); hab. G<sup>3</sup> im., cet.

\*Γ 235: om. it. Db<sup>1</sup> (om. M<sup>5</sup>O<sup>5</sup>); hab. D<sup>b2</sup> im., cet.

\*Δ 196-7 (= 206-7): om. SD<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>N<sup>21</sup>, vm. 197 solum om. J (om. o); hab. cet. et im. D<sup>2</sup>N<sup>22</sup>.

E 808 (ω 828, Δ 390): no note (om. L<sup>9</sup>V<sup>16</sup>).

H 234 (= I 644, Δ 465): om. it., add. im. A (om. AU<sup>1</sup>); v. l. = N 824: Db<sup>b</sup>FY<sup>b</sup>CE<sup>c</sup>U<sup>1</sup>W<sup>b1</sup>, cum ἡ οὕτως P im. (gr L<sup>2</sup>V<sup>5</sup>: utrumque [ordine inverso] Ang. V<sup>15</sup>V<sup>20</sup>).

H 385 (= 327): om. A<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup> (om. AU<sup>2</sup>V<sup>3</sup>V<sup>12</sup>V<sup>1</sup>); hab. A<sup>r</sup>Ω (s. p. D<sup>b</sup>K<sup>2</sup>); pro ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν: ἐκνήμιδες Ἄχαιοί A<sup>r</sup> (ἐν ἀλλῷ) SGU<sup>b</sup>Y<sup>b</sup>H<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>2</sup>Q<sup>c2</sup>UU<sup>c</sup>W<sup>b</sup> (abdo N<sup>2</sup>N<sup>4</sup>P<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>15</sup>).

\*Θ 6 (formula): om. AS<sup>1</sup>P<sup>x</sup> (om. cd ADU<sup>1</sup>V<sup>1</sup> al.); hab. S<sup>2</sup>-BMΩ.

\*Θ 315 (= 123): om. it. AGK, add. im. AG<sup>3</sup>K<sup>2</sup>; s. p. (ut K<sup>2</sup>) it. D<sup>b</sup> (no note).

Θ 458 (= Δ 21): om. B<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>GL (om. eh BCU<sup>2</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. B<sup>3</sup>M<sup>2</sup>Ω, s. p. D<sup>b</sup>K<sup>2</sup>.

\*Ξ 12 (= K 135 etc.): om. P<sup>x</sup>, ante 11 pos. U<sup>b1</sup>, cr. U<sup>b2</sup>.

\*Ξ 420 (ω N 544 + M 396, N 181): om. ΘA<sup>1</sup>; hab. A<sup>2</sup>Ω (no note).

\*O 562 (= E 530): om. S<sup>1</sup>NTU<sup>b1</sup>PC<sup>1</sup>UYZ (om. bg); hab. AZ<sup>p</sup> Ω et im. S<sup>3</sup>U<sup>b2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>.

\*O 578 (formula): om. GHP<sup>x</sup>U<sup>b1</sup>U<sup>d</sup>(om. e L<sup>10</sup>V<sup>10</sup>V<sup>22</sup>); hab. Ω U<sup>b2</sup> im.; τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσο κάλυψεν E<sup>b</sup>Q<sup>d</sup>ZΩ (flpr ABC-N<sup>1</sup>), ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ SD<sup>b</sup>NTXYY<sup>c</sup> (vulg.).

P 74 (formula): om. T (no note).

\*P 219 (formula): om. S<sup>1</sup>NJTY<sup>b</sup>LE<sup>c</sup>Y<sup>c</sup> (no note); nota' signatus A, hab. Ω et im. S<sup>2</sup>P.

P 455 (= Λ 194): om. BM<sup>1</sup>Y<sup>b1</sup>PR (om. fr BC al.); hab. M<sup>2</sup>Ω; deest A<sup>1</sup>.

\*Σ 441 (= 60): om. G (om. Ge); ἐν τισιν οὐ κείται A<sup>1</sup>.

Φ 73 (formula): no note (om. V<sup>22</sup>).

\*X 363 (= Π 857): om. S<sup>1</sup> (om. V<sup>1</sup>); add. Ω et S<sup>2</sup> im.

An older stage of the tradition is represented by the 'vulgate papyri'—under which term are included, with the exception of the four papyri specified in A. J. P. XXXV, p. 128, all the papyri written after the middle of the second century before our era. Of these I give a list as complete as possible. Some material has been inaccessible: the publication of the Società Italiana, *Papiri greci e latini*; Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Akad., 1914, 2. Abth. (said to contain a few lines of A); and Bull. de La Soc. d'Alexandrie, No. 14, tom. III (containing B 381-92). Even apart from this, as the material is widely scattered, it is probable that something has escaped me. Still the list is longer than those previously published, because compiled in view of a different purpose, which renders even the smallest scrap of value. The arrangement is also different, being intended primarily to show exactly what evidence we have, or have not, for each line of the poem.

A: P. Oxyrh. 534, S. III, 1-15; P. Brit. Mus. 129, 37-54. 65-7. 207-229; P. Oxyrh. 535, S. III, 43-59; P. Genav. 3,<sup>1</sup> 44-60; P. Berol. 6869. 7492-5, S. I-II, 70-104. 114-23. 412-33.

<sup>1</sup> Nicole, Rev. de Phil. XVIII, p. 103.

456-65. 494-590; P. Oxyrh. 748, S. III, 107-16; P. Rylands 43, S. III, 121-57. 161-99. 202-41. 244-84; P. Oxyrh. 536, S. III, 127-47; P. Oxyrh. 749, S. II, 160-76; P. Berol. 9813, S. II-III, 164-181; P. Oxyrh. 537, S. II-III, 215-20. 250-66; P. Fayum 141, S. I-II, 273-362; P. Oxyrh. 538, S. III, 273-97. 318-42; P. Tebt. 425, S. II, 311-27; P. Greco-Egiz. II. 106, S. III, 370-405. 428-76 (with lacunae); P. Fayum 5, S. II, 404-47; P. Berol. 10574, S. IV, 406-19; P. Berol. 9584, S. I, 449-61; P. Rylands 44, S. I A. C., 471-80. 495-506; cod. Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. a. 1 (P),<sup>1</sup> S. II, 506-7; P. Oxyrh. 539, S. II, 575-83.

Lines uncovered: 16-36. 61-4. 68-9. 105-6. 158-9. 200-1. 242-3. 363-9. 481-94. 591-611.

B 1-493: cod. Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. a. 1 (P), complete; P. Chicag. 5, S. II, 1-20; P. Tebt. 426, S. II, 33-7. 46-52. 55-60; P. Oxyrh. 686, S. I A. C., 50-8; P. Oxyrh. 750, S. III, 57-73; P. Tebt. 4, S. II A. C., 95-109. (110-1 inferred from space). 112-5. 121-57. 172-87. 197-210; P. Brit. Mus. 126,<sup>2</sup> S. IV-V, 101-493 (but 125-51 undecipherable); P. Berol. Inv. Nr. 13839, S. IV, 132-62; P. Rylands 45, S. II, 327-33; P. Tebt. 265, S. II, 339-46. 360-3; P. Oxyrh. 944, S. III, 436-44.

B 494-877: cod. Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. a. 1 (P) complete; P. Tebt. 265, S. II, 507-80. 595-604. 638-52; P. Berol. 9583, S. II-III, 534-53; P. Fayum 309, S. II, 611-83; P. Oxyrh. 540, S. III, 672-83; P. Aberd. 1, 2,<sup>3</sup> 687-95. 760-78; P. Oxyrh. 945, S. V, 722-41. 753-72; P. Oxyrh. 20, S. II, 730-6. 745-54. 769-810. 815-28; P. Oxyrh. 21, S. I-II, 745-64; P. Greco-Egizii II. 107, S. I A. C., 855-67; P. Oxyrh. 541, S. III, 859-73; P. Oxyrh. 946, S. II-III, 861-7.

Γ: P. Brit. Mus. 126, cf. above, complete; P. Oxyrh. 751, S. II-III, 30-55; P. Berol. 10569, S. III, 174-94; P. Oxyrh. 687, S. I A. C., 185-9. 207-16; P. Fayum 209, S. I, 214-24; P. Berol. 263, S. IV-V, 280-9. 315-22. 351-63. 392-8; P. Brit.

<sup>1</sup>A. H. Sayce, in *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, by W. Flinders Petrie, 1889, pp. 24-8. Assigned by Allen to the fifth century. I depend on Ludwig.

<sup>2</sup>According to Ludwig: partem (248-304) edidit Wessely, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Publicationen auf dem Gebiete der älteren gr. Palaeographie*, Wien, 1892.

<sup>3</sup>Class. Quart. 1907. 257 ff.

Mus. 136, S. III, 317-37. 345-72; P. Tebt. 427, S. II-III, 338-63. 386-97; P. Oxyrh. 543, S. II-III, 361-77; P. Oxyrh. 542, S. III, 371-418; P. Greco-Egiz. II. 108, S. III, 397-408. 411-22.

Δ: P. Brit. Mus. 136, S. III, 1-28. 56-69. 74-9. 111-50. 159-92. 198-201. 208-45. 256-93. 303-45. 352-544; P. Brit. Mus. 126, cf. above, 1-40; P. Berol. 7808, S. II-III, 1-13. 35-9; P. Berol. 7116. 7117. 7119, S. III, 27-53. 137-238; P. Genav. 4 (cf. above), 82-95; P. Oxyrh. 752, S. III, 87-96; P. Oxyrh. 544, S. III, 182-98; P. Cairo (Sayce, Acad. 1894, p. 401), 191-219; P. Aberd. 3, 199-211; P. Rylands 46, S. I, 357-64; P. Oxyrh. 753, S. III, 364-98; P. Oxyrh. 947, S. III, 443-52; P. Jandan. 93, S. I A. C., 454-66. 483-8; P. Oxyrh. 545, S. II-III, 478-90; P. Oxyrh. 754, S. I, 532-9.

Lines uncovered: 54-6. 70-73. 80-1. 97-110. 246-55. 294-302. 346-51.

Ε: P. Oxyrh. 223, S. III, 1-278. 284-303. 329-74. 397-406. 420-42. 544-8. 701-5. (332. 352. 422-4 inferred from space); P. Tebt. 428, S. II-III, 52-5; P. Berol. 8440, S. I, 69-81. 84-93. 103; P. Oxyrh. 755, S. III, 130-73; P. Rylands 47, S. II, 216-60; P. Oxyrh. 756, S. III-IV, 324-34. 379-90; P. Amherst 22, S. I-II, 481-95; P. Oxyrh. 757, S. I, 578-86; P. Oxyrh. 758, S. II-III, 583-96; P. Rylands 48, S. III, 648-81. 684-96. 704-11; P. Oxyrh. 759, S. III, 662-82; P. Oxyrh. 760, S. I, 715-8. 720-9; P. Brit. Mus. 127, 731-4. 815-8. 846-50; P. Chicag. 6, S. II, 824-41.

Lines uncovered: 279-83. 304-23. 375-8. 391-6. 407-19. 443-80. 496-543. 549-77. 597-647. 683. 697-700. 712-4. 719. 730. 735-814. 819-23. 842-5. 851-909.

Z: P. Paris.,<sup>1</sup> S. I A. C., 1-39; P. Brit. Mus. 127, 90-100. 119-25; P. Oxyrh. 445, S. II-III, 134-7. 173-99. 445-529 (195-8. 483-4. 501-2. 505-6. 511-2. 514-7 inferred from space); P. Oxyrh. 761, S. I A. C., 147-9; P. Genav. 5, 327-53.

Lines uncovered: 40-89. 101-18. 126-33. 138-46. 150-72. 200-326. 354-444.

H: P. Oxyrh. 762, S. III, 1-35; P. Aberd. 4, 60-8; P. Oxyrh. 763, S. III, 68-101. 69-134 (?); P. Oxyrh. 546, S. II, 237-44. 264-73; P. Oxyrh. 547, S. II-III, 324-36. 357-63.

Lines uncovered: 36-59. 135-236. 245-63. 274-323. 337-56. 364-482.

<sup>1</sup> Published by A. de Longpérier, cf. Silvestre, Paléogr. Universelle, II (1840), p. 210.

Θ: P. Chicag. 7, S. II, 1-68; P. Fayum 210, S. II, 41-54 86-104. 139-56. 173-86; P. Greco-Egiz. II 109, S. II, 62-5. 106-14; cod. Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. d. 20 (P),<sup>1</sup> S. I-II, 64-75. 96-116; P. Oxyrh. 764, S. III, 109-122; P. Berol. 7502, 7499, S. III-IV. 169-77. 306-24; P. Berol. 6845, S. II, 433-47.

Lines uncovered: 76-85. 123-38. 157-68. 187-305. 325-432. 448-565.

I: P. Berol. 7803, S. I-II, 181-90; P. Berol. 7806, S. II, 198-210; P. Oxyrh. 548, S. III, 235-301; P. Berol. 7807, S. III-IV, 277-88. 299-312; P. Oxyrh. 765, S. III, 320-33; P. Aberd. 5, 356-78.

Lines uncovered: 1-180. 191-7. 211-34. 313-9. 334-55. 379-713.

K: P. Oxyrh. 948, S. III, 233-43. 250-5; P. Berol. 10570, S. V, 372-443 (mit einigen Lücken); P. Oxyrh. 949, S. II-III, 437-52; P. Oxyrh. 766 S. III, 542-7.

Lines uncovered: 1-232. 244-9. 256-371. 453-541. 548-79.

Λ: P. Morgan,<sup>2</sup> S. III-IV, 86-96. 121-848; P. Oxyrh. 549, S. II-III, 39-52; P. Berol. 262, S. V-VI, 123-52. 154-80. 299-356 (mit einigen Lücken); P. Oxyrh. 688, S. I A. C., 172-83; P. Oxyrh. 950, S. III, 322-9. 359-402; P. Oxyrh. 550. S. II, 505-16. 521-47. 555-67. 572-602; P. Oxyrh. 767, S. II, 555-61; P. Oxyrh. 768, S. III, 736-64.

Lines uncovered: 1-38. 53-85. 97-120.

M: P. Morgan, complete; cod. Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. e. 21 (P),<sup>3</sup> S. IV, 178-98.

N: P. Morgan, complete; P. Brit. Mus. 732,<sup>4</sup> S. I, 2-12. 28-34. 38-56. 73-87. 149-436. 456-674. 740-7. 769-75 (426-9. 654-6. 771 inferred from space); P. Paris,<sup>5</sup> S. I A. C., 6-47. 107-11. 143-75; P. Oxyrh. 446, S. II, 58-99; P. Roman.<sup>6</sup> S. I A. C., 143-50; P. Berol. nr. 46, S. I A. C., 184-314. 317-41. 345-67; P. Oxyrh. 769, S. II-III, 308-17. 342-7; P. Tebt. 429, S. III, 340-50. 356-75; P. Oxyrh. 770, S. II, 372-7. 405-13.

<sup>1</sup> Grenfell, *An Alex. Erot. Fragm.* p. 6

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sitzber. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1912, pp. 1198-1219.

<sup>3</sup> Grenfell, *op. cit.*, no. IV.      <sup>4</sup> A. S. Hunt, *JPh.* XXVI, p. 25 ff.

<sup>5</sup> De Presle, *Notices et extraits de la bibl. imp.* XVIII. 2. p. 109. I depend on Ludwich.

<sup>6</sup> Lumbroso, *Rendiconti della Accad. dei Lincei*, 2 (1893), p. 831.

Ξ: P. Morgan, complete; P. Brit. Mus. 732, S. I, 120-293, 332-354. 358-522 (122. 242. 333. 342. 344. 347. 477-9 inferred from space); P. Oxyrh. 551, S. II, 227-53. 256-83.

Ο: P. Morgan, complete; P. Berol. 9968, S. III-IV, 383-90. 421-30; P. Berol. nr. 230, S. V, 425-82. 539-648; P. Oxyrh. 771, S. II-III, 736-46.

Π: P. Morgan, 1-262. 281-90. 294-9. 316-25. 329-428. 434-66. 471-82. 486-92. 493-9; P. Tebt. 430, S. I-II, 401-5. 418-30; P. Greco-Eg. II. 110, 111, S. I-II, 611-7, 675-9, 676-9.

Lines uncovered: 263-80. 291-3. 300-15. 326-8. 431-3. 467-70. 483-5. 500-610. 618-74. 680-867.

Ρ: P. Oxyrh. 552, S. II, 80-94; P. Berol. nr. 230, S. V, 101-222; P. Berol. 9783, S. III-IV, 315-77; P. Oxyrh. 772, S. II-III, 353-73; P. Oxyrh. 685, S. II, 725-32.

Lines uncovered: 1-79. 95-100. 223-314. 378-724. 733-61.

Σ: P. Brit. Mus. 107<sup>1</sup> (Harris), S. I A. C., 1-218. 311-617; P. Brit. Mus. 127, S. III-IV, 1-22. 29-33. 77-92. 98-121. 125-36. 152-61. 168-75. 227-30. 273-5. 279-88. 320-49. 359-71. 387-94. 398-410. 412-25. 442-50. 455-65. 467-77. 479-92. 501-18. 534-43. 563-75. 578-617; P. Rylands 50, S. III, 395-401. 428-34; P. Paris,<sup>2</sup> S. I A. C., 475-99. 518-35. 544-61.

Lines uncovered: 219-26. 231-72. 276-8. 289-310.

Τ: P. Reinach<sup>3</sup> 1, S. IV-V, 41-51; P. Oxyrh. 553, S. III, 97-117. 132-51; P. Oxyrh. 554, S. III, 251-9; P. Oxyrh. 555, S. III, 417-21.

Lines uncovered: 1-40. 52-96. 118-31. 152-250. 260-416. 422-4.

Υ: P. Fayum 160, S. I-II, 36-110; P. Oxyrh. 556, S. II-III, 241-50; P. Oxyrh. 951, S. IV, 425-37. 470-82.

Lines uncovered: 1-35. 111-240. 251-424. 438-69. 483-503.

Φ: P. Aberd. 6, 7, 1-26. 58-65; P. Fayum 6, S. I, 26-41; P. Oxyrh. 557, S. III, 372-82; P. Berol. 6794, S. IV-V, 547-76. 580-609; P. Amherst 159, S. IV, 608-11.

Lines uncovered:<sup>4</sup> 42-57. 66-371. 383-546. 577-9.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of ancient mss. in the Brit. Mus. I, p. 1; I depend on Ludwich.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. de Longpérier, *op. cit.*, p. 114; I depend on Ludwich.

<sup>3</sup> *Papyrus Grecs et Démotiques*, Paris, 1905, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Of these some are attested (P. Oxyrh. 221) in the commentary of Ammonius.

X: P. Oxyrh. 559, S. II, 1-18. 40-57; P. Amherst 159, S. IV, 30-7; P. Oxyrh. 558, S. II-III, 115-34. 143-60; P. Fayum 211, S. I-II, 253-98. 350-5. 358-65; P. Aberd. 8, 265-72; P. Berol. 6794, S. IV-V, 390-421. 423-54

Lines uncovered: 19-29. 38-9. 58-114. 135-42. 161-252. 299-349. 356-7. 366-89. 422. 455-515.

ψ: P. Brit. Mus. 128, S. I A. C.,<sup>1</sup> 1-79. 402-633. 638-814. 823-97; P. Oxyrh. 447, S. II, 81-91; P. Berol. nr. 230, S. V, 490-511. 530-52; P. Berol. 9949, S. I A. C., 718-32; P. Oxyrh. 560, S. III, 775-85. 834-47.

Lines uncovered: 80. 92-401. 634-7. 815-22.

Ω: P. Brit. Mus. 128, 1-83. 100-58. 164-243. 248-74. 276-82. 337-41. 344-51. 382-7. 402-79. 490-520. 536-48. 559-77. 596-611. 631-57. 672-728. 737-44. 754-9; P. Oxyrh. 952, S. III, 74-90; P. Brit. Mus. 114<sup>2</sup> (Bankes), S. I-II, 127-804; P. Oxyrh. 561, S. III-IV, 282. 286. 318-31; P. Rylands 51, S. I A. C., 336-43. 366-401 (375-6 inferred from space); P. Berol. 5007, 698-747.

Lines uncovered: 91-9.

At first blush it might seem that this material is too fragmentary to allow us to form a concept of a papyrus vulgate, definite enough to compare with our manuscript vulgate. But in an article published in *A. J. P.* XXXV 125-48 I have already shown the very substantial unanimity in such matters that is exhibited in the papyri. Thanks to this we can, with little fear of error, regard any papyrus as typical of its contemporaries and proceed with the comparison.

The first point to be noted is that there is practically nothing in the papyrus vulgate which is not contained also in the manuscript vulgate. The exceptions are as follow. In the margin of P. Brit. Mus. 128 are written by a second hand (date not stated) ψ 359-61 with a mark for their insertion after l. 757 which is identical with line 358. The former passage is not covered by the papyrus, and the most probable supposition is that the second hand in endeavoring to insert these lines has misplaced them. I shall have occasion to return to this passage. P. Oxyrh. 20 adds B 798<sup>a</sup> = Γ 185, owing to the fact that B 798 and Γ 184 resemble each other,

<sup>1</sup> Date questioned by Hunt, *JPh.* XXVI, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Lewis, *Philological Museum I*, p. 177; I depend on Ludwich.



and the latter passage was cited, cf. AHT I, p. 227, to illustrate the former. Both of these instances are to be regarded as cases of surface corruption; the others all occur in P. Morgan along with other peculiarities which suggest that it has deviated somewhat from the beaten track. The examples are:  $\Lambda$  346<sup>a</sup> repetition of 316<sup>a</sup>,  $\Xi$  231<sup>a</sup> (mentioned by sch. T), and  $O$  409<sup>ab</sup> =  $M$  419–20, which again can only be due to a trick of memory. The editors also suggest the possibility of one or two plus verses between  $\Pi$  428–33, which would most likely be merely cases of dittography. Dittography occurs also in the repetition of  $O$  596 by P. Berol. nr. 230; and in P. Greco-Egizii II. 106 a blundering anticipation of  $\Lambda$  478 as 475<sup>a</sup>.

On the other hand, if one takes the list of passages given above for which the manuscripts waver seriously, he will find that papyri where extant omit these passages almost invariably. Of the twenty 'plus verses' contained in the list one  $\Lambda$  316<sup>a</sup> is found in P. Morgan, but not in P. Berol. 262; the other 19 are all omitted by the papyri concerned, the references are ascertainable from the list given above. The list contains twenty-eight such minus verses. Of them twenty-four have been treated in my article already cited. All these are omitted by the papyri concerned, except that  $\Omega$  558 has been added in the margin of P. Brit. Mus. 114 by a second hand, the date of which is not stated. I can now add that  $\Theta$  183 is omitted by P. Fayum 210, the only papyrus covering the passage; and that  $\Pi$  381 must be omitted by the P. Morgan, although the editors do not state the fact. The papyrus (the only one extant for the passage) is here fragmentary. Wilamowitz after stating that little is left of 380, cites for 381  $\text{KEKAYTO}$  which obviously comes from 382. The mistake could easily arise from the use of an edition in which 381 was relegated to the footnotes. The two remaining passages  $\Lambda$  662.  $M$  219 are found in the P. Morgan—which, however, is proved to have been copied from a manuscript with marginal additions which it has incorporated into the text. There is good reason to suppose that the presence of these two lines has been brought about in the same fashion.

The value of this evidence is not impaired by the existence of such exceptional cases. We are dealing with the intrusion and spread of interpolations; and for their spread the impor-

tant factor is the element of time. Transitional stages are, consequently, to be expected. It is not surprising that we find papyri in which the interpolation is beginning. On the other hand interpolations if made at an early date may succeed in spreading to all or to almost all of the manuscripts. A number of passages in which this may have occurred were listed above, as being on the evidence of the manuscripts alone doubtful. To them the testimony of the papyri may now be applied as a criterion.

Thirteen of these passages are covered by papyri. Of these five are omitted by all the papyri concerned; X 363 by P. Fayum 211; while Θ 6. Ξ 420. P 219. Σ 441 are treated in my former article. For three passages the evidence is conflicting. Δ 196-7 omitted by P. Cairo and P. Oxyrh. 544 seem to stand in P. Berol. 7119; the column is however fragmentary, and it is possible that an omission has not been noted in the summary publication that has been made. O 562 omitted by P. Berol. 230 is misplaced (i. e. brought in from the margin) in P. Morgan. O 578 is similarly misplaced in P. Morgan, but stands in the Berlin papyrus. These eight passages, with possibly some reservations for O 578, are to be recognized as interpolations. Of the five remaining cases B 141 is found in three papyri. Its omission by V<sup>22</sup> must therefore be regarded as surface corruption (. . . . γαῖαν, . . . . εἰρηάγυιαν), and the scholium, cf. below, points to the same conclusion. In Γ 235 (om. it., add. im. m. 2. P. Brit. Mus. 126) and Ξ 12 (om. P. Morgan) weak manuscript evidence is supported by weak papyrus evidence, while opposed to both is the fact that the lines can hardly be spared. Most probably therefore we have either accidental coincidences, or traces of a special connection between the papyri and the manuscripts involved. Finally Γ 78. Θ 315 are omitted by manuscripts usually trustworthy AG<sup>1</sup>, and attested by P. Brit. Mus. 126, P. Berol. 7499, both of late date. The case must remain doubtful until other papyri are discovered.

The evidence presented previously went to prove that—surface corruption aside—the great bulk of the lines absent from the papyri are those impugned also by the evidence of the manuscripts. The converse of this proposition is the conclusion to be drawn from the evidence now presented:

lines seriously impugned by the evidence of the manuscripts will not be found in the papyri. If this is true, we are able to predict, what lines will be missing in papyri that may be discovered hereafter. They will be (subject to such exceptions as I have indicated) the lines given in the above lists.

Pending the publication of other papyri, I may call attention to the stichometry of P. Brit. Mus. 127 and 128. The first of these indicates the loss of five lines between  $\Sigma$  100 and 505; the above lists show no alternatives to the five lines omitted by the Harris papyrus, and discussed p. 141 of my article. The second case is more complicated. The numbers, taken over from the text copied, give 890 instead of 897 as the total number of lines in the twenty-third book. My lists give lines 565. 804. 864 as the only intruders so far detected; but the second hand has added lines 626 and 359-61. That the first is not the correction of a merely accidental omission is shown by the fact that the line was absent, according to Aristonicus, from the edition of Aristarchus. Regarding the other omission in a similar light, we have exactly the number of lines required. Two of the marginal numerals placed opposite 502. 604. 705. 805 must then be corrected to 503. 806; both corrections being confirmed, the papyrus omitting only one line (565) between 502 and 604, and also one line (804) between 705. and 805. That my hypothesis can explain the stichometry of these manuscripts with the assumption of only so slight an error, seems to me something of a confirmation.

The stichometric marks, it must be remembered, were placed sometimes between the lines, so that a variation of one line is almost negligible. In A on account of the omission of 265 and no other line,  $\epsilon$  should be found opposite line 501; it is found opposite line 500 in P. Rylands 44. In  $\Xi$  according to my lists we should find  $\beta=201$ ,  $\delta=402$ ,  $\epsilon=503$  and a total of 519 lines; in P. Brit. Mus. 732 we find  $\beta=201$ ,  $\delta=403$ ,  $\epsilon=503$  (in spite of the omission of 420), and only nineteen lines later the total given as 520—probably a round number. The stichometry of N in this papyrus seems, however, hopelessly confused, as does that of E in P. Oxyrh. 223.

The papyrus vulgate was not, of course, an absolute unit. There are a number of lines about which the papyri waver, or which are omitted in single papyri without a corresponding

disturbance in the manuscript tradition. The bulk of these are cases of surface corruption, easily recognized because the line is indispensable, or because the error is at once corrected, or because the mechanical explanation of the omission is obvious.

As such are to be classed: A 275-6: om. P. Rylands 43; hab. P. Oxyrh. 538, P. Fayum 141.—B 185: om. it., add. im. P. Tebt. 4; hab. P. cod. Bodl., P. Brit. Mus. 126.—B 270-1: om. it., add. im. P. Brit. Mus. 126; hab. P. cod. Bodl.—B 289-90: ditto.—B 549: om. P. cod. Bodl.; hab. P. Tebt. 265, P. Berol. 9583.—B 644: om. P. cod. Bodl.; hab. P. Tebt. 265, P. Fayum 309.—B 842: om. P. cod. Bodl.—Γ 94: om. it., add. im. uv. P. Brit. Mus. 126.—Γ 221: om. P. Fayum 209; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 126.—Γ 272: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 126, add. m. 2 im.—Γ 405: om. it., add. im. P. Brit. Mus. 126; hab. P. Oxyrh. 542, P. Greco-Egiz. II. 108.—Γ 413-4: om. P. Oxyrh. 542; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 126, P. Greco-Egiz. II. 108.—Δ 215: om. P. Cairo; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 136.—E 75: om. P. Oxyrh. 223, add. m. 2. im.; hab. P. Berol. 8440.—E 126: om. P. Oxyrh. 223, add. m. 2. im.—H 31: om. P. Oxyrh. 762.—Θ 47: om. P. Fayum 210; hab. P. Chicag. 7.—Θ 59: om. P. Chicag. 7.—Θ 434: om. it., add. im. P. Berol. 6845.—Λ 195-209: om. P. Morgan.—Λ 265-8: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2.—Λ 313: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2; hab. P. Berol. 262.—Λ 331: ditto.—Λ 369: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2; hab. P. Oxyrh. 950.—Λ 503: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2.—Λ 535: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2; hab. P. Oxyrh. 550.—Λ 560: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2; hab. P. Oxyrh. 550, 767.—Λ 595: om. it. P. Morgan, add. m. 2; hab. P. Oxyrh. 550.—Λ 735: om. P. Morgan, add. m. 2.—M 51. 378. 404. 418-9. 426-8. 431. 439. 448-50. 458: om. P. Morgan.—N 67: om. P. Oxyrh. 446; hab. P. Morgan.—N 178: om. P. Morgan; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 732.—N 230: om. P. Morgan; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 732, P. Berol. 46.—N 241: ditto.—N 347: om. P. Morgan; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 732, P. Berol. 46, P. Oxyrh. 769, P. Tebt. 429.—N 501: om. P. Morgan; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 732.—N 596-7: ditto.—N 602-6: om. P. Brit. Mus. 732; hab. P. Morgan.—O 442: om. P. Berol. 230; hab. P. Morgan.—O 454: om. P. Morgan; hab. P. Berol. 230.—O 551: om. P. Berol. 230; hab. P. Morgan.—O 704: om. P. Morgan.—II 154-5. 317. 393: om. P. Morgan.—P 160-2: om. P. Berol. 230.—P 173: ditto.—

P 352-3: om. P. Berol. 9783; cum 353 inc. P. Oxyrh. 772.—  
 Σ 132: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 107, add. m. 2 im.; hab. P. Brit.  
 Mus. 127.—Σ 141-2: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 107, add. m. 2 im.—  
 Σ 350: om. it. uv. P. Brit. Mus. 127, add. post 365; hab. P.  
 Brit. Mus. 107.—Σ 360. 459. 508: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 107, add.  
 m. 2 im.; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 127.—Σ 537: om. it., add. im. P.  
 Brit. Mus. 127; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 107.—Σ 577: om. it. P. Brit.  
 Mus. 107, add. m. 2 im.—Σ 609: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 107, add.  
 m. 2 im.; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 127.—T 134: om. P. Oxyrh. 553.  
 —Φ 63: om. P. Aberd. 7.—X 263: om. it. P. Fayum 211, add.  
 m. 2. im.—Ψ 39: om. P. Brit. Mus. 128, add. m. 2.—Ψ 540: om.  
 P. Berol. 230; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 128.—Ψ 892: om. it., add.  
 im. P. Brit. Mus. 128.—Ω 440: om. P. Brit. Mus. 128; hab. P.  
 Brit. Mus. 114.—Ω 519-20: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 128, add. m.  
 2 im.; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 114. P. Morgan has also carelessly  
 transposed or repeated a number of lines in NII, and misplaced  
 others in O; for these, references to my former article, pp.  
 147-8, will suffice. These lines are all present in the manuscripts  
 without variation except for isolated omissions (cf. above) of  
 N 602-6, O 551, P 352-3, obviously due to haplography.

A few examples may be noted separately, because the omis-  
 sion is in itself possible: A 178: om. P. Berol. 9813; hab. P.  
 Rylands 43.—B 532: om. P. Tebt. 265; hab. P. cod. Bodl.—Δ  
 154 om. it., add. im. P. Berol. 7117.—Ξ 182-3: om. P. Morgan;  
 hab. P. Brit. Mus. 732.—Ξ 229: om. P. Morgan; hab. P. Brit.  
 Mus. 732, P. Oxyrh. 551.—Ξ 401: om. P. Morgan; hab. P.  
 Brit. Mus. 732.—O 68: om. P. Morgan.—Π 26: ditto. Ω 119:  
 om. P. Brit. Mus. 128 (cf. above for coincidence with surface  
 corruption in the MSS).—Ω 344: om. it. P. Brit. Mus. 114,  
 add. m. 2 im.; hab. P. Brit. Mus. 128. Except at Ω 119 there  
 is no variation in the manuscripts.

There remains a small group of lines that formally intro-  
 duce speeches after the employment of a verb which of itself  
 implies speaking: Γ 319: om. P. Berol. 263; hab. P. Brit. Mus.  
 126, 136.—Γ 389: om. P. Tebt. 427, P. Oxyrh. 542; hab. P.  
 Brit. Mus. 126.—Δ 369: om. P. Oxyrh. 753; hab. P. Brit. Mus.  
 136.—N 46: om. P. Brit. Mus. 732; hab. P. Paris., P. Morgan.  
 —N 480: om. P. Brit. Mus. 732; hab. P. Morgan.—P 326: om.  
 P. Berol. 9783. Except for surface corruption at Δ 369, N 46  
 easily due to haplography, there is no variation in the manu-  
 scripts.

In these verses I should recognize the very earliest stratum of intruding lines. To determine how much further it extends is a difficult problem. To it I should add Δ 461 (=Z 11) omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 136, P. Jandan. 93 the latter as early as the first century before our era. Also Ψ 626 (=K 169) omitted by the first hand of P. Brit. Mus. 128, because of its absence, cf. below, from the edition of Aristarchus. The authority of this hand being thus upheld, I should accept it also for the omission of Ψ 359-61 which seems to be confirmed by the stichometry.

The tradition points then to the following conclusion. The papyri and the manuscripts are all descendants from a text of the Iliad which about the middle of the second century before our era consisted of some 15,600 lines. Whether that text existed at that time in the form of a single manuscript, or in a number of manuscripts as much alike as peas, is a question that is not important at the present stage of my argument.<sup>1</sup>

Of this nucleus there is no reason to believe that a single line has been lost. On the contrary about a hundred lines have been added in the course of the papyrus and manuscript tradition. A selection from these (controlled in part by chance) combined with ten lines known only from quotations has raised our printed vulgate to its 15,693 lines. In our printed texts we can designate about 85 intruding lines. The danger of error in attempting to define the nucleus lies in the other direction;—in the probability that the early intrusion of a few lines still escapes us.

The next question is the relation of the vulgate tradition to the scholarly work of Alexandria. The first fact that stands out is the principle for which Ludwich, cf. AHT. II, 132 ff., has so stoutly contended, that the athetesis of a line has never caused its disappearance from our manuscripts. Coincidences may be found in my list of surface corruptions; but a study of the list will show how sporadic and purely accidental they are. In the next place it is obvious that the behavior of our vulgate is not controlled by Aristophanes or Zenodotus. Lines peculiar to their editions are absent from the vulgate, which on the other hand contained lines that we know were absent

<sup>1</sup> Neither answer, of course, would involve a conflict with Bethe, as imagined in Journ. Hell. Studies, XXXIV, p. 334.

from the editions of these scholars. The exceptions suffice merely to prove the rule: like Zenodotus, X<sup>b1</sup> omits © 284, H<sup>b</sup> omits © 557-8 (hapl.), and Allen's O<sup>s</sup> omits © 195: while two of Allen's MSS, U<sup>10</sup>U<sup>11</sup> have N 808<sup>a</sup> a Zenodotean line. But when we come to compare the vulgate with the edition of Aristarchus, the situation takes a different aspect.

Our authorities at times assert differences between Aristarchus and the vulgate which are incredible. Wolf's idea that Aristarchus removed © 535-7 from his text is clearly an error. The same is true of Pluygers' conjecture, followed by Allen, that © 540 was non-Aristarchean. Reference to Ludwig, AHT. II. 141, is sufficient. Ludwig, II. 138 ff., has also proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that K 395-7 were in the text of Aristarchus. The alleged different version of Aristarchus at II 467 proves on examination a fable, cf. Ludwig, I. 409, and also Roemer, Rh. M. 66. 289 ff., 352 f. To these must be added E 808, although the evidence is somewhat contradictory. Aristonicus at 807 says: *Ζηρόδοτος ὑποτάσσει τούτῳ στίχον "ῥηιδίως κτλ."* thus implying that 808 was not Aristarchean; but at Δ 390 his comment is: *ὁ ἀσπερίσκος ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἕγιως τέτακται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῦς πρὸς τὸν Διομήδη λόγῳ οὐκέτι*, which as distinctly implies the opposite. The definite statement of sch. BT *οὐ καθόλου δὲ εὐρέθη ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου τὸ "ῥηιδίως κτλ."* is evidently an abbreviation of Didymus' report *τούτων τὸν στίχον οὐχ εὐρήσθαι καθόλου φασὶν ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου*. This is used by Roemer, Arist. Ath., p. 98 ff., as evidence that Didymus had no access to the editions of Aristarchus. The conclusion is unwarranted. In reality the sentence must have been the introduction to a note correcting the belief that the line was non-Aristarchean. There is no reason to doubt that the line stood in the second edition of Aristarchus (at least) and was there athetized. Finally sch. T and Eustathius say that for Ψ 332-3 Aristarchus read a single line. The story is pronounced incredible by Ludwig, AHT. I. 487, and may well be due to a confusion of Aristarchus and Aristophanes.

For these passages we have little papyrus evidence; but K 395-7 is so attested, while the intrusion of two lines between II 466 and 471 in P. Morgan could hardly have passed unnoticed. The manuscripts show no disturbance for any of

these lines, except that L<sup>o</sup> V<sup>16</sup> omit E 808, which may best be ascribed to the slight but double temptation ( . . . . . *ένίκα*, . . . . . *ἦα* and *ρήιδ* . . . . , *σοι δ'* . . . . ) to haplography. This harmony is in marked contrast to the facts I am about to adduce.

The passages for which we have evidence sufficient to warrant a belief that they were not in the edition of Aristarchus are the following. B 168 ignored by Nicanor ap. sch. A; B 558 called *τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν γραφόμενον* by Aristonicus at Γ 230, cf. AHT. II. 395 ff.; Δ 196-7, cf. my previous article, and note the scholia on 206-7 of A which would have been expected on 196-7; E 901 incompatible with Aristarchus reading in 900 *Ἰακῶς φάρμακα πάσσειν*, sch. T; N 255, on the preceding line: *έν τισι μετὰ τοῦτον φέρεται* "*Ἰδομενεῦ κτλ.*" sch. T, cf. AHT. I. 353; N 731, *Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Μαλλώτης προστίθῃσιν* sch. T; N 808<sup>a</sup> *Ζηνόδοτος ὑποτάσσει* Aristonicus, ὁ *Ἀρίσταρχος περὶ τοῦ στίχου οὕτως λέγει, ὅτι έν τοῖς Ζηνοδοτείοις ἐφέρετο* sch. A, *μετὰ τοῦτον Ζηνόδοτος γράφει* sch. T; T 39<sup>a</sup> seems to be ascribed to *τινὲς τῶν βυρσῶν* by sch. T; Φ 73 *οὐ φερόμενον έν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου* Didymus, sch. AT; Φ 480 unknown to Aristonicus, sch. G, cf. Lehrs, *Arist.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 338; Ψ 626 unknown to Aristarchus, according to Aristonicus; Ψ 804 unknown to Nicanor, sch. A, cf. AHT. I. 493; Ω 558 unknown to Didymus, cf. sch. AT.

Of these passages Φ 73 is not covered by any papyrus, but its meaning connects it with the group of unnecessary formulae to introduce speeches, discussed above. Like them it is found in all manuscripts except for Allen's V<sup>22</sup>. Papyrus evidence is not extant for E 901. T 39<sup>a</sup>. Φ 480. The remaining lines are all omitted in papyri except for the addition in P. Brit. Mus. 128 of Ψ 626 by a second hand. Except for Φ 73, Ψ 626, there is a disturbance in the manuscript tradition of each passage.

The conclusion is: all directly attested differences between Aristarchus and the vulgate, are due to interpolation of the vulgate.

The question next arises whether any of the lines which I have indicated as interpolations in the vulgate were Aristarchean. The claim might be made for two passages of my first list. Aristonicus says that Θ 28-40 were athetized *ὅτι ἐξ ἄλλων τόπων μετακένται*, which seems to imply the presence of



lines 466-8. However, verse 38 is never repeated; and that nine out of the thirteen verses are *διφορούμενοι* would seem a sufficient basis for the remark. Such is practically the interpretation of Roemer, *Arist. Ath.*, p. 231 f. The reading of Eudoxus reported in sch. B at Ψ 158 probably concerned B 850, cf. Ludwich AHT. I. 462. In the second list<sup>1</sup> we find Σ 441 with a scholium A<sup>t</sup> ἐν τισιν οὐ κεῖται which need not be of Alexandrian origin, but merely the result of an early collation of manuscripts. Finally there is the passage Ψ 359-61 which I have suggested was an exceedingly early interpolation. To the last line A<sup>t</sup> reads: δρόμους πληθυντικῶς Ἀρίσταρχος, but Ludwich has shown AHT. I. 113 "dass ein nacktes Ἀρίσταρχος in A<sup>t</sup> . . . vieldeutig ist, und hin und wieder möglichenfalls sogar einer Lesart, die Aristarch nur erwähnt hatte, missverständlich beigeschrieben sein kann". The line was known to Ptolemaeus of Ascalon, but there is no proof of its presence in the edition of Aristarchus.

Over against this inconclusive evidence is to be set the silence of the scholia.<sup>2</sup> In view of their fragmentary nature I should ordinarily attach little importance to the argument *ex silentio*, but this is not an ordinary case. That such a list of detachable lines, mostly *στίχοι διφορούμενοι*, can be compiled without including a line that has been athetized, is extremely remarkable. Add to this that not a reading of Aristarchus is reported, nor, except at Ψ 359-61, of any of his followers. The explanation cannot be that the loss of the verses in the manuscripts has caused the loss of the scholia. Scholia sometimes survive in such cases, and there are about twenty passages for which we have the testimony of the first hand of A, and about an equal number in which the first hands of BG or T give evidence. In addition, almost every line has its double, at which some allusion to the parallel passage might be expected, but is never found. Occasionally on the contrary we

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of the scholia, such as it is, goes to show that B 141 was Aristarchean, and thus confirms my retention of it as vulgate. Sch. T ἐν τισιν οὐ φέρεται should normally exclude Aristarchus, while Aristonicus reports Zenodotus' athetesis of I 23-31 (ἐνεκα τοῦ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους φέρεσθαι) in a way that implies the presence of B 141.

<sup>2</sup> I refer, of course, only to such scholia as go back to Alexandrian times, though even the later exegetical remarks are as a rule (Σ 420 is an exception) attached not to these lines but to their parallels.

find evidence that even in later times the intruding line was unknown. Thus sch. BGT praise the poet for making no mention of Aphrodite at E 468 which is supplied in 468<sup>a</sup>; sch. A at I 224 *ιδίως δὲ οὐχ ἐπέθηκε "καὶ μὲν φωνήσας"*, which is added as 224<sup>a</sup>; sch. T praises the poet for not making Hera specify that it is Pasithea she will give to Hypnos, in contradiction to Ξ 269; sch. A at Y 311 cannot have known the following line when he commented *ἡ δὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀναγνώσεις*, quoting Z 260, N 734. The conclusion to which this points is that these non-vulgate lines were also non-Aristarchean.

Our vulgate, then, was in 150 B. C. a poem of some 15,600 lines, and agreed, as far as we know, line for line with the edition of Aristarchus. There is no evidence to warrant us in making any assumption to the contrary.

That means a causal connexion between the two editions for which the simplest, and to my mind the most probable explanation is the hypothesis that the source of our vulgate is a popular edition of the Iliad based on the text of Aristarchus. Another possibility has been advocated at length by Ludwich, *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen*. His effort to show on the evidence of quotations that our vulgate runs back into the fourth and fifth centuries has been met, successfully I should say, by Grenfell and Hunt, *The Hibe Papyri*, pp. 68 ff., and by Murray, *RGE.*, pp. 298 ff. The recognition of the agreement between our vulgate and the text of Aristarchus now permits a more definite formulation of the question.

The contention that the vulgate is pre-Alexandrian may be made in two senses. First that precisely this combination of 15,600 verses was the Iliad of the fourth and fifth centuries. Then, it is clear that Aeschines, Aristotle, Xenophon and Plato used—at least sometimes—other texts. Furthermore, it is strange that while Aristarchus' extensive studies did not lead to the change of a single line, Zenodotus' departure from this well attested text should have been so great. But it may be meant, secondly, that the texts of the fourth and fifth centuries were merely much like our vulgate though fluctuating slightly, somewhere let us say between 15,500 and 15,700 lines. Then it must have been Aristarchus' intervention that for a time stopped these fluctuations, and fixed the limits of the later

vulgate exactly as we find them at the beginning of our tradition; and in that case Aristarchus is, as I contend, the basis of our vulgate.

So far the problem has fallen entirely under the heading *recensio*—my effort being to determine the earliest form of the text accessible to us on the evidence of our manuscripts and papyri. Beyond that is the problem of *emendatio*, the reconstruction of a still earlier and better form of the text. Here these non-vulgate lines find their place along with others known from Ptolemaic papyri, from statements of the scholia, and from quotations. The problem as a whole is too large for consideration here—and I wish to confine myself only to one aspect of it—the value attaching to these non-vulgate lines contained in the manuscripts.

The most value<sup>1</sup> would probably be claimed for B 558 which is supposed to be attested by Aristotle. The passage, however, Rhet. I 1375<sup>b</sup> 28 ολον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὀμήρω μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμῖνος shows at the most only an allusion to an Athenian legend about the conquest of Salamis—a type of fiction with which the last year has made us only too familiar, or to take more distant parallels the apple-tree, and the return of Lee's sword at Appomattox. In what form this story was known to Aristotle, cannot be determined. B 546–57 in which Aias is made but a tail to the Athenian kite, would be an ample foundation for this legendary use of poetry as evidence. And, if Aristotle knew the tale in this form, his use of it would have been more legitimate than would have been such an allusion to the more elaborate version given by later writers. According to these—cf. Strabo IX. 394, Plut. Solon, c. 10.—the spokesman of the Athenians read the passage at the trial (ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι Plut.) with a line (B 558) which he had interpolated, and the Megarians capped him neatly with a parody suited to their claims. αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἰοῦνται φλυαρίαν εἶναι. What are we to conclude from the story and the fact that the line was non-vulgate and non-Aristarchean? 1. The line was manufactured for the story, not the story for the line. 2. There is no evidence that the line was known to Aristotle. 3. There is no evidence that the line ever appeared in any manuscript of the Iliad earlier than the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bethe, Homer I 53.

editions of the *τινές* mentioned by Aristonicus. Strabo (or his source) seems troubled by that fact, and ascribes it to the critical revision of the text *οὐ παραδέχονται δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ κριτικοὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς*. The intrusion of the line is paralleled later and more unsuccessfully, by Eustathius' addition of  $\mathbf{K}$  159<sup>a</sup> taken from the joke perpetrated by Diogenes Cynicus (ap. Diog. La. VI 53) and innocently not understood.

Of the other verses,  $\mathbf{N}$  808<sup>a</sup> is taken from the edition of Zenodotus, doubtless through the medium of the scholia;  $\mathbf{N}$  731 from Zenodotus of Mallos;  $\Theta$  183 from a Ptolemaic text. The sources of  $\mathbf{Y}$  3<sup>a</sup>,  $\Phi$  96<sup>a</sup>,  $\Psi$  804 and  $\Psi$  359-61 are unknown; very likely they are of the same nature as the last. The remainder are all cases of concordance interpolation, verses being added from other passages with little or no change, or being welded from halves of other verses. The source is always the Iliad itself, except that  $\mathbf{A}$  265,  $\mathbf{Y}$  223<sup>a</sup> come from Hesiod (through Ptolemaic texts?); and  $\Omega$  558, apparently a very late intruder, from the Odyssey. All are due to a literary tampering with the text in post-Aristarchean times—slight, and unsystematic. Whether these tamperers with the tradition succeeded in improving the text poetically may in some cases be open to argument. But, that they ever succeeded in restoring the text of 550 B. C. or of any earlier date, there is not the slightest reason to believe.

Insignificant as most of these verses are, the result is not without some service to the higher criticism of the poems. The part played therein by  $\mathbf{A}$  265,  $\mathbf{B}$  558 is familiar, while  $\mathbf{X}$  316 is the only evidence that the author of the (*Ἐκτορος ἀναίρεσις*) knew of the *Ὀπλοποιία*.

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## II.—THE LATIN GRAMMARIANS OF THE EMPIRE.

The seven volumes of Keil's 'Grammatici Latini' are for most of us an *ἄβητος ἐρημία*, a Sahara Desert which offers neither pleasure nor profit to the explorer. This article tries to shew that he can find oases there and may, with knowledge of the local conditions, "come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him".

There is more to attract the student of Late than of Early Latin. For although some of the Grammarians, especially Priscian and Charisius, freely cite abnormal forms from the Republican authors, the student finds all this material sifted and arranged in Neue's 'Formenlehre'. Besides it is second-hand material. Priscian and Charisius have avowedly taken it from predecessors. Nonius Marcellus, for whom his unsympathetic German editor could find no term of abuse strong enough, stands in noble contrast to these borrowers. He collected all, or nearly all, the huge mass of quotations in his 'Compendiosa Doctrina' by reading the older authors for himself. In my monograph 'Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin' (Oxford, Parker, 1901) and in a subsequent article in 'Philologus' (LXIV 438-464), I have gone through all the lemmas of the 'Compendiosa Doctrina', one by one, and shewn how each paragraph was pieced together; how Nonius read a certain number of the Republican writings, presumably all the volumes he could get hold of at Thubursicum (e. g. Sisenna 'Historiae' Books III-IV, *but not Books I-II*); how he read and excerpted them in a fixed order, and set the excerpts in the same order in his book. A detailed demonstration like this is a demonstration that cannot be overthrown by any arguments except such as will prove the details to be wrong. Now that it has received 'official sanction' in the standard work on Latin Literature (new edition of Teuffel, s. v. 'Nonius Marcellus'), I hope that we shall hear no more of the old *à priori* argumentation: "Nonius' seventh chapter deals with 'Contraria Genera Verborum'; Caper had previously (?) written a book 'de Dubiis Generibus'; therefore Nonius must have drawn

upon Caper". The same style of argument was formerly applied to Nonius' thirteenth chapter, 'de Genere Navigiorum'; that it *must* have been compiled from that section of Suetonius' 'Prata' which dealt with ships. Luckily a mosaic turned up in Africa, with quotations taken apparently from this Suetonius section, and revealed difference between the citations in Nonius and in Suetonius (see Buecheler's article in Rhein. Mus. 59, 321).

The Grammarians edited by Keil are not researchers like Nonius. They write with a less ambitious aim, to satisfy the requirements of pupils in Universities and Schools. Grammar is for them a part of the Rhetoric course, and they cite by preference the school-authors, Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, Terence, etc. Their Greek or African pupils have to be taught correct Latin, and even young Romans, at a time when barbarisms were encroaching on the language, require the same lesson. The precepts of a third century Professor at Rome (Sacerdos, in Keil G. L. VI 493 sqq.) on the Clausula are interesting. He warns his pupils against 'nostri temporis barbarismus', the shortening of final syllables (a result of the stress-accent of Latin). If they mispronounce Cicero's 'cuius ego causa laboro' as *causă laboro*, that bête noire of the Rhetoric-class, the dactylic hexameter ending, will shew itself (cf. Consentius' warning, in G. L. V 393, against the mispronunciation *nummōs*). And his remarks on the different part played by the Clausula in Cicero's time and his own age have a lesson for those of us who read our Zielinski with more zeal than discretion. Cicero, he tells us, never made any great sacrifice to the Clausula (493, 6 *antiqui quidem oratores, in quibus maxime Tullius, numquam necessariis sensibus praeposuerunt orationis structuram*). Cicero acquiesced in monosyllable-endings like:

(Verr. I 5, 14) *ab istius petulantia conservare non licitum est,*  
 (Caecil. 4, 14) *quae cum his civitatibus C. Verri communicata sunt,*  
 (Caecil. 8, 26) *quod P. R. iam diu flagitat, extincta atque deleta sit,*

which would in Sacerdos' time be transformed by any rhetorician into:

- (1) *ab istius petulantia non est licitum conservare,*
- (2) *quae sunt G. Verri cum his civitatibus copulata (G. the later form of the symbol C.),*
- (3) *id quod P. R. iam diu flagitat, extincta sit atque deleta.*

A fifth century Grammarian (Pompeius, in G. L. V 294, 20) complains of the tautology which often results from the excessive devotion of his contemporaries to the Clausula. The plain statement 'ego perfeci' is served up in the form 'egomet ipsē pēfeci' (*egomet* to avoid Hiatus). Remarks like these are useful reminders that our ear does not deceive us when it detects in the Panegyrici a regularity of cadence which it cannot find in Cicero. To editors of the older prose-writers the Clausula should be rather a witness for the defence than for the prosecution. Its evidence should save an abnormal construction or arrangement, but should not suffice to condemn a traditional reading.

Collectors of Syntax-statistics are, no doubt, revising their lists with the help of Zielinski. A frequent topic of Keil's Grammatici, Cacemphaton, suggests another justification, less universal than the Clausula, for abnormal Syntax. The part played by this law of speech, which bans any phrase of malodorous suggestion, is so patent in our own everyday talk and writing that we can hardly doubt that this was the reason why Virgil wrote (Ecl. 3, 84) *Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam*. (On the verb *vissire* and the noun *vissio* see Arch. Lat. Lexikogr. 8, 388.) Diomedes (G. L. I. 376, 10) says *tensa* should probably be *tenta*: 'sed quia cacemphaton videtur, deorum vehiculum tensam dixerunt, ne verbum turpe sonaret in sacris'. And from Probus' remark (G. L. IV 215, 20) that *cannae* was used for the Genitive of *calamus* 'propter cacemphaton' we see that the final *ā* of Iambic Imperatives of the First Conjugation had become *ā*. (On the verb *calare*, *chalare* see the Thesaurus.)

Another appearance of the recognition of the phonetic law of Breves Breviantes is in the stock example of Systole, or shortening, in these Grammarians. This is *stetērunt*, but the *stetērunt* of a line of Virgil where it has *que* appended (Aen. 2, 774); *stetēruntque comae* (e. g. G. L. VI 452, 15; IV 444, 25), the same type as *calēfacta*. This seems to justify the assertion in my Plautus-report in Bursian's Jahresbericht of 1914 (p. 27), that when Servius in his note on Aen. I, 575 (see also Aen. 4, 556) speaks of *eōdem*, he is alluding to Virgil's *uno eodemque* Ecl. 8, 81, Aen. 12, 847 (cf. Aen. 10, 487). Servius' note therefore gives no support to Skutsch's theory

that, since *eō* could be pronounced *eō̄*, therefore *eō̄dem* was as possible as *ibīdem*. Of course the late Grammarians are no adequate witnesses to the actual pronunciation of Virgil's time. To them a long final *o* of verbs was something inconceivable; *cui* was only conceivable as a disyllable (cf. G. L. IV 233, 18; VII 329, 5), and so on. Mr. Winstedt in a former number of this Journal (XXVI 22) gave an amusing instance of how they are ready to scan as verse a weird arrangement of syllables, that 'mumpsimus' of Consentius' copy of Virgil (Aen. 2, 457):

ad soceros, *atque* avo puerum Astianacta trahebat:

'scandimus enim sic, rostque a, ex quo apparet inter duas consonas a vocalem perisse' (G. L. V 403, 24). Their ignorance of Virgilian prosody is sometimes appalling, and seems to have infected even their editors, for we find in these volumes some strange scansions like *minore* (ad I 211, 30), *clūebat* (IV 231, 18), *vōcis* (in line 183 of Terentianus). It is only when they reproduce some predecessor's remarks on the classical pronunciation that their evidence is of value: e. g. the rules of Melissus (who wrote in Hadrian's time 'de Loquendi Proprietate'), cited in G. L. V 287, 11, on the pronunciation of final *m* in elisions.

But we can believe their statements on the language of their own time and their unconscious disclosures of the decay of Latin. The importance of Keil's volumes to students of Late Latin and of the Beginnings of the Romance languages is too well known to need illustration. I will only point out one spurious form which should not have been printed by Keil. A common example with these Grammarians of false quantity is the mispronunciation of *Rōma* as *Rō̄ma*. In G. L. V 285, 7 the *ruoma*, found by Keil in one of his MSS. and printed in his text of Pompeius (whence it has passed into Romance Philology manuals), is merely a scribe's mistake of the symbol of short quantity for a suprascript *u*, the same mistake as was made by another scribe of the same work (208, 9 *huic* for *hic* of the original). Keil's sentence should read: *siqui velit dicere Rōma, aut si velit dicere aequus pro eo quod est equus* (cf. 285, 31). Also G. L. IV 444, 5 should, of course, be printed: *Rōmam pro Rō̄ma*.



And what a welcome light these volumes throw on Education in Imperial times! If anyone wishes to transport himself in imagination to an ancient lecture-room, let him read G. L. V. 95 sqq. (rather than III 459 sqq.). The formal title is 'Pompei Commentum Artis Donati', but what these pages give us is apparently a verbatim short-hand report of the lectures of a Moor, 'Professor Pompey', to a dunces' class in some University of his own country. The class must have been a 'soft option'; no student could fail to pass with the help of so vivacious and painstaking a teacher. The Professor, in labouring his points, sometimes falls into the Chadband style (99, 18): ergo litterae ad quam vocem pertinent? ad omnem? non. ad confusam pertinent? non, sed ad articulata[m] pertinent. This is his elucidation of the half dozen words of Donatus: littera est pars minima vocis articulatae. We see the Seminar-system in vogue; for a Constantinople Professor, Cledonius, gives us a reminiscence of his student-days at Rome, (G. L. V 14, 4): dum Ars (i. e. Grammar) in Capitolio die competenti tractaretur (late Latin for 'tractatur'), unus e florentibus discipulis, Iohannes, a grammatico (i. e. Professor) venia postulata, intendens in alterum sciscitatus est qua differentia dici debeat consularis . . . (A lacuna in the MS. prevents us from knowing what John's 'poser' actually was.) Now why should a German dissertation declare this to be an interpolation? Why should this spot of verdure be removed from Sahara? It is a remark which is eminently suitable to Cledonius, a 'senator Romanus', who occupies himself (unlike the other Grammarians) with the correct form of official designations: 'praefectus urbis' rather than 'urbi', but 'praefectus vigilibus'; 'proconsul' rather than 'proconsole', and so forth. The atmosphere of these volumes is the atmosphere of the class-room. The stock-example of 'transmutatio syllabae,' *displicina* for *disciplina*, is clearly the pupil's joke, but we can see the teacher chuckling over the stock-etymology of *caelebs*, 'qui caelestium vitam ducit'. While in our schools small boys snap their finger to the master, the Roman school-master seems to have snapped his finger at the boy (G. L. VII 47, 17): nam et digitorum sono pueros ad respondendum ciemus. We have an echo, not of the school-room, but of the dining-room in the phrase (G. L. IV 154, 30): infinitum carnis

accepti. One would not expect to find the description of a flute in these volumes, but there it is (G. L. IV 532, 1). Sahara has its oases.

Donatus' Grammar and its smaller edition, the 'Ars Minor', became the standard books for University and School, and a considerable part of Keil's volumes is filled with Elucidations of Donatus' Grammar. 'Commenta in Artem Donati'. There is therefore a great deal of repetition. But indeed we may say that all the 'Artes' in these seven volumes follow the same track, and offer the same examples of the same rules. That is a feature of this kind of literature everywhere. And just as an English Grammar of to-day will offer some obsolete form like 'staves', as Plural of 'staff', a form possibly handed down by one grammar to another from the time when it was actually current, so the paradigms of the Pronouns in these Grammatici offer 'mei vel mis', 'tui vel tis'. We must not make the mistake of accepting *mis* and *tis* as current forms of the Empire (cf. G. L. IV 410, 37).

An all-important rule for our study of these volumes arises from this habit of repetition. Before accepting a statement, its other occurrences must be consulted. The student can do this with the help of the Indexes at the ends of the volumes. It will not do to accept off-hand *testa* as Plural of *testis* on the strength of Charisius' words (G. L. I 146, 10): *vera rectius dicimus et testa*. We must correct this form of statement from, let us say, another passage of Charisius (G. L. I 35, 32): *testu δοτρακον*, sed Vergilius haec *testa* in Georgicis. The allusion is to Geo. 1, 391 *testa cum ardente viderent Scintillare oleum*, Geo. 2, 351 *ingentis pondere testae*. So that the original authority had mentioned 'haec *testa*' Fem. Sing., not 'haec *testa*' Neut. Plur. (As to *vera*, it may be doubted whether Goetz and Schoell are quite justified in removing this form from Varro L. L. 5, 127, since the Plautus MSS. offer *verum* Sing. in three of the four occurrences of the word in the plays, and only once *veru*. To Rassow's list add Rud. 1302, 1304.) We must not accept without question the 'Bona Salus' of Charisius (G. L. I 276: *ut cum interrogamus num quis nos quaesierit et respondetur 'Bona Salus', unde intellegimus nos neminem quaesisse*). Before we can recognize this as a fourth century phrase for 'No one has called', we

must consult the other paragraphs on Charientismus. In Donatus (G. L. IV 402, 10) the example of Charientismus is 'Bona Fortuna'; and in Pompeius (G. L. V 311, 18) we get what appears to be the full and original statement (s. v. Charientismus): in Afranio interrogat servum adulescens 'numquis me quaesivit'? et ille (Def. Art.) servus respondet 'Bona Fortuna', id est nullus; quasi rem duram dictu mitius dixit. Pompeius makes the interesting addition: quomodo dicunt Romani 'ignoscente (by your leave) calciavi me', apparently a modest announcement of senatorial honours. (The Thesaurus has not this instance of *calceo*.) We must not fall into the error of believing (on the authority of G. L. IV 431, 28) that in Virg. Aen. 2, 99 the reading 'spargere voces In vulgum *ambiguam*' offers any real evidence of *vulgus* Fem. The two lines of Virgil, Aen. 1, 149 'saevitque animis ignobile vulgus' and this line, are, we find, the stock-examples of *vulgus* Neut. and Masc. (e. g. G. L. I 21, 16; 538, 35; 548, 17; V 40, 22, etc.; also Serv. ad Aen. 1, 149), so that *ambiguam* is a mere error of an isolated copy of the Aeneid. We shall be puzzled by the frequent remark in these volumes that *iubeo* can mean 'volo', until we turn up every passage mentioned in Keil's Indexes, s. v. 'iubeo', and find (from G. L. IV 556, 24) that the illustration is Terence's 'iubeo Chremetem' (*scil. salvere*). It is through neglect of this precaution that so many writers nowadays on Metre misunderstand the Bucolic Diaeresis. From the better Metricians in these volumes they would have learned that its salient feature is not 'word-ending' but 'pause in the sense' at the close of the fourth foot<sup>1</sup>, e. g. Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? an Meliboei? This is the characteristic cadence of Greek Bucolic poetry. Before we admit that strange exception to the rule that 'suspension', not 'contraction', was the pagan form of abbreviation, the 'SPS.

<sup>1</sup> My friend, Prof. W. R. Hardie, has called my attention to this. His forthcoming book on Greek and Latin Metre will, I hope, remove many similar misapprehensions and banish, once for all, that horrid scansion 'cui flāvām rē | ligās cōmām' and all the evil brood of the Viersilbler theory. 'But the Viersilbler suits so many types of metre'. Yes! it will 'suit' the Dactylic Hexameter: ārmā vīrūm | quē cānō Troī | iaē qui pri | mūs āb ōris, and even Cicero's prose: quōdūsqū tād (em) | ābūtērē | Cātīlinā | pātīēntī | ā nōstrā. (See Berl. Phil. Woch. of 1914, p. 413.)

Sp(uriu)s' of G. L. IV 536, 9; we had better consult G. L. V 339, 19. Perhaps our manuscript evidence is faulty, and the true reading is SPU.

This habit of repetition makes it possible to correct Keil's text here and there. The example of Conlisis is 'mater terra' in G. L. V 288, 16; so read in G. L. IV 445, 24 ut mater terra. his, ut diximus, vitiis (*trahis* of the MS. is for *trahis*, i. e. terra his). In G. L. IV 375, 7 Keil should not bracket the sentence 'dicimus . . . est', for G. L. V 157, 20 shews that it was an actual sentence of Donatus. Since *advorsus* is a stock-example of 'O for E' (G. L. IV 119, 10; VII 149, 16), perhaps the puzzling *contra* of G. L. I 193, 8 is a gloss on *advorsus*; for the appearance of *vorsus* in a previous part of the sentence would make *advorsus* require an explanation. And if we remember that these 'Artes' are sometimes mere notes of lectures (cf. G. L. VI 275, 11 *Ars Grammatica Accepta Ex Auditorio Donatiani*), we need not mark a lacuna at G. L. VI 17, 9. The lecturer seems to be arguing in favour of the spelling *rutundus* and against the assertion that the word was a derivative of *rota*. Read: Non omnia rutunda rota sunt. L et r geminari solent, etc. (if *cum* represents  $\bar{c}$ , i. e. capitulum, to indicate a new paragraph). This part of Victorinus strongly suggests curt lecture-notes (if *scribo* 14, 29 and 23, 22 can refer to writing on the black-board). We may remove the lacuna from G. L. I 14, 9, with the help of G. L. II 17, 3. Charisius and Priscian and all these Grammarians, as we shall see, take their Prosody from Greek sources. Some 'Graeculus esuriens' furnished the first Latin Prosody-manual for the Roman literary market. He followed the obvious course of rendering into Latin the Greek Prosody-rules and substituting Latin examples for the Greek examples. One of the Greek Prosody paragraphs dealt with the Aeolic Digamma, and shewed that it played the part of a consonant, e. g.,

*ὀψόμενος ρελέταν ἐλικώπιδα,*

but occasionally did not, e. g.

*ἀμὲς δ' ρειρήταν,* etc.

This paragraph is fairly preserved by Priscian in G. L. II pp. 15 sqq., and, when we read these pages of Priscian, we are tempted to detract from Bentley's glory as the discoverer of

the Homeric Digamma. The whole discovery, we may almost say, is there for anyone who can read between the lines. But Bentley cannot have taken his theory from this passage, for he does not seem to have recognized the possibility of the Digamma playing the part it plays in the second example. To substitute a Latin example for the first Greek one was an easy task for the 'Graeculus esuriens', since any line of any poet shews *v* playing a consonant's part; to substitute one for the second was difficult. A line of Terence was discovered which seemed to 'kill two birds with one stone' (Andr. 66): sine invidia laudem invenias et amicos pares. It is mentioned by Priscian (G. L. II 17, 5). Now our Grammarians prefer Virgilian examples of their Prosody-rules, and avoid the Latin Dramatists. Most of them accordingly discard this paragraph on the treatment of *v*. Charisius, however, retains it but deliberately omits the Terence example. There is no ground for supposing a lacuna in the (unique) MS. The Digamma is a frequent topic of these Grammarians. The Emperor Claudius' attempt to add a reversed Digamma to the Roman alphabet as symbol of the Latin V-sound (the sound of our W) is perhaps the cause.

This brings us to the second all-important rule for our study of these seven volumes. We must always reckon with the probability of Greek origin. Some of these Grammarians (and their pupils too) were of Greek nationality; all of them borrow from Greek authorities. Priscian candidly tells us that he has adopted the Grammars of Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian for the framework of his own Grammar; he often supplies (notably in Book XVII) Greek along with Latin examples. This dependence on Greek sources was natural for the Grammatici, for the science of Grammar had been imported from Greece; they would justify their adoption into Latin of the Greek rules of Syntax and Accidence by the universal belief that Latin was a dialect of Greek (G. L. I 292, 16 cum ab omni sermone Graeco Latina lingua pendere videatur). Virgil's Epic Metre, they would plead, imitates Homer's; so the Prosody-rules of Homer would suit Virgil. The Prosody-section in these 'Artes' puzzles us until we realize that the rules are transferred from a Greek manual. Priscian's combination of Greek with Latin examples lifts the veil from our

eyes. For the treatment of Mute with Liquid it is natural to find a Greek example in which the Mute and Liquid begin a word. But every schoolboy knows the difference between the Greek and the Latin rule. *Τείχεᾶ Τροίης* would be as unnatural in Homer as *moeniâ Troiae* is natural in Virgil; Catullus' *impotentîâ freta* is a Graecism. But the recognition of this difference by the Grammatici is surprisingly rare. An example like *orë fremebant* is not distinguished from one like *atque rëfrenant*. In G. L. VII 52, 13 we have a Greek example of a rule evidently based on Homer's prosody, that the rough breathing may play the part of a consonant (Hom. Il. Z 800):

ἢ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα εὐκότα γέλναιτο Τυδεΐς.

(Of course Homer's use of the Digamma was not dreamt of.) This rule seems to have been transferred bodily to the Latin Prosody. The letter *h* was the obvious substitute for the rough breathing, but Virgilian examples were hard to find. Our 'Graeculus esuriens' seems to have hit upon Virgil, Aen. 9, 610:

terga fatigamûs hasta.

This is the stock-example with all our Grammatici of the preposterous theory that *h* can play the part of a consonant in making 'position'. And—strange to say—this theory actually passed into practice in Christian poetry (see my article in the *Classical Quarterly* of this year).

The Greek origin of the Accidence-section in these 'Artes' is revealed by the inclusion of the Optative (usually 'utinam amarem', etc.) in the paradigm of the Latin Verb. In their account of the Latin Accent what calls for explanation is *not* the description of the Latin stress-accent in terms which suit the Greek pitch-accent. Why! the Romans never knew there was such a thing as Accentuation until Tyrannio taught them. Rather it is the occasional use of a phrase like 'syllaba quae plus sonat', 'the syllable that would be heard at a distance', etc. And the best explanation seems to be that the Greek accent had assumed or begun to assume a stress-character earlier than is usually admitted. The accent that can assert itself in verse is the stress-accent. The date of Babrius, the first Greek poet to recognize the accent in his Choliambics (in the final foot), has now found a 'terminus ante quem', with the dis-

covery of a fragment on a papyrus of the second century (Oxyr. Pap. X p. 133: "the poet himself must have lived well within the second century, if he does not go back to the first").

That the Saturnian Metre could not but be ascribed to Greek origin and furnished with parallels in Greek quantitative poetry is, I may be told, a universally admitted and often repeated statement. But I doubt whether anyone can realize its truth adequately until he has read for himself the sections on Metre in these volumes of Keil. The Greek parallels are indeed hardly more convincing than the absurd parallel (cited in G. L. I 321, 11) to the Latin nomenclature: Οὐλίξῆς Ἀρκεισιδάδης Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁ πολύτλας, like 'P. Corn. Scipio Africanus'!

This article is written to attract explorers to Keil's Sahara. Let me warn them off one pestilential region, G. L. IV pp. 54 sqq., the silliest passage in all the seven volumes. Or shall we except the passage (G. L. VI pp. 50 sqq.) in which all Metre is derived from Apollo's hymn of victory over the python: ἢ παϊάν, thrice repeated? When pronounced as two spondees, this forsooth produced the Dactylic Hexameter; as two Iambi, the Iambic Trimeter. A ludicrous theory! But is it more ludicrous than the 'Tom-tom Theory' (not yet quite obsolete) of Indo-european metre, that eight indeterminate syllables 0000 | 0000, like the characterless beats of a tom-tom, developed in time into longs and shorts,—and all the rest of it? This theory should now be left to those who scan: cui flāvām rē | līgās cōmām.

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### III.—AN WITH THE FUTURE.

#### I. ON THE OCCURRENCES IN PLATO.

In an investigation into the meanings of the moods in Greek, and the shift from one to the other, we are confronted by the problem of the occurrence of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  with the future (indicative or its equivalent) as a logical anomaly, and, indeed, the same dissatisfaction with the construction is indicated in Lucian and Bekker's anonymous writer on syntax. The next step is to assure oneself of the trustworthiness of the MSS, bearing in mind the possible effect of these early notices upon the MS tradition. As writers on the syntax of this construction have come to a deadlock on the question of its legitimacy, and have therefore proceeded to argue for and against the MS tradition with equal adroitness, I was led to approach the subject from the point of view of eidography, and in investigating the occurrences of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  with the future in the prose writers of the classical period, have found warrant to suppose that Plato was familiar with the construction and was also familiar with the objection to it.

Conviction albeit unscientific has long been operative against the appearance of the construction in the texts of classical authors; sometimes tacitly, as with the 'best' MSS and recent editors, sometimes with animosity, as in the emendations of Cobet. Generally speaking, in passages where  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  + fut. appears the future can be converted into an aorist as readily as the aorist can be converted into the future (or equivalent of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  + opt.) in cases where  $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  + aor. referring to the future is an obstacle in Thucydides. In fact so readily 'corrigible' is the construction from the palaeographer's point of view, that it is now a matter of no little difficulty to find the examples cited by writers on the subject, even in the apparatus criticus of editions which otherwise suggest some completeness.

The chief authority for the rejection of the construction as being a solecism is Lucian; Sol. 2:

Λυκ. . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις ἔπεσθαι, συνήσων ἄν, εἴπερ ἐθελήσειας.



Σολ. 'Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ βούλομαι· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν εἶπας ὧν ἄνθρωποι σολοικίζοντες λέγουσι. Δικ. Τὸ γὰρ νῦν ῥηθὲν μικρόν τί σοι φαίνεται κακὸν εἶναι;

Lucian is credited with having been an expert in Classical Greek, and the above passage has been interpreted to mean that *ἄν*+ fut. was considered a solecism 'even in antiquity'. If it was considered a solecism, it must have occurred. The question that interests us, but is not proved in any way by Lucian, is whether it occurred in Classical Greek Literature, and was there considered a solecism by contemporaries. That it occurred in late Greek, is shown by Radermacher in his edition (1901) of Demetrius de Elocutione, p. 67.

The second ancient authority for the occurrence of *ἄν*+ fut. is the anonymous writer on syntax in Bekker's *Anecdota* I. p. 127, l. 24: *μέλλοντι ὁ μὲν τῶν γραμματικῶν κανῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει, παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγα παραδείγματα εὐρίσκεται*, the author continuing with examples from Demosthenes Phil. V (= V 14, a testimony ignored in Butcher's ed.), Leptines (XX 35), Phil. I (really Γ, IX 67 <μηδὲν> μηδ' ἄν ὀτιοῦν ἢ δεινὸν πείσεσθαι, Seager), Isoc. Antidosis (XV 69).

Here the validity of the testimony is vitiated by evidences of defective memory or casual familiarity on the part of the author, and the value thereof for us depends on the certainty with which *παρὰ ἀρχαίοις* can be interpreted.

Both from Lucian's remark, and from the occurrence of the construction in writers on Rhetoric, I infer that during and after the time of Lucian, *ἄν*+ fut. was not readily recognized as a solecism, but that a purist of those times would avoid the construction and eradicate it from the MSS of ancient authors, for the reproduction of which he made himself responsible. This inference discredits absolutely in this particular the authority of what we consider the 'best' MSS while the employment of *ἄν*+ fut. by contemporary teachers of Greek, if it had influence on the scribe of the day, simply elevates him slightly above the contempt so often heaped upon him. The best copyist is the producer of mechanical work of photographic accuracy, a worker who is not interested in the elucidation of the text before him; but the best copyist will not produce the 'best' MS.

I fail to see that certainty or even conviction could be based on Lucian's implication or on manuscript evidence, so far as

the occurrence of *άν* + fut. in classical prose is concerned. I should consider that we are at liberty to correct the text in any place where probability of error is a matter of palaeographic experience, and this may be useful when we come to determine the meaning conveyed by a future modified by *άν*. There will possibly be satisfaction in this procedure for scholars who would shrink from admitting the usage where a classical author is speaking in propria persona.

When however an author is writing in ethos, we are not confronted by the improbability of the employment of a construction that the author himself would eschew. With one possible exception, the examples taken from Plato can be broadly regarded as intentionally solecistic.

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Pl. Apol. 29 b. c. ὅστε οὐδ' εἰ με νῦν ὑμεῖς ἀφίετε Ἄν' ἄπιστήσαντες, ὅς ἔφη ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ δεῖν ἐμὲ δεῦρο εἰσελθεῖν ἢ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσηλθὼν, οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι με, λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς, εἰ διαφευξοίμην, ἤδη [*άν*] ὑμῶν οἱ υἱεῖς ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἃ Σωκράτης διδάσκει πάντες παντάπασι διαφθαρήσονται, — εἰ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἶποιτε . . .

*άν* secl. Cobet.

Pl. Apol. 30 b. c. πρὸς ταῦτα, φαίην ἄν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢ πείθεσθε Ἄν' ἢ μὴ, καὶ ἢ ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε, ὡς ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἄν ποιήσαντος ἄλλα, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλω πολλάκις τεθνήαι.

ποιήσαντος Cobet. ποιήσοντος B. T.

These two passages must be taken in connection, for there is a tendency in Plato, particularly striking in the Pausanias speech of the Symposium, to make use of a responsion towards the end of a unit, or period, of incident. This rhetorical method is seen in Homer in similes, and has been considered an insidious invitation to interpolators; it is also seen in Herocrates' speech to Pan-Sicily in Thuc. IV 59. 1, 64. 1. I should, therefore, refuse to accept Cobet's seclusion of *άν* in the first instance, and his change of the future into the aorist in 30c in view of the unanimity with which the MSS report the passages.

The suggestion of Kühner-Gerth (I 209) that *άν* is to be construed with ἐπιτηδεύοντες, might have been supported by Thuc. II 80. 1.

Ἄμπρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες . . . πείθονσι Λακεδαιμονίους . . . λέγοντες ὅτι, ἦν ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα μετὰ σφῶν ἔλθωσιν, ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ἐνμ-

βοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων ῥαδίως Ἀκαρνανίαν σχόντες καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας κρατήσουσι, καὶ ὁ περίπλους οὐκέτι ἔσσοιτο Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως περὶ Πελοπόννησον· ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι καὶ Ναυπακτον λαβεῖν.

So Jones: post ῥαδίως add ἄν ABEFM.

Here J. M. Stahl (Quaest. gramm. Leips. 1866, p. 22) saw that ἄν is to be taken + σχόντες, and this might be urged as indicating ἄν + ἐπιτηδεύοντες. But in that passage we have rather an instance of Thucydides' austerity of style whereby he employs language as objective material, and the variations of the future concept in ἄν + aor. part., fut. indic., fut. opt., are so many tones in the progress of the theme. No such aid appears in Apol. 29c, but, even if this loophole be accepted, one must admit there is a lack of lucidity, a touch of prevarication about an expression which scholars have reduced to a semblance of order in the category of anacoluth.

Plato is not scrupulous where he sees a point to be made. He does not, for example, scrupulously represent rival philosophers by interlocutors of conspicuous ability. In Apol. 26d οἱ αὐτοὺς ἀπίρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι . . . the ὥστε οὐκ is easily explicable, yet one is prepared by the ἀπίρους γραμμάτων to deride the 'solecism' before tragic Meletus can refer to the learned commentators.

Similarly in Sophocles, Antig. 389 ἐπεὶ σχολῇ ποθ' ἦξεν δεῦρ' ἄν ἐξηύχουν ἐγώ the ἄν will, upon thought, be construed + ἐξηύχουν, but so idiomatic is the attraction of ἄν from the infinitive to the introducing finite verb, that a perfectly legitimate expression demands analysis. The grammatical purity of the humorous guard is assailed. One suspects. The character's popularity does not suffer from one's suspicions.

In these passages from the Apology, if anywhere, the construction of ἄν + fut. is authentic. Rather than a subsidiary blunder on the part of an archetypal scribe, the construction in 30c is an intentional responson to the construction in 29c; Socrates with a touch of character accepts the grammar of Anytus. That the audience is supposed to accept the humour is I think indicated by the opening words of the next sentence, μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, the reading of B. The audience is laughing with Socrates and against Anytus; in omitting ὃ it is as if he said, "Now, Boys", instead of "Now, Gentlemen".

The liberty taken with men of more or less prominent position at Athens by their contemporaries renders it practically impossible to base the actual history of a politician on references in the comic poets; it is no less hazardous to estimate the actual personality of a character appearing in a speech or philosophic dialogue. In the final analysis Joel does not establish the actuality of Socrates; he does not fail however to establish the type for which Socrates comes to stand. Similarly, items in Alcibiades' personal history, as far as we can establish their verity, show a considerable discrepancy with those of Alcibiades the type in philosophic writings and in rhetorical epideixis. This phenomenon is disastrous for history, but it presents a more solid foundation for speculations of an eidographic or ethic nature. The type once fixed is more rigid than the fluctuating actuality of the living original. Anytus as an actual man is obscure; as treated by Plato, Lysias, Polycrates<sup>1</sup> his role is quite patent. As a type, he may even be an anachronism and appear in an anachronistic setting.

Fortunately we know something of Anytus as he appears in Greek literature. The rough horse-sense of his mot in 29bc is refreshing in the semihysteria of much that has gathered round Socrates' trial, and is on a par with the shrewd, if rather ill-timed, advice to the grain men in Lys. 22. 8 and 9, and is in the vein of Athenaeus 12. 47 οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' εὐγνώμονα. ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἅπαντα λαβεῖν τὰ ἡμίση κατέλιπεν; no less consistent is his attitude towards the vindictive Piraeus, Lys. 13. 78; that a change to poverty was unable to shake his innate honesty is seen in Isoc. 18. 23, a speech of Lysianic genre. Of course Lysias held a brief for Radicals, he also assumed a brief for Socrates, after his death; yet the protection Anytus accorded the engaging Andocides (I 150), a man who by tradition stood for all that was contrary to democratic principles, seems to have been uniformly appreciated, and even Plato does not elsewhere (Meno 87e) attempt to make him out anything worse than a stolid Philistine. Meletus is handled much more viciously in the matter of ethos. It seems to amount to this: P. G. Barbon to Lysias was Barebones to Plato, and ἄν + fut. is a Barebones

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hirzel, Polykrates Anklage und Lysias Vertheidigung des Sokrates, Rh. M. 42, 1887.

construction. Socrates in whimsical sympathy used *ἄν ποιήσονται* in 30bc.

This whimsical sympathy is to be noted elsewhere. In the *Crito*, at least in the latter half, Plato seems to make Socrates curiously sensitive to his surroundings, curiously gentle to *Crito*, arguing at the close rather as a protreptic preacher than the logical Socrates. In the diatribe of the laws we read (*Crito* 53c): . . . . ἡ πλησιάζεις τούτοις καὶ ἀναισχυντήσεις διαλεγόμενος—τίνας λόγους, ὦ Σώκρατες; ἢ οὐσπερ ἐνθάδε ὡς ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλείστον ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ νόμοι; καὶ οὐκ οἶε ἄσχημον ἄν φανείσθαι τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους πρᾶγμα; οἴεσθαί γε χρῆ.

*ἄν* om. T, Eusebius.

The position of *ἄν* looks as if its presence were emphatically insisted upon. The dochmiac ending is also significant. There is much in the *Crito* to suggest a playful caricature of the worthy whose walk of life may have been similar to that of Anytus.

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Pl. *Phaedr.* 227b: τί δαί; οὐκ ἄν οἶε με κατὰ Πίνδαρον καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον πρᾶγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸ σὴν τε καὶ Λυσίου διατριβὴν ἀκούσαι;

ποιήσασθαι Par. 1811: ποιήσεσθαι B. T. τήν G.: σὴν B. T.

The *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* (vol. VII, p. 117) reads the aorist here, and being of the third century A. D. carries weight of authority. Being of the third century, however, the omission of the construction *ἄν* + fut. may be a suppression in deference to the movement towards purity indicated in the passage from *Lucian* already quoted, even as *καθιζήσόμεθα* (229a) becomes *καθεδούμεθα* in the papyrus.

If *ποιήσεσθαι* is here genuine, there is a deft mixture of lofty quotation and lowly solecism. *Phaedrus* himself has been called the 'sucking sophist' (*Gildersleeve, J. H. U. Circulars* vol. VI, Jan 1887, p. 49), characterized as a 'pupil teacher'. Abundant evidence might be obtained for the forms which Socrates' humour takes, and from among them one cannot exclude a playful way of taking off a person to his face. Here he takes off *Phaedrus* as a quoter and *Phaedrus* the admirer of the cult

of Lysias in terms of Lysias' low life character genre. It does not matter what were the relations of Plato and Lysias at the time. Lysias has a peculiar back-handed manner of arguing in court and of courting in the Phaedrus, and Plato's Socrates is also a master and admirer of understatement. Lysias wrote a defense of Socrates, but unless Plato was an extremely well balanced young man he might have suspected his ingenuousness. Still I take it that literary amenities—as such—existed between Plato and Lysias when I find that Phaedrus the Myrrhinusian appears in Lys. 19. 15 (B. C. 387); in Lysias 32. 14 (B. C. 400-399) the romantic discovery of the document occurs while the family were moving from the Collytus to the Phaedrus house; in 14. 42 κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου (winter 395/4 B. C. being the ostensible date, but Alcibiades and his family are so essentially themes for epideixis from Aristophanes to Demosthenes, that dating like paternity is putative)—in this speech οὕτω γὰρ διάκεινται ὥστ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς καλοῖς αἰσχύνεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς φιλοτιμείσθαι reminds one that Phaedrus in Symp. 178d declaimed: λέγω δὲ δὴ τί τοῦτο; τὴν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς αἰσχύνην, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καλοῖς φιλοτιμίαν.

I think therefore that Socrates was taking a playful rise out of Phaedrus when he made him associate quotation and solecism, and I likewise suspect the lilt in Phaedr. 243e οὗτος παρά σοι μάλα πλησίον αἰεὶ πάρεστιν which Cobet (V. LL. p. 119) considered bad Greek. Perhaps the original was *περὶ* or even *ἀμφί*, and of Apollo. I suspect Plato is amusing himself at Phaedrus' expense. Similarly Phaedrus' words ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἔστι καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ, ἂν βουλώμεθα, κατακλιθῆναι are a correction of Socrates' amusing ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καθιζήσόμεθα (229a), the last word being dangled before Phaedrus till he bites, as did the scribe of Ox. pap. 1016. Bekker's *Antiatticist* p. 101. 2. had qualms about καθιζήσόμεθα for καθεδούμεθα, and Cobet (N. LL. 340) and Schanz (Proleg. Phaedr. X) are equally suspicious of the form κατακλιθῆναι.

That Plato should hint that if Phaedrus associates with Lysias he may be infected with his language is not out of the way. It bears the imprint of his shrewd recognition of Lysias' subtle ethos in language and Phaedrus' incapacity to distinguish. We read in Lysias 1. 22 (written before 403 B. C. if

one may draw conclusions as to the identity of Sostratus in § 22, and in 9. 13):

*εἶδος δ' ἐγὼ ὅτι τηρκαῦτα ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν ἂν καταλήφοιτο οἴκοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐκέλευον (sc. Σώστρατον) συνδειπνεῖν· καὶ ἐλθόντες οἴκαδε ὡς ἐμέ, ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν ἐδειπνοῦμεν.*

*οὐδένα Bekk. οὐδέν' ἂν Westermann.*

Of this passage Richards (Cl. Rev. VI 339, col. 2): 'As far as I can judge at present, *οὐδὲν δῆ* (or *οὐδένα δῆ*) would not be admissible . . . for Lysias'.

If *ἐπιτηδείων* is masculine as in § 41, then *οὐδέν<a>* is masculine—none of 'the boys'; if it is neuter, then it is equivalent to the 'needful', and it is to be observed they went to the *ὑπερῶν* to get it. The whole oration is so essentially low life that the *ἂν* + fut. would seem to be here appropriate in ethos. Even with Usener's dating of the Phaedrus at 403/2 (Rh. M. 35. 131 ff.) Plato could have known this passage; perhaps however he had in mind also Lys. 31. 21 (c. 398 B. C.): *ἄρα δῆλον ὅτι σὺ ᾔδει* (sc. Philo's canny mother at the moment of drawing up her will preliminary to her decease) *αὐτὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτῇ τὰ δέοντα ἂν ποιήσοντα*, which I admit is easily corrigible. Lysias does not offend again. An editor of Aeschylus has ceased to employ split infinitives for less. If Plato<sup>1</sup> agreed with the assertion of modern scholarship that Athenian Women's language was conservative he might have been justly suspicious of Lysias' grammar in writing *ἂν ποιήσοντα*, but the point is a subtle one involving the ethos of a speaker who employs rhetoric in a manner suggesting the flourishes of the inimitable Invalid, the ethos of a speaker who affects a certain loudness not incompatible with less gentle origin.

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Plato, after affirming that the philosopher's nature is in the highest degree sensitive to its surroundings,<sup>2</sup> proceeds, Rep. 492c:

*ἐν δῆ τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸν νέον, τὸ λεγόμενον, τίνα οἶε καρδίαν ἴσχειν; ἢ*

<sup>1</sup>Pl. Crat. 418c *αι γυναῖκες μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σφίξουσι.*

<sup>2</sup>Cf. also Laws 719c.

ποιαν ἂν αὐτῷ παιδείαν ιδιωτικὴν ἀνθέξειν, ἣν οὐ κατακλυσθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ψόγου ἢ ἐπαίνου οἰχθήσεται φερομένην κατὰ ροῦν, ἣ ἂν οὗτος φέρῃ, καὶ φήσειν τε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσειν ἅπερ ἂν οὗτοι, καὶ ἔσθθαι τοιούτων;

ἂν secl. Cobet. ιδιώτην F.

Jowett accepts the ἂν—"The particle without weakening it, gives an ironical force to the future"—and quotes 615d. Campbell rejects the ἂν—"The 'colloquial style' of which Goodwin speaks in referring to 615d, is not present here". It is possible that an early correction of *ιδιωτ<ικ>ην* was misread as ἂν; or that the ἂν is an early dittography; or that ἂν was originally intended as a correction of *ἴσχειν*, having dropped by haplography after *τίνα* or *καρδίαν*. Had this been an apparent instance of the optative without ἂν, few would have hesitated to insert ἂν or even to consider the monosyllable sufficiently sounded in the context, the ear cheated. But the ear is more than cheated, the very *παιδεία* is being overwhelmed, and I doubt not Plato dropped an ἂν into the stream of his metaphor. The delicate philosophic soul would err in good company; on the authority of AEF, Thucydides, I. 140. 5, represents Pericles as saying:

ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσετε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι.

On the examples in Thucydides, however, I prefer to reserve judgment until I treat in a later paper the occurrences of the construction in Classical Authors other than Plato, where due consideration will be given to Hermann and Herbst and their animadversions on the significance of a future modified by ἂν.

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Pl. Rep. 615 cd.

ἔφη γὰρ δὴ παραγενέσθαι ἐρωτώμεν ἑτέρῳ ὑπὸ ἑτέρου, ὅπου εἶη Ἄρδιαῖος ὁ μέγας. ὁ δὲ Ἄρδιαῖος οὗτος τῆς Παμφυλίας ἔν τινι πόλει τύραννος ἐγεγόνει, ἤδη χιλιεστὸν ἔτος εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, γέροντά τε πατέρα ἀποκτείνας καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφόν, καὶ ἄλλα δὴ πολλά τε καὶ ἀνόσια εἰργασμένος, ὡς ἐλέγετο. ἔφη οὖν τὸν ἐρωτώμενον εἰπεῖν, "Οὐχ ἦκει", φάναι, "οὐδ' ἂν ἦξει δεῦρο. ἐθεασάμεθα γὰρ οὖν δὴ . . ."

οὐδ' ἂν ἦξει AFDM Iustinus Stobaeus: οὐδ' ἂν ἦξει scr. recc.: οὐδ' ἦξει Proclus.



Thus Burnet. Hermann's edition, however, begins a new paragraph at *ἔθεασάμεθα γὰρ οὖν δὴ κτλ.* The Jowett and Campbell text includes in one paragraph *ἔφη γὰρ δὴ το σιγήσαντος ἀναβῆναι* 616 l. 9, Burnet ends the inverted commas at 616 l. 4 *ἐμπεισοῦμενοι ἀγοῖντο*, the paragraph at *ἠψηλὸν εἰπεῖν*—617d l. 5. Such difference in punctuation amounts to a difference in interpretation of the dianoetic value of the passage, and hence to a difference in the interpretation of the ethos of the three speakers involved, Socrates, Er, and the spirit. According to J. A. Stewart, the myth in Plato is a literary representation of the natural products of the dream world consciousness; the *oratio obliqua*, in which the tale of Er, son of Armenius is couched, is a masterpiece of obliquity. Regardless of the strictures passed on him in Nietzsche's *Geburt der Tragödie*, Socrates swims in and out of the Er of his presentation, now in *propria persona* giving a précis of Er's more elaborate account, now identifying himself with his puppet<sup>1</sup>; while the words of the spirit anon slide unconsciously into the o. o. which ought to be Er's. Truly the account is of such stuff as dreams are made of.

The tale commences in naïf logographic style, of which 614b *ἐπειδὴ οὐ ἐκβῆναι* (AF) or *ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐκβῆναι* (A<sup>2</sup>M Proclus etc.) is a delicate reminder; at the time of the Republic this style is in the sphere of that disconcerting evidence of Thucydides' personality (I 126 f.) which evoked the comment *ὁ λέων ἐγάλασεν ἐνταῦθα*. Then the o. o. becomes restless, *ἔφη* intrudes. Then a parenthesis—Socrates intrudes in *propria persona*. Then *ἔφη . . . εἰπεῖν . . . φάναι* with this sentence: *οὐχ | ἦκει οὐδ' ἄν ἤξει δεῦρο*.

Unfortunately we have few stage directions in Greek; Thucydides does not always underline his mots as in IV 40, 2, nor Herodotus doubt the intelligence of his readers, by e. g. explaining Mother Carey's Chickens (IV 7) as he does in IV 31, where the equivocal remark *ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἶρηται* is correctly left unpunctuated by Stein in spite of his seeing simply a reference to the historical account commencing chap. 16. l. 9. But I take it that whether the continuation *ἔθεασάμεθα γὰρ οὖν δὴ . . .* is still within the inverted commas,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Symp. 185c, where *ταῦτά σοι, ἔφη* should be (*Πανσανίαν*) *φάναι*, as is corrected in the next two lines by *ἔφη ὁ Ἀριστόδημος*, cf. 193d.

or is the normal shift in o. o. towards a <ὄτι> construction, the γὰρ οὖν δὴ is sufficient indication that Plato wrote οὐδ' ἂν ἤξει, pace Proclus deceased, and that he meant it. As used by an interlocutor, γὰρ οὖν signified an assent to the spirit of what has just been said but not a logical consent. When used by the speaker himself of what he has just said, γὰρ οὖν δὴ is a half humorous deference to the δαιμόνιον of strict accuracy, being not far from a combination of γοῦν and δ' οὖν with a strong addition of personality. On this passage Gildersleeve, S. C. G. 482, footnote, writes: 'but if ever ἂν was needed with the future indicative, it is needed here'; and, by all that is to much maligned scribal integrity sacred, we get it.

Did then Plato mean to be . . . 'common'? "He is not here and . . . he ain't going to be"!

Plato is often whimsical. He is often, in the original, a sad pill to swallow for those to whom, in translations, the word Platonic chaperons the naughty beyond question. It would be hard to convince even scholars that in Phaedo 62a the tortuousness of the sentence and its repetitions represent a mighty blush on the part of Socrates at having said ἀλλὰ προθυμῆσθαι χρῆ· τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀκούσαις—as being perilously near a verse he had just composed, the which might make Evenus laugh. Yet Plato flanges his quotations habitually. A line of Socrates' swan song was perhaps<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ προθυμῆσθαι . . . τάχα γάρ κεν ἀκούσαις. His blush is legitimate.

But the language that is scouted by Academicians is often of good sound pedigree with a patent of legitimacy due to the high antiquity of its inception. While I think it would be wrong to write here οὐδέ κεν ἤξει with its heroic lilt—and I should not care to have γὰρ οὖν δὴ habilite ἀνήξει—I am quite ready to believe that ἂν + fut. here is trading on family connections. The expression might readily be a triumph of logographic naiveté, the narrative resuming in another key (δὴ). Owing to the possible connection of ἂν with κεν, I think there are two spheres in which ἂν + fut. may be employed. It might be employed by uneducated people, metics in the grove of Academe, and by the godly. It may sometime appear that there is an ethic parallel between these two usages and the

<sup>1</sup> So in Phaedr. 241d ὡς λύκοι ἄρν' ἀγαπῶσ', ὡς παῖδα φιλοῦσιν ἑρασταί, Thompson recognizes a hexameter of Plato's own composition.

appearance of *ει* + subj. in the mouth of Nicias the *δεισιδαίμων* (Thuc. VI 21. 1) and *ει μή σ' εκφάγω* (the reading of R) on the lips of Cleon (Ar. Eq. 698), and thrust into his teeth by the sausage-seller (700) *ει μή σ' εκπίω*; — a parallel in ethos, but not a case of absolute parallelism, for at present my investigations are leading me to expect a different origin for *ει ξυστώσιν* and *ει μή σ' εκφάγω*.

In this passage then I would recognize *αν ήξει*<sup>1</sup> as either intentionally naïf or quaintly raffish. Before however taking up the logographic element in the expression, I shall refer to the possible example of *αν* + fut. in the aftermath of the Myth of Er, and in the closing sentence of the Republic 621b:

*καί οὕτως, ὃ Γλαύκων, μῦθος ἐσώθη καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀν σώσειεν, ἀν πειθόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν τῆς Λήθης ποταμὸν εὖ διαβησόμεθα, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ μανθησόμεθα.*

According to Stallbaum *αν σώσει* is read by 2 MSS Mon. <32> Flor. β, authority sufficient to interest Richards, who reads *καὶ ἡμᾶς δὴ σώσει*.

If it is a true reading, this *αν* + fut. is a case of just such reference back to *αν ήξει* of 615d, as I find in the situation of Apol. 30c as referring to Apol. 29c. The Gorgianism at the close . . . ? but then the delightful messenger in Soph. O. T. 924 prances in with just such a debonnaire curvet, under which his identity is disguised until 1029 (*ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦσθα καπὶ θητεία πλάνης*;) and this identity has still to be pressed home on the herdsmen 1132 by a disclosure of what he can do in vernacular.

As far as we can judge from the fragments of logographers, exclusive of that branch which confined its logography in the framework of a dicanic setting, *αν* + fut. is by no means typical enough to catch Plato's caricaturing eye. The absence of the construction or its presence can easily find explanation in the circumstances of the preservation of the several fragments of the Greek Historiographers.

An example of *αν* + fut. is to be found in Pherecydes according to Schol. Pind. Pyth. IV 133 (Müller, F. H. G. 60):

*ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδη· " ἔθνε, φησίν, ὁ Πελίας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ προέειπε πᾶσι παρῖναι. Οἱ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι πολῖται καὶ ὁ Ἴησων,*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Soph. Antig. 389 quoted above.

ἔτυχε δὲ ἀροτροῦν ἐγγυς τοῦ Ἀναύρου ποταμοῦ. Ἀσάνδαλος δὲ διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν, διαβάς δέ, τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν ὑποδείται πόδα· τὸν δὲ ἀριστερόν, ἐπιλήθεται. Καὶ ἔρχεται οὕτως ἐπὶ δειπνον. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πελίας, συμβάλλει τὸ μαντήϊον. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἠσύχασε. Τῇ δὲ ἰσθεραία μεταπεμφάμενος ἤρετο ὃ τι ποιίη, εἰ αὐτῷ χρησθείη ὑπὸ του τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰήσων, πέμψαι ἄν εἰς Ἀλαν αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας τὸ χρυσόμαλλον, ἄξοντα ἄν ἀπὸ Αἰήτεω. Ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Ἰήσωνι ἦρῃ ἐς νόον βάλλει, ὡς ἔλθοι ἢ Μήδεια τῷ Πελίᾳ κακόν”.

Even Socrates knew that he must wear his good pumps when he went to Agathon's banquet, and the enormity of Jason's carelessness was not lost on Pherecydes who wrote a blue book for Athenian epigonous pretenders. Yet Pherecydes puts an article before his heroes' names, which is as bad as prefixing Mr. to a scholar's name, and he uses a future participle immediately followed by ἄν, which he ought not to have done even if as a sweet reminiscence of the πέμψαι ἄν.

Without prejudice as to the source of the contents, one might quote Apollodorus Biblio. I 23. 8 (Müller) :

ὁμόσαντος δὲ Ἰάσονος, φάρμακον δίδωσιν, ᾧ καταζευγνύται μέλλοντα τοὺς ταύρους ἐκέλευσε χρίσαι τήν τε ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸ σῶμα· τούτῳ γὰρ χρυσέντα, ἔφη, πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν μήτε ἄν ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀδικηθήσονται, μήτε ὑπὸ σιδήρου.

Herodotus however has an instance of ἄν + fut. to offer, III 12 :

αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλοις ψήφῳ μούνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἄν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξειας.

θέλεις ABCP. βαλέειν L.

διαρρήξεις A. B. C. διαράξειας R. S. διαρράξειας V.

So Hude; but the evidence for the future is X and XI cent. MSS against XIV. This is, I believe, the sole<sup>1</sup> example of the construction in Herodotus; the priority of ABC is an argument in favour of reading the future; one might moreover discover a tendency to delete the construction, reaching its culmination in RS. On the other hand, the future as read in the MSS of family *a* is conceivably a mere error in spelling.

<sup>1</sup>Hdt. III 80; V 31; VII 10 are more or less obvious scribal errors. Hdt. III 104, to my mind also a scribal error, will be considered elsewhere.

The difficulty is that Greek scholars are from their very acquaintance with the language too well aware of the process of balancing probabilities to be very susceptible to conviction by argument.

Herodotus' naiveté may here be 'viciously acquired' from some source. He gives the source—*πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων*. One misses ὥστε after the second οὕτω. The concluding clause sounds like an anacoluthic appendage in inverted commas; in other words it is dramatic in the ethos of the *ἐπιχώριοι*.

For Herodotus was alive to niceties of language, of syntax. The eidography of his use of the infin.-imperat. would establish that. Moreover (IV 117) he writes of the Sauromats, in whom he takes quite a Herodotean interest from their connection with the Amazons, that they *φωνῇ νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ* . . . The verb he uses is significant; Protogoras wrote on *σολοικισμός*; the formation of the word betrays the school of new learning and new interest. We hear much lately of Sophocles' appreciation of Herodotus, an association which might suggest the presence of an Herodotean humour in Sophocles' tragedies.

\* \* \*

A crucial test of literary capacity is put by Aristophanes (Ran. 1422) into the mouth of Dionysus: *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου τίν' ἔχεται γνώμην ἐκάτερος*; most prose writers have taken him as a lively topic of discussion or theme for exploitation of rhetoric and character drawing; to-day he is still one of the most elusive of personalities. The following extract is from his syncretism, on Socrates as a Silenus figure, Pl. Symp. 221d:

*Καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις παρέλιπον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὁμοιωτάτοί εἰσι τοῖς σιληνοῖς τοῖς διοιγομένοις. εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλοι τις τῶν Σωκράτους ἀκούειν λόγων, φανείεν ἂν πάντῃ γελοιοὶ τὸ πρῶτον· τοιαῦτα καὶ ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα ἔξωθεν περιεμπεύχονται, σατύρου δὴ τινα ὑβριστοῦ δοράν. ὄνους γὰρ κανθηλίους λέγει καὶ χαλκίας τινὰς καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ βυρσοδέψας, καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται λέγειν, ὥστε ἀπειρος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἂν τῶν λόγων καταγελάσειεν. διοιγομένους δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸς τις καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν γιγνώμενος πρῶτον μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντας ἔνδον μόνους ἐὺ ῥήσει τῶν λόγων, ἔπειτα θειοτάτους καὶ πλείστα ἀγάλματ' ἀρετῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας καὶ*

ἐπὶ πλείστον τείνοντας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὅσον προσήκει σκοπεῖν τῶ μέλλοντι καλῶ κάγαθῶ ἔσεσθαι.

Thus Burnet's text: I take the liberty of underlining certain words to be noticed.

εἰ ἐθέλοι B: ἐθέλει T. . . . . ε3 δῆ Baiter: ἄν T. om. β <Ox. Pap. 843> αἱ διογομένους T. διογουμένους B. αὐ Bekker: ἄν BT <also Ox. Pap.>, δῆ Schanz α5. τείνοντας T. τείν α ν τας B.

R. G. Bury's note on ἰδὼν αὐ τις is: "ἄν cum participio cohaeret hoc sensu, εἰ τις ἰδῆ . . . si quis forte viderit" (Rückert): Stallb., too, defends ἄν, citing Rep. 589e, Phaedo 61c, Euthyd. 287d; the objection of Rückert and Rettig that αὐ ought to stand after διογομένους rather than after ἰδὼν, is not fatal.

1. Palaeographically arguing, ἰδὼν ἄν . . . may be accounted for by most of the rules of error known to the trade. A marginal correction of either of the two places would be sufficient incentive to the much maligned scribe to insert ἄν here. The appearance of σατύρου without ἄν in the Oxy. papyrus may suggest a misapplied deletion of ἄν elsewhere.

2. There may be a breezy repetition of ἄν, sustaining the note struck in φανείεν ἄν. Such spectacular syntax is in the realm of the dramatic rather than the syntactical proper.

3. ἰδὼν ἄν may be a phrase = εἰ τις ἰδῆ as Rückert suggested according to R. G. Bury's note in his edition of the Symp. It would be still more extraordinary than ἄν + fut.

4. ἄν may anticipate an optative for which Alcibiades substitutes the future as equivalent to ἄν + opt. in an impatient and perhaps inebriate disregard of syntax. Unluckily Guardian Pericles does the same when he is presumably sober—in Thuc. I 140. 5 according to AEF—and Spartan Archidamus does the same when Isocrates uses him as a mouthpiece, indeed he uses ἄν + fut. three times in a few lines (VI 62. 63), or twice if we follow the staid Urbinas.

Compare the speech of Alcibiades in Thuc. VI 16 f. with the funeral oration of Pericles in its rhythmical analysis. Alcibiades' succession of longs and shorts is like the shadows coursing up the slopes of a sunlit hill. In VI 17 the expression καὶ νῦν μὴ πεφοβῆσθαι (as the MSS report), is that of the sportsman—and indeed I think the μὴ is an interpolation, the

perf.=‘have done with’—and in Pl. Symp. 222b he rolls out three Infin.-Imperatives, thickly introduced by ἄ δὴ καὶ σοὶ λέγω—and that too καὶ σοί, ὦ Ἀγάθων.

5. It is much more likely that ἄν is really equal to ἐάν, intended as a bibulous explication of ἰδών, and ushering in the gaiety of ἐντὸς αὐτῶν γιγνόμενος, which is further elucidated by ἐνδον and perhaps, considering Alcibiades’ condition, anticipates it. Such an ἄν would require no verb.

Says Theognis (627)

αἰσχρὸν τοι μεθύοντα παρ’ ἀνδράσι νήφοσιν εἶναι·  
αἰσχρὸν δ’ εἰ νήφων παρ μεθύουσι μένει.

As sober grammarians, therefore, we must disregard this passage.

\* \* \*

Thus far we have dealt with examples of ἄν+ fut. where the construction bears evidence of being intentionally posited. But there may obviously arise instances where a hesitancy on the part of the speaker, a lack of ease in formulating a nebulous thought, a note of mental reservation, may be adequately depicted in anacoluthic utterance without further arriere pensée—being herein differentiated from Rep. 492c and Symp. 221d, if the latter is really an example.

Pl. Crat. 390e fin. Schanz :

EPM. Οὐκ ἔχω, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅπως χρῆ πρὸς ἄ λέγεις ἐναντιοῦσθαι· ἴσως μέντοι οὐ ῥᾶδιόν ἐστιν οὕτως ἐξαίφνης πεισθῆναί σοι, εἰ μὴ δείξειας, ἦντινα φῆς εἶναι τὴν φύσει ὀρθότητα ὀνόματος.

σοι, εἰ μὴ scripsi philolog. vol. 35, p. 369: σοι εἰ μοι BD, voculae μοι et μὴ saepissime inter se permutantur, cf. Cratyl. 95, 15 Gorg. 33, 15 . . . ., ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον τίθεσθαι (πέιθεσθαί ex emend.) σε εἰ μοι PT, ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον τι πέιθεσθαί σε εἰ μοι H, ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον (ἄν μᾶλλον ex emend.) πέιθεσθαί (τίθεσθαι ex emend.) σε εἰ μοι G, verbis σοι εἰ μοι erasis scripsit ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον πεισθῆσθαι σε εἰ (σε εἰ ex emend.) μοι b, ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον πεισθῆσθαι εἰ μοι d, ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον, εἰ μοι Naber Comm. II, p. 74, ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδε ἄν μᾶλλον πεισθῆναί σοι εἰ μοι Cobet Mnemos. vol. 2 (1874), p. 248, ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι ὦδ’ ἄν μᾶλλον πέιθεσθαί σοι εἰ μοι Hirschig. Facilius ii, qui verba suppleta tuebantur, πιθέσθαι σοι potuerunt scribere cf. Phaedon.

184. 10, Cobet Nov. lect. p. 410, Mnemos. vol. 2 (1874), p. 135, 143, vol. 9 (1860), p. 297.

According to Richards the MSS are divided between *πειθήσεσθαι* and *πείθεσθαι*, but there is no indication of this in Burnet's edition.

Had there been satisfactory evidence for the future, one could have applied the criterion of whether Plato was likely to make the 'poor brother of Callias' use such a construction either naturally or in stress of confusion. For all the humorous pleasantry of the Cratylus one can hardly think it would have been appropriate, for Hermogenes does not seem to be either a rough diamond or an archaist, and the slight element of urbane perplexity in his words does not require such an extravagant underscoring as the use of the construction *άν+ fut.* would give them. At no time is one led to suppose that Hermogenes is a particularly forcible exponent of the doctrine to which, for lack of a better, he has been attracted.

The value of this passage as evidence of Plato's usage is indifferent.

\* \* \*

Pl. Phaedo 61c, Schanz:

καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας, Ὅλον παρακελεύει, ἔφη, τοῦτο, ὃ Σώκρατες, Εὐήνη; πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ἐντετύχηκα τῷ ἀνδρί· σχεδὸν οὖν ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ ἦσθημαι οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν σοι ἐκὼν εἶναι πείσεται.

ἦσθημαι C, sed ai ex emend.

ὅπωςτιοῦν bd<sup>1</sup>: ὅπωςτιοῦν B, ὅπωςτιοῦν τί C.

ὅπωςτιοῦν ἄν E.

The phrase occurs in a passage of persiflage on Evenus who seems generally to rouse Socrates' jocularly. But E's reading if of any moment points to οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν ἄν as a parenthesis, as does the extra τί in C; we have perhaps a sly dig at Evenus' finical attention to meticulous expression of his thoughts. It must be remembered that Simmias has posited Evenus, justly or unjustly, as misinterpreting Socrates' advice ἐμὲ διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα.

\* \* \*

Pl. Euthydemus 287c, Schanz:

... ἐπεὶ ἀπόκριναι. Πρὶν σὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ Διονυσό-



δωρε; Οὐκ ἀποκρινεῖ; ἔφη. Ἦ καὶ δίκαιον; Δίκαιον μέντοι, ἔφη. Κατὰ τίνα λόγον; ἦν δ' ἐγώ. ἦ δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ τόνδε, ὅτι σὺ νῦν πάνσοφός τις ἡμῖν ἀφίξαι περὶ λόγους καὶ οἶσθα ὅτε δεῖ ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ὅτε μή; καὶ νῦν οὐδ' ἂν ὄτιοῦν ἀποκρινεῖ ἅτε γινώσκων ὅτι οὐ δεῖ; Δαλεῖς, ἔφη . . .

ἦν B | ἦ B | πάσσοφος H. Bd. . . .

οὐδ' ἂν ὄτιοῦν v. vel οὐδὲν ὄτιοῦν vel ἀποκρινεῖ corrigendum  
putat Hd. cf. 274 E. οὐδὲ πρὸς ὁ Bd.—

ὄτιοῦν B. ὅτι οὖν V. ἀποκρίνη V, Bas. 2. Steph. ἀποκρινεῖ  
Θ. rec. Bekk. Ast. T. H. ἀποκρινεῖ B. ἀποκρίνει W. St. Hr. Bd.

The *ἂν* might have entered here from a correction of *πάνσοφος* *πάσσοφος*, but it is unlikely. Rather we have to do with a tendency to phrasing similar to that producing *ὡσπερανεῖ*, and *κἂν*; on the analogy of the latter I should be inclined to consider *ἂν* here = *ἕάν*; but *ὄτιοῦν ἂν ποιήσοντας* in Isoc. VI 62 unless frankly an example of *ἂν* + fut. would be against this, although *πᾶν ὄτιοῦν ἂν* of E might be twisted to support it. I am inclined to compare this *ἂν* with that of Phaedo 61c as being perhaps on a par logically with *ἂν* + fut., in that the objection to both is a lack of formal precision in language, the former unnecessarily modifying an indicative statement and its unexpressed modal equivalent (not unlike explanation 5 of Symp. 222 *ἰδῶν, ἂν τις . . .*), while with *ἂν* + fut. a purist who had had the Homeric 'short subjunctive' brought to his notice, might consider the future form already a modified subjunctive and therefore the further modification by *ἂν* a redundancy or meaningless subtlety.

If however this is a genuine example of *ἂν* + fut., we must look upon Socrates as ruse; and ruse he doubtless is in Euthyd. 274e, Schanz:

. . . φέρε καὶ τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα τῆς αὐτῆς τέχνης ἔργον πείσαι, ὡς καὶ διδασκτὸν ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ οὗτοι ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, παρ' ὧν ἂν κάλλιστα τις αὐτὸ μάθοι, ἢ ἄλλης; Ταύτης μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, τῆς αὐτῆς, ὧ Σώκρατες, ὁ Διονυσόδωρος. Ὑμεῖς ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὧ Διονυσόδωρε, τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων κάλλιστ' ἂν προτρέψετε εἰς φιλοσοφίαν . . .

προτρέψετε B V. prob. W. cf. Madvig gr. 118, 3 Kr. 64. 3. 3 Voemel Dem. de f. leg. 342 (p. 707). Leop. Schmidt De omisso *ἂν* p. 9. De tractandae syntaxis graecae ratione 1871 p. 23. Contra dicit Sauppe Philol. Anz. I p. 4. Sed en exempla

certa huius usus apud Platon.: Crit. 53c. Apol. 30b. Rep. X 615d. cf. Euthyd. 287d. <προτρέψαιτε Aldina and so most edd.>

Some might find support for reading *άν* + fut. here from Crito 53c, considering that Crito was the audience in each case; another might see in the verb a reference to Antisthenes the *όψιμαθής* and his protreptic; others might bring to bear a pet theory that Dionysodorus = Lysias, and give tune on the trail of Phaedr. 227c. I suspect however that it is the pretensions of the brothers from Thurii towards φιλοσοφία that make Socrates assume the vernacular of the uneducated—from the Academic point of view.

\* \* \*

Pl. Laws, 719c, (Burnet):

ΑΘ. τάδε. “Παλαιὸς μῦθος, ὃ νομοθέτα, ὑπὸ τε αὐτῶν ἡμῶν αἰ λεγόμενός ἐστιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν συνδεδογμένος, ὅτι ποιητής, ὁπόταν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης καθίζηται, τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν, ὅλον δὲ κρήνη τις τὸ ἐπιὸν ρεῖν ἐτοίμως ἔῃ, καὶ τῆς τέχνης οὔσης μμήσεως ἀναγκάζεται, ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοις ἀνθρώπους ποιῶν διατιθεμένους, ἢ ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις . . . . . οὔσης γὰρ ταφῆς τῆς μὲν ὑπερβεβλημένης, τῆς δὲ ἑλλειπούσης, τῆς δὲ μετρίας, τὴν μίαν ἐλόμενος σύ, τὴν μέσην, ταύτην προστάτεις καὶ ἐπήνεσας ἀπλῶς· ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι διαφέρουσα εἴη πλούτῳ καὶ θάπτει αὐτὴν διακελεύοιτο ε ἐν τῷ ποιήματι, τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα ἂν τάφον ἐπαινοῖην, φειδωλὸς δ’ αὐ τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ τὸν καταδεᾶ, μέτρον δὲ οὐσίας κεκτημένος καὶ μέτρος αὐτὸς ὦν τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἐπαινέσῃ. σ ο ἰ δὲ . . . .

ε3 ἐπαινέσαι ci. Bekker: ἐπαινέσοι libri cum Stob.

In connection with the Laws there is of course the veracity of the MSS to be impugned; landing one in an opt. form ‘quite unknown to the Athenians’ (Rutherford, New Phryn. p. 436) from which one may take a rapid hop to ἐπαινέσειε; then the date of composition of the Laws is a factor to be reckoned with; if one grows desperate there is even a scapegoat in Philip of Opus. If one reckons up resources, it is possible to be complacent; but conviction is shaken.

It is inconceivable that in his old age Plato should have innocently used a construction which he had jested about so persistently in his previous writings, however much the barriers of propriety in syntax had meanwhile been let down by his younger contemporaries—not only, for example, does De-

mosthenes in the de Corona dispense with  $\acute{\alpha}$  + vocative, but the children of his Academic loins, Lycurgus and Aristotle, will appear backsliders in the matter of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  + fut.—and however much the style of the Laws is lax in comparison with the rest of Plato.

I do not disguise from myself the importance for the present investigation of this late example. It is with hesitancy as of one dreading a scholastic *idée fixe* in research that I see here a gleam of Attic salt. I think the use of the construction in this place is suitable to that large genre of pleasantries associated with the burial of *διαφέροντες* relatives, from Aristoph. Nub. 838 to the Glasgow widower who bade the hearsedriver "Canny roun' the corner"! at the spot where a previous catastrophe had revived the corpse.

The malicious beauties of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *ἐπαιέσοι* grow on one as the words are contemplated. The future optative represents the future indicative in *oratio obliqua* exclusively, it is said, although I expect some day to have something to say about Soph. O. T. 796 and many passages where an optative seems to be purely an indication of emotional disturbance.

If  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  + fut. is an unnecessary modification of an already modified form,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  + fut. opt. seems almost inspired.

\* \* \*

By way of conclusion, and to anticipate the results of a similar treatment of examples occurring in the MSS of other authors, I would remark that my impression is that the objection to  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  + fut. was due to a growing interest in grammar in the late V and early IV centuries B. C. which tended towards a parsimonious use of language, making it governed by *ρόμψ* rather than *φύσει*, a restraint rather than an exuberance of expression. The man in the street is impatient of such things and popular speakers prefer to be less academic when they wish to carry their audience. The refinement that objected to the construction was short-lived, to be revived once more among purists in Lucian's time, whose followers exercised proofreader's privileges in the matter of editing MSS.

HENRY N. SANDERS.

#### IV.—PRO DOMO MEA.

##### PART I.

##### A. *The Superlative—Ordinal Group.*

1. *Sauce for the Gander.*<sup>1</sup> For the past five years, and even earlier, I have been studying the lexical materials of the IE tongues on the theory that suffixation is the outgrowth of composition, but my cry has been a wilderness cry. Thanks to the minute phonetic and morphological researches of the past three decades a full and reasonably trustworthy body of lexical material has been accumulated and the time for its analytical treatment has arrived, if it is ever to arrive. No new method is involved, only the standard method of the historical lexicographer. Save for their wider reach (but see Prellwitz in BB. 22, 26 sq.; cf. also Wbch. s. vv. ποδῆρης τείρω), my own studies proceed in the current fashion. With Schulze and Brugmann, I derive πεζός from \*ped-yos (or ped-(i)-yós, § 7 a) = 'on foot going': but -yos is only a morphological induction, not a word of record. I have never assumed a confix less susceptible to documentation. Brugmann's -k̂yo-<sup>2</sup> 'lying' in νεο-σοοί; his -ēd- 'receiver' in hērēd-; his en in τὸ δῶμα 'das i m haus' (Gr. 2, 2, § 185, 4)—whatever their indi-

<sup>1</sup> As this homely phrase is used by Saintsbury in a literary matter, it may pass here and I notice it simply because Saintsbury is the only authority cited for it in the Oxford Dictionary, just as George Augustus Sala is the only authority cited for 'neck and crop' (A. J. P. XXII 232), of which my first interpretation was unquestionably the only correct one—in spite of the Dialect Dictionary. The intruder is slung out by the scruff of the neck and the slack of his breeches (*croupe*)—Tantae molis erat. B. L. G.

<sup>2</sup> But -sthyo- 'standing' seems even more likely in ἐπισσαι, μέρασσαι (cf. Skr. madhya-stha-s | mādhyā-sthya-m), περισοός; and not less likely in νεοσοοί. It is by no means clear that madhyama-çīts = medio-iacens. In the sole context in which it appears, ugró madhyama-çīr iva (RV. 10. 97, 12) is better rendered by ut violens qui medium <hostium> frangit than by any previous attempt (-çīr-: çrññti is extant in classical Sanskrit).

vidual probability, are only constructions. In his explanation of Skr. *nāva-gva-* etc. as ('possessing) nine-cows' Professor Bloomfield has replaced 'gang' by 'cow', though a root *gu:* *gam* 'go' may be justified by *dru:* *dram* 'run'. The examples of 4-*gū* 'going' in PW<sup>1</sup>. seem quite indubitable. Professor Buck has found -*δαρος*: Lat. *daps* in *ποδαπός* (Cl. Phil. 7, 421<sup>1</sup>). Solmsen (KZ. 37, 20<sup>1</sup>) explained *domesticus* (*rusticus*) as *domi-stans* (cf. also A. J. P. 34, 33), and is in part responsible for the primates *tri-sthos tristhis* 'tertius' (§ 3). Pedersen (Kelt. Gr. 2, 13) furnishes a rather long list of Celtic confixes. The confixal nature of Skr. -*māya-s* (in *ἀνδρό-μεος*, cf. Brugmann-Thumb, Gr. Gram. 180) has never been so well stated as in the vocabulary to Lanman's Sanskrit Reader. Note the reduced grade in *ἀπα-μυα-* 'substitution'.—On IE *ǵk<sup>w</sup>(o)-face* etc. (in *δευάψς*. Lat. *atrōx*); and *āno-* | *ānes-* 'face' (in *αιάνης* etc.) see Kretschmer and Wackernagel in Brugmann-Thumb, p. 193.

2. *Method.* For over two decades Brugmann's treatises on Comparative Grammar have constituted the learner's thesaurus of method. But that authority has his share of inconsistencies and artificialities: überhaupt gehen wir kaum fehl, wenn wir annehmen dass die ganze uridg. wortbildung durch keine andern kräfte zustande gekommen ist als durch solche, die wir auch in jüngerer zeit und noch heute überall im sprachleben wirksam sehen (Gr. 2, 1, 16). Accordingly we are taught (after Schulze) that *πεζός* contains -*γος* 'iens'; and that in Lat. *festivus* (ib. 125) -*ivos* = Skr. *e'va-s* 'lauf, gang'. But contrast the following: der ursprung der aus uridg. zeit überkommenen formantien ist unklar. Von manchen, z. b. von -*τηνο-* ist vermutet worden, dass sie so wie z. b. nhd. -*heit* einmal kompositionsglieder gewesen seien. Im prinzip ist dies nicht unwahrscheinlich, doch ist in keinem einzelfalle die annahme derartigen ursprungs zuverlässig zu begründen (Kvg. § 382).<sup>1</sup> But in Latin we actually have *tenor*

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that dealers in suffixes in the orthodox way do not realize the liability even of semantically classified lists to prove misleading. In such lists even the earliest words, being unsusceptible to historical treatment, may often be as incorrectly grouped as it would be incorrect to group Germ. *messer* with other instrument names in -*er* (see e. g. on the *fu-n-dit* type, § 29). An instance in point is Lat. *cuspid-*, grouped by Skutsch (Arch. 11, 582) as one of four Latin ex-

and *tenu*<sup>1</sup> 'stretch, length'; in Sanskrit *tán-* (instr. advb. *tánā* | *tanā*) 1st 'stretch, length'; 2d 'posterity', and *tána-m* *tánā- tánas-* 'posterity'; cf. OIr. *tan* 'time,' from \**tanā* (Fick-Stokes), a different word (pace Pedersen, l. c., I, 80; II, 14) from the confix *-tan-* 'place' (Skr. *sthāna-*). Here our first business is to realize, and that as a primary act of Latin lexicography, that *diutinus* means 'long-stretching, of the long ago'. It is a separate act of Sanskrit lexicography to explain *nū-tanas* as = 'of the now, contemporary'. The convergence of these two acts on IE composita neither invalidates the independent rationale of each several explanation, nor certainly proves that symphysis of adverbs grouped with *-teno-* (*-tyno-*) had been consummated proethnically. Cf. Lat. *protinus* with Skr. *prā-k-tanas* 'earlier'. There is no discoverable consistency in finding the same posterius in *ἀνδρό-μεος* Skr. *go-mā-yas*—or in *horri-fer* and *furcht-bar-*, but only an indecipherable suffix in *diutinus* and *nūtanas*. Neither in *πρό-ς* nor *festivus* is the evidence for composition stronger than it severally is in *diutinus nūtanas*. What the several languages teach us independently cannot be untaught, but is only confirmed, by their mutual agreement.

3. *Credulous incredulity.* *a.* My attempts, in accord with proved methods of finger-counting, to explain the IE numerals (AJPh. 31, 413 sq.; 33, 394 sq.) fell perfectly flat, though I presented illuminating information for etymologists. I refer particularly to the priority, according to the theory of numbers, of ordinals over cardinals, whereby "sextus" may be earlier than "sex" (l. s. c. 394). By the count with standing fingers we learn to understand the Italo-Celtic ordinals *tri-sthos*/*tri-sthis* (v. Solmsen ap. Brugmann, Gr. 2, 1, 145). For "sextus" the IE primate was *ksw-ek(s)-sthos* (for Av. *x-* see § 4, d), with *-sthos*, as in *tri-sthos*, = 'stans'. If, without phonetic loss, we transpose *ksw-ek(s)-* into *ξv-εξ-*<sup>2</sup> we reach the definition 'co-ex-stans', describing the position

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amples of the suffix *-id-*. But *cuspid-* definitely means 'spear-point' (v. Thes. LL.) and by that token is a compound of Sabine *curi-s* 'spear' + *spid*: Germ. *spitze* (as Stowasser divined—for the posterius).

<sup>1</sup> Walde, who might consult Lane's Latin Grammar (§ 1420) to advantage, omits to harmonize his articles on *tenu* and *diutinus*.

<sup>2</sup> To Kretschmer's defense of *ξv-<(k)sw* I have added a great many examples in TAPA. 44, 107-113. Here add Skr. *s[v-]arva-s*: Eng. *all*.

of the second thumb plus (*co-*) the first hand (? cf. *āṅga-* "die zahl sechs": *aṅgū-ṣṭha-s* 'thumb'). Av. *puxda-* '5th' is from *puk(s)-stho-s*, prius cognate with *pug-nus*, perhaps = *πύξ* (? original sense 'closer', whence 'fist', but cf. Meister, Herodas, 749; *πὺξ ἀγαθός* 'a good fist', as *good whip* = good driver; or 'closer' may have given 'thumb'). When we consider the bristling phonetic group *ksw-ek(s)-sth[os]* and the correspondency of my definition to the conditions of the finger count it passes the bounds of all permissible hesitation, exhibits a quite credulous incredulity, to disregard the propriety of the analysis. By no theory of probability could so many coincidences converge upon the curious primate *ksw-ek(s)-sthos*. **b.** Again, the primate of Lat. *octavus* '8th'<sup>1</sup> was *ok<s>thāvos* 'tip-standing': Skr. *aṣṭāu* (dual) = '8', replacing *\*aṣṭhāu*<sup>2</sup> 'tip-standing two', of the midfinger of the second (= right) hand in the count. Av. *xštīm* 'sextum,' haplologic after the type of Lat. *ex[sec]ta*, has in *-štī-* a grade form of *-sthāvos*, and this recurs in the hitherto riddlesome *sep[s]tuā-ginta* (ordinals *septuā-* and *nonā-* are entirely conformable to *ἑβδομήκοντα ὀγδοήκοντα*, and survive from the time of priority of the ordinals); cf. *-sthu-* in *apa-ṣṭhu* 'perverse'

<sup>1</sup> On *δγ-δοος <ok-dw-oyos* = 'tip-2-goes' (cf. Av. *aya-* = 'go, turn, time') see A. J. Ph. 31, 422. How did Skr. *āya-* come to mean 'four'?

<sup>2</sup> The loss of aspiration took place in *\*aṣṭi-s* '80' < *ok[s]this* '8th' (decad), cf. *aṣṭi-s* = 8 + 8; 8 × 8, noting *ṣaṣṭhā-s* '6th': *ṣaṣṭi-s* '60' (cf. the primate *tri-sthi-s* '3d'). The loss of aspiration occurred in *-sthy-* > *-sty-* (A. J. Ph. 34, 15'; 24, §62). Note *pari-ṣṭhā-* = *pari-ṣṭi-s* 'obstacle'; *ni-ṣṭhā-* 'boundary': *ni-ṣṭya-s* 'outlander'; *apāṣṭhi-* (comp. prius): *-apāṣṭi-s* 'claw' (l. s. c. §44; cf. *aṣṭi-/aṣṭhi-* 'seed-corn'); *prāṣṭi-s* (§4 d): *pra-ṣṭha-s* 'praestans'; *avi(s)-ṣṭya-s* 'offenstehend' (A. J. Ph. 33, 380'); Skr. *vstyā*, in *styāyate* 'to be stiff', (from *\*sthyāi-*, infin.: *vsthā* :: Av. *dyāi* : *vdā-*) + *ayate* [i. e. *styāy-[ay]ate*] = 'ad standum venit'. Herein lies the whole history of the "root" *st[h]āi*: *stī*, *styā* as given e. g. by Prellwitz, s. v. *στέαρ*. It described the coming to stability of a liquid, or even its forming drops (Lat. *stiria*; cf. also *σταλάσσω*): *ἀγχι-στίρος* = 'close-standing', not 'close-massed'. Skr. *sthāy-in-* 'stille stehend' is, in fact, cited by Boisacq s. v. *στέαρ* ("demeurant coi"), but he fails to note A. J. Ph. 33, 378 sq. §§4, 5, 27, which is earlier than Bechtel's definition of 'close-massed' in KZ., 45, 225 sq. If Boisacq is going to compare *stāi*: *steyā styā stī* with *sthāi* in *sthāyin* (cf. l. s. c. §4) and with *sthā* in *ιστημι* common fairness demands a reference to my prior explanation of *ἀγχι-στίρος*. Wackernagel (ai. Gr. I, 235) actually finds *-styā* in *prā-ṣṭi-s*.

*anu-šthú* 'statim', *su-šthú-* 'bene stans' (cf. *duh-stha-* 'male stans'), *sá-sthāvan-* 'con-stans'; Av. prius *stvi-* 'firmo'. **c.** But the ordinals (standing fingers) show, by fair construction, forms in *-sthato-s* and *-sthāmo-s*, allegro *-sthmmó-/-(th)mó-*. Skr. *saptátha-* 7th = Av. *haptaθa-* have an Indo-Iranian (IE ?) primate *sep[s]thāto-* (*á* < *ǎ* as in *dátra-* Av. *da-θra-*: √ *dā*), with *-sthāto-* shifted (under the influence of reduplicated *st[h]i-[s]tha-*, cf. Lat. *steti* ?) to *-stātho-*; cf. *-(s)tho-* in Skr. *catur[s]thā-s* '4th', Av. *pux-θa-* '5th'; and [σ]-*raros* in *ρπι-raros* (?). Further proof of *th* is given by Av. *haptaiθi-* (*aštaiθi-*) + *vant* '70-fold'. **d.** Also in Skr. *saptamā-s* 'septimus' *aštamā-s* 'octavus' we have *-(s)t(h)mmó-s* (*s* lost in *pst kst*; *t* for *th* as in *aštāu* above<sup>1</sup>). Because *aštāu*, dual to the original ordinal, became a cardinal the way was open to reserve *ōk-sthmmó-s* (on which *\*dekmmos* 'decimus' was modeled?) for the ordinal.

4. **a.** *The superlatives in -sthos -sthotos, -sthāmos, -sthāvos.* The indocile agnosticism that has put aside the startling coincidences of *ksu-ek(s)-sthos* and *ōk-(s)thāvo-s* has never condescended to a refutation of my definition of the type of Skr. *mámh-i-štha-s* as 'in-dando stans', i. e. a 'steady giver' (AJPh. 31, 409 sq.). Being satisfied by the purely glotto-  
gonic and entirely fanciful guess that in Skr. *i-štha-* *-is-* is a reduction of the comparative *-(i)yas-*,<sup>2</sup> certain stalwart phoneticians disqualify the Skr. aspirate *th*—not to be banished from the Avestan ordinals, however—and complete their mucilaginate (I find one myself, or rather a syncretism, in the

<sup>1</sup>Fractionals in *-tomo-s* are also to be admitted, see Fay in AJPh. 31, 404. §§ 2-3; IF. 33, 356. The process of suffixation was furthered all the more by the co-existence of *-tomo-* and *-sthāmo-*, the latter being well attested in the superlatives (*-[s]thāmo-* 'standing' in *leg-i-tumus finitumus mari-tumus?*). As for *septem*, it is a back formation from *sep[s]thāmo-s*, (after *decem*: *decimos*). The numbers 5 and 10 in the finger count were cardinals, meaning "hand" (or thumb or fist) and something like 'end'.

<sup>2</sup>In the comparatives, *(i)-yes-* alternated with *(i)-yen-*, both = 'going'; and both were combined, like *-stho-* in the superlative, with locative priora (see AJPh. 31, 423 sq.). Just as *pr-y-* in Lat. *prior* = ('fore-)going', so does *-repos* in *πρότερος* (l. c. 407). He who admits IE or pre-Greek *-yo-* 'iens' in *πεςός* may refuse to define an IE confix, but *-i-yes i-yen* [attested in *Ur-a-*: Skr. *áyanam*: \**iyes-*: Skr. *áyas-e* 'ire', l. c. 425] and *-tero-* are at least as real as *-yo-* 'iens'.



compv. suffix *-is-en-*, AJPh. 31, 425, §§ 58, 60) by adding *-to* to *-is-*. Unfortunately, the very minuteness of the classification of Grassmann's index (RV. Wbch.) kept me from finding for my first paper unmistakable evidence of my contentions, as follows: *māmhane-ṣthā-* "freigiebig, eigentlich im geben (loc. von einem *māmhana-* <cf. *māmhānā* 'endowment'> . . .) stehend (*sthā*)"; *vandane-ṣthā-* 'bei der lobpreisung (*vandane* loc. von 2 *vandana-*) weilend (um sie zu hören) [*-ṣthā* von *sthā*]"; *vakṣaṇe-ṣthā-* (of the sacrificial flames) = 'engaged in sacrificing': *vākṣana-m* 'erfrischung', *vakṣāṇā-* 'darbringung' (cf. Sāyana's definition, *vahnāu sthitah* = 'devoted to *vahni-*' [here = nom. act. 'sacrificium']); *karmaṇi-ṣthā-* [*karma-niṣthā-* is absurd; cf. *adhvare-ṣthā-* 'insacrificio stans'] = in ritu (or in opere) stans. The priora in *-ane* are all locatives of action nouns (i. e. infinitives) in *-ana-* (Gathic *frā-xšnə-nē* 'discere'), cf. acc. *āyana-m* (ichāmānās, RV. 3, 33, 7 = ire cupientes)—in gradation with *iev-au*—and the Germanic type of Gothic *itan* (< \**edono-m*).<sup>1</sup> There may be an agnosticism adequate to the rejection of the testimony of the three examples as interpreted by Grassmann and

<sup>1</sup> For noun and adverb priora with *-stho-* see AJPh. 31, 13 sq. with especial note of the possible haplogy (but cf. *tānas* = *tān*, § 2) in the types represented by Skr. *śāv[as]-i-ṣtha-* 'mightiest': *śāvas-* 'might', pre-Avest. *aoj[as]-i-šta-*: *aojas-* 'might' (but, as adjective, felt to belong to *aojas-* 'mighty'), *krāt[es]-i-στος* 'in power standing'. Those scholars who, because of *κρέσσων*, generalize about the IE grade of the prius, would do well to consider Aeol. *κρέτος* for *κράτος*. Skr. *tékṣni-ṣthas* owes its "very remarkable *e*" (KZ. 43, 377) to *téj[as]-i-ṣthas*.—Those who seek the etymology of *βελτιων* and *ἀμεινων* must look for infinitives in *βελ-τι-* (*-τι* as in Av. *rōiti* 'dare', Skr. *āiti* 'to aid'; common in Balto-Slavic) and *ἀμειν-* (*-ειν* as in *λύειν* etc.). The adverb (locative) priora could not be more transparent than they are in *ἀγχι-στων*, Skr. *néd-i-ṣthas* (§ 4, *e*). The analysis of OHG *furisto* 'princeps' as *fur-is-to* is no more permissible than a like analysis of *ἀγχι-στων*. As *ἀγχι-στων* = 'prope-stans' so IE *pr̥r-i-stho-s* = 'prae-stans'. Rightly inverted, Brugmann's elaborate refutation of J. Schmidt's analysis of *εκα(σ)-στος* (Gr. Gram.<sup>4</sup> p. 298, Anm.) turns to a defence not only of Schmidt's explanation, but also, of a like derivation of the superlative. The "analogy" between *εκαστος* and the superlatives is due to their common derivation from adverb priora + *stho-s* 'standing'. On the non-superlatives Lat. *lan-i-sta* *ληιστής* (*-sthā-*) and Av. *hāv-i-šta-* see AJPh. 34, 40 §. 100; 41, § 102; on *τελε-[σ]-στέ* l. c. § 81. There is no escaping formal identity between Skr. *vayaḥ-stha-s* and Lat. *robu(s)-stus* (*vāyas* = 'robus').

Sāyana, but it were a rampant, unmeasured, unreasoned agnosticism, however much the definition of *māmhane-ṣṭhā* by 'indando stans' entails the like definition for *māmhi-ṣṭhas*, of prehistoric type.<sup>1</sup> *b. Greek proof of -sth-*. Skr. *dē-ṣṭha-s* 'giving-most' is of the same analysis as *māmhi-ṣṭha-s*, de-being dative of the action noun in *āṣṭr-dā-* 'hope-fulfillment' (lit. '-giving'), -infin. \**de* (? -oi < oi as often Gr. o < ə): *√dā* :: Av. *pōi*: *√pā* :: Skr. (*pra-*)*mé*: *√mā*; or locative to a noun like lexical Skr. *da-m* 'giving, gift', *kḥā-m* (: *√khā*) 'a digging' > 'hole'. In Homer the hapax *λοι-σθος*—also *λοισθηιον*, *λοισθηι(a)*—represents the same type.<sup>2</sup> The *λοισθος*

<sup>1</sup> I foresee the objection that *i-* and *u-* roots show *guna* in the comparative and superlative, while the infinitive is weak, e. g. *budh-i*. Thus *yódhityāms-* 'magis bellator' seems to belong to *yódha-* 'bellator', not to *yúdh-* 'bellator'; proelium' (cf. *Yudh-i-sthira-s* = 'In-proelio firmus'). This is because the vocalism of root-nouns has been violently modified by the accent which, as regards the weakest cases, passed from a floating to a fixed condition (see AJPh. 31, 410, § 19). But we do have gunated Av. *darəsdī* (dat.): Skr. *dṛc-é*, to which Skr. \**yodh-i*: *yudh-i* would correspond. It is impossible to determine whether Av. *aēšē* 'petere' (= Skr. *éše*) is locative to an *o-* stem or dative in *-ai* (cf. Lat. *dūcti*, *agī*: Skr. *áje* 'agere') to a consonant stem, but whether we can or not, as long as we have the synonym pair Av. *varəsdī*: Gathic *varəsi* 'laborare' we are entitled to analyze the prius of *aēš-i-šta-* 'petentissimus' as a locative infinitive.

<sup>2</sup> Boisacq's *pietas Osthoffiana* has made him accept the most recherché explanation of *λοισθος*. The denial of authenticity to the equation *σθ* = Skr. *sth* (see e. g. Güntert, IF. 27, 18; Brugmann-Thumb § 238') is quite footless. The truth is that *σθ* varies with *στ* (*λοισθος* but *φείριστος*) under accentual conditions rather analogous to those for Verner's law (*y : d*). The rule, analogical cases excluded, would seem to be (1) initial *σθ-* (but not in verbs, where reduplication and *θ*-aorist forms produced deaspiration, e. g. in *ιστημι στήνω στέλλω στέγω*) before the accent and (2) *-σθ-* after an accent. (1) *σθένος* 'stamina' (< \**σθανος*, like *τὸ δάνος*, assimilated to *μένος*, its synonym, cf. ONorse *stinnr* ap. Streitberg, Urd. germ. Gr. 114): Skr. *sthāman-* 'σθένος'. [It reveals a touching confidence in paper phonetics and morphology to start from \**zgh-enos-*, for Whitney correctly divined that Skr. *Vsagh* (*gh*) was only an aspect of *√sah* (*ḡh*; on *ḡh | gh* see § 4d).] (2) Only etymological tone-deafness can separate the posteriora in *πρόσθη | πρόσθιον* (? *πρόσθιον* like Skr. *ni-ṣṭhā-*, § 3 b; cf. *κύ-σθος*: *κύ-στις*) and in the Sanskrit names of the *αἰθρία ανα-σθῆδ- ἠρά-σθῆδ-* (AJPh. 34, 24, §§ 63-64). The accentual, and rhythmic conditions of *λοισθος* recur in *οἶσθα ἡσθης* (*σθ* < *isth*), see also Brugmann-Thumb, 117 b; of *πρόσθη* in *πρό-σθιος* etc. (AJPh. 33, 379); cf. *Μενέσθης Μενέσθιος*, but analogical *Μενεσθεύς* (AJPh. l. c. § 82). Note

was the 'slowest' or last in a race, and his prize was the *λοισθήριον/λοισθήμα* (: *sthāwo-* :: Lat. *Octavius: octavus*, § 3b), cf. *ἀριστήμα* 'first-prize'. The prius *λοι-* belongs to a root-noun (*s*)*lo-m* (or *slā-*) <√*slēy-*, found in Skr. *li-na-s* 'stecken-geblieben'<sup>1</sup>: Lat. *lēnis*, OBulg. *lěnŭ* 'träge', Lettic *lēns* 'faul'. Lat. *limus* 'mud' *limax* 'snail' will contain the same root. Also cf. Eng. *slow*, if from a primate *slai-wos* (so Skeat). The derived verbal sense here was perhaps something like 'to muddle along' (see also § 30<sup>1</sup>). *c. Greek* -*τατος* from -*sthatos*. In Sāyana's definition cited above, *vahnāu sthitas* = 'to-sacrifice devoted', Skr. *sthitas* is typically employed. Before the emergence of -*τατος* IE primates of words like *ὑπέρτατος* lit. 'superstet-' (= supra stans) had lost *s* in the combination *rst* (*ρστ*). Association with the primate of *ὑπέρτερος* (§ 4, a) confirmed and extended the loss of *s* and suppressed all traces of the aspiration.<sup>2</sup> But -*ι-στατος* for -*ι-στος* perhaps survived in the vulgar forms *ὄψο-φαγί-στατος* (*φαγ-ι-* like Skr. inf. *budh-i* cf. aor. *rás-i-ḡtha-s*) *ἀρπαγ-ί-στατος* *κλεπτίστατος* *λαλίστατος* (? *λαλίστερος* and *πρωχίστερος*

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*σθέτος* but *δ-στηνεῖ-ἀδυνατεῖ*, *στερεός* | *στερρός* (: Skr. *sthirá-s*, *er*: *ir* as in *lérós*: *ijirá-s*), *σταυρός*. The rule is splendidly confirmed by *δστέον*: Skr. *ásthi-*, as for *θ/τ* by *πλάθων* but *πλατύς*, and for *χ*: *κ* by *σκολιός*: Skr. *Vskhal* 'errare', cf. *ασχολος*: *σχολή* 'otium' (: Skr. *Vat* 'errare').

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that Homer's *λοίσσθος* was made so by slipping in the mud, cf. colloquial 'stick-in-the-mud'.

<sup>2</sup> But even -*τερο-* [not always compv.; add *κυκλο-τερός* to the materials in AJPh. 31, 405] may have had to compete with -*sthero-*, cf. Skr. *Yudhi-sthiras* (§ 4, b). Evidence for -*sthero-* seems at least to be furnished by a compact semantic group, the names for the left hand: Lat. *sinister*: Skr. *sán-i-ḡthas* *Vsan-* 'to win', OHG. *winistar* 'links' (: *Vwen-* 'to win'), *ἀρι-στερός* (: √ of *ἀρνυμαι* 'I win'; the same locative *ἀρι-* in *ἀριστος*, like *φέρ-ι-στος*: *ῥφερ-*); cf. the differently graded Av. *vairya-stāra-* (not a double comp. = *vairyas-tāra*) and, more particularly, Skr. *sanyā-ḡthār-* 'left-fighter' (v. AJPh. 34, 34), though *sanyā-* means 'dexter' as well as 'sinister' and originally (I surmise) meant 'driver' (: *sātá-s*), but was expanded to match *ratheḡthā-* (Av. *raθāḡ-ḡtar-*). Except in *sanyā-ḡtha[r]*- all these words for left have the same general meaning, and three of them distinctly mean 'the winner'. Their semantic identity and different derivation point to lapse of the real name of the left hand rather than to augural orientation. As the Greeks called dread night *εὐφρόνη* so their ancestors replaced "left" by "in mendo stans"; and the character of the left hand as a "(bad) provider" is but a little shifted in Lat. *sinistra* and *laeva* for 'furax, fur'.

like ἀρι-στερός) ἀλαζονίστατος. *d.* Similarly Skr. (IE) *-tam-a* has come in part (§ 3, *d*) from *-sthmmó-*, a midform between *-sthā-má-*, and allegro *-sthmo-/smo-*, the latter in dial. Lat. *pri-smos*, Osc. *pu-stmo-/po-smo*, 'postremus' (: *po-ste po-stero-*; not *pos-te* etc., a current division without reason, cf. πρό-σθιος ἐπί-σθιος, Skr. *pa-styā-* [for *-sthya-* § 3. *b*]: Lat. *po-sticus*; *po(s)* = Balto-Slavic *po/po-s*). We have *s*-survivals in Skr. *su-ra-bhī-ṣṭama-s tuvi-ṣṭamas* (avoiding ∪∪∪); while *tavá[s]-stamas*: *tavás-tara-s* reveals a common condition precedent to [*s*] *thm-mo-s*. In Av. *vouru-rafno-stāma-s-o-* may reveal *-as-*. In Skr. *nēdi-ṣṭhatamas* (Av. *drāḅji-ṣṭo-tā-ma-*) *-ṣṭhatamas* may be a remaking of *-sthamas*, or a superlative of *-stho-* cf. Av. *aogaz-dastāma- hu-dāstāma-* (suffix *-stāma-* or *-tāma-*), whence perhaps, by false abstraction, pre-Iran. *sudās-* (Skr. *sudā- <s> tara-* after *sudā-stama-*). In the Latin augural words *sini-stumus* and *solli-stumus*, also, *st* may be original; *sin-i-stumus* (cf. on *sinister* § 4, *c.*): Skr. *sán-i-ṣṭha-* 'most winning';<sup>1</sup> *solli-stumus* = 'in salute stans' (*solli-*<sup>2</sup> *<slw-i, loc. to salū- [ber] <slū-*). For Osc. -Umbr. *nes(s)imo-* I see a syncopated development from a primate *ne-sd-i-sthmmo-*: Av. *nazdi-ṣṭa-*; and to the interplay between *-sthāmo-* and *sthmmo-/s[th]mo-* we owe the Italo-Celtic compromise ending *-(s)samo-* (for the facts see Pedersen, *Kelt. Gr.* 2, 122), though we may also reckon with dissimilation of *t-st-* to *t-ss-* in *potissimus*, *laetissimus* *apertissimus* etc. The primate of *proximus* was *prōk-*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dextimus* is as likely to be modelled on *sini-stumus* as vice versa. Or *dextimus* is from a Latin primate *\*dextrostmmos > dex[tes]timo-* (haplogy of *ex[sec]ta*). A noun stem *dexti-* (see KZ. 42, 124<sup>a</sup>; 45, 133<sup>1</sup>) to match *dextro-* is not to be thought of, but *dextimus* might come from a primate *dex[-s]timo-s*: δεξ-ι-τερός.

<sup>2</sup> On Latin (Italic) *ll* from *-lw-* I hold the position of Hirt, IF. 22, 66; cf. on *fulvus* with *v* after *flavus* AJPh. 30, 135. An Italic primate *malwo-* would give Lat. nom. acc. *malōs malōm* but *\*mallō* etc.; cf. also *māgnus* (*l < ll* by the law of *mamilla*): Osc. *mallo-*: orig. (*s*) *mal-wo* like *par-wo-* 'small'; cf. OBulg. *mělu-kū-* 'small', extended from a primate *mělu-*.

<sup>3</sup> Or IE *prox* (: *pro* :: περί: περί, cf. δίκῃ ὑπέκ παρῆκ) may have to be admitted. To the alternation *pro/prox* we owe Av. *fra-x-ṣnī* 'noscerere' *fra-x-ṣtāite* 'pro stat' whence, by misdivision, the root varieties *xšná- xšta* (cf. *fra-x-ṣti*). The root *x-ṣnu-* 'satisfy' meant 'erfüllen' and belongs with Skr. *akṣ-nó-te* ('erfüllen, anhäufen', native sources in PW<sup>1+2</sup>; cf. Av. *xšnav-* 'erfüllung', Y. 48, 12). This moribund verb

-s(t)amo-s, cf. Skr. *prāk* 'vorn, nuper' (proxime)—frequent as a prius of composition; Av. *frāk-əm* 'heran, herbei', -*frak-a* (Bartholomae, Wbch. 976). Especially note Skr. *prās-ti-s* (*s* = *kṣ*; -*ty-* from *thy*, § 3 b) "seitenpferd, auch wohl ein vorge-spanntes pferd" (PW<sup>2</sup>) and Av. *frax-šti* 'praestanter, valde'. As an original superlative to *ped-* 'foot' *pessimus* is unthinkable, but syncopated *ped-i-sthāmos* 'in-pede stans', compv. *pēd-i-yes-* 'on foot going' (§ 1; 4 a; on *ē* cf. IE *pēdsu*<sup>1</sup> posited as primate for OIr. *is* 'under' by Pedersen, l. c., I, 50) reach their meaning as social terms. The Celtic testimony for *sthāmo-* (*s* lost in the groups *rst kst* <*pst*>, see AJPh. 33, 383; see for Greek Brugmann-Thumb 117 anm.), is most clear, viz. in MWelsh *eithaf* (<*ek-tmmo-*> 'extimus' and *gwarthaf* (<*uportmmo-*><sup>2</sup> Pedersen, l. c. 2, 123). It cannot be mere accident that the priora with -*sthāto* -*sthāmo-* are so often adverbs. The positives lack because they never existed.<sup>3</sup> e. *The forms in*

with negative prefix *nis-* meant 'entfrachten, ἀποτίειν', euphemistic for 'detestulari'. The root was (*s*)*nēw-* in *nēw nēw* 'onero' I heap up' and *akš-* Av. *xš-* = *ex* (IE *eǵhs/ghs-*, see AJPh. 34, 37; on prefixal *e-* Brugmann, Gr. 2, 2, § 640, anm.). If I rightly read Gr. Ir. Phil. 1, §§ 54-55 Bartholomae would be the last to question *gh/ǵh* (cf. also Wiedemann, Lit. Gr. § 43; Hirt, BB. 24, 318 sq.). In Avestan, *xšnu-* = ἐκπληγμα, *snu-* = πικταγμα. For isolated *eǵhs-* in Indo-Iranian cf. Lat. *pono* (*po-* as in *poste*, § 4 d.), *aufero aufugio*. To variation of -*k* with -*k̄* we owe *xš* in Gathic *ənāxšīā* (*s*-aor.), cf. Lith. *pra-nokti* ap. Walde<sup>2</sup>, 507. In *fra-pixštām* we have a contamination of *pikto-* and *pikto-* (see Walde, s. v. *pingo*). In *xšvaš* '6' *x* = IE *k* (§ 3, a). There remains for Bartholomae's parasitic *x-* before *š-* only the evidence of Gathic *xšma-* 'vos, voster', with *x-* by anticipation from *k* in gen. *xšmākəm*, unless this be a shortened form, quasi [q] *x-šmākəm*: Gothic *inqis* 'vos (duos)'. [Av. *š* <*ks* but *xš* <*ks-s*.]

<sup>1</sup>Is Latin *pessum* from *pessu-* + *m*, (1) added after the *domum* type or (2) = (*e*)*m* as in Umbr. *Acersoni-em*? In the Brāhmaṇas loc. pl. -*pātsu*, instr. -*pāddhis* (with *ā*) are found.

<sup>2</sup>Lat. *supremus* is from *super-s*[*t*]mo-*s* > \**supēmos*, *sup* <*r*> *ēm*us (*suprā* etc.). Likewise *ex-t* <*r*> *emus* from *exter* (o)-*s*[*th*]mo-*s*.

<sup>3</sup>Originally, in *πρό-τερος* (§ 4, a), the comparison lay solely in *προ-*; and Lat. *ex-terus* never genuinely became a comparative. As it spread by irradiation, -*ter-* 'advancing' lost its definite sense and served merely to convert adverb priora like *ex-* into adjectives. As such priora lent themselves to "comparison" (*πρό-τερος*, *ποσ-τερος*) or "contrast" (*ex-terus* × *ἑρ-τερος*; *ci-tra* × *ul-tra*). these functions were transposed from the priora to the posterius.—Observe Skr. *agrē-tvarī* (fem.) 'praefestinas, praeciens', with posterius from the *tw* form of the root *t(w)er* 'to advance'.

-*sthān*-. An IE monosyllable *sthān* 'standing' (gen. *sthānós*; ἀ-στῆν-ες *δυστοχῆς*) is attested in the Gothic "weak declension" forms, nom. *sinista* 'eldest' (: Skr. *sán-i-ṣṭha-* 'most winning' cf. AJPh. 31, 424<sup>2</sup>) *smalista* 'smallest', acc. *sinistan smalistan*, cf. Skr. acc. *parame-ṣṭhin-am* 'in summo stantem' *tri-ṣṭhin-am* 'in tribus <sedibus> stantem', *aṣṭin-* '8-fold'. In Sanskrit the vocalism of the weak cases has pervaded the paradigm. The composition of *nedi-ṣṭhin-* is betrayed—if not recognized—by Böhtlingk's definition, "nächststehend"; cf. *nedi-ṣṭhā-* "ganz in der Nähe stehend" (PW<sup>2</sup>). Perso-Greek *μεγi-στᾶνες* (LXX) need not be modelled on *ξυνᾶνες*.

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(To be Continued.)

## V.—LATER ECHOES OF CALPURNIUS AND NEMESIANUS.

The influence of Calpurnius and Nemesianus down to the time of Charlemagne is set forth in the 'testimonia' of H. Schenkl's edition (Vienna, 1885). The following notes will show something of their influence after the Revival of Learning.

Calpurnius, Ecl. I. Imitated in the first eclogue of P. Faustus Andrelinus (c. 1488).<sup>1</sup> Compare line 1 with Andrelinus, I. 21 :

*Donec Sol nimios declinans temperet aestus;*

line 28 with line 77, "nihil est triviali more sonandum"; line 29 with line 74, "nihil armentale"; line 30 with line 31 :

*Iubila cum canerem nostris incognita silvis.*

Several passages of the poem are imitated in other eclogues of Andrelinus. Compare line 3 with Ecl. V. 84, "raucumque cient nova musta susurrum"; line 21 with Ecl. VIII. 40, "arbor docta quae falce notata"; lines 42-44 with Ecl. IV. 124-7 :

*Pax aurea nuper*

*Et segura quies tranquillaque tempora florent.*

*Deposito squalore nitet nuptaque recenti*

*Iubilat omnis ager;*

and line 48 with Ecl. III. 123-4 :

*rumpetur Livor et atros*

*In sua convertet dentes et viscera morsus.*

Line 3 is borrowed by Franciscus Modius, Eleg. XII. 7 ("Martinalia Anni 1582") :

*Quod spument rauco ferventia musta susurro.<sup>2</sup>*

Line 7 is imitated by Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. IX. 134, "de-

<sup>1</sup> *Buccolica Fausti, Parisiis, 1506.*

<sup>2</sup> *Francisci Modii Brugensis Poemata, Wirtzeburgi, 1583, p. 38.*

fende galero | lumina", and by Euricius Cordus, Aegl. VI. 1-2:

quid in isto sole vagaris,  
Et tua nequiquam solo tegis ora galero?

Lines 25-26 are imitated by Euricius Cordus, Aegl. IV. 93:

Perlege quam primum; tu me procerior extas,

and by Eobanus Hessus, Id. IV. 43:

Longa tibi digitum pater internodia fecit.

Cp. Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. IV. 107, "cui sunt longa internodia crurum".

Lines 33-48 and 91-93 are adapted by Joannes Arnolletus Nivernensis, Threnodia, 186-207:

*Pan*

Ille ego, qui tueor pecudes pecudumque magistros,  
Haec ipsis ventura cano; iuvat edere fata.  
Vos Galli, vos praecipue gaudete Niverni,  
Pastores gaudete mei. Licet omne vegetur  
Ipsa per arva pecus, praeda:or ovilibus ulla  
Non feret insidias, nec laedet dente rapaci.

.....  
Horum annis repetet mundum squalore situque  
Cana Fides posito, nexas dabit impia palmas  
Post tergum Bellona suas, privataque telis  
In sua torquebit male sanos viscera dentes;  
Aurea cum grata remigrabunt saecula pace.

*Francus*

Sublimi Panos veneremur numina voce,  
Ac ea quae nobis Deus obtulit ore canenda  
Promamus, gracilique sonos meditemur avena.<sup>1</sup>

With lines 40-41 cp. Franciscus Modius, Funera, VII:

posthac abigent laxis, velut ante solebant,  
Iumenta e stabulis silvisve impune capistris  
Praedones.

With line 94 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. X. 77:

Et nostrum augustas nomen portavit ad aures.

Calpurnius, Ecl. II. Cited by P. Lotichius Secundus, Eleg. VI. 30, 25:

Nomen habet Crocale, Siculi quam gloria ruris  
Altera carminibus tollit ad astra suis.

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<sup>1</sup> Poematia aliquot insignia illustrium Poetarum recentiorum, Basileae, anno 1544, per Robertum Winter.



With lines 1-3 cp. Franciscus Modius, *Silvae*, IV ('*Ecloga Nautica*'):

Intactam Beroen sensus deperditus omnes  
Votique immodicus male sano ardebat amore  
Grippius.

Lines 22-24 are imitated in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Prosa IV (p. 66 Scherillo): "Alhora Selvagio, che in cziò giudice era stato eletto, non volle che pegni si ponessero, dicendo che assai serebe se il vincitore ne avesse la lode e 'l vinto la vergogna".<sup>1</sup>

With lines 36-39 cp. Eobanus Hessus, *Id.* IX:

Sic etiam ex alba niger hircus saepe capella  
Diversam generat prolem variique coloris.

With lines 40-43 cp. J. Leochaëus Scotus, *Ecl. Vinit.* IV:

Arte mea varias frondes et non sua poma  
Arbor agit dias iucundum in luminis oras,  
Mala piris et corna onerantur saxea prunis.<sup>2</sup>

Cp., also, *Virg. Geor.* II. 34 and 82 and *Lucretius*, I. 22.

Lines 56-59 are imitated by Leochaëus, *Ecloga Nautica* III:

Urimur in Panopen; si quae hanc mihi cura deorum  
Afferat, hanc pelago solam regnare fatebor,  
Huic uni stata sacra feram; quae ferrea nunc est  
Mutabit primos fors huc delata rigores.

With line 99 cp. the phrase 'vivite concordēs', Leochaëus, *Ecl. Bucol.* I.

With lines 99-100 cp. Eobanus Hessus, *Id.* IV:

Vicit uterque, ipsi vestrum vicistis utrumque,  
Vos faciunt et forma pares et carmen et aetas.  
Arcus Batte tibi, tibi fistula Tityre cedat,  
Ut prius, et vestros concordēs pascite tauros,

and Francesco Vinta's eclogue *Amyntas*:

Hos fortuna pares, aetas, ars, patria et ambos  
Unus amor, rectique tenax eademque voluntas  
Fecerat, et levibus numeris cantare peritos.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sannazaro's borrowings from Calpurnius and Nemesianus are duly set forth in Professor Scherillo's excellent edition of the *Arcadia* (Torino, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> *Musae Priores, sive Poematum Pars Prior*, Londini, 1620.

<sup>3</sup> *Carmina quinque Hetruscorum Poetarum*, Florentiae apud Iuntas, 1562, p. 83.

The name Dorylas is borrowed by Sannazaro, Ecl. V. 3; the names Crocale and Leucippe occur in Eobanus Hessus, Id. VII, the names Crotale and Astacus in Francesco Vinta's Amyntas.

Calpurnius, Ecl. III. The opening lines have been compared with the beginning of Poliziano's Orfeo:

*Mopso.*

Avresti visto un mio vitellin bianco,  
Ch'ha una macchia di negro in su la fronte  
E un pezzo rosso dal ginocchio al fianco?

*Aristeo.*

Caro mio Mopso, appresso a questa fonte  
Non son venuti in questa mane armenti;  
Ma ben sentii mugghiar là dietro al monte.  
Va', Tirsi, e guarda un poco se tu'l senti:  
Intanto, Mopso, ti starai qua meco;  
Ch'io vuo' che ascolti alquanto i miei lamenti.

Lines 1-21 are imitated in Sannazaro's Arcadia, Prosa VI (p. 96 Sch.), with one or two details added from Poliziano:

Il quale . . . dimandò ad quei bifolci se una sua vaccha di pel biancho con la fronte nera veduta havessero: la quale altre volte fugiendo era avezzata di mescolarsi fra li loro tori. Ad cuy piacevolmente fu risposto, che non gli fosse noya tanto indugiarsi con esso noi, che'l meridiano caldo sopravvenisse; conciosiacosa che in su quell' octa havean per costume gli armenti di venirsene tutti ad ruminare le matutine herbe a l'ombra di freschi alberi. Et questo non bastando vi mandorono un loro famigliare. il quale (pero che peloso molto et rusticissimo huomo era) Ursacchio per tucta Archadia era chiamato, che costui la dovesse in quel mezzo andare per ogni luocho cercando, et quella trovata condocere ove noy eravamo.

With lines 11-12, 51-52, and 78-80 cp. Sannazaro, Arcadia, Prosa VIII (p. 148 Sch.):

Seyti dimenticata tu de'primi gigli et dele prime rose, le quali yo sempre dale cercate campagnie ti portava? tal che appena le ape aveano gustati anchora y fiori, quando tu per me andavi ornata di mille corone. Lasso, quante fiata allora mi giurasti per gli alti Dij che quando senza me dimoravi y fiori non ti olivano e y fonti non ti rendivano il solito sapore?

And, through Sannazaro, a part of this is repeated by Garcilaso de la Vega, Egl. II. 593-595:

Jurábasme, si ausente yo estuviese,  
Que ni el agua sabor, ni olor la rosa,  
Ni el prado hierba para ti tuviese,

and by San Martino:

D'indi guida le fui, s'ella cerchaua  
 Le rubiconde frage, ò funghi, ò fiori,  
 Di cui corone 'l capo gl' adornaua,  
 Tal c'hauea d'erte riue i primi honori,  
 Che l'api susurranti à indur riposo  
 Non n'hauean pur gustati anchor gl'odori.<sup>1</sup>

With line 40 cp. Sannazaro, Ecl. III. 47, "duram queis Chlorida placem".

With line 85 cp. Franciscus Modius, Sacra Carmina, IV:

Caepe et trita diu manualibus hordea saxis.

Calpurnius, Ecl. IV. With lines 25-26 cp. Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. VI. 157:

Cum lac vociferans ibam venale per urbem,

Leonardo Dati's eclogue 'Mirilta', 12:

Portaram pressum tum lac venale per urbem,<sup>2</sup>

and Andrelinus, Ecl. IX. 43-44:

Aut asinum lana venali ducit onustum  
 Non tacita exclamans emptricem voce per urbem.

With lines 60-63 cp. Sannazaro, Ecl. II. 44-45:

Et dixit, 'Puer, ista tuae sint praemia Musae,  
 Quandoquidem nostra cecinisti primus in acta'.

With line 140 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. IV. 128-9:

Atque alium ex alio natum per laeta precatur  
 Tempora perpetuo productaque fila metallo.

With line 159 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. III. 78,

Palatino . . . Phoebo.

The phrase 'domina urbs', line 161, is repeated by Andrelinus, Ecl. II. 1.

Calpurnius, Ecl. V. The opening lines are imitated by Anibale Cruceio (1509-1577), "Alcon, sive de cura canum venaticorum".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pescatoria et Ecloghe del Signor Matteo Conte da San Martino, Venice, Giolito (c. 1566), fol. G. VII b.

<sup>2</sup>Published by F. Flamini, Giorn. Stor. della Lett. Ital. XVI (1890) 104-106.

<sup>3</sup>This poem has usually been attributed to Gerolamo Fracastoro; but see E. Carrara, La poesia pastorale, p. 408.

Lines 1-2 are imitated by Andrelinus, Ecl. V. I:

Forte senex Corydon simul et crinitus Amyntas,

and Ecl. I. 3-4:

cum valeant patula vitare sub ulmo  
Iam iam venturum torrenti sole calorem.

With line 11 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. IX. 12, "gnava iuventa."

With lines 14, 16. 24-25, 29, 49-51, 57-59, cp. Arnolletus, Fides', 3-4 and 21-31:

*Pan*

Qui tueor constanter oves oviumque magistros  
Te doceam qua lege regas teneras animantes.

Sed quam par sit modereris ovilia lege  
Accipe. Sole recens orto per pascua mitte  
Omne pecus, dum constiterint tinnire volucres.  
Sed non ante greges clausos emitte per arva  
Quam fuerint celebrata pio solennia ritu.  
Imprimis venerare Deum, tum faustiter educ  
A caulis pecudes, ut carpant gramina labris.  
Verum quando sitim Solis gravis afferet ardor,  
Tunc nemori committe greges, tum protinus imum  
Ad fontem deduc, nec non sine protegat illos  
Interea quae frondicomae patet arboris umbra.

With lines 14-15, 45-48, 74-77, and 94 cp. Franciscus Modius, Funera, VII:

quarum sub tegmine Daphnis  
Qua pecudes regerent pastores lege docebat;  
Devia uti simae melius per lustra capellae,  
Ut melius pratis errent in mollibus agnae;  
Ut dubitanda fides Veris cum grandine nimbos  
Saepe ferat, tremulos rapiens torrentibus haedos;  
Forfice ovis laesae, dum fors velamina ponit,  
Vulnera qua sananda manu, ne pustula virus  
Occulat et rodat sanies rubigine corpus;  
Qualiter exarmanda suo nocitura veneno  
Serpens, obtuso ut confestim marceat ore.

Calpurnius, Ecl. VI. With line 1, "serus ades, Lycida",  
cp. Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. II. 1, "cur tam serus ades"?

Line 24 is imitated by Franciscus Modius, Funera, III:

Vix tandem expellens male singultantia verba,

and lines 23-24 by Faustus Andrelinus, Ecl. VIII. 45, "bar  
barus arida verba | heu male singultans".

Line 26. The name 'Lycotas' is borrowed by Sannazaro, Ecl. I, 25.

Lines 32-45 are imitated in Sannazaro's Arcadia, Prosa IV (pp. 62-63 Sch.)—the proposal to stake a pet stag on the result of a singing match. The animal may be identified by its collar, an ornament which it retains even when it passes on from the page of Sannazaro to Ronsard's first eclogue (A. J. P. XXVIII 358).<sup>1</sup>

With lines 35-36 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. VI. 6-7:

Instruis ut miti porrecta cibaria dente  
Carpat et ad nutus celeri pede currat eriles.

Line 58. Cp. P. Lotichius Secundus, Ecl. IV ('Lycidas'):

Si vacat et dulces iuvat instaurare querelas;

Joannes Arnolletus, 'Spes':

Cum vacet et cupias nostros audire dolores;

and Leochaëus Scotus, Ecl. Bucol. V ('Vates'):

Si vacat et gracilem non aversaris avenam.

Calpurnius, Ecl. VII. Imitated in Leonardo Dati's eclogue 'Mirilta'—a description of the Festival of St. John at Florence. Lines 39-41:

Rem si (? sic) difficilem petis et quam Threicius Orpheus  
Nesciat, aut Sicula carmen qui lusit avena  
Pascendo pecudes captando mollius umbras,

seem to allude to Calpurnius; and the phrases "vidi . . . vidi . . . vidi et centauros" (17-23), "telo subnixus et ore patenti" (51), "intextis trabibus" (56), may be compared with lines 57-60, 37, 23.

With line 1 cp. Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. II. 1:

Cur tam serus ades? quid te (iam septima lux est)  
Detinuit?

With line 3 cp. Franciscus Modius, Silvae, IV ('Ecloga Nautica'):

Frustra ergo exspectant maesti mea iubila quondam  
Delphines.

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<sup>1</sup>Cp. the "manchado cerbatillo" of Valbuena's ninth eclogue (Siglo de Oro):

Por collar al erguido cuello echado  
De mil conchuelas un sartal curioso.

With lines 8-9 cp. Andrelinus Ecl. X. 2-3:

Ut tua cessarit taciturnis fistula cannis  
Parisio defleta solo. Nam garrulus Idas, etc.

With line 81 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. VIII. 48: "morsu quem rustica cingit adunco | fibula".

Nemesianus, Ecl. I. With lines 6-7 cp. Sannazaro, Ecl. I. 42:

Incipe, dum ad solem Baianus retia Milcon  
Explicat et madidos componit in orbe rudentes.

Lines 13-14 are imitated by Sannazaro, Arcadia, Prosa VI (p. 97 Sch.): "il capo canuto e'l raffredato sangue non comandano ch'io adopre cziò che a'gioveni si appartiene; et già gran tempo è che la mia sampogna pende al silvestre Fauno".

With lines 38, 52-56, 64-80, cp. Sannazaro, Arcadia, Prosa V (pp. 81-87 Sch.):

se dopo la morte ale quiete anime è concesso il sentire;<sup>1</sup> . . . Tu con le tue parole dulcissime sempre repacificavi le questioni de' litiganti pastori: . . . quando per questi monti fia may amata la iusticia, la drittezza del vivere et la riverenza degli Dij? Le quale cose tucte si nobelmente socto le tue ale fiorivano; per maniera che forse may in nessun tempo il riverendo Termine segnìò più egualmente li ambigui campi che nel tuo . . . O felice Androgeo, addio, eternamente addio. Eccho che il pastorale Apollo tucto festivo ne viene al tuo sepolchro per adornarti con le sue odorate corone; e y Fauni similmente con le ingirlandate corna et carichi di silvestri duoni, quel che ciaschun può ti portano, de' campi le spiche, degli arbosti y racemi con tucti i pampini, et de ogni albero maturi fructi; ad invidia dei quali le convicine Nymphe, da te tanto adietro amate et reverite, vengono ora tucte con canistri bianchissimi, pieni di fiori et di pomi odoriferi, ad renderti y ricevuti honori; et quel che maggiore è, et del quale più eterno duono ale sepolte cenere dare non si può, le Muse te donano versi: versi ti donano le Muse, et noy con le nostre sampogne ti cantamo et canteremo sempre, mentre gli armenti pasceranno per questi böschi, et questi pyni et questi cerri et questi piatani che d' intorno ti stanno, mentre il mondo serà, susurreranno il nome tuo; . . . Et prima y velenosi tassi sudeiranno mele dulcissimo e y dolci fiori il farranno amaro, prima de inverno si metterranno le biade et de estate coglieremo le nere olive, che may per queste contrate si taccia la fama tua.

The poem is imitated by Faustus Andrelinus. Compare lines 4-5 with Ecl. I. 27:

Hic docuit calamos labris inflare sonoros.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Valbuena, Siglo de Oro, Egl. X: "si á los sutiles espiritus fuera del dominio de la muerte es concedido el sentir."

lines 21–22 with Ecl. I. 53–4 :

Faustule, si qua tui tangit te gratia Lygdi,  
Dic age, dic dulci dispersum nectare carmen,

and line 29 with Ecl. VIII. 41 :

Non servet nostros inciso cortice versus.

The phrase “*ruralis Apollo*” (65) is borrowed in Ecl. I. 32, and the phrase “*domina urbs*” (83) in Ecl. II. 1.

Lines 24–26 are quoted in the dedication of Thomas Heywood’s ‘*Loves Mistris*’.

With line 29 cp. Leocaeus, Ecl. Bucol. V. 4: “*asservant incisi carmina libri*”.

With lines 52–53 cp. Franciscus Modius, *Funera*, VII :

suis ubi Daphnis iura solebat  
Dicere et ambiguas hominum discernere lites  
Pastorumque iras studio placare paterno;

also Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. X, 6–7 :

tu scis componere lites  
Iurgiaque et blandis convicia tollere verbis,

and Joannes Stigelius, *Id. III* (‘*Menalcas et Phryxus*’):

Ille autem ambiguas prudens discernere caussas  
Et facile ingentes doctus componere lites  
Exonerat mentes et saucia pectora sanat.

Nemesianus, Ecl. II. Cited by P. Lotichius Secundus, *Eleg. VI. 30, 27*:

Nomen habet Donace, vatis celeberrima versu  
Commoda venanti qui simul arma dedit.

Line 14. Cp. Sannazaro, Ecl. V. 72: “*pectoris aestus*”.

With lines 29–32 cp. Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, *Prosa VIII* (p. 144 Sch.):

et le mie vacche digiune non uscirono dala chiusa mandra, nè gustarono may sapore de herba nè liquore de fumo alguno; onde y miseri vitelli sugando le secche poppe dele affamate madre et non trovandovi l’usato lacte, dolorosi appo quelle reimpivano le circostanti selve di lamentevoli mugiti;

also Garcilaso de la Vega, *Egl. II. 506–511*:

las ya desamparadas vacas mias  
por otro tanto tiempo no gustaron  
las verdes hierbas ni las aguas frias.

Los pequeños hijuelos, que hallaron  
las tetas secas ya de las hambrientas  
madres, bramando al cielo se quejaron,

and Franciscus Modius, *Funera*, VII:

Et vos parcite, oves, concidere gramina morsu  
Trinis quis Daphnim ploramus iure diebus.  
Parcite fonte sitim relevare atque ubera siccae  
Ingratum querulis balatibus aera et aures  
Caedite divorum.

With line 40 cp. Sannazaro, *Ecl.* II, 17:

Nec tamen ulla meae tangit te cura salutis.

Line 69 is borrowed by Franciscus Modius, *Silvae* IV (*Ecloga Nautica*):

Et post haec potis es nostros contemnere amores.

Cp., too, Sannazaro, *Ecl.* II, 29, "sola et nostros contemnitis amores", and P. Lotichius Secundus, *Ecl.* IV, 65, "tu sola meos contemnitis amores".

With lines 70-73 cp. Sannazaro, *Ecl.* II, 51-55:

Scilicet (exiguae videor quod navita cymbae,  
Quodque leves hamos nodosaque retia tracto)  
Despicis. An patrio non hoc quoque litore Glaucus  
Fecerat, aequoreae Glaucus scrutator harenae?  
Et nunc ille quidem tumidarum numen aquarum.

Nemesianus, *Ecl.* III. Lines 1-16 are imitated by Berardino Rota, *Egl.* XI ('Tritone'):

Stanchi già di pescar Hila e Fumone  
Sotto una presso il mar caua spelonca  
Fuggian l'estiuo ardor: quando à la riu  
Soua l'alga giacer ueggion Tritone  
Vinto dal sonno: e dietro hauea la conca.  
Et seco ogni onda in mar queta dormiua.  
Ecco che i pescator corrono: e sono  
Taciti presso à lui, quanto più ponno:  
Et gli ruban la conca: e in bocca à pena  
Se l'ha messa Fumon, che non più il suono  
Rende qual suol: pur stride sì, che'l sonno  
Gli rompe: ond' egli desto, e da l'arena  
Risorto grida. A che tentar uolete  
Quel che non lice? à me solo dar uolse  
Questo il padre Ocean: ma s'hoggi forse  
Voi bramate, ch'i suoni: ecco che sete  
Contenti: ecco ch'io suono.



With lines 43-45 cp. Andrelinus, Ecl. V. 77-81 :

Fervida cum summis vindemia collibus instat,  
Carpimus ex plenis maturas vitibus uvas,  
Fortibus et calathos umeris portamus onustos,  
Dumque lacu positas celeri pede rumpimus uvas,  
Sordida tinguntur salienti corpora musto.

With lines 46-54 cp. Poliziano, Rusticus, 344-350 :

  puerique examine denso  
Exultant lasciva cohors circumque supraque.  
Ille manu panda pronus bibit, alter ab ipso  
Sugit musta lacu crepitantibus hausta labellis,  
Hic sua suspensum resupinus in ora racemum  
Exprimit, hic socii patulos irrorat hiatus  
Irriguumque mero sordet mentumque sinusque.

Nemesianus, Ecl. IV. With line 3, "nec triviale sonans", compare Andrelinus, Ecl. I. 28, "nec carmen triviale".

The epithet "crintus Iollas", line 4, is borrowed by Andrelinus, Ecl. V. 1, "crintus Amyntas".

With "pastoralia . . carmina", line 15, compare Andrelinus, Ecl. I. 79, "pastoralia verba".

With lines 26-29 cp. Tasso, Aminta, I. 1 :

Ma che dico leoni e tigri e serpi,  
Che pur han sentimento? amano ancora  
Gli alberi.

Line 46 is imitated by Andrelinus, Ecl. I. 18 :

Hac mecum aesculea paulum requiesce sub umbra.

Lines 62-66 are imitated by Bernardino Rota, Egl. IV ('Amarilli') :

Lasso l'altrhier, che me giouò, se uolse  
La uecchia madre del Baiano Aminta  
Con la spuma del mar bagnarmi, e'l lato  
Stringer con l'alga uerde, e poi lo sciolse;  
Se la mia libertà più serua e uinta  
Si troua, e langue in doloroso stato?

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Medieval Spanish Allegory, by CHANDLER RATHFON POST.  
Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915. pp. xii, 331.  
(Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, IV.)

It is gratifying to find that the comparative study of literature has emerged from the stage of parallel columns of imitations and reached the plane of literary criticism. Prof. Post's study of "Medieval Spanish Allegory" is primarily an attempt to draw general conclusions from the researches of a more meticulous nature which he himself and other scholars have made in this field of literary expression. In order not to weary his reader by giving these researches in "their tedious fulness", he has for the most part avoided the citation of concrete imitations, assuming that his reader is familiar with the various papers in which they have been demonstrated. This compression gives a certain bareness to his work; at times it has something of the character of a syllabus. The relegation of the references and notes to the end of the volume renders more difficult the process of tracing these previous studies for him who desires to know the sources from which his statements are derived. It is to be presumed that this feature of the work, in which it follows the earlier volumes of the series, has been determined by the desire of the editors to produce a book which in appearance might appeal to the general reader. It is questionable whether it is desirable in such work as this which is essentially scholarly, even controversial, in character.

Prof. Post has divided his work into two sections, the first synthetic, on the nature of allegory in Spain, the second analytic, in which he studies the evolution of the type from the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius to the compositions of the early sixteenth century which stand at the border of the Renaissance. The work is thorough, the style clear. The classification of the types of allegory is especially well done, although one might question whether the expression "Erotic Hell" is not a trifle futurist as a description of the group of which the *Infierno de los Enamorados* of Santillana is the first Castilian example. The proof-reading is careful and inaccuracies of statement are rare. The attribution of the *Mare Historiarum* to Guido delle Colonne (25) is a common error. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, from whom the author quotes, has correctly assigned it to Giovanni Colonna in his second edition in French (p. 103). The whole question of the relation between the work of Pérez de Guzmán

and the work of Colonna, of which there are several unpublished manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, as well as the relation of the latter to the several versions of the *Rudimentum Novitiorum* and the *Mer des Histoires*, remains to be investigated. It is hardly exact to state that the *Somme des Vices et Vertus* of the Dominican Laurent was "published" (36, 172) in 1279; written in that year at the command of the king, it was first published in a Dutch version at Delft in 1481. For the sake of convenience it would have been wiser if Prof. Post had conformed to the well-established practice of entering the names of his Spanish authors under the first of their family names in drawing up the index, and of restricting entry under the Christian name to saints and monks.

The chief interest of the work lies in the general conclusions which the author seeks to establish. Briefly stated these are as follows: the essential continuity of Spanish allegory, the constant dependence on French models, and the unimportance of Dantesque influence. Inasmuch as his theories are frankly at variance with the accepted opinions on the matter, it will be well to examine his arguments in some detail. From a study of the works of Berceo, of Juan Ruiz and three brief anonymous works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries he concludes that the first Spanish examples are in all essentials similar to those of the fifteenth century (16). Now Berceo is fundamentally a monastic; he uses the allegorical vision quite as other medieval hagiographers use it, namely, as an unctuous ornament for his pedestrian biographies. The *Vida de S. Oria*, on which Prof. Post lays especial emphasis, as containing one hundred and twenty-eight visionary stanzas out of a possible two hundred and five, is no exception to this rule; in fact it is a translation of a Latin life by the Benedictine monk Muño, of which the author might have found a summary in the *Fundaciones de los monesterios del glorioso padre San Benito*, Madrid, 1601, by Prudencio de Sandoval. The author admits that the allegorical element in the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* does not form an integral part of the composition (118). Nor does it form an integral part in the *Libro de Alexandre*, which we may class with the works of Berceo.

From his investigation of the work of Juan Ruiz, Prof. Post has derived the ingenious theory that the general plan of the *Libro de buen amor* is allegorical (141). To come to such a conclusion is to study the poem through allegorical glasses. That there are a large number of allegorical episodes is not to be denied, just as there are a large number of fables, debates, and lyrics incorporated in the work. But the ground plan and the chief interest of the poem lie in the revelation of that bizarre union of fleshly realism and mystic devotion which has always characterized Castilian literature and the Spanish race.

The shorter compositions which the author examines are the Romance de Lope de Moros, the *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo* and a later prose redaction of the same theme, the *Visión de Filiberto*. The first part of the Romance, often called the *Aventura amorosa*, is a lyric, in the *pastourelle* form. As such, its use of allegory is of quite a different nature from the use of allegory in the longer didactic poems. Throughout the book the author has tended to gloss over this difference and as a result there is a lack of the proper relief. The second part of the Romance and the other two compositions are examples of the *Debate*, all derived from Gallic prototypes. It is to be noted that the only allegorical element in these works is the brief introductory vision and that the actual disputants are concrete realities, such as the Wine and the Water of the Romance. The debates of the fifteenth century between such abstractions as Pride and Moderation or Reason and Will are consistently allegorical.

Prof. Post would see in these works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a well-established tradition of allegory and one indissolubly connected with the fifteenth century. But tradition would seem to imply something handed down, and there is absolutely no evidence of relationship between the several works of the first two centuries, and it is improbable that the authentic works of Berceo or the lesser allegorical works mentioned were known to the fifteenth century. Are we then to believe that Imperial and his followers received the inspiration for their extended allegorical compositions from the *Libro de Alexandre* and the poem of Juan Ruiz? This can hardly be credible in view of the nature of these works. The truth is that their only common bond is their imitation of French models; to speak allegorically, they are flowers of a perennial plant which reveal a likeness from spring to spring only because they blossom from the same stem. The author has too often contented himself with an arithmetical sort of criticism which would determine the allegorical nature of a poem by the number of stanzas therein exclusively devoted to allegory. In his eagerness to make the stream run smoothly down the centuries he has obscured the chief distinction between the works of the fifteenth century and those which preceded them. Before the *Decires* of Francisco Imperial, allegory was employed in Spanish only sporadically as an incident or ornament to compositions whose general plan and structure was not allegorical; Imperial established the vogue of that type of composition in which the form and framework itself is allegorical and the other material—didactic, eulogistic, or political—becomes incidental.

In his paper, Dante in Ispagna, Farinelli had already called attention to the importance of the French *dis*s in the development of the allegorical school of the fifteenth century—an

expression, by the way, at which the author takes undue offence. Prof. Post has now given us a final and convincing proof of the universal tendency of the Spanish poets of the Middle Ages to seek the inspiration for their allegorical matter in their French predecessors or contemporaries. Herein he has performed a service of no small value. It has long been the custom to ascribe to the influence of Dante every vision of the fifteenth century in Spain; we are indebted to Prof. Post for a clearer conception of the relations of Spain with the rest of European literature.

There still remains the question as to what influence Dante did exert upon Francisco Imperial and his successors. Prof. Post's answer is categorical: "in those few instances in which the influence of Dante in Castile is distinguishable it is inorganic and, for all practical purposes, infinitesimal" (29). It is doubtful whether this statement will be accepted by students of Spanish literature; the author, in his attempt to shake off the fetters of traditional criticism, has gone to the other extreme. To argue that the influence of Dante upon Imperial is trifling is to lay oneself open to a suspicion of *parti pris*. We know from Imperial's own words that he had read Dante; without this statement we might be assured of the fact from his frequent verbal reminiscences of the Divine Comedy. Under these circumstances, when we find that his most important allegorical work, the *Decir a las Siete Virtudes* (Prof. Post refers to it throughout his work as the *Decir de las Siete Virtudes*), is cast in the form of a vision, in which Dante acts as his guide in revealing the meaning of the starry figures representing the Virtues, the unbiased reader will find it hard to deny the influence of Dante upon the conception as well as upon the details of the poem. The author's statement that Imperial was incapable of appreciating Dante (181) is irrelevant; Dante was never understood in the Middle Ages. As Farinelli puts it, "In tutti i tempi Dante parlerà a pochi eletti, a quelli soli, capaci, per forza d'astrazione e di studi, di rivivere nell' ambiente di idee e di affetti in cui il poeta viveva". But vaguely and from afar Imperial saw the dignity and power of the vision of the great Florentine; within the limits of his talents he strove to create in Castilian a form of allegory which would reflect this new and lofty use of the type. We must admit with the author that his mind is filled with reminiscences of French allegory. But it is to Dante that he turns as a master.

The prestige of Dante, looked upon as representative of the use of allegory as a consistent artistic form, exercised upon all the Spanish writers of the fifteenth century a greater influence than Prof. Post would be inclined to admit. He has properly laid stress upon their indebtedness to contemporary French works and to Petrarch and Boccaccio. But he has not explained

whence comes "the higher respect for allegory" (48) which is characteristic of the period. Dante, whose name was so often on their lips, may not be disregarded as a factor in the rise of this new attitude toward the treatment of allegory.

Professor Post closes his study with a chapter on the relation between allegorical art and literature. As in the field of letters, he finds that their sculptures are primarily the reflection of the French School of the Middle Ages, untouched by the dawn of the Renaissance in Italy. He brings to this phase of the work a richness of experience which is an invaluable asset of the student of the medieval art, and throughout the book he evidences a breadth of reading which breeds a confidence in the thoroughness with which he has surveyed the field. The task of tracing the sources of medieval writers is a difficult one from the very fact that manuscripts were not the property of most men of letters. Their images and fancies, when they are not actually translating a work, are a composite of a throng of reminiscences retained from their reading and from their listening which take on a new personality in this process of transformation. At best we can hope only to recreate for the present day some idea of the range of their literary interests and acquaintanceships. This task Prof. Post has performed for the allegorical poets of medieval Spain with admirable learning and skill. His study broadens our vision of the artistic and intellectual activities of that formative period which prepares the way for the Golden Age of Spain.

R. H. KENISTON.

ITHACA, N. Y.

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The Odes of Pindar, including the Principal Fragments, with an Introduction and an English Translation, by Sir JOHN SANDYS. (Loeb Series.) London: William Heinemann; New York: The Macmillan Co. MCMXV.

Ever since I quitted the business of making translations and acquired some insight into the languages from which translations are made, nothing stirs in me so easily the feeling which according to Seneca is the last to grow old, as the question what I think of this or that translation. To this last infirmity, I have pleaded guilty more than once (e. g. A. J. P. XIII 517; XXX 353, 474); and now that the Loeb Series is in full course, life is not worth living. What is a boon to the world is a bane to the individual. What a critical examination would mean to me, what a lavish expenditure of the few remaining

sands of time it would involve, I illustrated not long ago by the discussion of a single phrase in the translation of Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios* (A. J. P. XXXIV 234, 360). But for all that, I cannot lightly put aside my good friend Sir John Sandys' translation of Pindar in the Loeb Series, and in point of fact I have spent untold hours in rereading Pindar, largely moved thereto by the companionship of that eminent classical scholar: To be sure, as the text faces the translation, I find it hard to keep my eyes from Pindar himself, hard to weigh Pindar's gold against money current with the merchant. Greece itself comes back to me. Once more I pass a door in Gytheion, and hear an old man ask his granddaughter in a sharp tone, How many drachmas are there in a napoleon?—Only my question takes the form, How much paper money is there in Pindar's gold? True, Landor's *Aspasia* thinks that there is too much gold in Pindar, and one seems to hear the chink of coin in some of his catalogues of victors, but for all that his gold pieces are fascinating; and I am once more at Athens in the rooms of the antiquary Rhusopoulos, and watch him as he brooded lovingly over his collection of ancient coins. Many of them were for sale, but with some of them he could not prevail upon himself to part; and in like manner, the lover of Pindar cannot bring himself to exchange Greek staters even for English sovereigns. Symmetry? One ceases to care for symmetry. Even your money-changer displays his gold loose in a dish. Translation has to do not with symmetry but with the detail work by which Pindar is most comprehensible. In his Sappho and Simonides, quoted by Sandys, p. 561, Wilamowitz, writing of the *Prosodion* on Delos, is constrained to declare 'Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen', and there are other rare jewels, other rich settings, and I am not deterred by the cry of 'barbaric gold and pearl'. However, the narrow limits of the space allotted to reviews compel me to reserve what I have to say of Sir John's translation for a later number, in which I hope to begin a series of *Pindarica*. Still, for fear of the untowardness of fate, it is simply due to the work of an accomplished scholar, that I should commend his rendering to the attention of beginners in Pindar, for whom my own edition was intended. I must confess, that before I began the study, I was inclined to think it would be dangerous in any one to compete with Myers. Myers is a poet and the poet is supposed to have the golden key to the palace of poetry. Mistakes in detail are redeemed by sympathy. But as a grammatical soul, I have found myself shocked by Myers, as I have been by other poetical geniuses, who have undertaken to interpret Greek poetry. Not long ago a malapert scholar called attention to the sad lapse in the matter of accent which led to the translation

of κεινὰν as if it were κείναν (O. 2, 65),<sup>1</sup> and I was concerned to find that in O. 3 Myers had omitted nearly a whole line (v. 3). So far, I have not found anything to match κεινὰν-κείναν in Sir John, though I cannot agree with him in making βάσσομεν intransitive in O. 6, 24, and if Myers has given us a line too little in O. 3, Sir John has given us an ἄβατον too much in the text of O. 3, 44. Oddly enough, in that same Third Olympian, which I have chosen as the centre of my projected essay On Translating Pindar, there is a balance of oversights between the rival translators. Myers has made Leto the mother of Kastor and Polydeukes, and Sandys has made Leda the mother of Artemis, and so between them they have mixed up the two mothers of twins. Versed in the technicalities of grammar and the delicacies of synonyms, even the subtleties of the particles do not escape the ken of the new interpreter, so that under his guidance, the careful student may learn to appreciate the lapidary work of Pindar, but for the inevitable criticism in detail there is, as I have just said, no room here, and I pass on to give a brief account of the Introduction.

The Introduction is that of a summarist, and does not produce the effect of a writer who is enamored of his theme, and one recognizes here and there phrases that shew that he was working on material that had been through the hands of others. He seldom ever speaks with full conviction. He leans to the later date of the poet's birth, but he is not clear as to the Doric Aigeid descent of the poet, and inclines to Studniczka's rejection of it. Perhaps Robert's chapter in his *Oidipus* had appeared too late to be incorporated, or to be considered (A. J. P. XXXVI 244). He is evidently as perplexed as he represents Pindar to have been during the Persian War. In the main he follows Schroeder's chronology of the Odes, but there is a formidable array of query marks before 476, when Pindar reached the height of his power. How hazardous the attempt to construct the curve of Pindar's development, I have tried to shew in my *Introductory Essay* and elsewhere (A. J. P. XXI 471).

As to the style of Pindar, Sir John gives us first Dionysios' characteristic in the *De Compositione Verborum*, as translated by Roberts, then the inevitable passage from Horace, then the Quintilian passage, winding up with the consecrated verses from Gray's *Progress of Poesy*. The antique criticisms require interpretation (A. J. P. XXXV 231), but he does not pause for that, and passes on to his own judgment. We are told that Pindar's style is marked by a constant and

<sup>1</sup> κεινὰν παρὰ δλαίταν, translated by Myers 'in that new world'. The manifest blunder stands uncorrected in that valuable collection of documents recently published by Professors BOTSFORD and SIHLER (Columbia University Press) and entitled *Hellenic Civilization* (p. 306) —not a fair specimen, it is to be hoped, of the revised translations promised by the editors.



habitual use of metaphor. Nothing is said as to the relation of metaphor to simile—an important point in the contrast between epic and lyric poetry (A. J. P. XXXV 229). After giving a number of examples, he refers the reader to Fennell and Gildersleeve, but for fear of going too far in praise of the poet, he adds in a footnote Schroeder's judgment, who somewhat blasphemously considers Pindar's metaphors 'rude and unrefined'—for so he translates 'roh u. ungeläutert', which I have rendered 'crude and unclarified'—'unrefined' being too much specialized (A. J. P. XXVI 115). Splendor of language is one of the characteristics of Pindar that can't escape any critic; but I am interested to find that Sir John subsumes under this the characteristic I called 'swiftness', for he claims that swiftness adds to splendor. He is evidently thinking of *κορυθαίολος* Ἐκτωρ. Next he notices the dexterous way in which the poet links the athletic with the martial exploits of the heroic past, and I note with amusement the more or less dexterous way in which the editor dodges the question as to the interpretation of the myth. Drachmann and Wilamowitz have gone back to the old incidental, tangential employment of the myth. All attempts to find a close nexus, an inner meaning, have been discarded by those scholars, and what I have said on the subject—quoted with full approval by Butcher—must be counted (to use the language of Wilamowitz) among the clouds that have obscured the interpretation of Pindar, and which, he says, have now—thank God—passed away forever.

As to the wisdom of Pindar, Donaldson, as Sandys reminds us, has pointed out one hundred memorable Pindaric saws, and by way of amusing myself one summer, I constructed a Pindaric calendar, with a more or less apt quotation for each day in the year, but I am afraid that my *Calendarium Pindaricum* (A. J. P. XXXII 480) will never find a publisher. One of our greatest Pindarists accuses Pindar of poverty of thought, and Schwartz falls in with him (A. J. P. XXVI 370; XXVII 483), and at one time I thought of writing a paper to prove that Pindar was a prophecy of Plato, and that all Plato was implicit in Pindar, as one English enthusiast has maintained that Browning's Ring and the Book is implicit in Pindar (A. J. P. XXXII 480).

A brief mention of the importance of the games for giving a national character to Pindar's poems leads to a short account of the National Festivals.

As to the structure of the Odes, Sir John evidently inclines to the Terpandrian nome theory, and the recurrent word, but his acceptance amounts to nothing more than the recognition of the simple fact that as a living organism the ode must have a beginning, middle and end. Of my thesis, accepted by Fennell and exploited by Bury (A. J. P. XII 528), he has nothing to

say either in the Introduction or in the summaries prefixed to the various odes.

Some account is given of the three rhythms, the paeonian, the dactylo-epitrite and the logaoedic, but in the hurly-burly of metrical controversy Sir John Sandys is afraid to take sides, and there are no metrical schemes to guide the possessor of the Greek text. A paragraph is devoted to the Dorian, Aeolian, Lydian modes, with some illustrations of their character as exemplified in the various Odes. The chapter on Dialect deals only with the salient features. There is a brief chapter on the Mss., and sigla are given for the readings of the chief editions. If I had the work to do over again, I should be even more conservative than I have shewn myself to be. These changes backward are characteristic either of advance of age, or advance of knowledge. It is a common experience; and Wilamowitz has recently confessed to a similar change of heart in the matter of Aischylos (A. J. P. XXXVI 354), as is observable in Weil's editions of Euripides.

The text is founded on Donaldson's revision of the second edition of Boeckh . . . further revised in many passages after a careful consideration of the readings, or conjectures, frequently by more recent editors'. As a matter of personal interest, I may be permitted to say, that in the Olympians and Pythians there is, if I may trust a rough count, a coincidence of seventy per cent. There is bibliography—Sir John is famous as a bibliographer—a bibliography that does not waste adjectives. Bergk is credited with a few brilliant restorations, and Mezger's commentary is justly called valuable.

The translation is accompanied by a few explanatory notes, but a translation is itself a commentary in brief; and the thirty years that have elapsed since my edition have brought in so much new material, to which Sir John's edition must be added, that I am constrained, as I have already intimated, to reserve what I have to say for a more elaborate article.

B. L. G.

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Das Kaisertum. Von DR. LUDWIG HAHN. Das Erbe der Alten, Heft vi. Leipzig 1913. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Pp. 114. M. 3. 50.

Dr. Hahn's valuable studies *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten* (1906), and *Zum Sprachenkampf im römischen Reich* (1907) have furnished a foundation of solid and extensive learning for the present work. His frankly expressed admiration for monarchical institutions gives him a

sympathetic attitude towards the work of the empire defenders and administrators, and his pronounced sense for genetic development enables him to group under comprehensive viewpoints the complex phenomena of this difficult epoch. The most successful chapters are those upon the origin of the empire and its beneficent influences in gradually elevating the provincials by the extension of citizenship to equality with their plutocratic oppressors while protecting society from both outside attacks and internal disintegrating tendencies, and especially the one in which he undertakes to show how necessary it was that absolutism should develop out of the general trend of social movements. There is also a stirring appreciation of the heroic figures and services of the soldier-emperors. The last third of the book is devoted to the influence of Byzantium upon the Russian Empire and of Rome upon the Roman Church and Western Europe.

While the whole is conceived in a somewhat popular form there is no lack of documentary evidence, and a well chosen selection of significant citations illuminates the text. The grouping is perspicuous, though occasionally somewhat obviously systematic, a slight fault that could scarcely be avoided perhaps where so much material must be compressed into a modest compass. The style too is for the most part vigorous and clear; occasional labored sentences (especially on pages 12 and 13), though not wholly eliminated, are nevertheless not so numerous as to be characteristic. The delineation is based on extensive and systematic collections. There is a tendency to accept most documents at their face value, even where reservations might naturally suggest themselves, a procedure which seems sometimes almost naive when one is accustomed to the methods of Gibbon or Gelzer, but the principal authorities are nearly always quoted, and the skeptically inclined can calculate their own discounts.

This volume applies far more drastically than did its predecessors in the series the idea of inheritance. The thesis is proposed and vigorously supported that the great heir of the Roman Empire is the Roman Church, and in this the least convincing portion of the work perhaps, one feels that there is some exaggeration of the extent to which imperial institutions and practices have survived and been imitated. It is difficult to avoid the belief that it would have been quite as easy to show how the great system of the Roman Church developed naturally from its own inherent tendencies and by an adaptation to its environment, as it was to point out that absolutism arose independent of Oriental and priestly influences. Dr. Hahn is deeply suspicious of the temporal and spiritual authority of Rome, and the closing paragraphs of the book will perhaps surprise one who is not prepared to appreciate the seriousness with which

many loyal Protestants and free-thinking Germans resent the activity of Rome as an organized power in the political and social life of the Empire. A leaning towards anti-Semitism also is but partially concealed, and the allusions to old Roman institutions and character as "Aryan" are somewhat too frequent for those who have not yet accepted this shibboleth of cultural values. The author's conception of Americans, whom he is pleased to style Yankees, is the conventional European. Some may be interested to note Dr. Hahn's belief that "in the great American republic an unscrupulous plutocracy is seeking to limit not merely the freedom of its citizens but even their chances of existence" (p. 29).

These are however only superficial blemishes upon a work of real power and significance, which in earnestness, learning and breadth of view takes rank with its predecessors in this notable series. The tone of a political pamphlet which it occasionally strikes sounds, indeed, somewhat strange to an American ear. We have grown so accustomed to regarding our classical literature and history as a *corpus vile* for the exhibition of erudition, or as a dainty garden for æsthetic dallying, that to see it treated as a message and a problem of vital concern almost gives us a shock. In Europe the classical tradition really means something very definite, and that is not the least cause of its persistent vitality there. In America hitherto it has not, and accordingly the Classics have never exercised a commanding influence in our intellectual life.—And yet there are dangers involved in fighting the day's battles with arms from this ancient arsenal, and care must be taken that a weapon chosen may not merely raise a smile of derision.

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## REPORTS.

HERMES XLVI.

Fascicle 3.

Ephorus 2. (321-354). R. Laqueur, starting again with Diodorus (cf. A. J. P. XXXVI, p. 349), discusses his wavering between the topical and annalistic arrangement. The topical principle was derived from Ephorus (cf. Diod. V, 1), who, in conscious opposition to Thucydides (cf. Dion. Hal. Thuc. IX), devoted each book to a special subject. This combined with his moralizing, rhetorical proems shows that Ephorus transferred the epideictic oration of Isocrates to the domain of history (cf. the Panathenaicus and Euagoras), which, rightly understood, throws light on Sallust's histories and Plutarch's biographies. L. maintains in opposition to Schwartz (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, 483) that Ephorus had planned to continue his history beyond 340 B. C., as Niese has shown (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, 224). Book XXVII was devoted to Philip; the omission of the Holy War, which Demophilus treated in Book XXX, was due to the principle of *πρᾶξις κατὰ γένος*. Books XXVIII/XXIX were *περὶ Σικελικῶν*. L. closes with objections to Judeich's identification of the author of the Oxyrhynchus fragment with Ephorus (cf. A. J. P. XXXIII, 96).

Die Blattversetzung in den Brutusbriefen (355-375). W. Sternkopf discusses the question of the transposed leaves from Cratander down, and by eliminating 'mihi crede, non erit Id. April.' from § 3 of the fourth letter of the so-called second book, restores the context here, and gains with these words the conclusion of the second letter: *sed ἴστω, mihi crede, non erit. <III> Id. April.* By assuming lacunae Schelle spoiled his almost identical restoration (cf. Progr. d. Dresdener Annenschule 1897, p. 16). Similar transpositions of leaves in the Quintus and Atticus letters (cf. A. J. P. XXVI, 475; XXVII, 342) point to a common archetype. A diagram illustrates the possible genealogy of the Italian and north Alpine MSS.

Phädrus-Studien (376-392). G. Thiele here (cf. A. J. P. XXXIII, 346) defends in Phaedr. IV, 25 the MS "P" order of the retort, where editors transpose the verses so as to obtain a parallelism; but this is lacking also in Callimachus' fable of the olive and laurel (cf. Oxyrhynch. pap. VII, p. 41 f.). Such fables, opposing modest worth to vain boasting (cf.

Korais 50, 299; Babrius 18, 180; Phaedr. App. 29) are ancient (cf. Xen. Mem. II, 7, 13). Callimachus (v. 274, 276) lets birds as umpires note the 'hits' scored by the olive (cf. Arist. Frogs 1269, 1272); in Phaedrus IV, 24, 21 the victor himself declares 'satis profecto rettudi superbiam' (cf. Arist. Wasps 460, Acharn. 347, Clouds 1301, Eur. Cycl. 693). The frequency of these contests in plant fables is natural, and, in spite of Judges 9, 8 and II Kings 14, 9, not necessarily Semitic (Diels). The political application is but the adaptation of previously existing fables. Comparing Callimachus, Phaedrus and Babrius, Thiele points out their several characteristics and finds traces of a traditional fable style (cf. *ὅτε φωνήεντα ἦν τὰ ζῆα, ἄκουε δὴ τὸν αἰνον, ἐρέω τιν' ὑμῖν αἰνον κτλ.*), which was more leisurely than that of Babrius, while Phaedrus' excessive brevity often obscures the point, and lacks the original humor. The Greek prose fables, of which there is still lacking a serviceable edition, have to be used with caution; but traces of the original style are noticeable here too. Babrius, and in part, at least, Phaedrus, depended on a prose version. Callimachus transmits the iambic tradition of Archilochus and Hipponax. The exceptional impersonation in Phaedrus IV, 7, indicates the influence of Callimachus, who impersonates Hipponax.

Ariston von Keos bei Philodem (393-406). Chr. Jensen has discovered considerable extracts from this Ariston, made by Philodemus, in the Herculan. pap. no. 1008, where col. X-XVI give a summary in infinitives of Ariston's *περὶ τοῦ κούφιζεν ὑπερηφανίας*, and col. XVI-XXIV a series of characterizations, partly in Ariston's words, beginning *τοιούτος γὰρ ἐστίν, φησὶν ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὁλος*. Theophrastus was his teacher. For a similar discovery by Sudhaus see A. J. P. XXVIII, 468.

Eine Stelle Varros zur Zahlentheorie (407-413). K. Praechter corroborates Fries' results, who found (cf. Rh. M. LVIII, p. 115 f.), by comparing Favonius Eulogius with Gellius, Macrobius, etc., that Favonius' chief source was Varro; for in the matter of the *ἀριθμοὶ τέλειοι*, particularly the numerus senarius, he used the same source as his teacher Augustine (cf. de civ. dei 11, 30), whose relations to Varro are well known (cf. de civ. dei 6, 2.). This subject, beginning with Euclid. elem. VII defin. 23, may be traced in two lines of tradition, with some crossing: one Latin started by Varro, the other Greek beginning with Adrastus, the point of divergence being Posidonius.

Neue Bruchstücke des Himerios (414-430). H. Schenkl publishes ninety-two new fragments, varying from a half to sixteen lines in length, which he found in a Naples MS (codex II C 32, saec. XIV/XV), and invites criticism as an aid for the edition of Himerius that he is preparing. Among them

are fragments of speeches, hitherto known only by the titles in Photius' catalogue. Further, lacunae in codex Romanus (now Parisinus Gr. suppl. 352) are supplied, and evidence that the order of the speeches in the archetype was the same as in the catalogue.

Das Demeterheiligtum von Pergamon und die orphischen Hymnen (431-436). O. Kern welcomes the discovery of the Demeter sanctuary at Pergamum, with its inscriptions and sculptures as a corroboration of his thesis (which is Gruppe's also) that the Orphic hymn book originated there (cf. Genethliakon for Robert); for the hymns worship the same divinities, who constituted a veritable pantheon; even the πάνθειος τελετή in hymn xxxv, 7 is matched by the altar inscription τῶι Πανθείωι. The inscription <Δι>ονύσωι Καθηγεμόνι, found in another spot, sustains the hope of a future discovery of a sanctuary of Dionysus, who holds a central position in the hymns. The dependence on the Attic Eleusinian cult is evident, so that eventually inferences as to the Attic liturgy may be drawn from these cult hymns.

Neue Fragmente zu Hippokrates περὶ ἑβδομάδων (437-443). G. Helmreich discovered in 1877, in a Venice MS, a nest of Hippocrates extracts, among them seven from the περὶ ἑβδομάδων, which he publishes with the Latin translations from Littré, where the whole work in Latin appears; but the Latin text is so poor that Fuchs, in his translation, confined himself to the few Greek fragments that were known to him. The original Greek text was still extant in the XVII century.

Zum elaitischen Golf (444-457). W. Dörpfeld replies ably to Philippon (see A. J. P. XXXVI, p. 351) and maintains that Strabo's statements may be correct for his time; this is true even for the question of the river Euenus. For changes in the lower Caicus valley according to other ancient writers see E. Thrämer, Pergamos, p. 212 ff. A levelling of this region is desirable.

Exegetische Bemerkungen (458-463). J. L. Heiberg argues that the contrast to ναὺς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει in Paus. V, 10, 4 does not follow with ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κ. τ. λ.; but must be sought in the Κορίνθιοι of the complete inscription (cf. Inschr. v. Olymp., p. 370 no. 253) and interprets: The cella has a gold phiale etc.; but the Corinthians <alone have dedicated the shield>. In Paus. V, 11, 6 Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἦρται, which Frazer I p. 252 renders: 'and Hercules is borne up aloft to him', means 'H. has raised <his bow> towards him (i. e. to shoot the vulture)'. In six passages of Plutarch's Solon the preferable readings are in cod. S., which, though unsupported by other MSS, should have been followed by A. Schöne (cf.

Progr. Kiel 1896-1898). In three other passages H. defends the received text.

Zur politischen Tendenz der Aristokrateia (464-470). U. Kahrstedt defends his thesis (Forschungen z. Gesch. d. ausgeh. 5. u. d. 4. Jhdts. 111 f.) that Demosthenes (XXIII) opposed Charidemus and affiliation with Chersobleptes out of consideration for Persia, against Wendland (Nachr. der Gött. Ges., 1910, p. 322 Anm. 4). Amadocus was negligible, so that the ἀπειρε in Dem. XXIII, 183 is incredible. Regard for Chares, however, is likely. K. also defends against Wendland his making Philip's letter (Dem. XII 6) relate to that one's peace overtures in 343 B. C. The death of Phayllus at the end of 352 (Diod. XVI, 38) is supported by Dem. XXIII, 124, which shows him still alive in 352 B. C.

Miscellen: Wilamowitz-Moellendorff attributes the fragment pap. Rylands 13 (Pl. 4), treating the legend of Linus, son of Psamathe (Hunt), to Callimachus' Aitia .1, in which this legend figured prominently.—H. Mutschmann tries to show that Plato, in the Charmides, combined with the investigation of σωφροσύνη an ἐγκώμιον, or rather ἐπιτάφιος, in honor of his uncles Charmides and Critias (cf. 155 A, 157 D ff.). The probable date, 403-401 B. C., fixes approximately the time of the earlier Laches and of the Protagoras, which followed soon after.—P. Jacobsthal (also Hiller v. Gaertringen) has deciphered νίκη Διογένους καὶ Ἀρτέμῳνος τῶν on the back of the seventh Branchidae statue of the Brit. Mus. catalogue (cf. Kirchhoff Gr. Alph. 20, 1); and on a black-figured amphora in Berlin (Furtw. 1697) interprets EIO + EO + E as εἰ' ὄχει ὄχει with which the riders urge on their humorous steeds. He cites similar scenes.—K. Praechter recognizes δᾶν as δὴ ᾶν in Hermeias' com. to Plato's Phaedr. where Couvreur deleted δ' p. 48, 3 f. and 70, 4 (cf. Philol. 59, p. 185, 597; Rh. M. 63, p. 155). Fascicle 4.

Zu Martial (481-517). O. Immisch has examined the introductory poems and extant prose epistles of Mart. Ep. I-XII, with particular reference to collective codex editions prepared by the author himself. Accepting with Dau a codex edition of I-VII, he assumes that I, 1 appeared on the title page under Martial's portrait (cf. Mart. XIV, 186), followed by I, 2 which gives the place of sale; the prose epistle filled the inner side, its choliambic close beginning the third page. Thus it is evident that the detachment and inversion of the title page would give the order of the V(ulgate) text; while the MS group G(ennadia), which lacks I, 1 and 2, and begins with the epistle, is due to the effacement of the title page. Confirmative details are added. A further discussion deals with a codex



edition of VIII–XI and the introductory poems of XII. These books were combined in an edition after Martial's death, the latter part of the long book X (chiefly poems from the Nerva anthology) being made the beginning of XII. To the mechanical execution of this arrangement, which Martial perhaps had suggested, may be due the inclusion of the Ligeia poem (XII, 7). XII, 2 (5 Lindsay) should be joined to XII, 6 (1–6), XII, 3 (Quod Flacco etc.) to XII, 6 (7–12). The latter was addressed to the elder Priscus.

Zu Hippokrates *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* (518–567). F. Jacoby tries to restore the original text by eliminating the early additions and interpolated marginal glosses, and by detecting errors of transmission. The text was expanded before Aristotle's time (ch. 24 was known to him) by some one familiar with the Scythians and Greece. The first sentence of ch. 24, which probably read *περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οὕτως ἔχει*, concluded the original work. There is no reason to assume with Fredrich and Wilamowitz that the first half (ch. 1–11), on the effect of climate on disease, and the second, on the influence of climate on racial characteristics, constituted originally two separate treatises. The loose connection is due to the literary incapacity of the fifth century author. A careful examination of his style would show this. J. points out the value of V and still more that of the Latin translation P (cf. A. J. P. XXVII, 346), in which even the arbitrary corrections are occasionally of service. The article gives interesting glimpses of the literary tradition of this much read work back to Galen, Aristotle and the old interpolator (cf. A. J. P. XXVI, 227).

Polybius und Posidonius über Iberien und die iberischen Kriege (568–607). A. Schulten, evidently led by his excavations at Numantia (cf. A. J. A. XVI, p. 132) to a study of the Iberian geography, ethnography and wars recorded in Appian, Diodorus, Strabo, etc., finds that the ultimate sources were mainly Polybius and Posidonius, to whom he assigns, partly following others, important sections of the above writers. Strabo based his book III on Polybius' book XXXIV; but also used Posidonius' *ἱστορίαι* (not *περὶ Ὀκείανου*) as a corrective and to supplement. Posidonius in his turn used Polybius, preserving, however, his independence. Passages in Strabo and Diodorus give us some conception of the picturesque style of Posidonius; but his evident tendency to favor prominent Romans shows his inferiority as an historian to Polybius. Appian in his *Iberica* (44–98) depended on Polybius, also on Diodorus for the years 153–144 B. C. The establishing of the above results would mark an important increase in our knowledge of Polybius and Posidonius.

Epische Citate bei Apollonios Dyskolos (608-612). P. Maas tries to determine the anonymous citations in *Apol. Dys.* The citation *Synt.* 138, 12, usually assigned to Pindar is, probably, in hexameter verse, and taken from the *Hecale* of Callimachus.

Gaius Rabirius Postumus (613-620). H. Dessau identifies G. R. P., whom Cicero defended 54 B. C. with the Postumus Curtius mentioned by Cicero (*ad Att.* IX 2<sup>a</sup>, 3), who elsewhere calls him simply Curtius (*ad fam.* 2, 16, 7, etc.) and also, perhaps, Postumus (*ad Att.* 9, 3, 2; 9, 5, 1). C. Curtius was the name of his father, Rabirius the name of his uncle (who adopted him), whom Cicero defended 63 B. C. Original names frequently remained in use as in the case of T. Pomponius Atticus. This identification throws considerable light on this financier, whose name Postumus Curtius appears on some Amphora stamps (cf. *C. I. L.* X 8051, 26), and was borne by a number of freedmen.

Silius Italicus und Eprius Marcellus (621-626). H. Dessau calls attention to Silius' more or less veiled allusions to prominent contemporaries and sees in XI, 123 f. 'veniet quondam felicior aetas cum pia Campano gaudebit consule Roma', a reference to Eprius Marcellus (cf. *Tacit. dialog.* 8), who was consul under Nero and received the consulship again at the hands of Vespasian 74 A. D. This latter distinction suggested the above allusion, which must have followed soon after. Hence Silius began his *Punica* before the reign of Domitian. The concluding verses of Book XIV (686 f.) refer to Vespasian, they could not apply to Domitian or to Nerva. The eulogy of the three Flavian emperors (III 594 f.), and mention of Vesuvius' eruption (XVII, 593; VIII 656; XII, 152) are later additions.

Miscellen: M. Pohlenz (627-629) shows that, as the interlocutors in Cicero's *Tusc. Disp.* are indicated by M and Δ in the MSS we may recognize an imitation of a catechism prepared for Primasius, bishop at Adrumetum, by a friend whom he met in Constantinople 551 A. D., who says in his dedication to P. that, to avoid confusion, he had used the Greek letters M and Δ to designate magister and discipulus.

H. Schultz (630-633) offers emendations to *Lysias* XVII, 4 and I, 22; and to *Plat. Moral.* 957 F.

G. Thiele (633-637) discusses the tradition of *Phaedrus'* fables, especially Cardinal Perotti's MS, who displayed ignorance and carelessness in copying his selections. However, the original MS (in Naples) is far superior to the Vatican copy.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

GLOTTA: Band VI.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 1-18. M. Lambertz, Zur Etymologie von δούλος. Holds it to be not an IE. word, but borrowed from some language of Asia Minor. Proper names containing this and cognate elements occur almost exclusively in Asia Minor. The word meant originally 'house', then 'inhabitant of the house', then *familiaris*, 'servant'. Hesychius quotes δούλος: ἡ οἰκία.

Pp. 18-25. S. Witkowski, Beiträge zur griechischen Syntax. Nine brief notes. 1. The 'prescriptive' optative (set up by Delbrück, without reason, as IE. usage).—2. The genitive of the 'part graspt' (as Hom. λάβε γούνων) is partitive, not (as Brugmann says) local.—3. Genitive with verbs of ruling: βασιλεύω Ἀχαιῶν = (and because) βασιλεύς εἰμι Ἀχαιῶν.—4. Gen. with neg. οὐ.—5. ἐπί with expressions of control (Aufsicht), taking the dative case—which may represent the instrumental.—6. μετά of alteration (μετα-τίθημι, -βάλλω).—7. Parataxis in Homer, and in later popular language (quotation from Egyptian papyrus).—8. The article as relative. An Ionism.—9. Genderless aorist participle (masc. used as fem.).

Pp. 25-28. S. Witkowski, Zwei angeblich neue griechische Wörter. 1. παραστραγία oder παραστρατηγία? Cf. Crönert, Class. Rev. 1903, 26—whose theory is wholly wrong; we must read παραστρατηγία (Papyrus Lond. I. 20, 23 ff.).—2. προσοστειον? Papyrus Lond. I, p. 91 (No. 121); read προσόπου (for προσόπου) instead of the editor's προσοστειον.

P. 28. ΝΙΚΟΣ Α. ΒΕΗΣ, Zur Bedeutung des neugriechischen κράχτης. Correction of Ἀθηνᾶ XXII. (1910), 468 ff.

Pp. 28-29. W. Schmid, Ἐπιούσιος. Does not accept Debrunner's derivation from ἐπὶ τὴν οὔσαν (ἡμέραν), Glotta 4 249 ff.

Pp. 29-30. C. Wessely, Der Name des Leoparden. λεοπάριδαλις beside λεόπαρδος.

Pp. 30-33. P. Kretschmer, Zwei lateinische militärische Termini. 1. *acies*, 'blade', applied to the straight line of battle from its shape; cf. *cuneus*, 'wedge', *forfex*, 'shears', *serra*, 'saw', *globus*, 'ball', all used of army-formations, and mostly as old as Cato, *De re militari*. 2. *Auxilium*. A military expression originally, 'reinforcements', which explains the origin, from *Vaug-* ('increase'). Originally used in plural (*auxilia*) in this sense; but *auxilia* was neuter plural to an adjective \**aux-ilis* (<*aux-* cf. αὔξω, etc., reduction of

<sup>1</sup> The Inhalt (Table of Contents), p. III f., omits altogether R. Ganschietz's article on Ἀποθέσις, p. 210 ff., and quotes for Schmalz, Sprachliche Bemerkungen, etc., page 174 instead of 172.

\**auges-*), like *fac-ilis*, *doc-ilis*, etc.; the noun *agmina* was understood with the adj. *auxilia*. The singular *auxilium* is a new formation based on a popular misunderstanding.

Pp. 33-61. R. Methner, Die Entstehung des Ablativus qualitatis, und sein Verhältnis zum Ablativus modi und zum Ablativus absolutus. All three are instrumental usages. 1. The ablativus modi, which M. would prefer to call 'der Ablativ der begleitenden Umstände' ('attendant circumstance-s'), parenthetically adding to 'Umstände' the words 'Zustände, Stimmungen, Erscheinungsformen'—denotes the manner which characterizes a subject ('die Art und Weise, wie sich ein Subjekt verhält'), either (a) in the performance of an action, in connexion with a verb of action, or (b) in general ('überhaupt'), in connexion with *esse*. Exx.: (a) *uxor deos invocat capite aperto*; (b) *est aperto capite*.—Note: Sometimes this ablative of (a) denotes not strictly the manner in which an action takes place, but the effect of the action: *Verres Lampsacum venit cum magna calamitate civitatis*.—2. Ablativus qualitatis, denotes lasting physical and spiritual characteristics which a person or a thing has; (a) with substantives, as: *homo pulchra facie*; (b) with *esse*, as: *Caius est pulchra facie, magno ingenio*.—3. Ablativus absolutus, denotes the particular circumstances ('die näheren Umstände') under which an action takes place, and through which it is put into the right light. Always represents a sentence. M. lays great weight, in the course of his detailed discussion of the relations between these usages, on his touchstone-word 'näherer Umstand', which according to him infallibly distinguishes an abl. abs. from any other.

Pp. 61-70. A. Sonny, Demonstrativa als Indefinita. *Ille* in the sense of 'so-and-so', especially in formulaic sentences (prescriptions, etc.), in which, in the case of actual use, a name is intended to replace the pronoun (N. N.). Greek *ὃς* is similarly used. S. tries to interpret certain occasional uses of the archaic *ollus* in the same way, and has a somewhat labored explanation which is based wholly on internal Latin usages, and perhaps suffers from the author's seeming ignorance of the wide range of the same idiom in other languages (e. g., Sanskrit *asāu* is used precisely in the same way).

Pp. 70-71. H. Reichelt, Etymologisches. 1. Lat. *rancidus*: <*rancus* (gloss.), adj.: OBulg. *gorikū*, bitter, etc.; MHG. *garst*, etc.—2. Lat. *ambrices*, *racemus*: Lith. *rėklės*, a wooden scaffolding, Russ. *relī*.

Pp. 71-73. V. Ussani, Di una pretesa ellissi dell' ablativus comparationis in Lucano. I. 446; punctuate thus: *Et Taranis: Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae*. This avoids the usual inter-

pretation, which is: *et arā Taranis non mitior (arā) Dianae*, which U. finds harsh.

P. 73. F. Pfister, *Seu et* in spätlateinischen Texten. (In the sense of *atque etiam*. Note to Glotta IV. 259 f.)

Pp. 74-79. P. Kretschmer, Die erste thrakische Inschrift. A gold ring, discovered in April, 1912, at Ezerovo, Bulgaria, contains an inscription in Greek characters (Ionic alphabet); the ring and inscription are dated in the 5th Century B. C. There is no word-division in the inscription, and as to its interpretation K. is still wholly in the dark; but he regards it as settled that the language is Thracian.

Pp. 79-83. F. Stürmer, Sprachwissenschaft im Sprachunterricht. Ein Programm. A plea for the application of the methods and results of scientific linguistics in language-teaching, on the ground that what is rationalized and understood must inevitably be more interesting, as well as more valuable, to the student, than what is mechanically memorized.

Pp. 83-84. E. Schwyzer. Kleinigkeiten zur griechischen und lateinischen Lautlehre. 1. *κοί, κοίζω* (of the cry of swine). *o=f*; cf. Germ. *quicken*, Lith. *kvykti*, Slav. *kvīcati* (all onomatopoeic).—2. Lat. *st* (interjection); counts as a syllable in early Latin poets.

Pp. 84-86. E. Schwyzer, *μέλισσα*; for \**μελιχја*, by haplology for '*μελι-λιχја*', 'honey-licker' (*λείχων*); cf. Skt. *madhu-lih*, of like derivation and meaning.

Pp. 87-95. P. Persson, Latina. 1. Zur Behandlung von *u* in unbetonter offener Silbe. Defense of his theory that such an original *u* became *e* (IF. 26. 62 ff.), against Skutsch (Glotta 3. 355).—2. Zur Tendenz, einsilbige Wortformen zu vermeiden.

Pp. 95-96. P. Rasi, *Ire*=sterben. On Baehrens, Glotta 5. 98. The usage is found in modern Italian, and is not limited to poetic and popular Latin; occurs in Livy. It is a euphemistic use of simple for compound (cf. *perire, interire*, etc.).

P. 96. P. Kretschmer, Zwei Nachträge. To Glotta 3. 339; 4. 311.

Pp. 97-145. Therese Stein, Zur Formenlehre der prienischen Inschriften. A detailed account of inflectional peculiarities of every kind found in the inscriptions of Priene. General result: the close relations between Priene and Athens resulted in marked influence of the Attic dialect on the language. The *κοινή* became very early established.

Pp. 145-161. P. Wahrmann, *Σφέλας, σφάλλω*. 1. *σφέλας*. Originally 'piece of wood, stick, splinter' (Skt. *phalaka*, and

*phal-*, 'burst, split'); then, secondarily, 'bench, board, table', etc.—2. *σφάλλω*. The primary meaning was 'to throw a wooden club' (in primitive hunting and fighting); hence (1) 'to throw' in general, and (2) 'to block or trip with a piece of wood', and so, in wrestling, 'to trip, throw'; from the language of wrestling it passed into general use in the figurative meaning of 'to outtrick, deceive'. It is etymologically connected with Skt. *sphal-*, *ā-sphālayati*, 'hurl against'. From it is derived *σφέλας*, which then originally meant a stick of wood used for blocking or tripping.

Pp. 162-4. P. Wahrmann, *σφαλός, σφάνιον*. The word *σφαλός* cannot, for phonetic reasons, be connected with *σφέλας, σφάλλω*; it is a derivative of the root *sp(h)ē, sp(h)ē*, 'spread out', found also in *σφήν, σφάνιον* (Hesychius: *κλινίδιον*).

Pp. 164-171. J. Compennass, *Vulgaria*. 1. *Nedum* = *non solum*.—2. *Suppedium*, 'Zuflucht, Hilfe'.—3. *Ungula* 'Nagel' (in the sense of *unguis*, finger- or toe-nail).—4. *Plus* and *amplius* = *potius* 'vielmehr'.—5. *Nisi quia* = *nisi*.—6. *Effugatio, effugare*. *Fugāre* came to be used in the sense of *fugere* (*fugire*), starting with the use of *fugatus sum* in the sense 'I have fled'; the same meaning was then transferred to the active.—7. *Curare, facere, iubere*, etc., 'lassen' mit Infinit. Act.

Pp. 172-190. J. H. Schmalz, *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu des Palladius opus agriculturae*. A large collection of miscellaneous but interesting peculiarities of construction, mainly characteristic of late or vulgarizing Latin. I can only mention one or two as examples: *delectari* with the dative, to take pleasure in (p. 175); *et neque*, pleonastically [cf. English 'and neither'], (p. 177); frequency of reflexive verbal constructions, presaging the habits of the Romance languages (p. 182). Summary, p. 188.

Pp. 190-2. J. Charpentier, Lat. *rāna*, 'Frosch'. Cf. Av. *rāna*, 'Oberschenkel'; originally 'shank'—the animal with long legs. Further related to Lat. *rā-mus*, 'branch', *ar-mus*, 'arm', etc.

P. 192. P. Kretschmer, *Μάνδρος*, Note on Glotta 5. 282.

Pp. 193-206. O. Immisch, *Sprachliches zum Seelenschmetterling*. The word *φάλλανα* used of the butterfly meant originally a she-demon or witch (*succuba*) who attacked men by night; belongs to *φαλλός* (as *θεία* to *θεός*). The early significance of the butterfly as symbol of the soul was wholly uncanny, like that of all psychic birds (to the sphere of which this concept belonged). Only secondarily did the observed biology of the development of the butterfly from the caterpillar and cocoon give occasion for the later, much more poetic and more lofty interpretation which is familiar from

the time of classical poets to the present. (Addendum to this article, p. 380 below.)

Pp. 206–210. A. Musić, Zum Gebrauche des negierten Konjunktivs für den negierten Imperativ im Griechischen. The imperative denotes a command to perform an action immediately; the injunctive (later, subjunctive)—an action at some future time. The present tense applies to imperfective (continuative, or the like) action, the aorist to perfective action (conceived as taking place at one point of time). A prohibition against performing an action *at once*—that is, a command to stop performing an action already being performed—can only relate to an imperfective (continuative) action, in the nature of things. Hence, prohibitions can only be expressed with the present imperative (immediate), or aorist subjunctive (future).

Pp. 210–2. R. Ganschinetz, 'Αποθίσις. This Egyptian conception has been held by some to depend on the drowning of the sacrificial animal in holy water, from contact with which ensued the ἀποθίσις, rather than from the sacred character of the animal itself. But G. holds the opposite view.

Pp. 212–223. A. Klotz, Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu einigen Stellen in Ciceros Reden.—*Cic. p. red. sen. 14*: two deliberate vulgarisms used in mockery of Piso; *beluus* for *belua*, and *litteras* for *litteris* with *studere*; both are supported by the best ms. tradition, but not found in modern editions.—*C. de domo 1*.—*C. de domo 18*. Read *fame* for *a fame* (Halm; mss. *ea me, eam*); the omission of a preposition with the first of two coördinate nouns depending thereon is good Latin usage.—*C. de domo 47*; *ibid. 101*.

Pp. 223–5. H. Ottenjann, *nec mu nec ma*. Petronius 57. Examples for onomatopoetic association of *u* and *a* (as well as *i* and *a*); e. g. German *Bimbam, Bumbam*.

Pp. 225–270. J. Samuelsson, Die lateinischen Verba auf -*üläre* (-*üläre*). This article undertakes, first, to give a list of all Latin verbs with these endings, with discussion of their derivation. S. divides them into the following categories; I. Denominative verbs in -*ulare*, including; A. Those from nouns in suffixal -*bulum*, -*bula* (half a dozen); B. From nouns in suffixal -*culum* <-*tlo*- (half a dozen); C. From diminutives in -*culus*, -*cula*-, -*culum* (more numerous); D. From diminutives in -*ulus*-, -*ula*-, -*ulum*; E. From non-diminutive nouns in -*ulus* (-*a*, -*um*), i. e. mostly formations in primary -(*e*)*lo*-, -(*e*)*lā*-, the most numerous class of these five subdivisions.—II. Verbs in -*ulare* which are derived from noun stems, although no noun ending in -*ulus* (-*a*, -*um*) is preserved. Not very numerous, and more or less problematic.—

III. Verbs in *-ulo* from Verb-stems: A. An intermediate noun form in *ulus* (*-a*, *-um*) occurs. (S. separates these from the denominatives, although he regards these also as derived immediately from the noun stems, because he considers that the noun stems here concerned are distinctly *verbal* nouns and adjectives, quasi-participles.)—B. No such intermediate noun occurs, but the verb in *-ulare* is derived directly from the primary verb (at least as a rule, though occasionally perhaps from a lost noun). Rare in Latin, but very common in Romance languages, so that they must have been characteristic of Vulgar Latin. Even for Classical Latin, however, there are undeniable examples.—S. next discusses the relation between *-ulare* and the much rarer *-ilare*, coming to no clear results; he believes that no phonetic development, as between the two sounds, is to be postulated.—Next he discusses the verb *ambulo*, reviving the old theory (more reasonable in the light of his own researches) that it is a 'diminutive verb' from *ambio*.—S. proceeds to give a list and discussion of 'verbal nouns' in *-ulus*, *-a* *-um*, and closes with a discussion of the etymology of *exulo*, which he derives from *exire* through the medium of *\*exulus* > *exul* (the latter, he thinks, the result of some analogy, as e. g. *consilium* : *consul* = *exilium* : *exul*).

Pp. 270-2. P. Wahrmann, *Caccitus* bei Petronius, *Cena* Trim. 63. A Greek loanword, <κατάκοιτος.

Pp. 273-380. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1912. Greek, by Kretschmer. Italic Languages and Latin Grammar, by F. Hartmann. Syntax, by W. Kroll.

P. 380. O. Immisch, Nachtrag zu S. 193 ff.

Pp. 381-400. Indices, by H. Ottenjann.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

In the last few years, or to take the measure of my own life, in the last few decades, the much decried *Homo mensura* of the Sophists has been coming more and more to the front. The blessed sun himself, or herself, has been eclipsed by the son of mortal man, that unblessed ephemeral; and one recalls Herakleitos, greatest of the early philosophers, shutting out Helios with his very human foot (A. J. P. XXIII 346). The primitive man was more concerned about his own 'saccus stercoris', as the human body was called by a mediæval monk, than about the rising and setting of the great luminary, which was interesting only by its occasional eclipse. The sun and the moon and the stars have made obeisance to the primitive Joseph, and in recent speculation the heavenly bodies have been relegated to the background. The solar theory was laughed out of court many years ago, and the tinkling of Littledale's 'Kottabos' is still a joyous memory to the elders of the congregation (A. J. P. XXVII 359; XXIX 117). The vegetarian theory dies hard. 'There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again and that the tender branch thereof will not cease' and the rest of it. It was the wisdom of forty years ago, as set forth in the Legend of Venus, one of the earliest of my Essays and Studies. It is for a certain school the wisdom of to-day. How many of us have waxed eloquent about the vine as the symbol of Dionysos, and now comes my friend RENDEL HARRIS and maintains that the honour hitherto paid the vine is due to the ivy—a thesis which he has undertaken to substantiate in a new lecture (*The Origin of the Cult of Apollo*. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Jan.-March, 1916), proceeding thereafter to shew that Apollo is both by name and by nature the Apple God. Paris gives way to Apollo in the famous contest for the prize of beauty, and the Albemarle pippin takes the place of the semi-tropical pomegranate—with its multitudinous seeds and somewhat vapid sweetness, a fair symbol of a prolific marriage. The rebellion of Gaidoz (A. J. P. XXII 470) is quelled. But fair and softly. Gaidoz may be right after all, and Galatea's apple may be nothing but a teaser, for which function any round object will serve. The primitive woman, for all we know, may have shied a skull at her backward lover. We are in the reign of man, and the anthropocentrist has his innings. The 'resurgam' is not the forthcreeping of Proserpina, as it

was once reckoned. The *θαλλός* has yielded to the *φαλλός*. The spring is the rutting season of primitive man, and Renan's 'rut perpétuel', recognized by the Xenophontean Sokrates as an exemplification of God's goodness to man, is simply a step forward in the march of culture. The struggle between summer and winter, between light and darkness, is the struggle between the primal man and the primal woman. In Pindar, P. 9, Apollo, Lord of the Light, is for *ἀμφανδόν* measures; Aphrodite, Lady of the Darkness, *ἡ Μελαιρίς*, makes Cheiron plead for the *κρυπταὶ κλαίδες* of her handmaiden, Peitho. No wonder that my mind reverts to the sexual system of the cases, which some regard as a fling at the theories of the cases in general, others as the play of an ill-regulated fancy (A. J. P. XXXV 109 ff.; 238 ff.). No student of language has taken the thing seriously, but a medical friend of mine has expressed his surprise that I did not recognize in the vocative the love-call.

Otherwise sympathetic, my medical friend does not concede the primacy to the Eternal Feminine. We are all both man and woman. 'All my mother came into mine eyes and gave me up to tears'. But, says Dr. CLAIBORNE in his *Hypertrichosis in Women* (p. 16), woman is more man than man is woman. In any case, questions of sex cannot be excluded from the long-fought duel between the Noun and the Verb. According to Professor RIDGEWAY, in his latest book, the noun, as the concrete, comes first. The abstract follows, and the verb is derived from the noun. All the essences distilled from verbal roots are emptied into the slop-jar, and Professor RIDGEWAY would not consider the view to which I seriously incline. The noun and the verb are twins (A. J. P. XXIII 22; XXXV 367) and only differently developed. The noun is an implicit verb. It has voice, it has mood, it has the 'Aktionsart', it has the kind of time—the 'Zeitart', as Curtius called it—the only kind of time that the Hebrew verb cared for; but gender is its special glory, though the sensuous Hebrew holds on to sex in his verb. And it is well, 'Duo si faciunt idem, non est idem', especially if the two are man and woman.

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The trouble about the sexual theory of the cases, a point on which I have touched lightly (A. J. P. XXXV 110), is the bisexuality of the noun itself, which was created male and female, for neuter is naught and is really a product of the accusative case. The gender of the noun being more aggressive has obscured the sexuality of the cases; that is all. The fight between masculine and feminine in Hebrew is instructive and so is the *casus constructus*, which is clearly of a feminine nature, a feminine nature which reveals itself especially in the

plural, where we can see its tendrils clinging to the next word just as in the Greek the genitive of the monosyllabic stems cries out to its other half.

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The work in which Professor RIDGEWAY comes out as a champion of the noun as against the verb is entitled: *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of the Non-European Races in Special Reference to the Origin of Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, University Press, 1915). Of the earlier volume, I have given a summary in a previous number of the JOURNAL (A. J. P. XXXII 210-215). In this book the horizon is broadened, and the appeal is made to the anthropologist. Greek tragedy is brought into line with world-wide developments, and no one, however prejudiced, can fail to read with ever increasing delight and admiration the evidence which Professor RIDGEWAY has gathered in substantiation of his main thesis. To the open-minded spectator the procession of the captives of Professor RIDGEWAY's bow and spear—both primitive weapons—is diverting in the extreme. The head of the procession is led by Sir James Frazer—one of Professor RIDGEWAY's 'oldest and best friends'—who is followed by Miss Jane Harrison as Zenobia, Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. F. M. Cornford. Animism is the only explanation of all the phenomena. The gods have all worked their way up from the ranks of the heroic dead, and tragedy rose from funeral rites paid to the deceased. It is a process that runs through the ages of humanity, that manifests itself in the living present, and we are made eye-witnesses to it by means of many illustrations. The first figure represents the 'Seises' of the Seville Cathedral dressed for the dance in honour of Corpus Christi or the Virgin Mary, and the last is the umbilical cord of a Baganda king, deified after his death and celebrated by dramatic performances. This last illustration looks like a glorified 'braguette', and brings back to my desultory mind the famous discourse of Panurge. Between figure 1 and figure 87 the way leads through many abodes of primitive culture, and one by one the focal points of recent theories are flipped away with Professor RIDGEWAY's lightsome dexterity. The tree whose Golden Bough overshadows the whole domain of religion owes all its significance to the dead hero on whose barrow it was planted. Magic is not the precursor, but the pursuivant of religion. The mask of Thespis—a white mask—is the mask of a ghost. But Professor RIDGEWAY's main contention as to the Origin of Tragedy has already been set forth in the number of the JOURNAL indicated, and the chapter which will perhaps attract most attention for its novelty is the Origin of Comedy, which is treated in the Appendix, and which I shall proceed to summarize.

The discussion, or, if you choose, the establishment, of the *ἀγών* as the pivot of the Old Comedy has prepared the minds of scholars for the severance of the artificial bond, so long maintained, between tragedy and comedy. The attempt to derive both tragedy and comedy from a parent satyr-drama has not worked out convincingly, nor is it enough to say that comedy is but the natural reaction from tragedy. In this state of things, Professor RIDGEWAY's solution is well worth considering. He begins by setting his face against Mr. Cornford's theory, as expounded in his *Origin of Attic Comedy*, a book which recently published still awaits review in the *JOURNAL*. According to Mr. Cornford there was a ritual drama lying behind Comedy, and that ritual drama is essentially of the same type as that in which Professor Gilbert Murray has sought the *Origin of Tragedy*; so that it arose in the worship of that 'strange abstraction invented by Miss Harrison and termed by her 'Eniautos Daimon', unknown to the Greeks by that name' <as unknown as Keble's *Christian Year*>. With the collapse of the Eniautos Daimon origin of tragedy, brought about, as Professor RIDGEWAY thinks, by the vast array of facts he has collected from all parts of the world, the like hypothesis of the origin of comedy also falls to the ground. 'The current assumption that the Old Comedy arose with the birth of Attic freedom after the expulsion of Hippias and the establishment of the democracy in 510 B. C., and that both waned and perished together, is not borne out by the facts.' Half a century went by before the earliest representative of the Old Comedy comes within our ken, and it wholly collapsed before Athens lost her freedom in 322 B. C. 'Aristotle has got down to the bedrock in his analysis.' 'The tragedians were the lineal descendants of the Epic poets, the comedians of the ancient lampooners, and lampooning is as old as village life, so that Professor RIDGEWAY inclines to the alternative etymology, *κῶμη*. The *κῶμος*, as we know it in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, as we know it in Pindar, is of noble origin. In Athens there was the same irresistible tendency to scurrilize one's enemies as in the rest of Greece, and the lampooners then as now found it convenient to disguise themselves by reason of the high position of the victims. Hence the smearing of the face with wine-lees, hence *τρυνγιδία*. There is nothing necessarily religious in the phallic procession from which Aristotle rightly divorced Comedy any more than in the Fescennine verses of the Italians. And the *γεφυρισμός* <in which, by the way, some have seen the origin of the *ἀγών* (A. J. P. X 383; XXIII 243)> had nothing religious about it <though the march from the Wine-spirit of Iacchos to the Corn-spirit of Demeter might tempt one to mythological exegesis>. As to the historical evidence, the

story of the rise of comedy in Megara after the fall of the tyrant Theagenes about 600 B. C. is in accord with what would be expected. Democracy is much more favorable to such performances than 'the rigid rule of a monarch or the stern sense of decorum maintained by a nobility'. Some of these Megarian entertainers found their way into Attica, and beginning with Susarion, Professor RIDGEWAY gives a survey of the early history of comedy, the Sicilian development represented by Epicharmus, the Attic School expressed by Chionides, Magnes, Kratinos, and Krates. Of this survey, sufficiently familiar to the student of Greek literature, he sums up the results as follows: In every age, in every race, in every community there have always been mocking spirits who delighted in making merry at the expense of their neighbors, and especially their dependents. Some towns like Megara, like Athens, shewed special gifts in this line, but there is not a 'scintilla of evidence for any connexion between such humorous scurrilities and any religious cult'. On the contrary, these buffooneries were held in abhorrence by the respectable part of the community. Certainly the lampooning of the city people by the country people of Attica cannot be considered a piece of religious ritual. The first actors were mere volunteers, and the comic chorus was not supplied until a much later date—a decided contrast to the behavior of the state toward tragedy and satyr-drama. So in Sicily the earliest form was the iambic lampoon, not a religious ceremony but a court amusement, and the first step toward full comedy was made by Epicharmos, who borrowed and burlesqued the plots of tragedy long in vogue, so that the first developed comedy was most certainly the converse of religious. In Attica some sort of rude farces were probably grafted on the indigenous lampoons, first by Susarion, then by Maison, and while Epicharmos was making his great advance by borrowing the plot from tragedy, Chionides and others were producing some combination of the Old Attic lampoon and Megarian farces; and some time later than 460 B. C. and before 450 B. C. Chionides and Magnes borrowed the plot from Epicharmos, and thus for the first time established true comedy, but in it the personal lampoons still remained a chief element as the Parabasis or topical song continued to play an important part in the Old Comedy, and it was Krates, the actor of Kratinos, who was the first to shake off to a considerable degree the old personal element by framing plots and dialogues on general themes and raised it from being merely a burlesque of the heroic to a higher plane. The granting of the chorus by the archon is connected with the names of Magnes and Chionides, and in the later stages of its development at Athens there is no more evidence for its being religious in its origin than in the

ancient accounts of its first beginnings. *Conclusum est contra Cornfordium*, and, what is more, the great and sudden outburst of the Old Comedy did not begin with the expulsion of the Peisistratidae in 510 and the setting up of the new constitution under Kleisthenes 507, but rather about 460 and the following years. Thus far, I have given Professor RIDGEWAY's results very nearly in his own language. The rest of the Appendix is taken up with the exposition of Professor RIDGEWAY's view as to the Sudden Rise of the Old Comedy, which he attributes to the downfall of the Areopagus and the dominance of Perikles and the democracy. The counterblast with which the fascinating book closes ought not to be withheld from the sympathetic readers of *Brief Mention*:

it is a travesty of the truth to regard the three great comic poets as amongst the most brilliant products of Athenian democracy. For we might just as well credit the Athenian democrats with the Aeschylus whom they drove into banishment, or the Puritans of the Long Parliament with Samuel Butler and his *Hudibras*, or the libertinism of the Restoration period with John Milton and *Paradise Lost*. Cratinus was nearly threescore years old before Ephialtes and Pericles had overthrown the aristocratic régime, and though Eupolis and Aristophanes were both born in the Athens of Pericles (the former about 446 B. C., the latter some two years later), they were born out of due time, since they can only be regarded as the outcome of democracy because their genius was evoked by their hatred and contempt for that series of demagogues and their dupes, who, within half a century from the founding of the Athenian empire by the Areopagus, had plunged Athens into a foolish war, had again and again refused favourable terms of peace, and finally reduced her to a state of exhaustion from which she never recovered, a warning to all those who fondly imagine that democracy means peace and national security'.

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To the readers of the previous *Brief Mention* it may seem strange that I have paused to explain 'Zeitart' or 'kind of time'. But there is a certain method in this parenthetic remark. 'Kind of time' has been attacked by Dr. Robertson in his vast Grammar of the Greek New Testament (p. 824) and has been put in a different category by Professor SMYTH in his long expected Greek Grammar (§1078). True, Dr. Robertson kicks oftener than he crushes, and until Professor SMYTH gives a satisfactory reason for running counter to the consensus of some generations of grammarians and making 'kind of time' refer to past, present and future, I am content to set down his use of the term as an aberration such as any writer of a text-book will recognize in his own experience. 'Zeitart' is the original Curtius designation of what is now more generally called 'Aktionsart'—which Dr. Robertson has actually imported into his text. 'Zeitart' was Englished as 'kind of time' by the translators of Curtius, and

'Zeitart' held its own, until of recent years, in the many reproductions of Curtius' School Grammar; and 'Zeitart' is still used by that advanced grammarian Radermacher. In his 'Erläuterungen', Curtius insists on the term over against Schömann's 'Entwicklungsstufe', which he considers too cumbrous for the youthful mind, though it has found favour in some German school grammars. For my own part, I prefer 'kind of time' to 'Aktionsart' because it emphasizes the important point, that we have to do, not with the action itself, but with the impression produced by the action. In my lectures I used to illustrate the point effectively enough by the passage of time in the classroom. 'Kind of time' is the 'tempo' of music. Shakespeare's Rosalind knew all about it when she said, 'Time travels in divers paces with divers persons'. There is a 'lazy foot of time', there is a 'swift foot of time', just as there are slow brains and quick brains. To make the 'kind of time' refer to past, present and future, may be a part of some new scheme of nomenclature for all I know—I cannot say, for all I care, because I am sorry for the youngsters who will have to unlearn the lessons of the last sixty years. And then something is due to the shade of Curtius, who established the distinction between 'Zeitart' and 'Zeitstufe', and cleared up a point that had puzzled many acute grammarians. The 'kind of time' is basic. Languages can get on very well without 'past', 'present' and 'future', as the Hebrew has done for some thousands of years. In my syntax, 'kind of time' takes precedence of 'sphere of time', and the last time I was really indignant, in matters syntactical, was when Herr Stolz, either through malice, ignorance, or carelessness, informed his world that I ignored the fundamental distinction between 'kind of time' and 'sphere of time' (A. J. P. XXII 357). Since then I have learned to be indifferent to misrepresentations of my views, or what is almost worse, bungling restatements of my formulae.

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This JOURNAL is an American journal of philology, and in spite of my disqualifications, my age, my birthplace, my breeding, my personal history, I have tried to make it truly American. We have been told of late in every conceivable tone, that the nation was born in 1865, and having reached my maturity before the Civil War I am more or less of a colonial and have not even yet cast my humble slough, though I have learned to be opposite at times with my kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic. Of course, Americans of English stock are to some extent under the spell of English scholarship, but

only the elect few can have the privilege of acquiring the accomplishments associated with the English public school. In the classics the American preparation for the Rhodes scholarship has proved sadly defective along the lines pursued in the English universities, and indigenous imitations meet with scant favour at the hands of those who are thus sincerely flattered. But as most of us owe our training directly or indirectly to Germany, we must console ourselves with the confessed amateurishness of English procedures and the greater efficiency of German methods, for we have learned to translate ἀπερῆ by 'efficiency' (A. J. P. XXXV 368). It is an incalculable debt, and such recognition as England has accorded to us is due in no small measure to our greater familiarity with the language and the work of German scholars. But no debt should be allowed to crush out individuality and nationality. Our creditor must not be permitted to take us by the throat and choke off our protests against false reasoning and false statements. Jean Paul says somewhere that your tutor is apt to consider himself the 'u' without which the pupil's 'q' cannot be pronounced—'U' is an ominous letter just now—and in its modest sphere *Brief Mention* has stood for American independence, though on occasion I have pleaded for 'interdependence' rather than 'independence', and have over and over again urged as our American mission the blending of all the schools. Nor need that blend issue in mere mongrelism. There is after all such a thing as Americanism, even if it is hard to define, even if it escapes the analysis of such an observer as was Mark Twain, American of Americans. It is as intangible as 'atmosphere', and yet as real. And it is this American atmosphere that envelops Mr. FORMAN's edition of the *Clouds of Aristophanes* (American Book Co.) and makes it an interesting study even for those who are not especially interested in Aristophanes. It is not one of those adaptations from the German that force the unwilling critic to compare original with translation in order to hunt up the various threads of American scholarship that permeate the structure. I have often asked myself and others why scholars like Humphreys and Charles Morris and Charles Foster Smith should ever have satisfied themselves with the modest task of interpreting German wisdom to American students. What credit, for instance, did Morris get for his independent attitude toward Classen? (A. J. P. XVIII 122.) Of course, Mr. FORMAN has, as in duty bound, made large use of German authorities. Of the works most frequently referred to more than three-fourths are German. It cannot be otherwise. But Mr. FORMAN does not surrender his judgment in matters of Greek idiom—a judgment to which he has proved his title by his excellent *Selections from Plato*, which is not only a good



guide to the beginner but a repository of personal observations for the benefit of those who are supposed to know. The Introduction to the *Clouds* shows that he is not afraid of his own shadow or the shadow of others. In answer to the crucial question 'What think ye of Perikles?' he is not quite so outspoken as is Professor Ridgeway in his new book, but he is clearly out of sympathy with the Athens of the Peloponnesian War, as he is out of sympathy with our own times, in which he recognizes many analogical manifestations. In the Serbonian bog of rhythm he tries to find tussocks upon which to rest his feet. The commentary limits itself to what he deems necessary for the first understanding of the piece, but there is an Appendix meant for the advanced student with a considerable literature, though not so extensive as Starkie's bibliography, and Notes on Introduction and Commentary. For most syntactical purposes Goodwin's Moods and Tenses and Kühner-Gerth suffice. Sobolewski's Aristophanic Syntax (cf. A. J. P. XIII 501-4) and his Prepositions (A. J. P. XI 371-4) are often laid under contribution. No mention is made of Stahl. Some few of the notes are elaborate, some of them convey oblique criticism. The most elaborate one pertains to the unity of the phenomena of the aorist set forth in S. C. G. 255-263, for which he gives Mutzbauer (1895) the credit; Mutzbauer, who through no fault of his, was decidedly *post festum*; comp. A. J. P. XXX 359, and for the point in question comp. Pind. P. 2, 90 (1885) and A. J. P. XXIII 245. What Mr. FORMAN has to say on the subject of syntax is always worth consideration; but I am not disposed to make a malign use of my Indiculus Syntacticus, and come back to the point from which I set out, Mr. FORMAN's Americanism, a point which might be illustrated by many little touches and turns in his style. But mindful of my experiences when English critics signaled in my own writings Americanisms which had secular warrant in English literature, I can only fall back upon the undeniable, if impalpable, atmosphere. One thing, however, is certain. Mr. FORMAN is not ashamed of American classics or American life, of Mrs. Stowe's Topsy (which he quotes twice), of Artemus Ward, of Mark Twain, of Josh Billings. Of course, there is danger in this localization, a danger which Droysen did not escape in his Prussian translation of Aristophanes, as when he renders  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\varsigma$  in the Wasps by 'Diebitsch' (cf. A. J. P. XXVII 111; XXXIV 365).  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\pi\pi\omicron\delta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (v. 103) f. i. Mr. FORMAN translates 'sockless jerries'—a rendering which will be a hopeless puzzle to those who, as Dante says, will call this time ancient. Shall I confess that I had to pull myself together in order to recall the faded image of the sockless statesman, Jeremiah Simpson?

From publishers' lists it appears that there is a new edition of Havelock Ellis's *Affirmations* (first ed. London, Walter Scott, 1898). Nothing could be more timely, for the first, and next to the longest, essay is one on Nietzsche, whose name is in every one's mouth to-day. Much of Nietzsche's power lies in his style. No more readable German than translations from the Russian, and Nietzsche himself is a Slav rendered into German. As a firm believer in race, I have a personal interest in these atavisms, and if I were a Shintoist, I would say my prayers to my French ancestors, for I have more French blood in my veins than Nietzsche had Polish blood in his, and he called himself and was called, a Pole. And then Nietzsche belongs to the same guild of which I am a humble member, and Professor Oldfather has recently written an interesting article on Nietzsche as a philologist (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XII, No. 4 [1913], pp. 652-666). Indeed I might say that 'we were nursed upon the selfsame hill', though thirteen years apart. Nietzsche was a child of seven when I was poring over Thukydides in Berlin and reading Theognis in Göttingen—those two Greeks who either influenced Nietzsche profoundly or responded intimately to his native genius—and now no one can write of Thukydides (A. J. P. XXII 232) or Theognis (A. J. P. XXXIII 106) without bringing in Nietzsche. When Herakleitos is translated, Diels essays the kindred Nietzschean style (A. J. P. XXXIII 345), and Nietzsche's interpretation of Greek literature is accepted as a canon by persons who write about the Greek Genius (A. J. P. XXXIV 480). I have ceased to hold forth about the Greek Genius, but I have been a student of Thukydides, after a fashion, these many years, and peer into every new book on Thukydides that comes my way, with the shocking result, that I drop the interpreter and go back to the original. Were it not better to imitate the example of David, who was wise in his generation, or lack of it, and warm my frozen veins by consorting with spiritual Abishags? There, for instance, is Mr. LAMB, whose *Clio Enthroned* (Cambridge University Press) has been lying on the Editor's table for a year and a day. Why should I not do for Mr. Lamb what I did for Herr Nestle, not so long ago (A. J. P. XXXVI 103 ff., though by a sad inadvertence his name does not appear in the Index)? But then, Nestle's German article was not so accessible to readers of the *JOURNAL* as Mr. LAMB's book is, and I must frankly confess that I am repelled by Mr. LAMB's style, which is excessively tropical, and affectedly so. Of course, this charge comes with an ill grace from one who had to call in the help of Remy de Gourmont (A. J. P. XXIX 239) in defence of his own concreteness. Perhaps it is only jealousy, *κεραμὲνς κεραμει*. Judge ye.

Discussing the main contention of Mr. Cornford's Thucydides *Mythistoricus*, Mr. Lamb says that

a theory which shows Thucydides subject to a strong mythic obsession is directly and specially damaging to the study of his art, when, scorning the plain traces left on his style by the sophistic movement, it flies up, on a few gusts of poetry blowing here and there, to a dizzy height of tragic design. (Page 65.)

Leaving the malignant reader to match this flight by some of my flutterings in *Brief Mention*, I proceed to take up some of the points made by Mr. LAMB, and if I should shew that I am more deeply interested in Thucydides than I am in Mr. LAMB, and more deeply interested in myself than in either, Mr. LAMB would only have to endure what many of us have had to suffer at the hands of British reviewers, who are prone to use the books sent in for review as so many excuses for airing their own notions.

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A study of the high-flown paragraph which I have quoted from Mr. LAMB will reveal the fact that he is not overborne by the brilliant pupil of the brilliant Verrall. Why should he be overborne? There is nothing absolutely new about the thesis of Thucydides *Mythistoricus*. It is not yesterday for the first time that the history of Thucydides was called a tragedy. It could hardly be otherwise, for the story he has to tell, even in the flatfooted narrative of a Diodoros, is a tragic drama, and Mr. Cornford only goes a step farther, a long step farther, it is true, when he maintains that Thucydides' story of the Great War is as real, but only as real, as an Aeschylean drama. The facts are as plastic in the historian's hands as is the myth of Oidipus in the hands of the three great dramatists, and how plastic the myth of Oidipus is has recently been set forth by Carl Robert (A. J. P. XXXVI 338 foll.). Mr. Cornford's impeachment of Thucydides, for it amounts to an impeachment, is only the latest of the many assaults that have been made upon the good faith of the historian, and every one who has conducted classes in Thucydides will have bitter memories of Müller-Strübing, that expatriated German scholar, who fancied that a residence in England had made him an authority in practical politics; and the readers of the *JOURNAL* may remember how I drew after Bauer the curious curve described by the German scholar, and shewed how Thucydides sank in Müller-Strübing's opinion as Müller-Strübing rose in his own, until when Müller-Strübing left the world, he left Thucydides in the low estate of a professor (A. J. P. VIII 117).

Whether Mr. Cornford has improved the position of Thucydides by making him a tragic poet is a matter of opinion.

Professors with their foregone conclusions are in their way tragic poets, nay, according to some, they are the makers of the tragedy through which we are passing. The names of Nietzsche and Treitschke are as familiar as those of the heroes who are carrying out their doctrines.

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Against the doctrine of the historical school represented by Mr. Cornford (A. J. P. XXVIII 356), the doctrine that simplifies history by making money the *primum mobile*, Mr. LAMB protests, just as I have protested against what Hilaire Belloc has called 'The puerile inversion which makes of history an economic phenomenon'. *χρήματα, χρήματ' ἄνθρωπος* was a proverb before the days of Pindar, but *ἄνθρωπος* is not *πόλις* and the collective is something more than the individuals that compose it. I will not indulge in historical parallels, even parallels that lie very near. More than fifty years ago I wrote an editorial headed 'Historical Parallels a Nuisance', and, as if to furnish an evidence of my thesis of 1864, I wrote a paper, in 1897, entitled 'A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War', in which I referred to the economic interpretation of the Peloponnesian and of the Civil Wars (A. J. P. XXVIII 356). Of the present world-war one hears on every hand the cry, 'This is a Commercial War!' The statement faces me in my morning paper, as I write these lines, and a flaming advertisement sums it up in this not unfamiliar way: 'England, scenting danger to her own prosperity in the development of German science and inventive genius, sought by alliance with France and Russia to crowd Germany out of the markets of the world'. Here is simplification with a vengeance. Everything is with a vengeance nowadays. 'Simple is the word of truth', says the poet, but the simple is not always the true; for instance, juggle the different parties to the Peloponnesian War, read into the various speeches, now an indictment of English greed, now an indictment of German ambition, and you have your commercial theory. The *πολέμοιο γέφυραι* are the trade-routes to the Euxine, to Egypt, to the Western Mediterranean. Thukydidēs is supposed to have failed to see, or to have ignored, this fundamental fact. It would be too great a stretch to suppose that he took it for granted. What of the racial elements? What of the Doric War, what of the grim remark of the historian (7, 57) as to the fortune that made Dorians fight under the Ionian banner of the violet-crowned city, and the other way, like Slav in the Teuton army, Teuton in the Slav army? What of the antagonistic ideals? Speed the idea on a winged word and it becomes as potent as Thukydidēs' great god Paralogos. Think of Kultur. But can anyone think

of anything else but Kultur? There are those of us who remember when the bare formula 'State rights' proved to be an army with banners.

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But Mr. LAMB is only incidentally concerned with Mr. Cornford's main contention. The chief object of his book is a vindication, or, if you choose, the appreciation of Thukydides as a stylist. The subtitle is *A Study of Prose-form in Thucydides*, a subject which has formed the staple of my seminary work in Greek Historiography, once every Olympiad, for many years. Much of the work was conducted on syntactical lines, and Thukydides' syntax, or as some would say, lack of syntax, proved a useful organon in studying the stylistic stratification of the great work, and in quickening the appreciation of Thukydides' power of personation, a power denied to him by Dionysios. So it was said that Henry Irving was always Henry Irving, no matter what part he played. A prince among actors he was for all that; and he who studies the speeches of Thukydides in groups will find that the particular is not lost in the general. But this is not the place to discuss æsthetic syntax. It is perhaps the place to say something about the gnomon, which Mr. Lamb has employed in the *Study of Prose-form in Thucydides*, and which he has set up in his chapter on Intonation, a chapter that deals with the history of prose rhythm.

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Now the subject of prose rhythm has assumed such vast proportions that a special bureau will have to be organized for rhythmical statistics, to which all cases are to be referred. Everybody that knows a long from a short—it is not everybody—can achieve a doctoral dissertation on the strength of registering the clausulae in this and that author, this or that part of an author. It is a long story, this story of rhythm, which it is not necessary to pursue. I do not underrate it. The diligence of men like Zander commands my unfeigned astonishment (A. J. P. XXXII 116), and I recognize in the study an instrument of precision like statistical syntax, in which I may claim to have been one of the pioneers. Who can fail to recognize something organic in Bornecque's exhibition of the difference in rhythm between the different sets of Cicero's letters? Nor would I detract an iota from the fame that Zielinski has won in this field as in others (A. J. P. XXV 453-63), and I have no patience with his German critic, who calls that rare genius 'einen ziemlich begabten Tageschriftsteller'. Mr. Clark is heartily welcome to the renown he

has gained in the application of rhythmical tests to the text of Cicero. Yet as an ancient of days, I sympathize with that charming scholar, Mr. Tyrrell, who declined to do all his work over again at the bidding of the rhythmizers. There has been no lack of rash generalization in this field as in others. The taboo of — ∪ ∪ — has been lifted, just as in the metrical field the bifid trimeter is no longer damned but 'motived'. Just as fifty years ago the fashion was started of introducing into school grammars the certain results of comparative philology—woefully uncertain as some of them proved to be—so we are to have a modicum, perhaps more than a modicum, of rhythmic incorporated in our textbooks for beginners. Not satisfied with the field of Latin and Greek, the cursus is to have its free course and be glorified in English literature and English composition. One of Mr. LAMB's sympathetic reviewers urges him to translate Thukydidides in Thukydididean rhythm. Now here is something that has for me a vital interest. For an eminent scholar, whose business it is to prepare orations in Latin, confided to me that he was greatly perturbed by all these canons, until he found that by the favor of the Graces his practice had unconsciously squared with the theory. Now if the rhythmical laws of Latin and Greek hold good in English composition, we have a wonderful proof of Indo-European sympathy, and a fresh argument for reproducing antique metres in our modern tongue. But as a matter of practice the testing of the sentence by the ear, and the actual testing of the rhythm by reading aloud, are so common that one marvels, as one reads in Faguet, that Flaubert makes a virtue of it.

Une phrase est viable quand elle correspond à toutes les nécessités de la respiration. Je sais qu'elle est bonne lorsqu'elle peut être lue tout haut . . . Les phrases mal écrites ne résistent pas à cette épreuve; elles oppressent la poitrine, gênent les battements du coeur, et se trouvent ainsi en dehors des conditions de la vie.

And Faguet adds:

Et ceci est une des remarques les plus profondes que l'on ait faites sur l'organisme du style.

Profound the remark may be, but it goes back to Dionysios of Halicarnassus and doubtless far beyond, and the practice I learned by watching my father and listening to him as he was working at his editorials.

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As that acute scholar, Professor Humphreys, put to the test the theory of the relation of accent to quantity in Greek verse, by applying it to his translation of the famous soliloquy of Addison's Cato into Greek trimeters (Tr. A. P. Ass., 1876,

p. 145), so I have taken the liberty of applying the principles of the clausula to one of my most carefully written performances. I will not go into details, but I have found, as a German scholar found some time ago (A. J. P. XXXII 116), that the Cretic, as the basic foot, by the help of prelude and postlude, complies with the conditions of the dying fall (Cic. Or. 64, 218), which charms the ear so much in the closing words of the immortal eighteenth of Demosthenes, *σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ*. For the beginner at all events the classical passage of Cicero will suffice—the fanfare of the First Paeon at the beginning and the cadence of the Fourth Paeon in the Cretic form at the close. It is to my mind an image of life—like that other image:

On partira vent arrière,  
On reviendra en louvoyant (— ∪ —).

In English balladry, in English hymnody, as in the Horatian Odes, there is no more familiar cadence than the Cretic clausula. Porson's Law of the Final Cretic is the law of the *εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν*, which Comedy can afford to flout. Bid the boy watch his quantities and his ear will be attuned to rhythm in time—but he must not neglect his frisky genders, his erratic forms, and his normal syntax—and he must beware of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, in which he will find recorded from time to time the sins of those who occupy the chief seats in the synagogue.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 W. 25th St., New York, for material furnished.

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## I.—NOTES ON TIBULLUS.

The natal hour of my edition of Tibullus fell on Friday, June 13, 1913. Friday and two thirteens—an ominous conjunction. And more than that, my own natal hour had also been ominous—it had been marked by a total eclipse of the goddess supposed to preside at such functions. Perhaps then, I may consider myself lucky to have escaped with nothing worse, so far, than the otherwise mysterious disappearance of my own copy of the book, in which I had entered a number of marginal notes, for future use. Some, however, I was able to restore from memory, and a few of them, together with certain others which have come to my notice during the past year, are my chief excuse for the present article.

Under ordinary circumstances, I should make no comment on the fact that these notes are so largely concerned with the literary tradition of Tibullus in modern times. It would not be necessary, despite the fact that one of my reviewers, Professor Emile Thomas, objected to the insertion of such material in a commentary; he considers it incongruous, a hindrance, rather than a help, to the student's appreciation of his author. This is a question of taste and, so far at least as American students are concerned, a question of pedagogical method upon which I am quite content to differ with Professor Thomas without any further discussion. My reasons for it, and therefore my reasons for emphasizing the literary tradition of Tibullus, are set forth in the Introduction to my edition (p. 66 ff.). But in view of one particular remark made by him in this connection, I will state them again from a slightly different point of view.

'Je puis bien assurer M. Smith', he says, 'que, de tous les vers français qu'il cite, il en est beaucoup qui pour nous sont mauvais sans conteste et d'auteurs que nous nous garderons bien de relire.'

The statement is frank; my reply shall be equally frank. I do not need the assurance of Professor Thomas to convince me that a good share of the French echoes of Tibullus, which I have quoted, are dull. To have failed to realize that would argue a dullness on my own part, from which personally I beg to be absolved. I can swear they are dull, those French authors whom he included in his arraignment, for I have read them—I have even read others of the same dreary period in my own tongue, who, incredible as it may seem, are duller yet. Indeed, the most notable and significant peculiarity of the literary tradition of Tibullus as a whole is the fact that modern reminiscences whenever and wherever found are at once so remarkably uncommon and so remarkably commonplace, not only few and far between but confined for the most part to second and third rate authors.

If, therefore, my only purpose in collecting this material had been to point a moral, or adorn a commentary, my labour would have been practically in vain. But that was not my purpose. My purpose was to give something like definite form to what I consider highly important to our understanding and valuation of any classical author—the living tradition of him in succeeding times. In the case of writers so well known and widely read as were Vergil and Horace, the living tradition is attested in a dozen different ways—literary reminiscence is merely one of them. In the case of Tibullus, on the contrary, literary reminiscence is always our most important witness, sometimes it is our only witness. It is disappointing, of course, to learn that reminiscences of the great master of Roman elegy are so rare and so largely confined to inferior writers. But if such is the fact, it is of the highest importance to know it; for it is the literary tradition that reflects and illuminates qualities of the poet's work which we cannot afford to lose sight of. I have already discussed those qualities in my Introduction, and will, therefore, content myself here with emphasizing anew the fact that the literary tradition of Tibullus, in both quantity and quality, is the direct and inevitable result of that rare type of literary art of which Tibullus and Julius Caesar are the most

conspicuous examples. Imitations of Tibullus are few because he deals with traditional motives and is not a man of striking phrases, in short, because in the ordinary sense he furnishes so little to imitate. Imitations of him are inferior, because if he is to be imitated at all, it must be closely and as a whole. It is no accident, therefore, that the most notable imitators of Tibullus should all be of this type, and all second-rate. The *Elegie* of Luigi Alamanni are rarely read except by specialists; James Hammond was never a name to conjure with, and is now completely forgotten; and as for Bertin, I could quite believe Professor Thomas if he were to assure me that few Frenchmen who read Bertin once will ever be guilty of the same offence again.

Briefly then, I emphasize the literary tradition of Tibullus, because to my mind it has a definite historical and critical value, and because I have learned by experience that it stimulates the interest of the average American student. And I distribute it through the Commentary, rather than group it elsewhere, because I also know by experience that unless the student finds it then and there, he will never find it at all.

I should like to believe that my book had something in it for the scholars of other nations, but after all, it was designed primarily for my own countrymen. And if it serves that purpose, I ought to be content.

In conclusion, I should like to express my regret that, owing to circumstances, I could not utilize either Professor Cartault's *Tibullus*, or Professor Rasi's *De Elegia Romana*. The former arrived too late to be mentioned even in my Preface; and the copy of the latter in our Library proved to be defective, and I have never been able to find or secure another anywhere.

Unless otherwise stated, the echoes and references quoted both here and in my Commentary are all derived from my own reading of the authors mentioned. This, I trust, will explain and excuse their somewhat irregular and miscellaneous character.

A word, to begin with, regarding translations. As I said in my Introduction (p. 65), the translation of Tibullus by T. C. Williams (Boston, 1905), so far as I know, is the first and only complete version by an American. Since then I have happened upon a translation of one elegy, which was made by a Conti-

mental officer in 1778. A copy of his works in which this version was afterwards published is now in my possession. The title-page reads :

'The Lyric Works of Horace, translated into English Verse: to which are added, a number of Original Poems. By a Native of America. Philadelphia, Printed by Eleazer Oswald, at the Coffee-House. M,DCC,LXXXVI.'

The frontispiece, marvelous in design and execution, is entirely due to local talent, 'the work', as the author explains at the end of the volume, 'of Mr. James Peller Malcom, of this city, a young artist, who served but a short time to the business, therefore any inaccuracies therein must be imputed to the above cause'.

The 'Native of America' was Col. John Parke, and the book begins with a long dedication

'To his Excellency George Washington, Esq., L. L. D. late General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, Mareshal of France, &c. &c. &c.'

Then after a long and curious 'Preface addressed to the subscribers' (pp. vii-xxiv) we have (pp. xxv-xxxvii)

'The Life of Horace, Compiled from different Authors with remarks on his Character, addressed to his excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. L: L: D. F: R: S: President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, &c. &c. &c.'

Pages 1-190 contain translations of the Odes and Epodes of Horace, most of which are individually addressed to persons more or less prominent at the time. These are followed (pp. 190-334) by 'Translations from the Greek and Latin, with Original Poems'. Some of these are by Colonel Parke, others by various friends. The long and interesting list of subscribers at the end of the book closes with a note in which

'The Author returns his thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, for the kind assistance they have given him in promoting this work. The other states have not yet sent forward their subscriptions, which he is well inform'd are very considerable.'

On page 206 ff. we have twelve Elegies, the first of which is a translation of Tibullus I, 1. So far as I have yet discovered, this is the first American translation of any portion of Tibullus. It is addressed to 'Miss M. N.' and dated in "Camp at Valley-

Forge, Apr. 7, 1778". What a vision the words call up! There was an old engraving familiar to my boyhood entitled 'Washington Praying at Valley-Forge'. I have never seen a picture of the great commander swearing at Valley-Forge. Perhaps there is none. Nor yet of the soldiers whittling out chessmen for Mrs. Washington. Nor of Col. John Parke writing verses to 'Miss M. N.'—and other damsels of the eighteenth century. But praying or swearing, whittling or writing verses were only so many ways of winning through a trial so long and so bitter that the tradition of it lasted for more than three generations.

Quam iuuet immites ventos audire cubantem  
 et dominam tenero continuisse sinu  
 aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,  
 securum somnos imbre iuvante sequi!

'What joy, to have the howling tempest sweep,  
 And clasp my bashful Delia in my arms!  
 Lull'd by the beating showers, we sink to sleep  
 Or wake to mutual bliss, secure from harms.'

Not a very successful rendering perhaps. But who knows how cold his fingers were at the time he wrote it, and what excellent reasons he may have had for envying the warmth and comfort pictured in the Latin text.

Tibullus I, 1, 45-48, the distichs just quoted above, are, as Professor Mustard points out, imitated by Hugo Grotius, *Poemata omnia*, Amsterdam, 1670, p. 141 (*Hyemis Commoda Eleg. Lib. I.*).

Quam iuvat insomnem ventos audire gementes,  
 Tutaque in angusto membra levare toro,  
 Et dominam fovisse sinu, si nocte suprema  
 Frigidus hybernas moverit Auster aquas?

Professor Mustard also notes that Franciscus Modius Bruggensis professes some indebtedness to Tibullus. Cp. p. 2. (*Wirtzeburgi*, 1583):

Sed rivi manent; quid enim manifesta negabo?  
 Ducti de genii sive, Tibulle, tui, etc.

For example, in *Elegia VII*, p. 29,

Cum gaudente foco semper lucente Tibullo

is a reference to Tib. I, 1, 6,

Dum meus adsidue luceat igne focus.

The last line of his *Carmina Sacra* III, 12,

*Despiciam reges despiciamque duces,*

almost repeats the last line of Tibullus I, 1; and the same may be said of (*Carmina Sacra* III, 13, p. 134)

*Nox adopena caput tenebris*

and Tibullus I, 1, 70. Finally in his *Silvae*, XI (p. 102), he has a little poem entitled "Albius Tibullus":

*Ut Cidnus nullas sordes, nitidissimus amnis,*

*Volvit et a limo purus ubique fluit:*

*Sic mea Romanas inter castissima Musas*

*Undique nativo culta decore nitet.*

*Ergo aliae placeant ornatu trans mare sumto:*

*Nostra suo et patrio si placet una, sat est.*

in which, by the way, it is of interest to observe that the text itself is more suggestive of Propertius than of the author to whom it is addressed.

Tibullus I, 1, 55.

*Me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae,*

*Et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.*

Chariteo, Cantico IV, 146-8 (Benedetto Gareth, detto il Chariteo. Rime, ed. E. Percopo, Naples, 1892, p. 333).

*Il captivo d'Amor senza compagna,*

*Ante le chiuse porte, ardendo, giace,*

*Et cantando di lagrime si bagna.*

Chariteo (1492-1555) is one of the most notable imitators of Tibullus among the earlier Italian poets. The imitations in his Rime noted here are taken from the commentary of Percopo.

Speaking of the last days of Dr. Johnson, Boswell says (vol. 2, p. 639, Oxford, 1904):

"Nobody was more attentive to him than Mr. Langdon, to whom he tenderly said [Tib. I, 1, 60]:

*Te teneam moriens deficiente manu."*

An interesting example of a rule which seems to apply more or less generally to scholars and literary men. Reminiscences are likely to begin with some special association, and show a marked tendency to recur. So in this case, if we go back thirty-odd years to one of Johnson's own essays, in the Adven-

turer for May 25, 1753 (Works, ed. Murphy, London, 1801, vol. III, p. 174), we find the following delectable passage:

"The nicety of these minute allusions I shall exemplify by another instance, which I take this occasion to mention, because, so I am told, the commentators have omitted it. Tibullus addresses Cynthia (sic) in this manner:

Te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,  
Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.

Before my closing eyes, dear Cynthia stand,  
Held weakly by my fainting, trembling hand.

To these lines Ovid thus refers in his elegy on the death of Tibullus (Amor. III, 9, 55):

Cynthia decedens, felicius, inquit, amata  
Sum tibi; vixisti dum tuus ignis eram.  
Cui Nemesis, quid, ait, tibi sunt mea damna dolori?  
Me tenuit moriens deficiente manu.

Blest was my reign, retiring Cynthia cry'd:  
Not till he left my breast, Tibullus dy'd.  
Forbear, said Nemesis, my loss to moan,  
The fainting, trembling hand was mine alone.

The beauty of this passage, which consists in the appropriation made by Nemesis of the line originally directed to Cynthia, had been wholly imperceptible to succeeding ages, had chance, which had destroyed so many greater volumes, deprived us likewise of the poems of Tibullus."

It may be added that had the same chance destroyed all surviving references to Propertius, we should be quite unable to explain how and why the Doctor came to substitute Cynthia for Delia throughout his entire discussion.

Tibullus I, 2, 7-14.

Ianua difficilis domini, te verberet imber,  
Te Iovis imperio fulmina missa petant.  
Ianua, iam pateas uni mihi, victa querellis,  
Neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones,  
Et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia nostra,  
Ignoscas: capiti sint precor illa meo.  
Te meminisse decet quae plurima voce peregi  
Supplice, cum posti florida sarta darem.

p. 431, Canzoni II, 50.

Crudel & dyre porte,—il vo' pur dire,  
Non vi volete aprire?—horrido legno,  
Pien d' ira & de disdegno—& gelosia,

Nudo di cortesia—& di pietate ;  
 Superbe porte, ingrate—ad tanti honori ;  
 Non vedrete più fiori,—mhyrti, o rose.

p. 429, Canzoni II, 10.

Nè facciate stridore—ad chi riposa.

p. 430, Canzoni II, 22 ff.

Quante volte da sera,—o belle porte,  
 M'havete visto, ad morte—gia vicino,  
 Piagner fin al matino,—inanzi il sole,  
 Ornando di viole—& di ghirlande  
 Ambe due queste bande—& tutto il loco,  
 Che fusse vèr me un poco—omai pietoso,  
 Et desse alcun riposo—al viver mio!

Tibullus I, 2, 75-76.

Quid Tyrio recubare toro sine amore secundo  
 Prodest, cum fletu nox vigilanda venit?

Cf. James Shirley *Triumph of Beauty* (Works, ed. Dyce. London, 1833, vol. 6, p. 336).

and what are all the treasures  
 And gifts of Juno, kingdoms pil'd on kingdoms,  
 Which at the best but multiply thy cares  
 To keep, if Love be not propitious to thee?

Tibullus I, 2, 89-90.

Vidi ego qui iuvenum miseros lusisset amores  
 Post Veneris vinclis subdere colla senem.

So in Thomas Heywood's *The Faire Maide of the Exchange* (London, Pearson, 1784, vol. 2, p. 49) Phillis exclaims :

I thanke thee porter, and thanke Love withall,  
 That thus hath wrought the tyrant Goldings fall,  
 He once scorn'd Love, jeasted at wounded hearts,  
 Challeng'd almighty beauty, rail'd at passion,  
 And is he now caught by the eyes and heart?

Tibullus I, 3, 4.

Abstineas avidas, Mors precor atra, manus,

is quoted by Frédéric Plessis—omitting *avidas*—for his sonnet to Antony Valabrègue, *Vesper Paris*, Lemerre, 1897, p. 64.

Tibullus I, 3, 57-66, the *Lovers' Elysium*, seems to have been a favourite conception with James Shirley, whom I have already



mentioned above. For example, in his *Love in a Maze*, V, 3 (vol. 2, p. 361), the conjurer says:

Know then, they are wander'd far,  
Led by Cupid, God of loves,  
They have now arriv'd those groves,  
Where no happy soul can sleep,  
Venus doth there revels keep;  
Consecrating day and night  
To song, to kisses, and delight:  
They in Elysium breathe, etc.

Cf. his *Honoriam* and *Mammon*, II, 3 (vol. 6, p. 29):

To climb no higher than Elysium yet;  
Where the pale lovers meet, and teach the groves  
To sigh, and sing bold legends of their loves.

And his *Triumph of Beauty* (vol. 6, p. 337):

Poets have feign'd Elysium after death, etc.

Tibullus I, 3, 59,

Hic choreae cantusque vigent,

is used by Ben Jonson as the motto of his masque of *The Fortunate Isles*.

Tibullus I, 4, 21.

Nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti  
Irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt.

These lines are quoted by Benedictus Curtius Symphorianus in his *Commentary on the Aresta Amorum of Martial d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1566, p. 42. For other quotations cf. e. g., pp. 284; 294; 355; 386; 414; 415; 434; 653; 734; 847.

Tibullus I, 4, 27.

At si tardus eris, errabis: transiet aetas:  
Quam cito non segnis stat remeatque dies.

Chariteo, p. 202, Sonetto CLXI, 1-2.

Corre 'l tempo con gli anni e' giorni in fretta,  
L'età velocemente al fin contende.

Tibullus I, 4, 63-64, is the passage referred to by Federico Luigini da Udine in his *Libro della Bella Donna* (Tratti del Cinquecento, Bari, Laterza, 1913, p. 248), while discussing the ivory neck of Narcissus.

'Questa è simile', he says, 'alla favola di Pelope di Vergilio nel terzo

della Georgica. Tibullo al primo delle sue colte Elegie ed il medesimo vostro Ovidio al sesto delle Trasformazione ne fanno menzione, etc.'

Tibullus I, 4, 65-66.

Quem referent Musae vivet dum roborata tellus,  
Dum caelum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas

was used for the title-page of *Belvedere*, or the Garden of the Muses. Imprinted at London by F. K. for Hugh Astley, dwelling at Saint Magnus corner, 1600. This book, the editor of which was the well-known John Bodenham, is criticised and incidentally the quotation from Tibullus on the title-page is paraphrased and adapted as follows by 'Judicio' in *The Return from Parnassus*, which was first acted in 1601 [Dodsley's *Old English Plays* ed. Hazlitt, London, 1874, vol. IX, p. 111]:

Judicio. Considering the furies of the time, I could better endure to see those young can-quaffing hucksters shoot off their pellets, so they would keep them from these English 'Flores Poetarum', but now the world is come to that pass, that there starts up every day an old goose that sits hatching up those eggs which have been filched from the nest of crows and kestrels. Here is a book, *Ingenioso*; why, to condemn it to clear fire, the usual Tyburn of all misliving papers, were too fair a death for so foul an offender.

Ingenioso. What's the name of it, I pray thee, *Judicio*?

Judicio. Look, it's here: 'Belvedere'.

Ingenioso. What, a bell-wether in Pauls Churchyard! so called because it keeps a bleating, or because it hath the tinkling bell of so many poets about the neck of it? What is the rest of the title?

Judicio. 'The Garden of the Muses.'

Ingenioso. What have we here, the poet garish, gaily bedecked, like fore-horses of the parish? What follows?

Judicio. *Quem referent musae, vivet, dum roborata tellus,  
Dum caelum stellas, dum vebit (sic) amnis aquas.*

Who blurs fair paper with foul bastard rhymes,  
Shall live full many an age in latter times:  
Who makes a ballad for an ale-house door,  
Shall live in future times forevermore:  
Then (     ), thy muse shall live so long,  
As drafty ballads to thy praise are sung.

Tibullus I, 5, 37-38.

Saepe ego temptavi curas depellere vino:  
At dolor in lacrimas verterat omne merum,

is clearly the inspiration of Lebrun's verses *A Climène* (*Epigrammes*, etc., Paris, 1713, p. 148):

Depuis qu'il a fallu m'arracher de vos charmes,  
Je bois pour adoucir l'excès de mon chagrin;  
Aimable Climène, mes larmes  
Sont la seule eau que je mets dans mon vin.

Tibullus I, 5, 39-40.

Saepe aliam tenui: sed iam cum gaudia adirem,  
Admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus.

The passage from Mario Equicola which I quoted in my note on these lines was evidently responsible in large part for the following in Giuseppe Betussi's amusing dialogue known as *Il Raverta* (*Trattati d' Amore del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1912, p. 71). Here Baffa, who acts as the apologist of her sex, says:

Lasciate, di grazia, star tanti poeti, perché, volendo coprire il difetto, ch' è in loro, l' instabilità, l' attribuiscono a noi donne. Come fece Tibullo ch' amò Delia e lasciolla per Nemesi, e poi lasciò Nemesi, e tolse Neera, ed alla fine fu sì ardito che scrisse le donne essere instabili e leggere.

Tibullus I, 5, 57,

Sunt numina amanti,

was used by John Gay for the title-page of his *Dione*.

Tibullus I, 6, 63-64.

Vive diu mihi, dulcis anus: proprios ego tecum,  
Sit modo fas, annos contribuissse velim.

The thought expressed is not uncommon in antiquity.

Cp. Plautus *Asinaria*, 609-610.

Egon te? quam si intellegam deficere uita, iam ipse  
Vitam meam tibi largiar et de mea ad tuam addam.

Propertius, IV, 11, 95.

Quod mihi detractum est, vestros accedat ad annos:  
Prole mea Paullum sic iuuet esse senem.

Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae*, VIII, 4.

Nec est tamen, quod putes illos ignorare, quam cara res sit: dicere solent eis, quos valdissime diligunt, paratos se partem annorum suorum dare.

Statius *Silvae*, V, 1, 176.

Tum sic unanimum moriens solatur amantem:  
Pars animae victura meae, cui linqere possim  
O utinam, quos dura mihi rapit Atropos, annos:

Tertullian, Apologeticus, 35, speaking of certain occasions when the emperor appeared before the people, says :

Iam si pectoribus ad translucendum quamdam specularum materiam natura obduxisset, cuius non praecordia insculpta apparerent novi ac novi Caesaris scenam congiario dividundo praesidentis etiam illa hora qua acclamant :

De nostris annis tibi Iuppiter augeat annos.

Gregory Nazianzenus, *Eis Βασίλειον* (quoted by M. Antonius Muretus, *Variae lectiones*, IX, 1.) : καὶ προσθεῖναι τι τῆς ἐαυτῶν ζωῆς ἕκαστος ἐκείνῳ, εἴπερ οἶόν τε, πρόθυμος ἦν.

Vollmer (*Stattus l. c.*) also mentions the Hypothesis of the Alcestis of Euripides, but *Consol. ad Liviam*, 413; *Anthol. Lat.* (*Carm. Epig.*, Buecheler), 1080, 3; 1116, 5; 1257, 11; 1551, 4, and *Stattus, Silvae II*, 3, 74, are none of them in point.

As I said in my note, modern parallels are not common. The most notable perhaps of all is the passage towards the end of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Day 10, Novel 3, in which Nathan and Mithridanes are showing off their generosity to each other. For example, among other things Nathan says :

Piccol dono è donare cento anni : quanto adunque è minore donarne sei o otto che io a star ci abbia? Prendila adunque, se ella t' aggradea, io te ne priego.

And among other things Mithridanes replies :

Tolga Iddio che così cara cosa, come la vostra vita è no che io da voi dividendola la prenda, ma pur la disideri, come poco avanti faceva : alla quale non che io diminuissi gli anni suoi, ma io l' aggiugnerei volentier de' miei.

F. D. Guerazzi, *Beatrice Cenci*, chap. 31, makes Beatrice say, in her last speech to her friends, the 'Sette Vergini' :

Io vorrei lasciarvi gli anni che avrei dovuto vivere per aggiuntarli ai vostri : e meglio le contentezze che avrei dovuto godere.

In his 'Epistula ad clarissimum poetam regium Faustum Andrelinum, praeceptorem suum quam optime meritum' (*Poemata aliquot insignia illustrium poetarum recentiorum*, Basileae, 1544), Claudius Baudinus says :

Sum iuvenis ; Divi, nostrum superaddite vitae  
Tempus adorando post sua fata seni

Huic date quod fati decreto vivere possum ;  
Sit phoenix illi vita, cicada mihi.

Pro Polluce vices gerat et pro Castore ; ut annos  
Vixerit ipse suos vivat et inde meos.

According to Witkowski, *L'Art Profane à l'Eglise*, Paris, 1908, p. 63, the last two lines of the epitaph of Dorothea Tonna in the Church of St. Mark, Trent, are:

Immatura peri: sed tu diuturnior, annos  
Vive meos, coniux optime, vive tuos.

Tibullus I, 6, 81-82.

Hanc animo gaudente vident iuvenumque catervae  
Commemorant merito tot mala ferre senem:

The exceptional use of *senem* as a feminine in this passage is thus commented upon by Pontanus in his *Charon* (Opera, Basel, vol. 2, p. 1170):

At a Tibullo Albio comiter fuisse exceptum cumque Pedanum me vocari dicerem, gaudium eum exhibuisse, arbitratum Pedo, in cuius agros habuisset, oriundum esse atque huius rei gratia docuisse me nomen 'senex' apud vetustissimos Latinos communis fuisse generis, propterea quod dixisse se cum de anicula loqueretur, 'merito tot mala ferre senem?'

Apròpos of the 'Blue Loire' (Tibullus I, 7, 12), Robert Barr, in his novel of Cardillac, chap. 12, says that the river is:

"In spring a raging, resistless flood, spreading from bank to bank, but now, under the moonlight, seeming a serious and placid stream, intersected by long patches of gravel islands and peninsulas, white and gleaming between glittering stretches of blue water."

Since my note on Jupiter Pluvius was written (I, 7, 26) Professor Mustard has discovered the following examples of its use:

Augustinus Favoritius Ad Ferdinandum Furstenbergium; De nocturno bubonis cantu in Albano secessu (Septem Illustrium Virorum Poemata. Amstelodami, ap. Elzevirium, 1672, p. 98):

Interdum iuvat arboribus decerpere poma:  
Interdum nemoris fingere falce comam:  
Irriguosque iugo rivos inducere campis,  
Cum pluvium tellus poscit hiulca Iovem.

Again in his *Ophigenia*, Ad Sigismundum Chisium in Albano rusticantem (*id. ibid.* p. 120),

Sive Notus venas et spiramenta relaxans,  
Terrarum fibris abstrusos elicit angues,  
Reddit ut aere silex ignem percussa latentem,  
Seu natura soli pluvio Iove concipit illos,  
Tactaque sole novo conceptos edit in auras,  
Omnia qui sparsi repunt per membra Gigantis.

More interesting because it shows that the tradition of this phrase in English was at least half a century older than the first example of it quoted by the Oxford Dictionary is a passage in the Ingoldsby Legends (Jerry Jarvis's Wig, about the middle) :

"Joseph worked on; and when at last Jupiter Pluvius descended in all his majesty, soaking the ground into the consistency of dingy pudding."

Barham, the author of the Ingoldsby Legends, died in 1845. Again, Mary Russell Mitford, who died in 1855, says in her Village Tales and Sketches (August 15, The Hard Summer) :

Shivering under the influence of the Jupiter Pluvius of England, the watery St. Swithin.

Tibullus I, 7, 29-34,

Primus aratra, etc.

are quoted by Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas in his Apologetica Historia de las Indias, cap. lxxvii [Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 13, p. 199, Madrid, 1909].

Apropos of *coma* as applied to foliage (I, 7, 34, note), Richard Niccols [The Cuckow. At etiam cubat cuculus: surge amator, i domum. Richardus Niccols, in Artibus Bac. Oxon. Aulae Mag.—At London Printed by F. K. and are to be sold by W. C. 1607] speaks of

"The loftie trees, whose leavie lockes did shake,  
And with the wind did daliance seeme to make."

Tibullus I, 7, 37-38.

Ille liquor docuit voces inflectere cantu,  
Movit et ad certos nescia membra modos:

Speaking of the use of music in the churches, Guillaume Bouchet, Sieur de Brocourt, 1513-1597 [Les Sérées, Paris, Lemerre, 1873, vol. I., p. 160], says:

'Seroit-ce point [*i. e.*, ceste defense] à cause du prouerbe qui dit, personne ne chante à ieun, et que les chantres aiment le vin? Et pourtant lisez-vous en Ovide:

Pareillement par le vin que augmente  
Le bon esprit, des vers rimez on chante.

Et Tibulle:

Ceste liqueur enseigne divers tons,  
Et à danser sous l'accord des chansons.

Tibullus I, 7, 63-64.

At tu, Natalis multos celebrande per annos,  
Candidior semper candidiorque veni.

Chariteo, p. 119, Sonetto C, 12-14.

Volgi & rinova i tuoi tempi quieti,  
Et sia sempre miglior il tuo ritorno,  
Et più felice, & pien d' augurii lieti.

Tibullus I, 9, 65-66.

Et tua perdidicit: nec tu, stultissime, sentis  
Cum tibi non solita corpus ab arte movet.

Under ordinary circumstances the following four illustrations of the point of this Tibullian distich might be cited as echoes, but it is practically certain that except perhaps in the case of Piron they are not to be associated in the remotest degree with any Roman author. The first (Alexis Piron, *Oeuvres* Badines, Bruxelles, 1820, p. 90) reads:

Jeanneton en la nuit première,  
Son mari dessus elle étant,  
Remuait des mieux le derrière,  
Et puis disait en s'ébattant:  
' Mon doux ami que j'aime tant,  
Fais-je pas bien de cette sorte? '  
Le mari lors qui se transporte  
Lui répond de courroux épris:  
' Oui, mais que le grand diable emporte  
Ceux qui vous en ont tant appris.'

Of which, apparently, the following Italian epigram (Tempietto di Venere, Londra [n. d.], p. 115) is merely a translation:

La prima notte, piena d'appetito,  
Lisetta sotto il giovine marito  
S' agitava coi lombi e con le rene,  
E a lui dicea: ' Ti par ch' io faccia bene? '  
Ei di amor fra i trasporti,  
Risposele arrabbiato:  
' Sì, che il diavol ti porti  
Con quei che a far sì ben t' hanno insegnato.'

Quite innocent of any sort of literary background is the following epigram which I found in a college paper some four or five years ago. Unfortunately I am now quite unable to give the exact reference:

All summer the lover has been on the rack,  
And he is not happy precisely  
To find that the girl that he's engaged to comes back  
With a wonderful gift to kiss nicely!

The latest illustration of this theme to come to my notice is to be found in *Puck*, Nov. 7, 1914, p. 15. A picture of a young man and maid making desperate love in the corner of the parlour. The picture is entitled, *The Thorn*, and underneath are the following verses :

No other eyes that e'er met mine  
 Have had that deep yet simple lure—  
 Eyes maddening as age-old wine  
 And yet so clear and pure.  
 No other lips I e'er did press  
 Were moistened so with honey-dew  
 Or parted thus in a caress  
 As mine sank softly through.  
 No other breast e'er pillowed me  
 With such a throbbing rhythmic swell,  
 As if, within, a restless sea  
 Of yearning rose and fell.  
 No other arms about me thrown  
 So heavy on my shoulders bore,  
 As though a life that stood alone  
 Could stand alone no more.  
 No other heart I ever met  
 So evidently for me burned.  
 With all my soul I love her, yet—  
 I wonder where she learned!

Tibullus I, 10, 1-8.

Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?  
 Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!  
 Tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata,  
 Tum breviar dirae mortis aperta via est,  
 An nihil ille miser meruit, nos ad mala nostra  
 Vertimus in saevas quod dedit ille feras?  
 Divitis hoc vitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt,  
 Faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes.

Chariteo, p. 183, Canzone XVII, 81-96.

Ben fu senza pietà quel ferreo petto,  
 Quell' animo feroce,  
 Che fu inventor del ferro, horrendo & forte  
 D' allhora incominciò la pugna atroce  
 La venenosa Aletto:  
 Et di più breve via per l' impia morte  
 Aperse le atre porte;  
 Ma non fu in tutto colpa di quel primo:  
 Ché ciò, che lui trovò col bel sapere  
 In contro a l' aspre fere,



Noi ne li nostri danni hor convertimo.  
 Questo advien, (se 'l falso io non estimo)  
 Di fame di thesoro,  
 Ch' ogni petto mortal tene captivo :  
 Ché pria che fusse l' oro  
 Non era il ferro al' huom tanto nocivo!

Tibullus I, 10, 45 ff.

Interea Pax arva colat. Pax candida primum  
 Duxit araturos sub iuga curva boves :  
 Pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae, etc.

Chariteo, p. 183, Canzone XVII, 97-102.

Ai, pace; ai, ben!, di buon si desiato!,  
 Alma pace & tranquilla,  
 Per cui luce la terra e 'l ciel profondo;  
 Pace, d' ogni cittade & d' ogni villa,  
 D' ogni animal creato  
 Letitia, & gioia del sidereo mondo.

Tibullus I, 10, 67-68.

At nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto,  
 Perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus.

Chariteo, p. 183, Canzone XVII, 103-4.

Mostra il volto giocondo,  
 Et, con la spica o i dolci frutti in seno, etc.

Chariteo, p. 390, Cantico III, 25-27 (speaking of Amor),

Ne la sua man portava una aurea spica,  
 Et un pampineo ramo, intorno avvolto  
 A l' aratro, de l' huom dolce fatica.

For which Percopo also cites Tibullus I, 10, 45-47.

Tibullus II, 1, 81-82.

Sancte, veni dapibus festis, sed pone sagittas  
 Et procul ardentis hinc precor abde faces!

Compare Lessing, An Amor, Lieder, vol. 1, p. 128, Stuttgart, 1886:

Komm auch ohne Pfeil und Bogen,  
 Ohne Fackel angezogen . . . .  
 Stelle dich, um mir lieb zu sein, etc.

Tibullus II, 2, 1 ff.

Dicamus bona verba: venit Natalis ad aras:  
 Quisquis ades, lingua, vir mulierque, fave, etc.

Chariteo, p. 118, Sonetto C, 5 ff.

Dicano hor caste, pie, sante parole,  
Ecco 'l dolce natal, fausto & giocondo  
Del gran Pontano, a null' altro secondo  
In le virtù, ch' Apollo honora & cole.

Tibullus II, 3, 11-14,

Pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,  
Nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae,  
Nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis:  
Quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor,

are imitated by Angelo Poliziano, Stanze I, 108.

Diventa Febo in Tessaglia un pastore;  
E' n picciola capanna si ripone  
Colui ch' a tutto 'l mondo dà splendore;  
Nè gli giova a sanar sue piaghe acerbe,  
Perchè conosca le virtù dell' erbe.

Tibullus II, 4, 19,

Ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero,

evidently inspired the following mediaeval epigram, to be found, for instance, in the *Nugae Venales*, *Crepundia Poetica*, p. 27.

Ad dominam intrepido vis tendere carmina cursu?  
Scire operae pretium est quo pede versus eat:  
Nimirum pedibus metrorum ex omnibus unum  
Prae reliquis mulier dactylon omnis amat.

Tibullus II, 5, 109-110.

Et mihi praecipue iaceo cum saucius annum  
Et faveo morbo, cum iuvat ipse dolor

seems to have suggested to Angelo Poliziano, Stanze I, 13, 8,

Si bel titol d' amore ha dato 'l mondo  
A un cieca peste, a un mal giocondo,

and again in his *Orfeo*, Atto, I.

Aristeo ama, e diamar non vuole,  
Nè guarir cerca di sì dolci noglie.

Compare also Benserade, *Regrets*, p. 155.

Je favorise mon martyre  
Et déteste ma guérison.

For Chariteo, Sonetto CCX, p. 247,

Non fulge nel mio albergo auro nè avorio,  
La vana ambitione in odio tegno:  
De la benigna vena del mio ingegno,  
Di fede & mente retta io sol mi glorio,

Percopo cites Tibullus III, 3, 11, 13, 16, but the real inspiration of this sonnet, as Percopo, himself, shows, is the famous Ode of Horace (II, xviii) which begins

Non ebur neque aureum  
Mea renidet in domo lacunar,  
Non trabes Hymettiae  
Premunt columnas ultima recisas, etc.

Tibullus III, 4, 63.

Sed flecti poterit: mens est mutabilis illis:

Chariteo, p. 123, Sonetto CVII, 13-14.

Ma come è fermo un odioso stato,  
Fuor di natura, in petto femminile?

Tibullus III, 5, 4 [Lygdamus],

Cum se purpureo vere remittit humus,

is the motto and inspiration of Frédéric Plessis' 'Le Lac Natal' Vesper, Paris, Lemerre, n. d. p. 9.

Le printemps, sous sa pourpre, a réparé la terre; etc.

His Gloire Latine, Vesper, p. 1, begins thus:

Ne crains pas si la route est sombre où je te mène:  
L'ombre y vient des lauriers mêlés aux tamaris,  
De ceux qui plaisaient tant à la muse romaine  
Quand l'Aurore et Vesper connaissaient Lycoris.

Quand l'eau de Bandusie, interdite au profane,  
Dans son cristal, teinté par la rose et le vin,  
Réflétait un front d'or de jeune courtisane  
Auprès de ton front brun, poète au chant divin!

Quand, d'ache couronné, le nom de Quintilie,  
Ou le tien, Némésis, ou, Néère, le tien,  
Avaient conquis le monde à la mélancolie  
Avant le mort de Pan et le règne chrétien . . . .

De demain ne craignant ni l'oubli ni l'insulte,  
Pour avoir, deux mille ans bientôt, bravé leurs coups,  
Ce monde sans égal offre à qui cherche un culte  
Ses temples habités par des dieux grands et doux.

It is of interest to observe that for Boileau the representatives of the Elegy are Tibullus and Ovid. Propertius is entirely ignored. Boileau in his *Art Poétique*, Chant II, 38 ff., says :

D'un ton un peu plus haut, mais pourtant sans audace,  
 La plaintive élégie, en longs habits de deuil,  
 Sait les cheveux épars, gémir sur un cercueil.  
 Elle peint des amants la joie et la tristesse.  
 Flatte, menace, irrite, apaise une maîtresse.  
 Mais, pour bien exprimer ces caprices heureux,  
 C'est peu d'être poète, il faut être amoureux.  
 Je hais ces vains auteurs, dont la muse forcée  
 M'entretient de ses feux, toujours froide et glacée,  
 Qui s'affligent par art, et, fous de sens rassis,  
 S'érigent, pour rimer, en amoureux transis.  
 Leurs transports les plus doux ne sont que phrases vaines ;  
 Ils ne savent jamais que se charger de chaînes,  
 Que bénir leur martyre, adorer leur prison,  
 Et faire quereller les sens et la raison.  
 Ce n'était pas jadis sur ce ton ridicule  
 Qu'Amour dictait les vers que soupirait Tibulle,  
 Ou que, du tendre Ovide animant les doux sons,  
 Il donnait de son arc les charmantes leçons.  
 Il faut que le cœur seul parle dans l'élégie.

Again, Horace, *Odes*, I, 33, 1,

*Albi ne doleas, etc.*

addressed to Tibullus, is the heading and suggestion of Plessis' *Sagesse, Amour* (*Vesper*, p. 31). In this poem, the position of Tibullus is occupied by Plessis, and that of Horace by Leopold Sudre. For example, Sudre is made to say :

Si j'avais le discret badinage d'Horace,  
 J'essaierais par mes vers de ranimer ta foi,  
 Jeune homme qu'un amour invincible terrasse . . . .  
 Albius, il est vrai, fut moins triste que toi.

To which Plessis replies (p. 33) :

Crois-tu vraiment qu'Horace ait consolé Tibulle,  
 Ami sage, censeur des tristesses d'autrui ?  
 Le jour que m'annonçaient tes vers ne m'a pas lui ;  
 Son soleil ironique à l'horizon recule . . . .  
 La mesure est divine et tout excès nuisible,  
 Et qui l'a mal choisi s'obstine à tort au but.  
 Horace avait raison mais Tibulle en mourut . . . .  
 Et toi, n'as-tu jamais dessiné l'impossible ?

Tibullus III, 6, 56.

*Perfida, sed, quamvis perfida, cara tamen!*

William Hayley, *Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper*, Chichester, vol. II, 1803, p. 279.

"In many, many passages" (Hayley is discussing Pope's version of the *Iliad*) "where it deviates widely from the original, a Reader of taste and candour admires both the dexterity, and the dignity of the translator, and if he allows the version to be unfaithful, yet with Mr. Twining (the accomplished Translator of Aristotle, who has justly and gracefully applied an expressive Latin Verse to this glorious Translation, so bitterly branded with the epithet unfaithful!) he tenderly exclaims

'*Perfida, sed quamvis perfida, cara tamen!*'"

Thomas Twining (1735-1804), apart from his famous translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, or, as he entitled it, *Treatise on Poetry*, London, 1789, appears to have published nothing but three sermons.

The *Panegyricus Messallae* is imitated in Canzone VII (Chariteo) in the most deliberate and relentless manner. The passages noted by Percopo are as follows:

Tibullus IV, 1, 28-32.

Nam quamquam antiquae gentis superant tibi laudes,  
Non tua maiorum contenta est gloria fama,  
Nec quaeris quid quaque index sub imagine dicat,  
Sed generis priscos contendis vincere honores,  
Quam tibi maiores maius decus ipse futuris:

Chariteo, p. 76, Canzone VII, 43-51.

Benché di tuoi maggiori i celebri atti  
Sonan con chiara tromba in ogni parte,  
Tu de la gloria lor non ti contenti;  
Ma con favor di Pallade & di Marte  
Contendi superar la fama o' fatti  
De le passate vostre antique genti.  
Sei le passate vostre antique genti,  
Sei preclaro ornamento a li presenti,  
A li posterì tuoi non dubbia speme  
De riposo, d'honore & gloria vera.

Tibullus IV, 1, 39-40.

Nam quis te maiora gerit castrisve forove?  
Nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorve minorve.

Chariteo, p. 76, Canzone VII, 55-56.

Non si vedrà giamai, nè si sagace,  
Invitto & forte sempre in arme e'n pace.

Tibullus IV, I, 45-47.

Nam seu diversi fremat inconstantia vulgi,  
Non alius sedare queat: seu iudicis ira  
Sit placanda, tuis poterit mitescere verbis.

Chariteo, p. 76, Canzone VII, 57-62.

Però che mai nessun con tal dolcezza  
Seppe affrenar l' indomita insolentia  
De l' inconstante volgo & inquieto.  
Tu vinci con soave, alta eloquentia  
Ogn' animo crudel, pien di durezza,  
E'l mesto fai in un momento lieto.

Tibullus IV, I, 50-51.

Vixerit ille senex quamvis, dum terna per orbem  
Saecula fertilibus Titan decurreret horis.

Chariteo, p. 78, Canzone VII, 98

Poi de la tua Nestorea etade antica.

Tibullus IV, I, 82-88.

Nam te non alius belli tenet aptius artes,  
Qua deceat tutam castris praeducere fossam,  
Qualiter adversos hosti defigere cervos,  
Quemve locum ducto melius sit claudere vallo,  
Fontibus ut dulces erumpat terra liquores,  
Ut facilisque tuis aditus sit et arduus hosti,  
Laudis et adsiduo vigeat certamine miles.

Tibullus IV, I, 91-94.

Aut quis equum celeremve arto compescere freno  
Possit et effusas tardo permittere habenas  
Inque vicem modo directo contendere passu,  
Seu libeat, curvo brevius convertere gyro.

Chariteo, p. 77, Canzone VII, 71-76.

Tu non ignori in quale arte di guerra,  
E'n qual guisa l' exercito securo,  
Mover bisogna, o posare, o munire,  
Dove conven signar la fossa o'l muro,  
Et dove più feconda sia la tierra,  
Più commoda a difesa & a ferire.

Tibullus IV, 1, 106-107.

At non per dubias errant mea carmina laudes :  
Nam bellis experta cano. Testis mihi victae, etc.

Chariteo, p. 75, Canzone VII, 15.

Non voglio errando andar per dubbie lode.

Chariteo, p. 133, Canzone X, 82-83.

Nè gir conven per lode incerte errando,  
Ché da qua l' alpe & oltre, in mare, in terra.

Tibullus IV, 2, 5-6.

Illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,  
Accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.

In my note on this passage, I cited a number of echoes and parallels of this pretty conceit. See also Marbury Ogle, *Origin and Tradition of Literary Conceits*, A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 133, where among various examples quoted cf. Chapman, *First Sonnet to His Mistress Philosophy* :

Lovers kindling your enraged fires  
At Cupid's bon-fires burning in the eye.

I am now able to add the following from Angelo Poliziano, *Stanze*, I, 44, 1-2.

Folgoran gli occhi d' un dolce sereno,  
Ove sue faci tien Cupido ascose, etc.

It is perhaps worth noting that the *Stanze* of Poliziano belonged to an early stage of his literary development, during which he appears to have been considerably influenced by the *Elegiac Poets*.

This is also the passage of Tibullus which Federico Luigini da Udine has in mind when he says in his *Libro della Bella Donna* (*Trattati del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1913, p. 238), while discussing the sort of eyes a lady should have :

Poiché ho dimostrato gli occhi di questa donna dovere essere neri, non erranti e pietosi al guardo, io voglio anco che sieno luminosi e sfavillanti in guisa, che contendere con le chiarissime stelle, nel limpidissimo el serenissimo cielo scintillanti, possano senza vergogna niuna. Tali erano quelli di Dafne fuggitiva: tali quelli di Narciso, come ci scopre Ovidio; tali quelli di Laura, come ci mostra 'l Petrarca nel sonetto "Amor ed io si pien di meraviglia"; e in quello "Quel sempre

acerbo", e in altri luoghi assai; tali quelli di Amaranta presso al Sannazaro; tali quelli di Anzia, bella innamorata di messer Tito Strozza, il padre, presso al primo libro de' suoi Amori; tali quei di Sulpizia presso a Tibullo al quarto libro; tali quei di Cinzia presso a Propertio al secondo. L' Aristio in Alcina paragona gli occhi di lei iperbolicamente al sole; il che veggio aver fatto il Petrarca ne' sonetti "Qual ventura me fu", e "I vidi in terra".

Tibullus IV, 4, 19-20.

Phoebe, fave: laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno  
Corpore servato restituisse duos.

Professor Mustard notes the evident echo of this distich in Claudio Tolomei (1492-1554) *Ad Apolline per il Molsa* (*La Poesia Barbara nei secoli xv e xvi, a cura di Giosuè Carducci, Bologna, 1881, p. 44*).

Sulpizia salvando pria, salvasti Cherintho.  
Fu di Cherintho vita quella di Sulpizia.  
Che nome Sulpizia? che fama ti porse Cherintho?  
Salvine qui mille, là ne guaristi due.

Menage seems to have admired this distich of Tibullus, but much as he may have admired it, he ascribed it to another author:

'Quand j'apprens la maladie de quelques-uns de mes amis', he says (*Menagiana, Paris, 1715, vol. III, p. 220*), 'je me souviens toujours de ce Distique de Catulle:

Phoebe, fave, laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno  
Corpore servato restituisse duos.'

'Ce n'est pas Catulle', says Bernard de la Monnoye in his editorial note *ad loc.*, 'c'est Tibulle 4, Eleg. 4, imité depuis par Ovide 2. Amor. 13.'

Tibullus IV, 5, 13-14.

Nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: vel serviat aequè  
Vinctus uterque tibi, vel mea vincla leva.

Cf. Shirley, *Love in a Maze* (vol. 2, p. 365).

Kill me with love, thou angry son  
Of Cytherea, or let one,  
One sharp golden arrow fly,  
To wound her heart for whom I die.  
Cupid, if thou beest a child,  
Be no god, or be more mild.



Tibullus IV, 11, is thus very poorly translated by Byron in his *Hours of Idleness* (*Works*, ed. Coleridge. London, 1898, vol. I, p. 74) :

Cruel Cerinthus! does the fell disease  
Which racks my breast your fickle bosom please?  
Alas! I wish'd but to o'ercome the pain,  
That I might live for Life and you again;  
But, now, I scarcely shall bewail my fate:  
By death alone I can avoid your hate.

Tibullus IV, 13, is thus freely imitated by Thomas Moore in a poem which he entitles, 'Tibullus to Sulpicia'.

"Never shall woman's smile have power  
To win me from those gentle charms!"  
Thus swore I, in that happy hour,  
When Love first gave thee to my arms.  
And still alone thou charm'st my sight—  
Still, tho' our city proudly shine  
With forms and faces, fair and bright,  
I see none fair or bright but thine.  
Would thou wert fair for only me,  
And couldst no heart but mine allure!—  
To all men else unpleasing be,  
So shall I feel my prize secure.  
Oh, love like mine ne'er wants the zest  
Of others' envy, others' praise;  
But, in its silence safely blest,  
Broods o'er a bliss it ne'er betrays.  
Charm of my life! by whose sweet power  
All cares are husht, all ills subdued—  
My light in even the darkest hour,  
My crowd in deepest solitude!  
No, not tho' heaven itself sent down  
Some maid of more than heavenly charms,  
With bliss undreamt thy bard to crown,  
Would he for her forsake those arms!

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

## II.—PRO DOMO MEA.

### PART II.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXVII 72.]

#### B. *The Nasal Verb Flexion.*<sup>1</sup>

5. *Etymology.* IE.  $\sqrt{n\acute{e}y-}$ , **a.** 'ducere, trahere, ferre', etc., in Indo-Iranian *náyati* (*náyate*); **b.** specialized as 'ducere (trahere) lanam' > 'nere' in European tongues; **c.** intrans. 'ducere', like Germ. (*sich*) *ziehen*, Lat. (*se*) *agit*; **d.** inchoative-diminutive = 'takes-to, incipit', etc. (§ 20 c).

6. *Inflexion.* **a.** (*s*)*nē(i)mi*, *nē(i)si*, *nē(i)ti* (cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  'span', possibly Lat. *nēs net*); plur. *nə(i)mós*, etc., and in composition *-n[ə]mos* (cf. Av. *frya-nmahī*, *frya-* being from \**priyom-*, §§ 7 a, 10). **b.** sg. *nāmi*, *nāsi*, *nāti*, cf. Lat. *do-dās, dāt*, as found in compounds like *trādo*, etc., and Celtic *-nami -nati* in the nasal verbs (Thurneysen, Gr. § 592). **c.** *nēmi neti*, by influence of *a* on *b*, cf. Skr. *tī-ṣṭhati*, Lat. *sistit*, and the flexion of *cer-nis cer-nit*. **d.** *nēyō nēyeti*, cf. Lith. *spėju*, etc., ap. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 3. § 136, Lat. *neo nēs net*; perhaps also *nēyeti* by influence of *a* on *f*. Note the abnormal (?) accent of Skr. *chāyāti* 'cuts up'. **e.** *-nōyō -nōyeti*, like  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\ \rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota\ \theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  (:  $\theta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ), cf. *μνοι-νῶ* below. **f.** *nāyeti* in Skr. *náyati* (secondary accent). **g.** *-nyēti*, like Skr. *chyāti dyāti syāti*. In AV. II. 7. 4 *nyā-s* may well mean 'dux'; cf. *rāja-nyās* (like *uda-nyā-*, § 14 c), prius <*rāj-ṇ*: *rāján-* 'regimen'.

7. *Reduction in the priora.* **a.** An IE. group like \**budhí nēti* (Skr. infin. *budh-i*, § 4 b<sup>1</sup>) or \**búdhn̄n̄ nēti*, if run together when the force that produced the zero vowel-grade was active, would have yielded \**budhn̄nēti*. Or *m̄* < *om* is admissible under these conditions. **b.** The combination *m̄r̄-i-nēti* would likewise have yielded an allegro \**m̄r̄nēti* (= Skr. *m̄r̄n̄āti*, cf.  $\text{çr}[u]-nōti$ . Lat. *cer-nit* is from \**kr-ī-nēti*, cf. OHG. (*h*)-*i-*

<sup>1</sup> See AJPh. 25, 369-389; 26, 172-203, 377-408; 32, 407, § 9. Bulletin of the University of Texas, no. 263), § 84 sq.

*nēn* 'clinare'.<sup>1</sup> Likewise a loc. *m̄ni* or *-m̄n-i* would reduce to *m̄n-* (or lento *m[n]i-*) as in Balto Slavic *\*mi-nē* (§ 9). *ε*. Aeolic *πῶ-νω*<sup>2</sup> 'bibō' and Skr. *j[ñ]ā-nāti* (inchoative, § 5 d) have a prius of the type of Av. *pōi* 'defendere' (*ōi* not necessarily = IE. *-āi*), Skr. (*parā-*)*dāi*. With the prius of *πῆ-νω* cf. Av. infin. *fra-xšnī* (*ī* or *ī*); *-ī* is from *-āi*, reduction form of *-ōi* (Bartholomae, Gr. Ir. Phil. 1, §§ 217, 219 b). Here (*in*)*clīnat* belongs. From *\*sthā[i]-nēti* we get *\*sthā-nēti* in Lat. *de-stīnat* (cf. OIr. *con-osnaim* <*con-od-stānā-*), but in OPruss. *po-stānimai stā*, unless due to recomposition, will be a lento form like *πω-* (*πῶ-νω*). Also, under proper conditions, *\*sthā-nēti* would reduce to *-stnēti*.<sup>3</sup>

8. *Proof of 7 ab.* *δάμ-νημι*: prius *dm̄mi-*, loc. infin. of *Vdem* 'to bind' in *κρή-δεμνον* 'headstall'. Cf. Lat. *dām[i]nare* 'to (bind,) punish' (*ā* as in *maneo*): Skr. *damā-s* 'poena', *damana-m* 'bestrafung' (? Germ. *strafe*: *στρεβλός* 'twisted'). Lat. (*con-*)*sternat*, prius *str-i-* 'zur starrheit' (cf. Plautine *timore t or peo*) + *nāyēti* (see below).

9. *Proof of IE. -nē(y)-.* Besides OBulg. infin. *mī-nē-ti* (*mī-njg* with *-ny-* as in 6, g.) = Lith. *mi-nē-ti* (*mi-* as in 7 b; see further on *-nē-*, § 20) we have OHG. *stor-nēm* 'zur starrheit ziehe' (§ 5 c; cf. AJPh. 25, 386 q.) = *stupeo* ("attonitus sum"), with original *ē* (now fictitiously explained as analogical) or *ē* < *āi* (see Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 1. § 272). The Greek dialects entirely fail to certify *-nā-* for *δάμνημι*, etc., but all the *-nā-* forms belong to *δαμνάω*, etc. (*-nā-* after *δράω*, into which *ā*

<sup>1</sup> In *κέρ-νημι πύλα-μαι* metathesis of *κρί-πλι-* after *κεράννημι πελάζω*. (*πύληνημι* < *\*πύ-ι-νημι*?).

<sup>2</sup> For the combination of *\*pōi* 'bibere' with *\*nēy* 'ducere' note Lat. *duciit* 'quaffs, bibit'; recalling the other minute correspondence between Skr. *nāyati* and Lat. *duciit*, as in the marriage ritual; also *carmen* (*epos*) *ducere* with *ukthāni* + *nī* § 10.

<sup>3</sup> The conditions portrayed in § 7 are, in a sense, the general conditions of vowel gradation, but the reduction of a group to a word might seem to have more far-reaching consequences. That language of most even stress, Greek, reduces *τούτω* before *-ί* to *τουτωί* (Aristophanes). Under like conditions there was vowel syncope in *δάμ[i]-νημι* (§ 8) and *μαγ[i]-θάνω* (§ 31). The reduction of *priora* in *-ā(y)* presents all the stages of vowel reduction now recognized for "roots" or "bases" in *-āxy*. Of course, no "root" or "basis" ever existed and my combinations reveal, glimpse-like, how (among other things) "roots" are case forms.

may likewise have been introduced from *-vā* verbs); *-vā* by 6 f. In *consternās -nāmus -nātis ā* may be a contraction of *āyō āyē* (*aes: aēnus* different in rhythm and accent); or original *-nō -nāt -nāmus -nānt* (like *dō dāt dāmus dānt*, § 6 b) may have followed the quantity pattern of *stō stās (dās) stāt stāmus stātis stānt*.

10. *Proof of ai/i.* Av. *vərə-naēta* 'chose' = Skr. *á-vṛñīta* (Gr. Iran. Phil. I, § 46; note, after J. Schmidt and pace Bartholomae, l. c., n[ə] in Gāthic *vərə-n-tē* 'chooses', § 132; cf. *friyā-n-mahī* after § 6 a and *çṛ[u]-ñóti*, § 7 b), in the which *-nī-* has been blandly disqualified, but see the data for OPruss. *-nai-* (Bezenberger in KZ. 41, 93) and connect *ai* in Goth. *kun-naiþ* (: Skr. *jānāti*, § 7 c). These widely separated sporadic manifestations of *-:ai-* are not to be voided (pace Brugmann, Gr. 2, 3, § 212, anm.) by a glozing appeal to other *ai* (*ai oi*) forms, for which, rather, the *-nai-* forms provide a reliable etymological source. In view of the inchoative note in the nasal verbs, e. g. *kunnaiþ* = 'noscit' (for Germanic, see Braune's Got. Gram.<sup>2</sup>, § 194<sup>1</sup>; supra, § 5 d); and inasmuch as our original verb was (*s*)*nēy-*:—Umbr. *per-snimu* 'precator, po s c ito' is to be derived from a primate *prē-i-* (*-i-* lost by § 7 a; *er* as in Av. *parštā* 'interrogare', OHG. *fērgōn*; also in Umbr. *pe-perscust*) + *snēy-/snī*, cf. on Av. *parāsa-nyēiti* 'interrogat' § 14 i. Skr. *Vñī* is idiomatically employed with words meaning 'carmen' (= Skr. *nī-thā-m*), e. g. *ukthāni*. Goth. *fraih-na-n* comes from IE. *prek-(i)-nə-* (*prius* = Lat. *prece*) 'zur frage ziehen'; cf. allegro *πυκνός*: lento *πυκ-ι-νός* (*prius*: *πύκ-α*) 'close-drawn'. Note Skr. *Vñī* with *anu* = *precari*.

11. *The nāw/nū verbs.* Besides its applicability to the *nē(y)/nī* verbs my theory of composition also accounts for the verbs in (*s*)*vum* (AJPh. 25, 387<sup>2</sup>), from the parallel root (*s*)*nēw-* (*snēy-w-?*).<sup>1</sup> The *nēy* and *nēw* suffixes are interchangeable at will because they are different flexion forms of one root suffixally employed. In the *deik-vūm* type, also, the *prius* was an infinitive, *dēi-k-i* or *dēik-ṃ* 'ad speciem' + *nāw-mī* 'duco'.

<sup>1</sup> Why should Walde s. v. *neo* credit to Marstrand my two years earlier explanation of Skr. *nī-v-i-s* (AJPh. 25, 373)? Note tautological (?) *nī-vīā* (: *vāyas* 'web').

12. *Phraseological use of Skr. nī.* The rôle played by (s)nēy 'ducere' continued to be played by √nī in Sanskrit, as follows: **a.** *mṛtyáve nīyate* (Vedic prose) = Morti ducitur. From *aliquem Neci* (dat.; *nece* loc.) *ducit* the sense of *a. necat* would derive. **b.** *duhitṛtve* (loc.) *nayati* (Epic.) = 'to daughterhood brings, makes a daughter of'. **c.** *váçam nayati* (RV.) = '<in> potentiam ducit' is typical of a large number of turns with terminal accusative, often amounting to periphrases for verbs; *nī + ativyṛddham* 'exaugescit'; + *abali-mānam* 'debilitat' (?); + *ādhānam* 'pledges' (?); + *ucchrāyam* 'auget'; + *kṣayam* 'necat' (cf. *φθι-vei*, intrans., § 5 c); + *duḥkham* quasi 'infortunat'; + *dvya-kṣaratām* 'makes two syllabled'; + *paritoṣam* 'delectat'; + *puṣṭim* 'auget'; + *çamam* 'quietat'; + *prasādam* 'delectat', cf. the gerundial *prasāda-nīya-s* 'delectans', perhaps with *-da* <-dm> (§§ 7 a, 14 a; cf. Bull. § 87); + *bhasmasāt*<sup>1</sup> (advb.) 'cinefacit'; + *vi-kṛtim* 'mutat'; + *vikrayam* 'vendit' (cf. *kṛi-ṇāti* 'emit', according to § 7 c; Bull., § 86); + *vi-nāçam* 'necat' (see a), + *vy-ava-hāram* quasi 'causidicat'; + *vyāghratām* 'makes into a tiger'; + *vṛidam* 'embarrasses'; + *çamam* 'tranquillat' (cf. *çama-nīya-s* 'tranquillans'); + *çūdratām* 'makes a peon of'; + *sam-rabham* '<in>iracundiam ducit'; + *samatām* 'aequiperat'; + *sākṣyam* 'testem facit' (cf. in ius ducito), In Avestan we find *təm vā ahūm . . . nañsat* = <in> eam vos vitam ducat.

13. *Parallels with Germ. ziehen* (= ducere); zu rate-, zur verantwortung-, in zweifel-, nutzen-, krumm- (and virtually intrans., sich k. z.), vollziehen; den atem ziehen = atmen; sich ins gelbliche z., s. in die länge z.; s. zurecht z.

14. *Compounds, often factitive, in -n(ə)yēti* (§ 6 fg.): **a.** Skr. *iṣ-a-nayanta*<sup>2</sup> = ad celeritatem ducebant (= accelerabant): *iṣ-a-nyati*. But *iaivō* = 'liquefacio, calefacio'. Prius IE. *iṣ-m*, acc. to the noun in Skr. *iṣ-* 'erquickung; liquor' (sucus, saft) *iṣa-nyā-* 'impetus' is post verbal. Loc. infin. *iṣa-ñi* 'to pour': \**iṣm-nā* 'liquori-ductio'. In RV. √nī is

<sup>1</sup>Also used with *kar*. Apte remarks of *nī* in his lexicon: "bring or reduce to a state or condition . . . in this sense used . . . much in the same way as *kṛ*".

<sup>2</sup>Hyphenation responsive to Sanskrit lexical usage instead of to mere morphological theory.

common with objects meaning 'aqua' (cf. *nī-ra-m* water), as *ducere* is in Latin; *ava* +  $\sqrt{ni}$  = 'abgiessen' (? *avā-ni-s* 'water course'), *ā* and *ni* + *nī* = 'eingiessen; *pra-ṅīta* = holy water.—*b.* Skr. *dhiṣ-a-nyāntas* quasi 'curantes': *dhiṣ-* quasi 'cura'; note the allegro adjective *dhiṣ[a]-ṅya-* (§ 7 a).—*c.* *uda-nyāti*. prius acc. n. *udṅ-* as in *uda-dhī-s* 'water-holder' (or 'giver' = cloud, spring)<sup>1</sup>; *uda-nyās* (*dhārās*) = aquam-ducetes (fluvii); *uda-nyān* (*abhriyas*) = *a.-d.* (>nubes.) The current division, *udan-yāti*, etc., was made without lexicographic consideration<sup>2</sup> (cf. a).—*d.* Skr. *pṛt-a-nyāti*: prius *pṛt-a-*, accus. to Indo-Iranian \**pṛt-s* (Skr. loc. plur. *pṛtsú* 31°; once "reduplicated" (?) *pṛtsú-su*; Av. gen. sg. *pəṛət-as*); *pṛt-a-nyāti* (*tvā*)<sup>4</sup> 'te <in> pugnam ducit'. Note for its long grade *pṛta-nāyú-s* 'hostilis, hostis' (-*nāyú-*<sup>5</sup>: *nāyá-s* 'dux' [cf. *daṇḍa-nāya-ka-s* 'strafrichter'] :: *upāyú-* 'appropinquans': *upāya-s* 'aditus') and *pṛtanyú-s* 'hostis'; *pṛt-a-nāyāntam* (accent as in *chāyāti*, § 6 d ?) 'pugnantem'; post verbal *pṛta-nā*, 1) exercitus hostilis (= pugnam-inferens), 2) 'pugna' (<quasi 'incursio'). The Avesta has *pəṣanā/pəṣana-m*. With Skr. *pṛtanājam* 'proelium-agentem' (equum) compare Avestan *yatha azāni pəṣana* = ut agam proelia. The good fortune that has preserved forms of the moribund monosyllable *pṛt-* (on the tendency of monosyllables to vanish, see Bull. § 10) enables us very clearly to trace the course of composition (derivation) down to *pṛtanā*. In some of the following, also, the monosyllabic stem of the priora in *-a-* (<*m/n*>) has been preserved.—*e.* *brahma-nyānt* 'praying', prius *bráhma* (acc. sg.) 'hymn, prayer'.—*f.* *ukṣa-nyāntas* (RV. 8. 27. 9) means ad-augendum (pass. sense) <nos> agentes and not "doing like oxen"; prius \**ukṣṇ-* quasi 'increase'.—

<sup>1</sup> In *uda-pa-* 'im wasser sich reinigend' and *uda-pṛt-* 'im wasser schwimmend' the prius *udṅ* (?  $\sqrt{n}$  <*an* before the accent, § 7 a) may be for the suffixless locative (cf. e. g. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 185. 4).

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that even *uda-nvánt* (with *rāthas* = water-bringing car) may contain a posterius *-nvent-* (type of Skr. *pī-nvati* 'fattens'), cf. *ῥόα · πηγῆ, ἔρροιαί · πηγῆ*. In *garta-nvánt-* (: *garta-* 'ditch') *māmsa-nvánt* (: *māmsa-* 'flesh') and *vána-nvant* 'desirous' the element *-nvant* 'ducens, portans' seems further to have been assimilated to the possessive suffix in *-va<n>t* (TAPA, 44, 121).

<sup>3</sup> Or n. \**pṛt-an-*, cf. Av. *zavan-* 'cry' in § 14 n below.

<sup>4</sup> To this might be added an accus. of the weapon.

<sup>5</sup> Reduced to *-nyū-* in *karma-nyū-* 'agilis', *sara-nyū-* 'celer'.

*g. vṛṣ-a-nyati* (RV. 9. 5. 6) is said of Soma (Bacchus) as bringer of the rain (drops) of soma (vinum); prius \**vṛṣ-ṣ-* (*vṛṣṣ-*) 'rain'. In 9. 19. 5, *kuvid vṛṣ-a-nyantībhyaḥ . . gárbham ādadhat* (nonne vaccis liquorem-ferentibus fetum dedit?), Soma is declared to have put in calf the cloud-cows. The interpretation of *f* and *g* by 'bulling' (subans) came by "disease of language".<sup>1</sup>—*h. Sundries* (cf. *c* end). *kṛp-a-nyāti* 'cupit' (*kṛp-*<sup>2</sup>: *kṛp-ā* 'compassion' :: loc. *ἀλκ-ί : ἀλκή* 'strength'); *kṛp-a-ṇanta*, posterius after § 6 *c*; *kṛpāṇam* 'miseria' (postverbal)—*tur-a-nyāti* 'festinat' (*túr* 'festinans', \*nom. ag.<sup>3</sup> 'festinatio'). *turāṇa-s* (postverbal).—*dam-a-nyāti* 'constrains, forces': \**dam-* = *dama-m* 'constraint, poena'; *damana-s* 'bändiger' (postverbal).—*bhur-a-nyāti*: 1) (factitive) 'in wallende bewegung versetzen', 2) (intrans.) 'se movere' (cf. § 5 *c*).—*riṣ-a-nyāti* (intrans.) 'geht auf schaden aus' > 'defaults'; prius: *riṣ-* 'schaden' (also 'schädiger'<sup>3</sup>), dat. infin. *riṣ-é*.—*ruv-a-nyāti* 'cries out', prius acc. to lexical *ru-* 'sonus'.—*sar-a-nyāti* 'speeds', prius from a root-noun \**sar-* (: *sirā* <'wasser->lauf'; *sar-a-ṇa-s* 'laufend', postverbal).—*huv-a-nyāti* 'calls', prius *hu<v>-a-* (acc.): (*ā*)-*hū-* ('an-)ruf' (cf. Lat. *su-em* : *ŭv*); or *huv-ṇ-* : Av. *zavan-* 'call'.—*i. In the Avesta* the entire stock of *anya*-verbs is represented by 1) *pərəs-a-nyeiti* 'interrogat' (prius acc. *pərəs-a-* : n. sg. *pərəsā* :: *ἀλκ-ί : ἀλκή*); 2) *zar-a-ni-mnəm* ('irascens'): Vedic *hr-ṇīyā-māna-s* (cf. *á-hrṇā-na-s*, i. e. \**a-hrṇā-[m]nas*), act. *hr-ṇāyānta-m* (accent like *chāyāti* § 6 *d*)—cf. *pṛi-a-nāyāntam* (§ 14 *d*), *hrṇāyú-* : *pṛi-a-nāyú-*—with *hr-* for *hr-i-* (§ 7 *b*), while *zar-a-* is from \**ḡhrr-*ṣ (flexion type of Skr. acc. *gir-am*).

15. *Greek factitives* in *-αυω*. Besides the accus. prius in *ιαίνω* (§ 14 *a*) dat.-loc. priora in *-αι (-αι)* are to be admitted. The *-ναι* future of these verbs may contain *nēyeti* (§ 5 *d*). The capacity of a present to function as a future will not be challenged by knowers of English or colloquial Latin (*είμι*).—

<sup>1</sup>The other day C. H. F., aged 5, told me a story of the creation of tomatoes by some breaking up or dissection of tomato-bugs. A *settee* he explained as a place "to set tea".

<sup>2</sup>Original sense something like 'shout, outcry': Lat. *crepitus*; cf. lexical *kṛpa-ṇya-s* 'laudator'.

<sup>3</sup>There is a wide range of nouns that indifferently designate action or agent, so that in complexes we may expect either function, even though in isolation only one function survives.

**a.** φαί-νει: defined by "brings to light" (Liddell and Scott) and "bringt ans licht" (Menge), prius IE. dat.-loc. *bhāi* or *bhāi*, cf. Skr. *bhā-* 'light'; φᾶ-νῶ (φανέρως, post-Homeric) may be analogical; φᾶ-νός 'torch' may be from \**bhām-nós* ('lucifer'); but φᾶ-νῆ 'torch' has ᾶ < *om* (reduced before the accent, § 7 a), cf. Skr. *khā-* 'well': *khā-m* 'hole'; Hom. φαεί-νει 'brings light', prius φαφες.—**b.** κραι-νω: κραι- from a noun \**krā-* 'factio'; the "distracted" form κρᾶ-αί-νω (see also § 21 c) contains either a dative \**krā-y-ai* (cf. Skr. absolutive *ura-sthā-yam*: infin. *sthā-m*; a stem \**krā-yā-* would be made like Skr. *māyā* 'a magic making', *chāyā* 'umbra', *jāyā* 'wife', cf. Av. *iāya-* 'furtum', *gāya-* 'pace, step') + *νω* etc., (§ 6 a, c); or an accusative (*a < ηi*, or *-ām*) + *-nyéti* (§ 6 g).—**c.** θερμαίνει 'makes hot' (cf. §§ 12, 13), prius dat.-loc. to θερμη 'heat' (cf. ἐχθραί-νω: ἐχθρη).—**d.** λειαίνει 'to smoothness brings'; prius dat.-loc. to λείη (not attested as abstract); or acc. (or dat.-loc.): IE. \**lēwi-s* 'smoothness' (: *leios* :: Lat. *rāvis* 'hoarseness': adj. *rāvos*; cf. fem. *pronis* [Varro ap. Non.]: *pronus*; Lith. *i-* abstracts and Latin neuters like *pingue* 'fat, fatness'), primate \**lēwy-ηi-nyéti*.—**e.** λυμαί-νε-ται (middle, as Skr. *nāyate* often is) 'outrages'; prius: λύμη 'outrage'.—**f.** λιπαί-νει 'anoints'; cf. advb. λίπ-α (from a cognate acc. = an anointing), which preserves a monosyllable stem.—**g.** πιαί-νει 'fattens'; prius, if contracted, : \**pias* (cf. Skr. *ṛivas-*, *kréas* : Skr. *kravis-*), *piar*; or : IE. *ṛi-wi*<sup>1</sup> (cf. on λειά-νω).—**h.** μαι-νει 'pollutes', prius from IE. *mī-* (cf. *pada-vīyam* acc. of *padavī* 'pedis-via' (*via* : *-vī*?) or *mīyā* (cf. Skr. *bhiyās-* 'pavor': *ṽbhēy*): *ṽmēy* (see Walde s. v. *mingō*, end), cf. the Vedic ritual word *go-māya-s* 'cow-dung' (*-māya-* : \**miyā-* :: Skr. *bhaya-*: *bhiyās-*). On *μα-νός* see § 30.

16. **a.** Not even the stalking horse *ὄνομαίνω* is certainly from

<sup>1</sup>The Vedic adjective *ṛiva-s* (: *ṛivan-*) recurs in *πότερος πότερος: πίων*. Lat. *pius* 'good' is postverbal to the Italic sept "*piare*" 'to sacrifice' (cf. *piaculum*), originally = 'to offer fat', as in the Homeric sacrifices. Perhaps \**ṛiyā-* 'fat' is preserved in Skr. *ṛi[yā]-yūṣ-a-* 'biestings'. (Cl. Qt. 9, 105), but predominantly of the "cream" of the Soma offering; *-yūṣ-a-* : Lat. *iūs*. On Skr. *ṛī* 'to be fat' see the handbooks, noting *ṛī-μελή* 'soft fat'. In Latin, cognates of Skr. *nāyate* and *sphāyate* (if themselves different) would fall to-gether (cf. *ṛivaḥ-sphākā-s* 'fat-swelling'). For the generalized sense of *pius* cf. *λιπαρός* 'oily': *λιπαρός* 'importunate in prayer, pious'.



\**ονομην-γδ*, but may rather be from *δνομη* + *nyδ*, cf. *nuncupo*, Germ. *namen führen*. If we give to *δνομα* (? suffixless locative), as we must to Skr. *nāma*, the syntactical value of Lat. *nōmine*, Homeric *δῶρ' δνομήνω* (-*ην*-<-*αν*[*ε*]s-) will mean 'nomine ducam' (for 'n. numerem'<sup>1</sup>). Goth. *nam-nyan*, if of IE. provenance, is from an allegro *nōm[n]-nyeti*, while *glit-mun[n]jan* 'candere' (intrans., § 5 c) is from a lento form in *-n-nyéti*. So *lauhmu[n]ni* 'lightning' comes, excep. excip., from \**lauhmn̄ + n̄i* quasi 'lumen-ducens'.—**b.** *δλεινός* 'drawing to pity, piteous', postverbal to \**δλεινώ*, contains a locative to *δ ελεος*, or, if from \**δλεφεσ-vos*, to \**ελεφος* (τὸ ελεος, NT).—**c.** *ἐρεινώ* 'ask' will be similarly built upon a noun \**ερεφο-s*: *Verew*.—**d.** *ἐρευ-νάω* contains a locative prius \**erēu* to a noun *erū-* (§ 19), of the same sept.

17. The "infix" nasal verbs<sup>2</sup>: *ὑφαί-νω*. The prius is *ὑφαί-*: *ὑφή* 'web', the whole = 'draws to a web, weaves'. Skr. *unābh-* 'to confine'—i. e. 'obstringere, compe[c]scere' (cf. AJPh. 25, 183), see also Grassmann PW<sup>1+2</sup> Uhlenbeck—gives a clear insight<sup>3</sup> into the origin of the so-called *ne*-infix.<sup>4</sup> IE. (*e*)*nebh-* is certified by *νεφέλαι*<sup>5</sup> 'bird-net' *nebula* 'veil' (AJPh. 25, 380) and with great clearness by *ἄρνη-νᾶβῆ-s* 'wool-spinner' (= spider, also called *tantu-nābha-s*; falso ap. Wackernagel ai. gr. 2, 11, "wool-navel"!); cf. *ἄρνη-νᾶβῆ-s* 'spider'. A root *ū-* 'to spin, weave' also is found in Skr. *u-tā-s* 'woven' *ūti-s* 'web'. The analysis of 3<sup>d</sup> sg. impf. *unap* 'he fettered' as a complex of *ū + nebh-* is therefore scarcely to be questioned.

<sup>1</sup> How long before etymologists realize that the *δνομα*-sept is not to be separated from the *numerus*-sept (AJPh. 31, 413<sup>3</sup>); and learn from the folklore prejudice against definite names and numbers how to connect *δνομαι* 'I scold' (from a briefer "root" than *enēm-*) with *δνομα*. Think of the "naming" of the Speaker of the House of Commons. In the Tennessee mountains they "name it to you".

<sup>2</sup> See also AJPh. 25, 370 c; 26, 395 sq.; 32, 407; TAPA, 41, 36; Bull. § 84 sq.

<sup>3</sup> On the blended stem in Skr. *tr-nah-* 'to crush' see AJPh. 25, 370.

<sup>4</sup> It is needless to dwell on the absurdity of a floating *ne*, settling about almost at will, particularly in the *āxi āxu* bases. For the casual, i. e. infinitival, nature of *āxi* see Bull. § 55'; of *āxu* § 19, below.—The "infixes" of Basque and other incorporating tongues, with their precise semantic or syntactic values, are not to be compared. For the casual nature of infixed *-n-* see § 22 etc.; 29 below.

<sup>5</sup> The metaphoric sense of 'cloud' is predominant.

17a. By rejecting the root *nebh* (: IE. *nē* :: *webh*: *wē* 'weave') anybody is competent, of course, to put in a cursory demurrer to the blended "root" *unebh* and to deny, what I hold to be certain, that in the sept of *νέφος* the sense of 'cloud' has derived from 'veil'. The same demurrant should be competent also to deny that the roots *snēy* and *snēw* are parallel; cf. Lat. *neo* (<\**nēyō*): pf. *nēv-i* (an excellent starting point, be it said in passing, for the Latin *-vi* perfects) :: *νέφος*: Lat. *nūbes*. I would now formulate the development of the *unabh* type by a different syncretism, and my formulation, as I now see, has been already prepared for by Brugmann's observations in the *Grundriss* (2, 3, 226). Skr. *mr̥ṇāti* 'crushes' and Lat. *li-nit* 'smears' reveal an IE. present formation consisting of the reduced root + *né-*. This entitles us to posit an Indo-Iranian \**unāti* 'weaves' (: Skr. *utá-* 'woven') alongside of a root class middle \**ubh-té* (assimilation disregarded). Further like pairs are \**yunāti* (lexical *yunāti*) 'jungit': Skr. *yuk-té*; \**tr̥ṇāti* 'bores' (cf. *τόρνος* 'borer'): \**tr̥-d-té* and again to \**tr̥-ǵh-té* (>\**tr̥dhé*); \**chināti* 'cuts' (Epic Impf. *a-chinam*): \**chit-te*; Skr. *mr̥ṇāti* 'destroys': \**mr̥-k-té* 'nocet'. By syncretism of \**yunāti* and *yukté* came *yunákti* and so on. On the derivation of the weak forms *chindánti*, etc. see § 29a.

18. Skr. *ubhāú*: Lat. *ambo. ubhāú* is a dual of a primate *ubho-* quasi 'ply', and as a dual = 'dupli'. Similarly *ambo* is from the root *enebh-* (on *am-*: *ene-* see TAPA, 41, 46<sup>2</sup>); cf. Skr. *ándhas-* 'darkness' from *enedh-*<sup>3</sup> (*ib.* p. 52): *-ev-ḥrothe* 'covered' (CR. 13, 400).

19. a. *Factitives* in *-ῶνω* (*-ῶnyō* is possible). Homer has *ἀμαλδύνειν βαθύνειν βαρύνειν εὐρύνειν ἰθύνειν καρτύνεσθαι* and *θαροῦ-*

<sup>1</sup>The cognates (derivatives) of (*s*)*nēy-* 'nere' frequently show a prosthetic *e-*, e. g. *enek-* (TAPA, 41, 31 sq.; IF. 33, 351), in Skr. *am̐ṣu-ka-m* 'vestis': Hom. *ἔραε* 'trappings' (AJPh. 34, 19'). The sense 'necare' (TAPA, 41, 37) tended to obscure the sense 'vincire'. For the "fetters" of death observe not merely generalities like *Lethaea vincula* (Horace, C. 4. 7. 28), but specific ritual texts like AV. 8, 8, 10 sq. (*mṛi-yu-pācá-* = later *kāla-pāca-*). For the ritual see Caland, ai. Todten- u. Bestattungsgebräuche p. 14 (§ 7); p. 165 (§ 15); cf. p. 172, top; 173, § 11). The fetters were a precaution against *revenants*, but the figure may also have applied to the binding on of the grave-clothes. The Vedic god of death, *Yamá-*, was a 'binder' (Cl. Qt. 9, 109). On the Avesta ritual-binding of the corpse see IF. 11, 120-121 (translated).

νεν,<sup>1</sup> all to *u*-adjectives. The priora in  $\bar{u}$  (futures in  $\bar{u}$ , if certified, will be analogy futures) are (1) identical with Skr.  $\bar{u}$  adverbs (*ryá + kar* Vedic; *tanū + kar* cf. § 12 c'); or (2) locatives in  $\bar{u}$  like Skr. *camū tanū* (: nouns in *-ūs*, see Macdonnell, Ved. gr. § 385); or (3) neuters in *-ū* (*-ūw* from *-ūvyō*, cf. τὸ θρασύ, τὸ μὴ ἡδύ, Skr. *vásu* 'reichtum', neut. of *vásu-s* 'bonus'), also *ásu-s* 'life', *áyu* 'life' (: *áyu-s* 'homo, genius vitae'), Av. *sənghu-* 'doctrina', γῆρυ-*s* 'vox', Skr. *āhū-s* 'anruf'.—**b.** But *τορύ-ναι* 'stirs' (< 'draws with a ladle, stirrer') may have an instrum. prius from a primate *t(o)rū-*: Lat. *iru-a* 'ladle' (*τορύ-ναι* postverbal).—**c.** Of the *-ēu* locative in *ἐρεν-νάω* remark has been made above.—**d.** In *ελαύ-ναι* 'drives, prods' etc. *ελαυ-* is a locative from an action noun *\*elū-s* 'going' (cf. *νέ-ηλυ-δ*, nom. ag.), with *-av* < *əu*, a doublet of  $\bar{u}$  in Skr. *camū*.

20. Lithuanian verbs in *-neti* and *-noti*. **a.** OBulg. *mī-nēti*, Lettic *mi-nēti*, Lith. *mi-nē-ti* (fut. *mi-nēsiau* [*-nēsiau* : *Vnēy* :: Skr. fut. *dāsyāti* : *√dā*], aor. *mi-nēyāu*) have a clear case of  $\bar{e}$  in the posterius; for the prius *mīn-*[ $\bar{i}$ ] or *m[n]-i-*<sup>2</sup> see § 7 b.—**b.** Save by me in AJPh. 25, 386, the large group of Lithuanian verbs in *-nēti* seems not to have been brought into connection with the nasal classes, to which, as *mī-nēti* shows, they clearly belong. They fall into two types: i. *vēz-i-nēti*, prius = Skr. *vāh-i-* in *vāh-i-ṣthas*, see AJPh. 31, 410, §§ 19, 20; Lat. *\*rēg-s* 'ruling' : *rēx* 'ruler' :: Skr. *rājān* 'ductio' : *rājan-* 'dux'; posterius *-nēti* 'ducere' (§ 6 a). In the more usual *vaz-i-nēti*, *vaz-i-* (also in Skr. *vā'h-i-ṣtha-s*, § 4 a) is like *φοπ-ί* in Greek. If the symphysis took place in Lithuanian times *-i-* may be from IE.  $\bar{i}$ . The formation is certainly paralleled by (*κτ-νέω* and) *ἀγξ-νέω* (cf. p. 294, τὸν δὲ . . . ἀγξινεσκον . . . ἀλγας ἐπι =

<sup>1</sup> Fraenkel, Gr. Denom. 30, lets all these start from *θάρσυνος* 'confidens', which is mere algebra. *θάρσυνος*, quantity after *πίσυνος*, is postverbal. Nor is *πίσυνος* credibly derived from *πείθω*, but it is for ( $\bar{e}$ ) *πίσυνος* (: *σεύω*, Skr. *vcyu-*), first meaning 'having rushed to', with sense generally similar to Eng. 'appealing to', 'resorting to', 'rallying to', 'relying on' (see Concise Oxī. Dict. s. v. rely), and markedly like Skr. *prastita-s* (lit. 'aditus' >) 'fretus, *πίσυνος*' (cf. PW<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 200, col. 3, top). In OPersian, forms of *š(i)yav-* (= Skr. *cyu-*) are defined by 'übergehen zu, jemand's partei ergreifen' (Bartholomae, Wbch. 1714. 2). *θρασύς* already meant 'audax' and suggested 'confisus' (Thucydides, 7. 77), and belongs with Skr. *dhar-ṣ-* 'audere', an extension of the root of *frētus*.

<sup>2</sup> The present *me-nū* owes its *e* to *menu* 'recorder, puto'.

eum <canem> agere solebant . . . in capreas). ii. *akli-néti* 'blind umher irren' (i. e. ziehen, § 5 c): *ākla-s* 'blind' (cf. factitive *āklinu* 'caeco') *szvitri-néti* 'albescere, candere' (: Skr. *çvitrá-s* 'albus'): the priora are locatives in -i (<ei), of the *toli*-type (see Wiedemann, Lit. gr. § 76), cf. *toli-nu* 'ziehe in die ferne, remove' with *várg-i-nu* 'in miseriam duco' (: *vaṛga-s* 'miseria'), cf. Skr. *duḥkha-m nayāmi* (§ 12). The symphysis of these groups with locative priora (see on *μενοι-νώω* § 21) may not have taken place till the beginnings of Lithuanian.—c. The special sense of the -*néti* verbs is that, like *ἀγι-νέω*, they are frequentative (§ 5 d) and also diminutive. So in English *takes to* with action nouns in -ing (as in *takes to jumping*) means "begins, falls into the habit of, begins to busy oneself with" (Concise Oxf. Dict.), i. e. "incipit". This diminutive and frequentative sense also inheres in—d. Lith. *lynóti* 'to drizzle', where -*nóti* = 'incipit' (§ 6 e), and *ly-* is a locative in -ī (§ 7 c; cf. on *ἀγι-νέω*) to the root in *lé-ti* 'to pour'.<sup>1</sup>

21. MENOINΩΩ<sup>2</sup> and Homeric Diektasis. a. The most profitable remark hitherto made about *μενοινώω* is that it owes its -ώω to the synonym *μαιμών* 'valde cupio'. The truth is precisely the contrary. Our verb is a symphysis, in Greek times, of loc. *μενοι-* (cf. *ἦοι*[: *ἦός*] 'mane' and, for the o-vocalism, Lat. *tergore tempore* [Neue, Formenl. 2,649]) + *νώω* (§ 6 e), but in *μενοι-νήησι* we have -*νηω* (§ 6 d). The sense was 'in mentem duco'; a verb of feeling as Lat. (*in*) *animum induco*<sup>3</sup> is a verb of thought (cf. Skr. *mānas* 'voluntas', *ménos* 'ira, ardor'). We also have *animo ducebam* (rebarque futurum, Aeneid). With *μενοι-νώω* cf. Epic Skr. *manasā yat pra-ñitam* = mente quod cupitum, *manah-pra-ñita-s* mente-cupitus, *mano-ñitas* 'chosen' (cf. *anu* + *nī* 'precor', § 10).

<sup>1</sup> In the first edition of the Grundriss (II, § 60 C) Brugmann connected the -*no-* of *lynóti* with -*νημι*, seeing (correctly, as I doubt not) in the *lynóti* type a possible starting point for the denominatives in -*óti*. But now the wide extension of -*óti* in denominatives seems to have blinked his earlier vision.

<sup>2</sup> The forms of record are A *μενοι-νώω* (N 79); B (from \**μενοινώω*), 2d sg. *μενοι νῆς* (8°), 3d sg. *μενοι νῆ* (3°), but *μενοι νᾶ* (T 164), ptc. *μενοι νῶν* (O 293), impf. 3d sg. *μενοί νᾶ* (3°), 3d pl. *μενοί-τεον* (e!, M 59), C. *μενοινήησι* (O 82).

<sup>3</sup> Is Lat. *monere* from loc. *mo[ni]*+*-neo* = 'in-mentem <alienam> duco'? Cf. § 20 (con-í).

The sense of *μενοι-νώω* is given in Sanskrit by loc. *manasi + kar* or *ni-dhā*; also note *manas + kar (dhā, yuj-)* 'animadverto'. Instr. *manasā + gam* (quasi 'mente ire') = 'to think of' etc.; *m. + √nī* would amount only to a causative of *m. + √gam*.—**b.** The posteriora *-νώω -νήω -νῶ* (<-νᾶω<-*νηγδ*, § 6 f) are all equally original, and were kept alive for their different rhythmic values in the epic. To interplay of *μενοινῶω* on *μενοινᾶω* we owe *μαιμῶω : μαιμᾶω* and *ἡβῶωντες* (cf. *ζῶω : \*ζᾶω*) for *ἡβᾶόντες*, *ὀρώωντες*<sup>1</sup> for *ὀρᾶόντες*. In *μενοίνεον* *ε* comes by § 6 d, or is due to the *ē* of *μενοινῆησι*. After the ratio of *μενοινῶων : \*μενοινῶων* we account for *μενοινῆ : μενοινᾶα*.—**c.** Thus a sufficient number of patterns (*ωω ηη ᾶα*) for Homeric diektasis, the distractive assimilation of vowels, is supplied by the *μενοινῶω* group. See further on *κρααίνω* (§ 15 b), and other etymological patterns will appear below (§ 30). There was of course no real diektasis, no corrective metrical "distraction" (Wackernagel); and even the vowel assimilation of Leo Meyer and Hermann (l. s. c.) footed in these varying etymological patterns—a not improbable source of much that seems merely phonetic. **e.** In *δεικα-νόωντο* (= in honorem ducunt) the prius *δεικ-a* is an accusative; cf. Vedic instr. *dāc-ā* 'honore'.

22. **a. MENEAI-NO.** The prius is a localis (Bartholomae's dative-locative, Gr. Ir. Phil. 1, § 217; cf. Lat. *temperī* 'zur <rechten> zeit, *χαμ-αί = humī* [IF. 33, 359] 'to (or on) the ground'), from *menesai*; the whole = quasi 'cordi ducere' (cf. animo ducbam), a transitive as it were to *mihī cordi est*, 'I have at heart'. The posterius *-vei-s (-vei)* may = IE. *nēisi* (§ 6 a; AJPh. 25, 387). Analogy apart, the preterit, *μενείνα-μεν* may = instrum. *menes-ē*<sup>2</sup> + impf. *\*e-nāmen*. By combin-

<sup>1</sup>-ωντ- for "open" -ωντ- according to Hermann, KZ. 46, 2-49.

<sup>2</sup>This ending (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. 194 anm.) can hardly be anything but IE. *ē | ḍ* 'unmittelbar an, bei' (*ib.* p. 817), already glimpsed by Brugmann (Gr. 2. 2. § 185. 3) as a locative ending. English *by* has developed the function of the agent and instrument. The old prejudice in favor of *-a* as the instrumental ending was due to *πεδά* (see Cl. Qt. 8, 50, 52') = *μετά*, whose *-á* is a nominative ending, as in Lat. *-cola* (TAPA. 44, 119).—It is the *-o | -e* of this instrumental (sociative) that functions as a "connecting vowel" in compounds (survivals, not innovations) such as Goth. *brōpr-a-lubbō* (with brother love) etc.; interpret *δακρυ-ό-φι δακρυ-ό-εις* by TAPA. 44, 107 sq. (§§ 1, 27). See also § 28.

ing *μενείραμεν* with aor. 1st sg. *μενείρα* [analogy form after *ἴηρα/lāna* (*ān* <-*ανσ*-)] we obtain a beautiful start for *ā* as a quasi connecting vowel for the sigmatic aorist. Or is *-ηρα* *-āna* the proper compensative lengthening for *-αι-νσα* (*-ν[ε]ση*):  $\sqrt{\eta\bar{y}}$  :: Skr. *á-dī-ṣ-i*:  $\sqrt{dā}$ ?—*b*. Like *μενεί-ρα* is *βλεμείνει*, if = 'superbit' (<se in *superbiam* ducit), cf. *es* stem of *ἀ-βλεμής*. A root *d(e)lem-* (on *βλ*- <*dl*-, see TAPA, Spec. Sess. 1894, p. ix) 'superbire' may be justified to some degree by *del(e)p-* in Skr. *dr̥pyāti* 'superbit' (*p*:*m* as in Lat. *trepidus*: *tremit*). But if *βλεμείνων* = 'glaring' (so Liddell and Scott) *βλεμες-* belongs with τὸ βλέμος.

### C. On the -d/-dh root extensions.

22a. The Latin gerundials constitute a mere aspect of the composita found in the *-du/-thu* extensions of shorter roots. Observe the pairs (*ap*)*standus*<sup>1</sup>: Germ. *standen*; *ciendus* 'movendus': *μετα-κιά-θω* 'sequor'; *-bundus*: OBulg. *bo-do* 'ero, werde'. The primate *sthām-dh-* contains an acc. infinitive = Skr. *sthām*, and the complex = 'to do a standing' ('do [to] stand'). In *ciendus*, etc., *ciēn-*: *κία* = IE. *kīyṃ*, acc. of *kī-* in *κίω κί-νέω* (*-νεω* as in *ἀγί-νέω*, § 20), and the whole = 'to do a moving' ('do move'). In *-bundus*: *bo-do* the prius is IE. *bhvom* or *bhūm*, and the whole = 'do become'.

23. Syntax of Lat. gerundive: *mihi eundum est* = 'I have a going-do', as Lane almost divined (Lat. Gr.<sup>2</sup>, § 2243), and the necessitarian sense is contextual only, that is to say lies in the dative. Words like *secundus* are formatively like Skr. *dhiyam-dhā-* 'preceam faciens'. Note the comparative richness of the *-om* infinitives in the Italic dialects (von Planta, Gr., § 333). *Sequendus* is of the type of Skr. infin. *dhiyā-dhyāi*, cf. *θίασος* <\**dhiyṃ-dhyo-s* (*θιάσαι*: *χορεύσαι*, like Skr. *dhiyādhyāi*), but Lacon. *σιάδες* (*a* in both <*m*, as Prellwitz correctly saw, BB 22, 283) has *d* (§ 24).

24. The posteriora in the Italic gerundials may be subsumed, quantity apart, in the Vedic pair *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving': *ātma-dhā-s* 'soul-giving', or in *rayi-dhā*: *ratna-dhā*. In the dialects, Umbr. *anferener*<sup>2</sup> apart, only *-do-* is attested,

<sup>1</sup> *a. amor* (Plautus) = Love must be stood off (transitive, as *standen* is transitive).

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of palaeography ANFEREN <F>ER is an easy correction; or the second *nf* might be reduced to *n* by teleheterosis.

cf.  $\delta$  in *σιάδες* and *φυγάδες* (Prellwitz, l. c.), a type recognized as gerundial by Lebreton (Mém. Soc. Ling. 11, 145 sq.), otherwise, all the dialect examples are, or may be, irradiations from the "operandus" type, which may be purely Italic, as *operandus* comes from *operam dare* (rebus divinis, Cicero, Leg. 2. 26). For *operam dare* with accusative see Bennett, Syntax ii, § 260.

25. *Statistic of "operandus"*: *úpsanno-* 'operando-' 7°; *piano-* (§ 15 g) 'piando-' 4°; *sacranno-* 'sacrando-' 2°—13 instances of one and the same idea.<sup>1</sup> Of other ritual verbs of the first conjugation, sense unknown, there remain *pelsano-* 5°; (*v*)*eehiano-* 2°. Lastly, Umbr. *anferener* occurs as follows: <"sacra omnia"> *popler anferener*<sup>2</sup> et *ocrer pihaner* = *populi circumferendi et arcis piandi*.

26. *Proof of dh*:—Lat. *standus*: Germ. *standen*, *ciendus*: *μετεκίθε* ( $\tau$  is either metric  $\cup \cup \cup \cup$ , or like  $\tau$  in Skr. *padavīyam*, § 15 h). *Proof of d*: *operandus*; of *dh/d* *θίανος*: *σιάδες*. Lindsay's explanation of the gerundials (LL., p. 544, § 95) would have gone better had he used *operam-dus* for his example, instead of *\*laudam-dus*, etc.; and the choice of Skr. *sthām* instead of Av. *dqm* (for *dan-dus*) might have led him to see the formal identity, excep. excip., between *standus* and Germ. *standen*.

27. *Case-relations of the priora*. In *standus* the prius is an infinitive of accusative form; in *operandus* the accusative of an action noun; in *ciendus* (: *μετεκίθε*)<sup>3</sup> again an accusa-

<sup>1</sup> The sense of *úpsanno-* was generalized from 'operando-' to 'faciendo-', along the easy transition afforded by the equality of the idea of *faciendo-* with the idea of *sacrificando-*.

<sup>2</sup> As IE. *-ndh-* alternated with *-nd-* we need not here raise the question whether *-n(n)-* came from *-ndh-*, but neither *-nf-<-ndh-* nor any analogon is certified by the dialects save in Osc. *anafriss*, where the conditions of Lat. *inferi inferiae* etc. (apparent recomposition) obtain (see TAPA. 29, 19).

<sup>3</sup> *Statistic of some Greek verbs in -áθειν* (or *-áθειν*, see Veitch's catalogue s. vv.): Hom. *ἔφραγ-α-θε* 'twisted off, cut off; shut out'; in the dramatists: *ελαθεῖν* 'to yield' (i. e. do a yielding), *διωκαθεῖν* 'to pursue'; *ἀμυναθεῖν* 'to defend'; and particularly *ἀλκ-α-θειν* 'to ward off', with *ἀλκ-α-* (acc.) matching *ἀλκ-ί* (loc.): *ἀλκή*. Hesychius adds *κατ-ε-κλαθεῖν* *κατεκοιμήθη*, in gradation with Skr. *çayá-dhyāi* 'to lay', cf. Av. gen. abl. infin. *xšayδ* 'to destroy', but *xš(i)yδ* 'perniciēi' (: *xšim* 'perniciem').

tive (cf. Skr. infin. *pra-míy-am* 'to neglect'), as in Skr. *dhiyá-dhyāi* 'to deposit' (in which *dhyāi* was once an independent infinitive, like Av. *dyāi*; see tmesis with *dyāḥ* in § 28). For the propriety of the accusative relation note Bartholomae's renderings of Skr. *bhāradhyāi* 'tragung zu machen', *sāhadhyāi* 'bewältigung zu machen', *śayādhyāi* 'liegen zu machen', Av. *vazadyāi* 'fahrt zu machen' (cited in TAPA, 29, 13). I take Av. *vārān-dyāi* to contain *n* < *m* (acc. \**vṛ-m*, a more allegro form than the flexion type of Skr. *gīram*: nom. *gār*); but *ir-á-dhyāi* (in *krāñā i* = potentes adipiscendi) has a prius \**ṛm* (like *gīram* < \**gṛam*) belonging with the root of ἀρνυμαι (cf. on ἀρι-στος, § 4 c').

28. But the dative-locative relation is also attested and, in Avestan, with relative fullness: *θrāyōi-dyāi* 'protegere' (*θrāyōi*:- √*trā(y)*- :: *dāvōi*: √*dā(w)*-); *o*-stem locative priora in *srāvayei-dyāi* 'to cause to hear'; *āfyei-dyāi* 'curare' (-*fyei*: Lat. *plus*, § 15 g); *vārāzyei-dyāi* 'zu wirken, zu thun' (cf. the *es* stem *vārāzyah-* 'wirken, thun', which governs the accusative and corresponds, in its locative *vārāz-yah(i)*, to the Latin infinitives in *-ier*,<sup>1</sup> Bull., § 94; neut. *vārāz-ya-m* 'wirken, arbeit'). The genesis of these infinitive combinations in *-dyāi* (but Av. *dyāi* is also a simplex) is made clear-as-day<sup>2</sup> by the Gāthic combination *varāz-i* (loc. infin.) *nā dyāḥ* = "zur wirksamkeit uns verhelpe". So in Av. *srūi-dyāi* 'audire' *sūi-dyāi* 'zu nutzen' we are quite justified in finding the locative priora *srū-* and *sū-* (cf. on *camū*, § 19); and continuants of IE. *nēi* and *snāi* (infinitives like *parā-dāi*, § 7 c) in the priora of *vḥ-θei* 'spins', Av. *snā-daiti* 'lavit'. In *veμ-é-θorro veμ* may be a suffixless locative (Bull., § 38), followed by augmented *é-θorro*; unless *veμ-ε-* (like *θῆλ-ε*; cf. *ὀψέ: ὀψι-*) is a locative-instrumental in *-e* (§ 22, c'), of the type of OBulg. *kamen-e*, etc. (Brugmann, Gr. 2. 2. § 185, 3 a). This *-e/-o* case, undifferentiated (and not mixed<sup>3</sup>) as between instrumental and locative, is found in Skr. *div-á-kṣas-* = *div-i-kṣit-*

<sup>1</sup> Latin *feri* is from a dative of a verbal noun of the type of Skr. *bhi-yás-* (: *vbhēy*).

<sup>2</sup> Be it said in passing that this locution (cf. Lat. *sub divo*) probably foots on Indo-European.

<sup>3</sup> Convergence by phonetic decay excluded, so far as cases can be called mixed it is in consequence of imitation of the more original lack of differentiation.



'in caelo habitans' (*div-á-* = advb. *divá/divā*); cf. *κερα-ο-ξόος* 'worker in horn' (graver on horn) and *ἀσπιδ-ό-δουπος* 'clupeo-crepitans'; *ἀσπιδ-ο-φέρμων* 'living-by-shield'. [Fick, Eigenn.<sup>2</sup>, p. 53, explains 'Αλκε- in Greek names as an instrumental.]

29. *The flexional type of fundit and -bundus.* Algebraic analysis has satisfied itself in the past by deriving OBulg. *bo-dŏ* 'ero' (Berneker, Wbch. s. v.) from *bhŭ<n>-d-* or *bhvo<n>-d-*, calling *n* the infixed nasal (formant!) and *d* a formant (admittedly from the root *dhē* or *dō*); and has never come to a reckoning à *outrance* with this ubiquitous *n* (§ 17<sup>2</sup>). To define *fundit* as 'pouring does' ought, however, to be enough to satisfy anyone that *fun-* is IE. acc. \**ǵhwo-m* (:√*ǵhu-* :: Skr. *á-bhva-m* : √*bhū*), not \**ǵhŭ-m* (type of Av. *xšnum* 'πλήρωμα, completio', § 4, d<sup>3</sup>), because of *f-* <*ǵhw-*. In pf. *fū-dit* (for \**hū-dit*) *fū-* (with *f* after the present—and this may be one source for the *f/h* variation in Latin) is a locative like *srū-* in *srūi-dyāi* (§ 28), and the whole = I did [to] pour. Similarly in Lat. *fin-d-it* 'splits' *fin-* is from \**bhim* (: OBulg. *biti* 'caedere'<sup>1</sup>), fashioned like Av. *xšim* 'perniciem', + *-d-/-dh-* 'dare, facere'.<sup>2</sup> The root being a long vowel root, in the perfect *fi-dit* *fī* will be a dative-locative <*bhāi* (cf. on *λοι-σθος*, § 4 b). The participles *fū-sus* *fi-ssus* (prius <*bh-í-*, § 7 c) will contain in *-(s)sos* the correspondent of Skr. *-ta-*, ptc. to √*dā*.

[29 a. I have but lately come to understand the flexional significance of OBulg. *dajq* 'do' (infin. *dajati* 'dare') and to realize that it entitles us to operate, in composition, with IE. *dyéti* 'dat' (cf. Skr. *dyáti* 'δίδησι'). In *scin-dit*, as in *fin-dit*, the prius is an accusative. In *σχί-ζω* (*-ζω* <*dyō*) the prius is a locative to a root noun *skhē(y)-*, and the complex meant something like 'in scissuram do', cf. Lat. *in fugam dare* 'fugare' (causalis to *fugere*) and *in conspectum dare*, causalis to 'conspicere'.]

<sup>1</sup> On the restriction of *findit* to 'splits' see AJPh. 32, 407<sup>2</sup>; MLN. 22, 38<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> One must remind oneself of the grouping of Lat. *do* with actual nouns, e. g. *motūs dare* (= 'movere' in Lucr. 1, 819, but = 'se movere, moveri', ib. 2. 311); *ruinas-, stragem-* etc.; *consilium dare* = *consiliari* (Horace). Copious examples of action noun objects with *facio* in Thes. LL. VI, 92 sq., e. g. *crepitum facere*, ib. 98, 13.

30. *The Greek aorist in -θην* (ptc. -θείς, note accent). Exclusive of ἐ-γνώ-σθης (-σθ- <sth, Bull., § 81) and perhaps a few more like it, the -θην aorists are simply tenses belonging to the *fu-n-dit* flexion type, χῦ-θείς being equivalent, excep. excip., to *fū-dit*. In ἐ-κλίθη 'he did lean' (Γ 360) κλι- is accusative like Av. *xšim* 'perniciem'; in ἐ-κλί-θη 'did turn' (τ 470), κλι-ι<sup>1</sup> is a locative as in § 7 c. From the analogy of ptc. κλιτός (Skr. *critā-s*): κλι-θείς, pairs like χυτός: χυθείς were begotten, cf. ἀμφ-ε-χύθη (δ 716) 'did fall' (= fundebatur). In A 200 note *δοσε φᾶανθεν*<sup>2</sup> 'eyes did glow' (φααν < *bhāyā-m* 'splendorem' formed like Skr. *dayā* 'misericordia' (also cf. *ācīr-dāyā-*), a feminine to the type of Skr. n. *bhāyā-m* 'pavor' (masc.). See on κρᾶ-αν-, § 15 b.

31. *Other complexes with dhē-*. In *μαν-θάνω* the prius is from *lento mn[n]i*, as in § 7 b; but in *μαθεῖν* from *allegro mn[i]*. An Indo-Iranian "suffixless" locative *man-*, (i. e. *mn[n]*) is found in Skr. *man-dhātār-* and, in tmesi, in Av. *mən . . dadē* 'I have put in mind' (for the form cf. Gāthic *azəm* = Skr. *ahóm* 'ego'). In Lithuanian, the causatives like *ly-dinu* 'pluere facio' contain an infinitive prius *ly-*, etc. (§ 20 d) + *-dinu* = *-θανω* (but in *-dinu i* may be the most reduced form of a case in *-āxy*, § 7<sup>1</sup>; *ə* in *-θανω* of *-āx[y]*). The syntax of the combination reminds of Lat. *marcescere facit* (Thes. LL. VI, 115, 6).

22a. Postscript.—The *do-* conjugation is found in Indo-Iranian. See exx. ap. Bartholomae, BB. 15, 237 and Jackson's renderings, Av. Gram. § 724, 4, Av. *-ricya* is a loc. infin. *ric-i* + *ē* as explained in § 22<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The root is certified as *kēly* by *i*-forms like *κλίμαξ κλίτη*; and Skr. *crāya-* is from *kēlye-*. We have a dissyllabic *kōlye-* in Lat. *colina* 'kitchen' (i. e. in our parlance a 'lean-to, shed'): *śālā-* (long-grade *ā*) 'hut, stall'. Note the rhyming pair *kēy* (in *κεῖται* 'lies') and *lēy* (§ 4 b) in Skr. *pra-lāyana-m* 'lagerstätte'; *nīlaya-* 'lager', *nī-lāyana-m* 'das sich niederlassen auf'.

<sup>2</sup>But forms like *μάνθησαν* are perhaps from *μά-ν[ə]θησαν* (*νθ-θῆ-*: *νθy*): *στα-θείς*: *νsthā*; on *ə* see § 31; at all events, in *ἀμύαρτος μίαν-ν[ə]τος* suggests 'ad-pollutionem ductus' (cf. § 15 h).

### III.—THE ORIGIN OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN NOMINAL STEM-SUFFIXES.

#### PART I.

In discussing the question of the origin of the I. E. stem-suffixes it is necessary to bear in mind two considerations: in the first place that it is a question of the origin of a whole system, a whole principle of expression, and not of individual suffixes. So far as the latter are concerned no one e. g. who believes in the origin of I. E. suffixes from separate words would deny that in historical as well as prehistoric-times many a suffix arose by other methods. Nor could those who deny the principle of composition as the source of suffixation also deny the origin of every individual suffix in that way. In the second place, the fact that the whole I. E. suffixal system is of prehistoric origin makes the question as to how it arose one which depends largely and almost entirely on considerations of general probability based on the nature of the processes assumed and their similarity to processes actually occurring in the formation of historical suffixes and of the other linguistic material, on the continuity of the line of development assumed with the tendencies in historical times, and on the possibility of finding in sufficient number individual instances which can without violence be brought into harmony with the theory under consideration. If, therefore, any one brings forth a large number of unconvincing examples of a *possible* origin to substantiate his own theory, all we can say is that he has not proved his point, that we may doubt very much the explanation of the individual suffixes without being able to say that the unconvincing nature of such attempts will militate in favor of the opposite theory.

It is because of this reason that one cannot claim that the often extremely fantastic attempts of some scholars to find historical words in I. E. suffixes, and their failure to carry conviction with them, is really an objection against the theory of composition itself, and many a scholar who has no sym-

pathy with these attempts will yet believe in the idea which lies at their basis. On the other hand, one can claim that the absence of any considerable number of plausible examples takes away one of the main supports which have been advanced for such a theory, and that any other more in line with the general considerations mentioned above would hold the field, even if its application to the individual suffix would be no more convincing than of the theory of composition. I am referring to such hypotheses as that of Prellwitz BB. 22. 76 ff. concerning the origin of I. E. *-bho-*, which he considers as derived from the I. E. root *bhā* 'to shine', so that Gr. *ἔλαφος* 'deer' would have been originally 'having the appearance of a deer'. As Brugmann remarks, it is impossible actually to disprove such conjectures, and the line of development assumed certainly is a thinkable one, but its failure to carry conviction is due to the fact that there is nothing distinctive about the words in *-bhos* which would in itself point in that direction, the only argument adduced being that in certain words in which the suffix seems to have no tangible meaning we *may* assume such an origin. But precisely the same sort of procedure can be applied to any other word in any apparently meaningless suffix if the latter chances to have a consonant in common with a root or word of such vague and general meaning as 'appearance', 'nature', 'going', etc. Thus we might as well say the suffix *-es- -os-* contains the root of the verb 'to be', translating e. g. Skt. *tāpas* 'warmth' as 'the being warm' or 'having a warm nature'; or that *-ero-* was the root of Gr. *ἔρῳμι* 'arise, move', so that Gr. *ἐλεύθερος* 'free' was 'of free movement' or 'of free spirit' (cf. *θυμός* 'anger, spirit': *θύω*); or *-ue- -uo-* might be derived from I. E. *uē* 'to weave', so that e. g. Lat. *fulvos* was 'of tawny web' and then generally 'of tawny appearance'. But if we would admit a larger number of such origins, we are at once confronted with the impossible situation of imputing to very primitive people the habit of using a very large number of abstract words and of habitually forming an extremely large number of new words by the tortuous paths of useless circumlocution. And finally, the possibility of analyzing in the above way the meaning of words with meaningless suffixes is by no means confined to cases where the suffix does show

some such resemblance to a word of general meaning, but is logically possible everywhere. As far as the mere idea is concerned, we might as well say that Skt. *ásta-kam* in I. E. *-ko-* was 'having the appearance of a home', and that *-dhénu-kā* 'cow' was 'having the appearance of a cow', or that *bahu-lá-s* = *bahú-ṣ* 'abundant' was 'having an abundant nature', etc.

No more convincing are attempts to identify I. E. suffixes with words of a more concrete nature, since such identifications in every case presuppose that the original meaning of the suffix can be felt in only a very small per cent. of words thus formed, if not in only a single word. While such a spreading out of meaning might be possible here and there, we would hardly assume it on such a large scale as would be necessary if any larger number of I. E. suffixes arose in this way. Moreover, it is almost inconceivable that an ingenious mind could not in every instance find one word ending in a certain productive suffix that would allow forcing the meaning of its suffix into that of some similar word or root, and if the suffix happens to have a resemblance to two words, we can refer with equal probability to both. Let us take an instance that is by no means among the most fantastic, namely the attempt of Fay Cl. Phil. 6. 315 ff. to identify Lat. *-ēdon-* with *edere* 'to eat', e. g. in *ūrēdo* 'blast, blight' as 'an eating to burn' (*ūro*), or in *dulcēdo* 'sweetness' as 'sweet taste'. But if we consider the initial vowel of the suffix to be due to clipping from some stem, we have as much right to take the suffix as derived from the root *dō* 'give', and we can find a larger number of words into whose suffixes we can read the notion of giving, e. g. *rubēdo* might be 'the giving of redness', or *frigēdo* 'the giving, i. e. causing of cold' rather than simply 'cold', or *oscēdo* might be 'the giving of an inclination to yawn' instead of simply 'inclination to yawn'! Certainly not less convincing than the derivation of some of these words from 'eating' would be the analysis of Gr. *σπαδών* 'spasms' (with *-don-* instead of *-ēdon-*) from 'the giving or causing of spasms'. Turning our attention to other suffixes, who could disprove that I. E. *-uent-* was the Latin *ventus*<sup>1</sup> 'wind', e. g.

<sup>1</sup> The short *ē* of *-uent-* as opposed to *ē* of the I. E. *\*uē-* 'to blow' is no more an objection than *o* in the suffix *-bho-* as opposed to *ā* in *\*bhā-* 'to shine'.

in Gr. *ἠνεμόεις* 'windy', originally 'having wind-blasts', or why is *-γεν-* not the same as the Skt. root *van* 'to love', e. g. in Skt. *sáhō-van-* 'powerful', i. e. 'loving power', or in Gr. *ἀπείρων* 'boundless', i. e. 'not loving an end'? The mere asking of such questions at once throws discredit on other similar analyses which at first sight seem more in the realms of probability.

If, then, the supposition that I. E. suffixes mainly arose by composition clearly cannot be proved by establishing such origin of a larger number of individual suffixes, the only other possible proof would be a demonstration of the proposition that most suffixes which either arose under our eyes in historical times, or at least those of whose origin we are certain, are the result of composition, and that therefore the same thing is likely to be true of the others. But in actual fact the number of suffixes which can with any degree of certainty be traced to actually existing words is extremely small, and almost exclusively consists of such as arose in the life of the individual languages when the suffixal system had been developed for many centuries, and when consequently the change of the final member of a compound to a suffix was facilitated by syncretism with already existing suffixes of more general meaning. Cf. e. g. Oertel and Morris Harvard Stud. Cl. Phil. 16. 72., Brugmann Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 7. The clearest cases are enumerated by Brugmann op. cit. 12 f., among which might be mentioned Germanic adjectives like O. H. G. *wib-lich* 'womanly', originally 'having the body or appearance (*lih*) of a woman', or abstract nouns like O. H. G. *kind-heit* 'childhood', originally 'station or condition or character (*heit*) of a child', for which cf. Kluge Nom. Stammbild<sup>2</sup>. 80 ff., 111 ff. But all such cases are exceedingly limited in number when we compare them with the almost innumerable examples of suffixes demonstrably originating in other ways even in historical times. Whenever we can control the formation of a suffix of definite semantic content, we almost always find that it is the product of 'wrong analysis' or abstraction, arising by feeling as a unity the final part of a finished word together with an already existing formative which usually has a vaguer meaning. Thus by combination of I. E. *-no-*<sup>1</sup> with various stem-

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 254 ff.

finals arose *-sno-*, *-eno-*, *-ono-*, *-ino-*, *-ino-*, *-teno-*, *-ino-*, *-ino-*, *-eino-*, *-oino-*, *-uno-*, *-ūno-*, *-ō(u)no-*, *-āno-*, *-rno-*, *-esno-*, *-osno-*, *-əsno-*, *-usno-*. In the very same way I. E. *-ko-*<sup>1</sup> gives rise to *-sko-*, *-iko-*, *-uko-*, *-iko-*, *-ūko-*, *-āko-*, *-ēko-*, *-ōko-*, *-isko-*. Turning our attention to examples in the history of single languages, we find the Gr. diminutive suffix *-ιον*<sup>2</sup> in the very same way giving rise to *-διον*, *-ιδιον*, *-υδιον*, *-αδιον*, *-υδριον*, *-ακιον*, *-ισκιον*, *-αλ(λ)ιον*, *-ελλιον*, *-υλλιον*, *-ῆνιον*, *-αριον*, *-υριον*, *-ασιον*, *-αφιον*, *-ιφιον*, *-ηφιον*, *-υφιον*. In Latin again the simple diminutive *-ulus*<sup>3</sup> causes *-illus*, *-ellus*, *-cellus*, *-cillus*, *-culus*, *-iusculus*, *-iunculus*. In this way every other simple productive suffix also leads to an incredibly large number of derivative suffixes, so that all in all the few suffixes actually arising by composition are literally swamped in the large number of those arising by "clipping" or "false abstraction".

Applying the principle that the forces at work in causing the changes of language at the present time are the same as those causing the same linguistic phenomena to originate, we could conclude that composition played a very subordinate part in the development of the I. E. suffixal system, but on the whole it was due to the same process of wrong abstraction as gave rise to the suffixes originating in later stages of language. The objection which might be raised, that this clipping in every instance presupposes a suffixal nucleus at the end, does not have much force when we consider that at the most this would only mean that to begin with a suffixal vowel existed, or an inflectional ending; for if we see e. g. the suffix *-uko-* arising from the addition of *-ko-* to an *u*-stem, we can in turn assume that *-ko-* arose by adding the suffix *-o-* to a word ending in *k*, and that *-ti-* arose by wrongly analyzing a word ending in *t* plus the suffix *-i-*. In this way all suffixes except the simple vocalic<sup>4</sup> suffixes like *-o-*, *-i-*, and *-u-* could be explained by the same forces that are actually at work in creating the historical suffixes, and as far as these are con-

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann op. cit. 473 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Petersen Greek Diminutives in *-ιον* 204 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Stolz Hist. Gram. 574 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Simple consonantal suffixes like *-t-*, *-g-*, *-k-*, or *-s-* are due either to the same forces that produce the simple vocalic suffixes, or else arise by the phonetic loss of a following vowel, e. g. *-t-* from *-to-*. Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 422.

cerned, the idea that they are or ever were independent words has already on other grounds been given up in favor of the theory that they were the last part of certain dissyllabic roots, having been abstracted from the latter either because these vowels disappeared by phonetic processes under certain circumstances, so that the form e. g. with an *-o-* would appear to have an additional formative element as opposed to the one without it, or because the vowel spread by congeneric attraction from one word to another, so that there arose exactly the same contrast between the form with and without the vowel. Cf. e. g. Hirt Handbuch d. gr. Laut u. Formen! 2. 294, Brugmann op. cit. 148. The fact that these simple vocalic formatives show no tangible meaning from the very beginning would of course militate very strongly against assuming them to have been originally independent words, even if we could believe that some unstable single vowels ever were complete words. In this way, then, practically the whole I. E. suffixal system can be traced to one and the same origin which has played such an important part at all times, and this alone should make us give up the idea that composition was the important factor.

Equally unconvincing, however, is the theory of composition from a semantic point of view. A suffix arising from a word must have had a meaning that at one time was comparatively narrow and concrete, but gradually branched out more and more as its origin was forgotten. Now this is found to be actually true of those which we really know to have been separate words. Thus the above mentioned Germanic adjectival *-lika-* O. H. G. *-lih* necessarily first became a suffix expressing characteristic or similarity, and to this use it is confined in the Gothic—cf. e. g. *sama-leiks* 'of the same nature, similar'; but in modern German it sometimes expresses appurtenance, e. g. in *die häusliche Einrichtung*, or in *der kaiserliche Palast*. It designates origin in *der nördliche Wind*, while in English a stereotyped case-form has become a suffix for forming adverbs, e. g. *quick-ly*, *glad-ly*, etc. Consequently we should expect that pre-historic suffixes that have had thousands of years of development behind them should also often show a widening of their sphere of meaning, or at least that those of the many meanings of each individual suffix which



are most concrete or vivid, should be demonstrably the oldest. But in actual fact the reverse is true. Wherever we find a suffix charged with as definite a meaning as a diminutive suffix we find that such a meaning is secondary to an original vague adjectival meaning: it developed from 'descended from', belonging to the category of 'being-like'. Wherever we find a suffix as exponent of a minor concrete category to which an object belongs we find that this is plainly the result of congeneric attraction. When e. g. a formative is used in a number of names of animals or plants or parts of the body or diseases, it is found to be invariably true that such a group originated from one or a few words in which the suffix was either meaningless or had a very vague meaning, and that these pattern types caused other associated words to take the same suffix, so that the latter then became exponent of the category. Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 589 ff. In all such cases the vaguer meanings exist side by side to show the origin, e. g. the Skr. *-ka-* is not only a diminutive-deteriorative-hypocoristic suffix, but forms secondary adjectives and nouns with the meaning of similarity and appurtenance, etc. And Gr. *-φο-* I. E. *-bho-*, which was productive in names of animals like *ἐλαφος*, *κόραφος*, and *ἐριφος*, is found with vaguer functions in adjectives like *στέριφος* 'barren' and *ἀργυφος* 'shining white', and in abstract substantives like *κόλαφος* 'buffet' and *φλύγαφος* 'babbling'. See Sturtevant *Cl. Phil.* 6. 197 ff. Even those suffixes which on the whole seem to be confined to a definite usage nevertheless show traces of a time when their force was comparatively vague. To our minds the comparative suffixes certainly seem to have a definite well-circumscribed function, and yet every one of them has received the same by infusion of a part of the stem-meaning into the suffix in words in which the formatives originally had a very vague meaning. To take but one example, the comparative *-tero-*<sup>1</sup> still exists in other functions in Skt. *αἰῶνᾶτος* 'mule': *ἄῖνα-ς* 'horse', i. e. 'something only relatively a horse', similarly in Lat. *mātertera* 'aunt': *māter* 'mother'. Cf. also Gr. *ὄρεστος* 'mountainous' and *θηλύτερος* 'female', in which the suffix could at the most have designated a contrast to opposites.

Without needlessly multiplying examples of these well-

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann *op. cit.* 324 ff.

known phenomena, the damaging effect on the theory of the compositional origin of suffixes becomes evident. The assumption that the most frequently used suffixes should in prehistoric times have all suffered an almost inconceivable attenuation of their meaning, though starting from the definite meaning of individual words, while at all times that we are able to control, these same suffixes gradually developed narrow and concrete uses from the vaguer and more general, presupposes that there were two periods in the history of language during which different forces were at work, a notion which, credible enough in Schleicher's day, certainly no one would subscribe to today. Moreover, since the whole assumption of compositional origin rests on the idea that this attenuation of meaning takes such a long time that those periods which have come under our observation are not sufficient in extent to follow up the individual suffixes, we can point to the fact that observed linguistic history has been easily long enough to show a large number of instances of the opposite process, and also, in case of the Germanic compositional suffixes, it has been long enough even for the process assumed by the compositionists wherever we know that suffixes really did originate from words.

If, however, anyone should admit the vaguer meanings of suffixes as being the original ones, and should nevertheless hold to the theory of composition, he would assume that such notions as action, quality, adjectival use, agency, collectivity, which are the ideas expressed by most of the oldest suffixes, were developed and received conscious expression in very great number at a very primitive time when discrimination had not yet attained great accuracy, that these primitive peoples felt the need of an extremely large number of words expressing these notions, and that the consciousness of them was so strong as to make it necessary to express the same by composition also in almost every concrete word, a situation plainly unthinkable when compared with the rarity of consciousness of them when actually speaking nowadays.

But how can this last mentioned difficulty be avoided under the assumption that suffixes were due to false abstraction? If these vaguer meanings were the original ones, would it not be just as bad for one theory as the other? I answer 'No' because it seems certain to me that these notions like action,

quality, etc. were in turn not present in the suffixes from the beginning, but they were due to a process of semantic evolution from perfectly meaningless suffixes.<sup>1</sup> To substantiate this proposition one can refer to the fact that most of the simplest formatives like *-o-*, *-i-*, *-u-*, *-iō-*, *-uo-*, *-mo-*, *-no-*, *-ro-*, *-lo-*, *-to-*, *-ti-*, etc. were not exclusively used for the formation e. g. of verbal or adjectival abstract nouns or for agent nouns, or for concrete nouns or adjectives, but one and the same suffix formed words of all of such general groups. But if this is true, it is evident that we are in no way justified in assuming that these meanings were consciously connected with the suffixes; for logically any noun can be referred to these general categories, but that is no sign that it actually was referred to them when a suffix occurs in other apparent uses also. Thus I. E. *-mo-* occurs as a primary adjective suffix, e. g. in Gr. θερμός Lat. *formus* O. H. G. *warm* Engl. *warm*; it forms adjectives of characteristic, as Skt. *dyuma-s* 'bright, shining': *dyu-* 'brightness', Gr. ἔτυμος 'true, genuine': ἔτε[ρ]ός; adjectives of appurtenance in Av. *zantuma-* 'belonging to the district': *zantu* 'district'; it forms adjectival abstracts in Lith. *gražūmas* 'beauty': *gražūs* 'beautiful'; verbal abstracts in Skt. *gharmá-s* 'heat', *sárma-s* 'flow', Gr. φλογμός 'burning', πταρμός 'sneezing', Ir. *mām* 'service', Goth. *dōms* 'judgment', Lith. *užmas* 'roaring'; it forms agent nouns in Skt. *yudhmá-s* 'fighter, warrior', Gr. ἄνεμος 'blower, i. e. wind'; instrument nouns in Skt. *idhmá-s* 'fuel': *idh-* 'to burn', Gr. φορμός 'carrying basket': φέρω, O. H. G. *zoum* O. Icel. *taumr* 'bridle': Goth. *tiuhan* 'to draw'; collectives in Gr. δρῦμός 'oak-coppice': δρῦς 'oak', while Skt. *drumá-s* designates an individual tree, as in fact the same suffix *-mo-* forms concrete nouns of great variety in various languages without our being able in any way to arrive at a satisfactory classification. Cf. Skt. *sōma-s* Av. *haoma-* 'juice, soma': Skt. *sunḍiti* 'he presses', Skt. *tōkma-s* 'young shoot', Gr. κορμός 'block', ὄλμος 'mortar', κάλαμος 'reed', Lat. *culmus* O. H. G. *halm* 'stalk', O. Icel. *halmr* Lett. *salms* 'straw', Lat. *limus* O. H. G. *slīm* 'slime', O. Engl. *lām* 'clay', Lith. *vāšmas* 'gnat', *jėszmas* 'spear'. Adding to this the use of *-mo-* in superlatives, which, as Brug-

<sup>1</sup> Lindner Ai. Nominalbild. 21 calls attention to the fact that the primary suffixes were originally not differentiated in meaning.

mann Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 163 f. has shown, arose from ordinals like \*septm-os: \*septm, analyzed \*sept-mos, in the same way as according to our theory most of the I. E. suffixes originated, we may well say that -mo- has so many different meanings that by itself it meant nothing.<sup>1</sup>

Just as -mo- was prevaillingly a primary suffix, yet showed an extended secondary use, so on the contrary -ko- was chiefly secondary and nevertheless made quite a variety of primary formations also, and it will therefore be a good example to show the immense diversity in character of words formed by this type also. Thus it forms primary adjectives like Skt. *ḡuská-s* Av. *huška-* 'dry': Skt. *ḡúsyati*, Gr. *φαίός* 'bright': *φαιός* 'dusky', O. H. G. *scelah* O. Engl. *sceolh* O. Icel. *skialgr* 'crooked, askance': Gr. *σκολιός* 'crooked', Lith. *at-stokas* 'distant': *stóti*; verbal abstracts in Skt. *ḡlōka-s* 'call, sound': *ḡḡḡóti* 'he hears', Lett. *spēks* 'power': *spēt* 'be able', O. Blg. *zvēkz* 'sound': *zvēnēti* 'to sound'; agent nouns in Lith. *žvėjókas* 'fisher': *žvējóti*, *teriókas* 'destroyer': *terióti*; instrument nouns in Skt. *átka-s* Av. *aḡka-* 'dress' if: Ir. *ētim* 'I clothe', O. Bulg. *znakz* 'sign': *znati* 'know'; place names in Skt. *dhāká-s* 'receptacle': *dádhāti* 'he places', O. H. G. *luog* 'hiding-place': Lat. *lateo*, Gr. *λήθω*; it seems to designate appurtenance e. g. in Skt. *mámaka-s* 'mine': Gen. *máma*, *hotraka-s* 'he who belongs to the *hōtrá-m* or sacrifice', i. e. 'priest', Gr. *μαντικός* 'belonging to the prophet': *μάντις*, Lat. *hosticus* 'belonging to an enemy': *hostis*; descent or origin in Skt. *sindhuka-s* 'descended from the Indus (*sindhu-s*)', *urvāruká-m* 'the fruit of the *urvāru-s* (a kind of gourd)', Gr. *φυσικός* 'coming from nature': *φύσις*; material in Skt. *sidhraka-s* 'made of *sidhra*-wood', Gr. *δοτρακον* 'hard shell of testacea': \*ostr-, O. H. G. *trog* M. (O. Icel. *trog* N.) 'wooden vessel, trough' <\*dru-ko-: Skt. *dru-*; possession either of a quality or something material in Skt. *sūctka-s* 'a certain insect with a sting': *sūcti* 'sting', *an-ásthaka-s* 'boneless' and Gr. *δοτρακός* 'crab': *asthán-* 'bone', Lat. *tussicus* 'afflicted with a cough': *tussis*, Goth. *stainahs* O. H. G. *steinag* 'stony': Goth. *staina-* 'stone', O. Icel. *kroptugr* 'powerful': \*kraftu- 'power'; characteristic or similarity in Skt. *chattraka-* 'mushroom': *chattra-m* 'parasol', Av. *spaka-* 'dog-like': *span-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 663 on secondary adjectives.

'dog', Gr. *φυσικός* 'natural' as well as 'coming from nature', Lat. *sīcīlicus* 'comma': *sīcīlis* 'sickle', O. H. G. *snēwag* 'snowy': *snēwa-* 'snow', Lith. *pelėkas* 'mouse-gray': *pelė* 'mouse'. The notion of characteristic can also be read into the suffix in the numerous instances in which it forms substantives from adjectives, e. g. Skt. *pṛthuka-s* 'flattened grain': *pṛthú-ṣ* 'flat', Lith. *slapūkas* 'one who likes to hide himself': *slapūs* 'liking to hide one's self'; also when it forms adjectives from other adjectives without perceptible change of meaning, e. g. Skt. *tánuka-s* O. Blg. *tanokò* 'thin': Skt. *tanú-ṣ* 'thin', which, like Brugmann op. cit. 504, one might consider as 'having a thin nature'. Similarly, e. g. Skt. *dūraká-s*=*dūrā-s* 'distant'. That, however, these two groups were actually felt in this way because it is possible to conceive them thus, is a point to be proved in view of the fact that the notion of similarity or characteristic is by no means so predominant among the examples where the suffix can be interpreted with certainty as to allow us to refer all doubtful examples to that usage. While therefore Brugmann is undoubtedly right in saying that these notions were characteristic of *-ko-* from I. E. times, it does not follow that the other uses were all to be derived from it, which is demonstrably true only of the diminutive-hypocoristic and deteriorative uses, of which we consequently mentioned no examples in spite of their I. E. origin; for, being secondary developments, they will shed no light on what the suffix ultimately was. On the other hand it should be mentioned that aside from the above categories it occurs in a large number of substantives which were equivalent to their primitives, e. g. Skt. *karkaṭaka-s*=*karkaṭa-s* 'crab', *ástaka-m*=*ásta-m* 'home', Lat. *muscus*=O. H. G. *mos* 'moss', O. H. G. *as-c* O. Icel. *askr* 'ash-tree'=Lith. *ú'sis* (with transfer to *i* declension). Adding to all of these the numerous instances in which *-ko-* forms words which cannot be classified at all, either because their suffix seems to carry with it a meaning that is altogether isolated, or because their etymology is obscure (Edgerton JAOS. 31. 124 f. finds 87 unclassifiables in the Vedic alone), and taking account of the fact that the semantic divisions used above were comparatively vague ones, and that therefore each could be still further subdivided into more definite categories, it becomes evident that I. E. *-ko-*

also was in the beginning a meaningless suffix, and that to a large extent it continued meaningless. And the processes which caused such meaning as there was, were the same here as elsewhere: gradual infusion into the suffix of semantic elements which belonged either to the primitive or to the situation without being attached to any phonetic unit, and a continuance of the process of conglutination, by means of which part of the primitive coalescing with the suffix formed a longer suffix in which elements of meaning which were in the beginning accidental were crystallized and made ready for new analogical formations.

If, then, suffixes like *-mo-* and *-ko-*, which themselves are probably partly conglutinations of final stem-consonants with simple vocalic suffixes, are nevertheless practically meaningless, how much more will the same thing be true of the suffixes composed of only a single sound, which have not had the advantage of conglutination to crystallize their meaning? Suffixes like *-o-*, *-ā-*, *-i-*, *-u-*, *-g-*, *-k-*, *-t-*, should have even less of a tendency to develop definite uses. Of these I shall omit the consonantal ones because it is not clear how far they were merely the reduced grade of the same suffix plus vowel, as *-k-* e. g. might be merely the unaccented form of *-ko-* in some words. Of some of the vocalic suffixes, however, I shall give examples to show their wideness of application, giving only an example or two from each category, and practically confining myself to those languages which, like Sanskrit and Greek, are structurally transparent.

Of these I shall take *-o-* and *-ā-* together, as having much the same sphere of usage and standing in intimate relation to each other as being complementaries in gender. I mention the following semantic categories: primary adjectives, as Skt. *çōṣa-s* 'making dry', Gr. *āvōs* Lith. *suūsas* 'dry', with active verbal force, e. g. Skt. *tārā-s*<sup>1</sup> Gr. *topós* 'penetrating, loud'; substantival agent nouns, as Skt. *çāsā-s*<sup>1</sup> 'commander', Gr. *doiós* 'singer'; verbal abstracts, as Skt. *srāva-s* Gr. *róos* 'flow', Gr. *ἔργον* O. Icel. *verk* N. 'work', Skt. *bhujā* 'winding', Gr.

<sup>1</sup>That I. E. *-o-* should be accented in agent nouns as opposed to action nouns was no doubt not an original distinction and need not affect us here.

φυγή Lat. *fuga* 'flight'; instrument nouns, as Skr. *jāmbha-s* Gr. γόμφος O. Blg. *zqbz* 'instrument for crushing, tooth': Skt. *jambhāyati* 'he crushes', Skt. *yugá-m* Gr. ζυγόν Lat. *jugum* 'yoke': Lat. *jungo* 'join', Gr. τροφή 'means of support': τρέφω, O. H. G. *bāra* 'bier': *beran* 'carry'; place names in Skt. *vēsa-s* Gr. οίκος 'dwelling, house': Skt. *vicāti* 'he enters', Gr. νομή 'pasture': νέμω, O. H. G. *sāza* M. H. G. *sāze* 'seat, dwelling': Goth. *sitan*; collectives, as Skt. *bhrātrā-m* 'brotherhood': *bhrātar-* 'brother', Gr. ἄστρον 'constellation': ἀστήρ 'star', Skt. *tārā* 'constellation': *tār-as* 'stars', Gr. φράτερ 'brotherhood': φράτηρ; adjectival abstracts, as Skt. *satyá-m* 'truth', Gr. μέλιχον 'mildness', Lat. *justum* 'justice', Skt. *jaranā* 'decrepitude', O. H. G. *wāra* 'truth'; denominative adjectives and substantives in which it apparently designates appurtenance, as Skt. *pāuśhā-s* 'belonging to Pūshan', Skt. *udrā-s* Gr. ὕδρος 'water-animal': ὕδωρ 'water', Gr. πέλεκκον < \*πελεκκον 'ax-handle': πέλεκυς 'ax', O. Blg. *srēda* 'middle' ('region of heart'): Gr. κῆρ[δ] 'heart'; descent or origin in Skt. *āṅgirasā-s* 'of the Angiras family', *mānuśa-s* 'descendant of Manus', Gr. χέλυον 'tortoise-shell': χέλυς 'tortoise', Lat. *peda* 'food-step': *ped-* 'foot'; material, as Skt. *āyasā-s* 'of metal': *āyas*, *araṭvā-s* 'made of the wood of the *araṭu-*'; possession, as Skt. *paruśā-s* 'knotty': *pāruś-* 'knot', *parcuvā-m* 'side': *pārṣu-ś* 'rib', O. Blg. *noga* 'foot': Gr. ὄνυξ 'claw, nail'; characteristic or similarity in Skt. *hāstina-s* 'big as an elephant': *hastin-* 'elephant', O. H. G. *ōri* (stem *ōrja-*) 'ear-like opening': Lith. *ausi-s* 'ear', Gr. γαλέη < \*γαλειά 'weasel': Skt. *giri-ś* 'mouse'. For *-ā-* must be added the extremely common function of designating natural feminine gender, e. g. Skt. *ācuvā* Lat. *equa* 'mare': Skt. M. *ācva-s*, etc., Gr. ἐκυρά Lat. *socera* Goth. *swaihrō* 'mother-in-law': Gr. M. ἐκυρός. Both suffixes, moreover, are used with very great freedom to form words which in no way differ semantically from their primitives, e. g. Skt. *phalgvā-s* 'tiny' = *phalgú-ś*, *hārita-s* 'fallow' = *harit-*, *yūśa-s* *yūśa-m* 'broth' = *yūś-*, Gr. *íos* < \**iofo-s* 'arrow' = Skt. *iśu-ś*, Lat. *terminu-s* 'boundary' = *termen*, Skt. *kṣīrā* 'finger' = *kṣīr-*, *druhā* 'harm' = *druh-*, Gr. ψίχη 'crumb' = ψίξ. Adding to these again the unclassifiables, which e. g. in the Lithuanian are so numerous that Leskien Bild. d. Nom. 9, 49 does not try to give a classification according to meaning at all, we

must come to the conclusion that *-o-* and *-ā-* also were originally meaningless suffixes, and that their use in the very beginning spread in precisely the same way as Leskien shows it to do in the Lithuanian, namely by imitation of the complete form of older words ending in these vowels rather than because of a feeling for any meaning of these suffixes. How attenuated that must have been is furthermore shown by their occurrence in various forms of the verb, being used e. g. to form presents as well as aorists, and the absurdity of loading on the thematic vowel a conscious perception of nearly every meaning of which any suffix, verbal or nominal, is capable, has no doubt been of great influence in causing the general acceptance of the idea first announced by Streitberg in his essay "Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe" (IF. 3. 305 ff.), that *-o-* was not a suffix in the ordinary sense, but merely the final of certain dissyllabic roots. The same idea is suggested at least partially for *-ā-* by Brugmann Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 148, and more definitely by Hirt Handb.<sup>2</sup> 343, and since the sphere of usage of the latter is so strikingly similar to *-o-*, similarity of origin is the conclusion to which we are inevitably led.

Approximately the same conditions hold good for *-i-*, except that it never was a suffix of such great productivity, that a far larger per cent. of words formed with it shows no suffixal meaning at all, and therefore there was a smaller number of apparent semantic categories, so that it gives a glimpse of a state of affairs closer to its ultimate origin. It forms primary adjectives like Skt. *bhīmi-ṣ* 'lively': *bhramati* 'he wanders, flutters', Gr. *τρόφισ* 'well-fed, stout': *τρέφω*, with active verbal force e. g. Skt. *ba-bhri-ṣ* 'carrying': *bhāراتi* 'he carries'; substantival agent nouns, as Skt. *sādi-ṣ* 'sitter, rider': *sad-* 'sit', Gr. *τρόχισ* 'runner, messenger': *τρέχω*; verbal abstracts, as Skt. *vani-ṣ* 'desire': *vānati*, Gr. *δῆρις* 'combat': *δέρω*, Lith. *kritis* 'fall': *krintù kristi*; instrument nouns, as Skt. *va-vri-ṣ* 'cover, garment': *vr̥ṇōti* 'he covers', O. H. G. *scār* 'pair of scissors': *sceran* 'shear', O. Blg. *vodo-nosb* 'vessel for carrying water': *nesti* 'carry'; place names, as Skt. *āji-ṣ* 'race-course': *ājati* 'he drives', O. Blg. *vodo-točb* 'water-course, canal': *tešti* 'run, flow'. As a secondary suffix *-i-* comes very close to being one into which it is impossible even to read a meaning. As far as substantives derived from substantives



are concerned, they are all merely extensions of previously existing substantives with the same meaning, merely a transfer to the *i*-declension. Thus Skt. *nákti-s* Lith. *naktis* 'night' = Skt. *nákti-* Gr. *νύξ -κτός* Lat. *nox -ctis* Goth. *nahts*, Skt. *dr̥ṣi-s* 'sight' = *dr̥ṣ-*, *ṣuni-s* 'dog' = *ṣvā*, Pruss. *sunis* 'dog' = Lith. *szū*, Lat. *nāvis* 'ship' = Gr. *ναῦς*. That it is possible for such a meaningless secondary suffix to develop the semantic types that are otherwise so common, is shown by the Balto-Slavic. The Slavic forms by means of our suffix adjectival abstracts like *zelenb* 'greenness': *zelenb* 'green', *topl̥b* 'warmth': *topl̥b* 'warm', and collectives like *čędb* 'people': *čędo* 'child'. In the Lithuanian, moreover, we find the isolated *avižis* 'dragon-fly': *avižà* 'oats', in which *-i-* is a suffix of appurtenance, and *rankis* 'sign-board': *rankà* 'hand', in which it seems to designate either similarity or possession.

If now one who believes in the compositional origin of suffixes would argue that it is unfair to use as examples suffixes of such great productivity, in which gradual spread of meaning was to be expected, but that the unproductive suffixes would tell a different story, he could be answered in several ways. In the first place he lost sight of the fact that it is not only the bewildering variety of the usages of the individual suffixes that argues against the composition theory, but the fact that all the less vague and more concrete uses are demonstrably later developments. Then too it is important that while one or the other of these formatives may be more productive in a particular direction than others, yet on the whole the principal suffixal meanings are common to nearly all of the simpler ones which have not been limited by repeated conglutinations. To hold to the composition theory in spite of this, would mean to believe that an immense number of words with greatly varying phonetic aspects all meant the same thing and all remained alive and in such frequent use that they could be perpetuated in the suffixes. In the next place, even if we do find a suffix of narrow productivity which shows a unified meaning, that is by no means an objection against our theory; for if all words in a given formative are made after one and the same pattern, the chances are that its influence will work the same way on all of the derivatives, and in this way could be explained what the composition theory cannot

explain, namely why even such narrow unified groups should show meanings like action, agency, instrumentality, appurtenance, etc., instead of the vivid meanings we should expect from individual words at a time when so few compounds had been formed by them that there could not have been much branching out. This can be illustrated by the Skt. suffix *-vi-*, which has no counterpart in other languages, and the origin of which we can trace under our very eyes. It is most certain in two verbal adjectives: *jāgrvi-ṣ* 'waking': *jāgārti* 'wakes' and *dādhrvi-ṣ* 'sustaining': *dharati* 'sustains'. They were undoubtedly patterned after *dīdiv-i-ṣ* 'shining': *dīvyati* 'shines', in which the *v* belongs to the root but might be taken with the suffix *-i-*. The close association of the three words presupposed is shown not only by the suffix and by their belonging to the same type of verbal adjective, but also by their similarity of formation otherwise: the strong accented reduplication before the weak unaccented root. Of the other three words in *-vi-* mentioned by Whitney Skt. Gram. p. 452, *ghṛṣvi-ṣ* 'lively' is plainly an *i*-extension of *ghṛṣu-ṣ* with the same meaning, and *dhruvi-ṣ* 'firm' arose by transfer of *dhruvá-s* 'firm' to the *i*-declension. After the latter, however, was patterned the opposite *jir-vi-ṣ* 'worn out': *jīryati* 'grows old'. Cases of this kind are very far, then, from supporting the theory of composition, but do rather the opposite, and our suffix *-vi-* is particularly instructive because it shows how divergence of formation as well as meaning can be explained by origin from more than one word even in a formative whose productivity has not exceeded three or four words.

Just to show that the I. E. suffixes, even when their productivity is very limited, may yet display the same general types of usage as the more frequent ones, I will give examples of *-mi-* and *-dhro-*, which certainly are among the rarer ones. The former is found in two primary adjectives: Skt. *krúdhmi-ṣ* 'wrathful': *krúdhyaṭi* 'is angry' and Av. *dāmi-ṣ* 'creating': Skt. *dādadhāti*. The latter is also an agent substantive, as may also be the Skt. feminine *bhūmi-ṣ* 'earth' (: *bhāvati*), originally 'the producer'? It forms verbal abstracts in Av. *staomi-ṣ* 'song of praise': Skt. *stāūti* 'praises', Gr. *φήμις* 'talk, report': *φήμι*; an instrument noun doubtless in Skt. *raçmi-ṣ* 'reins', though it is doubtful whether it can be con-

nected with Lith. *riszù* 'bind'. In Goth. *haims* 'village' (: Gr. *κείμαι*?) it forms a place name, and the association of a similar sound as well as the connection of both being parts of the body caused the pair Goth. *arms* 'arm' and *barms* 'lap'. A larger congeneric group is composed of words meaning 'worm', of which I mention Skt. *kṛmi-s* Lith. *kirmis*, Lat. *vermis* Goth. *waúrms* O. H. G. *wurm*, and Gr. *ἔλμυς* 'intestinal-worm'. This is certainly a wide divergence of meaning for a suffix which covers less than a page in Brugmann's Grundriss.

I. E. *-dhro-* occurs in the primary adjectives Av. *mązdra* 'intelligent, wise' <\**mendh-dhro-* or \**mondh-dhro-*: Lith. *mandras* and Gr. *σκυθρός* 'angry' <\**σκυσθρός*: *σκύζομαι*. It forms the substantival agent noun Gr. *μυλωθρός* 'miller': *μύλωθρον* 'mill'; verbal abstracts, as Gr. *λύθρον* 'defilement', *ἄλεθρος* 'ruin', Lat. *flābrum* 'blowing of the wind'; instrument nouns, as Gr. *κόρηθρον* 'broom': *κορέω* 'sweep', Lat. *cribrum* 'sieve': *cerno*; place names, as Gr. *βάθρον* 'pedestal, foundation': *βαίνω* 'walk, step', Lat. *dēlūbrum* 'place of purification': *dēluo*. As a secondary suffix it appears to designate appurtenance in Lat. *candēlābrum* 'candle-stick': *candēla* 'candle' and O. Blg. *noz-dri* 'nostrils': Skt. *nas-ā* 'nose' (Instr. Sing.).

Once more, then, the fact that the simpler suffixes show in the oldest strata of words formed with them no meanings except vague general ones like adjectival use, agency, action, quality, etc., and that different ones of these are not characteristic of different suffixes, but rather all of them show the same or similar combinations of meaning, points to the inevitable conclusion that these notions were in the beginning not at all connected with the suffixes themselves, but were rather due to the entire situation in which a word was placed, and only gradually did the suffix become their exponent. This becomes still clearer when we examine the primitive root-nouns, in which any analysis is of course impossible, in the sense that part of the meaning was attributed to the root and part to the ending; for there was no ending except a case-ending. And yet these root-nouns show the very same types of use as do nouns ending in stem-suffixes, i. e. those classified as primary, for a secondary formation necessarily presupposes at least one

suffix, which would put the same outside of the category of root-nouns. The latter are primary adjectives with passive force e. g. in Skt. *yūj-* 'yoked together', particularly in compounds like Skt. *ῥῥιτανᾶj-*, i. e. *ῥῥιτανᾶ-áj-* 'driven to battle', Gr. *ἀπο-ρρώξ* 'torn off'; with active force e. g. Skt. *vῥidh-* 'gladdening', *dῥiç-* 'seeing', Gr. *πτῶξ -κός* 'crouching, timid', or compounds like Skt. *vῥitra-hán-* 'slaying Vῥitra', Gr. *ψευσί-στυξ* 'hating lies'. We find them as substantival agent-nouns in Skt. *rāj-* Lat. *rēx rēg-is* Ir. *rī rīg* 'ruler': Lat. *regere*, Skt. *dā-* 'giver', Gr. *κλώψ -πός* 'thief': *κλέπτω* 'steal', Lat. *dux -cis* 'leader': *dūco*; as verbal abstracts in Skt. *drúh-* 'offence, injury' = Av. *drūj-*, Gr. *στυξ -γός* 'hatred', Lat. *prex prec-is* 'prayer'; as instrument nouns in Av. *dər<sup>o</sup>z-* 'bond, fetter', and Gr. *δράξ δρα-κός* 'hand': *δράσσομαι* 'grasp', also Lat. *frūx frūg-is* 'fruit': *fruor* 'enjoy myself', Gr. *χέρ-νυψ* 'water for washing the hands': *νίπτω* 'wash'; as place names in Skt. *viç-* 'settlement': *viçáti* 'settles', *κῥᾶ-s* 'dwelling-place': *κῥῆti* 'he dwells', Osc. *tríibúm* F., Acc. Sing., and *tríibud* Abl. Sing. 'house': Umbr. *trebeit* 'versatur'. It is furthermore interesting to note that the process of attraction of congeneric words, which has so often caused suffixes to appear as the exponents of concrete categories, was at work here also, though no single part of the word could be singled out as being the carrier of this common semantic element. I mention two such groups which have assumed such proportions that accidental similarity of formation is out of the question. To I. E. times belongs a large list of words designating parts of the body: *\*pēd- \*pōd-* 'foot' = Skt. *pāt pad-ás*, Gr. Dor. *πῶς ποδ-ός*, Lat. *pēs ped-is*; *\*nās- \*nas-* 'nose' = Skt. Du. *nās-ā*, O. Eng. *nos-u nas-u*, Lat. Acc. Sing. *nār-em*; *\*ōus- \*us-* 'ear' = Av. *uš-i* and O. Blg. *uš-i* Neutr. Du. Lith. *aus-i* Fem. Du., Gr. *ὠς < \*ō[u]s*; similarly various words for the two eyes: Skt. *akṣ-i* Av. *aš-i* N., O. Blg. *oč-i* N. and Lith. *ak-i* F., Gr. *δοσε < \*ok<sup>h</sup>je*; two groups meaning 'heart': Gr. *κῥῥ < \*κῥῥδ*, Lat. *cor cord-is*, Lith. Gen. Pl. *szird-ū*, and Skt. *hṛd-*, Av. Instr. *zər<sup>o</sup>d-ā*; I. E. *\*bhrū- \*bhruu-* = Skt. *bhrū-ç* Gr. *ὄφρῦ-s* O. Eng. *brú* 'eye-brow'; *\*ō[u]s* 'mouth' = Skt. *ā-s*, Av. *āh-*, Lat. *ōs ōr-is*; *\*g<sup>h</sup>er-* 'hand' = Arm. Nom. Pl. *jer-Ḳ*, Gr. Dat. *χερ-ί, χερ-σί*. To these was added in later times the Av. Du. F. *susi* 'lungs', Gr. *θρίξ τριχός* 'hair', and the above mentioned

Gr. *δράξ* 'hand'. It is evident that these words were not all associated to the same intimate degree, e. g. the words for eye-brow had perhaps have rather been left out, while on the other hand the relation of the duals for eye, ear, and nose is so intimate as to make mutual influence certain.

A second congeneric group consisting of names of animals also started in I. E. times, but became particularly productive in the Greek. Among the older words are I. E. \**g<sup>h</sup>ōu-* \**g<sup>h</sup>ou-* 'ox, cow' = Skt. *gāū-s*, Av. *gāu-s*, Gr. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bōs*, Ir. *bō* 'cow', O. H. G. *chuo* 'cow'; \**sū-s* 'pig, sow' = Gr. *ῥς*, Lat. *sūs*, O. H. G. *sū*; Gr. *ἰχθῦς* 'fish': Lith. Gen. Pl. *žuv-ū*; \**mūs-* 'mouse' = Skt. *mūṣ-*, Gr. *μῦς*, Lat. *mūs*, O. H. G. *mūs*; Gr. *θῆρ* 'animal': Lith. *žvėrīs* O. Blg. *zvěrb* 'wild animal' and Lat. *ferus* 'wild'; Gr. *χῆρ χηρ-ός* Lat. *ēr ēr-is* 'hedge-hog'. Greek shows the following new words of this group: *κῖς κῖ-ός* 'weevil', *δόρξ -κός* 'gazelle': *δέρκομαι, κρέξ* 'a kind of bird': *κρέκω, τρώξ -γός* 'worm': *τρώγω* 'gnaw', *πτώξ -κός* 'hare': *πτώσσω* 'crouch', *σκνίψ* 'a kind of ant': *σκνίπτω* 'pinch', *σκόψ -πός* 'owl': *σκέπτομαι* 'look', *θώς* 'jackal': *θέω* 'run'. In Latin the similar *strix strig-is* 'screech-owl': Gr. *τρίξω* 'screech'. Of the new Greek words it is to be noticed that all except *κῖς* are agent nouns related to existing Greek verbs, and it is therefore possible that they were patterned after one or more of these rather than after the I. E. names of animals. However that may be, they illustrate the power of association in congeneric words without suffix in exactly the same way.

In Gothic we no doubt have a solitary case of congeneric attraction in the Gen. Sing. *alhs* of *alhs* 'temple', which was due to the influence of the older *baúrgs*, Gen. *baúrgs*, 'castle'.

From the psychological point of view every unanalyzable or rather every unanalyzed word of every period of the language is on the same basis as a root-word; for without such analysis into primitive stem and suffix it is impossible to attribute to the latter any meaning whatsoever, no matter what may have been true of the origin of the word. This applies in the first place to words whose suffixes have disappeared through phonetic processes, as have *-o-* and *-i-* in many forms of the Germanic languages. It is clearly impossible to burden I. E. *-o-* with the notion of instrumentality in Goth. *juk* O. H. G. *joh* Eng. *yoke*: Lat. *jungo* 'join', or *-i-* with the notion of

action in German *Schlag* 'blow', or the former with being considered as a suffix forming names of animals in Goth. *wulfs* O. H. G. *wolf* Engl. *wolf*=Skt. *vṛk-a-s*, when the speakers of these languages were blissfully ignorant of the past existence of these vowels. The same impossibility of analysis is present whenever the derivation of a word is forgotten or not attended to, and here we may call attention to the fact that the demonstrably oldest stratum of I. E. words, which must to a large degree have been the patterns for the younger ones, very largely consists of words whose derivation cannot now be traced and probably was unknown then, so that the feeling of the suffix expressing a relation to the root-part of the word is out of the question. Cf. such words as the above mentioned I. E. *\*ul̥kʷo-s* 'wolf', *\*oyi-s* Skt. *ávi-ṣ* 'sheep', *\*pékū* Skt. *pácu* 'animal', *\*bhāgo-s* Lat. *fāgus* 'beech', *\*bhāḡhu-s* Gr. *πῆχυς* 'elbow', *\*syesor* Skt. *svásar-* 'sister', *\*ōmo-s* Skt. *āmá-s* 'raw'. These words were not at all interpreted differently from the extremely numerous words which became obscure as to derivation through the loss of the primitive or such phonetic or semantic changes as prevented recognition of the primitive, even when the etymology may be clear to the linguist, such words as German *Acker* Engl. *acre*: Lat. *ago*, or Germ. *Ross* Engl. *horse*: Lat. *curro* 'run'. Yet all these unanalyzable words, just as the original root-nouns, can be assigned to similar categories as those with clear etymology; for every word logically must belong to one or more such categories.

In view, then, of these facts we must conclude that it is rash in every instance to connect with the suffix the idea of these general categories in words which are clear etymologically; for if Gr. *βοῦς* can designate an animal without formal characterization of that fact, it is rash to conclude that in *λύκ-ο-s* 'wolf' the notion of being an animal was connected with its suffix, unless there are very distinct indications of it in a tendency to confine new words to names of animals or at least to make them noticeably preponderant.

Similarly the fact that Gr. *στυγῆ* 'hatred' and Lat. *prex* 'prayer' are verbal abstracts though not ending in a suffix, prevents us from assuming that words like Gr. *φυγή* Lat. *fuga* 'flight' or Skt. *nṛt-i-ṣ* 'dance' were in the earliest types

analyzed so as to connect the notion of action with the suffix. To do so in case of the simple vocalic suffixes was all the more difficult because from I. E. times onward the oblique cases had so often suffered contraction with the inflectional endings that the only psychic attitude possible to such a combination was the feeling that it was in its entirety merely a case ending, a fact amply proved by the division by the Latin grammarians of their nouns into five declensions according to the different stem-suffixes, not in the least thinking that the combination of the latter with the case-endings should be analyzed into two parts. The process culminating in the modern Germanic languages, in which many original stem-suffixes like the *-en* of the German weak declension are now felt purely and simply as case-endings, had begun in the Latin and no doubt in the Indo-European, so that we may well doubt whether these simple vocalic suffixes ever were consciously felt as being the exponent of any of these ideas with which grammatical analysis has burdened them. Having gone this far, we can now go one step further and maintain that also the other suffixes which do not lose their identity by contractions, as e. g. *-mo-*, *-ro-*, *-ko-*, *-bho-*, *-nu-*, *-ti-*, *-en-on-*, *-es-* *-os-*, which show the same perpetually recurring types of usage, were not originally associated with them, but they developed such connection by long processes of association and discrimination.

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(*To be Continued.*)

#### IV.—MIMNERMUS AND PROPERTIUS.

A few years ago Wilamowitz<sup>1</sup> set forth the theory that Mimnermus was an important model for the Cynthia book of Propertius.<sup>2</sup> This idea, supported as it was by the weight of Wilamowitz's great name, has been received with much favor by students of Roman Elegy. Of half a dozen reviewers of his book, one<sup>3</sup> speaks favorably of his conclusions in this article, and none of the others offers any opposition. In spite of the almost universal acceptance of his views, the grounds upon which he rests his case are, in my judgment, utterly insufficient;

<sup>1</sup> "Mimnermos und Properz", published in the *Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1912, I, pp. 100-122: republished with (rather important but unmarked) changes in his "Sappho und Simonides", Berlin, 1913, pp. 276-304. In this paper references are by pages of the later edition.

<sup>2</sup> His words are (pp. 303 f.): "Unter deren Vorbilder rechne ich nun den Mimnermos und schlage seine Bedeutung für Properz hoch an, obgleich ich keine direkte Berührung zu zeigen weisz. Die Cynthia hat dadurch sofort einen entschiedenen Erfolg gehabt, dasz sie das Leben schilderte, das Properz trieb, mit seinen Freunden und seinem Mädchen. Ein solches Lebensbild bot auch die Nanno des Mimnermos. Die Bücher waren so verschieden wie das Kolophon des Alyattes von dem Rom des Augustus; aber Properz empfand, dasz er als Dichter zum Leben stand wie Mimnermos und benannte sein Buch Cynthia nach dem Vorbilde der Nanno. Und die Gedichtbücher hatten auch mehr verwandtes als den Titel, atmeten sie doch beide denselben *φιλήδονος βλος*:"

*τίς δὲ βλος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χουστῆς Ἀφροδίτης;*  
*laus in amore mori."*

<sup>3</sup> J. Mesk, in *Berl. phil. Woch.* 34 (1914), col. 167. The other reviews are: *Athenaeum* 1913, I, pp. 212 f.; J. Sitzler, in *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* 32 (1915), coll. 73 ff.; *Bayr. Bl.* 50 (1914), pp. 452 f.; *Litt. Zentralbl.* 65 (1914), coll. 101 ff.; *Class. Phil.* 8 (1913), pp. 361 ff. (Shorey). Professor Harrington also concurs (*Elegiac Poets*, *Introd.* p. 17) But Professor Wheeler in *A. J. P.* 36 (1915), p. 159, n. 1, says: "Wilamowitz exaggerates, it seems to me, the influence of Mimnermus". I take this opportunity to acknowledge my debt to Professor Duane Reed Stuart, of Princeton, to whose suggestion this article is due, and who agrees in the main with its conclusions. [Compare also Prof. Gildersleeve's review of Wilamowitz, *A. J. P.* 33 (1912), 361 ff., which was published before any of the reviews cited above.—C. W. E. M.]



and it is the purpose of this paper to show wherein he fails to substantiate his claims.

The proper point of departure for such an argument must always be the writings of the two authors concerned. The fragments of Mimnermus that have come down to us are unfortunately very meager; but they are all we have to go on except the testimony of later classical writers. Wilamowitz by no means confines himself to the fragments; in fact, he makes little use of them in proving his point, and depends much upon the impression made upon him by remarks of Hermesianax and the Augustan writers. These, it seems to me, he stretches into meaning more than they say. Let us examine in detail these two lines of evidence.

The fragments of Mimnermus treat of love, especially stolen love (fr. 1)<sup>1</sup>; old age, the bane of man's existence (1-5, perhaps 6); the unfaithful wife and the jealous revenge of her deceived husband (22). Fr. 11 tells of the travels of Jason, which might have been the myth illustrating the journey of a faithless mistress or of the lover himself when called away. Further mythological allusions appear in fr. 18, of a certain Daetes of Troy; in 19, of Niobe; in 21, of the story of Ismene and Theoclymenus; and in 22, of Diomedes and his wife. The ceaseless toiling of the sun, fr. 12, might perhaps have been connected with the toil needed to win and hold a lady's affections. If fr. 8 is a portion of a conversation between the lover and his lass, it may parallel the protestations of eternal fidelity in the Roman poet, and the prayer that they may love while they are young and still be models of affection when they are old and gray.<sup>2</sup>

This is all the evidence furnished by the extant fragments. The testimonia add something. Of these the most important is Hermesianax fr. 3 Hartung.<sup>3</sup> In these lines he is said to have

<sup>1</sup>The numbers of the fragments are those in the fourth edition of Bergk's "Poetae Lyrici Graeci", vol. 2, Berlin, 1882. I have tried to read into these fragments every possible elegiac motif, in order not to overlook any possible points of contact with Propertius. Some will probably seem far-fetched.

<sup>2</sup>Prop. 1. 19. 25 f.; Tibull. 1. 1. 69, 1. 6. 85 f.

<sup>3</sup>Lines 35-40:

Μίμνερμος δέ, τὸν ἦδ' ὅτι εἴρετο πολλὸν ἀντιλάσ  
ἤχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,

“burned for Nanno”, held revels with Examyes, and hated Hermobius and Pherecles. If the emended reading *μοιχῶ κνήμην θείς* in 37 f. is correct, it would show that he wrote of his triumphs over his rival. Unfortunately it is exceedingly doubtful, and Wilamowitz himself does not adopt this reading. In Alexander of Aetolia fr. 3 Hartung,<sup>1</sup> which concerns Mimnermus, is a reference to boy-love; it appears also from this poem that Mimnermus wrote of shoemakers and shameless thieves and robbers,<sup>2</sup> and suffered many misfortunes. This means, of course, that he pictured low life—the life of his own class, as Wilamowitz points out.<sup>3</sup> The other important testimonia are Propertius 1. 9. 11,<sup>4</sup> which really says no more than that in affairs of the heart love poetry helps more than epic, and Horace Epist. 2. 2. 99 ff.<sup>5</sup> Here Horace does not mention Propertius, but the reference seems unmistakable. Just how much it means is an open question. Wilamowitz lays a good deal of emphasis upon it, though he thinks it is ironical; that Horace realized fully the gulf separating Propertius from the classical Greek poets, but tickled his friend’s vanity by the

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*καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς, πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι μοιχῶ  
κνήμην θείς κόμους εἶχε σὸν Ἑξαμύη.  
δήχθη δ', Ἑρμόβιον τὸν αἰεὶ βαρὺν ἠδὲ Φερεκλήν  
ἐχθρὸν μισήσας, οἷ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.*

So Hartung. Wilamowitz reads, with one MS, *λωτῶ κημωθείς*. The other MSS have *μωτωκημωθείς*. See Hartung’s critical note.

<sup>1</sup> οὗς Ἀγαθοκλῆος λάσαιι φρένες ἤλασαν ἔξω  
πατρῖδος, ἀρχαίων ἦν δδ' ἀνὴρ προγόνων,  
εἰδὼς ἐκ νεότητος αἰεὶ ξείνοισιν ὀμιλεῖν  
ξείνος, Μιμνέρμου δ' εἰς ἔπος ἀκρον ἰὼν  
5 παιδομανεῖ σὸν ἔρωτι κατήνυσεν· ἔγραφε δ' ὠνὴρ  
εὖ παρ' Ὀμηρεῖην ἀγλατὴν ἐπέων  
πισύγγουσι ἢ φῶρας ἀναιδέας ἢ τινα χλοῦνην  
φλύων ἀθηρῆ σὸν κακοειμονίη,  
τοῖα Συρακοσίοις καὶ ἔχον χάριν· ὅτι δὲ Βοιωτοῦ  
ἐκλυεν, Εὐβοίῃ τεύρεται οὐδ' ὀλίγον.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps there is a reference to wild boars; the meaning of *χλοῦνη* is uncertain. See the lexicon.

<sup>3</sup> L. c., p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero.

<sup>5</sup> *Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius, ille meo quis?  
Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,  
fit Mimnermus, et optivo cognomine crescit.*

remark. Wilamowitz says: <sup>1</sup> "Das *optivum cognomen* war eine treffende Bosheit, um so treffender, wenn Properz oder seine Bewunderer ihn als neuen Mimnermos gegen den neuen Alcaios ausspielten". There is nothing in Propertius, however, to support this view, and this fact deprives the argument of weight. Since Propertius described himself <sup>2</sup> as the Roman Callimachus, it seems hardly probable that modesty or any other motive would have caused him to leave unexpressed his aspirations to be a Roman Mimnermus. His own attitude has more value than that of his friends, as to which in any case we can form no opinion. It is probable that the words merely show a joking attempt to balance the name Alcaeus with one of equal antiquity and honor in the other field, rather than with that of an Alexandrian.

It appears, then, that Mimnermus wrote of love, especially stolen love; the banefulness of old age; infidelity, deception of a husband, and his jealous vengeance; his own revelry and enmity, boy-love, low life, and the sorrows of this world. Perhaps he touched also upon travel, fidelity, and toiling to win love. It is possible, too, that his rival's defeat formed a topic. We shall now see to what extent Propertius and Tibullus dealt with these themes; the reason for including Tibullus will be evident as the argument progresses. I have limited myself to the first book of each author, as these two books were published almost simultaneously,<sup>3</sup> and there is little possibility of one's having influenced the other, as might have been the case with later books. Moreover, Wilamowitz is considering only the first book of Propertius.

It needs no search to find our first topic in the Roman Elegiac writers; love is of course the business of the Elegists.<sup>4</sup> Stolen love, however, is not a subject of Propertius; he is open in his

<sup>1</sup> L. c., p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> 4 I. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Schanz, *Röm. Lit.* II, I<sup>1</sup>, pp. 253, 225 f., says Propertius published his first book not after 28 B. C., and Tibullus probably in 26. Professor Kirby Smith, *Tibullus*, p. 58, n. 1, says: "The first book of Propertius . . . was perhaps published soon after October of 28, the first book of Tibullus . . . about a year later".

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting that Jacoby, *Rhein. Mus.* 60 (1905), p. 44, says that Mimnermus did not treat of love as Roman Elegy did; not of passion for an individual, but of love itself.

passion for Cynthia.<sup>1</sup> Turning to Tibullus, we find several instances of it; e. g. 1. 2. 15 ff.; 1. 5. 7, 75; 1. 6. 5 f., 16 ff.; 1. 8. 35, 57; 1. 9. 23, 55; the first two and 1. 8. 57 deal with the poet's own intrigues, and the rest with those of others.

The worst bugbear of Mimnermus is old age. Propertius makes no allusion to this topic. The words *canities* and *senectas* occur once each, while *canus*, *senex*, and *senectus* do not appear. In Tibullus, however, the motif is common: cf. 1. 1. 71 f.; 1. 2. 89 ff.; 1. 4. 31 f.; 1. 6. 77 ff.; 1. 8. 41 f., 50; 1. 9. 74.

Infidelity, with the deception of husbands and their consequent jealousy and revenge, the probable topic of fr. 22 of Mimnermus, is touched on in Prop. 1. 8, and in 1. 11, but does not form an important subject. The word *coniunx*, even in its elegiac or "Pickwickian" sense, does not appear in the Cynthia book except in the fifteenth elegy, where it refers to the husbands of mythological heroines; and the ladies mentioned were above deception. Only Tibullus again has anything to say of the infidelity of wives and the deception of elegiac husbands: e. g. 1. 2. 19 ff., 41 ff.; 1. 6. 8, 15 ff.; 1. 9. 53 ff. (a long passage), 71 f. Even he does not introduce the husband's jealousy and vengeance; the poor husband is always blind. If the passage in Mimnermus was intended as a warning to Nanno of what happened to ladies who were untrue to their lovers, it would suggest a theme that occurs in both Propertius and Tibullus; e. g. Prop. 1. 12, Tibull. 1. 6, etc.

Revelry is the subject of the opening lines of Prop. 1. 3, but it is only mentioned in passing, as it were, as a prelude to the scene that follows. Another parallel is perhaps found in Tibull. 1. 5. 37 ff.

Personal hatred does not appear in Propertius, and Tibullus develops it at only one place (1. 9. 53 ff., against a successful rival).

The subject of boy-love is not found in the first book of Propertius. Tibullus treats the topic in the fourth, eighth and ninth elegies of book one.

In a sense, the life that is portrayed in the elegy is almost all low life; but we find in these two books no trace of the description of low life as it seems to have appeared in Mimnermus.

<sup>1</sup> A possible but doubtful case is 1. 16. 20.

We see in them rather the lowest side of the life of the rich and profligate young Roman.

The sorrows of this world are often the theme of the elegiac poets; cf. the first, eighth, twelfth, eighteenth and other elegies of the Cynthia, and the second, fourth (at the end), fifth, ninth and other elegies of Tibullus's first book.

We have now discussed those motifs which were surely represented in Mimnermus. Of those which he may have had, travel is common in Propertius; e. g. 1. 6; 1. 8; 1. 17; also 1. 1. 29 f.; 1. 12. 11; 1. 20. 18 ff. The last uses the same myth as that employed by Mimnermus (the Argonautic expedition). Tibullus 1. 3 seems to be the only instance in that writer.

Fidelity between lovers one might expect to be a favorite motif. This is borne out by the instances in both Propertius and Tibullus. Propertius has it in 1. 1. 35 f.; 1. 2. 24, 31 f.; 1. 4; 1. 8. 21; 1. 12. 20; 1. 15. 29 ff.; 1. 18. 11 f.; 1. 19. 11. In Tibullus we find it at 1. 3. 83; 1. 6. 67, 75 f., 85 f.

Enduring toil to win love is less common in both. Propertius uses the motif once only, 1. 1. 9 ff. Tibullus also has but one example, 1. 4. 47 ff.

Defeat of a rival is told of triumphantly in Prop. 1. 8b, and possibly in Tibull. 1. 6. 28.

To recapitulate: of ten motifs (omitting the general topic of love) that were certainly handled by Mimnermus, only three, infidelity, revelry, and the sorrows of life, appear in Propertius; and two of these only seldom and usually in a rather incidental manner; while Tibullus uses eight (all except low life and the husband's jealous revenge); of these, revelry and probably personal hatred are not quite certain. The four doubtful motifs (one, according to our evidence, improbable) are all used by both elegists; but two (toiling for love and defeat of a rival) appear only once in each (the latter doubtful for Tibullus), and the others are more common in Propertius, especially the travel motif, of which Tibullus has but one instance. So far, then, as the evidence of their works and the testimonia goes, the influence of Mimnermus upon Propertius was very slight. In fact, on this score a better case might be made out for Tibullus than for Propertius.

We turn now to the consideration of some of the arguments used by Wilamowitz to support his assertion. His chief reliance

is the title Cynthia, which is like the title Nanno, the only one found in connection with ancient citations from Mimnermus. He argues<sup>1</sup> that, since Propertius felt that as a poet he bore the same relation to life as Mimnermus, he called his book the Cynthia after the model of the Nanno. As to that, it is very evident that Cynthia filled the book, as she filled the life, of Propertius; it is not so clear that this was the case with Nanno and Mimnermus, even though we read in Hermesianax that he burned for her; that the two poets bore the same relation to life is rather an arbitrary assertion of an opinion than an established fact. Moreover, in his article<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz gives the titles of many other works which the authors named for their wives or mistresses. It was quite common to assign such names to poems or books. Some of the Idyls of Theocritus and Eclogues of Vergil are cases in point. And among books named for a lady-love or a favorite we know of the Cyrnus, Lyde, Bittis and Leontium, as well as the Nanno. It is going too far to bar any of these because it is named for a wife. One would hesitate to couple a wife's name thus with that of another poet's mistress,<sup>3</sup> but the argument is hardly reversible. The number of books similarly named is too great to admit of any argument in support of the claim that in the choice of a name for his book Propertius was primarily influenced by the name of the work of Mimnermus.

One more feature of Roman Elegy that points, in the opinion of Wilamowitz,<sup>4</sup> to *classical* Greek elegy is the lingering and reflection upon one's own emotions. It is true that we do not find this element in what we have left of the works of Callimachus and Philetas,<sup>5</sup> but no more does it exist in the fragments of Mimnermus. Moreover, another and a nearer source is not far to seek. The epyllion is full of the analysis of the feelings.

<sup>1</sup> L. c., p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> L. c., pp. 287 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is the reason given by Wilamowitz (and earlier by Pohlenz, *Xápires*, 1911, p. 112, n. 2) for the belief that Bittis was the wife, not the mistress, of Philetas; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* I. 6. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> L. c., p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> This spelling has been defended by Bechtel in *Genethliakon für Robert*, Berlin, 1910, p. 73, against Crönert, who supported the form *Philitas* in *Herm.* 37 (1902), pp. 213 ff.

Not the poet's own feelings, indeed; but given this practice, and the fondness for expressing one's own passions, so common in epigram, the combination of the two is an easy step. Furthermore, the monologue of the drama is an excellent example of the same tendency;<sup>1</sup> and Wilamowitz admits the drama as a source.<sup>2</sup>

While advancing the claims of Mimnermus as an important model for Propertius, Wilamowitz belittles the influence of a number of other writers who have usually been rated high. For instance, he says<sup>3</sup> that, while Propertius may have found material in the *Aitia* of Callimachus, yet this work contained nothing that bore on Callimachus's own love affairs, and that this evidence appeared only in his epigrams. As Propertius admittedly<sup>4</sup> made use of epigram as a source, Wilamowitz is not advancing any argument at all against the value of Callimachus to Propertius, and this fact which he points out should weigh very little in comparison with the repeated allusions to Callimachus in Propertius, of which more later. Philetas, another elegist whom Propertius professed to follow, is dismissed with these words:<sup>5</sup> "Den spindeldürren Stubengelehrten Philitas als Vorbild des Erotikers Properz kann ich dagegen kaum ernst nehmen. . . . Ich weiss nicht, wie Philitas war, und was er taugte, aber dem Theokrit ähnlich, von Mimnermos und Properz ganz verschieden denk ich ihn mir". Of Philetas more will be said later. With regard to Antimachus, the fragments of the Lyde offer little evidence that would induce us to regard him as an important source. Mythological elements appear in many (e. g. 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20),<sup>6</sup> but in none at great length. Fr. 12 introduces the love motif. Fr. 17, which is perhaps not genuine, deals with the question why Aphrodite bears arms. Several may be connected with the subject of travel; e. g. those on the Argonautic expedition. Fragment 11

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eur. Med. 1021-1080.

<sup>2</sup> L. c., p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> L. c., pp. 288 f.

<sup>4</sup> L. c., pp. 298, 302 f.

<sup>5</sup> L. c., p. 290.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers are those of Hartung, *Die griechischen Elegiker*, Leipzig, 1859. Several of these fragments refer to the Argonauts, and are cited by the scholiast on Apollonius.

deals with magic; number 4 mentions a beautiful goblet, and is suggestive of carousing. Not a trace of subjective erotic elegy appears in the fragments. But the subjective element may well have been in the introduction, from which nothing seems to have survived. Furthermore, the fact that both Callimachus and Catullus<sup>1</sup> put a ban upon Antimachus shows that he was not well thought of, and might of itself have operated to deter Propertius from paying much attention to him. The only reference<sup>2</sup> to Antimachus in the whole of Propertius couples him with Homer, and this is an unfavorable indication. On the other hand, every reference to Philetas, and there are five,<sup>3</sup> points to a direct and close connection between him and Propertius. The five references<sup>4</sup> to Callimachus also indicate an intimate relationship. One may therefore accept Wilamowitz's conclusions about Antimachus, but hardly about Callimachus, nor about Philetas, as will presently be more fully shown. Nothing need here be said about his brief discussion<sup>5</sup> of less important writers, such as Euphoriion and Parthenius and the older Roman poets.<sup>6</sup> Slight acquaintance with the literary remains of Hermesianax is enough to convince anyone that the author of the *Cynthia* book owed no debt to him. There is no reference to him anywhere in Propertius.

In reading Tibullus and Propertius, one is struck with the many themes that are common to both. Of course there is much difference between them; Tibullus sings the praises of rustic life; Rome is good enough for Propertius. The latter has but one concern—his passion for *Cynthia*; the former certainly has other interests beside *Delia*. Yet the points of agreement in their writings are very numerous. Tibull. 1. 3 is a *propem-*

<sup>1</sup> Callim. fr. 74 b, Schneider:

Δύθη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν.

Catull. 95. 10:

At populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.

<sup>2</sup> Prop. 2. 34. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Prop. 2. 34. 31; 3. 1. 1; 3. 3. 52; 3. 9. 44; 4. 6. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Prop. 2. 1. 40; 2. 34. 42; 3. 1. 1; 3. 9. 43; 4. 1. 64.

<sup>5</sup> L. c., pp. 291 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The importance of Catullus in Elegy is shown by Professor A. L. Wheeler in A. J. P. 36 (1915), pp. 155 ff.



*ptikon*; so is Prop. 1. 8.<sup>1</sup> Prop. 1. 6 may be compared with Tibull. 1. 1. Prop. 1. 16 is a *paraklausithyron*, like Tibull. 1. 2; a comparison shows that they are alike in many details. Minor themes which they have in common may be added in large numbers.<sup>2</sup> They are so numerous that they could not have been due to chance. As Wilamowitz says<sup>3</sup> in another connection, the poets could not "sich das aus den Fingern gezogen haben". They were not members of the same literary circle, and their books appeared at nearly the same time; so imitation is almost out of the question. The expressions and sentiments, then, must have been commonplaces in the field of elegy. There must therefore have been a well-developed subjective erotic elegy before the Augustan age, and it is probable that it was Alexandrian. Philetas is the poet to whom the signs point. Pohlenz has made out a strong case for him.<sup>4</sup> We may note here matters in which the fragments of Philetas show a relation with Tibullus and Propertius.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Kirby Smith's note on Tibull. 1. 3. Most of the parallels cited are from my own collections; a few are from Smith or Harrington, or from dissertations in the field.

<sup>2</sup> Some of them are: the *custos*, Prop. 1. 11. 15; Tibull. 1. 2. 15; 1. 3. 84; and elsewhere. Dislike for war and all things military, Prop. 1. 6. 29; Tibull. 1. 1. 75. The power of magic, Prop. 1. 1. 23; Tibull. 1. 2. 43 f.; 1. 8. 19. The poet and his lady are tender, and not used to hardship, Prop. 1. 8. 7; Tibull. 1. 1. 46; 1. 2. 73; and elsewhere. No happiness without love, Prop. 1. 14. 22; Tibull. 1. 2. 75. Nights of wakefulness and tears, Prop. 1. 1. 33; 1. 11. 5; Tibull. 1. 2. 76. The lover's hard lot, and the cruelty of girls (boys, too), Prop. 1. 12; 1. 15; 1. 18; Tibull. 1. 6. 5 ff.; 1. 9; and elsewhere. The poet's forgiving spirit, Prop. 1. 8. 17 f.; 1. 18. 14 f.; Tibull. 1. 6. 56; 1. 9. 40. No cure nor end of love, Prop. 1. 5. 28; 1. 8. 21; 1. 12. 20; 1. 19. 6; Tibull. 1. 4. 81 f.; 1. 5. 37 ff. The poet's tender heart, Prop. 1. 6. 11; 1. 18. 13 ff.; Tibull. 1. 1. 51 f. Happiness of life with her, Prop. 1. 14. 9 ff.; Tibull. 1. 1. 57 f.; 1. 5. 21 ff. The vanity of riches, Prop. 1. 14. 23 f.; Tibull. 1. 1. 77 f. Life wretched without her, Prop. 1. 17. 1 ff.; Tibull. 1. 5. 1 ff. The lover's weakness and pallor, Prop. 1. 5. 21 f.; Tibull. 1. 8. 52. Youth the time for love, Prop. 1. 19. 25 f.; Tibull. 1. 1. 69. How she should act in his absence, Prop. 1. 15. 9 ff.; Tibull. 1. 3. 83 ff. Her perjury, Prop. 1. 15. 25; Tibull. 1. 6. 7 f.; 1. 9. 3. The poet as *praeceptor amoris*, Prop. 1. 10. 21 ff.; Tibull. 1. 6. 9 ff.; 1. 8. 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> L. c., p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> L. c., pp. 108-112.

<sup>5</sup> We are at a great disadvantage here, for it is the Bittis which is supposed to have been the best example of subjective elegy, and we

The fragments of Philetas show the sorrows of life (1, 2, 3, 7, 12, 13, 14);<sup>1</sup> examples from Propertius and Tibullus have been given above, in connection with Mimnermus. These woes are endless, and there is no relief (fr. 3, 7): cf. Prop. 1. 6. 25, 35 f. The idea that death ends all (fr. 6) is close to the thought of Prop. 1. 19. 25 f. and Tibull. 1. 1. 69 f. The worth of poetry in love appears in fr. 10;<sup>2</sup> cf. Prop. 1. 8. 39 f.; Tibull. 1. 4. 61 ff. The desire to be remembered after death, another prominent elegiac motif, is in fr. 11: see Prop. 1. 7. 9 f. The scene in 13 recalls Prop. 1. 17. The motif of spinning is seen in 18; cf. Prop. 1. 3. 41; Tibull. 1. 3. 86 f. Number 19 praises modesty: Prop. 1. 16. 2 is a faint parallel, while similar expressions are found in 1. 2. Fr. 21 reveals the love of country life so familiar in Tibullus; cf. 1. 1 *et passim*. Propertius seeks the country only when he wants a lonely place where he may rail at fate and Cynthia (1. 18). Probably fragments 20, 22, and 24 are echoes of the same feeling. In 27 we meet with the marriage of Jason and Medea. Medea's name in the Roman pair is coupled with the idea of witchcraft; Prop. 1. 1. 24; Tibull. 1. 2. 51. Her marriage does not appear there: Propertius has an allusion to the Argonauts in 1. 20. 17 ff. We find no example of a myth treated in the manner of Propertius; no fragment is long enough for that. Mythological references occur, however, in 15, 16, and 27: the last may have been of some length. Of course the Demeter and the Hermes were long poems on mythological subjects, but these were not subjective elegy. Fr. 5 is a story of Odysseus and Polymela, daughter of Aeolus, selected by Parthenius for his friend Gallus among the tales to be used in poetry of this sort. This would do as well

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have not a single fragment which we know to have come from it. On the other hand, most of our fragments of Mimnermus are cited expressly from the Nanno.

<sup>1</sup>Hartung's numbering. As the first three of these are from the Demeter, and probably refer to her troubles, perhaps they should not be cited as parallels to mortal woes.

<sup>2</sup>So Hartung, and Reitzenstein, *Epigramm u. Skolion*, p. 179. But Bach, Maass, and Cessi have interpreted these obscure words differently; see Cessi, *de Philitae carminibus quaestiones*, in *Eranos* 8 (1908), pp. 141 ff., and his references.

as the *Aitia* of Callimachus in furnishing material for Propertius.<sup>1</sup>

This is not an imposing list of parallels between Philetas and the Romans, but as nearly all (eight out of nine) are found in Propertius and five in Tibullus, the proportion is better than for Mimnermus. Moreover, the small number of lines surviving from Philetas must be considered—47 as compared with 83 full lines of Mimnermus. Altogether, they may serve to advance somewhat the claims made for Philetas.

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<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz admits this; p. 290.

V.—A VEXED PASSAGE IN THE GALLIC WAR  
(V, 16).

In the account of the second invasion of Britain, Caesar, returning to the narrative from the digression on the island and its people, records an attack of British cavalry and charioteers upon the Roman cavalry on the march, and the complete rout of the former (15). After more skirmishing we come (in 16) to observations on the disadvantages under which his own infantry and cavalry labored, in engaging an enemy whose tactics proved a continual embarrassment, as on the previous expedition (IV, 33-34). In 16, 1-2, he dwells upon the discovery that the immobile Roman infantry was at a disadvantage against so lively a foe, and that the cavalry was exposed to great danger, owing to the Parthian methods employed by the Britons, and their habit of dismounting from their chariots, to fight on foot among their own cavalry. Next comes the sentence which has given the critics and commentators so much trouble (§3):

Equestris autem proelii ratio et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat.

This is usually understood as stating that, whether the Roman horse retreated or pursued, they were in equal danger,—or, more bluntly expressed, that they were of no use whatever against the cavalry and *essedarii* of the enemy. One more section completes the chapter,—further disadvantages of the Romans, owing to the open formation of the Britons and their effective system of reserves.

In general the editors have retained the sentence quoted above without emendation. Thus, e. g. Nipperdey, Dinter, Doberenz, Kraner, Rheinhard, Benoist, du Pontet, etc. Hoffmann (1888) emended by inserting *illis* (the Britons) after *cedentibus*, evidently construing as an ablative absolute. On the other hand, the whole sentence is bracketed by Kübler (1893), Meusel (1894, 1908, 1915), and Rice Holmes in his recent edition. All three of these editors cast doubt upon the MS. tradition by re-

marking that the sentence was omitted in the *editio princeps*,— a fact which may prove no more than the first editor's dependence upon one or two unknown MSS. of problematical value, or, conversely, his extreme independence in ejecting a sentence which baffled explanation. Rice Holmes thinks Meusel "right in bracketing these words; and all commentators have recognized that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain them. They cannot refer to a combat between the Roman and the British cavalry, for the British cavalry only acted in support of the charioteers. Therefore, if they were genuine, they could only refer to a combat between the Roman cavalry and the combined British charioteers and cavalry, and the meaning would be either (1) 'On the other hand, the mode in which the British cavalry fought [in co-operation with the charioteers] exposed the Romans, alike in retreat and in pursuit, to exactly the same danger', or (2) 'In fact the nature of the combat of horse [that is to say, the combat between the Roman cavalry and the combined British charioteers and cavalry] exposed the Romans', &c. But the passage, which is not in the first printed edition of the *Commentaries*, is at least suspicious". He adds a reference to his *Ancient Britain*, 688-691, where the whole passage is discussed at length.

Of these two explanations, the first may commend itself to the tactician, but will it stand the test of rhetorical analysis? It strains a point to find an antithesis between *equestris* and the charioteers involved in *ex essedis desilirent et pedibus dispari proelio contenderent* (§2), and yet requires us to note that the *equites* were at the same time supported by the *essedarii*, thus effacing a contrast upon which italics have been lavished in vain. Meanwhile a very striking double antithesis has been completely ignored—that between *equestris* and *pedibus* (i. e. the mounted and dismounted), and that between *dispari proelio* and *par atque idem periculum*. The former contrast is noted by some of the commentators, e. g. Doberenz, Kraner-Dittenberger, and must surely have been taken for granted by many mature readers of Caesar. Rice Holmes's second interpretation, "In fact the nature of the combat of horse", etc., gives more stress to "nature" than one can easily find in an unemphatic *ratio*, and greatly weakens the obvious emphasis upon *equestris*. It also fails to take account of the double antithesis,

*pedibus dispari proelio and equestris . . . par atque idem periculum*, in which may lie the clue to the whole sentence.

So long as the *essedarii* did not dismount, the Roman cavalry were at no disadvantage; the danger was equal for both sides, the pursued and the pursuer, *et cedentibus et insequentibus*, assuming of course that neither side was invariably in pursuit of the other. The commentators, however, have referred the two participles to different situations of the same party, i. e. the Romans (or the Britons, Hoffmann). Thus, the general view of the sentence makes it an amplification of the disadvantages under which the Roman cavalry labored. So, for example, Benoist: "ce combat de cavalerie était également dangereux pour les cavaliers romains, soit qu'ils reculassent, soit qu'ils allassent de l'avant". Yet why should Caesar say that his cavalry were under all circumstances inferior? Only one chapter further back (15, 1) we read of a victory of Roman cavalry attacked by British *equites* and *essedarii*. Hence it is highly improbable that he should so soon have thought it necessary to remark about the invariable inferiority of his cavalry.

For a defence of our interpretation of the participles as virtual substantives, "pursued and pursuers", one has merely to go back half-a-dozen lines in the text to find *insequi cedentes*, and other examples may readily be cited (e. g. II, 19, 5; VII, 80, 8). As for *ratio*, it may be simple periphrasis,—*equestris proelii ratio* = *equestre proelium* (Benoist); or it may call attention to what was inherent in the situation, so that a fair equivalent would be "a mounted engagement naturally", etc.; or *ratio* may add the note of generalization,—"mounted tactics in general". From the combat in which some are mounted and others on foot, we return in *equestris proelii ratio* to the notion of a more normal and conventional encounter, in which, to be sure, there are charioteers, as well as horsemen, but in this case all are "mounted". One may then paraphrase: "When they did not dismount, however, naturally the combat was evenly matched for the pursued and the pursuers", or "While they were mounted, however, the conditions of battle were equally dangerous for the pursued and the pursuers".

Analyzing the chapter as a whole we should have:

- (§1) Disadvantage of the immobile infantry.
- (2) Disadvantage of the cavalry when the charioteers resorted to their favorite tactics and dismounted.

(3) "Mounted tactics, however, brought one and the same danger to pursued and pursuer"—a parenthetical reservation. So long as the *essedarii* remained in their chariots the disadvantage was not felt. Observe that the return to the *oratio recta* sets this off from the preceding sections in a way perhaps suggestive of an afterthought, but hardly of an interpolation. For the latter no motive can be imagined, and nothing in the style of the sentence justifies the suspicion of a later hand.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Additional circumstances embarrassing to the Romans,—the open formation of the Britons, and their reserves. This passes over the parenthetical remark of §3 to connect with 1-2 as a whole. He is thinking, in fact, more of the infantry than of the cavalry.

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<sup>1</sup>An examination of all the other complete sentences bracketed by Meusel in the *Gallic War* (1908, 1915) shows no case quite similar to this, except V, 30, 5, *Omnia excogitantur*, etc. The others are accounted for as geographical padding, useless, senseless or incredible additions. If the double *et* is felt to be an objection to the interpretation proposed in this paper, it is surely more rational to bracket the first *et* than the entire sentence.

## VI.—ΟΠΩΣ AND ΟΠΩΣ ΑΝ.

So many of the syntactical points I have stood for, or haply made, in the last forty years have been accepted by Professor Smyth in his Greek Grammar that I am somewhat surprised to find that in the matter of  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  and  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \alpha\tilde{\nu}$  (§ 1345) he adheres to Madvig's rule (Synt.<sup>2</sup>, § 122, note 2), which even Goodwin abandoned in his Revised Edition of his Moods and Tenses.  $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ , says Professor Smyth, does not appreciably affect the meaning. If by 'meaning' 'translation' and not 'tone' is meant, there is nothing to quarrel about. But the old-fashioned English 'that so' gives a fair equivalent (A. J. P. IV 422). Now no competent scholar will accuse Goodwin of supersubtlety. His 'common sense' is the foundation of his canonicity among English-speaking scholars. And yet none of my innovations—if innovations they are—received more emphatic approval from him than  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \alpha\tilde{\nu} = \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tilde{\nu} \pi\omega\varsigma$ . Years and years ago Wecklein (Curæ Epigr., p. 41) called attention to the prevalence of  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \alpha\tilde{\nu}$  in Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans, § 50, 7; cf. 3d ed. § 91, 30). It sorts well with the tone of legal exactness, of legal caution such as has made  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tilde{\nu}$  the legal condition (A. J. P. VI 55; T. A. P. A. 1876, p. 2). It is no secret that the conditional can take on a final connotation (Monro, Homeric Grammar, §§ 314, 319). It ought to be no news that  $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$  guards the finality of the relative. It is an old observation that  $\omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$  in Homer is regularly preceded by an imperative, so that a certain Greek temperance is begotten in the whirlwind of passion. However, it is fair to say that Professor Smyth has good company in his rejection of a distinction on which I may possibly lay too much stress, as is natural with makers of formulae. Comp. also A. J. P. XXIII 127, XXIV 394, XXIX 267, XXXIII 236—a string of references that does not reflect credit upon the completeness of the Indiculus Syntacticus, A. J. P. XXXVI 485, which, however, being prepared for my own use makes no pretensions to exhaustiveness, that prime virtue of an index. For me *Final Sentence* sufficed.

B. L. G.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Homer and History. By WALTER LEAF, London: The Macmillan Co., 1915. Pp. XIII + 325; Appendix; Maps.

In this book Mr. Leaf returns, with fresh conviction, to a reënfacement of his theme of nearly twenty-five years ago, that the Iliad and Odyssey "really do depict the Achaian age, as they profess". Subsequent discoveries in Crete and elsewhere have entailed important modifications, but he finds material within Homer for a plausible argument from what he fairly describes as historic data. He states his theory confidently but without dogmatism. As a reasonable working hypothesis, at least until a new turn of the spade brings fresh evidence, this thesis may find acceptance with scholars who are reluctant to concede the Epic estates to Aegean mortmain or to degrade the Olympians to seventh century *parvenus*. If we can believe with Mr. Leaf not only in a real Trojan war, waged by real men in the twelfth century, but also in the genesis of a wholly Greek epic within the limits of the "dark" centuries, we need neither fear the threat of Minoan maieutic to extract an embryonic "Little" Iliad from the undeciphered Cretan script nor admit the distorting *reductio* to a least common denominator—say of *circa* 600 B. C.—alike for Hellene, Hindu, Iranian, Semite and Chinese (cf. Gilbert Murray: Four Stages of Greek Religion, 57, note).

The author lays stress on the confirmation of his beliefs derived from H. Munro Chadwick's independent study of the Teutonic and Greek heroic poems. He says, p. xii, "To the instruction and encouragement which I received from The Heroic Age (published 1912), the existence of this book is largely due". He returns repeatedly to Chadwick's work.

Mr. Leaf, in chapter I, claims that Homer differentiates clearly between men and gods. The Heraclitean formulæ (cf. Lucian, Vit. Auctio, 14) that men are *θεοὶ θνητοί*, and gods *ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι*, would probably satisfy neither Mr. Leaf nor Homer. Divine descent in Homer has nothing in common with worship in later Greece. The two conceptions are divorced. In Homer "two heroes have divine descent and heroic honours; two have divine descent but no honours; four have human descent and heroic honours". . . . "The heroes of Homer show no sign of superhuman origin" and the divine government of the world is an "epiphenomenon." Some, at least, of

Homer's heroes were historic men with these actual names, e. g. Agamemnon, Achilles, Odysseus; but it is not necessary to assume historicity for every name: the dog Argos, for example; nor, perhaps, for Penelope. But "Helen was Helen before she dressed for the masquerade of mythology".

In his chapter on "The Coming of the Achaians", Mr. Leaf joins issue with the theory of Mr. Evans that "the age of Homer is more recent than the latest stage of anything that can be called Minoan or Mycenaean". The Achaeans, he thinks, intruded as a new race upon the Minoans, who had settled in Greece and conquered still older aborigines, and became in turn from the fourteenth century onwards the dominant tribe—perhaps a few thousands only forming an aristocratic, military class—but that this took place without involving at first any perceptible change in the art and culture of the land, though their language prevailed.

As illustrating the plausibility of this contention, Mr. Leaf makes an extended comparison with the Norman conquest of the Saracens in Sicily. The Normans came into the inheritance of two hundred and thirty years of Saracen culture. "With the Saracen and Greek to his subjects, the Norman had really no need to innovate; he had simply to bid the men of the land to go on working for him instead of for any other." (Cited from Freeman in *Encyc. Brit.* xvii, 551, 9th ed.)

The application of this interpretation of the kind of contact which took place between Achaeans and Minoans is developed by Mr. Leaf, and he sketches the probable route of these peoples, coming from the north by way of Epirus (rather than via Thessaly). He goes on to account for the Achaean expansion to the coast of Asia Minor. In the thirteenth century the Hittite Empire was already in decline, and the barrier to invaders, covetous of the Asia Minor littoral, was weakening. First of all, however, it was necessary to secure the Troad, a strategic position from time immemorial, through which the "northern pressure had its path of least resistance . . . , if they were to win a solid footing in the Hermos Valley." And so in the Trojan war there met as rivals the long parted divisions of the invaders from the Balkans—the Dardanian Phrygians whose ancestors had moved southeastward through Thrace, and the Achaeans who had gone southwest through Epirus.

In chapter III, "Boeotia", Mr. Leaf not only denies, as do others, the Homeric authenticity of the Catalogue of the Ships, but draws additional logical conclusions which are still further fortified in his subsequent chapters. (E. g. the excision, unwelcome on sentimental grounds, of the whole Aulis romance.) The Homeric inhabitants of the canton are Cadmeans, not Boeotians. The latter came in two generations later. Thucydides,

he thinks, knew this bit of history but did not venture openly to "Megarize".

Incidentally, Mr. Leaf excludes also the "embryo catalogue", contained in Il. xiii, 685-722, with its intrusive Ἴάονες ἄλκεῖτῶνες, subsequently calling it "Ionia" to distinguish, along with the "Boeotia", from Homer. "The whole proportion and perspective of the Iliad is distorted in the Catalogue" (i. e. of the Ships), p. 107.

In three chapters Mr. Leaf discusses: "The Dominion of Peleus"; "The Dominion of Odysseus"; and "The Realm of Agamemnon." In these 132 pages he makes an examination of the principal kingdoms of the Achæans, as they may be mapped out from Homer, and compares these regions with the data indicated in the Catalogue. The result is cumulative against the "Homericity" of the latter. The Catalogue, for example, based on no real knowledge of inner Thessaly, breaks up the Kingdom of Peleus into topographically impossible parcels, as shown on his map, page 128.

The discussion of the "Dominion of Odysseus" and, incidentally, of the Odyssey is of great interest. Mr. Leaf refuses to treat the bulk of the Odyssey as yielding, like the Iliad, data of historic events or of sober topography. His objections, however, to M. Bérard's revision of the Corfu-Phæacian theory are not new. M. Champault had conclusively demonstrated, long since, that M. Bérard's identification of the west side of the island is, if anything, less satisfactory than the orthodox tradition, although Champault's own identification of Phæacia with Ischia failed to satisfy other *indicia* in the text.

But Mr. Leaf allows Odysseus to return from the realm of fancy into reality when he comes to Ithaca and the neighboring islands and territory. He gives interesting details of the Echinades group and Dragonera Island (map, page 164, "after Admiralty Chart 203"). In a note, page 165, he tells us that the Pauly-Wissowa article on these islands is useless to inquirers. He has no unreasoned prejudice, however, against everything Teutonic and endorses, restates more clearly and reinforces with fresh data Dr. Dörpfeld's Leucas-Ithaca theory.

While giving constructive evidence for the wide-spread realm of Agamemnon Mr. Leaf gathers up many details, hinted at before, into a plausible reinforcement of his theory of the contact, chronological and geographical, between Minoan and Achæan and of his belief in the complete intrusiveness of the matter in the Catalogue of the Ships. His conception of the extent of Achæan rule, with Mycenæ at its centre, is made clear to the eye by the large folding map appended to the book. Agamemnon's supremacy is passively acknowledged by Odysseus (cf. Il. iv, 204-6), and by Idomeneus of Crete (cf. Il. iv, 266f.). Only Achilles the "hot-headed son of the King of

Phthia, in the extreme north . . . sounds the note of independence".

Mycenae was "the residence for several generations at least of kings of astonishing wealth and culture". All the strongholds of the Argolid were subservient to it. Mycenæ was not an outpost of Corinth (assumed by some as Agamemnon's capital) for the very good reason, as Mr. Leaf boldly and incautiously asserts (p. 210), that "in Agamemnon's days there was no [town of] Corinth in existence"! Mindful, however, of the irrepensible excavator Mr. Leaf adds (page 214), that he would submit to evidence if a real Mycenaean layer—not a few chance sherds—should be discovered in this vicinity, but feels confident that none such will ever be found. But just this has happened in the last year. Mr. Blegen, secretary of the American School at Athens, has discovered an indubitable Mycenaean site nearby on the Gulf of Corinth, and now a number of other sites, including one near Hexamilia, found in the vicinity of Old Corinth, are waiting further excavation. Ancient Ephyre, it seems probable, will be identified about where we might expect to find it.

In the chapter on "The Fusion of Races" is to be found, illustrated by suggestive parallels from modern history, the exposition of the author's solution of this knotty problem. "The Achæans are soldiers, who have inherited the art and wealth of the Minoans, whom they have succeeded; the subjects are tillers of the soil, accustomed to serfdom, and living on by the side of their masters, yet having little in common with them beyond the payment of their dues".

This subject population, probably akin to the Achæans in blood (Mr. Leaf implies that they may have been immigrants from the north in pre-Minoan days), differed widely from them in culture and thought. After the Achæan aristocracy had been weakened by the long Trojan war there followed a fusion of religious beliefs as well as of political life, and the result was a compromise and blend as in the case of Norman and Saxon, though in different proportion and with some sharp differences in result. The more aristocratic though "*parvenu*" Olympians (cf. Aesch. Eum. 778), largely dominated the darker sediment of rustic ritualism. No convenient herd of swine was near by to make off *en masse* with the "Eniautos-daimon" and the rest of the autochthonous demons, but ultimately the gulfs washed most of them down.

In the closing chapter, "The Achaian Epos," Mr. Leaf's summary includes certain propositions which may be thus condensed: Both poems have an historical basis in a Trojan war, which was a necessary prelude to the expansion of Greece eastwards. Tradition, tested by geography and archæology, preserves intact so much that we must believe in its continuity

and assume that it began on the mainland before the days of the great colonization; that the court lays (cf. Chadwick's Heroic Age), sung in Achaean Mycenae, Pylos, and Sparta, were taken to Asia Minor and developed and perfected; that some of the Achæan leaders were real men under real names (Mr. Leaf is not troubled by sarcastic references to Menelaus as "a well-known infantry officer with auburn whiskers"); and that the matter in the Catalogue of the Greek Ships cannot be reconciled with the rest of Homer.

Mr. Leaf, finally, does not deny the need of further light upon problems such as: (a) What, if anything, does the Homeric Epos contain of tradition earlier than itself? (b) Does Heracles typify Minoan civilization? (c) Are the adventures of Odysseus based on Minoan legend? (d) How is the Homeric Epos related to all the mass of Athenian legend?

Mr. Leaf's full exposition of his theories cannot be fairly judged by any abridgment. His great authority as an Homeric scholar will inevitably secure for this his latest contribution a detailed study of the whole context.

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Lucian's Atticism. The Morphology of the Verb. (Dissertation presented in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy) by ROY J. DEFERRARI. Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 82+ (annotated) index.

This dissertation, confined to the morphology of the verb, is the fruit of an investigation of Lucian's language in relation to the other Atticists and to the κοινή.

Previous studies of Lucian's Atticism, the author urges, are incomplete or are based on imperfect knowledge of MS readings and of their relative value. He acknowledges, however, his indebtedness to Du Mesnil, Chabert, and Schmid. For his own examination of MS evidence he depends on Nilén's critical edition, as far as it goes, i. e., Nos. 1-14, and for the remainder fortifies himself by a collation of Jacobitz, Fritzsche, Sommerbrodt, etc., supplemented by photographic facsimiles of FUZN.

This process, he believes, affords "sufficient control of both groups of MSS to make this study possible".

Seven pieces included in the Lucianic corpus he excludes altogether, either as obviously spurious or, in the case of the two pseudo-Ionic pieces, as not germane to a discussion on Atticism. Fourteen other pieces are relegated to discussion in footnotes for varying reasons: two, the Podagra and Ocypus, as written in verse; the Lexiphanes (though genuine, as he

believes), because the subject-matter is Atticism; and the other eleven—Hippias, Longaevi, Iudicium Vocalium, Solœcista, Parasitus, Asinus, Saltatio, Amores, Abdicatus, Demosthenes, and Saturnalia—because their authenticity has been more or less strongly impugned.

All editors, it may be remarked, are by no means in agreement in regard to this list. The Iudicium Vocalium, for example, is accepted as genuine by both Jacobitz and Sommerbrodt and its content with its peculiarly Lucianic humour—a factor which, though subjective, may be claimed to be of at least equal weight with the necessarily tentative proof from sporadic forms—seems to mark it as a certainly genuine, if youthful, Lucianic curtain-raiser. Mr. Deferrari's objection, however, is entitled to consideration. On the score of two un-Attic forms, ἤρχετο and ὀραθῆναι, he believes that the piece is spurious.

Chapters I-VIII are devoted to detailed examination of the following morphological questions: ττ vs. σσ; σμ σρ μ; ν ἐφέλκυστικόν; augment; verb-endings; collateral present forms, including contract verbs; tenses, future and perfect; irregular verbs.

Chapter IX gives a brief summary of noteworthy matters in the excluded pieces. He concludes that of all the pieces rejected the Longaevi, Solœcista, Iudicium Vocalium, Asinus, and Amores show the greatest variation from Lucianic usage—almost enough, in fact, to prove that they are spurious. The Lexiphanes shows no noteworthy variation whatever.

In the concluding chapter, "Lucian as an Atticist in Relation to the MS. Tradition", he argues that Lucian's deviations from good Attic are due either to a sense of dramatic fitness or to a desire to avoid obscurity or pronounced pedantry. Hence the naturalness of his style. Minor inconsistencies may be due to the insertion of Attic forms by an Atticist reviser, or to careless admission of κοινή forms by Lucian or by the scribes. Mr. Deferrari rejects the theory of a sweeping Attic recension and concludes that "on the whole the tradition faithfully represents Lucian's usage;—modified, however, by the insertion of a small number of Atticisms and a much greater number of vulgarisms. Lucian was more Attic, not less Attic, than as we now know him".

Mr. Deferrari's dissertation is a welcome contribution to the study of Lucian, and it is to be hoped that it will be followed up by the further investigations which he promises in his introduction.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

## A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions.

By LINDLEY RICHARD DEAN. Princeton, 1916. pp. 321.

For a number of years doctoral dissertations have been appearing, for the most part in Germany, which have taken up one at a time the history of the legions of the Roman army. Several books and articles dealing with the Roman army have been written lately, of which Cagnat's *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique* and Cheesman's *The Auxilia of the Roman imperial army* have been distinct contributions to our knowledge of the military side of Roman history. There has just appeared a Princeton dissertation by L. R. Dean entitled, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*, which takes its place as an important contribution in this field.

Dr. Dean has collected some 5700 names of Roman "soldiers, veterans, and under-officers up to and including *primi pili*", and published them in alphabetical order of cognomina at the end of his dissertation, being pages 127-321. Chapter one is given over to Popular Cognomina, and chapters two and three to the Classification of Cognomina. The writer says in his introduction that he was led to undertake his study in part because Schulze in his *Lateinische Eigennamen* had said that the collection and classification of cognomina would bring valuable results, and in part because E. Bormann had made a statement in his *Roemischer Limes* about the cognomina Firmus and Severus that challenged investigation. Dr. Dean's table of cognomina shows that there are seven cognomina which far outnumber Severus, and that Firmus is hardly in the running at all, which goes to show that such generalizations as Bormann's are dangerous unless backed by statistics.

The author sets twenty as the minimum number of examples competent to make Popular Cognomina. There are fifty-six cognomina found more than twenty times each. Felix is first, 210 times; Saturninus second, 183 times; Victor third, 167 times; Valens fourth, 152 times; Maximus fifth, 146 times; Secundus sixth, 110 times; Rufus seventh, 96 times; then Severus, Ianuarius, Vitalis, Donatus, Crescens, and so on, in a rapidly diminishing scale. Alexander, found 50 times, is the only cognomen not of Roman origin that appears more than twenty times; Datus, Donatus, and Rogatus are found practically only in Africa.

In the second chapter there are a number of tables which classify the cognomina in a way that is enlightening and suggestive. Three broad divisions are made of the 1333 cognomina used: first, according to form and meaning, second, according

to endings, and third, of foreign origin. Nearly one third of the whole number of different cognomina are adjectival in form. There are 39 which denote qualities suited to men in military service, such as *Audax*, *Bellicus*, *Dexter*, *Laevus*, *Ferox*, *Repentinus*; there are 42 which denote physical characteristics, such as *Albus*, *Calvus*, *Gracilis*, *Longus*, *Magnus*, *Mutilus*, *Taurinus*; 61 which denote mental or moral characteristics, among which may be named *Amabilis*, *Asper*, *Castus*, *Dignus* and *Dignissimus*, *Garrulus*, *Mellitus*, *Serenus*, *Verus* and *Verissimus*; 82 with geographical or racial significance, as *Africus*, *Celtiber*, *Gallicus*, *Lugudunolus*, *Tuscius*. It is interesting to find that all the numeral adjectives except those for 'eighth' and 'ninth' are used as cognomina; that there are 54 forms of participial adjectives; 93 nouns of different groups as illustrated by the following examples, *Pupus*, *Ballista*, *Caprarius*, *Leo*, *Aquila*, *Auster*, *Stella*, *Cicatricula*; 34 connected with names of divinities; and 35 well-known Roman cognomina, such as *Agrippa*, *Cato*, *Pansa*, *Scipio*, *Seneca*, and *Varus*. The rest of the chapter is taken up with lists of cognomina ending in -a, -anus, -ianus, -inus, -lis, -o, -osus, and those of foreign origin.

Seven supplementary paragraphs make up chapter three. Double cognomina are treated first, and several such names are given as *C. Tannonius Felix qui et Aquensis*, but Dr. Dean finds no quite satisfactory explanation for the second cognomen or supernomen. The reviewer wonders if he considered the possibility of the supernomen being used to distinguish two men in a legion who had the same name.

It is next shown that before the reign of *Claudius*, soldiers' names with cognomina are rare, and that the cognomina of the first century are mostly adjectives; that more than one third of all the soldiers' names are found in Africa, and that the most striking characteristic of the cognomina in Africa is that they are in the form of past participles. Uncomplimentary cognomina, *Sterceius* being as unsavory as any, are found, but as Dr. Dean suggests very pertinently, such names are not often likely to follow a man to his grave-stone. There are a number of such names as *Iulius Iulianus*, *Valerius Valerianus*, and the like, with both nomen and cognomen formed on the same stem.

The writer shows that he has used the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (so quoted on page 111, although on pages 8 and 9 he cites it as *Eph. Epigr.*, on page 93 as *Ephem. Epig.*, and on page 108 as *Ephem. Epigr.*), but it is unfortunate that it is not listed among the abbreviations. The bibliography lays no claim to completeness, so omissions are not unexpected. It happens that the reviewer remembered hearing Professors *O. Hirschfeld* and *Ed. Meyer* speak of a dissertation by *Martin Bang*, which had been completed the year before he was him-



self their student. Its title is *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantius I* (Berlin, 1906), and the II. Abschnitt, *Namen und Heimatsbezeichnung* (pp. 17-24), has several points which would have been suggestive to Dr. Dean, and which would have added a few names to his list.

I notice also at least one inscription given by Carl Tschauschner (*Legionare Kriegsvexillationen von Claudius bis Hadrian*, Breslau Dissertation, 1907, page 29) found at Baalbek in Syria which mentions a C. Velius Rufus, p(rimus) p(ilus) leg. xii Fulm(inatae) whose name does not seem to appear in the author's alphabetical list of soldiers. This position of *primus pilus* is the lowest in the *cursus honorum* of C. Velius Rufus, and it may well be that he does not belong in Dr. Dean's list.

The long alphabetical list of names which fills pages 128-321 is a valuable piece of work. The reviewer has noticed very few misprints, and has no right to complain of a scheme for a list which is so consistently followed. None the less, abbreviations without punctuation seem to him to give a page an unfinished appearance. Perhaps also the English word "Date" which appears in a great number of the inscriptions, might have been left out entirely, the author's explanation on page 127: "(2) Date, wherever possible" being sufficient, it would seem, to cover the case.

Such criticisms, if criticisms they are, are captious. The dissertation is a good piece of work, and well worth doing, and is one in which both Dr. Dean and Professor Abbott may well take satisfaction.

R. V. D. M.

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The Origin of the Cult of Artemis. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, Manchester: The University Press, 1916. Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library", April-July, 1916.

As I intimated in a previous number of the JOURNAL, the vegetarian interpretation of mythology dies hard and reminds me by its persistence of the vitality exhibited by the locust tree (*Robinia pseudacacia*), a vitality more familiar to some people I know than the Book of Job, quoted A. J. P. XXXVII 107. If the semblance of bark be left on a locust post, it will put forth branches and leaves that demand the stern action of the hatchet, but, for one, I have no desire or, in fact, competence to ply the woodman's bill on my friend Rendel Harris's arbor-scences. For aught I know, the leaves his tree puts forth may be for the healing of mythology or at all events may serve as

'Fliegende Blätter' to promote the gaiety of the nations. Nowhere will one find more delightfully whimsical humour paired with recondite learning than in the series one part of which was briefly noticed as aforesaid. The Origin of the Cult of Apollo is now followed by the lecture On the Origin of the Cult of Artemis. So much in love is Professor Harris with his thesis, so much impressed is he by the additional proofs he has gathered from an astounding range of reading, that each lecture begins with a survey and reinforcement of his previous combinations, and I will follow his seductive example. The oak, he had previously shewn, as the animistic repository of the thunder, is the dwelling-place of Zeus; and Zeus himself is the woodpecker that nested in it, or hammered at its bark. Athena—but here there is only a perhaps—who sprang from the head of the thunder-oak, was the owl that lived in one of its hollows. Dionysos, whose thunder-birth is established, was the ivy on the oak, and Apollo was linked to the life of Zeus through the life of the oak—for Apollo was the mistletoe. But the sanctity of the oak was transferred from the oak to the apple-tree, and Apollo became by name, as well as by nature, the apple-god—and for this thesis, new and startling evidence is adduced. Professor Harris then proceeds to shew that Artemis is to be identified with her namesake, artemisia, which bears the homely English name 'mugwort'. 'Mug', it seems, is for 'mücke' (midge) and, being interpreted 'mugwort' is 'flywort' (compare 'fleabane'). 'Flywort' is a word of portentous significance to one who has followed the story of the fly from the time of Beelzebub—the Fly-lord—down to the present day. But what of the twin sister of Apollo? There wasn't any twin sister of Apollo. The twinship of Apollo and Artemis was an outgrowth of the twinship of Kastor and Polydeukes, and Leto is a by-form of Leda. It was, then, in the spirit of prophecy that Myers and Sandys mixed up the two mothers of twins, Leda and Leto, in translating the Third Olympian.<sup>1</sup> Artemis was primarily a healer, probably an all-healer, and thus became for women what Apollo was for men; so that we have a medical partnership instead of a Latonian twinship (A. J. P. XXXVII 90). In any case The Cult of Artemis is delightful reading and suggests marginalia without end; and I am tempted to reproduce one or two of mine instead of a summary which from the nature of the material must be sadly imperfect. The German name for

<sup>1</sup> When this notice was written—clearly an overflow from a superabundant *Brief Mention*—I had no opportunity of consulting authorities. Now that it is in print, it is borne in upon me that neither the vegetarian theory of Artemis nor the denial of the twinship of Apollo and Artemis can be considered a novelty. See Wernicke in Pauly's *Realencyclopaedie s. v. Artemis*, an article summarized by Alfred Emerson, A. J. P., XVII 101. But neither of these things detracts from the originality and interest of Professor Harris's presentation.

artemisia is 'Beifuss', and Professor Harris emphasizes the supposed virtues of artemisia in relieving the wearied feet of the pedestrian. The old explanation of Artemis as ἀρτεμῖς fits the character of Artemis. Whether she roams Taygetos as Diktynna to visit her nets, or whether she swims as Arethusa to the future site of Syracuse, she is eminently sound of wind and limb, and I am irresistibly reminded (by the lexicon) of the ἀρτεμῖς σκέλος of the Anthology (A. P. VI 203). In this epigram Philippos, or another, represents a poor old charwoman (χερνήτις), once lamed in both legs, who makes a votive offering to the nymphs for the recovery of the use of her limbs. Of course, Artemis is a nymph, or often appears as such, and I only wish it were seemly to reproduce in these pages the jaunty high-flung Diana that figures in an advertisement of a popular 'footease'. Dealing with an herb, Professor Harris has drawn largely from the old herbalists. Unfortunately, I have access only to a modern pharmacopœia, but the chapter on artemisia is instructive and suggestive. The active principle of artemisia is called santonin, a sovereign anthelmintic, familiar, too familiar, to the nursery, a sphere in which Artemis as a midwife had a professional interest; and in this vermifugient function there is a striking parallel between Artemis and Apollo, between the expeller of worms and the queller of the Python, the 'laidly worm' Saint George had to encounter, the 'Lindwurm' of Schiller's Kampf mit dem Drachen.

B. L. G.

## REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS. Band LXXIII (N. F. Bd. XXVII), Heft 3.

XIV, pp. 321-373. C. Ritter, Die Abfassungszeit des Phaidros, ein Schibboleth der Platonerklärung. The main problems connected with the Phaidros are bound up with the question of the date of composition, so that a survey of the different answers to that question would represent a goodly portion of the history of Platonic studies. One ancient tradition declares the Phaidros Plato's earliest work. Diogenes Laertius adds that it has a youthful quality; Olympiodoros, that it is written in a dithyrambic style; Hermeias defends in it certain youthful weaknesses; Dionysios criticizes the boyish use of Gorgianic figures. Another ancient tradition (Cicero, Orator, 13, 42; cf. Phaidr. 278<sup>e</sup>) would make it the work of Plato's old age. Usener rejects this opinion; Teichmüller defends it; Immisch, believing it to be an old tradition of the Academy, has in any case shown the probability that the contrasting of a speech by "Sokrates" with that by Lysias was censured by the Peripatetics as a sign of youthful conceit, and also that the ancients had a mistaken opinion as to the purpose of the dialogue, assuming that Plato wrote it in the period of his passionate youth. Of the two ancient views, that cited by Cicero would seem to be better attested. Schleiermacher had concluded that to the Phaidros should be accorded "unwiderfürlich die früheste Stelle unter allen Werken des Platon". But most independent editors have placed it from tenth to fifteenth among the twenty-one Platonic writings. The prevailing modern view has been that of Socher and Hermann, that the Phaidros is connected with the founding of Plato's school in the Academy. Some, like H. Usener, who bases his argument on the relations of Plato and Isokrates between 403 and 399 B. C., show a reaction to the position of Schleiermacher. Yet it seems impossible to date the Phaidros from purely internal evidence or any peculiarities of form or from comparison with the Gorgias, Menexenos and Euthydemos in which Plato takes a decided attitude towards rhetoric. Nevertheless positive results can be reached by the *statistical study of the style*: e. g. the use of *καθάπερ* and *ὡσπερ*, and 50 other such criteria. The Phaidros belongs to the "middle group" of dialogues, following not only the Gorgias, Euthydemos, and Kratylos, but also the Phaidon and Symposion. Moreover on purely factual grounds we may assume an order: Politeia, Phaidros, Theaitetos, Parmenides, as Diès thought probable.

XV, pp. 374-404. E. Ad. F. Michaelis, Zum authentischen Tibull. I. The Vita of Tibullus. The text of A (Baehrens) is reconstructed as follows: "Albius Tibullus, eques Romanus, elegis insignis, forma cultuque corporis observabilis, ante alios Corvinum Messallam, oratorem bilinguem, dilexit, cuius et contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est". So much seems to have been excerpted from a life written by an extremely conscientious and intelligent biographer. The remainder of the vita consists of late additions. II. Horace and Tibullus. The Albius of Ode I, 33 and Epistle I, 4 is probably Tibullus, since it is hard to believe that between 30 and 23 B. C. another "Albius" was writing elegies. The "opuscula" of Cassius Parmensis were not "tragedies" but merely political pamphlets and *exactionum descriptiones*, orders for tax-payments due, for Cassius had been financial agent of the republican army of Philippi (Appian B. C. V, 2). The epistle suits Tibullus, who as a young landlord had to collect his rents. The humor becomes evident, if, being known as a eulogist of rural life, he was generally suspected of visiting the country for practical purposes. The *sapiens* (vs. 5) would mean "a man like Cato". An examination of the scholia suggests that Caesar's legatus, Q. Attius Varus, slew Cassius Parmensis and appropriated his "opuscula". This deed was jestingly foisted on the tragic poet L. Varius Rufus. Another Cassius, not Cassius Parmensis, had written tragedies. III. Tibullus and Ovid. In the Epicedium Tibulli (Amor. III, 9) Ovid quotes freely ten times from Tib. I, 1 and 3, and also five times from four of the six elegies of book II. He may have heard readings from single poems of book II before Tibullus' death, but he seems to quote from the written roll. That he puts in the mouth of Nemesis a verse addressed by Tibullus to Delia may be explained by the fact that Tibullus dedicated to Nemesis but a single distich (II, 111 f.) of which she might boast. To put in her mouth "me tenuit moriens deficiente manu" would only heighten the tragedy of Tibullus' life. IV. The Messalinus Elegy, II, 5. Michaelis argues against F. Leo's change in vs. 21 to: nec fore credebat Troiam, as affording no help for the logical difficulties of the passage. (2) In vs. 19 the "Sibyl" is purposely not named. From the tone of vss. 39-64 the "great Sibyl" is meant, in comparison with whom Amalthea, Marpessia and the rest are of second rank. (3) Vs. 4 is read: nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba mea. Tibullus in this elegy sings something that may be properly called "laudes". Apollo is asked to inspire the bard, who is to utter the prophecies of the Sibyl. V. The Marathus Cycle. Unless the triad I, 4; 8; 9, is intended to constitute a unit, the humor is lost. The group

grows out of a conversation between the poet and Priapus, which Tibullus probably translated from some Greek original. VI. The order of the poems in book I. Originally I, II, III, IV were written on a *ternio* of 30 lines to the page; VIII, IX, X on a *binio* of 29 lines to the page; V, VI, VII also on a *binio* of 29 lines to the page. Later the last two groups were interchanged. This hypothesis offers a symmetrical arrangement for the Delia and Messalla elements, and lets the book close with the birthday poem to Messalla. VI. The Chronology of Book I. It gradually became Tibullus' habit to prefer hexameters of a "good" type in the first and last distich of each elegy: i. e., one with  $3/2+7/2$  caesuras ("progressive", because more and more preferred) or  $5/2+7/2$  ("recessive"). On this metrical and on other internal evidence the following dates are obtained: IV, VIII, IX 31 B. C. at latest; X late autumn 31 B. C.; III and I, written in Corfu, late summer 30 B. C.; II written in Rome, and the first Delia group I, II, III published in 29 B. C.; V, later VI (second Delia group) written between late 29 and 27 B. C.; VII, Messalla's birthday, late 27 or 26 B. C. The first book, in the order: I, II, III, IV, VIII, IX, X, V, VI, VII was published in 26 B. C.

XVI, pp. 405-425. L. Gurlitt, Tulliana. I. Epistulae ad Atticum. Most of the gross disarrangements of the text are attributable to the misunderstanding of Greek words. I, 13, 1 read: *ῥητόρων φωνῆ* loquuntur. Also as a jest Cicero wrote: *nonus quisque in Epirum*; § 3 read: *omnino nunc for quinymo (M<sup>1</sup>) nunc*. I, 1, 2 read: . . . *quae tum erit absoluta sane facile*. *Eum libenter nunc Caesari conciliauerim*. III, 12, 13 read: *Tibi, ut scribis, significarem, ut ad me venires, si δυνατόν, at intelligo etc.* IV, 8, 1 read: *Nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius, εἰ μὴ ζητῶ φιλόσοφον (sc. οἶκον)*. (Or perhaps: *εἰ μὴ εἰσίτω φιλόσοφος*). Cicero refers in what follows to *πῆγματα* (book-cases), *σιττύβαι* (roll covers), and *σίλλυβοι* (parchment indices). So he did have his *οἶκος φιλόσοφος* at Antium! IV, 11, 2 read: *ἀποθεωρήσει* delector. V, 10, 5 read: *in nos quadam benevolentiae sedulitate. Philosophia etc.* IV, 18, 2 (16, 9) read: *omnino πρόβλημα*. VI, 1, 25 read: *et heus tu γενναίως*. VIII, 12, 1 read: *ut sumeres aliquid temporis, quo tibi et quia perexiguo (sc. tempore) opus est*. V, 3, 3 read: *nostra continentia et diligentia ἐξάκις faciemus satis*. (Cf. ep. ad fam. IX, 20, 2 where Gurlitt reads: *ἐξάκις* for *ex artis*.) VIII, 15, 1 read: *αὐθαίμονος* fugam. Here and in several other corrupted passages Cicero refers to his brother Quintus as *αὐθαίμων* (Sophocl. Tr. 1041). X, 6, 1 read: *Asturæ nihil sum acturus. Fiat in Hispania quidlibet, tamen ἐπιτητέον etc. . . . ἔκπλουν* quia festinabam etc. (*or et πλοῦν*). X, 12a, 2 (5) read, *qua re vi aut clam agendum est et si vi, fortunæ*

συνεστάναι, clam (or si clam), αἰθαίμονι. X, 10, 3 read: Tentabo αἰθαίμονα . . . clam agam, cum paucissimis occultabor; Carteiam istis (or illinc) invitissimis evolabo, atque utinam ad Curionem! συνεστῶτι λέγω. VII, 8, 5 read: ex illa (sc. pace) αἰθαίμονι sestertia ί (=10) relinquenda aeris. Movet hominem etc. XV, 29 (2) illa αἰθαίμων παρά τούτου. The reading of M pupabulla may be for φλναρούμ(εν)α. XIII, 40, 1 read: hoc αἰθαίμονος est? or αἰθαίμονος salium est? XIII, 20, 4 read: Id ago scilicet, ut εὐδικία videar teneri. Just before this for in toto read: ἐν τούτῳ, referring to Caesar.

Concerning sources of Cicero's philosophical writings. In Ep. ad Att. XII, 6, 2 read: Amo enim πάντα Φιλόδημον teque istam tam tenuem θεωρίαν valde admiratum esse gaudeo. The reference is to Philodemus' "Complete Works". The θεωρία was most probably by Philodemus and wanted by Cicero for his De Finibus. In that case Cicero was planning that work in B. C. 46. If Tyrannio was the author of the θεωρία, we must regard it as a manual or book of extracts from Philodemus' works for the purposes of teaching. In XIII, 39, 2 read: Φαίδρον περὶ θεῶν et περὶ Παλλάδος.

XVII, pp. 426-445. H. Blümner, Umbilicus und cornua. The writer examines and rejects Th. Birt's arguments (Die Buchrolle in der Kunst, p. 228 ff. and p. 338) for his new hypothesis that the rod (umbilicus) was not fastened to the edge of the roll, but loosely inserted within it; and that the cornua were the end-leaves of the roll. Blümner first discusses the 19 literary allusions to ὀμφαλός or umbilicus and shows that the rod was attached to the roll; was sometimes even bought attached to the blank roll from the stationers; and, while not used for all books, especially short writings and documents, was common in éditions de luxe, and in books requiring much handling. The three passages referring to cornua and the archaeological evidence prove the cornua to have been the ornamented projecting ends of the umbilicus.

#### Miscellen.

9, pp. 446-447. W. Schmid, Zu Pindaros Pythia 2, 72. The verse is emended thus: καλός τοι πίθων παρά παισὶ, ναιχὶ καλός. The playful repetition of καλός with a touch of caricature was pointed out by Christ, although he did not notice the original source of the idiom,—the erotic inscriptions on walls, trees, doors and vases. The repetition is to be explained as derived from the custom of repeated toasts with the mention of a name, or from a confirmation of an ascription of beauty (καλός) by some one present with the words: ναιχὶ καλός. Pindar uses for his irony the jargon which is found on Attic lovers' vases of the period 550-450 B. C. The old reading

*αἰεὶ καλός* is possible, but the irony is more striking, if the poet used the phrase in its full realistic wording. *ναίχί* is exclusively Attic, but Pindar might have used it to make a more clear-cut characterization.

10, pp. 447-448. W. Schmid, *Das Datum der Rede des Libanios εἰς τὰς καλάνδας* (IX F.). This oration was delivered on Jan. 1, 392 A. D. Kimon, the son of Libanios, had died a short time before.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LXX, 3.

Pp. 337-357. A. v. Mess, *Die Anfänge der Biographie und der psychologischen Geschichtsschreibung in der griechischen Literatur*. I. Theopomp. Biography and psychological history make their appearance in Greek literature in the latter half of the fourth century B. C. The author thinks that the works of the pioneers along this line of scientific and artistic endeavor are very much underrated, and that even the origins of this branch of literature are as yet but imperfectly understood. Biography, as Leo pointed out, was begotten of Ethics. But rhetoric, to use a figure of v. Mess, assumed the rôle of god-mother, and thus Isocrates was for a long time regarded as the father of the infant. The real parentage, however, must be sought in the philosophy of the Socratic school, which permeated the whole intellectual activity of the fourth century. The endeavors of Plato to reform the empire of the Dionysii usher in biography and psychological history. Not long after, Aristoxenus sketched the lives of the great philosophers and reformers, and Theopompus wrote a history that centers around the personality of Philip of Macedon. Unfortunately, the materials upon which an independent judgment of these works may be formed, are fragmentary and scanty. But if one bears in mind the special interests of the excerptor and the narrow vision of the critic, one may reach a fairly just conclusion.

The name of Ephorus is usually associated with that of Theopompus, much to the latter's detriment. Ephorus was not a man of affairs, and his writing is dull. Theopompus, on the other hand, belonged to an influential patrician family of Chios, and participated in the political strife of his native city. A conservative aristocrat, he was friendly first to Sparta and thereafter to Philip. He was an exile for many years, and through travel became acquainted with a large portion of the Greek world. Though a genuine historian, he was largely identified with the rhetorical movement of his times, and, like most of the representatives of this movement, he thought rather



highly of himself. Indeed, the very opening of his gigantic work is an amazing piece of self-assurance. It is a virtual autobiography in which the writer claims the primacy over all his contemporaries. And yet, this introduction must not be regarded as altogether an effusion of vanity. It is rather an apology in which the author seeks to justify his assumption of so novel and ambitious a task. The conception of the plan reveals the statesman who recognized in Philip's narrowly circumscribed country the cradle of the future world-power. In strict keeping with the introduction and with the general plan of the work, the biographical element is everywhere in evidence. A large section—the latter half of book X—is devoted to political biography in the form of biographical sketches of the leading Athenian statesmen. Though, at first sight, much of the detail that has been handed down resembles malicious gossip, closer examination reveals many evidences of the liberality and the impartiality of the author. Abundant traces of this mode of treatment are to be found in the popular biographies of Nepos and Plutarch, and these are largely inheritances from Theopompus. Even Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Theopompus' precursor in the field of political biography, is not the blindly partisan pamphleteer that he has been supposed to be.

In the light of the foregoing observations the great and complex work of Theopompus becomes more intelligible. Personality is the central theme. Human life in all its manifestations is an object of interest. A picture is presented not only of Philip the ruler, but of Philip the whole man; and not of Philip alone, but also of the great throng of varied personalities that surround him. Moreover, problems of national psychology are also attacked, and the life-history of whole peoples is studied and described. It is true that Thucydides was not a total stranger to this realistic and psychological treatment of history, and, in its use, he far surpasses Theopompus. But personality, ethics, and psychological analysis are, as a rule, rigorously excluded from the intensely objective narrative of the Peloponnesian War, whereas they are of the very essence of the Philippica. This characteristic feature of the work of Theopompus did not pass unnoticed by the ancients, and a graphic account and a just appreciation of it are given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But a project so ambitious involved contradictions and the portrayal of much that is lowest in human nature. For these things, Theopompus was roundly denounced by Polybius, to whom the colors seemed too dark for even a Sardanapalus. But the Polybian criticism is narrow. It is based on the uncompromising ethical code of the Stoics, while Theopompus' work was written under the influence of Socratic ethics and politics, which, along with higher and purer ideals, had at the same time a sense of the limitations and the varying

degrees of perfection of actual life. Theopompus, it is true, did not show the nice discrimination of a mind like that of Socrates, or of Plato; for he applied the standards of a highly cultured nation to the manners and morals of one that was half-barbarian. This false note and the strong contrasts of light and shade that inhered in the subject, the sharp antitheses that were characteristic of the Isocratean method of treatment, and the vivid colors that were the outflow of the Theopompean temperament, gave the Philippica an air of unreality. But, if due allowance for these dissonances is made, and a certain measure of the Michelangelism that the work possesses is eliminated, v. Mess thinks that the picture is, after all, remarkably true to nature.

Pp. 368-379. Alfred Klotz, *Zur Kritik einiger Ciceronischer Reden*, III (pro Milone). A study of the testimony of Gellius, Quintilian and Asconius in regard to the text of various passages of the *pro Milone* shows that as early as the first century A. D., the MS tradition of this speech had separated into two branches, the one that is now represented by the family of the Cluniacensis, to which the text of Asconius belongs, and the other that survives in the family E. T., which is affiliated with the archetype of Quintilian's Cicero. Distinct from these two branches is the family to the existence of which the Bobiensian scholia bear witness, and still a fourth branch is indicated by the text of the palimpsest. The explanation of the early division of the tradition must be sought in the fact that Probus did not publish an authoritative edition of the text of Cicero as he did of that of Vergil.

Pp. 380-388. T. O. Achelis, *Zu den äsopischen Fabeln des Dati und Corraro*. In *Rh. Mus.* LXVII 285-299 Otto Tacke published the Aesopic fables of Leonardo Dati as found in the Rhedigeranus 60, a Breslau MS, without being aware of Lessing's publication of 26 verses of the same collection from the same MS. (Cf. Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften*, Lachmann-Muncker, Vol. XV, 459 f.) Lessing's version is correct; Tacke makes mistakes. So l. 12 introd. *jubes* for *jube*; closing poem, vv. 4 and 6, *latine* and *latino* for *latina*. Lessing's version is correct, except that he changed, without comment, *corrañ* (= *Corrarum*) into *Corrarium*. Achelis also gives the results of his collation of the Florentine Latin MS plut. LXXXX sup. cod. 90, fol. 177, which gives a better text of the praefatio and the 40 fables of Dati than the Breslau MS. The text of Dati is based on the Greek of the Parisin. suppl. gr. 504, not on that of the Augustanus. Corraro, to whom Dati's collection was dedicated, himself later published *Aesopic Fables*. The date of their publication is not long after Feb. 20, 1431, the time of the death of Pope Martin V.

Pp. 389-415. Wilhelm Bannier, Zu griechischen Inschriften. 1. The epigram of Aristot. Ἄθ. πολ. 7, 4: Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς, θητικῷ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππῶδ' ἀμειψόμενος, is the remnant of two successive distichs, written in two lines on two adjoining blocks in such a way that the pentameters began at the line of juncture of the blocks. The first of the blocks was lost and only the pentameter ends remained. 2. Discussion of the order of words in certain ISS apropos of Wilhelm, Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde. 3. Discussion of IS treated by Bourguet in Rev. d. ét. gr. XXV, 15. 4. Proof that CIA I 32A and B are distinct decrees, as Boeckh maintained. Though B is probably of later date than A, the two decrees were inscribed at the same time. 5. New explanation of IG IX 1, 333. 6. IG IX 1, 334 E, the author persists in reading *περ ροθαριῶν καὶ μισαχέων* instead of *Περροθαριῶν καὶ Μισαχέων*, and explains the context accordingly. 7. Discussion of the question of the distribution of the inventories of the treasures of the pronaos among the tablets on which they were recorded. 8. Study of the formulae used in the designation of the boards, committees, and secretaries in financial inscriptions. 9. CIA I 273. Discussion of the meaning and construction of the expression *τάδε οἱ ταμίαι παρέδωσαν . . . Ἑλληνοταμίαις . . . στρατηγοῖς*.

Pp. 416-440. Th. Steinwender, Zur Kohortentaktik. The author thinks that the cohort as a military body of definite size formed part of the Roman army at every period of its history. In the time of Servius the contingent of each tribe bore the name of cohort, and the quota of the allied communities continued to bear this name to the latest times. With the introduction of the manipular system, the cohort was divided into two smaller units called *manipuli* to correspond to the two lines of *hastati* and *principes*, and when the third line of the *triarii* was introduced, a third maniple was added to the cohort. The result of this change was the loss on the part of the cohort of its importance as an administrative and a tactical unit. It only became a unit of combat again through the reforms of Marius. Doubtless the tactical evolution was a gradual one. Though the opinions of scholars vary considerably as to the depth of the cohort, it seems likely that this depth originally exceeded that of the maniples under the manipular system. With the advent of the cohort as a tactical unit, there was a change in the position of the maniples of the former line. The *triarii* were moved forward and received the place of honor on the extreme right of the cohort, the *principes* were marched up to the left of them, and the *hastati* were assigned to the extreme left next to the *principes*. As to the relative position of the centuries, the author argues in favor of the retention of their old position in the maniple by the side of each other, and rejects the view, which is entertained by most authorities, that they were placed

one back of the other. The question as to the existence of an interval between the cohorts on the line of battle is answered in the affirmative, and Göler and Rüstow's view that this space was that of the width of the cohort is adopted, but the author believes that, when the battle began, this interval was closed up on the actual fighting line. It seems probable, however, that the individual legions, as also the center and wings of the whole line of battle, were separated from each other by intervals of greater or less extent. Whether at the very outset more than one line of battle was used in the new cohort formation is unknown, but it is highly probable. Sulla used a triple line of battle at Chaeronea, and this is the rule in the wars of Caesar and his opponents. In special cases an *acies quadruplex* or even a *simplex* is found. Caesar (B. C. I, 38) mentions as the distribution of the cohort in the legion, four cohorts in the first line, and three each in the other two lines. As to the uses to which these lines were put, the first was of course the fighting line. The second was a first reserve. The third line was used for special emergencies or as a second reserve. The author agrees with Fröhlich in regarding the *antesignani* as the first line of battle. The 400 *antesignani* that are mentioned by Caesar in the *Bellum Civile* were only a comparatively small part of the whole body of soldiers so designated. In regard to the density of the formation the author believes that there were two intervals between the soldiers, one of one step, the other of two steps, and that the presence of one or the other of these intervals determines the *acies densa* or *acies laxata*. By *διπλασιασμός* is meant the stepping forward of the men of the even ranks into the intervals between the men of the odd ranks and the forming of ranks of double the original density. This became necessary when special weight was required, or when the *testudo* was to be formed. But the loose formation was absolutely necessary if the cohorts of one line were to be relieved by those of another. The files of the relieving troops must be regarded as proceeding through the intervals between the files of the cohort that was to be relieved, whereupon the files of the latter are in a position to proceed to the rear.

Pp. 441-471. Thomas Stangl, Lactantiana. (Continued from pp. 224-252. See A. J. P. XXXVI 468.) The present contribution consists of notes of varying length apropos of seven passages of the *De Opificio Dei*, six of the *De Ira Dei*, and twenty-five of the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. At the conclusion of the notes the author adds a few pages in which he describes the object of his investigation, his method of work, and the conclusions reached. His object was to form an independent judgment of the most ancient western theory of the universe, the place of the whole Lactantian corpus in the history of the language, and the genuineness of the *De Mortibus Perse-*

cutorum. A first perusal of the works of Lactantius was made without consulting Brandt's learned apparatus. The impression gained was that Lactantius might have written the D. M. P. just as Cicero wrote the *de domo sua*, pro Marcello and related speeches, and the *Timaeus*, or as Seneca wrote the *Apocolocyntosis*, and Tacitus the dialogues. In the course of the second and third reading linguistic and stylistic details were gathered. The large number of deviations awakened doubt as to the correctness of his first conclusion. But what other Christian stylist of the fourth century was there that was an eyewitness of the persecutions of the Christians in Nicomedia before 321? Another consecutive reading of the works confirmed the author's original impression. Vocabulary, use of words and sentence-structure are essentially those of Lactantius. Though the theological-philosophical writings show greater homogeneity, more careful workmanship and a higher polish, the variations in the D. M. P. are easily explained by the mood of the writer and the purpose of the work. The author closes with a statement regarding the date of composition of the D. M. P. He thinks the sooner after 313 it is placed, the better one can understand the above-mentioned divergencies.

Pp. 472-480, *Miszellen*: Pp. 472-474. Friederich Pfister, *Hat Ovid eine Gigantomachie geschrieben?* The author answers in the negative, contrary to the view of Schanz and de la Ville de Mirmont. In *Amores* II, 1, 11 ff. Ovid makes use of a familiar *τόπος* of Roman erotic elegy. Pp. 474-479. E. Hohl, *Textkritisches zur Historia Augusta*. After shedding further light on the relationship and relative values of  $\Sigma$  and P, and incidentally defending his views against those of Miss Ballou, the author emends *Maximini duo*, 2, 1 and 28, 7. Pp. 479 f. Wolf Aly, *Ionische Wissenschaft in Aegypten*. Two instances of migration of Ionic astronomy to Aegypt.

C. W. E. MILLER.

## BRIEF MENTION.

*Brief Mention* is a sad misnomer, and I was never more forcibly struck with the incongruity between title and contents than when the last number was handed to me, as I lay repeating my favourite quatrain from Heine, a favourite not of mine only but of many who pray for a life of endeavour and a quick exit (A. J. P. XXII 114)

Ein Posten ist vakant! Die Wunden klaffen.  
Der eine fällt, die andern rücken nach.  
Doch fall' ich unbesiegt und meine Waffen  
Sind nicht gebrochen. Nur das Herze brach.

However, the misnomer will disappear with the brief-mentioner, and when the time comes, the old craft which I launched more than thirty-six years ago, call it 'pinnacle', call it 'barge', call it, if you are in a Shakespearian mood, as we all are, 'Andrew', shall be sped cheerily on its way with the cry: *Sine cortice nabis*.

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Meanwhile I take up again the subject of Pindar, which continues to haunt me. I have collected a good deal of material for my detailed review of Sir John Sandys's version promised A. J. P. XXXVII 89. For a teacher of languages criticism of translation is an indispensable organon of instruction, and being no longer in the schoolmaster business, I am entitled to dedicate the instruments of my trade to Hermes Logios and, as I do so, I go back in memory to the early days when I used to study the translations consulted surreptitiously by my classes and, whenever possible, to criticize unmercifully the borrowed renderings. At times my conscience smote me, but the boys used their 'ponies' with fear and trembling; and this seemed the best way to correct the abuse of outside help. I remember my own experiments kept up for many years, some of them still staring me in the face, and I remember also the old verse: *μωμήσεται τις μάλλον ἢ μιμήσεται*, which may be rendered for the present occasion 'a man shall sooner underrate than emulate'. Carping is too easy and too ungracious for a veteran, and I frankly abandon my project of a comparative study of the two principal prose translations of Pindar, the one we owe to Ernest Myers, the other to Sir John Sandys. In the latter case I have had the amusing experience that now and then, when I was tempted to somewhat tart comment, I found that Sir John's

translation coincided absolutely or substantially with my own. But in such matters, I allow myself perfect liberty of self-criticism and I have reams of MS on which to practise. Some of my failings I have confessed before (e. g. A. J. P. XXII 106, XXX 352). To these I should add that I was and am no more free than are others from the tendency to use archaic language when I have to do with classical poetry. Andrew Lang half apologizes for it in the case of Homer, where it needs no apology. Bevan makes use of a strange mixture in translating Aischylos (A. J. P. XXIII 467). Starkie has given us a glossematic Shakespearian Aristophanes (A. J. P. XXXII 116-7); and everyone is in love with the Tudor translations because of the quaint effect (A. J. P. XXX 354), against which Matthew Arnold protests. The patina is adorable. Theoretically an everyday word ought to have an everyday rendering and yet we go on translating γῆρας 'eld' and δῶρον 'guerdon' and κίνδυνος 'emprise', lucky if we do not translate it 'derring do'. 'Father' becomes 'sire', much to the disgust of said Arnold. Pindarists are sadly given to 'sire', but the stud-book term is not so much out of place in view of Pindar's insistence on blood (I. E. xxiii). Why should κᾶπος figure as 'demesne'? 'Garden' is familiarly used in the same sense. Myers has the courage to translate πάσσαλος (O. 1, 18) by 'peg'. Sandys calls it 'resting-place'. 'Pin' might serve as a compromise. 'Uncle', I grant, is an ugly word with ugly phonetic associations, but a great Pindarist has told us that Pindar does not shy at the ugly (A. J. P. XXVI 115) and Sandys has not bettered the matter by resorting to a dialectic 'eme', which he has to explain in a footnote and which recalls the sinister figure of Oom Paul. After all, the fault, and fault it is, must be construed as a tribute of respect to the 'exemplaria Graeca', though it must be acknowledged that the 'nocturna manus' sometimes evokes a nightmare.

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The other essay—promised at the same time with a criticism of the new version—the paper 'On Translating Pindar', was not to be bound by personal applications and had its attractions for me, especially as it afforded an opportunity to branch out into all manner of disquisitions or rather lucubrations, for 'lucubrations' is a word that I love to apply to my own writings (e. g. A. J. P. XXXIII 227) by way of atonement to a distinguished scholar to whom years ago I gave mortal offence by making use of the word with reference to his admirable studies (XXIV 354) and thus alienated a valued contributor. But the essay must go the way of the criticism. All that I can do in my present environment is to indicate some of the lines I should have followed, none of them new—in fact it seems im-

possible to avoid reaching upon previous discussions—but all capable of individual treatment or novel illustration: and it is hoped that repetition A. J. P. XXXVI 182, will be forgiven for the sake of reinforcement. I will not echo the cry of the ill-fated Swabian scholar and poet as he sat forlorn in his cell at the castle of Eichen-Urach, that cry of Frischlin's A. J. P. XXX 500 which comes back to me after sixty years—O wa send, meine Bücher! My *laccula incubatoria*—a manner of prison—is only an anticipation of the summer quarter which I always spend far away from books: and at any rate the references in *Brief Mention*, no matter what the season, are usually afterthoughts.

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A prime condition of an artistic rendering of Pindar is terseness. This involves a close adherence to the text, not, however, such as we find in Browning's Agamemnon, which is to be understood only by the light of the original, if then. The hardness of Pindar, not to say his obscurity, is not to be outdone, but it is not to be done away with. There are to be no periphrases for the sake of clearness. 'Varied melody of the flute' is no translation, it is an exegesis of *βαῖν αἰθέριον* (O. 3, 8). 'The flute's cry' is as clear as was the sound of the Greek flute and as poetical. There are to be no substitutes of familiar proper names for those that are unfamiliar. Think of Horace. Think of Milton. The modern institution of footnotes will serve, such as we often welcome in the common editions of Dante and Petrarch. But that is after all a matter of judgment, and it has seemed to me that Sir John Sandys sometimes goes too far in helping the student to follow the text. The story of Kastor and Polydeukes, nowhere more beautifully told than in the Tenth Nemean, ends with the words: *ἀπὸ δ' ἔλυσε μὲν ὀφθαλμόν, ἔπαυε δὲ φωνὴν χαλκομίτρα Καστορος*. It is almost an insult to be informed that this means 'Zeus restored Castor to life'. Suppose that in the story of Apollo and Kyrene (P. 9) Pindar had stopped at v. 67: *καὶνὸν καὶν' ἄρα διαίτασεν*. Would there have been any need of a scholium? Fortunately, Pindar chose to be his own interpreter, and shuts out all footnotes by the frank use of *μίγην*, a favourite word with that chastest of poets, which he has left to be the plague of his modern translators.

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One question of perpetual recurrence, a question that blocks the entrance to every translation of a poetical masterpiece, the question whether we are to have a verse translation or a prose translation, seems to be simplified in the case of Pindar by this same condition of terseness. Rhyme is excluded at once. True,



if translation is, as Wilamowitz has called it (after Herder, A. J. P. XXI 108), a metempsychosis (A. J. P. XIII 517), the critic loses his rights. The rebirth may be better than the original. We have not to decide between Murray (A. J. P. XXXI 359) or Way and Euripides, between Fitzgerald and Omar Khayyám. The famous Sonnet d'Arvers, so often itself translated, is said to be a translation. One does not care to see the original. Fortunately there is no original for Mrs. Browning's Sonnets from the Portuguese. Only the word 'Portuguese' gives us the key-note (A. J. P. XXX 354). Burton's Kasidah is a parallel instance. But we have mainly to do, not with metempsychosis, but with metaphrasis, and metaphrasis excludes rhyme. Turning over the other day the pages of President Gilman's University Problems, I found a quotation from Pindar. Outside of a few stock phrases, Pindar is seldom quoted, but until Professor Mustard or Professor Kirby Smith institutes the search, we shall never know how many threads of Pindar's diction have been woven into the web of modern poetry. The so-called Pindarists have shewn so false a conception of Pindar that I have never had the patience to explore regions that have become *avia Pieridum loca* to all except the student of comparative literature. If I were to engage in the search, I should look among the eulogists who flourished in the days when the ancient classics were the standards. Not so long ago I found an echo of the familiar *γένει' ολος ἐσσι μαθών* (P. 2, 72) in La Fontaine's eulogy on Louis Quatorze: 'Prince, en un mot soyez ce que vous êtes. | L'évènement ne peut qu' être heureux', and so President Gilman's Pindaric quotation occurs in a eulogistic passage. It is taken from Cary's version of the noble close of one of Pindar's noblest Odes, the last epode of the Second Olympian; and the idle thought crossed my mind that I might use the passage as an exemplar of the hopelessness of all the current rhymed translations. But 'actum ne agas'. The whole thing is too easy and one is tempted to parody Pindar himself and say of each such translator *ὄσα σφάλαματ' ἔθηκεν τίς ἄν φράσαι δύναίτο*;

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Translation in the metres of the original involves serious difficulties. Is it as hopeless as the method just rejected? Germans have tried it. Their success or failure does not concern us here. But what are the metres of the original and would those metres produce on our sensorium the same effect as the Greek measures? Some of the Greek measures certainly do, notably the Asklepiadean (Shorey on Horace Od. i, 11; A. J. P. XXXIII 363; XXXVI 236), and recent studies in prose rhythm seem to bear out the notion of Aryan congeniality in the rhythm of language as in musical rhythm (A. J. P. XXXVII 120).

In my arduous youth I made many experiments, but with a wise reserve I have allowed very few to see the light. The monosyllabic character of our language is a serious drawback to the use of the iambic trimeter, which resolves itself too often into an Alexandrine (A. J. P. XXX 354, XXXVII 220), and, as for heroic hexameter and elegiac distich, hell is paved with the good intentions of the experimenters. The Horatian metres have tempted many. Among them, and not the worst of them, is Isaac Watts, and in my brief experience as Professor of Latin, I tried to teach the boys the lyric metres of Horace by ear—a method since recommended by Professor Shorey: and to that end I manufactured rhymed Alcaics and other enormities (A. J. P. XXX 355). Once I laid my unhallowed hands upon the lyrics in Aischylos and Sophokles. Pindar I have never dared to touch. Wilamowitz, as is well known, has resorted to what he considers kindred German measures for the reincarnation of Greek tragic choruses, but I have not ventured to pronounce judgment on the success of his experiments (A. J. P. XX 110). Of the elder Lytton's Horace, I said my say many years ago (cf. A. J. P. XXI 108). A man who was capable of translating Horace's 'triste lignum' 'arboretal assassin' may well have been expected to be capable of anything in the way of rhythm. The *vers libre* is coming into fashion and so is Southey, and this may be the way out. Rhythmical prose has proved a snare (A. J. P. XXIV 103).

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Asked how Wellington spoke French, a royalist Frenchwoman is reported to have said: The Duke of Wellington speaks French as he fights, with great determination; and the Roman attacks the problems of the transfer of Greek metrical forms to Latin with great determination. One cannot help admiring the dexterity with which Ovid lightened the Roman elegiac, even if in so doing he overworked his scant supply of iambs. The example of the Romans may serve as an encouragement to those who are still bent on naturalizing Greek metres. But the naturalizing Romans broke down in the matter of compounds, and experiments like 'repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus' were acknowledged failures. And here we encounter one of the great drawbacks in translating Pindar. Pindar's compounds are glorious (A. J. P. XXIX 120). He puts them in the forefront of his poems. Is it possible to translate the odes so as to bring out this feature? Hardly. Those who believe in the recurrent word as a guide to the meaning of the odes may take care to avoid the special English temptation of *ποικιλία* (A. J. P. XXVII 482), but the Greek compounds are baffling. The history of compounds in English as in Greek is not too

well known; and to minds of a certain order, there is an irresistible lure into the regions of chronology and statistics. The literature is scattered and to me inaccessible; and I doubt whether anyone has been at the pains to exhibit in figures and in curves the census of compounds in either language. The Greek compounds, admired by the men of Shakespeare's age (A. J. P. XXIX 120) who were best fitted to cope with them, belong in their origin to a period earlier than the so-called parts of speech. They have a 'mysterious way' with them, and it is no blasphemy to say that they were originally framed 'in deep, unfathomable mines of never-failing skill'. There is little divine about English compounds. They are agglutinations of words already made. The best are those that belong to the richest period of our language, and the margin of my Valpy edition is flecked with Greek equivalents for Shakespeare's compounds (A. J. P. XXIII 467). The Elizabethans are the source from which the translator must draw, if he wants something organic. Under German influence, Beddoes (A. J. P. IV 445) brought back the compound business, and the same German influence has turned the stately procession of our language into a chain-gang. To be sure, English compounds have a value of their own, but they must spring from the life of the people. It is well worth noting how few permanent acquisitions were made by the Civil War—stirring as life was then. 'Gripsack' and 'carpet-bagger' were the chief. Such things are to be cherished, and 'jimber-jawed', which has been the subject of learned discussions, is almost as dear to me as one of the inexplicable sacral epithets in Homer. But I run my eyes down Tennyson and find scant comfort in his creations—to say nothing of lesser artists (A. J. P. XXIII 409). Now the very fewest Greek compounds are made up of agglutinations; there are very few *dvandva* compounds. The words must undergo a sea-change before they can be fused; and though I hate to use the word 'law' in philological matters—for 'law' is 'organized will'—I had rather be the author of Scaliger's 'law' than of Grimm's. I say 'monogram' and 'telegram' with the rest of the world, but I respect the modern Greek 'telegrapheme'—though the run of modern Greek compounds has roused the ire of some of the leading scholars of the Hellas of to-day. As for ancient Greek itself, the cases made havoc with compounds. Syntax killed synthesis. The articular participle, and that plebeian intruder, the articular infinitive, offered rough and ready substitutes, and *οὐ* and *μή* killed off negative compounds. The fun of Aristophanes' mad compounds is heightened by the contrast of the spoken language. It is, to use Heine's figure, the waving of an exaggerated monkey-tail. The overdoing of the later dithyrambic poets is a manner of protest against prose. Now I have called Pindar's compounds

glorious. How many of them are his we cannot tell. Some of the boldest seem to be common property, and yet there are, or, at least, there may be those who feel a difference between Pindar and Balchylides in this regard. A. J. P. XXX 369. Now most of Pindar's compounds are untranslatable by compounds, and the translator has to take refuge in periphrases as does the Homeric paraphrast. The relative periphrasis is flat, flatter than it is in French. A. J. P. XXVIII 469; and the translation of Greek compounds by the relative is too much like the translation of the Homeric compounds by the instructive but loathsome Paraphrasis. In any case an English device will reproduce the *επιπέπυτος* *επιπέπυτος* effect of Pindar's great odes.

This difficulty is matched by another of a very different order. What of the particles? Sandys has not overlooked the particles. Some of them he has undertaken to translate—sometimes. To be sure, Pindar is not the best possible field for the study of the particles. I keep the English word because the Greek *οὐδέποτε* has a wider application. Pindar is famous rather for his *οὐδέποτε*, on which Dissen has a long excursus. He abounds in the *περ* and *δέ* antithesis which Mr. Benn would doubtless attribute to Pythagorean and consequently to Delphic influence, as if antithesis had to be imported. But the Tachan eagle in his swirling flight loves to surprise us by the inconsequence of *περ*-*τε*. Mommsen has much to say about *τε* and *τε-τε*. The *τε* solitarium may have been felt originally as a liberty, if indeed we are to trust those who seem to be pillars. Pindar uses his other particles in the accepted fashion. He swears somewhat freely with *μάρ*, avers with *ὄν* (*ὄν*), which despite the phonetists is the primal *ὄν*. His *ὄν* is as clear-shining as the day itself. He rattles his sabre with *ἄρα*. He waxes confidential with *τοι*, shakes his head with *σοῦ*. What I have said about *τοι* and *σοῦ* (A. J. P. XXX 14) has been quoted and approved by a grammarian of mark. There is more about the two particles in A. J. P. XXXIII 240, where I substantiate more fully the statement that *τοι* is an appeal for human sympathy, and *σοῦ* a resigned submission to the merciless *verum natura*. *σοῦ* is 'somewhere', like 'somewhere' in France or Belgium to-day. The familiar rendering of *σοῦ* by 'haply' is a partial recognition of the cruel domination of chance. As for *τοι* the vague enclitic-demonstrative theory advocated by Gesner Harrison in his Greek Prepositions and by Bäumllein in his Griechische Partikeln finds scant favour to-day. The ideal second person may be combined with the real second person as in *σέ τοι*, just as in Latin the real second person may be linked with the ideal second person in the present subjunctive. *τοίῳ* in Pindar

(O. 6, 28) is somewhat of a surprise. More than thirty years ago a French scholar disposed of the Greek particles with characteristic French neatness and despatch (A. J. P. V 124). He snapped his fingers at Rosenberg's monograph on *τοίνυν*. *τοίνυν* he declared, is 'maintenant', but 'maintenant' provides after a fashion only for *νυν*, whereas the *τοι* part is meant for the jury. *τοίνυν* is a cajoling particle, and it is not surprising to find that it abounds in Lysias (A. J. P. XXXIII 240), who may have picked it up in Lower Italy. Indeed Pindar himself may have caught it from Teisias or Korax, an hypothesis which would lend confirmation to my interpretation of *λόγιοι* in Pindar (P. 1, 94). To be sure, that interpretation was cold-shouldered by Jebb, a past master in the art of cold-shouldering (A. J. P. XXVII 480, XXXVI 367). Unfortunately Verrall's interpretation of O. 2, 96 has gone the way of many if not most of his interpretations (A. J. P. XXXIV 491), and I myself after all these years seriously incline to the acceptance of Bergk's *γαρνέτων* for *γαρνέτων*. See Sandys's note on the passage. Of course, there are those who will sneer at the notion that *τοίνυν* is due to local influence. And yet some of the objectors have doubtless-accepted with joy Plato's importation of *τί μὴν*; = *πῶς γὰρ οὐ*; from the West (A. J. P. III 376). The West was responsible for much in Greece as our West is responsible for much in America to-day. It is an old story that the vocabulary of Aischylos was enlarged by his sojourn in Sicily and when Wilamowitz notes the bold innovation of *γ' οὐν*, one is apt to suspect a Sicilian origin for a combination which became so common in Late Greek as *γούν* that it was felt simply as a reinforced *γε*. But I do not wish even in jest to be considered a Lesbonax Redivivus with his *σχῆμα* this and his *σχῆμα* that—but make my humble apology to the masters whom I have mimicked. *φλυαρία τὰδ' ἐστὶ τὰ μεμμημένα.*

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The apology I have just made to the serious-minded readers of the JOURNAL is due to the fact that I have more than once been warned off the premises of the scientific grammarians (A. J. P. XXXV 493), and, I must confess, to my delight. At my great age I am now as free as were the past service citizens of Plato's Republic to consort with any vagrant fancy, and if I have a weakness, it is for the *Ἀφροδίτη πάνδημος* of popular etymology. Scientific etymology and she are sisters under the skin, but the younger sister is uncertain—*τὰ μὲν δώσει, τὰ δ' οὐπω*. Witness the to and fro of the etymologists who weave their webs in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY. Popular etymology knows its own mind and blurts it out. If one fancies that the Greek attitude towards garlic was different from ours,

σκόροδον q. d. σκαῖον ῥόδον 'rose over the left' reveals the state of the Greek mind or nose. Unfortunately, my homely oracle is silent, and there is little to be gained from popular etymology in this field of research. All that we learn from consulting the popular consciousness is the aura, the environment, the association. Take μέν and δέ. Can we be certain that the people felt them as μῆν and δῆ, which science tells us they were originally? μῆν belongs to the sphere of ὄμνουμι and δῆ to the sphere of δῆλον. δέ δῆ is a manner of δηλαδῆ. μέν when it stands alone, is evidently a vicegerent of μῆν. Now μέν and δέ are found from the beginning of our record used consciously with antithetical force as μῆν and δῆ are not used. It is an old story. Oath against fact, personal conviction against the evidence of things, the inner man against the outer world, then like 'on the right hand and on the left' used antithetically just as ἀνά and κατά are used without reference to perpendicularity. Of course, if we use metaphysical jargon and call one 'subjective confirmation' and the other 'objective attestation' or rather 'subjective attestation' and 'objective confirmation', we may expect the cry of 'over-refinement'. The sophists spell the thing out for us with their λόγῳ μὲν-ἔργῳ δέ of which one grows heartily sick, but one cannot get rid of the polarity of the Greek mind (A. J. P. XXXIII 240). Imagine a Greek writing a letter as long as the Epistle of St. James without a μὲν-δέ (A. J. P. XVI 526). Instead of μὲν-δέ we sometimes find μὲν-μέντου—a welcome variation because it gives the element of moral reconsideration and we are nearer the primal μῆν and the primal τοι. The translations of τοι now in vogue, such as 'mark you', 'you must know', are too cumbrous for so airy a particle, but this thin tissue of speculations and reminiscences must be brushed aside.

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Another Pindaric note—this time to register a tribute to a fellow-worker in the same field of the Charites. It is impossible to dissociate a man from his books. Some books are understood only when the man is known. Sometimes the book inspires mortal hatred of the author, unrelieved or haply heightened by personal acquaintance; and every one who has been guilty of a textbook, can testify to social animosity engendered in the minds of those, who, in their tender years, have been made to endure hardness by reason of this or that school manual. Witness the savage onslaught made by the sweetest-tempered of men, Sir William Osler, upon Farrar's Greek Verb (A. J. P. XXX 108). There was a lover of Greek, who although a lover of Greek, or because a lover of Greek, bore a grudge against the whole tribe of those who waste their own time and the time of others over such futilities as the syntax of ὅστε (A. J. P.

VII 161); and so deep-rooted was his aversion that he could not suppress his surprise at the tradition that the elder Buttmann was a charming person in social intercourse. Now I never met FENNELL and knew him only as an acrid critic; and perhaps I shall be pardoned for saying that, from what a friendly reviewer of his career has called his 'austere' Pindar and from his other publications, I should not have formed so attractive an image of my fellow-Pindarist as is set up in the *Cambridge Review* for Jan. 26, from which I learned for the first time that he had joined the goodly company of those who called forth the 'Ahi, quanta malinconia' of Fraccaroli in 1894 (A. J. P. XV 503). In the number of the *Cambridge Review*, to which I have referred, FENNELL is depicted as a man noteworthy for 'his sunny disposition, his generosity and the serene courage with which he faced the trials and troubles of life'. Judging him by his writings, I fancied him to be what an old French writer calls an 'homme astorge et impiteux'; and whenever he differed, as he often did, from accepted views and traditional interpretations, I thought I could hear him say 'Verjuice is good for a parrot'—the delicious translation of the Terentian 'Veritas odium parit', which we owe to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The cool reception of my Pindar by the English press, the assurance given by a leading critical journal that my unpretentious edition 'did not enter into competition with Dr. FENNELL'S' failed to mitigate the sharpness of his censure; and the second edition of FENNELL'S *Olympians and Pythians* is studded with oblique criticisms, which I summarized at the close of my review, as follows (A. J. P. XIV 502):

I will not let Mr. Fennell's somewhat blunt expression of differences in details of interpretation interfere with my satisfaction at his approval of my general treatment of Pindaric composition; and in my hearty recognition of the services rendered to the study of Pindar by this new edition, to which I hope to return, I shall not be disturbed by the epithets 'idle', 'rash', 'fanciful', 'far-fetched', and 'unsound' which he has bestowed on my exegesis. He who hears nothing worse from his brethren of the philological guild may count himself lucky. *θεός εἰη ἀπήμων κέαρ*, says the youthful Pindar, with an optative he might have learned from Hesiod. *ἐν δὲ ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν τὸ τερπνὸν ἀβέται*, says Pindar, the aged.

The unfeigned good humour with which I received FENNELL'S disparaging remarks seems to have tempered his acridity somewhat, and by the light of the articles in the *Cambridge Review*, I have re-read a letter of his which I understand even better now than I did when it first came into my hands.

BARTON COTTAGE, CAMBRIDGE.  
(No date.)

Dear Professor GILDERSLEEVE:

At last I have got hold of your review of my new Pindar and thank you for the handsome terms in which you speak of my labours. Your strictures are not galling, all the less so because my curtness is not my fault. Our never to be too much anathematized Press Syndics limited

my space so that I had to excise and compress wildly. I was of course anxious to air my own views and so I naturally only mentioned other people's views when it seemed necessary. . . . I am sorry that you thought my criticisms of your work and that of others needed repentance. I think my raps were no harder than yours. One's knuckles are less sensitive than one's face. But had I had more space, I should have been far less dogmatic.

Yours very truly,  
C. A. M. FENNELL.

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Whether I should have coupled the name of FENNELL with that of Mr. GARROD in a recent *Brief Mention* (A. J. P. XXXVI 476) if I had known that the editor of Pindar had passed beyond the reach of earthly criticism, it is hard to say. Death, which wipes out all other scores, shows no mercy to the members of our guild. The worthy magister, who two hundred years ago confused Lycurgus, the orator, with Lycurgus, the lawgiver, is still held up to ridicule. Neither age nor sex is spared. 'Vexat censura columbas', and despite my inbred deference to woman-kind, I myself have called attention to the blunder of the young lady who confounded Herakleitos and Herakleides (A. J. P. XXXIII 114). Still I could not help shuddering the other day, when an irreverent Italian scholar in discussing Pindar, O. 8, 85, spoke of 'la cervelotica opinione di Boeckh', Boeckh the greatest Hellenist of my day, if not of all time. The spectral hunt of the Νέκυια goes on through the ages.

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The irreverent critic of Boeckh whom I have just cited is Professor LUIGI CERRATO of Genoa, whose edition of *Pindar's Olympians* marks the return of the editor to his first loves, *Le Odi di Pindaro, Testo, Versione, Commento—Parte 1<sup>a</sup> Olimpiche* (Sestri Ponente, Bruzzone). In his *Tecnica composizione delle odi pindariche* published in 1888 (A. J. P. XI 528) Professor CERRATO shewed himself in accord with Croiset as to the function of the myth, and gave his adhesion, in general, to the distribution of the odes advocated in my Introductory Essay. Unterrified by the counterblasts that have been blowing these twenty years and more, CERRATO still maintains that the myth is an incarnation of a moral idea. The general plan of the ode is actuality, myth, actuality, though there are variations, and the myth is not indispensable. The connexion of the myth with actuality need not be very close, and it is idle to seek in the myth a perfect reflex of the life of the victor, an exact parallel between the prizer of flesh and blood and his mythical prototype—the besetting sin, the fatal insistence, of Boeckh and Dissen, against which I have found occasion to protest at every turn in my commentary. The invention of an historical



romance in order to unriddle hypothetical allusions in the myth is a sheer waste of learned ingenuity. There is not the ghost of a smile on the countenance of the makers of these *fabliaux*, whatever merriment they may have kept hidden in their hearts; and I am gravely concerned lest some serious person may have thought I was in dead earnest when in the last number (A. J. P. XXXVII 108) I suggested an anthropological interpretation of the Ninth Pythian. The trouble is that paradoxes begin to gain on the paradoxographer. The anthropological interpretation of the passage is reinforced by Cheiron's *σεμνὸν ἄντρον* and still further by Professor Fay's cave-dweller etymology of *ἄνθρωπος* q. d. \**ἀντρωπος* just as the feminine nature of the genitive (XXXVI 109) is reinforced by the passivity of those senses that take the genitive (A. J. P. XXXI 75).

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Of the artistic merits of CERRATO'S version I have no right to express an opinion. I have declined to pass judgment on Wilamowitz (A. J. P. XX 110) and Bellermand (A. J. P. XXXIII 229) because, though familiar with German from my early youth, I do not claim the native feeling, and my knowledge of Italian is rudimentary. Still it may be worth noting that though CERRATO is dissatisfied with Fraccaroli's poetical version and praises Romagnoli somewhat grudgingly, when he quotes versions of other authors, he prefers the poetical rendering. As to points of interpretation that are not affected by the subtleties of foreign idiom, there are divergencies of exegesis between my commentary and Cerrato's as there are between my commentary and that of Sir John Sandys, but of these divergencies only one or two specimens can be given, the rest being reserved for my projected 'Pindarica'. Needless to say, having committed myself in print, I am unconvinced. So O. 4, 10 CERRATO translates after Dissen *χρονιώτατον φάος* 'luce perenne' in which he has the support of Sir John Sandys, and, according to my judgment, misses the point of the little ode (A. J. P. XXVIII 481; XXIX 503). The last two verses he assigns to Pindar and not to Erginos, just in order to carry out his scheme of *Attualità—Mito—Attualità*. O. 6, 31: *κρύψε δὲ παρθενίαν ὄδινα κόλποις*, he renders 'tenne occulto il virgineo frutto nel suo grembo', defending his version by the authority of Dissen, Heyne and Dukas. The plural might have given him pause and 'tenne occulto' produces the effect of *κρύψασα εἶχεν*.

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## NECROLOGY.

JAMES MERCER GARNETT.

(1840-1916)

Professor James Mercer Garnett, a constant contributor to this Journal, died at his residence in Baltimore on the 18th of February of the present year, the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was born on the 24th of April, 1840, in Aldie, Loudon Co., Virginia. His parents, Theodore Stanford Garnett and Florentina Isidora Moreno (daughter of Francisco Moreno of Pensacola, Florida, whose ancestors came to this country in the early colonial period), belonged to families of social, professional, and political distinction. Professor Garnett was especially interested in the history of his paternal line, and during the last two decades of his life prepared and published the following histories and sketches: 'James Mercer Garnett' (1898), a member of Congress, 1805-1809; 'Genealogy of the Mercer-Garnett Family of Essex Co., Va., and of the Mercer Family of Stafford Co., Va.' (1905-10); 'John Francis Mercer' (1907), Governor of Maryland, 1801-1803; 'James Mercer' (1908), a member of the Virginia Court of Appeals, 1789-1793; 'Muscoe Russell Hunter Garnett' (1909), a member of Congress, 1856-1861, and a member of the Confederate Congress, 1861-1864; 'Charles Fenton Mercer' (1911), a member of Congress, 1817-1840. These writings, however, gain a wider significance when it is observed that they give an indication of Professor Garnett's characteristic envisaging of the serious concerns of life. He valued good tradition in family and in state; believed in strong attachment to local centers for the maintenance of individuality and force of character; and persistently supported organization and institutional control of agencies in political, ecclesiastic, and educational progress. It was inevitable, therefore, that he found his most congenial method of argument for future advancement in re-tracing the steps by which the present had been attained. Whatever his immediate activity might be, he was at the same time historian of the underlying principles. No one could know him and be surprised that he should write on the 'Early Revolutionary History of Virginia' (Va. Hist. Collections, vol. xi, 1892), and on the 'University of Virginia, its History, Influence, Equipment, and Characteristics' (1904).

Many titles of papers and addresses would have to be added here to give a complete view of Professor Garnett's sustained interest in the history and experiences of Virginia and in the past, present, and future of the University of the state.

His career was not without variation. After preliminary training at the Episcopal High School of Va., he entered the University of Va. in 1857, where he obtained the degree of M. A. in 1859. The next year he was a teacher in Greenwood School, Albemarle Co., Va., and then returned to the University for a graduate course (1860-1861). Experiences of another character now set in. He entered the Confederate Service July 17, 1861, and was paroled at Appomattox Court House April 9, 1865. Professor Garnett's military career, in which he attained the rank of Captain of Artillery (in the 'Stonewall Brigade'), was cherished to the end of his life as a memory of highest duty faithfully performed. In obedience to his request he was at death shrouded in his militant uniform, and was thus buried in the symbols of one that never faltered in an avowed purpose or failed to keep once plighted faith.

Academic duties were resumed at the University as Licentiate Professor of Ancient Languages (1865-1866). The next year he taught Greek and Mathematics at the State Univ. of La., and in 1867-1869 was Principal of the school of his youth, the Episcopal High School of Va. He declined continuance in this office, and led by his preferences went abroad to study the classics at Leipzig and Berlin (1869-1870). On his return he became President of St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. He held this office for ten years (1870-1880),—years in which he became a prominent advocate of certain changes in educational theory and practice. In addition to his scholarship in the classical languages—especially in Greek—he had been led to study Anglo-Saxon and to see the importance of basing courses in English on historic principles. He now inaugurated and conducted a department of English in accordance with these convictions, and in published articles and in addresses before Educational Societies urged the study of the language and literature of the early periods. It was the decade in which the neo-grammarians issued their initial edicts, and the contagion of their enthusiasm quickly reached some American scholars. Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, had indeed anticipated the new movement by publishing his 'Anglo-Saxon Grammar' and 'Reader' (1869-1870), but the new school of scholars in Germany imparted the stimulus to the fuller appreciation of these books. Professor Garnett won a distinguished place in that small group of American scholars who then perceived the need of more scholarly methods in the teaching of English. He was a principal advocate of the reform, as may be inferred from the titles of some of his addresses: 'The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature' (Proc. Natl. Ed.

Assn. 1876); 'The Historical Method in the Teaching of English' (*id.* 1879); 'Text-Books of Instruction in English' (Va. Ed. Assn. 1878); and ten years later, 'The Position of Old English in a General Education' (Va. Assn. for the Advancement of Higher Education, July 10, 1889; 'The Academy,' Boston, 1890).

After leaving Annapolis and while awaiting an academic appointment he conducted a private school at Ellicott City, Md. (1880-1882), and finished his translation of 'Beowulf', which was published in 1882. But he was soon (1882) called back to the University of Va., as Professor of English, and held that post until 1896. His retirement was spent in Baltimore, but it was not an idle retirement. He at once accepted a temporary appointment to teach a year at Goucher College, and thereafter for a number of years took pleasure in assisting private pupils. But he was otherwise busily engaged to the end. In memory of his year at Goucher College he published an edition of 'Macbeth' (1897), and it has been noticed above that the History of the Univ. of Va. is dated 1904; his genealogic sketches also fall within this period. He continued, moreover, to contribute to this Journal, to 'The Nation' and other periodicals; and contemplated an edition of the Anglo-Saxon 'Juliana', for which he published a preliminary study (Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America, xiv, 1899).

In addition to the books already mentioned Professor Garnett edited the following texts: 'Selections in English Prose from Elizabeth to Victoria' (1891); 'Hayne's Speech to which Webster replied' (1894); 'Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America' (1901); and following the method of his 'Beowulf', he published a translation of 'Elene, Judith, Athelstan, and Byrhtnoth' 1889; enlarged ed., 1901). His 'Beowulf' has continued through many years to be perhaps the most widely read translation of the poem. Its usefulness has in part been due to the Bibliography supplied in it and through repeated revisions kept notably complete. In this line-for-line and rhythmic translation a certain level of merit has been maintained that has survived considerable controversy as to the best manner of translating Anglo-Saxon verse,—a controversy to which Professor Garnett gave careful attention in two papers in the Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America, vols. vi (1891) and xviii (1903). In point of accuracy the translation is highly praiseworthy,—it is indeed especially creditable in view of the state of Anglo-Saxon studies in America at the time it was made. Professor Garnett continued to follow with close concern all critical examination of the original text, and kept wishing for his publishers' consent to bring his translation into agreement with the latest accepted readings.

He never relaxed in his interest in the progress of English scholarship, as is shown in his book-reviews published in this

Journal; and in accordance with his confidence in organized effort he was an active member of the American Philological Association, The Mod. Lang. Association of America, The American Historical Association, and The American Dialect Society. Another aspect of his coöperation with institutional control was observable in his activities as a devout churchman. To the scholarly side of this devotion may be referred his interest in Biblical criticism, which led him into making a collection of editions of the Greek New Testament. It was long his daily habit to read a portion of this text. Without further comment the following titles of some of Professor Garnett's articles in this sphere of subjects will evoke no surprise: 'Why the Revised Version should be Appointed to be read in Churches' (The Virginia Seminary Magazine, vol. v, nos. 7 and 9; 1892); 'The Gospel of St. Peter' (The Protestant Episcopal Review, vol. vii, no. 3; 1893); 'The Apocalypse of St. Peter' (*id.* vol. vii, no. 8; 1894); 'Tyndale's First Printed English New Testament' (*id.* vol. xii, no. 1; 1898).

Within the limits of this necessarily brief notice of Professor Garnett's career as a scholar, it has not seemed possible to do more than to select some of the details from which his mind, character, and industry may be best inferred. He was a man of sober demeanor, betokening seriousness of purpose and resolute adherence to duty. With the same faithfulness by which he pursued his studies he held firmly his attachment to his many friends. He was the soul of loyalty. In intellectual and social relations he was equally just and genial. His external calmness, it was felt, gave assurance that his opinions and sentiments were deeply founded in his best thought and in his just and kindly judgment. He will be remembered and lamented as a scholar of wide attainments and an unfaltering eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge; as a man of stability and strength of character; and as a constant, sympathetic, and helpful friend.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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## I.—THE ORIGIN OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN NOMINAL STEM-SUFFIXES.

### PART II.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXVII 193.]

To explain this process of charging an originally meaningless formative with these vague meanings which originally were suggested by the word in its entirety, means to explain two separate steps: to show how they could come to be suggested by the entire unanalyzed word, and to show how subsequently they could be associated with the suffix.

To elucidate the first point I shall begin with a hypothetical case. Let us assume, to go back to an extremely primitive period of language, a very primitive mind before a lowing cow—a situation capable of infinite analysis into parts, but originally perceived without clear perception of them. Let us furthermore assume that some simple word like *bu* or *mu* imitating the sound of the lowing cow was used by this primitive speaker. To begin with it would be applied to the whole complex situation with the sound itself receiving the attention to the highest degree. In course of time, however, as more and more parts of the whole would be discriminated, the attention would be turned like a search-light from one part to the other, setting off now this, now that feature over against the general unanalyzed twilight region. According to the primitive process of naming, the one word *mu* or *bu* would be applied to all of these discriminated parts just as to the

original unanalyzed whole, and by associating different uses with each other the appearance of practically all of the principal "suffixal" meanings of primary as well as secondary suffixes will arise in this one unanalyzable root word.

To begin with, the original sound word could be conceived nominally as designating the sound itself, or verbally as designating the process of lowing, and by referring a subsequent use to the former we get the appearance of meanings of the so-called secondary suffixes, while reference to the latter creates the appearance of the meanings belonging to the primary suffixes. Though the latter were evidently later developments, I shall follow the custom and begin with them. Considering, then, the meaning 'to low', a referring of *mu* to the cow itself causes it to appear as an agent noun: the cow is "the lower"; but it could also refer to the action of lowing itself, and would then be an action noun or verbal abstract; it could be referred to the part of the animal that is most active in lowing, at least to the eye, namely the moving jaws, and it would then be an instrument noun "that *with* which (the cow) lows"; it might refer to the "place where the lowing was heard", and would be a place name; and finally, removed from the situation and applied to any other being making a similar noise, it would become a verbal adjective with the meaning "lowing".

If, on the other hand, *mu* is considered nominally as designating the sound, a reference of the word to the cow itself gives the appearance of "something characterized by the sound *mu*"; assuming in turn that the meaning "cow" became fixed without consciousness of its derivation, the notion of appurtenance could be assumed if the word would be referred to the meadow in which the cow was situated, "coming from" might be suggested if it was used to designate the milk (cf. the Skt. *gāuṣ* 'cow' in the meaning 'milk'); "made of" in case some object like straps of cow-hide were referred to; "having" if the same word designated the owner, i. e. there would be the suggestion of possession; the same with the additional notion of abundance if a meadow containing many cattle were so designated: "rich in cattle"; "like a cow" could be read into the designation of some similar animal like a buffalo by the same word. Finally it

must be borne in mind that all of these "secondary" uses could also be conceived adjectivally by placing the word alongside of another word.

It is evident that all of the meanings attributed above to this one word are not found in any one real word, but they all represent types of transfer of names that actually do occur somewhere. As language has developed more and more, its great resources of expression naturally bring it about that one and the same word will not be fixed in too many different senses when other less ambiguous expressions are available, nor is every single root-word capable of such a wide extension of meaning as the hypothetical one mentioned above, which I have used merely as an ideal starting-point to show the principles actually at work everywhere in the transfer of names from one idea to another. In actual fact suggestions like action, agency, appurtenance, similarity, etc. were in the beginning not present at all, but are the result of reflection, sometimes merely of the analysis of the grammarian, sometimes of the speakers of the language themselves. But the transfer to the new meaning in itself is due merely to the general habit of naming a new thing by anything else that is associated with it in any way whatsoever, and in that case the differences between the old and new meanings are in the beginning not at all clearly grasped, there is rather identification of the two.

If, now, we ask ourselves the question as to from where come those meanings which are ordinarily attributed to the so-called primary suffixes, but which root-nouns show do not need to be connected with any particular part of a word, the answer is not difficult. The conception of a root as verbal, i. e. as expressing an action or condition, will inevitably lead to suggestion of the meanings referred to in any nominal derivative in which the stem is felt to be a verb. If a substantive is derived from a verb, what else could it designate than action, the doer of the action (agency), the instrument with which it is performed, the place where it takes place, or the object or result of the action? That in all the collections of examples of uses the last two have not been recognized, is due only to the fact that no separate categories are usually made for them, but they are considered as derived from the notion of

action, as no doubt they are in a large number of instances, while in others again they may have been just as old as the other four groups. If, on the other hand, a derivative from a verb is an adjective, what else could that mean than either doing or suffering the action or condition expressed by the verb, so that we naturally get the classes of active and passive verbal adjectives? But if verb stems consisting only of a root can show such a variety of apparent nominal meanings, it is obvious that verb stems consisting of root plus suffix can do the same; and it is furthermore evident that the latter often cannot be distinguished in form from substantives consisting of a verbal root plus a purely nominal but meaningless suffix which was added by congeneric attraction either to some other word in which it was of verbal origin, or to some word in which it was nominal from the beginning. We cannot, therefore, conclude that a given suffix is the carrier of such meanings if the word as a whole is referred to such a general category until it is made plausible by further investigation.

What were the roots of the common meanings of the secondary suffixes, is just as clear. They are or may be suggested by the transfer of any noun from its original sphere of application to another that is associated if consciousness of the changed meaning should subsequently develop. To a large extent these transfers of meaning are the same in nature as those which are suffered by words in the figures of speech, only that in the latter they are conscious processes from the beginning. Appurtenance could be suggested in cases like Engl. *leg*, used of the part of a garment which covers the leg: "that which belongs to the leg". Similarly Germ. *Kragen* 'collar', originally 'neck'. "Coming from" would be the possible suggestion in words like the above Skt. *gāú-ṣ* 'cow' when used of cows' milk, or when in English we speak of eating *goose*, i. e. meat 'coming from the goose'. The idea of material can be particularly frequently associated with a transferred word, e. g. in Gr. *βούς* 'ox-hide shield', i. e. something 'made of ox', or Lat. *aes* 'bronze, copper', when, like the Engl. *copper*, it designates copper money, or when, no doubt with conscious metonymy, Vergil applies it to the bronze beak of a ship. The suggestion of possession is equally easy: cf. Skt. *dyāú-ṣ* 'sky', when like Gr. *Ζεύς* it is used of the sky-



god; similarly when *sail* is used to designate the whole ship or the name of a flower like *rose* refers to the whole plant. Similarity, the root of the metaphor, appears to be implied whenever a word extends its sphere of application sufficiently to cause an appreciation of a distinction, i. e. when the old and the new object designated by the same word are different enough to cause subsequent discrimination. Thus Gr. *οὖς* *ōt-ós* 'ear' also designates the similar handle of a vase, *μῦς* 'mouse' is transferred to a muscle, Engl. *hand* may refer to the pointer of a clock or watch. Very similar in their implication are cases where abstract words are applied to concretes, e. g. Engl. *youth* applied to a young man, to one who is 'characterized by youth', similarly collectively Lat. *juventus*, Germ. *Jugend*. Furthermore, any of these suggestions can be combined with that of adjectival use when such words are placed alongside other substantives, a condition, moreover, which, since it prevents identification of the new and the old use of the original substantive reinterpreted adjectivally, is particularly favorable for bringing about the conscious feeling of these suggestions. As far as the other meanings of secondary suffixes are concerned, they need not detain us because they can all be traced to such as have already been mentioned. Adjectival abstracts expressing a state are not much different from verbal abstracts, and the two shade into each other imperceptibly, so that the adjectival abstracts may be considered as derived from the verbal ones, except where they are due to substantiation, as in the neuter Gr. τὸ *μείλιχον* 'mildness': *μείλιχος* 'mild'. Collectives are very close to showing the notion of material, e. g. *δρυμός* 'an oak-coppice' might be looked upon as something 'consisting of oaks'. But more probably this is accidental, and they are rather due to taking a single individual as the representative of a type, as so frequently the singular with the generic article, e. g. in German *der Mensch*, or without article in Engl. *man*. As to those secondary meanings which are never found except in words ending in a suffix, we have already referred to the two principal types, the comparative and superlative adjectives, and diminutives with hypocoristic words and deterioratives, as plainly derived from vaguer meanings of suffixes, so that they do not particularly concern us here. In the same way patronymics (Brugmann

Gr. 2. 1<sup>3</sup>. 602 f.) are derived from the meaning of appurtenance or descent, names of inhabitants of places (Brugmann op. cit. 605) from appurtenance.

There are left a number of concrete categories of substantives and adjectives like names of plants, animals, parts of the body, adjectives of color, totality, and the like, in which the suffix seems to be the exponent of these categories, but does not express any relation of primitive to derivative. These we have passed over with a bare mention so far for the reason that they are all developed from vaguer meanings of the suffix by means of congeneric attraction and infusing a part of the stem meaning of the word into the suffix (cf. Brugmann op. cit. 586 ff.). Since we are considering the *first* origin of suffixal meanings, these derived uses would not help us in the least. And as far as the line of argument just pursued is concerned, we have found already in our consideration of the root-nouns that they could, though without formative parts, be to a certain extent grouped under similar headings, so that similar caution against prematurely supposing the suffix to be the exponent of such categories is in place here; for as was remarked before, every object can be classified in more ways than one, and if several objects ending in the same suffix happen to belong to the same class, it is not yet certain that this has anything to do with the suffix.

To sum up, then, all the meanings of nominal suffixes, both substantival and adjectival, except those that are demonstrably derived from other more original suffixal meanings, may be suggested in root-words and other unanalyzable words merely by the situation, i. e. by comparing a new meaning of a word with an old one and observing the difference. Both primary and secondary suffixal meanings are derived in this very same way. The legitimate conclusion is, that these same meanings were originally developed in the same way in words which did end in nominal suffixes, that the latter were in the beginning meaningless and had nothing to do with the functions later attributed to them. We have to explain only how it happened that the suffixes were meaningless in the beginning, and how they were later connected with the meaning originally suggested by the entire words.

That a formative which arose by comparing a form in

which a vowel disappeared phonetically with one in which it remained, appears as meaningless, is self-evident. If Skt. *vṛdh-* 'pleased, merry' is the same as *vṛdhá-s* (cf. the verb *várdha-ti*), being due only to the removal of the accent from the final syllable which then lost its vowel, it is evident that the "suffix" *-o-* of the original form could not be the carrier of a distinction between the two words which did not exist, and this might be a pattern for extending other *original* root-words with the same meaningless "suffix".

A much more potent influence, however, in the creation of the earlier meaningless type of suffix was no doubt the same factor that always has been and always will be the chief influence in all changes of language other than phonetic, namely that of association of other related words and consequent contamination of forms. And I use this term association in a wider sense than to refer merely to the influence of congeneric words, which was emphasized by Bloomfield *A. J. of Phil.* 12, 1 ff. and 16. 409 ff. Not only words associated by being congeners, i. e. by designating similar objects, can influence each other in their suffixes, but words associated for any reason whatsoever can influence each other, i. e. can suffer contamination affecting any part whatsoever. It is true that those we are able oftenest to observe are largely associations due to similarity of objects designated, e. g. Goth. *fōt-u-s* 'foot' took the place of I. E. \**pōd-* through the influence of *handus* 'hand', the two being similar not only in being parts of the body, but also in being limbs. Yet we have no right to conclude that it was this similarity that was the cause of the association, it may just as well have been the contiguity of the two—we see and use hand and feet together and speak of them together so much that an association of the two is formed regardless of whether there was any similarity or not, and so the two words may influence each other without our being justified in saying that this was due to their being felt as belonging to one and the same category. Consequently it would be hazardous to maintain that such a transfer of a suffix means the analysis of *handus* into *hand-u-s* so that the ending *-u-* was felt as meaning 'part of the body' or 'limb', and that this meaning was

present from the beginning in the suffix of *fōt-u-s*. Such capricious and sudden loading of a part of the word with a distinct meaning we find very rare in actual speech, nor do we so perpetually think of the class to which every object belongs that we can explain on this basis the use of such a large number of suffixes. The fact that two words belong to the same category may sometimes account for their being thought of together and forming associations, but the latter is the cause of their influencing each other as to form,<sup>1</sup> and, moreover, such an influence is usually totally unconscious, so that a suffix thus added to a word is in the beginning also totally meaningless except to grammatical analysis. To take another example from the Gothic, the old *u*-stem *kinnus* 'cheek' caused the old consonantal \**dn̄t-* 'tooth' to become *tunp-u-s*, but here it is evident on the surface that the fact that both were parts of the body is merely a logical, but not a psychological bond; for the two are so unlike as to make association by similarity out of the question. The real reason is evident: they were associated because the objects for which these words stood are in proximity and are often perceived and thought of together. Similarly the Latin *fēlis* or *fēlēs* 'cat', an old *i*-stem, caused the transfer to the same declension of the old consonantal word for 'dog' found in Skt. *śvan-*, so that we find in Latin *canis* or *canēs*. Again we may argue that both were domestic animals, and that this similarity caused the addition of the suffix to the latter, but more important by far from the psychic point of view was the fact that both are seen about the house together and leave a particularly vivid impression by their cat-and-dog enmity.

Other associations are due to verbal contiguity. Just as we find that we often confuse different words of the same sentence in speaking, so that one takes into itself part of the other with no regard to any relation of meaning, so habitual contiguity of words may give rise to mutual influence also in their suffixal part, or even an occasional contiguity can give rise to an occasional analogical suffix. No one could seriously maintain that in H 474 f. (*ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῆσι βόεσσιν*, 'Ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσι) the fact that cows and slaves both belonged to the category of living beings caused the *o*-stem *ἀνδράποδον* to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sütterlin, *Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde*, p. 49.

be declined as a consonant (root) stem,<sup>1</sup> by analogy to the original root-noun *βοῦς*, but the influence is a momentary one due to their occurring together in the sentence, a fact proved by the want of other occurrences of the same stem. Another good example, in which a suffix is added instead of subtracted, is Aesch. Pr. 480 (*οὐ χριστόν οὐδὲ πιστόν*), where the usual *ποτός* 'drinkable' becomes *πι-στός* through the influence of the adjoining *χριστός*<sup>2</sup> 'to be rubbed on': *χρίω* 'rub on'. Further examples are given by Oertel IF. 31. 56 ff., of which I will quote two from the English: *the musical critical of the Press* (for 'musical critic') and *butchery and slaughtery* (for 'slaughter') *at the battle of Cannae*.

Similarity of sound either as a whole or in parts is another cause of association of words and consequent influence of word-endings. Brugmann op. cit. 140 mentions Gr. *νυχ-* for *νυκτ-* 'night', e. g. in *νύχ-α* 'νύκτωρ, νυκτί' (Hes.) and *αὐτο-νυχί*, as formed on the basis of *νύξ νύξι* after *ὄνυχ-*: *ὄνυξ* 'claw', where semantic relation is out of the question. We may further surmise, though it cannot be proved in the individual instance, that if we find homonymic derivatives from homonymic roots, as e. g. Skt. *gātú-ṣ* 'course': *jigāti* 'goes' and *gātú-ṣ* 'song': *gāyati* 'sings', one of the words influenced the formation of the other. Sound similarity is at work also when a suffix spreads by formal analogy, when, e. g. the Av. *-mant-* forms derivatives from *u*-stems.<sup>3</sup> In such cases we must not assume that the quality of being such a stem was consciously abstracted from words of that kind, but rather the identity of the entire word-endings caused the needed association without analysis.

The assumption made above that such assimilations of suffixes were unconscious in the earliest instances, is borne out by comparing our psychic attitude in case of the accidental slips of pronunciation which are so common in speaking at all

<sup>1</sup> In this case then there was a subtraction of a suffix rather than addition, but the process was the same.

<sup>2</sup> The form *πιστός* receives its *ι* by association with *πίνω* as well as *χριστός*.

<sup>3</sup> Also derivatives from words in which a consonant is preceded by an *u*-vowel. Cf. Wackernagel KZ. 43. 277 f., Bender *The Suffixes -mant* and *-vant* in Sanskrit and Avestan, Baltimore, 1910, p. 80.

times, and which must of course be due to the same forces as those causing permanent changes. To take some examples from Meringer, *Aus dem Leben der Sprache*—who would maintain that when the comic paper *Figaro* became *Figari* after *Kikeriki* (p. 77), another comic paper, that this meant the previous abstraction of the suffix *-i* from the latter with the imputation of the meaning 'comic paper'? Or that the adjective *slavatisch* for *slavonisch* (p. 79) after *kroatisch* presupposed the abstraction from the latter of *-atisch* as designating Slavic languages of Hungary? Or that *heutrige* after *gestrige* instead of *heutige* (p. 112) involved the abstraction of *-rig* as a suffix for forming adjectives derived from adverbs expressing time when?

If one were nevertheless disposed to draw such conclusions, it would be necessary to refer merely to the fact that the same kind of associative processes occur in other parts of the word than at the end, where probably no one would be bold enough to assume such an analysis. Otherwise the slip *Jattisch* for *Attisch* after *Jonisch* (Meringer op. cit. 82) would mean the abstraction of *J-* from *Jonisch* as a prefix for designating Greek dialects. It would mean that *thumm* for *dumm* after *thöricht* (ib. 79) presupposes that the *th-* of the latter took on to itself the major part of the idea of stupidity belonging originally to the whole word. To take an example from I. E. linguistic history, this assumption would mean that the formation of the Lith. Nom. Pl. *mės* 'we' for *\*ues* after the singular *\*mė-* meant analyzing the latter so that the initial consonant became the bearer of the notion of the first person, while the vowel was the exponent of the number. These absurdities become, if possible, still worse when such a semantic analysis would be necessitated in the middle of a word in its non-formative part, to assume, e. g. that *Messe* for *Masse* after *Menge* or *Mänge* for *Menge* after *Masse* (Meringer 79) were due to abstracting the medial vowel *e* or *a* as the exponent of the notion of multitude in the two synonyms. No doubt similar instances of contamination could be found to have actually gained currency somewhere, only they would be difficult to get at; for such changes in that part of the word usually cause the formation of new words which lose all connection with the originals. Cf., however, the highly plau-

sible theory of Bloomfield IF. 66 ff. on "root-determinatives", which traces many of them to such influence of congeners upon each other.

In view of all of these facts it is safe to conclude that the same mechanical process of association and contamination of speech-units that gives rise to all analogical changes of language without in the least involving conscious analysis of the part affected, the same process which explains all casual mistakes in any part of the word, whether beginning, middle, or end, the process which can explain the formation of verbal stems as well as nominal, which explains the origin of the illusive "root-determinatives"<sup>1</sup> and their similarity to nominal suffixes, that this was also in prehistoric times the cause of assimilating nouns to each other in their endings without any analysis of their meaning.<sup>2</sup> Such assimilations inevitably gave rise to two parallel forms differing only as to their ending, which must consequently have been meaningless at first. The existence of some such pairs made others follow by analogy in greater and greater numbers, until it became a firmly established habit to form words in this way, assisted no doubt by the tendency of the I. E. to center most of the meaning of a unit of speech on its earlier part, so that the word-endings, being on the whole of less importance than the beginnings, were more subject to permanent change.

From the conclusion that the original suffix was a meaningless element transferred from one *word* to another associated word it follows that it was "secondary" only, i. e. as far as nouns are concerned, it formed nouns from nouns, but not from verb-stems. We are thus from an altogether different point of view led to the same conclusion as was reached for many an individual suffix by Hirt by a different course of reasoning in his article "Fragen des Vokalismus und der Stammbildung im Indogermanischen", IF. 32. 209 ff.

<sup>1</sup>The identity of root-determinatives and suffixes has often enough been maintained, most recently by Persson *Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung* 523 ff. He used the argument that Bloomfield's theory of root-determinatives was disproved by the identity of suffixes; for no one would maintain that the latter originated in the same way. Nevertheless that is the very position taken in this article.

<sup>2</sup>When this assimilation goes further than the suffixes we have rhyme-words. Cf. Wood IF. 22. 133 ff., Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im Ar. und Altgr.*, Heidelberg, 1914.

In so far, now, as these originally meaningless secondary suffixes did develop meanings attributed either to primary or secondary suffixes, there is left to explain, how these suggestions, which, as was shown above, were due to comparing different uses of one and the same word with each other, and had nothing to do with the suffix, were attributed to the latter. The answer is the same for both primary and secondary suffixes, namely, that the contracting of secondary associations of the word in the suffix either with other etymologically related words or other meanings of the primitive than the common one of primitive and derivative which gave rise to the latter, and the fading from the mind of the relation between the equivalent primitive and derivative, would cause the difference in meaning between the two associated words to be attributed to that in which they differed phonetically, namely the suffix. The assumption that simultaneous impressions on the mind are causally connected, which makes us judge, e. g. that the noise of the horse's hoof comes from the horse which we see simultaneously, that the thunder comes from the lightning, or the smell of perfume from the bottle that has been opened, this same assumption was also at work if, e. g. a speaker of Sanskrit no longer thought of *avikā* 'ewe' in connection with the equivalent *ávi-s* 'ewe', but rather referred to the masculine use of the primitive, so that the derivative was thought of as 'belonging to the ram', or at least *-ikā* was thought of as a suffix for designating the female of animals. Similarly, if a Greek referred *ἀργύριον* 'silver money' to *ἄργυρος* in the meaning 'silver' instead of 'silver money', primitive and derivative would no longer be equivalent to him, and the suffix *-ιον* would to him mean 'made of' silver. The Gr. plural *πτερύγια* 'fins of fish' shared this use with the primitive *πτέρυξ*, but the latter was originally simply 'wing', and with that meaning in mind the primitive could be thought of as 'that which is like a wing'. Either descent ('coming from') or possession ('having') can be suggested by *-ιο-* in the exocentric compound *ἴμο-πάτριος* 'of the same father' if thought of not in connection with the equivalent primitive *ἴμο-πάτωρ*, but with the two simple words which formed the latter. In words of the very same type, moreover, the same suffix could come to be thought of as a suffix for forming secondary ad-



jectives, or more particularly exocentric adjectives, directly from their constituents.

Coming to the development of the meanings of the primary suffixes, it is a process which is still more easily intelligible. A suffix became primary just as soon as the word formed with it was associated with a verb instead of its original nominal primitive. As long as Skt. *yudh-má-s* 'fighter' was thought of in connection with *yúdh-* 'fighter' its suffix was a meaningless secondary suffix, but as soon as referred to the verb *yúdhyaṭē* it became an agent suffix. In the same way *dṛṣi-s* 'sight' or 'eye', when no longer referred to the equivalent substantive *dṛṣ-* but to the verb stem *dṛṣ-*, may be analyzed so that the notion of action in the first meaning and instrument in the second was referred to the suffix *-i-*. The Skt. adjective *yúj-ya-s*, associated with the verb *yujáṭē* 'joins' instead of the equivalent *yúj-* 'yoked together', made the suffix *-ya-*. I. E. *-iō-* appear as a device for forming verbal adjectives.

More elusive are the processes which may lead to interpreting the suffix as being exponent of a category without causing a changed relation between primitive and derivative. Here it must not be supposed that even where the cause of transfer from one word to another is nothing but association by similarity, that this means actually discriminating and attending to the common element. Even when Lat. *larix* 'larch tree' is patterned after the older *salix* 'willow', it does not follow that *-ix* was felt as meaning 'tree'. Between conscious discrimination of such an element and merely being the pivotal point of an association is after all quite a step, though one may lead to the other under favorable circumstances. The more words with such a common feature in their meaning are formed with the same suffix, the greater the chance of this common semantic element and the common suffix rolling out together and forming an association of their own. But it is highly improbable that this actually was done in the majority of the semantic categories of this kind. Altogether so when the words which influence each other were completely synonymous, as when Skt. *viç-va-s* 'all' receives its *-uō-* after *sár-va-s* 'all' = Gr. ὅλ[ε]ος Lat. *salvos*. If one would here insist on making the suffix the bearer of the common notion of totality,

there would be nothing left for the root. The same suffix can also be the bearer of no distinct meaning when it forms I. E. \**deks-yo-* 'right' (Ir. *dess* Goth. F. *taihsva*) after the opposite 'left', e. g. in Gr. *λαι[ρ]ός* Lat. *laevos* or Gr. *σκαί[ρ]ός* Lat. *scaevos*. The common semantic element of opposites, in this case, e. g. the idea of designating a direction, is not psychologically important enough to receive such a linguistic expression. And when we compare our actual attitude to such groups in modern languages, we find that here also there is not often an actual reference to the suffix as being the bearer of any meaning. We have a very closely associated group of this kind in the I. E. nouns of relationship, of which English still possesses *father, mother, daughter, sister, brother*, three of which end in *-ther*, and all in *-er*, and yet every one will agree that no meaning is ever attached to these endings. The objection that this is not a fair test because the etymology is forgotten will hold equally well against even I. E. times, when the suffix was still productive, and in this connection we may once more call attention to the fact that very many of the oldest words which were patterns for newer ones ended in common suffixes, but could not be referred to a known root.

We have thus seen that the assumption that I. E. suffixes were principally meaningless word-endings transferred from one associated word to another, and the supposition of the gradual evolution of meanings from these meaningless elements, on the one hand assumes the existence of only the very same psychic and linguistic forces which we see at work every day, and on the other hand explains many things which always must be a stumbling-block to the theory of composition. It explains why the oldest and most frequent suffixes side by side with many instances in which they are clearly meaningless or have but a very dim meaning or are found in unanalyzable words, show a bewildering variety of apparent meanings which all seem to be carried by one and the same formative; it explains why these frequent suffixes seem almost all alike in the meanings of which they are exponents, usually differing only as to the categories in which they have become particularly productive; it explains why the oldest meanings of one and the same suffix are the most vague, while the narrower and more concrete uses are found to be due to

development from the vaguer meanings or are due to infusion of stem-meaning into the suffix; it explains why so many suffixes appear both as primary and secondary, since all were secondary in the beginning, and the accident whether there was a subsequent association with a verb determined whether it also became primary. It remains only to show how this conception can be made use of to investigate the origin of individual I. E. suffixes, always bearing in mind that it is impossible to give more than a selection for the purpose of illustration, and that even then many examples quoted can not be considered as certain; for complete certainty is unattainable because it would be necessary to have before us every word ever formed with a suffix in order to understand its history, and this is impossible because our linguistic records are too fragmentary and because too few formatives have been investigated with sufficient detail to even give an indication of what the records really show. The examples given are therefore largely of a tentative nature, and illustrate the principles rather than attempt to give an analysis of the origin of the whole I. E. suffixal system in detail. The examples selected, moreover, will leave out of account the simple vocalic suffixes, whose origin doubtless goes back still further than that of the consonantal ones, so that success in getting at their patterns is still more improbable, and about whose non-compositional origin very little doubt is expressed nowadays anyway. Furthermore, no attention will be given to suffixes consisting of one vowel and one consonant when it is likely to be a conglutination of two suffixes, i. e. arises by feeling as a unity a new suffix and the final suffix of the word to which it is added, not because such conglutination is always different in principle from conglutination of a suffix with the final of a root, but rather because conglutinations of two suffixes contribute nothing particular to the question of their ultimate origin, and because that process is recognized to its full importance quite generally, so that it would be superfluous to give examples. Thus Brugmann *Gr. 2.* 1<sup>2</sup>. 183 ff. considers *-(i)ō-* to be suffix *-i-* plus suffix *-o-*, *-yo-* as *-u-* plus *-o-* (199 f.), *-iu-* as *-i-* plus *-u-* (223), *-men-* as *m-* suffix plus *-en-* (232 f.), *-mi-* as *-mo-* plus *-i-* (253), *-ti-* as *-t-* plus *-i-* (428), etc.

Our examples consequently consist of instances in which

the contamination of word-endings caused the abstraction of a suffix which either in its entirety belonged to the root, as *-t-* from Skt. *cít-*, or which consists of a previously existing suffix added to the root-final, as *-ko-*, e. g. in Gr. *φαι-κό-ς* 'shining' after *λευκ-ό-ς*. We do not distinguish between the two cases, on the one hand because they do not differ psychologically and the very fact of contamination shows that the pattern type was not analyzed any more than a root-noun would have been, on the other hand because we often do not even know whether a certain element was radical or suffixal. In the very word mentioned it is not at all improbable that we should analyze *λευκ-ό-ς*, i. e. that we have a dissyllabic root in *-o-* of the very type from which the latter was abstracted as a formative element; for we find the Skt. verb *ṛḍca-tē* also shows the thematic vowel, which is probably not accidental. In that case *-ko-* was abstracted from *λευκός* in its entirety, and was in no sense a conglutinate. For the same reasons, i. e. because there is no essential distinction in the process and because we usually can not get at the facts anyway, no distinction is made between words in which the new suffix is added to a root noun, as Skt. *γḍ-ma-s* 'going': *γḍ-s* 'going' after *gam-a-s*, or to nouns which already had a suffix, or in which it took the place of another suffix, as *φαι-κό-ς* for *φαιός* < \**φαι-φο-ς* or \**φαι-σο-ς*. Nor can we confine ourselves to words of which any other nominal cognates are in existence as possible primitives; for at the remote times to which the first origin of suffixes belongs, an immense number of nouns, particularly root-nouns, must have been in existence, which now have disappeared; and besides, after nouns were once associated with verbs as "primary" derivatives, it was possible to form new nouns by contamination of a *verbal* stem with another noun, e. g. Skt. *é-ma-s* could be the result of thinking of *gam-a-s* and *é-ti* 'he goes'.

#### 1. *The Suffix -yo- -yā-*

In accordance with Streitberg's theory of the "Dehnstufe" I. E. \**gʷḍ-y-s* Skt. *gāú-ś* 'ox, cow' was a later development from the earlier \**gʷoyō-s*, which may possibly be preserved in Skt. *gava-s*, with the same meaning, and in the Gr. compound

βοό-κλαψ 'stealer of oxen'. It is probable that I. E. \**ek̑-uo-s* Skt. *ác-va-s* Gr. *ἵππος* Lat. *equus* etc., meaning 'horse', owes its suffix to the close association of the two domestic animals. After either of these Ir. *banb* Kymr. *banw* 'pig' <\**banvo-s*, Pruss. *kurwan* Acc. 'ox', also the feminine O. Blg. *krava* 'cow', Ir. *ferb* 'cow' <\**vervā*.

I. E. \**g̑heμ-o-s* Gr. *χοῦς* <\**χόφος* 'earth heaped up' (= Skt. *hana-s* 'sacrifice') may be responsible for \**klei-uo-s* O. H. G. *hlēo* 'sepulchral mound'; the identical Latin *clivus* meant 'hill' or 'declivity', a natural development, particularly because of the influence of the related verb root \**klei-* 'to lean'. By adjectivation and subsequent spread to congeners arose Skt. *bul-vá-s* 'crooked', Lat. *curvus* 'crooked, curved': Gr. *κυρτός* 'crooked', Lith. *kreīvas kraīvas* 'crooked', O. Blg. *kriivs* 'crooked, curved', Lith. *szlīvas szlėīvas klīvas* 'having crooked legs'.

After the corresponding feminine Gr. *χο[ϕ]-ή* 'drink-offering' was formed *δαί* <\**δλ-φαί* 'sacrificial barley'.

After I. E. \**sroμo-s -ā* Skt. *srava-s* Gr. *ρός ροή* 'stream': Skt. *srávati* 'flows' was formed Lat. *ri-vo-s* 'brook': Skt. *rīti-ś* 'stream'. Also probably, because of the frequent association of meadow and forest and stream, Lith. *πένα* 'meadow' Gr. *ποι[ϕ]ᾶ* 'grass', and Lat. *silva* 'forest'.

After I. E. \**kieμo-s* 'moving, rushing, shaking': Skt. *cyávatē*, e. g. in Skt. *bhuvana-cyavá-s* 'shaking the world' and Gr. *δορυ-σόος* 'spear-brandishing', or substantivally in Gr. *σοῦς* 'upward motion', was patterned Skt. *é-va-s* 'hastening': *éti* 'he goes', *tak-vá-s*<sup>1</sup> 'hastening, fleet': *takti* 'rushes', *yahvá-s* 'restless' = *yahú-ś*. Because of the notion of movement and activity in life also Skt. *jivá-s* Lat. *vīvus* Goth. *qius* Lith. *gývas* 'alive': Av. *ǰyāiti-š* 'life'. After this word again other words meaning 'sound, whole, entire', and then the whole category of adjectives of totality, e. g. Skt. *sárva-s* Av. *ha<sup>u</sup>-rva* O. Pers. *haruva-* 'not injured, sound, entire', Gr. *όλος* 'entire', Lat. *salvos* 'sound, safe' <\**saleμos*. Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 202. Finally, the development of the meaning 'shin-

<sup>1</sup> *Takvá-s* may be a derivative from the *u*-stem *taku-ś*, as *yahvá-s* from *yahú-ś*, in which case we would have to assume that the suffix was *-o-*, but the principle of formation would be the same. Cf. Brugmann op. cit. 200.

ing' from 'swift, trembling', seen e. g. in Gr. ἀργός and αἰόλος, allows us to connect with \*κ̄εμο-s those of the many color-terms in -μο- which meant 'white' or 'bright', e. g. Lith. *blaivas* or Gr. φαλιός, which in turn were the patterns for the other color terms (Brugmann 201).

After \*κ̄εμο-s 'hollow' (substantive and adjective) in Lat. *cavus* and Gr. κόοι· κοιλώματα Hes. (cf. κύος 'fetus' etc.) were formed Skt. *ἄρ-υά-s* 'reservoir' = Gr. οὐρός < \*δρρός 'trench for ships', Lith. *urvas* 'cave'. Perhaps also Lith. *piūvas* 'belly' and the Gr. adjective κενός < \*κενρός 'empty', if originally 'hollow'.

Skt. *ῥκ-υά-s* 'praising': ῥc- after *stāva-s* 'praise': *stāuti*.

Skt. *रण-υά-s* 'rejoicing': *ráṇati* after *nāvā-s* 'shout of joy': *nāuti*.

Probably also the suffix of O. Blg. *pi-vo* 'drink, beer' Lith. *pỹ-vas* 'beer': O. Blg. *piti* is connected with Skt. *sāv-á-s* 'libation of soma': *sunōti*.

## 2. The Suffix -mo- -mā-

A number of I. E. roots in *m* designated motion and formed substantives and adjectives like Skt. *gam-a-s* 'going' (adjectivally in compounds): *gámati* Goth. *qimip* 'he comes', Skt. *bhramá-s* 'wandering', 'roaming': *bhramati*, Gr. δρόμος<sup>1</sup> 'running, course': *δραμειν* Skt. *drámati*. After these Skt. *é-ma-s* Gr. οἶμος 'course, path': Skt. *éti* 'goes', Skt. *yá-ma-s* 'course': *yā-* 'going', Skt. *áj-ma-s* Gr. ὄγμος 'course': *ἄγω*. The notion of the waters rushing down their course, as shown by the relation of Skt. *sár-ma-s* 'flowing' (M.) to *sísarti* 'hastens, flows' and to the Gr. Fem. *δρμή* 'rush, onset', also caused O. H. G. *strōm* O. Icel. *straumr* 'stream' (root \**sreu-* 'flow') and Gr. ἀρδμός 'watering-place': *ἄρδω*. The notion of violent agitation which is still present in the verbs Skt. *dhūnōti* 'tosses, shakes' and Gr. θύω 'rush along, storm', was no doubt the bond of association that led also to Skt. *dhū-má-s* Lat. *fūmus* Lit. Pl. *dūmai* O. Blg. *dymb* 'smoke', Gr. θυμός 'courage, passion', and with strong root O. H. G. *toum* 'vapor'.

After I. E. \**ghromo-s* in Gr. χρόμος 'crashing sound', O. Blg. *gromb* 'thunder', and O. H. G. *gram* O. Icel. *gramr*

<sup>1</sup> The *μ* of δρόμος was root-determinative—cf. Skt. *dravá-s* *drávati*.

'angry, hostile', or the similar Gr. βρόμος 'roaring': βρέω, were formed Skt. *bhā-ma-s* 'rage, anger'<sup>1</sup> (cf. the feminines Gr. φήμη Lat. *fāma* 'speech'), O. Blg. *šumō* 'noise': Gr. κω-κῶω, Lith. *užmas* 'roaring'. Cf. also the fem. Ir. *glām* 'clamor, curse' and Lett. *dusma* 'anger'. In Greek also *παρμός* 'sneezing', *λυγμός* 'hiccup', *μυγμός* 'sighing', *λυγμός* 'shout, shriek', *δδυρμός* 'lamentation', *κηρυγμός* 'proclamation'. The suffix thus became productive in words designating sounds: In Skt. perhaps similarly *stā-ma-s* 'song of praise': *stāūtī*.

I. E. \**ǵhim-o-s* in Skt. *himā-s* 'winter', *hima-s* 'cold', Gr. *δύσχιμος* 'troublesome', Lat. *bīmus* 'two winters old' <\**bīhimus* is responsible for Gr. *κρῶμός* 'frost' <\**κρυσ-μο-s* (*κρυσ-ταίνω*) and the opposite I. E. \**ǵh<sup>h</sup>ormo-s* in Skt. *gharmā-s* 'heat', Av. *gar<sup>h</sup>ma-* 'hot', O. Pers. *garma-* 'heat', Lat. *formus* O. H. G. *warm* 'warm', with *e*-vocalism Arm. *ǵerm* Gr. *θερμός* 'warm'. Perhaps these words, through the notion of 'red-hot' or 'white-hot', or the idea of a burning blaze, as in Gr. *φλογμός* 'blaze' = *φλόξ-γός*, caused Skt. *ruk-mā-s* 'gleaming': *rūc-*, and *bhā-ma-s* 'light' = *bhā-*. The relation of the latter word, however, to Gr. φήμη Lat. *fāma* suggests the possibility of words designating light influencing sound-words, but the converse is equally possible. Finally, the neuter Skt. *himā-m* 'snow' suggests that through the intermediary idea 'slush of melting snow' \**ǵhimo-* caused Lat. *limus* 'mud, slime', O. H. G. *slim* M. O. Icel. *slím* N. 'slime', O. H. G. *lim* M. O. Icel. *lím* N. 'glue', O. Engl. *lám* 'clay'.

After I. E. \**domo-s* 'house' in Skt. *dāma-s* Gr. *δόμος* Lat. *domus* O. Blg. *domō* 'house' were formed O. H. G. *heim* N. 'dwelling, house', O. Icel. *heimr* M. 'dwelling, world', Lith. *kēmas* 'village, estate'; O. Blg. *chramō* 'house'; perhaps also Gr. *κενθ-μός* 'hiding-place, den'.

After I. E. \**nomo-s* Gr. *νόμος* 'custom, law' (Skt. *nāma-s* not in this meaning): *νέμω* was formed Skt. *dhār-ma-s* 'custom, law'.

Skt. *bhī-mā-s* 'fearful': *bhī-* 'fear' perhaps after \**tromo-s* Gr. *τρόμος* 'fear, terror': *τρέμω* Lat. *tremo*.

<sup>1</sup>The relation of the meaning 'rage, anger' to 'light' mentioned below is obscure. It is therefore mentioned here merely as a possibility.

Gr. κορμός 'log': κέρω after τόμος : τέμνω, if the latter, like τομή, originally also designated a tree-stump.

### 3. The Suffix -no- -nā-

After I. E. \*(e)ǵn̥-o-s 'empty' in Lat. *vānus* 'empty, vain', Goth. *wans* O. Icel. *vanr* O. H. G. *wan* 'wanting, lacking', with reduced grade of root in Skt. *ānā-s* Av. *āna-<sup>1</sup>* 'insufficient', was formed the opposite \**pl̥-no-s* \**pl̥-no-s* 'full' = Skt. *pūrṇā-s* Av. *pər̥na-* Ir. *lān* Goth. *fulls* Lith. *pilnas* O. Blg. *plenz*, with strong vocalism in Skt. *prāna-s* Lat. *plēnus*.

After I. E. \**gh<sup>h</sup>on-o-s* 'striking, slaying' (substantive and adjective): Skt. *hānti* 'strikes, slays', in Skt. *ghanā-s* 'striking, slaying, slayer, Gr. φόνος 'slaughter, murder', was formed Skt. *dhū-na-s* 'violently agitated' Gr. θῦνος 'onset, battle', Skt. *dīr-ṇā-s* 'torn, headless' O. H. G. *zorn* O. Engl. *torn* 'anger, strife', Skt. *jīr-ṇā-s* 'rubbed to pieces, old', Lat. *grānum* 'grain' Goth. *kaurn* O. H. G. *korn* N. 'corn', Skt. *bhinnā-s* \**bhid-ṇā-s* 'split'.

The corresponding feminine found in Gr. φονή 'murder' may have been the pattern for \**q<sup>h</sup>oi-nā* in Av. *kaēnā-* 'retribution', Gr. *ποιή* 'ransom for murder, punishment', O. Blg. *cēna* 'price'.

After I. E. \**gono-s* in Skt. *jāna-s* 'creature, man' and Gr. γόνος 'descent, offspring': Skt. *jānati* were formed Gr. *τέκ-vo-ν* 'child' O. H. G. *degan* O. Icel. *pegn* M. 'boy, servant' (cf. *τέκος*) and Goth. *barn* O. H. G. *barn* N. 'child', Lith. *bėrnas* 'youth, servant': *φέρω* O. H. G. *beran*.

Bloomfield, IF. 4. 76, has shown how a number of I. E. roots in the "root-determinative" *n* which designate sounds have been patterned after others which invariably ended in that consonant and were therefore earlier, a very good instance to show the identity of origin of "root-determinatives" and suffixes; just as e. g. the I. E. verb represented by Skt. *svānati* became the original of *svānati* after *stānati*, so the substantive *svarā-s* became *sva-nā-s* after *stan-ā-s*, without our being justified in saying that *svanā-s* was formed directly from *svānati*, though we may add this as a possibility without its in any way affecting the general truth of the statement that the same

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann op. cit. 257 considers the *n* suffixal, but otherwise Walde Et. Wörterb. s. v. *vanus*.



forces gave rise to suffixes and "root-determinatives". The oldest of the substantives which affect us particularly is I. E. \*(s)tono-s in Skt. *abhi-ṣṭaná-s* 'noise, din', Gr. *στόνος* 'groan', Russ. *stón* 'groan', Skt. *tāna-s* 'tone', Gr. *τόνος* 'tone'. After these I. E. \*sno-no-s (: Skt. *svará-s svánati*) in Skt. *svaná-s* Lat. *sonus* 'sound, tone'; Gr. *θρήνος* 'dirge': *θρέω* and Skt. *dhránati* 'sounds'; O. Blg. *zvonz* 'sound': Skt. *á-hva-t* Aor. 'called'; probably also Gr. *αἶνος* 'tale, proverb': Goth. *aips* 'oath'; Ir. *brōn* M. 'sorrow, care', Kymr. *brwyn* M. 'pain' < \*brugno-s, through the meaning 'groan'. Finally, the common association of light and sound seen e. g. in the colloquial "a loud color" may have been the cause of the transfer of the suffix to words meaning 'bright' or 'white', like Skt. *ṣvit-na-s* and *árju-na-s* (cf. Gr. *ἄργυρος*), Lat. *cānus* < \*cas-no-s, while the other color terms (Brugmann 255 f.) were again patterned after these.

#### 4. The Suffix -ro-

The I. E. \*g<sup>h</sup>uero-s 'wild animal' which is presupposed by the lengthened root of Gr. *θήρ* (transfer to the *i*-declension in Lith. *žvēr-i-s* O. Blg. *zvēr-b* 'wild animal'), and which is found as an adjective in Lat. *ferus* 'wild', gave rise to Gr. *ταῦρος* Lat. *taurus* 'steer', Osc. *taurom* 'taurum', O. Blg. *turō* 'buffalo': Skt. *tāu-ti* 'is strong'; Av. *staora-* 'cattle', Goth. *stiurs* O. H. G. *stior* 'steer': Skt. *sthāvira-s*; Gr. *κάπ-ρο-s* 'boar', Lat. *caper* 'he-goat', Umbr. *k a p r u m* 'caprum', Kymr. *caer-iwrch* 'roe-buck', O. Engl. *hæfer* O. Icel. *hafr* 'buck'; Lat. *aper* O. H. G. *ebur* O. Icel. *jöforr* 'boar'; Ir. *gabar* Kymr. *gafr* 'goat'.

After Skt. *tārā-s* Gr. *τορός* 'penetrating, loud, shrill, shining': Skt. *tārati*, assisted perhaps in some uses by Skt. *svará-s* 'sound, tone' O. Icel. Neut. Pl. *svor* O. Engl. Fem. *and-svaru* 'answer': Skt. *svárati*, were formed in the first place a large number of words meaning 'light, bright': Skt. *cit-rá-s* Av. *ciθra-* 'bright, clear', O. H. G. *heitar* O. Engl. *hádor* 'bright, clear' < \*χαιδρά-z: Skt. *cit-*; Skt. *ṣvit-rá-s* O. Pers. *spiθra-* (in *Σπιθρα-δάτης*) 'white': Skt. *ṣvétatē*; Skt. *ṣubh-rá-s* 'shining, beautiful' Arm. *surb* 'pure, holy': Skt. *ṣúbh-*; Gr. *φαιδ-ρό-s* 'clear, shining', Lith. *gėdras* 'bright, clear': Gr. *φαιδιμος*; Ir. *cír* 'pure', Goth. *skeirs* O. Engl. *scír* O. Icel. *skirr* 'clear, plain':

Goth. *skeinan*; Skt. *çuk-rá-s çuk-lá-s* 'bright, clear' Av. *suçra-* 'red': Skt. *çúc-*; Gr. *λαμπ-ρός* 'shining': *λάμπω*; *ἀργυ-ρος* 'silver': *ἀργυφος* 'shining'; after any of these, other color terms like Skt. *rudhirá-s* Gr. *ἐρυθρός* Lat. *ruber* O. Blg. *rædræ* 'red', Gr. *λειρός* 'ὁ ἰσχνὸς καὶ ὀχρὸς' (Hes.): Lat. *lūri-dus* 'pale', Gr. *χλωρός* 'green, yellow', Skt. *gāurá-s* 'reddish', Lat. *niger* 'black', etc. In the realm of sound we find Gr. *λιγυ-ρός* 'shrill': *λιγύς*, Lat. *clārus* 'loud, famous': *clāmo*. Transferred to taste in Skt. *am-lá-s ambla-s* 'sour', Dutch *amper* 'sharp, bitter, sour', O. Icel. *aprr* 'sharp', Lat. *amārus* 'bitter'; O. H. G. *sūr* O. Icel. *súrr* 'sour, bitter', Lith. *sūras* 'salty'. From another point of view the notion 'penetrating' is associated with 'cutting', whence Gr. *ἀκ-ρος* Lat. *acer* 'sharp', Gr. *πικ-ρός* 'cutting into, sharp, bitter', O. H. G. *zangar* 'biting, sharp': *zanga* 'tongs', passively Skt. *chid-rá-s* 'rent, torn', but cf. *chidí-rá-s* 'ax, sword'. Finally, with the notion of sharpness and penetration may be connected activity, daring, intelligence, whence Skt. *kṣip-rá-s* 'quick': *kṣipāti*, *jī-rá-s* 'active': *jīṇōti*, *iṣirá-s* 'strong, quick' Gr. *ίερός*: Skt. *ίς-*; Gr. *διερός* 'lively, hastening': *δίεμαι*; Gr. *ελαφ-ρός* 'light, quick' O. H. G. *lungar* 'quick, active', O. H. G. *muntar* 'lively, fresh, zealous' <\**mñdhro-*, Lith. *mandras* 'active, lively' O. Blg. *mądræ* 'wise' <\**mondhro-*; O. H. G. *wahhar wackar* O. Icel. *vakr* 'active, lively': Skt. *vāja-s*; Skt. *dhī-ra-s* 'skilful, wise': *dhī-*, Goth. *snutrs* O. H. G. *snottar* O. Icel. *snotr* 'intelligent'.

After I. E. \**uro-s* in O. H. G. *gi-war* O. Icel. *varr* 'attentive' and Gr. *οἰκουρός* 'house-guard' <\**φοικο-φορός*: *ὄραω* were formed Av. *zæni-budra-* 'zealously watching', Lith. *budrūs* (for \**budras*) O. Blg. *bædræ* 'wakeful': Skt. *bōdhati*.

After I. E. \**soro-s* in Skt. *sará-s* 'flowing, liquid', Gr. *ὀρός* 'whey', Lat. *serum* 'whey': Skt. *sárati* 'flows' were formed Skt. *sū-ra-s* 'juice running from the soma-press' (: *sunōti* 'he presses out'), O. H. G. *sūr-ougi* 'drip-eyed'; Av. *hix-rə-m* 'fluid excrement'; Skt. *abh-rá-m* 'cloud', Av. *awrə-m* 'cloud, shower', Gr. *ἀφρός* 'foam' <\**mbhró-*, also *ὄμβρος* 'rain'.

After Skt. *kṣara-s* 'melting away, perishable', Gr. *φθόρος* 'death, destruction': Skt. *kṣárati*, or Skt. *māra-s* 'death' O. Blg. *moræ*: Skt. *máratē*, or Gr. *μόςρος* 'fate, death': *μείρομαι*, were formed Gr. *νεκ-ρός* 'corpse' (originally 'death?'): Lat.

*nex necis*; Skt. *krū-rá-m* 'slaughter, wound' (*krūrā-s* adj. 'bloody, cruel, dreadful'): *κρανίς-* Gr. *κρέας*; possibly also Skt. *dhvas-rá-s* 'decayed, faded': *dhvānsati* 'falls to dust, perishes' and Gr. *σαπ-ρό-s* 'decayed, rotten': *σήπω*.

After Gr. *σπόρο-s* 'sowing, seed': *σπείρω*, if an I. E. word, were formed Gr. *πῦρός* 'wheat', Lith. *pύrai* Pl. 'wheat', O. Blg. *pyro* 'spelt'.

### 5. The Suffix -lo- -lā-

After I. E. *\*dh̥golo-s* 'confused, dirty' (substantivally 'dirt') in Gr. *θολός* 'dirt' Goth. *dwals* Germ. *toll* 'mad' or I. E. *\*mēlo-* in Skt. *māla-m mala-s* 'spot, sin' Germ. *Mal* 'spot' were formed Lat. *aqui-lu-s* 'dark' Lith. *āklas* 'blind'; Skt. *tam-rā-s* 'darkening', *timirā-s* 'dark', Ir. *temel* 'darkness', Bret. *teffal* 'dark': Skt. *tāmas*; Gr. *τυφλός* 'blind': *τύφος*; *αἶθαλος* 'soot': *αἶθος*; O. H. G. *tunchal* beside *tunchar* 'dark'; O. Blg. *smagl̥z* 'dark', *smugl̥z* 'dark-brown'; Lith. *dēglas* *dāglas* 'spotted white and black', *deglas* 'burn': Skt. *dāhati* 'burns'.

After an I. E. *\*gʷēlo-* 'biting, cutting' (cf. Gr. *βέλος* 'arrow, missile', O. H. G. *quāla* 'torture, pain', Lith. *gēlā* 'biting pain': Lith. *geliū*) were formed Av. *tiy-ra-* 'pointed, sharp', O. H. G. *stihhil* O. Icel. *stikkel* M. 'prick': Gr. *στίζω*; Lith. *ailus* (for *ailas*) 'corroding, sharp': *aitrūs*; also the feminine substantives O. H. G. *dehsala* O. Blg. *tesla* 'ax': O. H. G. *dehsa*; O. Blg. *osla* 'grind-stone', O. Engl. *e3l* 'prick': Lat. *acus*; and the neuter Russ. *čereslo čeresló* 'plough-share'.

After I. E. *\*gʷou-kʷolo-s* in Gr. *βου-κόλο-s*<sup>1</sup> 'cow-herd' Ir. *bua-chail* 'herdsman' Corn. Bret. *bugel* 'shepherd' (Skt. *gō-cara-s* only in the meaning 'scope, sphere', originally 'field for cattle'): Gr. *πέλω* were formed agent nouns like Skt. *ῥᾱ-la-s* 'herdsman': *ῥᾱ-* 'protecting', Gr. Lac. *δείκηλος* 'actor', Lat. *figulus* 'potter', O. H. G. *tregil* 'carrier', etc.

The final part of the above compound is found again in Gr. *πόλος* 'axle, axis, sphere', formally identical with Skt. *ca-ra-s* 'moving'. The same root reduplicated in Skt. *ca-krā-s* 'wheel' Gr. *κύ-κλος* 'wheel, circle', O. Engl. *hwéol* Engl. *wheel*

<sup>1</sup> The short form *βοῦκος* for *βουκόλος* shows that the -λο- of the latter was felt on a par with the same syllable as suffix.

O. Icel. *hvel*. After these were formed Lat. *āla* < \**axla* O. H. G. *ahsala*<sup>1</sup> O. Icel. *oxl* 'axle': Skt. *ākṣa-s* O. H. G. *ahsa* 'axle'; O. H. G. *dīhsala* O. Engl. *dixl* O. Icel. *þisl* F. 'tongue of wagon': O. H. G. *dīhsemo*; Lith. *gražulas* 'tongue of wagon', *grīžulas* 'circle, round course', M. H. G. *kringel* 'twist' O. Icel. *kringla* F. 'ring', Germ. *Krengel*: *Krang*.

After I. E. \**dholo-s* in Gr. *θόλος* 'vaulted chamber, round building', Goth. *dal* Germ. *Thal* Engl. *dale* 'valley', O. Blg. *dols* 'pit' were formed a number of words implying hollowness: Gr. *κό-λα* Neut. Pl. 'hollow beneath the eye', O. H. G. *hol* O. Icel. *holr* 'hollow': Gr. *κύτος* 'cavity'; with which may be related Gr. *καυλός* 'stalk, shaft' Lat. *caulis* 'stalk' Lith. *káulas* 'bone' Lett. *kauls* 'stalk, bone', Pruss. *kaulan* 'bone'; also Gr. *γαυλός* 'bucket' *γαῦλος* 'merchant-vessel', O. H. G. *kiol* O. Icel. *kióll* M. 'ship', O. Icel. *kúla* 'ball'; Gr. *αῦ-λό-ς* 'flute, reed': *ἄημ*. The opposition of hill and valley may have given rise to O. H. G. *buhil* 'hill': *biogan*, Germ. *Hügel* 'hill': M. H. G. *houc* 'hill'; Lat. *tumulus* 'mound: *tumeo*.

#### 6. The Suffix -*bho-*.

If we may assume an I. E. \**k̑ubho-s* 'shining' as the basis of Skt. *ṣubha-s* 'beautiful (originally, like *ṣubhrá-s*, no doubt 'shining'): *ṣóbhate*, we have a pattern for Gr. *ἀλ-φός* 'dull-white leprosy' Lat. *albus* 'white' Umbr. *alfu* 'alba'; then also Gr. *ἀλφός* 'white', *ἄργυφος* 'shining white': *ἄργυρος*; also other color terms like Lat. *galbus* 'pale yellow', Lith. *golimba*-Russ. *golubýj* 'light blue'. Perhaps several color terms which came to designate animals, e. g. O. Blg. *golqbb* 'dove', originally 'light blue', were in turn the patterns for the numerous animal names in the suffix, for which cf. Brugmann op. cit. 389.

After Gr. *κοῦ-φο-s* 'light', which when applied to grass meant 'dry' (cf. Xen. An. I. 5. 10 *χόρτος κοῦφος* for 'hay'), may have been formed *σέρι-φο-s*, 'dry' in connection with *πῶα* 'grass, hay' (cf. Sturtevant Cl. Phil. 6. 202 f.), but also in the phrase *γραῦς σέριφος* 'dried-up old woman'; also \**σκελιφος*, assumed by Sturtevant l. c. as the basis for *σκελιφρός* 'dry, parched, lean': *σκελλω* 'make dry, parch'.

<sup>1</sup>We do not attempt to explain the feminine gender of these words, but this is no objection against mentioning them here; for that may be due to a pattern different from that of the *l*.

7. *The Suffix -t-*.

We can come nearer to catching the actual origin of an I. E. suffix in case of *-t-* than any other. Its patterns seem to have been the two I. E. root-nouns corresponding to Skt. *vrt-* 'turning, moving' (cf. *vártatē* 'turns, rolls, takes place, exists', Gr. *βρατάναν· τоруήνην*, 'Ἠλείοι Hes., Lat. *verto* turn', Goth. *vairpan* O. H. G. *werdan* O. Icel. *verða* 'become', O. Blg. *vratēti* 'turn, bore', *vratiti* 'turn', Lith. *vercsiù* 'turn, force') and Skt. *cít-* 'thought, mind, intelligence' (cf. *cétati* 'appears, understands', Lith. *kaitrà* 'glow of fire', and with I. E. *d*<sup>1</sup> as root-final O. H. G. *heiz* O. Icel. *heitr* 'hot'). Like Uhlenbeck Et. Wörterb. s. *cétati*, I assume that *cít-* originally meant 'glow, brightness', and thus appears as the pattern for *dyú-t-* 'splendor, lustre': *dyú-* 'light, fire-flame, sky, etc'. Bearing on the identity of origin of 'root-determinatives' and nominal suffixes, it is interesting that the *t* also got into the verb *dyótatē* 'shines, beams, glitters' through the influence of the verb *cétati* and the synonym *çvétatē* 'shines, is bright, is white' upon the root *dyu-*.

On the other hand *vrt-* was responsible for I. E. *\*i-t-* 'going' in Skt. *arthēt-* i. e. *artha-it-* 'hasty', Lat. *comes -i-tis* 'companion', *pedes -i-tis* 'foot-soldier'; for I. E. *\*-g<sup>m</sup>-t-* 'coming' in Skt. *nava-gát-* 'coming in addition' Lat. *\*novi-vent-*, whence *noventium nūntium*. The opposition of 'standing' to 'going' then caused I. E. *\*-stā-t\*-stā-t-* in Av. *θraotō-stāt-* 'standing i. e. being in the river-courses', Lat. *prae-anti-super-stes -sti-tis*.

It is to be noticed that of the Skt. words so far mentioned *cít-* has an *i* preceding the *t*, *dyút-* an *u*, *vrt-* an *r*. Spreading from these words by formal analogy, though of course also assisted by congeneric assimilation, the *-t-* came to be a regular formative for derivatives from roots ending in the three sounds mentioned. Cf. e. g. Hirt IF. 32. 272 f.

8. *The Suffix -dho-*.

An I. E. *\*aidho-s* 'burning, fiery' = Gr. *αἰθός*, whose root is found e. g. also in Skt. *inddhē* 'kindles', *idh-mā-s* 'kindling-

<sup>1</sup> Whether the *d* and *t* were different root-determinatives or were phonetically related, cannot be decided. Cf. Brugmann Gr. 1.<sup>2</sup> 631 f.

wood', Lat. *aedēs* 'house, temple', originally 'hearth', O. H. G. *eit* 'funeral pyre', Ir. *aed* 'fire', probably gave rise to Lat. *cali-du-s* 'warm, hot': *caleo* (suffix *-dho-* because of Osc. *Cal lifae*) and *āri-du-s* 'dry' (cf. the English expression 'hot and dry'): *āreo*, with *-dho-* because of *arfet* 'siccum est' (Corp. Gloss. Lat. 6. 92).

### 9. The Suffix *-ko-*<sup>1</sup>

After I. E. *\*leuko-s* in Skt. *rōkā-s* 'light, brightness', Gr. *λευκός* 'shining, white', Lith. *laukas* 'palish': Skt. *rōcatē* 'lights, shines' were formed Gr. *φαι-κό-s* 'shining, bright': *φαιός*, Lat. *cas-cu-s* 'hoary, old': *cānus* < *\*casno-s*, Lith. *szvitkus* for *\*szvit-ka-s* 'shining': *szvintū szvisti*, *pil-ka-s* 'gray': *paīvas*, *pelė-ka-s* Lett. *pelėks* 'mouse-gray': Lith. *pelė* 'mouse', *pelėti* 'to get mouldy'; then also other color terms like Skt. *babhru-kā-s* 'brownish': *babhrā-ś*, O. Blg. *zlakъ* Russ. *zlak* 'green sprout, grass': *zēlje*, if originally an adjective. Because of the familiar association of light and sound *\*leuko-s* may also have been responsible for Skt. *ślō-ka-s* 'sound, call, strophe': Gr. *κλύω* Lat. *cluo*, and O. Blg. *zvękъ* 'sound': *zvонъ* 'sound'.

Skt. *śuś-kā-s* Av. *huška-* 'dry': Skt. *śōṣa-s* Lith. *sausas* probably (cf. 'hot and dry') after Skt. *śōka-s* 'heat, flame' *śōkā-s* 'glowing' Av. *ātara-saokō* 'fire-brand': Skt. *śōcati* 'glows, burns'.

O. H. G. *scelah* O. Engl. *sceolh* O. Icel. *skialgr* 'oblique, crooked, askance': Gr. *σκολός* 'oblique, crooked' look as though they might have received their suffix *-ko-* from Gr. *ῥοικ-ό-s* 'bent, crooked': *ῥικνός*, but there is the difficulty that the latter word has no cognates outside of the Greek, a fact which would make its I. E. origin presupposed more than doubtful.

To the other arguments for the origin of suffixes through contamination of word-endings may now be added the following. In contrast to the theory of composition, which, in its attempts to find the original word which is supposed to have given rise to a suffix, usually has to assume as pattern a very rare word with a suffixal meaning twisted into almost fan-

<sup>1</sup>An attempt is made by Fay JAOS. 34. 334ff. to identify *-ko-* Skt. *-ka-* with Lat. *cum* 'with'.

tastic shapes, this hypothesis allows us to find patterns among the oldest and most frequent I. E. words, in fact it is just among these that it was oftenest possible to find words in a certain suffix probably associated with words in which the same element was radical. Then too it was usually possible to find more than one pattern, which is a great advantage in the explanation of such semantically heterogeneous elements as most suffixes. Moreover, we have seen that many a word in historical times originated by being patterned after a root-word even when its suffix previously existed elsewhere, and this is what we would expect; for the analysis of words is always imperfectly performed, nor do we oftenest distinguish whether a certain consonant of a word belongs to root or suffix, so that the root-words will be on an equal footing with the suffixal words when it comes to acting as pattern for other words. And since this patterning of one word after the other is the most important way of forming derivatives in the younger historic periods (Brugmann *Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 590 f.*), it follows that that theory of the origin of I. E. nominal stem-suffixes is the right one which can explain it by these very same forces.

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## II.—CAESAR B. G., III., 12, 1—A REVIEW AND AN INTERPRETATION.

“ Erant eius modi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promunturiisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum XII spatio, neque navibus quod rursus minvente aestu naves in vadis afflictaerentur.” Caesar is speaking of the difficulties confronting him in his operations against the strongholds of the Veneti. In this statement the present article has to do only with the clause *quod bis accidit semper horarum XII spatio*—such is the traditional reading—relative to the recurrence of the Atlantic tides. Few statements of equal brevity in all classical literature have been subjected to more hostile and more lasting criticism, or have been conjecturally emended in more diverse ways, or have afforded better illustration of the ovine nature of the editorial methods of many of our text-book makers.

The fact, moreover, that in only two<sup>1</sup> of the twenty-one twentieth-century editions collated is this vulgate reading retained shows the opportuneness of any valid defence that can be made for it.

Before proceeding to this, however, it will be well to take an historical survey of the readings of the codices and editions and of the conjectural emendations that have been offered. Meusel (Berlin, 1894) cites the readings of this clause in nine codices; Holder (Freiburg, 1882), in ten. Three of Meusel's codices are not cited by Holder, and four of the latter's are not cited by Meusel. So we have a total of thirteen citations from those MSS considered the best by these editors representing opposing schools of textual evaluation. All of these thirteen read *bis*, except the Ursinianus,<sup>2</sup> which has *is*, and the Riccardianus and

<sup>1</sup> Du Pontet (Oxford, 1901); Schmalz (Leipzig, 1905).

<sup>2</sup> The nomenclature of Meusel is the simpler and is followed when not otherwise stated.



Hauniensis I, which have *his*. All of the  $\alpha$ -class<sup>1</sup> have *accedit*; all of the  $\beta$ -class,<sup>2</sup> *accidit*. The entire thirteen have the numeral XII. Of inferior MSS, the Egmondanus, Vossianus I and Vratislaviensis I are cited for *accedit*; the Vratislaviensis II and the Jadrensis, for *accidit*. The Oxoniensis omits *bis* and Vindobonensis V has *his*.

We pass next to a review<sup>3</sup> of the editions, versions and emendations. In these we note first the varying position of *semper*. In the Editio princeps (Rome, 1469), the Venetae (1471, 1482, 1490, 1494 and 1499), the Mediolanensis (1477), Beroaldina (*sine loco*, 1508), Lugdunensis (1508) and Ochinsiana (Venice, 1511) *semper* follows *accidit*. The Incerta (*sine loco*, 1473) has *semper accidit*, which has the support of the codex Vratislaviensis II. This inversion appears also in the Aldina (Venice, 1513) and the Juntina secunda<sup>4</sup> (Florence, 1514). The prestige of these editions led to the adoption of this order in all but two<sup>5</sup> of the twenty-five subsequent editions collated that antedate that of Oudendorp (London, 1737). Such, then, is the order in nearly all of the great editions of the sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> These are Bongarsianus, Parisinus I, Moysiaccensis, Vaticanus, Ashburnhamianus and Holder's Excerpta Parisiaca Lat. 6842B, Parisiacus Lat. 5766 and Leidensis.

<sup>2</sup> These are Thuaneus, Ursinianus, Riccardianus, Vindobonensis I and the Hauniensis I.

<sup>3</sup> This review is based upon a collation of a hundred and seventy-nine of the better editions, etc. These include those in the Library of Congress and in the Libraries of the Universities of Michigan, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Johns Hopkins. The writer has personally collated the readings of ninety-nine of these. His special thanks are due to Mr. George R. Swain of the University of Michigan who generously collated the readings of the rich collection of editions, etc., in the University Library, including seventy-six of the total collation. Professor Charles H. Beeson of the University of Chicago kindly sent the reading of the first edition of Godvinus (Paris, 1678). The readings of a number of editions not to be found in any of the Libraries named have been collated from the citations of other editors and critics. Different editions by the same editor are not counted unless the reading is changed.

<sup>4</sup> I have no citation of Juntina prima. The secunda is, according to its preface, a revised edition, so the reading here may differ.

<sup>5</sup> Stephanus (Paris, 1544) and the Turrissana (Venice, 1568).

and seventeenth centuries. Of the editions collated that are later than Oudendorp's, only four<sup>1</sup> retain *semper* before the verb. The return to the earlier collocation seems to have been Oudendorp's one abiding contribution to the textual history of the passage. Other minor variations are occasionally found. Thus, according to Schneider, the codices Vratislavienses I and III, Gothani I and II, Hamburgensis and Vindobonensis IV, and the editions generally that antedate that of Aldus Nep. (Venice, 1566), have *duodecim* written out, instead of *XII*. So also the Turrisana later. Schneider tells us also that Vratislaviensis II has the *XII* after *spatio* and that in Gothanus I, *omni* has been written after *horarum*, between the lines, by a second hand.

The sense of the vulgate is well supported by the Greek Metaphrast—*διὰ τὴν ἐν δώδεκα ὥραις δις γενομένην τῆς θαλάσσης πλημμυρίδα.*

The earliest editorial change that departed from the sense of the vulgate seems to have been in that edition distinguished as *b* by its possessor, the learned Florentine, Petrus Victorius (1499-1585). He wrote from this *b*, on the margin of his copy of the *princeps* which is still preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the reading—quod *hic* accidit semper horarum duodecim spatio. Frigell (Upsala, 1861) was unable to identify this *b* of Victorius with any known edition and this collation has revealed nothing more of it. The same reading, however, is, according to Schneider, found written by a second hand in the codex Gothanus I. It was adopted also by Arnold Montanus in the Elzevir edition of 1670.<sup>2</sup>

The next editorial change revealed by the collation is that in the Turrisana (1568). This reads—quod *his* accidit semper horarum duodecim spatio. This, as we have seen, has the support of three of the codices. Nearly three centuries pass before it reappears in the edition of Schneider (Halle, 1840).<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Two French and two American, all following Godvinus (Paris, 1678).

<sup>2</sup> I have no citation from the first edition by Montanus (Amsterdam, 1651). Meusel in his *Coniecturae Caesarianae* (Berlin, 1893) is probably correct in citing the second edition of Montanus (1661) for this reading. This is the only citation in Meusel for *hic* here.

<sup>3</sup> Schneider expressly ascribes the reading to "Veneta d" (1494), but the copy of this among the incunabula of the Library of Congress has *his*. I found Schneider so uniformly reliable in his citations, that

editor interprets—"his ad Gallos spectat qui Oceanum accollunt." Schneider has had but a feeble following. A bare half dozen of the editions collated follow his lead, though none of the three that I have personally examined acknowledge it. Nipperdey (Leipzig, 1847) disapproved Schneider's reading, "quia in superioribus Galli ne commemorarentur quidem". Heller in 1860 (*Philologus*, 15, 354) and Hug in 1862 (*Rhein. Mus.*, 17, 156) endorse Nipperdey's disapproval.

The next formal departure from the vulgate reading seems to have been that made by Petrus Bertius in his dissertation *De Aggeribus et Pontibus hactenus in Mari structis*, published in Sallengre's *Nov. Thes. Antiqq. Rom.* (t. II, p. 948 ff.) in 1718. He quotes Caesar, apparently from memory, thus—"quum ex alto se *ventus*<sup>1</sup> incitavisset, quod bis *semper incidit XXIV* (vitiose legebatur duodecim) horarum spatio". Jurinus gave a half-hearted support to this in a note in the edition of Bentley (London, 1742): "Legendum vel cum MS Oxoniensi, quod accidit semper horarum XII spatio, vel, si mavis, quod bis accidit semper horarum XXIV spatio. Alioqui falsum est, quod omnes norunt." The suggestion, however, did not yet germinate. Of the editions collated, Oberlin's (Leipzig, 1805) was the first to adopt the XXIV of Bertius for the XII of the vulgate. Then the important edition of Achaintre et Lemaire (Paris, 1819) and the Valpy re-issue (London, 1819) of the old edition "*ad usum Delphini*", by Godvinus (Paris, 1678), followed suit, the former referring to Bertius, the latter following Oberlin. A few<sup>2</sup> others adopted the new reading, but the older prevailed<sup>3</sup> until Kraner, who had previously preferred *iis*

a second visit to Washington was made to re-examine this edition before writing this note. Schneider is the only editor cited by Meusel for the reading.

<sup>1</sup>The italics are mine. They show the variations from the vulgate. The quotation is from the copy in the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore.

<sup>2</sup>Among these were Anthon (New York, 1838) and Bullions (New York, 1845), the first Americans to accept the XXIV, the former with express reference to Bertius, the latter without reference or remark.

<sup>3</sup>Of the editions collated that date between Oberlin and Kraner<sup>3</sup>, only ten have *bis* . . . XXIV, while twenty-nine retain *bis* . . . XII.

to *bis*, returned in his third edition <sup>1</sup> (1859) to the orthodox *bis*, but adopted the heterodox XXIV, citing Pliny <sup>2</sup> in its support. German scholarship was supreme and there was little disposition to question any of its *dicta* that seemed in any wise reasonable. Editor after editor fell into line. Within a dozen years the new reading had an international vogue and the vulgate had fallen into comparative desuetude.<sup>3</sup> Bertius, long dead and almost forgotten, had triumphed after a century and a half. Another had carried his cause to a victory that seemed for a time sweeping and almost complete.

Schneider had already led the opposition to the views of Bertius. In his note on "XII", he remarked "Hunc numerum cum antecedentium scriptura salva veritate consistere non posse intelligentes fuerunt qui duplicarent, non animadvertentes illi certae et legitimae vicissitudinis fluxus ac refluxus, quam Caesarem ignorasse credibile non est, significationem ista mutatione adhibita tolli. Nam XXIV horis *bis* accidere id demum recte dicitur, quod accuratiorem minoris spatii definitionem non recipit: quod omnibus XII horis semel accidit, id nulla causa est cur XXIV *bis* accidere dicatur." Heller, too (Phil. 15, 356), had entered his protest: "Quod Petr. Bertium induxit, ut scribendum putaret '*bis* XXIV horarum spatio', fuit, quod meminerat, horarum duodecim spatio semel esse aestum, semel decessum; id quod sane etiam pueris decantatum."

Vielhaber in 1861 (Ö. Z. 12, 52) was one of the earliest opponents of Kraner. In reviewing this third edition, he re-

<sup>1</sup> Citations from Kraner and references to his editions are quite confusing in some of our editions. In 1852 he published a gymnasial program—*Observationes in aliquot Caesaris locos de interpolatione suspectos*. His earlier editions of the Commentaries appeared in 1853, 1855, 1859 and 1861 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> H. N. II, 97, 202—*bis* affluunt (aestus maris) bisque remeant vicenis quaternisque semper horis. Kraner had long been anticipated in this citation, as by Rhellicanus (1540), Aldus Nep. (1566) and Montanus (1670), but none of these had found in it a reason to change the text of Caesar.

<sup>3</sup> Of the editions collated that date between Kraner<sup>1</sup> and Meusel (1894), twenty have the new reading, *bis* . . . XXIV, and only four retain *bis* . . . XII. Of the latter, Bingham's (Greensboro, N. C., 1864) has unique historical interest from its publication in the C. S. A.

marked: "Gegen die Änderung des XII in XXIV spricht, dass E<sup>1</sup> die Zahl ausgeschrieben hat, also der Schreiber der Handschrift E muss XII gelesen haben." Hug (l. c.), the next year, branded Kraner's change as "willkürlich". In 1863 and again in 1872, Heller (Phil. 19, 483; 31, 532) re-entered the lists against Kraner and his citation of Pliny. All attacks, however, were futile and Kraner remained master of the field for a third of a century. Then his star declined as rapidly as it had risen.

We have seen that Jurinus had in 1742 preferred to follow the Oxoniensis and to delete *bis*. The Abbe le Mescrier in his revision (Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1763) of the translation of Nic. Perrot d'Ablancourt (Paris, 1650) had adopted this view in his rendering of the clause "Ce qui arrive de douze en douze heures" for Ablancourt's "Ce qui arrive deux fois en douze heures". Jurinus's idea, however, did not grow into editorial favor for a century. So far as the collation shows, Apitz (Berlin, 1837) was the first to bracket *bis* in the text. Nipperdey (Leipzig, 1847) did the same. Roersch (Liege, 1864) and Allen & Greenough (Boston, 1874) follow Nipperdey. Gitlbauer (Freiburg, 1884) athetized *bis* outright, and E. Hoffmann<sup>2</sup> (Vienna, 1888) elected to change his earlier views and to follow Nipperdey. Six editions in a half century, out of the seventy-four collated, mark the slow growth in favor of the idea. Then came the edition of Meusel (Berlin, 1894), acclaimed as almost a new *textus receptus*. Meusel has had a unique experience among the editors of Caesar, as may be illustrated by this passage. Though running directly counter to all manuscript tradition save the inferior Oxoniensis alone, he has carried with him all but six<sup>3</sup> of the twenty-six of the later editions collated.

Such have been the main attempts in the textual history of the passage to divert its current into other channels. Of little less

<sup>1</sup> His E is Vratislaviensis I.

<sup>2</sup> Du Pontet and Schmalz, as stated in note 1, p. 282. Bellanger (Paris, 1897), Walker (Chicago, 1908) and Prammer<sup>30</sup> (Leipzig, 1908), revised by Kalinka, follow Kraner. Benoist et Dosson (Paris, 1906) read quod *bis* accedit, etc., with the  $\alpha$ -class of MSS and the junior editor remarks: "Les travaux de MM Meusel et R. Schneider n'ont pu me déterminer à accorder aux manuscrits de la 2<sup>e</sup> classe la large place qu'on leur attribue un peu légèrement à mon gré." P. II.

interest have been the minor attempts to divert it hither or yon. The least of these have employed the principle of the tumbling-dam, as it were, of an interpunctuation. The earliest of these is found in the Veneta IV (1494): quod bis accidit: semper horarum duodecim spatio. This recurs in the Beroaldina (1508). Three centuries later it reappears as a suggestion in the notes of Herzog<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1831) and Seyffert (Halle, 1836).<sup>1</sup> Baumstark (Freiburg, 1832) and E. Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> (Vienna, 1857) adopted the interpunctuation in their texts. Heller (Phil. 15, 356) opposes Seyffert "nam ita quidem ad 'bis' necessario addi oportuit 'quotidie'". Herzog (l. c.) also felt this, as he suggests also quod bis <die> accidit, semper horarum XII spatio. According to Meusel<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1913), Gertz would read—quod bis accidit die, semper horarum XII spatio.

Oudendorp (London, 1737) would interpunctuate differently, —quod bis accidit semper, horarum XII spatio. Heller in 1872 (op. cit. 31, 534), without mention<sup>3</sup> of Oudendorp, recommends this interpunctuation and interprets *semper* as equivalent to *quotidie*, comparing Terence (Adelph. 293 f.).<sup>4</sup> Zelger (Ö. Z., 35, 595) in 1884 endorses Heller and says he has made the traditional reading "recht glaublich".

Kübler (Leipzig, 1893) rejects any interpunctuation and reads—quod bis accidit *cotidie* semper horarum duodenarum spatio. Thomann (1874)<sup>4</sup> in a Zurich programm, Der französische Atlas zu Cäsars gallischem Kriege, III (p. 1), had anticipated the *cotidie* of Kübler, but had boldly excised half the clause—quod bis accidit cotidie [semper horarum XII spatio].

Others have harked back to *bis* as the source of error. We have already reviewed the early substitutions of *hic* and *his*. In 1852 Kraner in the programm mentioned in n. 1, p. 286, sug-

<sup>1</sup> Seyffert<sup>2</sup> (1879) is a convert to Bertius and Kraner. For E. Hoffmann<sup>2</sup> see p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Meusel, too, in Conj. Caes. p. 22, omits Oudendorp and misstates Heller's interpunctuation. He omits reference also to Veneta IV and Beroaldina.

<sup>3</sup> "Nam nunquam unum intermittit diem  
quin semper ueniat."

<sup>4</sup> Thomann in 1871 had approved the reading XXIV. So in his case we find a reaction against Bertius and Kraner.

gested *iis* for *bis* and his first and second editions so read. He explains *iis* as referring to *oppidis*, "dass sie nämlich durch das Steigen der Fluth von der Landseite aus unzugänglich werden". So reads the Ursinianus also. Dietsch, in 1852 (N. Jahrb. 66, 303), commented on Kraner's *iis*: "so müssen wir doch den Ausdruck 'den Städten begegnet dies' etwas wunderlich finden". The change found no favor and was abandoned, as we have seen, in Kraner's third edition. Heller (l. c. 1860) and Vielhaber (l. c. 1861) expressed their disapproval of *iis*.

Dietsch (l. c.) proposed *ibi* for *bis*. So did Vielhaber (l. c.). Neither won approval. Frigell<sup>2</sup> (1861) changed from the orthodox *bis* of his first edition (1854) and read *iterum* for *bis*. He defends this in vol. III, p. 56 f. by the argument: "Adverbia quoque numeralia per compendia scripta permutationibus obnoxia fuerunt. Qua in re nihil vulgatus est, quam adverbia ordinis cum quotientivis mutari, neque eorum ulla facilius, quam *bis* . . . et *iterum* et *secundum*, inter se commutabantur." Heller combats this in Phil. 19, 483.

Another set of conjectures is found in connection with the reading *accedit* of the *a*-class of MSS. These appear to have begun with Hug (l. c.), who, after pronouncing unsatisfactory all attempts to interpret the vulgate, decides to follow "all the more important MSS" for the verb form and to strike the *b* out of *bis* and read *quod is accedit semper horarum XII spatio*. He finds confirmation for *is* (i. e., *aestus*) *accedit* in the antithetic clause in 13, 1—*quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent*—and the analogous "*bis adfluunt bisque remeant*" of Pliny (l. c.), and he makes "*quod is accedit*", etc., an explanation of the statement "*neque pedibus aditum habent*". There would thus be complete correspondence between the temporal clause "*cum ex alto se incitavisset*" on the one hand and the ablative absolute "*rursus minuente aestu*" on the other. This was approved by Dinter (Leipzig, 1864), Köchly u. Rüstow (Stuttgart, 1866), Dübner (Paris, 1867)—three out of the twenty editions collated that date between 1862 and 1880. Later Walther (Paderborn, 1881), Holder (Freiburg, 1882), Prammer (Prague, 1883), Whitte (Copenhagen, 1886) and Kelsey (Boston, 1886)—the only American to do so—adopted it. Dinter inserted it in his revision of Doberenz (Leipzig,

1890) and Kalinka endorsed <sup>1</sup> it by retaining it in his revision of Prammer (Leipzig, 1891). In spite of this editorial support, the emendation could make no farther headway, for the prestige of Kraner was at its height.

Heller (l. c. 1863) had been prompt to combat Hug: "Man muss nur nicht glauben, dass Cäsar sich in diesen Worten herbeilassen wolle, die naturgeschichtliche Erscheinung seinen Lesern vorzuführen; für solche Belehrungen nimmt er sich in Mitte seiner Erzählung nie die Zeit: . . . Auch in diesem Zusatz spricht er nur von der Ausführbarkeit seiner militärischen Operationen; und durch nichts als durch diese Worte, . . . konnte er besser, und zugleich mit Beibringung des Grundes, sagen, dass für seine Unternehmungen zu Lande ihm immer nur die geringe Zeit von *sechs*, und, . . . desgleichen für die Annäherung zur See die darauf folgenden *sechs* Stunden blieben."

Later Zelger (l. c.) strongly disapproved it, because (a) Hug makes the relative clause causal; (b) the idea of *bis* is not to be set aside in any mention of the ebb and flow of the tide; (c) it is stylistically "unglücklich" to use "das matte *accedit*" after "den kräftigen Ausdruck *se incitavisset*" with only *quod* in between.

Vielhaber in 1866 (Ö. Z., 17, 229), shifting from the position held in 1861, is convinced that *accedit* is right, but he cannot agree with Hug and Dinter as regards *is* for *bis*. He finds the corruption in *quod bis* and emends to read *qui die accedit*, etc. Benoist et Dosson alone follow the reading of the  $\alpha$ -class of MSS without change,—*quod bis accedit semper horarum XII spatio*. These editors interpret thus: "Deux fois (par jour) à une distance de . . . à un intervalle, avec un intervalle de 12 heures, ç.-à-d. deux fois en 24 heures."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kalinka later abandoned it. See n. 2, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> As but few editors have indicated their syntactical exegesis of the ablative *spatio*, it is not possible to tell how many of them would thus interpret it. Among the forerunners of Benoist et Dosson we have Mescrier (quoted above), Patterson (London, 1825)—"At an interval of twelve hours", Herzog (1831)—"Jedesmal nach Verlauf von 12 Stunden" and Seyffert (1836) in the same words as Herzog. So later F. P. Long (Oxford, 1911) has "A flow that takes place twice a day at twelve hours' interval." Contra, we have the Greek Metaphrast and Perrot d'Ablancourt, quoted above; Edmonds (London, 1650)—"Alwayes twice in twelve heures"; Bladen (London, 1705)—"Once in six



The traditional reading has had defenders, not only those editors that silently, but consciously, adopted it in spite of all attacks made upon it, but also more argumentative ones, as Edmonds, Baumstark and especially Heller. In spite of the able defence made by the last in his three papers in *Philologus* (ll. cc.), he is forced to admit that "twelve hours" is a round number for twelve hours and twenty-five minutes, or else to understand that the tide was always flowing in, at one stage or another, twice in twelve hours.

The attack, however, has always been due to the belief that the vulgate does not express the actual, literal truth. This belief is undoubtedly the cause of variance in the few MSS that do not have *bis*. This is the reason why Bertius and Jurinus sought to emend. So Haus (Magontiaci, 1783) remarks "*Mendum negligentia librorum inrepsit: nam spatio XXIII horarum bis accidit.*" This is the reason still given for not accepting the vulgate. Thus, for instance, St. George Stock (Oxford, 1908) characteristically remarks: "*Bis* is in all the MSS, but even Caesar cannot alter the tides." Meusel (1910, *Jahresber.* 36, 72) says: "Dass die hdschr. Lesart unmöglich ist, bedarf keines Beweises. Wie zu ändern ist, ist sehr fraglich." T. Rice Holmes (Oxford, 1913) observes: "*Bis* is, I need hardly say, contrary to fact."

It has been shown that the controversy has raged especially about *bis*, *accidit* and *XII*. It may be rashly presumptuous to enter the fray in which so many veteran Latinists and Caesarians have crossed swords with varying fortunes and to attempt to stay the tide of a battle that has now for some years been practically given up as lost. But truth cannot forever be suppressed. It must ultimately prevail. I believe that each of these words is absolutely and literally true and that Caesar's statement would, to a contemporary, express his meaning clearly and accurately.

The interpretation<sup>1</sup> I offer of the much mooted clause is, from the point of view of recent editors, the one most difficult

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hours"; Baumstark, "*spatio*, innerhalb", and a number of school editions in the last century.

<sup>1</sup>This occurred to me some twenty years ago while teaching Caesar at Exeter. I cannot convince myself that it is incorrect.

to defend, as it accepts the vulgate in its entirety. All the editors, all the critics and defenders of this reading, seem to have been involved, not through ignorance but through oversight, in one common error. They have all, without exception so far as I have discovered, thought of the *hora* of Caesar as identical with that marked by our clocks and watches, the *hora aequinoctialis* (*ὥρα ἰσημερινή*), but only the astronomers<sup>1</sup> in Caesar's time used the term *hora* in this sense. In common usage *hora* signified the *hora temporalis* (*ὥρα καιρική*), or one-twelfth of the time between sunrise and sunset. This *hora* would vary in length from day to day, reaching in that latitude the maximum length of seventy-eight minutes at the summer solstice. Every *hora*, as thus defined, during the season that Caesar was there, would exceed sixty-three minutes in length.

Again, the editors generally, so far as their notes indicate, consider *accidit* a present tense stating a phenomenon that always happens at all times and seasons, but why not consider *accidit* an aoristic perfect stating a phenomenon that always happened as a hindrance to his operations during that limited and definite period of which Caesar is writing? With this interpretation of *hora* and *accidit* we have the statement of an incontrovertible fact.

As a mere statement of these theses may not, without elaboration, carry conviction to the reader, I shall defend them as follows.

I. From such handbooks as Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, rev. ed. by Waite and Marindin, I, 970, and the Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines par Daremberg et Saglio, II, 1, 171, we learn that the term *hora* as the designation of one-twelfth of the *dies naturalis* was in general use from the second century B. C. to the fourth century A. D., but as a designation for one-twelfth of the *dies aequinoctialis* it was known to few except the astronomers and it was not so used in ordinary life. Confirmation of this is shown in the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard and in the question of the Master Himself—*οὐχὶ δώδεκα ὥραι εἰσιν τῆς ἡμέρας*;

Just as Plautus (Pseud., 1304) indicates the shorter length of the *hora hiberna*, so Martial (XII, 1, 4) and Vegetius (Inst.

<sup>1</sup>"Les astronomes seuls se servirent des heures égales ou équinoxiales," Daremberg et Saglio, III, 257.

rei mil., I, 9) indicate the greater length of the *hora aestiva*. Then Vitruvius (IX, 3) tells how the sun in its passage through the signs lengthens or shortens the days and the hours at definite seasons and (IX, 8) describes the means for regulating sundials to make the hours short or long according to the respective months.

II. Caesar in his extant writings uses the word *hora* twenty-three times, always with reference to the divisions of the *dies naturalis*, with the one possible exception<sup>1</sup> of B. G. VII, 41, 1. His Continuator uses the word twelve times, ten referring to divisions of the day and two (B. G., VIII, 35, 3; B. Af. 70) referring to those of the night. Elsewhere in Caesar the night is divided into *vigiliae*, not into *horae*. Daremberg et Saglio (II, 1, 170) state that this division of the night into *vigiliae* was common in civil life as well as general in camp life. Caesar follows the military and common usage. The word *hora* would, then, in the minds of his readers be associated with the *dies naturalis*. They all knew that this day was composed of twelve such *horae*. I believe that Caesar for the sake of clearness purposely wrote *horarum XII spatio* as an equivalent in meaning to *diei (naturalis) spatio*. Had he written *diei spatio*, his meaning would have been ambiguous, as he uses the term *dies* now for the natural day from sunrise to sunset, now for the civil day from midnight to midnight. Cf. e. g., B. G., II, 11, 6 and VI, 18, 2 with IV, 19, 1 and V, 13, 3. *Diei spatio*, then, might suggest one kind of day to one reader and another kind of day to another reader. Caesar avoids the ambiguity by using *horarum XII spatio*, meaning not that it actually happened twice every day between sunrise and sunset (though it sometimes did, as will appear later), but that it did always happen twice within a period of time equal to the length of time between sunrise and sunset. This is what he literally says and this is absolutely true. This, I believe, is just what his contemporary readers would understand him to mean. In no other passage in all of his works

<sup>1</sup> *Noctis* is in all the MSS. August von Göler (Cäsars Gallischer Krieg in dem Jahre 52 v. Chr., Karlsruhe, 1859) pronounced *noctis* "eine verunglückte sinnentstellende Glosse". Köchly u. Rüstow (Stuttgart, 1866) approved this. The younger von Göler (1880) emphasized it and almost all recent editors athetize *noctis*. This passage will be considered in a later paper.

would the context fail to distinguish between the two denotations of the term *dies*, were such distinction really important. In this one instance distinction was necessary for clearness, hence we have not *in die* nor *diei spatium*, but the one expression that could not be ambiguous,<sup>1</sup>—a striking instance of his “punctilious truthfulness”, of the “conscientious veracity of his Memoirs”. How else could he have expressed his meaning so well or have defined so closely the time? Surely not as Heller says in Phil. 15, 355—“Si certis quibusque ac statis temporibus exoriri maris dicere voluisset Caesar, dicendum ei erat: duodecima quaque hora (vel si vis tertia decima quaque hora) semper aestus se incitat.” Heller has the two-fold error of taking *accidit* as a general present and *hora* in its modern sense. Such a statement would have been true only of that period of the year in which each *hora* was equal to from sixty-two to sixty-five minutes, or less than a month at either equinox.

III. In the spring of 56 B. C., Caesar and Crassus met at Ravenna to consider the political situation. There the news reached them of the action taken by Cicero in the Senate on the Nones of April in reference to the Campanian land. The conference was adjourned to Luca on the southern frontier of Caesar's province and Pompeius was summoned by his confederates (cf. Cic. Epist. ad Fam., I, 9, 8-9). Numerous politicians, great and small, including two hundred senators and the proconsuls and praetors with a hundred and twenty lictors, with a great horde of their dependents and claqueurs, both men and women, thronged thither to pay their respects and to seek the loaves or, at least, the crumbs of patronage and favor. All these were dismissed filled with hopes and money (cf. Plut. Caes. 21; Pomp. 51; Cras. 14; Appian, Civ. Wars, II, 17). After this demonstration of his ascendancy and the agreement made with Crassus and Pompeius, by which the fortunes of the world were decided, it would not be necessary for him to await the ultimate action of the Senate on the Ides of May. He could, however, hardly have left Luca before the latter half of April,

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that Pliny (l. c.), too, avoids this ambiguity. He does not say *in die*, nor *diei spatium*, but eliminates the *dies naturalis* from possible consideration by his *vicenis quaternisque semper horis*. He could not say *horarum XII spatium*, as his statement is general for all seasons. Hence he cannot define so closely as Caesar does.

or have reached his army in Gaul before early in May. Once here he had to study the serious situation confronting him and to dispose part of his troops in such strategic positions, extending from the Remi and Belgae on the north and east to Aquitania in the southwest, as to hold the Gauls in check and to prevent concert of action on their part against him. We may well suppose, moreover, that he would wait to learn of the safe arrival of the several contingents at their respective posts, before opening the main campaign under his personal direction against the Veneti. Hence rather late in May or early in June would appear to have been as early as practicable for this.

Another line of evidence points to a time somewhat later. In c. 9 we read of the measures taken by the Veneti on learning of the arrival of Caesar. In §8 we find among these,—*frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant*. A study of all the passages in which Caesar uses the word *frumentum* shows that he is quite strict in his use of the plural *frumenta*, so we may conclude that the Veneti in their haste were carting their unthreshed corn into their towns. To answer the question that would naturally arise as to the approximate time, permit me to quote from a personal letter from our honored Ambassador of France, M. Jusserand:

“In answer to your letter . . ., I beg to state that I was able to put your question to a compatriot of mine who lives in ordinary times very near Quiberon. I was thus informed that wheat matures there from the 8th to the 15th of July. This part of Brittany is the one where wheat ripens earliest.”

Even if the vast forests and extensive marshes with which Gaul was covered in those days made the climate appreciably colder, as claimed by some, this would naturally be least on the coasts of Brittany bathed in the warm waters of the Gulf Stream. So if the Veneti were carrying their unthreshed but ripe or ripening<sup>1</sup> grain into their towns it must have been near the end of June at the earliest.

The facts presented enable us to date the opening of the

<sup>1</sup> I assume that it was near enough ripe to be of some use. I cannot agree with Meusel<sup>2</sup>—“natürlich wollten sie es auch den Römern nicht lassen, wenn es später reif würde”. To accomplish this they had but to cut it down and let it spoil on the ground, or to burn it.

campaign not earlier than late May and not later than early July.

After the close of the campaign against the Veneti, Caesar marched against the Morini and Menapii, a distance stated by Holmes (*Conq. of Gaul*, p. 68) to be "over four hundred miles" and by Meusel<sup>2</sup> to be "wenigstens 600 km." The time of departure is roughly indicated in 27, 2—*hiems suberat* and in 28, 1—*eodem fere tempore, etsi prope exacta iam aestas erat*. Compare this with the closely synonymous statement in IV, 20, 1—*exigua parte aestatis reliqua . . . etsi in his locis . . . maturae sunt hiemes* and noting that in the latter instance Caesar yet gathers his fleet and sails for Britain on the 27th of August,<sup>1</sup> we may infer that Caesar's departure from the Veneti was about the end of August.

Other data corroborate this. In II, 2, 5, Caesar leaves his base at or near Vesontio and marches in about fifteen days to the territory of the Remi on the north bank of the Marne. Benoist et Dosson give the distance at about 230 km. (143 mi.). We are not told that he was hastening, yet he could hardly have been loitering, as he arrived "*de improvise celeriusque omni opinione*". A corresponding rate of march in the present instance would require some forty days. The *paucis diebus* of III, 29, 2, is vague and relative. It may have been a week, ten days, or a fortnight. At any rate we cannot be far wrong in assuming that some fifty days elapse between his departure and the continuous rains of 29, 2, undoubtedly identical with the October rains of that region.<sup>3</sup>

Again, the wind and the calm<sup>4</sup> of c. 15 point to August as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IV, 28, 1,—*post diem quartum, etc.*, and 29, 1,—*eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena*. Calculations show that this full moon was on the night of August 30/31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Girault de Saint Fargeau, *Dict. de la France*, t. 3, p. 335 (*Dép. de Pas-de-Calais*)—"A cette époque (solstice d'été) les vents . . . amènent les beaux jours, qui ne sont constants que vers la mi-août, en septembre et les premiers jours d'octobre. En automne, les vents sont constamment ouest-nord-ouest et sud-ouest; ils annoncent toujours une température humide et froide, et des ouragans qui presque chaque année causent des dommages considérables."

<sup>3</sup> See Napoleon III. (*Hist. de Jules César*, t. II, p. 143, n. 2)—"D'après le mémoire de M. le comte de Grandpré, capitaine de vaisseau, inséré au *Recueil de la Société des antiquaires de France*, t. II, 1820, le vent

the time of the decisive naval engagement and the end of the campaign. Once more, a long campaign is indicated by the statement in 12, 3—"Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant" and by Dio Cassius, XXXIX, 40, 3—*πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τῆν ὥραιαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν*. So all the data lead us to the conclusion that Caesar left the place about the end of August.

IV. In the following table the local time of high water, morning and evening, for certain days in the year 56 B. C., Julian, for Port Navalo, Quiberon Bay, France, latitude 47° 32' 58" N., longitude 2° 54' 36" W., was computed for me by Mr. O. H. Tittmann, superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and president of the National Geographic Society, and the time of sunrise and sunset for the same days and place has been computed by Commander Harris Laning, head of the Department of Navigation at the U. S. Naval Academy. Especial thanks are due these gentlemen for the assistance so generously given. The writer has added in the right-hand column the length, in hours and minutes, of the natural day at each date.

56 B. C. Julian.	High-water, A. M.	High-water, P. M.	Sunrise.	Sunset.	Length of day.
Mar. 21 .....	5 40	6 05	6 00	6 00	12 00
Apr. 1 .....	4 00	4 25	5 42	6 18	12 36
Apr. 11 .....	12 05	12 30	5 25	6 35	13 10
Apr. 21 .....	7 00	7 25	5 06	6 52	13 46
May 1 .....	4 05	4 30	4 57	7 07	14 10
May 11 .....	12 20	12 45	4 39	7 21	14 42
May 21 .....	7 30	7 55	4 23	7 37	15 14
May 31 .....	4 15	4 40	4 17	7 43	15 26
June 11 .....	1 35	2 00	4 12	7 48	15 36
June 21 .....	9 00	9 25	4 10	7 50	15 40
July 1 .....	5 00	5 25	4 12	7 48	15 36
July 11 .....	2 00	2 25	4 17	7 43	15 26
July 21 .....	9 35	10 00	4 24	7 36	15 12
July 31 .....	5 10	5 35	4 36	7 24	14 48
Aug. 10 .....	2 20	2 45	4 48	7 12	14 24
Aug. 21 .....	11 10	11 35	5 07	6 53	13 46
Aug. 31 .....	6 20	6 45	5 22	6 38	13 16
Sept. 10 .....	3 25	3 50	5 38	6 22	12 44
Sept. 21 .....	12 20	12 45	5 59	6 01	12 02

devait être est ou nord-est, car on se trouvait vers la fin de l'été. Il paraît que ces vents règnent ordinairement à cette époque, et, lorsqu'ils ont soufflé le matin, il y a calme plat vers le milieu du jour."

This table shows :

1. That the length of time, on any given day, between the ante-meridian and the post-meridian high-water is, at Port Navalo,<sup>1</sup> twelve hours and twenty-five minutes.

2. That the length of the *dies naturalis*, or its equivalent *horarum XII spatio*, exceeds this period of 12 h. 25 m. every day between April 1 and September 10, also for a few days before the former and after the latter of these dates. For each day between these limits, Caesar's statement is absolutely true.

3. That there were periods of a few days each, about June 1 and 15, July 1, 15 and 31, when it was actually high-water twice the same day between sunrise and sunset. Caesar could not have failed to notice this because of its effect upon his operations. This well may have suggested to him the form of his statement. Some of these periods admirably accord with the approximate dates, previously determined, of the opening of the campaign.

Whatever defects may be found in the method or data used to determine the approximate limits of the campaign against the Veneti cannot vitiate the fact that we have not the slightest reason to believe that the campaign was either begun or concluded outside of that portion of the year in which each day exceeded twelve hours and twenty-five minutes in length.

V. Caesar in his extant works has twenty-four other instances of the form *accidit*. The context shows that the tense of twenty-three of these is secondary.<sup>2</sup> Caesar's usage, then, strongly favors a past tense here. A positive decision, however, appears in the fact that the statement is false for more than half the time, if one takes it as a present tense expressing a general truth. On no day of all that portion of the year extending from about a week before the autumnal equinox to about as long after the vernal equinox is there in Quiberon Bay high-water twice on the same day between sunrise and sunset or within an equivalent length of time. If, on the other hand, we

<sup>1</sup> There would, of course, be little appreciable change in the data of the table for any part of Quiberon or Morbihan Bay.

<sup>2</sup> Only in B. G. VI. 14 is it primary and general. The Continuator has the form twelve times, of which eight are secondary and four primary.



take *accidit* as a past tense stating what actually did happen all during that definite period of the campaign as a most serious obstacle to his operations, and if we take *hora* in the only sense in which it would be understood by the contemporary reader, the statement expresses unqualified truth. No criticism made against it longer holds. *Bis* is no longer a source of trouble, and *spatio* can only be the usual ablative of "time within which". Thus all elements of doubt vanish and the clause is an example of that clearness of expression for which Caesar is so justly admired. No emendation is necessary or desirable. We may then in conclusion heartily endorse this statement of Heller (Phil. 15, 356): "Non potuit melius haec res dici quam est dicta ab Caesare, nec peius verba eius potuerunt intelligi quam factum ab interpretibus."

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### III.—A POINT IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES.

The thought which underlies this paper is the conviction that in the *Antigone*, so far as the main issue of the play is concerned, Sophocles meant to represent *Antigone* as wholly sinless and *Creon* as completely in the wrong. Though *Antigone* suffered, even unto death, her suffering is no proof of guilt. Ere the deed was done which caused her death, she spoke of herself, rightly, as about to die, if die she must, *ῥοια πανουργήσασα* (74). Again, when the deed had been done, when, apparently, there was none to take her part, at least openly, nevertheless, unhesitatingly and rightly, as the guards led her away to death, she cried, *λεύσσετε . . . οἶα . . . πάσχω, τὴν εἰσεβίαν σεβίσασα* (940-943). *Kreon's* suffering, on the other hand, the poet meant us to regard as the proper outcome of sin.

For effective presentations, from certain points of view, of these ideas reference may be made to *Jebb's* discussion in the Introduction to his edition of the *Antigone* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1891), to Professor M. W. *Humphreys's* edition of the *Antigone*, pages xliii-xlviii (New York, 1891), and to the brief, but excellent treatment in *James Adam's* *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, 164-166, 168 (2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1909). The purpose of the present paper is to call attention to certain evidence in support of these ideas which, so far as I know, has never been presented in their support. I have in mind a recurrent *φρήν* or *φρονεῖν* motif in the *Antigone*, the consideration of which will, I hope, leave no doubt that the analysis given above of the poet's purpose is correct. Anticipating what I hope to show, I may say here that a subtitle to the play might well be *Φρόνημα Versus Ἀφροσύνη*, Right Thinking Versus Wrong Thinking, Wisdom Versus Folly, or, True Wisdom is it to Obey God rather than Man.

This motif makes its appearance early. In 43, 45-47, *Antigone* reveals to *Ismene* her intention of burying *Polynices*, spite of *Kreon's* prohibition (43). This brings from *Ismene*

an impassioned plea (49-68), which begins thus (49-50): 'Ah me, think, sister mine, think (*φρόνησον*) how our father perished hated and with evil name',<sup>1</sup> etc. The injunction 'Think', 'Think' occurs, then, within the first fifty verses; it rings through the play, in terms or by implication, over and over; in the twenty-six words with which the chorus brings the tragedy to a close (1347-1353) *φρονεῖν* occurs twice.<sup>2</sup> This injunction 'Think', 'Think' is from the outset the keynote of the play; the sequel is to show which of the protagonists, Antigone or Kreon, gives to it due heed.

In the light of verses 49-50, reinforced as they are by the rest of Ismene's speech, it is not fanciful to interpret *πῶ γνῶμης ποτ' εἰ*; in 42, as implying 'Think not on (such) desperate deeds'. In 61 Ismene says 'Ἄλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο, κ. τ. λ. In 67-68 she concludes her plea with the words *τὸ γὰρ περισσὰ πράσσειν οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν οὐδέ εἶνα*. From the point of view of Ismene *φρήν*, *φρονεῖν*, *νοῦς* abide not in Antigone; Ismene is thus at one with Kreon in interpretation of Antigone's (purposed) conduct, though the considerations which lead her to this view are somewhat different from those which influence him. Thus, at the outset, from Antigone's own sister, the one surviving member of her immediate family, comes the charge that what she purposes is lacking in wisdom, and we are impressed by the isolation of the heroine.

The burden, then, of Ismene's plea in 49-68 is 'Be not so thoughtless', 'Be not so foolish'. To make this clear, the poet lets Antigone herself thus sum up Ismene's speech (see 95-96, in Antigone's last utterance in this scene): 'But let me and the misguided thinking (*δυσβουλίαν*) that proceeds from me suffer this dread fate', or, more freely, 'Let me be as foolish as I will and suffer the dread consequences'.

Kreon is fond, from the first, of *φρήν*, *φρονεῖν*, and words of kindred meaning; to himself he is fount of all wisdom for Thebes and its people. Not specially significant, to be sure, is his use of *φρόνημα* in his entrance speech, in 168-169, where he praises the elders who constitute the Chorus 'because, though Oedipus was dead, with steadfast minds and thoughts (*ἐμπέδοις φρονήμασιν*) they tarried about the children of Oedipus'. But

<sup>1</sup>For my renderings I am indebted somewhat to Jebb.

<sup>2</sup>See below, page 314.

175-178, in the same speech, are important for us: 'Impossible is it', he says, 'to learn out and out any man's *ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην* until he shall be seen under the test of occupancy of governmental positions and of administration of the laws'. When we interpret these verses in the light of the proud inaugural address in 178-191, we see that Kreon is claiming for himself a righteous *ψυχή*, correct *φρόνημα*, and impeccable *γνώμη*. In 179 he implies that his *βουλευματα* are *ἄριστα*. All this he asserts in generalities in 175-191.

Then, having in 192-206 announced his decree forbidding the burial of Polynices, he says, in summing up (207), *τοιόνδ' ἐμὸν φρόνημα*, and he again asserts the rightness of his thinking by adding the words that make up the balance of his speech. Thus, in his peroration he uses *φρόνημα*, the most significant of the three words with which, in 176, he ushered in his inaugural address.<sup>1</sup>

At 223 the Guard enters.<sup>2</sup> In 278-279, after he has finished his long narrative (245-277), the Chorus says, 'O king, verily my mind has long been thinking (*ἡ ζήνοια βουλευέι πάλαι*) that this deed is something god-sent'. Thus, the first reaction of the Chorus, left to itself, unthreatened, uncowed, its first *φρόνημα*, is in sharp collision with Kreon's (175-210): the deed that so excites Kreon's wrath is to the Chorus a righteous deed, a deed sent on its way even by the gods. Kreon's reply is swift and to the point (280-283): 'Stop, ere by your speaking you fill me with wrath too, lest you be found at one time both mindless (*ἄνουσ*) and old, for you say things not to be

<sup>1</sup> The importance of *φρόνημα* in this speech of Kreon is emphasized by the fact that in 459 Sophocles makes Antigone use *φρόνημα* exactly as if she had heard Kreon's words here: see below, p. 305.

One other point may be noted here, not always, at any rate, noticed by editors. Kreon is not so sure after all as he would seem of the rightness of his *φρόνημα*: he protests too much, both here and in 639-680, in his appeal to his son. Kreon is not really a strong character: witness the quickness with which, in 1091-1107, he yields, spite of his bold words to Teiresias in 1033-1063.

<sup>2</sup> It may be fanciful to note that within the first three lines of his speech the Guard uses the word *φροντίς*: on his way to Kreon with his unwelcome news, says he, *πολλὰς . . . ἄσχεον φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις . . .* He at least knew not where wisdom lay. Yet he was wise with the wisdom of Socrates, in that he knew his own ignorance.

borne, in saying that the gods have forethought (*πρόνοιαν ἴσχειν*) in this corpse's behalf'. In effect he says, 'You understand not the *φρόνημα* of the gods'. In this speech again, dwelling on the *auri sacra fames*, he declares (299-301) that 'This trains minds out of their true nature (*ἐκδιδάσκει . . . φρένας*) and perverts minds that are good into setting themselves to deeds of shame'. In a word, says Kreon, the *φρόνη* of him who buried Polynices is a corrupted *φρόνη*, his *φρόνημα* is perverted.

In the stichomythy of 316-319 the Guard uses *ψυχή* and *φρένες* with reference to Kreon; the references are, however, colorless. But, in 323, after Kreon, losing his head in wrath, has charged the Guard with having buried Polynices, *καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἀργύρω γε τὴν ψυχὴν προδοῦς*,<sup>1</sup> the Guard, waxing bolder, cries:

*ἦ δεινὸν ᾗ δοκεῖ γε καὶ ψευδῆ δοκεῖν.*

'Alas, dread is it that he who thinks thinks in falsehoods too'. In 324 Kreon rejoins with *κόμψενέ νυν τὴν δόξαν*, 'let thy fancy play with "thinks" as it will'. Here the Guard plainly calls Kreon *ἄνους*, though, to be sure, he applies the epithet to him in connection with a side-issue, not in connection with the great theme of the play: Which is the better *φρόνημα*—to obey man or to obey god? Yet Kreon's error in connection with the side-issue is a by-product of his error with respect to the greater question which gives rise to the side-issue. Twice, then, thus far, once from the Chorus of Elders, once from the humble Guard, we have had a hint that Kreon is not as wise as he thinks: in each case Kreon, by terrorism, brushes aside that hint.

In the hymn in 334 ff. (the first stasimon), the Chorus makes its second utterance since it heard the news that Polynices had been buried in defiance of Kreon's decree (for the first see 278-279). This utterance, whose keynote is sounded in the famous words *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ* (334), is condemnatory of the act of him who had buried Polynices. Kreon has cowed the Chorus (278-279). One of the evidences of man's *δεινότης* is the fact that *ἀνεμῶεν φρόνημα ἐδιδάξατο*

<sup>1</sup>There is a jeer here: 'You talk of *wounds* to my *ψυχή*, my *φρένες* (317-319): you have wholly *betrayed* your own *ψυχή*'.

(335). In themselves these words might well involve praise; the immediate context in fact conveys just this connotation.<sup>1</sup> But the other side of the thought, that man's *δεινότης* may well be an evil thing, the thought with which the Chorus began, comes to the fore again in 365-375, especially in 370-375: 'May he not be by the same hearth with me, may he not think as I think (*ἐμοὶ . . . ἴσον . . . φρονῶν*), the man, I mean, who doeth such deeds'. Here the Chorus condemns the *φρόνημα* of the unknown doer of the deed. At this very moment the Chorus sees Antigone, placed under arrest; hear its cry in 380-384:

*οὐ δὴ που σέ γ' ἀπιστοῦσαν  
τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀπάγουσι νόμοις  
καὶ ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ καθελόντες;*

'Surely, surely not *you* as disloyal to the laws ordained by the king they bring and as caught in folly?'<sup>2</sup> The significant words of the question begin with *ἀπιστοῦσαν* and end with *ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ καθελόντες*. Here, then, we have from the Chorus the clear-cut statement that to disobey Kreon's decrees is *ἀφροσύνη*, 'mindlessness'.

When the Guard entered the first time, in 223 ff., he used within three verses *φροντίς*.<sup>3</sup> Now, again, within his first four verses, he uses *ἐπίνοια* and *γνώμη*, in verses that are, to me at least, full of significance: 'O King, naught is there against which man should take his oath, for after-thought belies his first intent' (*ψεύδει γὰρ ἢ 'πίνοια τὴν γνώμην*). He illustrates his thought by 390 ff.: 'I swore I would never come to this presence again (329): yet here I am'. Not even so keen a critic as Jebb noticed that in these words of the Guard Sophocles forestalled (summed up) the outcome of the play. Kreon had said in effect (176-210): 'Never will I bury Polynices'. In a very real and tragic sense *ἔψευσε Κρέοντι ἢ ἐπίνοια ἢ τὴν γνώμην*.

In 450-470 Antigone makes the great speech that figures so

<sup>1</sup> *δεινόν τι*, 334, may be either a compliment or the reverse.

<sup>2</sup> I have sought to give in the translation the involved word-order of the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 302, and n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> As thus applied to Kreon *ἐπίνοια* would remind one of 'Ἐπιμηθεύς, the man who thought too late!

largely in all discussions of the poet's purpose in this play. Here we need note only 458-460: 'For breaking *these* I was not minded, through fear of any mere man's thinking (*ἀνδρὸς . . . φρόνημα*), among the Gods to pay the penalty'. Here (1) the issue is sharply drawn between the *κηρύγμαθ'* . . . *ἄγραπτα κάσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα* and the *φρόνημα ἀνδρός (τινος)*. (2) Antigone is made by the poet to talk exactly as if she had heard Kreon's proud words in 207, *τοιόνδ' ἐμὸν φρόνημα*.<sup>1</sup> Verse 458, under a veil of courtesy, is sharp enough; at 469-470, Antigone, throwing off all disguise, says *σοὶ δ' εἰ δοκῶ νῦν μῶρα δρῶσα τυγχάνειν, σχεδὸν τι μῶρῳ μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνω*. It is *φρόνημα* against *φρόνημα*, the *φρόνημα* of one embodying in conduct the eternal laws of the gods against the *φρόνημα* of a mere mortal who has forgotten the will of the gods.

After two verses by the Chorus, Kreon makes a long reply (473-496). His very first words are 'But know that the minds that are over-stubborn (*τὰ σκλήρ' ἄγαν φρονήματα*) are laid lowest'. Here *φρονήματα* is a Roland for Antigone's Oliver in 459. Four verses further on he says, 'He is not wont to be high-minded (*φρονεῖν μέγ'*) who is his neighbors' slave'. Opposition to Kreon's plans by any one seems to him *ἀφροσύνη*. So, in 491-494 he describes Ismene as *λυσσῶσα . . . οὐδ' ἐπήβολος φρενῶν*, and classes her among those 'who devise all things wrongly in the dark'. In 510 he cries to Antigone *σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐπαυδεῖ, τῶνδε χωρὶς εἰ φρονεῖς*; Of *their* right thinking, at least in public, he had made sure (281 ff.).

The next passage that concerns us is 555-558. In the dialogue of 536 ff., conducted at first in distichs (536-547), presently in stichomythy (548-554), Ismene asserts, Antigone denies, that Ismene had had share in the burial of Polynices; though she had not been strong enough to *act* with Antigone, Ismene has the strength now to *suffer* with her. Now come 555-558: ANT. '<You may not share my fate> for you chose to live, I to die'. IS. 'But not with my words unspoken'. 'True', says Ismene, 'I left you to die, but only after a full expression of my views', or, 'Yes, but not until I had pointed out how unwise your purposed conduct was, till I had done

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 302, n. 1. For an example of the retort courteous deliberately made by Antigone, compare 523 with 522 (*οὐτοὶ . . . οὐτοὶ*). See Humphreys' edition of the play, page xlvi.

what I could to deter you'. The reference is to Ismene's impassioned plea in 49 ff., beginning with *φρόνησον* (49) and ending with *οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν οὐδένα* (68). Antigone's next utterance Jebb translates by "One world approved thy wisdom, another mine". To this Ismene answers: 'And yet we are equally in error'. With Antigone's reply in 559-560 this dialogue ends, and Kreon comments on it (561-562) by calling the sisters *ἄνοι*, 'mindless', the one 'newly', the other 'ever since her life began'. To this Ismene replies (563-564): 'Verily, O King, such mind as blooms for them abides not for (with) them that do (fare) ill, but steps away from them'.

In the second stasimon (583 ff.) the Chorus dwells on the long story of suffering that marked the history of the Labdakidai, 'sorrows heaping high the sorrows of them that had died'. Hope there had been that Antigone and Ismene would escape, but (602-604)

κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων  
ἀμῆ κόνις ἰ λόγου τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν ἐρινύς.

'But down these two, in their turn, the gods below reap, the gods and their dust, and mindlessness of words, and frenzy of spirit'. In 620-624 the Chorus says: 'For with wisdom hath some one revealed the famous word, The thing that is evil seemeth good (*δοκεῖν*) some time to him whose mind (wits: *φρένας*) god driveth to destruction'.

So, by this point, Ismene, Antigone's sister, Kreon and the Chorus (all the representatives of public opinion) have united in calling Antigone *ἄνοια* and in characterizing her conduct as *ἀφροσύνη*. The result of such folly, says the Chorus thrice in 614-625, must be *ἄτη*, *ἄται*.

<sup>1</sup> I prefer to keep *κόνις* with the MSS: see Jebb's fine defence of it. The fact that all the subjects of *κατ'* . . . *ἀμῆ* follow the verb makes the dislocation of the metaphor easier. Further, *τῶν νερτέρων*, set immediately before *ἀμῆ κόνις*, makes *κόνις* at once easy and highly effective to one who recalls, by ear or eye, the earlier part of the play. The dislocation of the metaphor proves the emotion of the Chorus: in its excitement, lost wholly to reason, it belittles the obligation of burial, the great issue of the play. To replace *κόνις* by *κοπίς* is to spoil a wonderful phrase, that only a great writer could venture. *κόνις λόγου τ' ἄνοια καὶ φρενῶν ἐρινύς* logically = 'the dust sprinkled through frenzy of the wit, and with senselessness of speech'. Far indeed has the Chorus travelled with Kreon.



At 631 Haimon appears. Before he can or will speak, Kreon addresses him, hinting plainly that in all that he himself wills or does he counts on his son's acquiescence, his son's continued love. Haimon's first speech is a masterpiece of diplomacy (635-638): 'Father, yours am I, and so with counsels good in mine interest (*μοι γνώμας ἔχων χρηστὰς*) you set them out straight; them I at least will follow, for no marriage in my eyes will ever rightly be a richer blessing to bear away than your good guidance (*σοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου*)'. As has been often noted, *ἔχων* and *σοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου* Kreon may interpret, indeed does interpret as causal in connotation, whereas Haimon means 'if you have', 'if you guide well'. The first two verses of Kreon's answer (639 ff.) next concern us: 'Yes, my son, yes, this 'tis meet to keep ever in one's heart, that all things else should stand behind a father's thought'. 'What a father thinks is right', is his creed, as before (174-210) it was 'What a ruler thinks is right'.<sup>1</sup> His self-complacency is as yet undisturbed: has not the one person who sought to defy his will been discovered, and is she not in his power? So, again in this speech, in 648-651, he appeals to Haimon thus: 'Do not ever, O my son, fling forth your mind (*wits: τὰς φρένας*) under the spell of pleasure, for a woman's sake, since you know', etc. When Kreon's speech is done (680), ere Haimon can reply, the Chorus says (681-682): 'To us indeed, unless we have been robbed of our wits by the passage of time,<sup>2</sup> you seem to speak wisely (*φρονούντως*, mindfully, wittingly) of the things of which you speak'. Thus a second time the Chorus ranges itself clearly on the side of Kreon: *his* will is wisdom, disregard of that will is folly. The first time was in 381-383, in the first words of the Chorus to Antigone.

The opening verses of Haimon's reply to his father's long appeal are significant (683-691): 'Father, it is the Gods that plant in men minds (reason, *φρένας*)—highest of possessions, as many as there are. To deny that there is wisdom in your

<sup>1</sup> In this same speech, in 667-668, Kreon gives his definition of *right thinking by a subject*: the subject must obey the ruler *καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάρταρα*. Nowhere does he more plainly set forth his views! Yet he protests too much: see above, page 302, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly there is an allusion here to Kreon's taunt in 280-281.

sayings would lie beyond *my* powers, beyond *my* knowledge. Yet, since another too might have right on his side <in his thinking>, it is therefore my task, by nature set, to note, betimes, in your interest, what men do, what men say <with respect to your views and your conduct>; <this you cannot do yourself> for the man of the people will not say before you such words as would offend your ears'. Haimon's effort to be tactful, to be diplomatic in his opposition to his father (oppose him he must) makes his meaning, at first sight, less transparent than it might be: some things he leaves to inference. 'In this way', continues Haimon, in effect, 'I know that our city thinks you wrong, and believes the maiden right (692-695) in saving her own brother's body from mutilation (696-698): aye, for this, men say, she should have golden honor (699-700). Believe not, therefore, that right lies only in what *you* think and in what *you* say (705-706)'. Then come these striking verses (707-711):

ὅστις γὰρ αὐτὸς ἢ φρονεῖν μόνος δοκεῖ,  
ἢ γλώσσαν, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλος, ἢ ψυχὴν ἔχειν,  
οὔτοι, διαπτυχθέντες, ὤφθησαν κenoί.  
ἀλλ' ἄνδρα, κεί τις ἢ σοφός, τὸ μανθάνειν  
πόλλ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν<sup>1</sup> κ. τ. λ.

719-723, parts of the same speech, are also pertinent to our discussion.

That Haimon's appeal has had its effect on the Chorus is clear from 724-725. Less sure of its ground than when in 681-682 it unreservedly praised Kreon's doctrine of the right of kings to order, the duty of subjects to obey, without questioning the rightness or wrongness of kingly order, the Chorus now suggests a compromise between Kreon and his son: 'each of you has right in his thinking, in his speaking: each should learn from the other'. To this Kreon replies furiously (726-727): 'Shall men as old as I be taught to think (*φρονεῖν*) by one of nature such as his?' In the stichomythy that follows (730 ff.) Haimon, finding his father intractable, at last plainly says what has been in his mind from the first (see on 635-

<sup>1</sup> This is precisely the lesson his experiences ultimately teach Kreon.—One thinks here of Solon's famous saying *γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*.

636) in 753<sup>1</sup>: 'Wherein is it a threat, to make answer to empty thoughts (*πρὸς κενὰς γνώμας λέγειν*)?' This calls forth from Kreon the significant rejoinder (754):

*κλαίων φρενώσεις, ὃν φρεῶν αὐτὸς κενός·*

'To your sorrow will you put mind <in me>, yourself empty of mind'. Haimon replies (755), 'If you were not my father, I should have said you think not well (*εὖ φρονεῖν*)'. I hope I am not merely riding a hobby when I see in Haimon's last speech (762-765) once more the *φρήν* motif: note *τοῦτο μὴ δόξης*, 'Think not *that*, at least <whatever else strange and wrong you are minded to think>', etc. So I find significance in the Chorus's use of *νοῦς*, in 767, of Haimon, and in Kreon's *δράτω, φρονεῖτω μείζον ἢ κατ' ἄνδρ' ἰών* (768), said of Haimon, and in his grim *γνώσεται* (779), used with respect to what Antigone is likely to learn concerning her conduct.

Heretofore we have had the *φρήν, φρονεῖν* motif mainly with respect to the conduct of Antigone, but to some extent also of the conduct of Kreon. Now the Chorus, dwelling on the power of Eros, introduces the motif with respect to the conduct of Haimon toward his father in the interview just ended: <sup>2</sup> note 793, 'You, Eros, draw aside the minds (*φρένας*) even of the righteous into unrighteousness, for their marring'.

In 801 ff. there is a hint of rebellion—in spirit, at least—, by the Chorus against Kreon. Something of this spirit, perhaps, lingers in 816-822. The indecision of the Chorus, which renders it unable long to keep any definite position, leads to 834-837, which Antigone interprets as a rebuke (839). In 853-856 (which I interpret as Jebb does) the Chorus swings towards its position in 601-603: the sense is, 'in part you are paying for your own recklessness (want of wisdom), in part, too, for your father's lack of wisdom'. In its last

<sup>1</sup>I keep the order of verses as given in the MSS (see Jebb). Verses 744-745 sum up the play:

KR. *Ἀμαρτάνω γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀρχὰς σέβων;*  
 ΗΑΙ. *Ὁὐ γὰρ σέβεις, τιμὰς γε τὰς θεῶν πατῶν.*

So do 748-749: they plainly say that to defend Antigone is to defend Kreon himself and the rights of the gods as well.

<sup>2</sup>This conduct, be it noted, was conditioned by Kreon's own basic error: see the discussion above, p. 302, of the language of the Guard to Kreon in 323.

words to Antigone (871-875) the Chorus states the whole crux of the play—the conflict of man's two duties, the duty to divine authority, the duty to human authority—and clearly ranges itself with Kreon, in its closing words (875): *σὲ δ' αὐτόγνωτος ὤλεσ' ἄργά*, 'You your own self-knowing temper brought to ruin'. Antigone, says the chorus, essayed to know by herself what was right, heedless of the minds and thoughts of others: this self-knowing, this *μέγα φρονεῖν*, has wrought her doom.

To this point, then, in the conflict of *φρένες*, of *φρονήματα*, Kreon is apparently wholly victorious. To be sure, the Chorus has had its misgivings (211-212, 724-725, 801 ff., and perhaps 816-822), but outwardly it has, in its final words to Antigone (853-856, 871-875), clearly sided with Kreon. The Guard at 323 had criticized Kreon, only to be driven off with a threat. Haimon gave voice (687-700) to popular disapproval of Kreon's edict, but this the king disdains to meet (in 209-307 he had forestalled such a statement). Haimon had then for himself flatly condemned Kreon's thinking (743-757), only to be cruelly taunted by his father. To all appearances, then, the human law was prevailing: Antigone was on her way to punishment, and naught as yet had happened to relieve the strange mystery—that obedience to the highest law, the divine law, was bringing only a grievous death. The voice of the gods has not yet been heard in decision between the thoughts—the *φρονήματα*—whose collision is the theme of the play; and Kreon can say, self-satisfied<sup>1</sup> (889), 'for I am holy-handed so far at least as this maiden is concerned'.

Antigone, going forth to die, utters the famous speech (891-928) which contains those verses so often discussed, 904-920. For my own part I cannot believe that Sophocles wrote 904-920. At first blush, however, 904, *καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ τήμησα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν εὖ*, bears on its face evidence of its genuineness in the phrase *τοῖς φρονοῦσιν εὖ*<sup>2</sup>, i. e. in the recurrence of the *φρήν*, *φρονεῖν* motif. But this argument will work equally well the other way: the insertion of such a significant phrase is precisely the sort of thing an interpolator would do

<sup>1</sup> He protests too much *here* as in 775 and earlier. He is not as sure as he seems. See above, page 302, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> I construe *εὖ* twice in this verse.

(see Professor Shorey's fine presentation of this point in his review of Hackforth, *The Authorship of the Platonic Epistles*, in *The Classical Weekly* 8. 174). In the closing verses of this speech Antigone affirms her unwavering belief in the rightness of her position (924, and again in 926-927). This the Chorus sees clearly (929-930). Once again, in her very last words, Antigone affirms the rightness of her conduct (943): 'See what I suffer, τὴν εἰσεβίαν σεβίσασα'.

After the Chorus has sung the fourth stasimon (944-987), the voice of the gods begins to make itself heard, and the *περιπέτεια*<sup>1</sup> begins. Teiresias enters (988). At once Kreon, not so sure of himself as he had seemed (cf. p. 302, n. 1), senses danger (note *νέον* in his first question, 991). When Teiresias has bidden Kreon to hearken and obey *his* word, we have this significant colloquy (993-996):

KR. Οὐκ οὐκ πάρος γε σῆς ἀπεστάτου φρενός.

TEL. Τοιγὰρ δι' ὀρθῆς τήνδε ναυκληρεῖς πόλιν.

KR. Ἐχω πεπονθώς μαρτυρεῖν δήσιμα.

TEL. Φρόνει βεβώς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης.

Here Teiresias plainly tells Kreon that he has prospered thus far in his rule of Thebes only because he had heeded the *divine* will as expressed to him through Teiresias, and he hints that, for some disregard of that will, he is now in danger. Teiresias's long explanation (998-1032) begins with the words 'Learn thou wilt, hearing the signs of *my* art'. Kreon is to learn now a higher wisdom than his own; in 1015 he hears the dread words, hurled at him with startling suddenness:

καὶ ταῦτα τῆς σῆς ἐκ φρενὸς νοσεῖ πόλις!

'And all this sickness of our city springs from *your* mind (*your* thinking)'. The *φρήν* on which he has prided himself so much has been fraught with woe to his city, in the forfeiture of favor divine (1019-1022). Then comes Teiresias's injunction (1023-1032):

ταῦτ' οὖν, τέκνον, φρόνησον·<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ  
τοῖς πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστι τοῦ ξαμαρτάνειν·

<sup>1</sup> On the meaning of *περιπέτεια*, see Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 323.

<sup>2</sup> Ismene's word to her sister, in 49! See above, pp. 300-301.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμάρτη, κείνος οὐκέτ' ἔστ' ἀνήρ  
 ἄβουλος οὐδ' ἀνολβος, ὅστις ἐς κακὸν  
 πεσὼν ἀκείται μηδ' ἀκίνητος πέλει·  
 αὐθαδία τοι σκαιότητ' ὀφλισκάνει.<sup>1</sup>

εὐ σοὶ φρονήσας εὐ λέγω· τὸ μανθάνειν δ'  
 ἥδιστον εὐ λέγοντος, εἰ κέρδος λέγοι.

What a swift and complete reversal of the situation! *φρόνησον*, said by Ismene to Antigone in 49, to induce *her* to give over a purpose unwise, is said now by Teiresias, spokesman of the gods, to the complacent and victorious Kreon; *αὐθαδία*, charged by the Chorus against Antigone (875), is charged now by Teiresias against Kreon (1028)!

In a blustering speech (1033-1047) Kreon refuses to *think* as Teiresias would have him think (1023); he sets his own knowledge (1043-1044: εὐ γὰρ οἶδ' κ. τ. λ.) against that of Teiresias and the gods, and plainly hints (1045-1047) that the latter, having put his 'wisdom' to a wrong use, will suffer a shameful fall.<sup>2</sup> This leads to the following dialogue (1048-1052): TEI. 'Does any mortal know, does any consider, how much the best of blessings is good counsel (*εὐβουλία*)?' KR. 'Best is it, I ween, as far as not to think (*μὴ φρονεῖν*) is fullest mischief'. TEI. 'Yet this is the very sickness wherewith you are by nature full'. Since Antigone talked so scornfully of her own *δυσβουλία* (95), events have shown that her *δυσβουλία* and Teiresias's *εὐβουλία* (obedience to the law divine) are one. 1063 and 1064, too, are for us significant:

KR. ὡς μὴ 'μπολήσων ἴσθι τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα.  
 TEI. ἀλλ' εὐ γέ τοι κάτισθι<sup>3</sup> κ. τ. λ.

The knowledge that Kreon is now to gain is, that all his previous thinking has been wrong, and that for the error of that

<sup>1</sup> Compare Antigone's words to Kreon, 469-470.

<sup>2</sup> The charge of bribery here is parallel to Kreon's use of the same charge against the Guard (322).

<sup>3</sup> Here Teiresias by his compound verb *κάτισθι* outdoes Kreon's *ἴσθι* (the movement, in both Latin and Greek, is apt to be the other way, from the compound to the simple verb: compare e. g. Antigone 1024-1025 *ἐξαμαρτάνειν . . . ἀμάρτη*).

thinking he will atone by deaths in his own household (1064-1079).<sup>1</sup> The seer's last words (1089-1090) bid Kreon have

τὸν τοῦν . . . ἀμείνω τῶν φρεῶν ἢ νῦν φέροι.

Kreon, sore dismayed, yields; once so (apparently) self-sufficient, he, first by implication (1095-1097), then in set terms (1098), asks counsel of the Chorus, whose thought he had at first so roughly rejected (278-281). This counsel comes first in general terms (1098), *εὐβουλίας δεῖ . . . λαβεῖν*; then, presently (1100-1101), *εὐβουλία* is defined in terms of a complete reversal of all that hitherto Kreon had thought so wise. Against this advice he struggles (1102), only to be told by the Chorus (1104) that 'swift-footed harms sent by the gods cut short the foolish-minded (*τοὺς κακόφρονας*)'. Convinced against his will (1105-1106), Kreon now (1108 ff.), his *δόξα* changed (1111), seeks with all speed to undo what he had done to punish Antigone, saying, as he departs (1113-1114), 'I fear that it is best to consummate one's life in the keeping of the established laws'. In view of what has happened since Teiresias's entrance (988) Kreon has no need to define *which* laws he has in mind. One set of laws, surely, he had respected, yes, overmuch!

After the *ὑπόρχημα* (1115-1154) the Messenger enters, to tell of the deaths of Antigone and Haimon. After gloomy general reflections on the uncertainty of human destiny (1155-1171), he then, prompted by the Chorus (1172), tells his tale. That tale closes with four verses (1240-1243) most important for us: 'Dead, with arms about the dead, he lies, having gained the bridal consummations—hapless youth—in the halls of Hades; and he hath shown among mankind that lack of counsel (*ἀβουλία*) is direst evil laid on man'. Whereas up to 988 the *ἀβουλία* seemed all Antigone's, now a humble messenger hesitates not to condemn the *ἀβουλία* of his king. So, when Kreon reenters at 1257, bearing his son's body, the Chorus unhesitatingly sees in what has befallen him *οὐκ ἄλλοτρία ἄτη*; Kreon has suffered *αὐτὸς ἀμαρτῶν*. That Kreon's own spirit is broken, that he has given up the confidence in his own wisdom

<sup>1</sup> We may note *γνῆ*, said of Kreon (1089); it is speedily followed by *ἐπιστάμεσθα* (1092), said by the Chorus, and by *ἔγνωκα* (1095), said by Kreon. One recalls *γνώσεται* (789), said by Kreon of Antigone.

he once professed, his first words show (1261-1267) : note the recurrence here of the *φρήν* motif :

ἰώ,  
φρενῶν δυσφρόνων<sup>1</sup> ἀμαρτήματα  
στερεὰ θανατόεντ'.  
ὦ κτανόντας τε καὶ  
θανόντας βλέποντες ἐμφυλίου·  
ᾧμοι ἐμῶν ἀνολβα βουλευμάτων.  
ἰὼ παῖ, νέος νέφ ξὺν μόρφ,  
αἰαῖ αἰαῖ,  
ἔθανες, ἀπελύθης,  
ἐμαῖς οὐδὲ σαῖσι δυσβουλίας.

So in his next utterance (1272) he says *ᾧμοι, ἔχω μαθῶν δειλίας*. Eurydice's last words, as reported by the Ἐξάγγελος (1304-1305), heap further blame on Kreon; he again himself confesses his guilt (at 1323-1324). In his last utterance in the play (1339-1346) Kreon once more admits his unwisdom, and his responsibility for the deaths of son and wife, though he wrought those deaths *οὐχ ἑκών*. Then, that we may not miss the *φρήν* motif, the Chorus, as it departs, says (1347-1354) :

πολλῷ τὸ φρονεῖν εὐδαιμονίας  
πρῶτον ὑπάρχει· χρῆ δὲ τὰ γ' εἰς θεοὺς  
μηδὲν ἀσπετεῖν·<sup>2</sup> μεγάλοι δὲ λόγοι  
μεγάλας πληγὰς τῶν ὑπεραύχων  
ἀποτίσαντες  
γῆρα τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδίδαξαν.

'To think is far the primal part of happiness by favor divine (*εὐδαιμονίας*), and man should never lack in reverence toward the gods.<sup>3</sup> Proudful words of boastful men exact the penalty of mighty blows, and in the fulness of time thinking aright they teach'. The last words to ring upon our ears, to make claim on our minds are *φρονεῖν* and *ἐδίδαξαν*. Yet Jebb, splendid critic that he is, can find nothing better to say on *φρονεῖν* in 1353 than "so soon after 1347: cp. on 76, 625 (*ἐκτὸς ἄτας*), 956 (*κερτομίαις*)".

<sup>1</sup> *φρενῶν δυσφρόνων* = *mentium dementium*; compare *mentes . . . dementes*, Ennius, *Annales* 203 (Vahlen).

<sup>2</sup> This recalls—in violent contrast—Antigone's *τῆν εὐσεβίαν σεβίσασα*.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast the Chorus's words at 873-875.



So, then, throughout the play speaker after speaker dwells on the thing he thinketh wise, he deemeth right under the peculiar conditions obtaining. For nearly a thousand verses Antigone's claim that she is right finds no outspoken and unwavering support save from her lover Haimon; that support the king brushes at last insultingly aside. The elders of the State (the Chorus), the king's natural counsellors, have no sure thought: in any event they are too timid to oppose the king, even though their natural reaction (Jebb, page xxvi), is one of disapproval of his decree. To Haimon's statement that the *πόλις*, the people, believe Antigone right Kreon gives no heed. To all appearances Kreon has won: the laws of man have triumphed over the laws of God, those laws reliance on which had prompted Antigone to her deed.

But in this play, as so often in the drama, it is brightest before the darkness. With startling suddenness comes the message of Teiresias: Kreon's sun is set. His wisdom is foolishness; Antigone's foolishness is wisdom supreme. There is none now so poor as to do reverence to Kreon's *φρόνη*, to his *ψυχή*, to his *φρόνημα*. His folly and his suffering are inseparably linked together—first by the gods, through Teiresias, then by the Chorus, then by the messenger, then by Eurydice, then by Kreon himself, and then in the final words of the play again by the Chorus, 'Prideful words of boastful men exact the penalty of mighty blows and in the fulness of time thinking aright they teach'.

Can anyone really doubt what the poet thought of Antigone's conduct? of Kreon's conduct? <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some reader of this paper may ask whether such a recurrent motif can be found in any other extant (Greek) play. To my mind it matters little or nothing whether one can or cannot be found: at another time I shall make a search through other plays of Sophocles, at least, and mayhap in Aeschylus. One rebels at times against the tyranny of the demand for parallels.

However, I have two parallels at hand, and both from one play—the *Andria* of Terence (a play which goes back to two plays of Menander: see its Prologue 9 ff.). From end to end that play is concerned with a marriage, originally set for the day of the play itself (*hodie*). Though the consent of Chremes, father of the bride to be, has been withdrawn, Simo, father of the groom, Pamphilus, pretends, for reasons of his

own, that the marriage is to take place, and at once, *hodie*, 'to-day'. This fact he communicates to Davus, his son's slave, in 189: nunc *hic dies* (*hodie*, in noun form, as subject) *aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat*, and later to his son, in 254 (as quoted by the son, Pamphilus): *uxor tibi ducendast, Pamphile, hodie.. para, abi domum*. Cf. Pamphilus's words in 238: *uxorem deccrat dare sese hodie mihi*.

There is not space to quote in full all the other passages in which the motif recurs; I can only refer the reader to 301, 321, 322, 348, 354, 370, 388, 410, 413, 418, 513-514, 529, 534, 577, 582, 603, 654, 657, 706, 916. The motif is found in the words of no less than seven characters: Simo, 196, 388, 418, 529, 577, 916; Davus, 354, 410, 513-514, 582, 706; Pamphilus, 238, 254, 348, 657; Charinus, 301, 321, 322, 370, 654; Byrria, the slave of Charinus, 413; Chremes, father of the bride to be, 534; Mysis, slave of Glycerium, beloved of Pamphilus, whom he does, in fact, finally marry, *hodie*, 268 ff. (an exceptionally fine passage, psychologically sound and delicate).

Yet, on 196 Professors Fairclough and Sturtevant both declare that *hodie* is there colloquial, with no temporal force. The former bids us "Translate here as *now*"; the latter says "omit in translation".

In this play, again, there is a *iam*, 'immediately', motif. Davus, by excessive cleverness, has involved his young master in sore trouble. Reproached for this by his master, Pamphilus, Davus says, in 617, *At iam expediam*, and, in 622, *Iam aliquid dispiciam*. In 682 Pamphilus cries, in answer to a *Faciam* from Davus, *At iam hoc opust*; to this, in 683, Davus replies *At iam hoc tibi inventum dabo*. In the very next verse, Mysis, entering from her mistress's house, and speaking to those within, says *Iam ubi ubi erit, inventum tibi curabo et mecum adductum*: her *iam* must have seemed to the audience an echo of the *iam* of Pamphilus and that of Davus. Meeting Pamphilus, Mysis says to him (687), *Orare iussit, si se ames, era, iam ut ad sese venias*. Compare also 704: *PA. Iam hoc opus est. DA. Quin iam habeo*. Davus's *ocius* in 724 and 731 may be described as *iam* in the comparative degree. As far off as 776, perhaps, we have an echo of all this in Davus's words to Mysis about the baby: *Nunc adeo, ut tu sis sciens, nisi puerum tollis, iam ego hunc in mediam viam provolvam*.

#### IV.—THE PERSONALITY OF THE EPICUREAN GODS.

Before describing the extent to which the Epicureans attributed personality to the gods, it is important to bear in mind the place which Epicureanism gave to religion in life and the influence that the Epicurean school allowed to religion as a great impelling, uplifting influence for mankind. The ardor of Lucretius, Velleius and Philodemus is so intense that there is no gainsaying the testimony of these Epicureans. We are not to interpret their fervid testimony as an expression merely of the individual experiences of these three exponents, but as representing the explicit purpose of the founder of the school whose intent rested as a solemn obligation upon the conscience of his disciples. We learn from Diogenes Laertius<sup>1</sup> that Epicurus' piety toward the gods was too deep for words; among the inalienable possessions of the virtuous man Epicurus<sup>2</sup> counted as of prime importance "holy opinions about the gods". The letter to Menoeceus closes as follows: Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις συγγενῇ μελέτα πρὸς σεαυτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός . . . καὶ οὐδέποτε οὐθ' ἔστιν οὐθ' ὄναρ διαταραχθήσῃ, ζήσεις δὲ ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις.<sup>3</sup> Lucretius had unbounded enthusiasm for his master and his master's definitive opinions about the gods and the proper worship of them. Velleius, too, was stirred by a profound admiration and reverence for Epicurus and had the mystic's rapture for the mighty power of Infinity that inspired

<sup>1</sup>Diog. Laert. X, 10, τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς δαιμόνιος . . . . ἀλεκτος ἢ διάθεσις. Cf. Usener, Epicurea, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup>Diog. Laert. X, 133; cf. Usener, p. 65. For a study of Epicurus, as a religious enthusiast, see Picavet, De Epicuro Novae Religionis Auctore, 1888, and by the same author "Épicure Fondateur d'une Religion Nouvelle" in Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel. xxvii (1893), pp. 315-344.

<sup>3</sup>Diog. Laert. X, 135; cf. Usener, p. 66. Cf. Lucretius, III, 322; Philodemus, Περὶ Ἐὐσεβείας (Gomperz, 1866), p. 148, vv. 12-19; idem, De Deor. Victu, VH<sup>1</sup> VI, col. 1, in Usener, p. 258; "L'Inscription Philos. d'Oenoanda" in Bull. de Corr. Hell. xxi (1897), p. 369, vv. 2-10. col. 4.

great and earnest contemplation. Philodemus came under the same spell of this dogmatic evangel and shared the conviction that worship of Epicurean gods of "surpassing power and goodness" was instinctive.<sup>1</sup> The same imperial power was exercised over the mind of Diogenes of Oenoanda<sup>2</sup> as late as two hundred years after Christ.

The very first of the "Fundamental Maxims" of Epicurus is concerned with the question of divinity and we find: Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλα παρέχει, ὥστε οὔτε ὄργαις οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται. ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον.<sup>3</sup> The note that is appended to this, the first of the *Κύρια Δόξαι*, howsoever obscure in other respects, clearly comments on divine nature as beyond the reach of our senses, as recognizable in its essence through reason alone and as perfected in human form. It was inevitable that Epicurus should also associate with divinity supreme wisdom, beauty and justice.<sup>4</sup> Epicurus dogmatically<sup>5</sup> maintained certain predicates of divinity as fundamental essentials, but at the same time allowed wide latitude to speculation regarding the gods: πρῶτον μὲν τὸν θεὸν ζῶον ἀφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη, μὴθὲν μίτη τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μίτη τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοικεῖον αὐτῷ πρόσαπτε. πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτὸν δόξαζε.<sup>6</sup> With Epicurus' fundamental conceptions of God in his heart and mind, the Epicurean worshipper was free to make such other associations

<sup>1</sup> Philodemus, p. 128, vv. 12-22; idem, de Musica, VH<sup>1</sup> I. c. 4, 6, in Usener, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Diogenis Oenoand. Fragmenta (William, 1907), c. g., pp. 18-19, pp. 51-56, etc.; cf. also Sen. Ep. 25, 5: *sic fac, inquit, omnia tamquam spectet Epicurus*.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert. X, 139 [Usener, p. 71]; cf. Diog. Laert. X, 97 [Usener, p. 42], Diog. Laert. X, 77 [Usener, p. 28], Lucretius, II, 646-651, Cic. N. D. I 17, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. X, 132 [Usener, p. 64]: *Τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν φρόνησις . . . ἐξ ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι κεφύκασιν ἀρεταί, διδάσκουσα ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως <οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως> ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως.*

<sup>5</sup> The truth of his theological doctrine was guaranteed by the foundations of *πρόληψις* (or *anticipatio*) upon which it rested, and further fortified by deductions from nature and reason; see Cic. N. D. I 17, 44-18, 49.

<sup>6</sup> Diog. Laert. X, 123 [Usener, pp. 59, 60].

as were compatible with these fundamentals or essentials. There was a remarkable freedom within these limitations,<sup>1</sup> allowing many a *rapprochement* between the Epicurean philosophy of religion and the orthodox beliefs that were the subject of reconstruction. The differences between the two systems have often been dwelt upon and the bitter hostilities between the two are well known; the points of contact, however, are more likely to escape observation. It will be my aim to prove that the Epicurean school carried over from the old religion definite concepts of individuality and personality that distinguished one god from another,—whereby the gods were much more clearly visualized to the Epicurean vision than has been commonly conceded.<sup>2</sup>

The worshipful Epicurean who comprehended the essentials of Epicurean theology and who, following the dictates<sup>3</sup> of the founder of the school, engaged in established worship, found himself worshipping gods characterized and differentiated by a wealth of personal associations to which he could subscribe. The worshipful Epicurean was peculiarly subject to reactions from participation in cults that did honor to different divinities. Τὰ δὲ τοσαῦτα λεγέσθω καὶ νῦν, ὅτι τὸ δαιμόνιον μὲν οὐ προσδεῖ[τ]αί τινος τιμῆς, ἡμῖν δὲ φυσικόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ τιμᾶν μάλιστα μὲ[ν] ὁσίαις [ὑ]πολή[ψ]εσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ πάτριον παραδεδομένοις [ἐ]κάστῳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος.<sup>4</sup> It was the old gods, worshipped under the old names, that constituted the nucleus of the Epicurean pantheon. The Epicurean polytheism was based on the Hellenic,<sup>5</sup> to such an extent in fact that Philodemus could not conceive of the gods as speaking any other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schoemann, *De Epicuri Theologia*, 1864, p. 12: *Permittendum igitur ut de his, quae sciri nequirent, pro suo quisque captu quod maxime probabile et cum iis, de quibus certo constaret, consentaneum videretur, ex coniectura secum ipse statueret.*

<sup>2</sup> Schoemann, *De Epicuri Theologia*, 1864, p. 18; Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics* [tr., Reichel, 1892], p. 469; Wallace, *Epicureanism*, 1908, pp. 205, 206, 209; Masson, *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet*, 1907, pp. 263, n. 2, 279, 281, 285; cf. Cic. *N. D.* I 29, 80: *si una omnium facies est, . . . si enim nihil inter deum et deum differt* (see also I 30, 84).

<sup>3</sup> Philodemus, pp. 118, 120, 126, 127, 128.

<sup>4</sup> Philodemus, *De Musica*, VH<sup>1</sup> I, c. 4, 6 in Usener, p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Philodemus, p. 84, vv. 24-34.

than the Hellenic tongue or something closely akin to it.<sup>1</sup> The Epicurean gods were the ancient gods purified, refined, etherealized. The Epicurean School waged war, not against the gods of Greece and Rome, but against the false popular and false philosophic notions about the gods.<sup>2</sup> Conscientious worship was no slight intellectual effort. There was much in the cults that to Epicurean intellectual piety seemed unworthy and untrue; all that was in violation of Epicurean denial of the old theory of divine Providence or all that was out of harmony with Epicurean ideal ethics of the Godhead was offensive to Epicurean reason, in worship. Epithets of *γενέθλιος*, *θεσμοφόρος* and *φυτάλιος* were, literally interpreted, false epithets as applied to Zeus, Demeter and Poseidon. Plutarch<sup>3</sup> accused the Epicureans of plucking these appellations from the gods. Very true! but rebellion against false epithets, I mean to show, was part of a religious movement that aimed at establishment of pure and true concepts of Zeus, Demeter, Poseidon, and all the other gods of Greek religion. Philodemus' concern was that the wise man should entertain pure and sinless opinions of God, should comprehend God's great and august nature, and especially at the festivals proceed to this knowledge.<sup>4</sup> The Lucretian exhortation was to the same effect, counselling the Epicurean worshipper to banish from his mind whatever was "degrading to the gods and inconsistent with their peace".<sup>5</sup> The Epicurean philosophy of religion and the Epicurean theoretic theology did not conflict with all of the ancient pagan premises, but could carry over whatever attributes met with the approbation of Epicurean sense, reason

<sup>1</sup> Philodemus, *De Deor. Victu*, VH<sup>1</sup> VI (Naples, 1839), col. xiv—*καὶ νῆ Δία γε τὴν Ἑλληνίδα νομιστέον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς διάλεκτον, ἢ μὴ πόρρω . . . καὶ μόνον οἶδαμεν γεγονότας θεοὺς Ἑλληνίδι γλώττῃ χρωμένους.*

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert. X, 123. *θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν* seq., in Usener, p. 60; Lucretius, V, 1198-1203.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. adv. Col., c. 22, 1119 E.

<sup>4</sup> Philodemus, p. 106 [Usener, p. 258], p. 120, vv. 18-20.

<sup>5</sup> Lucretius VI, 68-69; cf. II, 652-657. Lucretius here gives his consent to the old use of the names of gods as symbolism. But such metonymy or symbolism was harmless and did no violation to the Epicurean belief in the true nature and life of the gods: I, 250; II, 472; III, 221; IV, 1107, 1168; V, 656, 897, etc.

and experience.<sup>1</sup> Epicurean worship permitted an acceptance of and emotional surrender to all truth and to all the symbolism to which the Epicurean could give intellectual assent.

Let us take, as partially illustrative, Velleius' extended exposition and criticism<sup>2</sup> of the views of philosophers.<sup>3</sup> Throughout runs a fundamental note, the Epicurean belief that the materialistic gods possess a form and organism such as we recognize in human creation to be superior to all others. The body of the gods is most beautiful, subject to neither bodily nor mental affections, free from the ravages of disease, age and oblivion, and not requiring sleep. The divine body is immortal,<sup>4</sup> knowing no beginning and no end. Divinity experiences sensation and possesses reason, such as is in harmony with its body and possible only through the medium of the body. His happiness is that of the prudent and powerful God for whom quiet is a corollary of beatitude. This representation of the gods, quite in accord with the fundamentals of Epicurus himself, is obviously a reconstruction of older beliefs with especial emphasis upon the cherished theory of anthropomorphism. Besides, Velleius resented as fatal to religion all tendencies towards spirituality, towards allegorizing, towards a differentiation between a natural god and popular gods.<sup>5</sup> He thought so much

<sup>1</sup> The logic of this situation was accentuated for every Epicurean at all serious in his religious inquiry by his emotional appreciation of the externals of noble ceremony. In the *De Rerum Natura* there is not much evidence to indicate the poet's emotional inclination to the ritualistic and ceremonial side of the organized religion of the Roman people. The invocation and the account of the *Magna Mater* cult give us our only real clues. Other religious material is now and again employed in the interests of poetry without provoking enthusiasm; temples, altars, groves, sacrifices, shrines and images of gods are all mentioned but appear as a poor symbolism to express divine immortality. Yet against this negative evidence we have the majestic description of the *Cybele* cult—*bene et eximie . . . disposita*—and we read in it the profound influence of ceremonial upon the esthetic nature of Lucretius; cf. Philodemus, p. 128, vv. 5-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. N. D. I 10, 25 . . . 15, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Empedocles, Protagoras, Democritus, Plato, Xenophon, Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, and others.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Philodemus, p. 86, vv. 25-32; Lucretius, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Philodemus, on allegory, pp. 77, 79, 80, 85, on natural vs. popular gods, pp. 72, 84.

in the terms of the old anthropomorphic polytheism that these more liberal views were, to his mind, no less prejudicial to religion than the mythologies of poets, the errors of the Magi, the madness of Egyptians or the extravagant notions of the multitude, which from ignorance of the truth was at all times involved in uncertainty. Epicureans' participation in established religious ceremonials, sacrifices, worship, festivals and prayers of the national religion, their continued use of the old terminology of names and epithets, must have resulted in a preservation to a large extent of distinct personalities of a Zeus, a Hera, an Apollo, an Ares, a Dionysos, a Demeter, an Athena, an Aphrodite, a Rhea, a Hestia, a Hermes, or in Rome of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vulcan, Ceres, Neptune, Bacchus, Magna Mater or of Venus.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to see how Epicurean participation in organized Graeco-Roman religion could have resulted otherwise than in a maintenance of distinctions between the gods and goddesses of their worship.

Velleius says that Zeno in his interpretation of Hesiod's Theogony entirely destroyed the established notions of the gods;<sup>2</sup> for he excluded Jupiter, Juno and Vesta and those esteemed divine from the number of the gods. Again, in criticism of Chrysippus,<sup>3</sup> Velleius is indignant at the Stoic interpretation of Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres and other gods. Velleius wished to retain the concepts of Jupiter, Juno, Vesta, Neptune and Ceres instead of entirely destroying them as he conceived that the Stoics had done by their theories of origins.<sup>4</sup> Velleius' dogmatism is a protest in favor of older beliefs which the Epicureans did not attack as iconoclasts but as reconstructionists, rescuing what was acceptable to Epicurean reason.

The reply of the Academician and pontifex, Cotta,—unsparing ridicule and criticism of Velleius' exposition that it is—throws further light upon the question of the personality of the Epicurean gods. Cotta was opposed to limiting our conception of God to the human form and argued for greater freedom. He says:

“Non pudet igitur physicum, id est speculatorem venato-

<sup>1</sup> I mention the names of these gods because they all come under discussion in Epicurean texts.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. N. D. I 14, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. N. D. I 15, 39-40.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cic. N. D. III 25, 64-65.



remque naturae, ab animis consuetudine imbutis petere testimonium veritatis?"<sup>1</sup>

i. e., the Epicureans, in their conclusions about the form and nature of the gods, were too much influenced by the accidents of Graeco-Roman religion and theology. Cotta, on the other hand, undertook to rise above such local and temporal conditions.

"Isto enim modo dicere licebit Jovem semper barbatus, Apollinem semper imberbem, caesios oculos Minervae, caeruleos esse Neptuni. Et quidem laudamus Athenis Vulcanum eum, quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo stante atque vestito leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis. Claudum igitur habebimus deum, quoniam de Vulcano sic accepimus."<sup>2</sup>

Cotta contended that the Epicureans were too much attached to the old and he ridiculed the thought of the gods in human form as an arbitrary assumption of age and convention.

"Quid, si etiam, Vellei, falsum illud omnino est, nullam aliam nobis de deo cogitantibus speciem nisi hominis occurrere? tamenne ista tam absurda defendes? Nobis fortasse sic occurrit, ut dicis; a parvis enim Jovem, Junonem, Minervam, Neptunum, Vulcanum, Apollinem reliquosque deos ea facie novimus, qua pictores fictoresque voluerunt, neque solum facie, sed etiam ornatu, aetate, vestitu; . . . . Quid igitur censes? Apim illum, sanctum Aegyptiorum bovem, nonne deum videri Aegyptiis? Tam hercle quam tibi illam vestram Sospitam, quam tu numquam ne in somnis quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis."<sup>3</sup>

Cotta's ridicule of Velleius and the Epicurean system carried him to extremes, no doubt, but the underlying significance of his stinging rebuke is clear.

"Habebam, inquis, in animo insitam informationem quandam dei. Et barbati quidem Jovis, galeatae Minervae; num igitur esse tales putas?"<sup>4</sup>

These passages from Cotta's review show plainly enough what was in Cotta's mind, viz., that he thought the Epicureans' conceptions of the separate gods were all too much influenced by earlier premises, that their theoretic, speculative theology

<sup>1</sup> Cic. N. D. I 30, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. N. D. I 29, 81-82.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. N. D. I 30, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. N. D. I 36, 100.

had been cramped by older beliefs upon which it was built and of which it was an outgrowth; and that the Epicurean vision of gods not only included a Jupiter, a Juno, an Apollo, a Minerva, a Neptune and a Vulcan, but that these conceptions were too much restricted by artistic or fanciful associations of popular art and cult.<sup>1</sup> But this result was not only a possibility or even a probability, but indeed a psychological inevitability under all the circumstances,—determined by the original freedom allowed under Epicurus' *principalia*, by Epicureans' continued participation<sup>2</sup> in established forms of worship and by the profound Epicurean belief in the anthropomorphic nature of the gods,<sup>3</sup> which facilitated this distinction<sup>4</sup> between divinities and the retention of those ideal characteristics of the individual gods not in conflict with the Epicurean definition of divinity.

Epicureanism went beyond the old polytheism,<sup>5</sup> and that innumerable company of new gods remained nebulous and

<sup>1</sup> See Picavet, p. 109, and Masson, p. 289, on the influence of sculpture upon Epicurean thought; also, Cic. N. D. I 30, 85 *Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla venerantes*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Significance of Worship and Prayer among the Epicureans, T. A. P. A. xxxix (1909), pp. 73-88.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. N. D. II 17, 45: *Restat ut qualis eorum natura sit, consideremus; in quo nihil est difficilium quam a consuetudine oculorum aciem mentis abducere. Ea difficultas induxit et vulgo imperitos et similes philosophos imperitorum, ut nisi figuris hominum constitutis nihil possent de dis immortalibus cogitare; cuius opinionis levitas confutata a Cotta non desiderat orationem meam.*

<sup>4</sup> The "physical constitution" of the Epicurean gods did not prevent an ascription to them of distinctive and differentiating noble personal qualities. Lachelier, *Les Dieux D'Épicure*, *Rev. de Phil.* I (1877), pp. 264-266; Scott, *The Physical Constitution of the Epicurean Gods*, *Jour. of Phil.* XII (1883), pp. 212-248; Guissani, *Lucretius* (1896), vol. I, pp. 227 ff.; *Gli Dei Di Epicuro*; Munro, *Lucretius* (1893), vol. II, p. 293; Mayor, *Cic. N. D.* (1891), vol. I, p. 143 ff.; Hirzel, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 46-90. These arguments represent an effort to reproduce the doctrines of Epicurus about the "physical constitution" of the gods. The whole argument was part of esoteric Epicurean wisdom, "a recondite and technical doctrine", accepted as confirmation of the belief in the immortality of the gods. But as R. D. Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean* (1910), p. 296 has said: "the identity of these cascade-like gods would, after all, differ from human identity in degree only and not in kind".

<sup>5</sup> Philodemus, p. 84, vv. 26-30; cf. also all arguments resting on the *ισορομία* theory (e. g. Cic. N. D. I 19, 50).

vague, comparable in a sense to the *numina* of old Roman religion and the *umbræ* of Roman eschatology. But a complete denial<sup>1</sup> of the personalities of the old gods, crystallized to the Graeco-Roman imagination by a long period of time and process of thought, was not part of Epicurus' plan or an element in Epicurean speculation. The Venus-Aphrodite of the Lucretian invocation has not lost her personality. She possesses all the attributes of divinity as Epicureanism conceived divinity, but in inspiring grace and exalted beauty she is the goddess of the old Graeco-Roman world.<sup>2</sup> In the aspiration of the Roman poet there exists a blending, in perfect harmony, of theological definitions with older, warmer attributes of divinity acceptable to Epicurean experience. Venus is addressed as queen of the skies, the earth and the seas, whose power animates all living things throughout the whole natural universe of which she is the chief ruler. But to the old idea of the goddess of regeneration a loftier significance is given.<sup>3</sup> The sensitiveness of Lucretius was peculiarly aware<sup>4</sup> of the insidious and compelling influence of nature's marvellous and majestic power over minds less courageous,—a power which in the thunder, in the lightning, in storms at sea, in appalling

<sup>1</sup> Si una omnium facies est (Cic. N. D. I 29, 80) is the hypothesis of hostile criticism which, levelling away all distinctions between Epicurean deities, contemplated an indistinguishable uniformity among these gods. Ridicule (Cic. N. D. I 27, 76; I 44, 123; II 23, 59; De. Div. II 17, 40) of these divinities was inevitable as well as bitter criticism (Cic. N. D. I 41, 115-116; I 43, 121-44, 124) not only of worship of gods who did not appear to care for mankind, but also of the Epicurean employment (Plut. adv. Col. c. 11, 1112 C; Non Posse Suav. Vivi sec. Ep. c. 21, 1102 B; Origen. contra Cels. VII 66, in Usener, p. 259) for purposes of worship, of the old machinery of cults, rituals and festivals. Despite caricature of the gods themselves, despite condemnation of Epicurean worship and prayer, in spite of charges of sham, hypocrisy and cowardice, the fact remains that for the sincere Epicurean the gods remained a reality and an entity of greatest inspirational value. The question of personality of the Epicurean gods must take some account of the explicit expressions and clear implications of Epicureanism itself.

<sup>2</sup> See, for another view, Masson, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> For interpretation of this Lucretian invocation as an Epicurean prayer, see Cl. Phil. II (1907), pp. 187-192, and T. A. P. A. xxxix (1909), p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Lucretius V, 1204-1209.

earthquakes, awakened a dread of gods with limitless control. Lucretius<sup>1</sup> knew well that the natural human instinct of the Italian and his predisposition toward an animistic interpretation of nature might readily influence the imagination of even one trained in Epicureanism to accept, again, the *imperium* of Roman gods as harsh task-masters of his destiny. But such a step was far removed from the natural and permissible Epicurean retention of ideal associations of peace, beauty and love and predication of such qualities with the individualized Epicurean goddess of the remote *inter-mundia*. Venus in a finer spiritual sense remains the delight of gods and of men and the blessed mother of the Aeneadae.

In contrast to the tendency toward Universalism involved in Stoicism, the Epicureans by the terms of their philosophy of religion and by their religious experience were conservators of what seemed best in the older polytheism of Greece and Rome. Epicurus predicated immortality of the gods, and this imaginative flight of the idealist<sup>2</sup> was his supreme effort to maintain the true gods of Hellas above all change and corruption.

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<sup>1</sup>Lucretius VI, 56-63.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Hicks, p. 298.

## V.—MOLLE ATQUE FACETUM.

The interpretation of the phrase *molle atque facetum*, Hor. S. 1, 10, 44, which is offered by Professor Jackson, *Harvard Studies*, 25, 1914, pp. 117 sq., is at first sight so simple and so attractive that one is tempted to agree at once. "With reference to the *Eclogues*", he says, p. 137, "Horace had in mind—no more specific qualities than the simple style and the Attic charm", but this conclusion is but one of many which result from his arguments. And when one examines the evidence on which these conclusions are based, it seems in some cases to be so contradictory that one is compelled to wonder whether he has not proved too much.

His conclusions briefly stated are as follows: 1. This phrase "contains in itself an allusion to the plain style", the *genus tenue*, as defined by the rhetoricians, since both *mollis* and *facetum* are used by writers on style as specific epithets to describe this *genus*. 2. This style was the ideal of the Atticists, —according to Professor Jackson, the *novi Attici* and the *novi poetae* of Cicero,—as represented in oratory by Brutus and Asinius Pollio and in poetry by Calvus. 3. Horace and Vergil were brought during their earlier years into close association with this group, and, because of this association, chose the *genus tenue* for their earlier writings. This is shown by the kindly references in their poetry to Asinius Pollio, and by the allusions in it to "the three-fold classification of style" and to the *genus tenue* as their stylistic ideal.

It will be agreed, I think, that if Horace intended this phrase, *molle atque facetum*, to designate the *genus tenue*, both these epithets must be in a "rhetorical sense appropriate only to the *genus tenue*". This is what Professor Jackson claims for *facetum* (p. 130), but in regard to *mollis* he makes no such definite assertion, saying simply (p. 127), that it may point to the use of the plain style. It follows also from his argument regarding the relationship between the two poets and Pollio that their ideal of the *genus tenue* will be that of Pollio and his

circle; if Cicero's ideal differs from this it is not Cicero's ideal or any other's but that of Pollio which Horace would call to mind.

The interpretation of these words as stylistic epithets is not, we are told, p. 118, to be learned from Horace; *mollis* so used occurs twice in this tenth satire, and once in the Odes, 2, 12, 3, *facetus* only in this passage and "perhaps in the fourth satire of the first book (7) as an epithet of Lucilius". We find cited, therefore, from Latin and Greek rhetoricians, a goodly number of examples of those two words and their synonyms (*mollis*, *remissus*, *lenis*, *facetus*, *urbanus*, *elegans*, etc.), in which they serve to characterize the *genus tenue*. That the words are used by the rhetoricians with this connotation no one will deny, but what we wish to know is whether Horace uses them as they are used by the writers on style, and the answer to this question we cannot learn from any one except Horace himself.

Let us look first at the use of *facetus* in S. 1, 4, 7: *Lucilius—facetus, | emunctae naris, durus componere versus*. If *facetus* here is not used as it is by Cicero and other writers on style as a technical epithet referring to the *genus tenue*, then it may not be so used in the phrase under discussion, and *facetus* may not have the same meaning in both passages; if it is used as a technical epithet then Horace is not at all consistent in his criticism of Lucilius. This follows from a passage which, curiously enough, Professor Jackson does not quote, S. 1, 10, 65 sq.: *Fuerit Lucilius, inquam, | comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem | quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor, | quamque poetarum seniorum turba*; that is, according to Horace, Lucilius was *facetus* but not *urbanus*, as is clearly seen from vs. 13, and yet *urbanus* in its use as a stereotyped epithet of the plain style (p. 134) is a synonym of *facetus* (p. 127). Horace, however, as every one will agree, is consistent in his criticism of Lucilius; clearly, therefore, *facetus* and *urbanus* cannot be synonyms in these passages, and Horace could not have had in mind any specific reference to the *genus tenue* of the Atticists. Nor does *urbanus* always have this connotation even in the treatises on style; Tacitus, Dial. 18, applies the term to Cicero, and Cicero was not an Atticist, at least in Pollio's and Professor Jackson's definition of the term.

The same uncertainty, it seems to me, attaches to the use of

the word *mollis*. This word, Professor Jackson finds, is used in Cicero "with reference to both *compositio* and metaphors as a feature of the plain style" (p. 125), a feature of the style of "the Atticist Marcus Calidius" (p. 120), and it is this sense of the word, he maintains, which Horace adopts in *S. 1, 10, 56*: *quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis | quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit | versiculos natura magis factos et euntis | mollis*. That these words, however, have any specific reference to the *genus tenue* of the rhetoricians I very much doubt; Horace is simply pointing out the ever-present contrast between *mollis* and *durus*, and the meaning is that the ruggedness of Lucilius' character is reflected in the ruggedness of his verse. If, however, we must understand *mollis* as a technical stylistic epithet, referring to the *genus tenue* of Pollio and his circle, then nothing but confusion results. Just as Horace calls Lucilius *durus* (*S. 1, 4, 8*), the antonym of *mollis* (p. 121), and denies that his *compositio* is *mollis*, so Tac. *Dial. 21* describes Asinius Pollio as *durus et siccus*, and Sen. *Ep. 100, 7*, denies that his *compositio* is *mollis*: *de compositione non constat: quidam illam volunt esse ex horrido comptam; quidam usque eo aspera gaudent, ut etiam quae mollius casus explicuit, ex industria dissipent et clausulas abrumpant, ne ad expectatum respondeant. Lege Ciceronem: compositio eius una est, pedem servat lenta et sine infamia mollis. At contra Pollionis Asinii salebrosa et exsiliens et ubi minime expectes relictura. Denique omnia apud Ciceronem desinunt apud Pollionem cadunt*. Here then we have the explicit statement that the style of Pollio, Professor Jackson's representative of the Atticists, was lacking in one of the chief qualities of the plain style championed by the Atticists, and that the style of Cicero, his opponent, possessed this quality. We know, moreover, that not only did the style of Pollio not possess this quality, but that he, or at least some of his circle, criticised Cicero because his style did possess it; cf. Quint. *12, 10, 12*: *M. Tullium . . . et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem et Asianum . . . ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem*.

These are not the only passages, however, which show that the quality of style denoted by *mollis* was not characteristic of any one *genus*. According to Diony. Hal. *de Comp. 180*, cited by Professor Jackson, p. 119, the style of Isocrates and of Theo-

pompus (id. ad. Pomp. 6, 786) possessed this quality, and these writers, surely, were not representatives of the genus *tenuis*. Cic. Brut. 38 uses the word to describe the style of Demetrius Phalereus, and Demetrius is expressly named by Cic. Or. 92 as the chief representative of the middle style. Again, Cic. Brut. 274 applies the same word to the style of "the Atticist M. Calidius" (Jackson, pp. 120, 125). But was he an Atticist in the same sense in which Calvus or Pollio was an Atticist? By no means. According to Cic. Or. 75, the so-called Atticist was *summissus et humilis, consuetudinem imitans*; and he adds, *eum tanquam e vinculis numerorum eximamus: sunt enim quidam, ut scis, oratori numeri—observandi ratione quadam, sed alio in genere orationis, in hoc omnino relinquendi*. This definition is clearly at variance with the description of the style of Calidius given in Brut. 274, in which especially to be noted is the statement, *nec vero ullum aut durum (compare above of Pollio) aut insolens aut humile aut longius ductum; . . . nec vero haec soluta nec diffluentia, sed astricta numeris, non aperte nec eodem modo semper (as was true of Pollio, Sen. Ep. 100, 7), sed varie dissimulanterque conclusis*. Calidius may have been an Atticist,<sup>1</sup> but he certainly was not, as Professor Jackson would have us believe, the same kind of an Atticist as Pollio; the very fact that he employed rhythm differentiates him from the latter, who, in order to avoid rhythm, did violence to the natural word order,<sup>2</sup> and he was, moreover, *mollis*, while Pollio was *durus*. It follows, therefore, that Horace, since he uses *molle* as a complimentary term, could not have meant by it a reference to the genus *tenuis* of which Pollio was the champion, for Pollio's style did not possess the quality nor did his circle look with favor upon it. Finally, we may note that *mollis* is applied to the style of Maecenas in Macr. Sat. 2, 4, 12; *idem Augustus, quia Maecenatem suum noverat stilo esse remisso molli et dissoluto*, etc. Professor Jackson, p. 126, apparently understands these words to imply that Maecenas was an Atticist and an exponent of the genus *tenuis*; this he could not have been if we adopt Cicero's ideal of this genus. Sen. Ep. 114, 4, says of his style: *videbis eloquentiam ebrii hominis, involutam et erran-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 41, p. 176; dessen "Atticismus" jedenfalls kein ganz unverfälschter und ungemischter gewesen sein kann.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the fragments of his history cited in Sen. Suas. 6, 24, and Norden, *Kunstprosa*, II, p. 262; Schanz, *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* Pt. II, p. 31.



tem et licentiae plenam; cf. Quint. 9, 4, 28, and contrast the words of Cic. Or. 77: *solutum quiddam sit nec vagum tamen, ut ingredi libere, non ut licenter videatur errare.* Nor did he hide, according to Tac. Dial. 26, the "curling-pins" of style which, says Cic. Or. 78, were never allowed to show in the neat and well-dressed style of the Atticist. Moreover, his rhythm was so pronounced that scholars have been uncertain whether the fragments preserved in Quint. 9, 4, 28, are prose or poetry. This differentiates him at once from Atticists of the type of Pollio, and marks him as a follower of the Asiatici.<sup>1</sup> And yet Sen. Ep. 114, 6-7, after laughing at his queer style, the *verba tam improbe structa, tam neglegenter abiecta, tam contra consuetudinem omnium posita*, can say: *hanc ipsam laudem suam corrumpit istis orationis portentosissimae deliciis. Adparet enim mollem fuisse, non mitem.* Does Seneca use *mollis* here in the same sense in which he uses it in connection with Cicero, *sine infamia mollis*? Clearly not; the derogatory sense of the word as used by Macrobius and Seneca in the former passage recalls the description of Maecenas in Vell. 2, 88, 2: *otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens.* In view, therefore, of the diversity of usage of the word *mollis*, we cannot conclude that Horace was referring in using it to the *genus tenue*, least of all to the stylistic ideal of Pollio and his circle.

There remains one other use of *mollis* and similar words which Professor Jackson cites in support of his position. Because Horace and Vergil contrast the humbler themes of their earlier poetry with the lofty themes of the epic, *tenues grandia*, is evidence, in his eyes, that they are referring specifically to the *genus tenue* in contrast to the *genus grave* in the technical sense in which these expressions are used by the writers on rhetoric; that Horace, moreover, thereby refers to the three-fold division of style, and to the stylistic ideal of the *novi Attici*. Surely this is going too far. The contrast between the lighter forms of verse and the epic is, as Professor Jackson notes, p. 123, traditional, and is found in all poets, even in those whose style has nothing in common with the *genus tenue*; by Statius,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Norden, I, p. 293; Schanz, Pt. II, p. 20: *Die spärlichen Prosafragmente—erregten eine Zeitlang Aufmerksamkeit durch ihren sonderbaren Stil der sich in seltenen Worten, gesuchten Wendungen, unnatürlichen Stellen giefel, also an die asianische Manier sich anlehnte.*

for example, in a poem, *Silv.* 1, 5, which is a stock example of the *ἐκφρασις*, the pet product of the rhetorical schools,<sup>1</sup> and which is characterized by all the commonplaces found in the writings of the supporters of the Asiatici.

It is hardly necessary, therefore, to point out the non sequitur of Professor Jackson's argument that because Horace and Vergil sing in praise of Pollio they were in sympathy with the stylistic ideals of a literary group of which he was a representative in "their championship of the *genus tenue*". Such reasoning would warrant the inference that, because these poets were protégés of Maecenas and praise their patron highly, they were in sympathy with his stylistic ideals, which is nonsense. Moreover, in spite of the fact that Horace agreed with those who demanded greater refinement in style, in this tenth satire he speaks slightly of Calvus, the *novus Atticus* and *novus poeta* *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*; cf. vs. 18-19, and note, too, the scornful use of "doctus" in vs. 52, the regular epithet of the Roman Alexandrians. Nor did he agree with the Atticists in their stand for analogy (cf. *Cic. Or.* 76, *consuetudinem imitans*), for he speaks out boldly on the other side (cf. *A. P.* 46 sq.), nor in their love for the older authors (cf. his sneer in *S.* 1, 10, 67, *poetarum seniorum turba*).

Not from his association with Pollio, therefore, or with any of the *novi Attici* did Horace get the stylistic ideal which he means to describe in his phrase *molle atque facetum*, for they were not molles, neither were they faceti.<sup>2</sup> Nor are these words, as the examples I have quoted show, used consistently enough as technical stylistic epithets to warrant the conclusion that they must refer to the *genus tenue*. The old rendering, "tenderness and charm", will do, but I am fanciful enough to see in *molle* "womanly tenderness", or simply "womanliness" in the best sense, to believe that Horace refers to this most characteristic trait of the *candidus animus* he so greatly loved.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Teuffel, *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* II, 321, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cic. Or.* 89: *quibus exceptis sic utetur sale et facetiis, ut ego ex istis novis Atticis talem cognoverim neminem, cum id certe sit quam maxime Atticum.*

## VI.—THE GREEK ARTICLE IN FIRST AND SECOND CENTURY POPYRI.

This investigation is made chiefly with a view to getting light on the New Testament use of the article—in case the papyri have any such light to offer. The documents examined and here referred to are, almost without exception, non-literary papyri of the first and second centuries A. D. from the P. Oxy., Vols. I.—IV.

A phenomenon that at once claims attention is the very frequent occurrence of "Anarthrous Prepositional Phrases". The following—all more or less frequently met with in these papyri—will serve as examples (one reference is given for each):

*κατὰ καιρόν* 34. II. 4, *περὶ κόμην Κορῶβιν* 45. 9, *ἀπὸ κόμης Ψάβ-  
θεως* 239. 4, *ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως* 38. 2, *ἐν ἀγυῖᾳ* 73. 22, *ἐπ' ἀμ-  
φόδου πλατείας* 51. 15, *εἰς δημοσίαν ῥύμην* 69. 2, *ἀπὸ λιβὸς ῥύμης*  
99. 7, *ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἐπαγαθοῦ* 51. 13, *εἰς υἰὸν* 37. I. 9, *ἀπὸ κοπρίας* 37. I.  
7, *ἐν χερσί* 63. 7, *κατὰ μητέρα* 68. 8, *μετὰ κυρίου* 45. 6, *μετὰ τελευ-  
τῆν αὐτοῦ* 68. 14, *εἰς κλείην . . . ἀπὸ ὥρας θ* 523.

Some of these phrases quoted from the papyri may be duplicated, others closely paralleled, in the N. T. *κατὰ καιρόν* of course is frequent. The papyri give us *ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἐπαγαθοῦ*, and in Matt. 26: 6 we find *ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος*, which looks much the same. A resident of Oxyrhynchus invites a friend to dinner *ἀπὸ ὥρας θ* (at 9 o'clock), and the phrase *ἀπὸ ἑκτῆς ὥρας* in Matt. 27: 45 presents a very similar linguistic phenomenon. The very frequent *ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως* of the papyri is paralleled by the N. T. *ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέθ* (Luke 2: 4). In P. Oxy. 63. 7 (see above) we found *ἐν χερσί*, and the N. T. furnishes many examples of the anarthrous use of this noun with various prepositions. (See e. g. Matt. 17: 22; 26: 45; Luke 1: 71, 74; 4: 11; Acts 2: 23; 7: 35; Gal. 3: 19.) With *εἰς υἰὸν* (quoted above from papyri) cf. the same phrase in Acts 7: 21 and Heb. 1: 5. With *ἀπὸ κοπρίας* cf. *εἰς κοπρίαν* in Luke 14: 35—the only occurrence of this word in the N. T.

But even apart from this *identity* or *similarity* of phrases the mere fact that a strong tendency is observed in the papyri—as in the N. T.—to omit the article with nouns used in prepositional phrases is not without significance. It would appear that the great frequency of these short-cut phrases in the N. T. is simply another illustration of the close affinity between the Sacred Books and the common speech of the time. This being the case we should not be hasty in classing as “Hebraic” certain expressions which may well belong to this general class. It may be true that the use of such phrases as *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὄργης* and *πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου* is due to Hebrew influence, as Blass insists, but if so we need not suppose that even such a thoroughly Greek writer as Luke would greatly offend his linguistic “sense of fitness” when he adopted them. They are close parallels to many expressions which Greek-speaking people of the time used every day.

It is possible that in several passages the Revisers might have given us a slightly different translation if it had been possible for them to study the use of prepositional phrases in the papyri. For instance one who has made some such observations cannot well doubt that *εἰς πόλιν* in Mark 1: 45 means “into *the* city”, as given in the margin, instead of “into *a* city”,—as it stands in the text. In Luke 8: 27 we are told of the Gerasene demoniac that “for a long time he had worn no clothes, and abode not *ἐν οἰκίᾳ*, but in the tombs”. The meaning is certainly “in the house”, i. e. “at home”, rather than “in *any* house”, as R. V. has it. In Heb. 1: 2 the marginal “*a* son” as an alternative to “*his* son” might probably be dispensed with. Westcott’s rendering of *ἐν συναγωγῇ* (John 6: 59; 18: 20) “in time of solemn assembly” is a good illustration of this sort of error. The use of this phrase seems to have been very similar to that of our corresponding expression “in church”.

It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that even such busy, matter-of-fact people as the writers of these non-literary papyri used the article *with indifference*. I have noted at least two cases where the article had at first been omitted and later inserted above the line. (See e. g. P. Oxy. 113. 27.) In neither of these cases would the omission have been a serious grammatical offence, but evidently the writer

considered the matter important enough that a correction should be made. In accounts, receipts, etc., terse, business-like expression may be responsible for the omission of an article where it would otherwise be used; e. g. Moulton notes (Prol., p. 81) that "in family or business accounts among the papyri we find with significant frequency an item of so much *εἰς πείν*, with the dative of the persons for whom this thoughtful provision is made". But examples of the regular articular infinitive with preposition are not wanting; e. g. P. Oxy. 69. 15: *εἰς τὸ καὶ ἐμαὶ δύνασθαι τὴν κριθὴν ἀπολαβεῖν*, "so that I may be able to recover the barley"; 76. 25: *πρὸς τὸ . . . ἀνεύθυνόν με εἶναι*, "in order to free me from responsibility". As we have seen, the abbreviated expression *ἐν οἰκίᾳ* is very common in the papyri, yet the record of the law-suit of Pesouris vs. Saraeus furnishes us an illustration of such a very "proper" usage as this: *εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου οἰκίαν* (P. Oxy. 37. 16). *ἐπ' ἀμφόδου πλατείας* is quoted above, but we have also *ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου* (P. Oxy. 257. 10)—the regular classical expression for "the same". P. Oxy. 34. 2. 11 has a nice example of the *οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ* construction, and in 113. 29 a man informs his business correspondent *ἔσχον . . . τοὺς τυροὺς τοὺς μεγάλους*, "I received the *large* cheeses",—a discriminating use of the article surely, especially since it develops that it was the *small* cheeses that he had ordered.

Reference may be made in passing to the omission of the article in "titular" expressions. This phenomenon—observed at the beginning of various N. T. books—is common in the headings of papyrus documents. Matt. 1: 1 reads *Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυεὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ*. Just such terse expression is what one meets with almost constantly at the head of papyrus contracts, etc. E. g. P. Oxy. 261:—*ἔτους δευτέρου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος . . . μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος. ὁμολογεῖ Δημητρία Χαϊρήμονος κτλ.* Or compare the opening of the Ep. of James—*Ἰάκωβος θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλος ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς . . . χαίρειν*—with P. Oxy. 474, which begins—*Πλαῦτιος Ἰταλὸς στρ(ατηγοῖς) καὶ βασιλ(ικοῖς) γραμματεῦσι νομῶν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων χαίρειν*. It will be noticed that "Plautius the Italian" was not content with omitting articles, but used abbreviations as well.

With regard to the use of the article with proper names a

good deal might be said, though perhaps the subject cannot be handled as *definitely* as we should like. Attempts to define the usage of the Classics have not been very successful, hence it is not to be expected that the writers of non-literary papyri will be found to have followed rigid laws in this matter. Deissmann has summarized the situation in the papyri, as he found it, under the following three heads (BPW. 1902, 1467 f.):

I. Nicht selten sind von der Ptolemäerzeit an die Fälle, in denen Personennamen, die zunächst ohne Artikel genannt sind, bei einer zweiten Erwähnung in demselben Texte den Artikel haben.

II. Sehr häufig ist (von der Ptolemäerzeit an) der Gebrauch des Artikels bei Vater- oder Mutternamen im Genetiv, die einem Personennamen beigefügt sind.

III. Schon in der Ptolemäerzeit werden Personennamen gelegentlich ohne erkennbaren Grund mit dem Artikel versehen.

In brief Deissmann finds in the papyri two uses of the article with proper names which he is able to classify, and in addition not a few cases which seem to him to defy explanation.

His first class is the familiar "Anaphoric" use, in which the article is roughly equivalent to our "the aforesaid" or—less often—"the well-known". In my own investigations I have been surprised to find how frequently this classical usage is to be met with in the papyri. To be sure it is not *always* the case that a man's name is first introduced without the article and that the article is used with each recurrence of the name, but neither is this the case in the Classics. It should not be expected that such a use would be universal—from the very nature of it. The following references will suffice, although many more illustrations can readily be found:—P. Oxy. 37. Col. 1, line 5—Πεσοῦρις; line 9—τοῦ Πεσοῦριος (also Col. 2, line 6); Col. 1, line 15—ὁ Πεσοῦρις; line 4—Σαραεὺν; Col. 2, line 4—τῆς Σαραεῦτος. 38, line 3—Σύρος; line 9—τοῦ Σύρον; line 12—Πασίωνος; line 15—τοῦ Πασίωνος. The same usage occurs with names of towns; see e. g. P. Oxy. 475, line 15—ἀπὸ Σεπέττα (first occurrence); line 17—ἐν τῇ Σεπέττα; line 28—εἰς τὴν Σεπέττα.

The use of the article before the genitive of the father's or mother's name appended to the name of a person, is, as Prof.

Deissmann says, "very frequent". This again is a phenomenon familiar to readers of the Greek N. T. Cf. e. g. the genealogical table in Luke 3: 23 ff.—*υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλεὶ τοῦ Ματθαί, κτλ.* Is it quite correct, though, to say—as Moulton says (following Deissmann)—"When a man's father's or mother's name is appended in the genitive, it normally has the article"?<sup>1</sup> If I mistake not the article agrees with the *preceding* noun rather than with the one following, the construction being elliptical for τοῦ υἱοῦ (or τῆς for τῆς θυγατρὸς). In an example like *παρὰ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Τρύφωνος* (P. Oxy. 721. 2) the article might belong to either noun, as far as form is concerned but when the former noun happens not to be in the genitive case—or is in the feminine instead of the masculine gender,—then the question is more easily decided. Note e. g. the following:—P. Oxy. 45. 4—*παρὰ Ταποτάμωνος τῆς Πτολεμαίου*; 488—*ὑπὸ . . . Ἀλοίνης τῆς Κώμονος*; 241—*μητρὸς Πετοσίριος τῆς Ἀρπαήσιος*. I have not noticed any cases in the papyri or elsewhere that bear testimony conflicting with this.

Another interesting thing may be observed about this particular use of the article with proper names. It seems to have undergone a development as the centuries rolled by. Almost all the examples are embraced in the following types:—(1) *Θοῶνις Διονυσίου*, P. Oxy. 251. 7. A. D. 44; (2) *παρὰ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Τρύφωνος*, 721. 2. A. D. 13-14; (3) *Διονύσου Ἀπολλοδώρου Διονυσίου*, 51. 2. A. D. 173; (4) *συγγραφὴν Θώνιος τοῦ Ἀρπαήσιος τοῦ Πετοσερωθώνιος*, 241. 4. A. D. 98; (5) *παρὰ Σαραπίωνος Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἐξοκῶντος*, 74. 5. A. D. 116. That is to say, the father's name alone may be added, or both the father's and grandfather's names. In the former case the article may or may not be used between the two names. In the latter case there are three different usages: no article at all is used, or two are used, or one is used—between the names of the father and the grandfather. Before the First Century A. D. the addition of the grandfather's name as well as the father's had not to any extent come into vogue. The father's name seems to have been regarded as sufficient identification, and the article was sometimes used—sometimes omitted. Its omission occurs more

<sup>1</sup> In view of the rule laid down by the grammars of classical Greek, the above is indeed an extraordinary statement. Compare Gildersleeve, S. C. G., 580, and see my note following this article.—C. W. E. M.

often where the name of the person concerned and that of the father differ in form (case or gender endings) so that the relationship is readily understood without the aid of the article: e. g. this would be true of *Θεῶνις Διονυσίου* but not of *Ταποτάμωνος τῆς Πτολεμαίου* (both quoted above). This explanation, or the fact already noted of the terse mode of expression common in "headings", will cover most cases of the omission of the article at this stage of the development.<sup>1</sup>

During the First Century the custom of adding the grandfather's name gradually gained ground, the fourth type given above being most generally used. The entire omission of the article, as in Type 3, is seldom seen except in headings or in passages characterized by terseness of expression. But after A. D. 100 a further and apparently final stage is reached, namely Type 5—the omission of the first article, while the second is retained. I have a theory as to the explanation of this which may or may not be correct. Latin influence has left not a few marks on the Greek of this period; may not this be one of them? The Roman custom of having two names instead of one was already coming into fashion among the Hellenists of Egypt. If a man did not have a surname what more natural way for him to get one than by using his father's name with his own—of course dropping the article between them? What I am assuming is that we can trace here certain stages in a gradual and more or less unconscious linguistic movement which resulted in father's names becoming surnames—to be further developed, in time, to family names as we have them to-day. This point perhaps has little *practical* importance, but it may be of philological interest to some.<sup>2</sup>

In the N. T. the use of the article with *names of places*, as well as names of persons, is supposed to involve difficulties. On this point the papyrus testimony seems to be clear and consistent. *εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*, *εἰς Μέμφιν*, etc. are frequently met with, but as far as I have observed the article is not used unless it be anaphoric, as in the examples given above (*ἐν τῇ Σενέπτα*, etc.). This may be paralleled in the N. T. (See e. g. Acts 9: 3 and 10:24), and I think that there are few if any examples in the N. T. of the article used with names of cities

<sup>1</sup> See note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In regard to the matter treated in this and the two preceding sections, see my note following this article.—C. W. E. M.



which cannot be accounted for by this or some equally simple explanation. Again the ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίδος, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου etc. of the papyri (names of large districts or sections of country) parallel the N. T. ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας etc.—some such noun as γῆ or χώρα or μερίς or νομός being understood.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the well-known fact that the papyri furnish plentiful illustrations of the Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος construction found in Acts 13: 9. Two examples will suffice:—Διογένης ὁ καὶ Ἑρμαῖος (P. Oxy. 45. 1), and Διονυσία ἡ καὶ Τααμίς (242. 13).

The occurrence or omission of the article with *names of months* is a matter which gives room for reflection. I worked for a time on the theory that the names of certain months took the article regularly while others did not take it at all. But unfortunately the facts of the case refused to line up with my theory. You may find τῷ Μεχείρ μηνί in a half dozen documents in succession, then just when you are ready to go forth and proclaim that whatever be the habits of other months Μεχείρ always takes the article—just then you stumble upon a Μεχείρ without the usual escort, for no apparent reason. This is true of Egyptian and Roman month-names alike. Yet even here I think we may find an explanation—granting that we cannot deduce a rule. We are dealing here with dates, and it is true of dates perhaps more than of almost anything else which men write that there is a tendency to shorten the expression when possible. At the heading of a letter we usually write “July 21st” (or “21st July” in Great Britain)—not “the 21st of July”, and just so the Egyptian Hellenist—as far as I have observed—never used the article with the name of a month when he was simply dating a document, whether at the beginning or the end. But just as we in the body of a letter are more likely to write “the 21st of July”, so the papyrus writer—if he had occasion to refer to a date in the body of his document—seems to have felt it more natural to use the article. But with these people, as with us, much depended upon personal idiosyncrasies, whether the writer were in a hurry, etc. The point is that we are dealing here with a special case; there is a reason for such peculiarities as are observed, and we must be cautious about drawing conclusions from these phenomena as to the general situation with regard to the use or disuse of the article.

Prof. Deissmann cites four examples under his third head; i. e. proper names having the article when there is no apparent excuse for its presence. It is interesting to note that at least two of these occur in intimate family letters, and are instances—as I think—of a usage that can be quite clearly defined. The references are P. Oxy. 117. 17—ἀσπάζου καὶ τὴν Κύριλλαν (a man's letter to his brother) and P. Grenf. 53. 26—εὐρέθη ἡ Δούκρα, κτλ. (a woman writing to a father regarding the conduct of his two daughters). As further parallels may be cited P. Oxy. 528. 18—ὁ Κόλοβος (letter of a man to his sister) and 530. 9—τοῦ Πανσιρίωνος (a man to his mother). This is a natural use of the article with the names of members of one's own family and intimate acquaintances as is shown by most modern languages. It may be classed in a general way with the anaphoric use—with names of persons already referred to or *well known* to the reader.

This investigation has been limited in its scope and does not pretend to be in any way exhaustive. Perhaps the most important point which the evidence accumulated tends to enforce is the need of caution in assuming hap-hazard irregularity in the use of the article by κοινή writers—even those who wrote without a thought of being "literary". For myself I may confess that until recently I have looked with favor upon the theory that in very many cases in the N. T. the article was to be explained only on the ground of certain rather vague "rhythmic considerations"; that is to say that a writer often would use the article or omit it according as he felt, instinctively, that his sentence would be better balanced thereby. I am still far from denying that such considerations may at times have been operative, but the evidence of these contemporary papyri has taught me to be cautious in the application of this all too simple principle. I believe that comparatively few examples can be cited where the usage is not entirely explainable on other and more tangible grounds.

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## VII.—NOTE ON THE USE OF THE ARTICLE BEFORE THE GENITIVE OF THE FATHER'S NAME IN GREEK PAPYRI.

The writer of the foregoing paper has been entirely too modest in his criticism of the statements of Deissmann and Moulton on the use of the article before the genitive of a parental proper name, and neither he nor they have had in view sufficiently the rule laid down in the grammars of Classical Greek. In his article in the B. P. W. 1902, col. 1467 fol., Deissmann discusses three uses of the article. The first section treats of the anaphoric use of the article with proper names. The second section states that when the name of a person is accompanied by the genitive of the name of the person's father or mother, the use of the article with the parental name is very frequent. The third section expresses the view that there are occasional instances in which it is impossible to discern the reason for the use of the article with proper names of persons. The first and third sections contain illustrative examples; the second does not, the author claiming that it would be superfluous to give examples. The uninformed student or scholar—and it is for him that Deissmann was writing—would naturally conclude that, as in τὸν Νεχθμῖνον, one of the examples cited in section one, the article τὸν agrees with Νεχθμῖνον, and as in τὴν Κύριλλαν, one of the examples cited in section three, the article τὴν agrees with Κύριλλαν, so, for example, in O. P. DCCXXI, 2, παρὰ Πολέμωνος τοῦ Τρύφωνος, which might have been cited as an example of section two, the article τοῦ agrees with Τρύφωνος. Such a conclusion would, of course, be entirely wrong, and the experienced papyrologist knows that τοῦ agrees with Πολέμωνος. So, for example, Wilcken, who, in his discussion of Ἐρμαῖος Ἐλένης τοῦ Τοθῆους, Amh. P. 98, 6, in the Archiv fuer Papyrusforschung, II, p. 133, lays down the rule that in such combinations the article always refers to the name that precedes, not to the name that follows. Nevertheless, to the scholar that is not familiar with the usage of the papyri, the language

of Deissmann's second section is, to say the least, ambiguous and misleading.

But, granting that Deissmann momentarily lost sight of the fact that he was not addressing scholars like himself, who would understand what he meant to say, what can there be said in extenuation of Moulton's statement (Prol. p. 83 [compare Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 761]): "When a man's father's or mother's name is appended in the genitive, it normally has the article"? By simply turning the pages of, let us say, volume I of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, scores of examples may be found in which there is no article to connect the genitive of the appended parental name with the name of the son or daughter. Compare O. P. XXXVIII (49-50 A. D.), 3: Σῦρος Σύρου. 4: Σαραεῦτι (fem.) Ἀπίωνος. XXXIX (52 A. D.), 8: Τρύφων Διονυσίου. XLIII (295 A. D.), very often, for ex., verso, col. I, 11: Ἀφφούς Θέωνος. 15: Ἐρμείας Ἡράτος, and more than forty other exx. in the same document. LVI (211 A. D.), 18: Ἀμοιτᾶν Πλουτίωνος. LXVIII (131 A. D.), 2: Θέων Πανσείριος. LXIX (190 A. D.), 21-22: Διογένης Ἀπολλωνίου. LXXII (90 A. D.), 23: Ἀμοίς Θέωνος. LXXIII (94 A. D.), 10-11: Θαμούνιον (fem.) Ἀδράστου. Similarly in Ptolemaic papyri: Grenf. Pap. XVIII (132 B. C.), 7-10: Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀπολλοδότου τῷ καὶ Ψεννήσει Ἀρσιήσιος . . . Ἡραίδι Πτολεμαίου τῆ καὶ Τίσει Παούτος. XIX (129 B. C.), 3-4: Ἀπολλωνία Πτολεμαίου. XXI (126 B. C.), 1: Δρύτων Παμφίλου. XXIII (118 B. C.), 3: Καίης Πατήτος. 5: Ἀρπαήσει Πόρτιτος.

But, making every possible allowance for the ambiguity of Deissmann's statement, and even pardoning, as an unhappy slip of the pen, Moulton's substitution of the word 'normally' for Deissmann's 'sehr häufig', one cannot withhold censure for another defect in the treatment of those scholars of the articular use in question. The defect is a radical one, and is due to the lack of proper consideration of the rules laid down in the grammars of Classical Greek.<sup>1</sup> A study of these rules

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gildersleeve, S. C. G., sec. 580: "The masculine or feminine article with the genitive merely shows connexion. *δ* is commonly *son*, and *ῆ* commonly *daughter*, but the precise relation is to be determined from the context. The construction is not used in official documents except in the genitive case, in which the article is obligatory." See also Meisterhans', *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, sec. 86, 7

would have revealed the fact that one must distinguish, on the one hand, between official and unofficial language, and, on the other hand, between the genitive and the other cases of the name of the son or daughter. Of these distinctions one observes nothing in the treatment of the above-mentioned scholars. Otherwise, we should have been informed that, in view of the fact that documents of an official or business nature, such as petitions, contracts, receipts, property returns, records of sales, wills, and the like, constitute the peculiar habitat of the complex designations in question, the article was not to be expected except when the name of the son or daughter was in the genitive case, and that even the rule of the genitive was not generally observed from the second century of our era onward. There are three categories involved in the previous statement, namely, 1) the absence of the article when the name of the son or daughter is in a case other than the genitive; 2) the use of the article after the genitive of the name of the son or daughter; 3) the regular omission of the article after the genitive from the second century of our era onward. These categories are now to be exemplified.

1) Absence of the article after the nom., dat. and acc.:

For examples, see above, p. 342, and below, p. 347, 1).

2) Use of the article after the genitive:

Amh. P. XLII (179 B. C.), 1: βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.

XXXVI (about 135 B. C.), 3: παρὰ Δρύτωνος τοῦ Παμφίλου.

Grnf. P. XVIII (132 B. C.), 5: Δρύτωνος τοῦ Παμφίλου (but immediately after, four exx. of the absence of the article after a dative).

XIX (129 B. C.), 6-7: Δρύτωνος τοῦ Παμφίλου (but immediately before, 3-4: Ἀπολλωνία Πτολεμαίου, and XXI (126 B. C.), 1: Δρύτων Παμφίλου).

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and 8: Auch der anaphorische Artikel bei Personennamen (vor dem Vaternamen) ist der offiziellen Sprache fremd: Καλλίας Ἰπποκρίκου . . . Ausserhalb der offiziellen Sprache erscheint aber vielfach der Artikel . . . Εὐθύδικος ὁ Θαλιάρχου ἀνήθηκεν . . . Immer steht der Artikel, auch in Dekreten, wenn der erstere der beiden Namen (der Name des Sohnes) schon ein Genetiv ist. In diesem Fall musste die Zusammenhörigkeit der beiden Namen äusserlich durch den Artikel angedeutet werden; also: Ἀξιόχου τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου . . . Σωτείρας τῆς Ἀθηναγόρου. Compare also Geldersleeve, A. J. P. XI (1890), 484.

XXV (114 B. C.), 10-11: ἀπέδοτο Ναομῶσις (no art.) Ὀνώφριος ἱέρισσα μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς Στοτοσήτιος τοῦ Πετσαροῦριος.

Amh. P. LIV (112 B. C.), 3-4: παρὰ Παθούριος καὶ Ταφιόμιος τῶν Ψευχώνσιος καὶ Πέτρας (?) τοῦ Ψευθενούφιος.

LI (88 B. C.), 25-26: οἰκία Ταενούτιος τῆς Ψευποῦριος ἧς κρατεῖ Τοτοῆς (no art.) Πανεχάτου.

O. P. XCIX (55 A. D.), 3-4 (=18): παρὰ τοῦ . . . ἀν[νεψιοῦ Πνεφερώτος] τοῦ Παποντῶντος.

CCXXXIX (66 A. D.), 3: μητρός Ἡρακλείας τῆς Ἐπιμάχου.

CCXLII (77 A. D.), 4: μητρός Ταυσοράπιος τῆς Ἀρθωόνιος. 24-25: μητρός Τεσεύριος τῆς Πετοσοράπιος.

LXXII (90 A. D.), 3-4: μητρός Πτολεμᾶς τῆς Ἰσχυρίωνος.

LXXIII (94 A. D.), 16-18: Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος μητρός Ταυσαράπιος τῆς Πετοσοράπιος.

XLV (95 A. D.), 3: Διογένους τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.

CIV (96 A. D.), 5 (bis), 6-7. II.

CCXLI (about 98 A. D.), 7-8: μητρός Πετοσίριος τῆς Ἀρπαήσιος.

CV (117-137 A. D.), 2: μητρός Διδύμης τῆς Φιλώτου (but in the subscription, 24: μητρός Διδύμης (no art.) Φιλώτου).

Besides the examples given above, the Amh. P., Vol. II, the Gren. P., Vol. I, and the O. P., Vol. II, yield more than 60 other exx. for the pre-Christian times, more than 75 additional exx. for the first century of our era, and about 12 exx. for the later centuries. See also p. 347.

3) Omission of the article after the genitive:

Amh. P. LIX (151 or 140 B. C.), 4: παρὰ Μαρρέιους Σισούχου (but LX (same date), 4: [παρὰ Μαρρέιο]ς τοῦ Σισούχου, follows the rule).

O. P. XXXVIII (49-50 A. D.), 2: παρὰ Τρύφωνος Διονυσίου.

XLIX (100 A. D.), 6-7: μητρός Λουκίας Λογγείνου.

LXXV (129 A. D.), 2-3: μητρός Θερμοῦθος Ἀπίωνος. 7-9: μητρός Δωγενίδος, τῆς καὶ Ταποντῶτος, (no art.) Σαραπίωνος.

XCV (129 A. D.), 14-15: πρότερον Ἡρακλείδου, τοῦ καὶ Θέωνος, (no art.) Μάχωνος.

LXXVI (179 A. D.), 4-5: Πασίωνος (no art.) Πανσείριος μητρός Τσεεῖ (no art.) Καλλίου.

XCVI (180 A. D.), 16-17: μητρός Ἀσκληταρίου Θέωνος.

LXXIX (181-192 A. D.), 2: παρὰ Κεφαλᾶτος Λεοντᾶτος.

XCI (187 A. D.), 5-6: μετὰ κυρίου Δημητρίου Ὀρίωνος.

LIV (201 A. D.), 8-9: *παρὰ Διογένους Σαραπίωνος καὶ Λουκίου Ἐρμίου* (two examples).

LVI (211 A. D.), 3: *παρὰ Ταβησάμμωνος* (fem.) *Ἀμμωνίου*.

XLIII (295 A. D.), verso, col. II, 23: *διὰ Εὐδαίμωνος Ἰέρακος*. 25-26: *διὰ Ἡρακλήου Θωνίου*.

LXXI (303 A. D.), col. I, 2: *παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Δημητρίου Νείλου* (from Aurelius Demetrius son of N.).

LIII (316 A. D.), 3: *δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Εἰρηναίου Ἀπελλήτος* (Aurelius Irenaeus son of A.).

LII (325 A. D.), 9: *ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου Δωροθέου*.

LXVII (338 A. D.), 3: *παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου Ὀρίωνος*.

To the above should be added about 5 or 6 examples from pre-Christian times, about 17 examples from the first century of our era, and about 90 from later centuries. Carelessness or the need of brevity will account for most of the examples of the early period.

The pompous style of the documents of the sixth and following centuries seems to have brought into vogue a new method of indicating the relationship of son or daughter. The proper case of the word *υἱός* or *θυγάτηρ* is used even though the name of the son or daughter be in the genitive. Hebrew or Roman influence is sometimes at work. A few examples follow:

O. P. CXL (550 A. D.), 6-7: *Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος, ὁ καὶ Κόρτιβος, υἱὸς Ἰούστου μητρὸς Μαρίας*, and the signature lines 29-30: *Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος υἱὸς Ἰούστου* (but the scribe's signature, l. 31, is in the earlier style: *Ἀπόλλων Ἡρακλείδου ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος*).

CXXV (560 A. D.), 4-5: *Αὐρήλιος Παμβήχης υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Μηνᾶ μητρὸς Μαξίμας*. Title on verso: *παρὰ Παμβήχιο[ς υἱοῦ] Ὡ Μ[ηνᾶ]*.

CXXVI (572 A. D.), 5-6: *Φλ(αουία) Στεφανοῦς, θυγάτηρ τοῦ σοφωτάτου σχολαστικοῦ Ἰωάννου*. 23.

CXXXVII (584 A. D.), 10: *Αὐρήλιος Πτολλίων υἱὸς Ἀνουθίου μητρὸς Νόννης*. 25 (signature): *Πτολλίων υἱὸς Ἀνουθίου*. 27 (title on verso): *χειρογραφία Πτολλίωνος υἱοῦ Ἀνουθίου*.

CXXXVIII (610-611 A. D.), 45: *Φοιβάμμων μίσθιος αὐτοῦ υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Παπνουθίου*.

CXXXIX (612 A. D.), 13: *Αὐρήλιος Μηνᾶς πρωτοφύλαξ, υἱὸς Ὀρ μητρὸς Ἡραῖδος*. 30: *Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Ὀρ*. 34 (title on verso): *ὁμολογία Μηνᾶ πρωτοφύλακος υἱοῦ Ὀρ*.

There are occasional examples in the earlier centuries, e. g.:

O. P. XCV (129 A. D.), 6-7: *ὕψ* (Roman name). CII (306 A. D.), 3: *Ἀυρηλία Ἀντιοχίῃ τῇ καὶ Διονυσίᾳ θυγατρὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου.*

In the preceding paragraphs I have had in mind only combinations of the father's name with that of the son or daughter. But there are numerous instances in which the mother's name also is appended, and, in this connection, it becomes necessary to point out another defect in the statements of Deissmann and Moulton. In those statements, the mother's name is placed in the same category with the father's name, whereas, as a matter of fact, it receives entirely different treatment in documents of the kind that we have been studying. The name of the mother does not by itself accompany the name of the son or daughter. It is regularly preceded by the word *μητρός*, and therefore admits of neither *τοῦ* nor *τῆς* to connect it with the genitive of the son's or daughter's name, nor of *καί* to connect it with the father's name. The following examples will serve to illustrate the usage:

O. P. CCXXXIX (66 A. D.), 2-3; *Ἐπίμαχος Πανσίριος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου μητρός Ἡρακλείας τῆς Ἐπιμάχου.*

LXXIII (94 A. D.), 10-11: *Θαμούνιον Ἀδράστου μητρός Ταναροῦτος. 16-18: ἀνδρὸς Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος μητρός Ταυσαράπιος τῆς Πετοσοράπιος.*

LXXIX (181-192 A. D.), 2-3: *παρὰ Κεφαλᾶτος Λεοντάτος μητρός Πλουτάρχης.*

LVI (211 A. D.), 3-5: *παρὰ Ταβησάμμωνος (fem.) Ἀμμωνίου . . . μητρός Διοφαντίδος. 18-19: Ἀμοιτᾶν (acc.) Πλουτίωνος μητρός Δημητροῦτος.*

CXXXVII (584 A. D.), 10: *Ἀυρήλιος Πτολλίων υἱὸς Ἀνουθίου μητρός Νόννης.*

CXXXIX (612 A. D.), 13: *Ἀυρήλιος Μηναῖς πρωτοφύλαξ, υἱὸς Ὀρ μητρός Ἡραΐδος.* See also O. P. XLIII, verso, col. II, 22. col. III, 23. XLIX, 6-7. LXXII, 3-4. LXXV, 2-3. 7-9. LXXVI, 4-5. XCI, 5-6. XCVI, 16-17. CV, 2. 24. CXXV, 4-5. CXL, 6-7. CCXLI, 4-8. CCXLII, 23-27 (*bis*).

There remains for consideration a complex designation consisting of the addition of the grandfather's name to that of the father of the person designated. The first two elements of this group fall under categories 1), 2) and 3) described



above. The third element, which is but a variation of the addition of the genitive of the father's name to the genitive of the son's name, belongs to category 2). There is this difference, however, that, whereas in the simple combination of the genitive of the father's name with the genitive of the son's or daughter's name the desire for brevity caused the rather frequent omission of the article as exemplified under category 3), the omission of the article before the genitive of the name of the grandfather is comparatively rare, the desire for clearness in the more complex combination outweighing the tendency to extreme brevity. I have before me about 125 examples of this triple combination, but shall have to content myself mainly with references, citing in full only a few typical examples.

1) Ζωίλος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πτολλίωνος, O. P. LXXII (90 A. D.), 19-21.

2) παρὰ Ζωίλου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πτολλίωνος, O. P. LXXII (90 A. D.), 2-3.

3) παρὰ Θέωνος Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος, O. P. LXXV (129 A. D.), 2.

4) παρὰ Διονύσου Ἀπολλοδώρου Διονυσίου, O. P. LI (173 A. D.), 2-3.

1) Gren. P. XVIII (132 B. C.), 3; O. P. CCXXXIX (66 A. D.), 2; CCXLII (77 A. D.), 3; XCIV (83 A. D.), 4-5; LXXII (90 A. D.), 19-21; XCVII (115-116 A. D.), 6-7; 20-21; CV (117-137 A. D.), [2]; 8; 13; 14; 15; 16; 18; 19; XCV (129 A. D.), 4-5; Amh. P. CXI (132 A. D.), 4 exx.; O. P. C (133 A. D.), 3-4; XCVIII (141/2 A. D.), 1; LXXVI (179 A. D.), 7; LXXIX (181-192 A. D.), 5-6; Amh. P. CIX (185/6 A. D.), 2; O. P. XCI (187 A. D.), 1-2; 3-4; XLIII (295 A. D.), verso, col. V, 2-3; 4-5; and about 40 other exx. (incl. 22 of 1st cent.).

2) Grenf. P. XXI (126 B. C.), 4; O. P. CCXLII (77 A. D.), 23-24; 25-26; XLVIII (86 A. D.), 8-9; LXXII (90 A. D.), 2-3; XLV (95 A. D.), 4-5; 6-7; CCXLI (98 A. D.), 4-6; XLVII (late 1st cent.), 6-7, and about 8 other exx. of the first cent. A. D.; XLIX (100 A. D.), 4-6; CCCCLXXVII (132-133 A. D.), 6-7; Amh. P. LXXVII (139 A. D.), 2.

3) O. P. XLVII (late 1st cent.), 12-14; XLVI (100 A. D.), 5-6; LXXIV (116 A. D.), 5-7; CV (117-137 A. D.), [22]; LXXV (129 A. D.), 2; 6-7; LXXVI (179 A. D.), 2; XCVI (180 A. D.), 6-8; 12-15; Amh. P. XCVII (180-192 A. D.), 2; 3-4; 7; 8; and 5 or 6 other exx.

4) O. P. LI (173 A. D.), 2-3 (cited above), 13-14; and about 12 other exx., all of the 2d cent. A. D.

The above note was originally intended as a footnote to the foregoing article. I soon found, however, that the subject under discussion was too comprehensive for a footnote, and was forced to publish it as an independent paper. The circumstances of its production rendered an extensive investigation impossible. My materials were derived from Grenfell's collection entitled "An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri", to which I have referred as Grenf. P., the second volume of the Amherst Papyri, and the first two volumes of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Notwithstanding these limitations, the note appeared worth publishing, and, if it serves to correct certain erroneous notions as to some of the points involved, it will have justified its place by the side of other more ambitious productions.

C. W. E. MILLER.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

*Aquae Sextiae: Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence dans l'antiquité.*

MICHEL CLERC. Pp. 576 + 24 illustrations in the text + 42 plates. A. Dragon, Aix-en-Provence, 1916.

This work of Professor Clerc's was given the Prix Mignet in 1913 by L'académie d'Aix and the Première Médaille des antiquités de la France in 1915 by L'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. It appeared first in the *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres*, and after having been singularly delayed, as the author says, it has just now been offered to the public in book form. No one is better fitted to write on the history of Aix-en-Provence than Michel Clerc, who is Professor of History in the University of Aix-Marseille, and who some years ago had occasion to study the topography and history of the Aix region in the preparation of his book *La Bataille d'Aix: Études critiques sur la campagne de Caius Marius en Provence*.

The text of this latest book of Professor Clerc is arranged in three parts: (1) *La région d'Aix avant l'arrivée des Romains*, (2) *Aix romain*, (3) *Topographie et Archéologie*. The text proper is followed by forty-six pages, which contain the inscriptions belonging to the town and vicinity, and an alphabetical list of the names in the inscriptions. Photographs and maps make up the forty-two plates at the back of the book.

*Aquae Sextiae*, the first Roman foundation in Transalpine Gaul, was in the territory of the people whom the Greeks called Σάλλυες and the Romans Salluvii. It was on the *Via Aurelia*, a little west of midway from *Forum Iulii* (Fréjus) to *Arelate* (Arles), and almost directly north of *Massilia* (Marseille). From it to the Mediterranean ran the *Via Aquensis*. *Aquae Sextiae* (which is Aix-en-Provence, not Aix-les-Bains) was not on any water. It lies about five miles north of the river Arc and fifteen miles south of the river Durance. Its position, however, is such that it must have been one of the important early towns of the Salluvii, although there is practically nothing left of an archaeological nature to prove it. The author is driven therefore to the finds in nearby places, also oppida of the Salluvii, particularly to Antremont, Baou-Roux, and Roque-Pertuse.

At Antremont (not Entremont from Intermontes, as the popular etymology has it) there have been found enough pieces of local hand-made pottery and iron to date the oppidum as far back as the fifth century B. C., and enough Greek ware—Samian in great part—to prove commercial relations with *Massilia*. But

the most important things found at Antremont were three blocks of stone, dug up in 1817, on three faces of which are rough bas-reliefs, which have been photographed and published a number of times (Bibliography in Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs I*, p. 84). On the front side of one of the three blocks is a warrior on horseback, on another are two horsemen, and on the third a man walking. On the other faces are human heads, not ornamental masks, but heads which have been severed from bodies. The author gives all the explanations which previous writers have attempted, quotes Strabo, Diodorus, Livy, and Tacitus to prove the Gallic and German custom of suspending the heads of their conquered enemies before their dwellings. That road leads of course to the Porta dell' Arco of Volterra, with its three heads. Professor Clerc's belief, therefore, is that these three blocks were part of a gate in the city wall. This is a very tempting hypothesis, and a better one than any other that has been offered. There is a certain structural difficulty—not insurmountable to be sure—in placing a block so three faces will show, but even placed as projecting voussours or as pilaster tops, certainly the decorative, or perhaps better, the terrific nature of the bas-reliefs would be much lessened.

Whatever may be true as regards the heads, the author's new study of the warriors on the front faces of the blocks does give positive results, the pictorial grounds for which are clear enough to anyone who examines the photographic plates. A warrior on horseback is riding at an enemy who is on foot. His sword is pointed as if it were a lance. Further, all the horsemen are without trousers. As it is certain that among the Gauls the cutting sword displaced the thrusting sword about 250 B. C., and that the Gauls began to wear *bracae* at about the same time, it is evident that the bas-reliefs date before 250 B. C. As to the workmanship, Professor Clerc thinks it was done by inhabitants of Antremont, who had seen Greek sculpture, because the galloping horses resemble some of the horses on the Parthenon frieze! I can see no good reason why Professor Clerc might not have claimed the sculptures outright for his own Salluvii. There are plenty of things from La Tène I which would justify such a claim. At all events, the bas-reliefs of Antremont are the earliest specimens of Gallic sculpture in southeast Gaul, and they with the other finds at Antremont offer satisfactory proofs of Gallic occupation as early as the fourth century B. C.

The next two chapters are devoted to La Roque-Pertuse, and Le Baou-Roux. Below the top of the precipitous height which constitutes La Roque-Pertuse there were found many years ago two statues, their most noticeable feature being that they sit "à la turque", or "en tailleur", or "à la bouddhique". The author has quite a disquisition on the matter and asks why such

a sitting position is not perhaps quite as likely to be originally a *posture gauloise*? Whether or not this is true, it is not as important as the examination Professor Clerc has made of the hill below which the statues were found. On the top, quite near the edge, and looking out over the road and valley, he found *three* excavations in the rock which could hardly have served any other purpose than aediculae or perhaps holes for bases for the statues of divinities. Previous researches had noticed only two excavations and explanations had been made on the basis of the two statues which had been found. Now, Professor Clerc feels that he has located a Gallic triad, perhaps the famous one composed of Teutatès, Esus and Taranis, and he advances the theory that the Christians toppled the statues off their bases over the cliff. Since Professor Clerc's book has been in the press, a fragment of a third statue has been found near where the two statues were discovered, and it seems to be more than probable that the author has established his point. He inclines to think that Antremont was the early capital of the Salluvii, the rock of Roque-Pertuse the chief sanctuary, and Baou-Roux a great fortress, commanding, as it does, the road leading from Antremont to the sea. It is fortunate that the oppida of the Salluvii have found so enthusiastic and so scholarly a student and interpreter as Professor Clerc, but it must be admitted that the results obtained are hardly commensurate with the labor expended.

The second part of the book has as its sub-title, Aix Romain. The first point taken up is of course the foundation of the city. Livy (Epitome to book 61) says: C. Sextius proconsul, victa Salluviorum gente, coloniam Aquas Sextias condidit. Velleius Paterculus and Strabo say about the same thing, adding that the place was founded where it was because of the warm springs there. The author launches into a long argument, and takes up the various statements of the classic writers and the interpretations of modern scholars as to whether Aquae Sextiae was founded as a Roman colony, a Latin colony, an oppidum, or a castellum. His argument is that Rome would not have wanted to found a colony as near as eighteen miles to its ally Massilia, as is proved by the fact that in 118, which is four years later than the date given by Cassiodorus for the foundation of Aquae Sextiae, the quite distant place Narbo was chosen for the foundation of a colony. He then notes that it was Julius Caesar who made Arelate a colony, and took the land—or most of it—from Massilia, which, as is to be remembered, was an ally of Pompey. It was then probably Augustus who made of the castellum of Aquae Sextiae a colony. The conclusion, therefore, seems well grounded that the foundation of a castellum at Aix would have been expected as a help to Massilia, but that when it was made a colony it was to hurt Massilia.

Aquae Sextiae once established, except for accidental prominence in the year 102 on account of the defeat there of the Teutones by Marius, drops out of literary ken. No coins have been found which were struck at Aquae Sextiae, although if it were a Latin colony established even by Augustus, it would still have had a right to issue coins, unless that right had been denied it by special ordinance in favor of Arelate. Inscriptions are the only source material available. On them the name of the town appears as Aquae Sextiae, Aquae Iuliae, Colonia Aquis Sextis, Colonia Iulia Aquis, Colonia Iulia Aquis Sextis, Colonia Iulia Augusta Aquis Sextis. Ten inscriptions show that the town was attached to the tribe Voltinia. Still all the inscriptions are imperial in date, and so, with the possible exception of an inscription, which has disappeared, there is no epigraphical evidence that Aquae Sextiae was a Latin colony, as certain as the fact seems to be.

The other chapters in the second part of the book, comprising about a hundred and seventy-five pages, deal with the information gleaned from the inscriptions as regards the territorial limits of the city, the subdivisions of the city itself, the direction of the Roman roads and the cults of the city, indigenous, Roman and Imperial. There is little that is important in this part of the book. The *pagi* of the city seem to have numbered five or six. Professor Clerc adheres to the number five, and gives us from good sources the names of three: pagus Matovonicus, pagus Iuvenalis, pagus Caudellensis. One might perhaps find fault with the chapter devoted to *La vie municipale*, for it devotes many unnecessary pages to a description of the well-known functions of all the officials whose titles appear in the inscriptions. A number of inscriptions mention local deities, of whom the god *Lanivalus* and the goddess *Dexiva* (probably from the word *δεξιά*) merit particular mention. They seem to be the Gallic Aesculapius and Fortuna.

The third part of Professor Clerc's work, *Topography and Archaeology*, offers him a field of larger possibilities, and here we have the best and most important part of the entire book. It is only necessary to say that the various chapters which deal with the location of the hot springs, the cemeteries, the city wall or boundary, and the aqueducts, which brought water to the city, are full of sound observations on facts previously known, and of satisfactory interpretations of facts more recently established by the author himself.

But the crowning piece of the whole work are the chapters which deal with the Roman monuments. The author takes up a discussion of the palace of the Counts of Provence, and reproduces the Cundier drawing of 1566, the Belleforest of 1575, the Marez of 1622 and the Devoux-Coussin of 1741, all of which show the three towers of the palace known as *La Tour de*

l'Horloge, la Tour du Trésor, and La Tour du Chaperon. Then with scientific method he marshals his evidence. The general lie of the land, the present location and direction of some of the main streets, inscriptions and cinerary urns, the drawings and descriptions of mediaeval artists and antiquarians, are all brought forward, and by argument and map, Professor Clerc drives the Via Aurelia northwestward toward the line of the city wall. Just outside the gate on the left of the road, he puts a mausoleum, a square base surmounted by a column-encircled, two-story structure resembling the Saint-Remy mausoleum. Voilà, la tour de l'Horloge est un tombeau! A little beyond the tomb on either side of the road are the towers of the gate, that of the Trésor on one side, that of the Chaperon on the other. They are built very like the mausoleum outside, except that their bases are round instead of square. That the towers were part of the city gate and were joined to the city wall is quite certain, but whether the original gate looked like the Porta Nigra at Trèves (Trier) or like those at Arles and Fréjus cannot be determined. An aqueduct entered the city at this gate, running under the Via Aurelia. The present Palais de Justice of Aix covers the ground where the two gate towers were. These chapters on the towers are a credit to scientific archaeology.

The book seems to be much longer than necessary. Perhaps one would not expect in these war times much reference to German authorities. Nevertheless it would have been better to have added at least to de la Noë's, *Le rempart-limite des Romains en Allemagne*, the *Roemischer Limes* (page 148, note 3), and, while citing Mommsen-Marquardt (as on page 157, note 1), the last German edition is preferable to the French translation. However, *Aquae Sextiae* is now Professor Clerc's preserve, and hunting in that field will have to take orders from him. There is no credit to be had in barking at a big piece of work simply because it happens to be almost meticulous.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

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Roman Cursive Writing, by HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOESEN.  
Princeton and Oxford Press, 1915. Pp. viii + 268 + Tables  
A-D and 1-6 of Alphabets.

The above work in its present form—enlarged from the author's 1912 Princeton dissertation—takes its place among the standard books on Roman Paleography. Chapter one gives in twenty pages as succinct and satisfactory a history of the beginnings and development of cursive writing as can be

desired. In chapter two the Pompeian graffiti and lead and wax tablets are briefly treated. Chapter three, which fills pages 32-224, gives 141 papyri (several ostraka are included) with a detailed description for each papyrus of all the letters, the abbreviations, and the ligatures, and includes 18 plates (unpaged) with facsimiles of 43 alphabets. This chapter, together with chapter four, which gives a Summary History of the Roman Cursive Alphabet, taking each letter and tracing its development, is a monument of painstaking diligence. Appendix 2—there are three in all—is a very complete bibliography. Ten tables of alphabets complete the book. Tables A, B, C, D give the different forms of all the letters of respectively the Pompeian graffiti, lead tablets, Pompeian wax tablets, and Dacian wax tablets. Tables 1-6 give the different forms of the letters in the papyri, the arrangement being a chronological one. Tables 1-5 give the letter forms from c. 17 B. C. to 491 A. D., and give space for as many as 30 different forms for each letter. Table 6 which shows the letters of papyri dating from 504-639 A. D. is so scrupulously done that there are 82 different forms shown for the letter b, 87 for g, 90 for o, 92 for e, and 96 each for i and for t. The reviewer finds that this book merits nothing but praise.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

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Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi, with an Introduction, Critical Notes and an English Version, by LOUIS CHARLES KARPINSKI. The Macmillan Company, 1915.

This work is a contribution to the history of mathematics, being Part I. of Contributions to the History of Science, in the University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volume XI.

A brief preface explains the nature and scope of the work. An introduction of sixty-three large pages constitutes in some respects the most important part of the work. This is followed by the Latin text on left-hand pages with critical notes underneath and on right-hand pages the English version with the solutions of problems with modern algebraic notation underneath. A Latin glossary is added in which are noted many departures from classical usage.

An epitome of the introduction would be useless even if it were possible to make one. A concise list of the contents must here suffice: I. Algebraic analysis before Al-Khowarizmi. II. Al-Khowarizmi and his treatise on Algebra. III. Robert of Chester and other translators of Arabic into Latin. IV. The



influence of Al-Khowarizmi's Algebra upon the development of mathematics. This chapter is specially important. V. The Arabic text and the translations of Al-Khowarizmi's Algebra. VI. Preface and additions found in the Arabic. This preface, omitted in the Latin translations, is here published from Rosen's English version. Its omission from the Latin translations was no doubt due to its recognition of Mohammed as The Prophet. The Arabic text contains also an extended discussion of inheritance problems, exceeding in volume the Algebra proper. VII. Manuscripts of Robert of Chester's translation. Besides some fragments there are three MSS of this version, one each in Vienna, Dresden, and New York (Columbia University). These are compared and their relations to each other discussed with great acumen. Photographic reproductions of one page of each MS are inserted.

To the text of the Algebra proper there are added from a Dresden MS some "Rules corresponding to the six chapters of Algebra", in which a peculiar notation is used; and then follow thirty pages of additions from the Columbia University MS. These additions were made by Johann Scheybl, Professor of Mathematics at Tübingen 1550-70.

It may be worth while to state some historical facts concerning the Arabian author and his translator, and make some comments on the whole work.

The real name of the author was "Mohammed ibn Musa", that is, Mohammed son of Moses. "Al-Khowarizmi" is "the Khowarizmian", from Khowarizm (now Khiva), the place of his birth. Several dictionaries and cyclopedias give his name erroneously, mistaking a prefix or title for the name. His designation, "al-Khowarizmi", has given us the word "algorism", from the Latin form "Algorismus" which was sometimes used also of arithmetic.

The dates of his birth and death are unknown, but it is well established that he was at the height of activity about A. D. 825. He wrote several books,—on arithmetic, astronomy, geography, chronology, the sun-dial, the astrolabe, etc., most of which are lost.

Robert of Chester translated other Arabic works, including the Qoran, into Latin. It was he, and not Robertus Anglicus, as usually stated, who translated the "Judicia Alkindi astrologi". He wrote the version of the Algebra in 1145.

The English version before us, as the author says, is rather a paraphrase than a translation, "in phraseology which the modern student of mathematics will find easy of comprehension". In consequence the version would mislead if not accompanied by the Latin text.

The Latin of Robert is such as Latin usually was in his day. Some words had to be used in a new sense. A Latin scholar

would hardly suspect that "Medietas substantiae et quinque radices 28 coequantur drachmis" means what we should express by  $\frac{1}{2}x^2 + 5x = 28$ . Robert uses "drachma" for unit; Scheybl uses "denarius". The unknown square ( $x^2$ ) is "substantia" or "census", and the first power ( $x$ ) is "radix" or "res", not to mention other strange usages.

The Algebra is made up chiefly of solutions of the various forms of quadratic equations, the rules by which they are solved, and geometrical demonstrations of the correctness of the rules. The solutions are identical with those of to-day, but only words without notation are employed. The problems are usually stated as equations of the second degree and deal with abstract numbers. Sometimes, however, they require some thought before the equation is stated and deal with concrete things, in which case the equation may be of the first degree. The abstract and concrete may be mixed, as when "a unit is divided among girls" (p. 119). There is a chapter on mercantile transactions which really treats of proportion. The additions made by Scheybl contain nothing important. One problem with its solution deserves special mention: "I divided a drachma and one-half between a man and a part of a man, and to the man there fell the double of that which fell to the part [of a man]. The question is, how large was the part?" By means of a quadratic equation he shows that it was one-half of a man!

It is worthy of note that among those that wrote algebras based directly or indirectly upon Al-Khowarizmi was Omar ibn Ibrahim al-Khayyami, better known as Omar Khayyam (about 1045-1123 A. D.), and that one Mohammed al-Qasim, of Granada, wrote a poem treating of algebra (now in the Escorial), not to be confounded with the "Carmen de Algorismo" of Alexander de Villa Dei (about 1220), which, with the "Algorismus Vulgaris" by John of Halifax (about 1250), was chiefly instrumental in introducing the Arabic numerals into Europe.

The title of the Algebra, still used in Mohammedan schools, is *al-jabr wal-muqabala* (in the Latin, "Algebra et Almuqabala"), meaning "the restoration (or making whole) and the opposition (or balancing)". One would suppose that these words referred to the completion of the square and the equating of the second member to the first; but Professor Karpinski, correctly it would seem, holds that the one refers to the transference of negative terms and the other to the combination of like terms with possible cancellation.

Professor Karpinski contends that the Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi was not derived from a Greek source. Algebraic analysis had been employed by Greek and other mathematicians, but "with such evidence as we now have we must regard him as the first to bring out sharply the parallelism between the analytical and [the] geometrical solutions of quadratic equations".

Professor Karpinski has done his work excellently and has made an important contribution to the history of mathematics, correcting several prevalent errors.

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The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil, by THOMAS FLETCHER ROYDS, Oxford. B. H. Blackwell, 1914. pp. I-XX, 1-107.

Mr. Warde Fowler, who contributes the preface, says that "no book of classical antiquity makes quite such a strong appeal to Englishmen as the Georgics." He thinks Mr. Royds' notes the "best commentary we have for the naturalist, the farmer or the sportsman." Mr. Royds says the main object of his book is "to discover Virgil's meaning and to bring it into relation with modern knowledge." It does not pretend to be a complete commentary on his "natural history." The notes are unaccompanied by a translation and, as Mr. Royds himself says, are not always strictly relevant to an exposition of Virgil. The scientist may not be entirely satisfied with the book, for it falls short of being, as its sub-title claims, a naturalist's hand-book to the Georgics. It contains much interesting and valuable information, some of which is new. The notes exhibit wide reading, if not altogether systematic treatment.

In part I., the description of a well-bred horse in Georgics III. 75-88 offers a fair example of the range of the notes. Sixteen authorities or parallels are cited: Ennius, Xenophon, Buffon, Whyte-Melville, Isaiah, Homer, Micah, The Field, Job, Shakespeare, Layard, Lucretius, Aeschylus, Byron, Kingsley, and Conington. The Gadfly III. 146-151 gets a good note and the reference in III. 250-54 to "hippomanes" calls forth some odd comments. Virgil's fondness for goats is noted under III. 300, and his love of hunting under III. 409-13. "He was a sportsman at heart in spite of his natural sympathy for animals." The beautiful passage, III. 515-30, and the conclusion of the book, 547-end, show Virgil's "power to raise his subject to the highest level" and his "skill as an artist in handling his theme." Comments on the Ant, the Cicada, the Mus, Talpa and Curculio conclude Part I.

Part II. gives the notes on birds. The *Corvus* is found to be the rook and the *cornix* is either the crow or the raven. *Hirundo* is sometimes our swallow and sometimes our house-martin. *Philomela* has not a sad note, is not inspired by sorrow. That the bird sings in June in Italy, the remark of Countess Cesaresco shows: "Take the train to Mantua in June, and nightingales drown the noise of the engine."

Part III. treats of bees. "To Maeterlinck Virgil is the only one of the Greek and Roman bee-keepers worth studying." An interesting note is found on *reges* IV. 21. The sex, it appears, was discovered by Swammerdam, a Dutch naturalist of the 17th Century. Can bees hear? is discussed under IV. 50 and 64. The conclusion is that "probably bees have some sense of hearing, or some faculty that corresponds to it, but as to its nature and range we are very much in the dark." Mr. Royds' note hardly does justice to the digression of the old gardener (IV. 125-148), one of the most human touches of the many to be found in Virgil. The few thin acres,

nec fertilis illa iuencis  
nec pecori opportuna seges nec commoda Baccho,

are made to blossom like the rose by the love and care of the Corycian old man. Of course his garden would contain a "number of honey and pollen-yielding blossoms," nor would this be accidental. Is it accidental that this fact has escaped previous editors? The *magnae leges* (IV. 154) of the bee have not called forth any better comment than Mr. Royds': "She is, even more than man, a political animal, and Virgil was not far wrong when he clothed her with all the excellences of the Roman city-state." Well worth attention are the comments on the drones (p. 77), on the belief in the spontaneous generation of bees (p. 82), on the term of life of bees, on the inspiration of bees, on instinct of bees, on bee-scouts. The concluding quotation from Michelet on the resurrection of bees is entirely consistent with the fine feeling for Virgil present throughout Mr. Royds' book.

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## REPORTS.

### HERMES XLVII.

#### Fascicle I.

Zur Geschichte der Medicin im Altertum (1-17). M. Wellmann continues his notes on the history of medicine (Hermes XXIII, p. 556; XXXV, p. 349; cf. A. J. P. XXII, p. 223). IX informs us about a pharmacologist Antiochis, one of whose remedies was successfully used in Rome by Favilla, a Libyan woman, during an epidemic of colic at the time of Tiberius. X discusses the scholia in the Aetius MS (X cent.), a collation of which has been made by Olivieri (Studi Italiani IX 299 f.), and shows their identity with passages in Dioscurides, Galen, Paulus of Aegina and Oreibasius. XI (pp. 4-17) is devoted to Rufus of Ephesus, who should be classified, not as a Pneumatic (cf. Hermes XXXV, p. 381), nor as an Eclectic, a term that needs definition for its use in medicine, but as a Dogmatic. As a commentator Galen cites him ten times, usually in conjunction with Sabinus, probably Galen's source. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Hippocrates and undoubtedly an original thinker and scholar as well. Galen's dependence on him, directly and indirectly, joined with other cases of dependence reveals Galen more and more as a great compiler.

Empedocles und die Atomistik (18-42). W. Kranz shows with interesting details how the atomistic doctrine of the Abderites was an organic growth out of the theories of Parmenides (circ. 480), Empedocles and Anaxagoras. While in general agreement with Brieger, who emphasized the influence of Anaxagoras (Hermes XXXVI, p. 161 ff.; cf. A. J. P. XXIII, p. 334), Kranz lays especial stress on Empedocles. Leucippus, whose existence was questioned by Brieger, and is denied by Christ-Schmidt (Gr. Lit<sup>z</sup>, p. 591 n. 8), wrote his work after 450 B. C., and Democritus developed his theories as late as 400 B. C. and even later, a chronology that would explain Democritus' relation to the Sophists; and as, moreover, his ideas were late in being introduced at Athens, we can understand why Plato was tardy in recognizing them; i. e. in the Timaeus.

Die Chronologie des Nonnos von Panopolis (43-59). P. Friedländer concludes from a metrical study that Nonnus' style followed that of Claudian, Cyrus, Ammonius and the younger Proclus; and, as none of the poets who clearly reflect the 'ascetic rigor' of his metrical form lived before Anastasius (491-518

A. D.), he assigns Nonnus' poetic activity to the period 440-490 A. D., instead of to about 400 A. D., as is usually done.

Noch einmal Tibulls erste Elegie (60-116). R. Reitzenstein attacks the typological method of poetical criticism, which seeks the sources of the poetical form and the *τόποι* of the subject matter. This method has indeed advanced literary interpretation; but is too prone to find a mechanical joining of preexisting, incongruous elements. Thus, according to F. Jacoby (Rh. M. LXIV 601-632; LXV 22-87; cf. A. J. P. XXXII, p. 348), Tibullus I, 1. is a cento from Horace, Propertius and comedy. R. refutes Jacoby's arguments and regards the bucolic part as preparatory to the erotic; both are united by the thought: 'I am tired of military life, may I henceforth devote myself to rural life and the enjoyment of love'. The first book of Tibullus and the first book of Propertius are independent of each other.

Hierokles bei Theophylaktos (117-125). K. Praechter, who has shown that the ethical fragments in Stobaeus did not belong to Hierocles the Neoplatonic, but to the Stoic of the same name (cf. Christ-Schmidt Gr. Lit. II<sup>6</sup>, p. 274), now makes it probable that the Hierocles cited by Theophylactus Simocattes in his ostentatious enumeration of sources for his *Διάλογος περὶ διαφόρων φυσικῶν ἀπορημάτων κτλ.*, was also not the Neoplatonic as Zeller thought (Philos. d. Gr. III 2<sup>1</sup>, p. 812, n. 3), but the author of the *Φιλίστορες*, whose date follows Strabo and precedes Stephanus B. and Aeneas of Gaza (cf. Christ-Schmidt Gr. Lit. II<sup>6</sup>, p. 629).

Die ältesten Farbenlehren der Griechen (126-140). W. Kranz gives an account of Empedocles' theory of four elemental colors (which to him were properties of the four elements of matter), and its influence on Democritus and Plato. Empedocles was the first to formulate a scientific theory of color sensation, which he thought was effected in the eye by the coincidence of minute particles, flowing from an object, with the pores of the eye. While others like Anaxagoras, Aristotle and the Peripatetics (cf. also Goethe, Weimar edition II, 3 p. 115 ff.) considered white and black alone as primary, Empedocles accepted as such: white, black, red and yellow, from the prevailing use of these 'colors' in the art of painting, without undertaking, as it seems, to harmonize in detail this assumption with his theory of the four elements. An interesting passage (Diels Vorsokr. p. 181, 25), illustrating the manifold colors in nature, is derived from the painter's mixing of colors (*τὰ μὲν πλέω, ἄλλα δ' ἐλάσσω*). The Pythagoreans adopted this theory of four colors and even physicians like Diogenes of Apollonia and Philistion made applications of it. Democritus based his more advanced theory on these same four colors, merely substituting *χλωρόν* (plant

color) for *ἄχρόν*. Democritus entered into a detailed analysis, distinguishing four elemental colors, and four primary and four secondary mixtures. Plato (*Timaeus* 67 C ff.) shows the influence of Empedocles, but also of Democritus, whom he evidently criticizes.

Miscellen: F. Skutsch (141-145) calls attention to the awkward close of the otherwise admirable expository scene of Terence's *Hautontimorumenus* (i. e. v. 165-171), and argues that there is a gap here, due to the omission of the Greek chorus, evidence for which in various plays is discussed. The first act closed with v. 170.—W. Sternkopf (146-151) shows from Cicero's fifth *Philippic* §7 ff. that the *lex Antonia agraria*, which Lange correctly distinguished from the *lex Antonia de coloniis in agros deducendis* (cf. Groebe's Appendix to Drumann I, 424 f.), was proposed by the consuls Antonius and Dolabella, and should therefore be called *lex Antonia Cornelia agraria*. The tribune Lucius Antonius was merely prominent in administering it.—B. Keil (151-153) explains the unique adjective *τροπαϊκῆ*, which occurs in an Asia Minor inscription of the II cent. A. D. (cf. *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LIII, 1908), as a derivation from *τροπαϊκόν* (*victoriat*), which corroborates ancient testimony that computations based on this coin occurred as early as the time of the emperors (cf. Hultsch *Metrol.* 289. 2).—K. Münscher (153-154) conjectures for v. 2 of Vergil's *Catalepton* 5 (7): *inflata <rhoezo> non Achaico* (*rhoῖso*, the reading of B). Greek passages with *ροῖζος* are cited.—Ch. Hülsen (154-159) calls attention to the evident intention of Florus (I, 5) to show the restricted area occupied by the towns of Republican Rome in contrast with the expanded Empire, and accordingly emends *Faesulae* to *Aefula* (possibly *Aefulae*) and *Fregellae* to *Fregenae*.—K. Praechter (159-160) gives point to Antigonus' retort when ridiculed for his homeliness: *καὶ μὴν ἰδὲ κοῦν ἐπ' ἄρσσωπος εἶναι* (cf. *Plut. de cohib. ira* I p. 556. 29 ff.) by translating: *ich glaubte doch ein Mann "guten Ansehens" zu sein*.—M. Wellmann (160) cites *Plut. Mor.* 8 B, where Diocles of Carystus recommends the use of books as an *ὄργανον τῆς παιδείας*, and cites Diocles' remark to a purchaser of a book on medicine, who thought he could now dispense with instruction: *τὰ βιβλία τῶν μεμαθηκότων ὑπομνήματά εἰσι, τῶν δὲ ἀμαθῶν μνήματα*.

#### Fascicle 2.

Die Todesstrafe politischer Verbrecher in der späteren römischen Republik (161-182). F. Münzer discusses the tendency of the Roman Republic to abolish the death penalty, and the subsequent change under the Empire, when Tiberius, especially, favored cruel executions and the exposition of the bodies

on the Gemoniae Scalae. Under these conditions historians of the Empire, seeking precedents, invented executions and the exposition of the bodies in public, which accounts for certain discrepancies between their statements and more reliable ones. Such a late fabrication by Clodius Licinius (consul 4 A. D.) was made after the model of the history of Catiline's conspiracy (cf. Livy XXIX 22, 7-10; XXXIV 44, 6-8). This model was also used in a case pointed out by Ed. Schwartz (Götting. Univ. Prog. 1903, 3-10). But Valerius Maximus especially is shown to have falsified history in this respect, probably out of subserviency to Tiberius. According to him (VI, 9, 13; 3. 3) Q. Caepio and Claudius Clinias (both of them exiled) were strangled in prison and their bodies exposed on the Gemoniae Scalae, the very name of which was not known until the time of Tiberius.

Zur Überlieferung von Senecas Tragödien (183-198). Th. Düring after renewed study (cf. A. J. P. XXX 460; XXXI 481/2) reaffirms his conviction that the Etruscus (E) s. XI/XII furnishes the foundation for establishing the text of Seneca's tragedies, although the A-MSS are indispensable for numerous passages. He has carefully reexamined the MSS of Richter, which he characterizes, and, in the meantime, W. Hoffa has collated Neapolitanus IV D 47 (n), and Laurentianus 24 sin. 4 (b); and, most important, he had at his command two new MSS, which antedate the commentary of Nic. Treveth (1305-1321), in which the hitherto oldest tradition of the A class is preserved. They are a Cambridge MS (C) of Corpus Christi College; and a Parisinus lat. 8260 (P), discovered by C. E. Stuart (cf. *Classic. Quart.* Jan. 1912). Stuart expresses his belief that C was used by Treveth; but this is shown to be erroneous. A detailed examination of selected passages illustrates interestingly points in MS tradition. A diagram indicates the independent relation of P and C to the archetype A (the date of which is now pushed back into the XII century), and also of a theoretical X from which n, b, and Ag (Richter's Augustanus) were derived. All, however, were probably separated from A by intervening copies, and again n, b and Ag, on their part, from X.

Weitere Studien über das Recht bei Plautus und Terenz (199-249). O. Fredershausen, who gained favorable comment with his dissertation *De jure Plautino et Terentiano* (cf. *Berl. Phil. W.* 1907, 1354 f.), contributes here a study on Familien- und Erbrecht, in which he seeks to determine what was peculiar to Athens, or Rome, and what common to both. In the latter case judgment as to source is hazardous. Numerous passages in Plautus and Terence are examined, which bear on the purpose of marriage, the legality of marriage with strangers, the



marriage of children of the same father (permissible in Athens), the punishment for adultery, the peculiarly Athenian law dealing with heiresses, etc. In a number of cases Roman additions or changes can be recognized, especially in the Epidicus. That Terence everywhere merely reproduces his original is not to be assumed, and yet the explanation of the law dealing with heiresses in the Phormio (125 ff.) need not be taken as introduced to inform the Roman public. Adultery could be punished in Athens and Rome; but in Rome the woman could also be killed, hence the threat of the miles in Bacchid. 860-69, is probably Plautus' addition.

Lactanz de mortibus persecutorum (250-275) H. Silomon discredits the assumption that the D. M. P. was the account of an eye-witness. If the author was in Nicomedia during the reign of Diocletian and Constantine, he must have derived the events preceding the reign of Diocletian from some source, and so a comparison with Eutropius, Aurelius Victor and the excerpts of Aurelian and Festus reveals the same source for the D. M. P., i. e. the anonymous History of the Emperors (cf. Philolog. XLV). For the period following Diocletian's retirement, by including the histories of Zonaras and Zosimus, it becomes evident that here, too, the D. M. P. depended mainly on this anonymous history, and to some extent on the historia Constantini. The bias and errors of the author of the D. M. P. is shown as well as his skill. Silomon proposes to determine how far the two above-named sources extended, which would yield a date after which the D. M. P. must be placed. Even so it is clear that Lactantius cannot have been the author (cf. A. J. P. XXXVII, p. 230).

Fragmente einer Handschrift der Demen des Eupolis (276-313). A. Körte edits the 117 lines of the Demes of Eupolis, most of them more or less fragmentary, which appeared, unidentified, for the first time in 1911, as an appendix to Lefebvre's second edition of Menander. The script, on both sides of three leaves of papyrus, is that of the IV or V century A. D., to which date Körte assigned the Menander codex; but is more careful and book-like (cf. Körte, Menandrea Praef. XII). Körte confronts the restored text with the papyrus text, and supports both with notes on conjectures and readings. Further examination of the papyrus by experts like Hunt, Wilcken, Croenert and Jensen is highly desirable. The Demes, perhaps the greatest political comedy of all times, appears to have been Eupolis' last work (412 B. C.). The chorus was composed of representatives of the rural *δημοί*. From the dead appear Myronides, Solon and especially Aristides. Three passages are restored with the aid, respectively, of Euripides, Cratinus and one Eupolis fragment. The meter shows that the latter part of a parabasis is

included, which affords interesting comparisons with Aristophanes. The last two verses of the antepirrhema bear a striking resemblance to the closing lines of the second parabasis of the Knights (1288/9), which seems to strengthen the theory that this was composed by Eupolis.

Miscellen: M. Pohlenz (314-317) believes that the doctrine that Eupolis aided Aristophanes in the composition of the second parabasis of the Knights, particularly vv. 1288/9 (cf. scholion), is nothing but an ancient conjecture based on the resemblance of those verses to two verses in the newly discovered Eupolis fragment (cf. the last article).—Ida Kapp (317-319) discusses the recognition scene in Menander's *Epitrepontes* v. 432-456, and concludes that two houses only are on the stage, that of Charisius and Chairestratus; that Charisius has gone into the house of his (young) friend Chairestratus and that his drinking there is shown by the Petersburg fragment (*fabula incerta* II Koerte), which agrees with the situation and probably gives the conclusion of the first and beginning of the second act.—Ch. Huelsen (319-320) apologizes for forgetting that O. Hirschfeld had suggested *Aefulae* for *Faesulae* and *Fregenae* for *Fregellae* in *Florus* I, 5 (cf. *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1899, p. 549); but points out differences in their respective views (cf. previous Miscellen).—H. Dessau (320) comments on another Amphora stamp POS. CVR (=Post. Curt.) found in Coblenz (cf. *A. J. P.* XXXVII, p. 100).

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Janvier-Avril.

A. T. Baker [et] M. Roques. *Nouveaux fragments de la chanson de La reine Sibille*. 13 pages. Mr. Loveday of Sheffield University not long since discovered in his ancestral library a double leaf of parchment containing an Old French poem. Professor Baker on examining the text found it to be of the thirteenth century and in an English hand. He has published the fragmentary text in question; and M. Roques has come to his assistance with a study of the relationships existing between this and the previously known versions of the same story in French, Italian and Spanish. The present fragments appear to belong to the most primitive version of all those hitherto discovered.

Wm. A. Nitze. *Sans et Matière dans les oeuvres de Chrétien de Troyes.* 23 pages. In his endeavor to determine the exact meaning to be attached to these technical literary terms the author of this article has frequent recourse to parallel passages to be found in the *Lays of Marie de France* and other medieval writers. His general conclusion is that Chrétien de Troyes was able in a masterful way to adapt literary material previously existing to his own ends, and that he was thus able to create a new species in the romance as known in early French literature and as especially well exemplified in his own writings. The author's conclusions are well supported by numerous citations from recent scholarly work in the same field.

Amos Parducci. *Le Tiaudelet, traduction française en vers du Theodulus.* 18 pages. This well-known medieval work has been expanded by the Old French author in his translation by the addition of a prologue and of voluminous glosses. In the present article only a few extracts of the Old French text are published. An effort is, however, made to determine the personality of the anonymous author, and to indicate briefly the outside sources on which he probably drew. This long octosyllabic poem awaits further investigation.

M. Wilmotte. *La Chanson de Roland et la Chançon de Willame.* 32 pages. Instead of vainly endeavoring to harmonize and approve of the numerous theories already advanced by scholars as to the history of the *Chançon de Willame*, the writer of the present article endeavors to judge the poem on its own merits from a literary point of view. It would seem that the poet was familiar with the *Chanson de Roland*, and whenever he happened to remember verses or incidents that appeared to him to be suitable he introduced them into his own work.

*Mélanges.* Arthur Långfors, *Le dit des quatre rois.* Arthur Långfors, *Notes et corrections au roman de Renart le contrefait.* Marius Esposito, *Prière à la vierge en huitains.* A. Thomas, *Un témoignage méconnu sur Gui de Tournant.* A. Thomas, *Qi vive?*

*Comptes rendus.* Ferdinand Danne, *Das altfranzösische Ebrulfusleben, eine Dichtung aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Arthur Långfors). Henri Hauvette, *Boccace: étude biographique et littéraire* (Henry Cochin). E. Marcialis, *Piccolo Vocabolario sardo-italiano e Repertorio italiano-sardo; Fauna del Golfo di Cagliari* (J. Jud). A.-F. Masséra, *Il serventese romagnolo del 1277* (Giulio Bertoni). M. Niedermann, *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Marcellus Empiricus de medicamentis* (J. Jud). J. Stalzer, *Die Reichenauer Glossen der Handschrift Karlsruhe 115* (Giulio Bertoni). K. Hetzer, *Die Reichenauer Glossen*

(Giulio Bertoni). W. Foerster, *Die Reichenauer Glossen* (Giulio Bertoni). J. Stalzer, *Zu den Reichenauer Glossen* (Giulio Bertoni). W. Foerster, *Noch einmal die Reichenauer Glossen* (Giulio Bertoni). C. Salvioni, *Per la fonetica e la morfologia delle parlate meridionali d' Italia* (J. Jud). Marius Esposito, *Inventaire des anciens manuscrits français des bibliothèques de Dublin, I* (Arthur Långfors).

Périodiques. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, t. CXXXII (A. Långfors). *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, t. LXIII, LXIV (A. Jeanroy: "Kenneth Mac Kenzie, *Per la storia dei Bestiari italiani*"). *Lares*, *bulletino della Società di etnografia italiana*, t. I, II (J. Jud). *Le Moyen Age*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, t. V-XI (H. Lemaitre). *Revista Lusitana*, t. XV (A. B.). *Studj romanzi*, V (Giulio Bertoni).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Alexandre D'Ancona and Rodolfo Renier. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 9 titles. M. L. Wagner, *Südsardische Trutz- und Liebes-, Wiegen- und Kinderlieder* (J. Jud). *Die Lieder Raouls von Soissons*, hrsg. von Emil Winkler (A. Jeanroy).

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## BRIEF MENTION.

My discourse on the Greek particles in the last number of the JOURNAL was rudely interrupted by the 'claudite iam rivos' of the printer, whose 'close up' took a less classic form. Fifty years ago one of my pupils found fault with my instruction because I did not pay enough attention to the Greek particles. Whether the reproach was deserved or not, I cannot tell at this distance of time, but the particles certainly form an extremely important chapter in the study of Greek. The literature is now appallingly massive, now hopelessly scattered. What one finds in the school grammars is utterly inadequate. Translations carry no conviction. In other spheres great reputations for scholarship have been gained by translations of imaginary differences, but a King of Greek Scholarship, if such a being were conceivable, would lose his rights where there is nothing into which to translate; for English is asyndetic as Greek is syndetic. In four consecutive lines of *So. Ai. 1226* we find  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ .\ .\ .\ \sigma\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\omicron\iota\ .\ .\ .\ \eta\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\ .\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ ,\ \tau\omicron\iota\ ,\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon$ . Produce each a distinct effect. But can you bring that out in English without cumbersome circumlocution? Your German cannot live without 'schon'. Translate 'schon' into English and it becomes an ear-mark of the unassimilated Teuton.  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is a good example.

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For generations  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  has been translated with distressing uniformity by 'but'; and the head-master of Grayfriars school apostrophizes Pendennis thus:

'Miserable trifler! A boy who construes  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  *and* instead of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  *but* at sixteen years of age is guilty not merely of folly and ignorance and dulness inconceivable but of crime, deadly crime, of filial ingratitude which I tremble to contemplate'.

If the Doctor had been spared to read Sir John Sandys' translation of Pindar in which the 'but' translation is dodged at every turn, one 'trembles to contemplate' the consequences. Now it is 'while', now it is 'and', now it is frankly left to the uncovenanted mercies of the sentence. Scientific etymology has nothing to do with it. Translation is an art and not a science.  $\delta\acute{\epsilon} = \delta\acute{\eta}$ , the equation given in the last *Brief Mention*, is repudiated by high authority. 'But' makes no picture, unless one drags in the other adversative 'butt' with two t's.

δέ is in like case, and my advocacy of the μῆν—δῆ theory (A. J. P. XXXVII 240) was intended chiefly as an argument against those who consider the explanation too metaphysical. The Greek language, as far back as we know it, is capable of subtilities that can be revealed only by painstaking analysis. The naïveté of Homer is almost as much a myth as the naïveté of Herodotos. What are we to do with γε? We are told to render γε simply by stress, but emphasis is the refuge of poverty, and in my teaching I have always declared that 'emphasis' is no explanation, even if I have resorted to it myself. γε = Lat. 'quidem', but 'quidem' is three times as long and 'at least' is not only three times as long but more than three times as heavy. γε is a gasp. All we can do is to write long excursions on δέ γε as Neil has done in his much lauded edition of the Knights and to find comfort in the fact that γε is a constituent element of γάρ and that we must not consider γάρ too strictly illative. As for ἄρα, science tells us that it is short for ἀραρότως. The full translation would be 'accordingly', but what after it is reduced to the *canina littera* ρ? There is an ἄρα of accord, there is an ἄρα of discord, the familiar ἄρα of surprise. 'Therefore' becomes 'after all'. The second ἄρα differs from the first only in the putting out of the tongue, such as we expect from the Greek εἰρωνεία. The German 'so' has been called a compendium of the German language, just as the difference between the German and the English 'also' reflects, if it does not sum up, the differences of the two nationalities. I have never found an explanation for the curious phenomenon that while 'sooth' is said to be the equivalent of the Greek ὄντως, 'forsooth' should be invariably ironical and 'in sooth' should be invariably serious, although it is often accompanied by 'sober' in order perhaps to guard against the contagion of its mocking companion.

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ἄν and κεν are set down among the untranslatables, but in the case of ἄν the Ἐφροδίτη Οὐρανία (Palatal Etymology) and Ἐφροδίτη Πάνδημος (Popular Etymology) seem to be nearly in accord. ἄν is the Latin *an*. It is 'other' ('or'). It is a manifestation of ἄλλως. It carries with it a comparative notion, and, like the comparative, as is abundantly seen in πρίν, it involves a negative. The kinship with ἀν- privative is not to be denied. It was originally used of something 'else' than the present, and, like ὁ ἄλλος χρόνος, had originally to do with the future. It cannot be used with the present indicative. It is superfluous with the future indicative. κεν, on the other hand, is the despair of both the Aphrodites. Like ἄν it has to do with something other than the present, and from this point of view

it has a family likeness to *κεῖνος*, the 'yonder' demonstrative, the demonstrative of the ideal, of the land of the leal. *κενός* = *κενώς* is, I know, an empty analogy. *κενός* remembers its august abode and forms a comparative *κενότερος*, but *κεν* = *κείνω*s might 'touch the music', as the saying is, of that same ill-regulated doxy, Popular Etymology. Worse fancies have been suggested. *άν* has been called a decapitated *κάν*, one of the many abuses of prodelision. The combination *άν κεν* does not favor the identity of the two particles. *κεν* reinforces *άν* as *τοι* qualifies *μέν*. It is needless to attempt to differentiate *άν* and *κεν*. On common ground *άν* as the more robust thrusts *κεν* more and more aside. *ούκ άν* pushes *ού κεν* to the wall, and no wonder when one considers the analogy of *άν* with the negative. But I am trenching upon the domain of scientific grammar, the domain of Lady Clara Vere de Vere, whereas I ought to keep to the haunts of Dorothy Draggletail.

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The word 'haunts' reminds me of a line of observation that is not to be disregarded by the teacher, the student—the haunts of the particles, the part of the sentence where a particle 'uses', to employ a hunter's term, the other particles with which it combines, the parts of speech that it affects. Of course, the enclitics are registered. *τοι*, for instance, is an enclitic. What are we to do with *τοιγάρ*, *τοιγαρούν*? Is it a genuine *τοι*? Or is it a survival from the time when *τοι* was not an enclitic? Or has it forgotten its origin, as *άν* is supposed by some to have worked its way down from the head of the sentence? Everything points to that *τοι* = *τωι*. We all know that *ρα* haunts monosyllables, that *δη* has a peculiar tang at the end of a verse. As for companionship, we are all familiar with *δε δη*, with *μέν δη*, with *μέν ούν*. *μέν* retains its swearing function so tenaciously that there is no possibility of a combination of *μέν* and *μήν*. If I am right as to *τοι* and *που*, then *τοι που* is an illicit combination. True, it occurs H. F. 1177. Where else? It may be defended on the ground that *που* might have its local and not its moral significance, but the rarity is noteworthy. Scholars of the old school noticed such things. One fine old fellow objected to *τοιουν* in Aischylos and wrote *τε νυν*, but he was not awake to the Sicilian influence recognized A. J. P. XXXVII 239. It is an old observation that *τοι* is not allowed with the optative. When one is wishing—a rare thing in conventional prose—one is thinking of one's self and not of a choir invisible. Encouraged by this interesting phenomenon, a scholar of our day cast aspersions on the imperative with *τοι* (A. J. P. XXXI 116), another on the imperative with *ούν* (see my note on O.

10, 11), both perfectly futile suggestions, as I have shewn. The only particle that the imperative affects is *δη*. One is almost tempted to quote the familiar use of the monitory 'to-day' in English. 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' 'Be wise to-day, 'tis madness to defer.' Under the influence of his laudanum negus De Quincey calls the Greek particles expletives—expletives to which the Greeks themselves attached no definite signification, and yet found themselves unable to think or talk without them. A 'pipe dream', as we Americans say, a part of De Quincey's illusion as to his Greek scholarship. Apart from such inarticulate sounds as are imperfectly rendered by 'tut' and 'hem' and 'pshaw', expletives are degraded sense-words, and there is an interesting chapter on the general subject in Tylor's Primitive Culture, which, of course, is subject to revision as everything is. Jingo is a god, and 'By Jingo' was as legitimate as *ἡ Δία*, but *ἡ Δία*, in the course of time, became a particle and as such was admitted to narrative from which oaths had been excluded in the best period. The 'stobbér' and 'backér' of the Rhine steamboats of my youth were the corruption of the 'Stop her' and 'Back her' of the early British engineers. *ἄ βάλε* has been interpreted, and that by an eminent scholar, as a cry to Baal. *εἶθε*, a rare bird in prose, might have been understood, just as it is translated, 'would God' (*θεέ μου, θεέ μου*). What is *τί δαί*? A mocking diphthongization such as one hears in the cockney 'lidy' for 'lady'? The effect is 'What the devil!' and one recalls the Homeric *πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω* (Il. 8, 166), which admits of a like translation. As for *καὶ μήν*, the swearing feature of *μήν* makes itself felt. 'Why! bless me' (the Rhadamanthys equivalent for 'I'll be d—d') reproduces the effect of a combination employed in the tragic poets for the introduction of a new actor, and elsewhere for surprise, for remonstrance. Some years ago, Professor Morris set the example of studying situation in Roman Comedy (A. J. P. X 397 foll.). A similar study of situation in Aristophanes would do more to bring out the feeling of the particles than much discourse about etymology. Some years ago, I assigned it as a seminary exercise, but the assignment came to nothing, and it was to have formed a part of the present lucubration, but other subjects demand other irresponsible comment.

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The father of Euripides is reputed to have been a Boeotian. If a Boeotian, he must have been an admirer of Pindar, and, following this faint trail, I found myself reading Euripides entire. The edition I used had been in my possession since



1853, but had never been handled for exploration except as to the poet's practice in the matter of the historical present, and that only in the continuous narratives, so that there were no distracting marginalia. A fresh text is an approach to Marion Delorme's made-over virginity (—'Ton amour m'a refait une virginité'—) and whenever I can, I make my researches in untrodden ways. The by-products were interesting to me, such as the contrasts between the rhetorical amplitude of Euripides and the terseness of Pindar, which, however, is a matter that deserves fuller treatment than I can give it here. Of fanciful exegesis there was no end. Years ago my attention was called to Euripides' insistence upon the indignity of sweeping, about which I have had something to say in my discourse on *The Spiritual Rights of Minute Research*. This time I came very near being led astray by his use of ἀπήνη. One of my favourites is the Fourth Olympian, the opening verse of which recalls another favourite, Shelley's *Cloud*, which I parodied during the Civil War in a description of the Lee-Grant campaign. Ἐλατῆρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος | Ζεῦ is associated in my mind with 'Aloft on the towers of my skiey bowers, Lightning, my pilot, sits'. Psaumis' victory was won ἀπήνη 'with a mule-car', if, indeed, O. 4 and O. 5 celebrate the same victory, which has been questioned. The ἀπήνη is mentioned only O. 5, the genuineness of which has again been assailed by an Italian scholar, as Cerrato notes in his new edition. The superscription of O. 4 is ἄρματι, but it is not unlike Pindar to substitute ὀρέων (O. 4, 11) for the humbler ἀπήνας (O. 5, 3). With Pindar's mule-car in my mind, I saw a special fitness in the use of ἀπήνη (Phoen. 328) for the ξυνωρίς (v. 1085) of the two mulish brothers, Eteokles and Polyneikes: and there is a certain propriety in the association of the mule-car with the obdurate soothsayer Teiresias (v. 847). To be sure, the ἀπήνη that conveyed Klytaimestra and her belongings to Aulis was a πωλικὴ ἀπήνη as was the car on which Laïos was mounted (So. O. R. 802; comp. I. A. 617), and must have been of very different pattern from the chariot that bore Psaumis to victory. The difficulty with which Klytaimestra's car disembogued its contents recalled the discomfort which I endured in a springless cart on my visit to Hissarlik in 1896, and, which is worse, roused a certain distrust of my exegesis of Pindar P. 9, 11 where I scout the interpretation of *χερὶ κούφα* as *χερὶ κουφίζούση*. Klytaimestra asks for help: *θάκουσ ἀπήνης ὡς ἀν ἐκλίπω καλῶς*—a Euripidean touch—and Phoen. 847 we read: *πᾶσ' ἀπήνη . . . φιλεῖ | χεῖρὸς θυραίας ἀναμένειν κουφίσματα*. The agile huntress Kyrene may have grown stiff on her long ride from Thessaly to her future home.

Another personal experience has to do with the textual criticism as well as with the exegesis of the ἀπήγη passage in which Teiresias figures. Phoen. 851 we read ἀπος ἐκβαλὼν ὁδοῦ. ἀπος is glossed by κάματος, but there is a v. l. αἶπος, and αἶπος is commended by the regimen to which I have been subjected for months. Eccl. 12, 5: They shall be afraid of that which is high and fears shall be in the way, or, as Professor Haupt translates the passage: 'Whatever is high we fear; and every walk is a terror' (A. J. P. XXVI 157) with the apposite comment (p. 169): 'The old man hates to climb a hill because he is short of breath, he dreads a walk even on level ground.' It is a delight to have the support of so eminent a scholar, especially as I still bear the marks of a blow I received some years ago when I undertook to illustrate the Persians of Timotheos v. 89 (A. J. P. XXIV 227): νομάσιν ἀγαῖς by the Biblical 'I will guide thee with mine eye' (Ps. 32, 8), whereupon Bruno Keil, Hermes 1913, p. 126, remarks: '<Gildersleeve> kann unmöglich LXX (der hebräische Text ist hier corrupt) eingesehen haben: ἐπιστηριῶ ἐπὶ σὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, was in gerade entgegengesetztem Sinne gemeint ist.' A model of hypercriticism. I frankly confess that I never thought of looking into the LXX. The Authorized Version is literature. Its translations, true or false, have entered into the thesaurus of our language, and the sentiment is world-wide. Perhaps I was thinking of J. H. H. Schmidt's definition of ὀφθαλμός as the 'guiding star', though I cannot agree with him as to the difference between ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα (P. 5, 18). However, in the Ecclesiastes matter I am glad of my excessive caution.

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In one of his prefaces, all worth reading and perpending, the preface to his edition of the Odyssey, Gottfried Hermann commends emphatically the continuous reading of Homer. Good advice. One does not sip sea-water. One sails the ocean blue. True, my comparison does not run on all fours, for I cannot imagine nausea to arise from reading long stretches of Homer, whereas even sailors like Nelson are not exempt from trouble when they tempt the watery ways. As I have recorded elsewhere, I had read the De Corona often but never read it really until one blessed Thursday when I read it without leaving my chair and, of course, without note or comment, for that is one of the essential conditions of the experiment. Primarily, it is true, as I have just stated, my reading of Euripides on end was undertaken for Pindar's sake, then kept up for the delight of the exercise. But when I finished the Cyclops and looked back on the stretch I had covered, I was conscious of a decided revulsion. Goethe tells us that he rode into the zone of the

great guns in order to find out for himself what is meant by 'cannon-fever', and, mindful of his example, I have tried to analyze my feelings under similar circumstances; and, being at any rate a determined analyst, I began to search out the reasons for the revulsion, the violence of which was not mitigated by the subsequent reading of Sophokles, for many years my favorite of the Great Three. Under the influence of German aesthetics I was in my youth as much enamored of Sophokles and as much prejudiced against Euripides as my junior, Jebb, was afterwards. One of my favorite teachers was Schneidewin, and he was a Sophoklean. He knew his Sophokles by heart, and I remember how he corrected our slips as we read the Electra aloud to him one evening when his eyes refused their office. His edition of Sophokles still holds its own, and not long ago, I was stirred to resentment when Wilamowitz gave Schneidewin credit for good will and nothing else. In my twenty years at the University of Virginia, the only one of the three I taught in my regular classes was Sophokles, and I myself have made a slight contribution to the study of his dramaturgy in an essay entitled 'Maximilian, his Travels and his Tragedy', which is really a vindication of Sophoklean method as illustrated in a real life. My prejudice against Euripides was heightened by my love of Aristophanes, for the first play of Aristophanes I read under adequate guidance, the guidance of Ritschl, whom I adored, was the Frogs, and for years I worked at an edition of the Frogs that was to have been illustrated by parallels from the annals of literary persiflage. But as life went on, the threefold cord of love and labor and sorrow drew me nearer to Euripides, and I have tried every now and then to make amends to Euripides the Poet as well as to Euripides the Thinker.

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This time, however, the revulsion was unmistakable, and, thinking the thing over, I realized that I had been followed during the course of my reading by voices that whispered in my ear hateful criticisms of Euripides like the blasphemous suggestions of 'one of the wicked ones' to Christian on his way to the Heavenly City. At first I bethought me of Tekmessa's excuse for Aias:

*κατὰ δεινάζων ῥήμαθ', ἃ δαίμων  
κούδεις ἀνδρῶν ἐδίδαξεν.*

But the voices were human voices, not the voices of *δαίμονες*, and the blasphemies were stale. Every now and then the utterances seemed to come from a more intimate quarter:

*δι' ἐμᾶς ἦξέν ποτε νηδύος ἄδ' αὔρα.*

Was it a temporary disorder of the intellect, a manner of mental borborygmus, very different in its fitfulness from the pitiless peristaltic movement of Henry James's mind (A. J. P. XXXI 125)? I will not attempt to sort these susurrations under regular categories. Tumultuousness fits the character of this mid-summer nightmare.

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'A whisperer separateth chief friends', and one of the principal whisperers whose voice I recognized was Tycho Mommsen, and as I read, I noted the blend of the everyday with the archaic, the matching of 'cloth of gold' with 'cloth of frize', corresponding to the double strain in the blood of the poet. Shut one eye and it would be easy to prove that Euripides was a conservative and not a radical. There are two sides to his shield. As for his syntax, the evil spirit worked from within. Instead of emphasizing the clay feet of the great image of Daniel's vision, your critic of sculpture would have questioned the conformity of the statue to accepted canons, and as a syntactician in grain, I was tempted to notice Euripides' leaning now to the syntax of the agora, now to hyperepicism. The details I suppress. One personal observation, however, not to say grievance, I will not withhold. His *εἰ* with the future indicative shews clearly that metre was not the determining factor. The evidence is overwhelming—I will not burden the page with references—and I smiled grimly as I remembered that the Brugmann-Thumb grammar ignores my insistence on the difference between *εἰ* with the future indicative and *εἰάν* with the subjunctive, and refers only to the ineffectual protest raised by an American scholar against the irrefragable doctrine (A. J. P. XIII 123 ff.).

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In the Frogs Euripides proudly offers to submit to the judgment of Dionysos what he had done in the way of

*τᾶπη, τὰ μέλη, τὰ νεῦρα τῆς τραγωδίας.*

Partly, perhaps chiefly, because I am disqualified—which does not necessarily mean 'unqualified'—I am moved to jot down among the things that came to me from within or from without, criticisms of Euripides' metres, lyric and other. Whispering voices told me how the technique of the Euripidean trimeter declined after 424, but I stopped my ears at the ancient gibe which gave rise to the technical term *Εὐριπίδειον*. That is not a matter of metre but a matter of rhetoric, a matter of *ὀρθότης* as against *πλαγιασμός* (A. J. P. IX 140 ff.). You can attach the tin can of *ληκύθιον ἀπόλεσεν* to the stump of trimeter after

trimeter in other narratives than those of the prologues. The jest was aimed at Euripides' affectation of opening his story with the child-like simplicity of the fairy tale. In the use of the trochaic tetrameter Euripides harks back to Aischylos, as he does in so many things, but what is the artistic warrant for using the dactylic hexameter and the elegiac distich? One can understand the intercalation of the iambic trimeter in lyric measures. It is a matter of resipiscence. But the dactyl soars, and one recalls the mocking parody (A. J. P. XXI 232) of Aristophanes in the Peace 114 foll. There are too many wailing anapaests. The dochmiac is overdone. The dochmiac is a tragic creation, and Euripides has been called by the highest authority *τραγικώτατος*, but *τραγικώτατος* is no more a compliment than 'most oratorical' would be for an orator. Not being an Enoplian and therefore not armed against the darts of the adversaries of Euripides, my ears were open to all the criticisms, old and new, about the monodies, those bravura pieces, which, quite apart from tradition, were evidently composed for a special performer—in modern times clear openings for encores. The appositeness of the odes to the action is a favorite field of criticism. Sophokles gives mythical parallels in his choruses, but no such long connected narratives as we find, for instance, in the I. A. 164 foll. As for the *ῥθός* of the various rhythms, whispers from without and murmurs from within were bewildering in their variety. The so-called logaedics are said to have no character of their own, apart from the music, and as the music is lost, the soul is lost, and praise and blame alike are plays of the fancy. Only, without plays of the fancy the world of Greek poetry would lose most of its charm—for the fanciful.

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Then came the long procession of his characters, their faces all awry. Menelaos is a cad, Hippolytos, the prototype of the prig. Strange, by the way, that one has no profound sympathy with such worthy characters as Joseph, Hippolytos, Bellerophon, Peleus. The Greek Josephs at all events all come to bad ends. There is Medea, the Woman's Rights woman, who taught her modern sisters that bearing children was more than an offset against bearing arms. That she was right makes no difference. And then there is the degradation of Helen to the level of Offenbach's 'La belle Hélène'. Euripides' Helen is not the Helen of the Iliad, still less the Helen of the Odyssey, nor the Helen of Isokrates, whom it was once the fashion to call a vapid rhetorician, that hierophant of the Cult of Beauty. The Euripidean Helen falls in love with the Oriental splendor of Paris's attire, specifically his trousers, according to the Cyclops. A curious turn-about. In my youth, Punch twitted

royalty with admiring the bare legs of the sturdy Highlanders. In Euripides' time it was the breeks that caught women's eyes. The Euripidean Helen was not to be trusted in the same boat with any susceptible male, and the stinginess of her votive offering of hair (Or. 128) recalls a passage in a certain disreputable French novel. Helen is a goddess, a *déesse en exil*, as it were. Euripides can not escape that basic fact—which a fine writer, the other day, called a 'basilar fact'. But in his Helen the *εναπορέε* woman becomes merely an evaporated goddess.

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Helen's natural critics are her provisional mother-in-law, Hekabe, a typical scold, who figures as a prosecuting she-attorney in the Troades, and her provincial niece, Elektra, whose criticism of Helen's economy in the matter of tresses has just been cited. Elektra is the typical Greek old maid and old maids were a rarity in Greece. The Pythia is 'all unmated because so consecrated', but the rest of the sisterhood frankly mourn because no one has dupp'd the chamber door for them. Elektra is no exception, and when she says touching Klytimestra: *γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, ὃ ξέν', οὐ παίδων φίλαι*, she reveals herself. My heart has always been woe for Pylades—*γραῦν ἐγήμεν αὐτὸς ὄν νέος*—and whenever I think of him, the closing scenes of the Ecclesiazusae spoil the vision of devoted friendship. In the matter of womankind Sophokles had much to learn from his younger rival, and actually learned much. No more interesting study than a comparison of the two Elektras such as Kaibel has instituted (A. J. P. XVIII 355). Would that we had a Helen of Sophokles!

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As for Euripides the rhetorician, all the tragic poets, including Aischylos himself, show traces of the aniline colours of the Sicilian school, but Euripides was the *δικανικὸς ποιητής* by eminence. His *στιχομυθία* remind one of the cross-questioning processes of the modern pettifogger, and years ago I set on foot a study which culminated in a Johns Hopkins doctoral dissertation ignored by an English scholar who long afterwards handled the same theme. Then came the rabble rout of Euripidean questions: Euripides the Rationalist, the Riddle of the Bacchae, the Problem of the Deus ex Machina, which a pupil of mine—too early lost to scholarship—attempted to solve in his own way. Finally, a turmoil like the turmoil of the *Νέκυια*. *κατ' ἔγωγ' ἐξηγρόμην*. The bad dream was over. Euripides became for me once more Euripides the Human. Now abideth not

Helen, but Alkestis, Iphigeneia, Polyxene. The ribald jests, the 'posticae sannae', the miasmatic vapors are blown away by the cool airs that come from the dells of Hellas, for Euripides is not only Euripides the Human but the Poet of Nature. Still the initial question comes back: Why this revulsion? The reasons are, as might be expected of the brief-mentioner, purely personal.

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The story is told of a Harvard Professor of Greek, one of the old, old time, that when he was asked what he was going to do with himself after his retirement, 'I am going to read the authors', he said, and it was well. So few professors find time to read the authors. But if he sought peace in reading the authors, he ought not to have read Euripides, or he would have met with my fate. There is no classical repose in Euripides, and I see clearly that my trouble arose from two causes: one, my age; the other, the present time. On the chapter of Old Men, Euripides is as bad as Kipling. True, the other tragic poets do not spare old men. Nothing sadder than the *ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον* of the Agamemnon. Sophokles with his large view of life gives some comfort to the oldsters with his *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενῆς κτέ.*, one of his rare comparisons. He lived to renounce what was to Mimnermos the *vivendi causa*. Plato tells the story; Cicero spoils it in the telling (A. J. P. XXX 3 sq.), as indeed all Cicero's translations bear watching. I doubt whether Euripides lived to renounce. The dogs that tore him in pieces, had they been articulate, might have had something to say about his midnight adventures. Poets have always been suspicious characters in that regard from Hesiod down. Bernays, Wilamowitz and Murray have in succession extolled his lyric praise of youth, H. F. 637: *ἀ νεότης μοι φίλον*, written, as has been conjectured, about the time when death is welcome to men of the Mimnermean type. There the burden of old age is mentioned in passing, but in an earlier chorus there is a gruesome picture of senility. But the subject is too painful for me. I have referred to it already in various *Brief Mentions*, and all Euripides' old men are so many horrors to me.

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My main quarrel, however, is the perpetual reference to the Great War, which has clouded these last years of my life. For my part, I cannot emulate, or even understand, the sublime resolution with which that famous congregation of German professors, all servants of the state, hurled into the great gulf fixed between the Central and the Circumferential Powers what

many would consider the most precious fruits of German intellectual and spiritual activity; and I watched, not unmoved, the golden book of my youth close-written in German characters go fluttering down the abyss. Classical repose! Classical fiddlesticks! Fiddlesticks from Nero's fiddle. Apart from the Troades, which in Gilbert Murray's version has brought the great phases of war before a wider public, here are some of the restful things one finds in Euripides: I pass over 'race suicide', though it is not to be passed over when one wonders how the earth is to be replenished after the war. Ion, 488: τὸν ἄπαιδα δ' ἀποστρυῶ|βίον ᾧ τε δοκεῖ ψέγω. I pass over the 'scrap of paper' which would have been more precious to the Duke of Athens than it was to the German chancellor, for the Euripidean Theseus says Suppl. 433: γεγραμμένων δὲ τῶν νόμων ὁ τ' ἀσθενὴς | ὁ πλούσιός τε τὴν δίκην ἴσῃν ἔχει. But there is the doctrine of military necessity, Ion 1046: ὅταν δὲ πολεμίους δρᾶσαι κακῶς | θέλῃ τις, οὐδεὶς ἐμποδῶν κείται νόμος. There is a glorification of war, quite on modern lines. In my youth a famous German publicist preached war as the best means of getting rid of what he called the 'scrofulous rabble of mankind'. In the last twenty-odd years, the Uebermensch spectre has stood astride the earth. The two appear together in Euripides. Of τὰ Διὸς βουλευμάτα it is said, Hel. 38: πόλεμον γὰρ εἰσηγεκεν Ἑλλήνων χθονὶ|καὶ Φρυγί δυστήνοισιν, ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν|πλήθους τε κουφίσει μητέρα χθόνα | γνωτὸν τε θείῃ τὸν κράτιστον Ἑλλάδος. The speaker is Helen, and a man of my time cannot shut out the figure of a modern Helen, or the words of her reputed speech: C'est ma petite guerre à moi. Mailed fist and pacifist alike appear, mailed fist with its demand for preparedness, Androm. 682: ὅπλων γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μάχης ἀίστορες | ἔβησαν εἰς τάνδρειον. The pacifist speaks by the mouth of the disillusioned Adrastus, Suppl. 949: ὦ ταλαίπωροι βροτῶν, | τί κτᾶσθε λόγχα καὶ κατ' ἑλλήλων φόνους | τίθεσθε; Worst of all, Lissauer's Song of Hate finds a response, and, oddly enough, the spokeswoman is an English princess, for, according to the Brut d'Angleterre, the English are of Trojan stock. But the Germans are becoming ashamed of the Song of Hate, and I am ashamed to quote in full the burning words of Andromache (445 foll.).

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In FENNEL's letter quoted in the last number of the JOURNAL there is a sentence highly characteristic of FENNEL, and not of FENNEL only, but of British commentators generally. 'I was of course anxious to air my own views'. There is a certain insular arrogance (A. J. P. XXXIV 370) about this utter disregard of the needs of the average student, to say noth-



ing of the obligation of an editor to his author. Even one of FENNELL's eulogists has to admit that the editor of Pindar 'hardly realized the ill-equipped condition of most students when they first approach the poet'. Now English editions of higher pretensions are very costly, and foreigners at all events rebel against the heavy pecuniary outlay in exchange for a few notional remarks. The best airing-place for 'views' is to be found on the desolate heights of philological journals, or else on the arid steppes of excursions. However, it is always something not to be negligible, and I regret that this well-meant tribute to his services was crowded out of the *Brief Mention* to which it belongs (XXXVII 242). FENNELL's sturdy independence has won for him a permanent place among the interpreters of his favourite poet.

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Of all current nonsense, the definition of genius commonly ascribed to Carlyle is to my mind the most nonsensical. It usually appears in one of two forms—'Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains', or 'genius is the capacity for infinite painstaking'. According to a recent writer in the *Nation*, Carlyle is to be acquitted of both these forms of the definition. What he wrote was 'the transcendent capacity of taking trouble', which may possibly be interpreted so as to save the credit of the idol of my boyhood. Genius does not consist in the capacity for taking pains. It compels the taking of pains. 'Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam' does not tell the whole story. The more we explore the history of poets—a race which is supposed to live wholly by inspiration—the more evidence do we find that their genius has been fed from without. One cannot help smiling when Dr. Johnson says of his artificial school 'We were a nest of singing birds', but the real singing birds have all been nourished from without and largely from classical sources, to some minds as arid as modern breakfast-food. Thomson and Cowper are supposed to have struck fresh notes in the choir of eighteenth century poets, but Cowper's study of Homer is of itself suspicious, and Professor Mustard has shewn how much Thomson owes to the close observations of the Roman poets (A. J. P. XXIX 13). The fresh green of the poetry of nature is due to the phosphate of antique didactic poetry, as I have expressed it elsewhere. The 'doctus poeta' is 'doctus' in the Roman sense, not σοφός in the Greek sense.

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All this obviousness is suggested by a chapter in Professor LANE COOPER's valuable collection of material, *Methods and*

*Aims in the Study of Literature* (Ginn). In this chapter, entitled *Studies of the Poets*, Professor COOPER himself has proved beyond a question how much Wordsworth, who is supposed to have owed everything to Mother Nature, has drawn from wide and varied reading, and the list of the books that Byron read, and, according to his own account, digested, before he was twenty would put many professors to shame. 'Res severa gaudium' is a famous sentence of Seneca's, and the achievement of that joy for others is often a serious task. Professor COOPER's volume is an interesting record of the experiences of those who have won, and full of lessons for those who are tempted to take up literature as a light thing. But no one who has studied rhetoric under the guidance of the ancient masters will be surprised to find how much is merely an echo of manuals, familiar to an earlier generation, but long since laid aside (comp. A. J. P. XXIV 104). So when Ben Jonson, as quoted by LANE COOPER, tells us that 'for a man to write well, he must first think and excogitate his matter <εὔρεσις>, then choose his words <λέξις>, then take care in placing <τάξις> both matter and words so that the composition <σύνθεσις> be comely' we seem to be reading an ancient primer of rhetoric with three of the five headings of the regular τέχνη, (εὔρεσις, λέξις, τάξις, μνήμη, ὑπόκρισις), and wonder a little at the title 'Discoveries'.

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My mania for typographical accuracy is not matched by keenness of vision (A. J. P. XXIII 234); and the confessional of errata seems to be a fixture at the back door of the JOURNAL. And if I venture outside these precincts, I am sure to come to grief. Some months ago a fellow-Grecian reading 'Rhodanmanthus' in an article I had published wrote to me in mild surprise: Why is 'thys' thus? 'The printer's devil alone knows', said I. 'I had written 'y' as became a Grecian, but the genius of the press may have been seduced by the Rhodanmanthus of his Vergil text'. But I am still inconsolable and a new grievance is recalled by the words 'Valpy edition' which appears in the *Brief Mention* of the last number. When everybody was celebrating April 23, I was asked to make a contribution to a Shakespeare symposium. The symposium had to do chiefly with the influence of Shakespeare upon the contributors. It was a case of 'Poscimur'. The limit assigned to me was fifty words—in my state of health a welcome limit—and I was personal as usual.

In my father's house Shakespeare was taboo. I read by stealth and adored in secret. My scant pocket money was saved to buy a one-volume Shakespeare. My first earnings went for a Valpy edition. The charm of his language held me, holds me still. Whenever I read Shakespeare I wonder why I read anything else.

The printer ingeniously turned 'Valpy' into 'bulky', for which even my handwriting offered no excuse. However, I should not air my grievance here, if it were not for one or two little matters that may have more than a personal interest. Shakespeare was excluded from my father's house. Though a college-bred man, he seldom quoted any poetry except Milton and Watts. But he was an editor and there came into the office parts of an illustrated Shakespeare; and the parts that fell into my possession were 'Venus and Adonis' and 'The Rape of Lucrece', many verses of which I learned by heart when I was translating the Anacreontea at the age of twelve. If my father could only have seen the literature that passed from hand to hand among the boys of his Sunday school! The frankness of to-day is far better. And then as to Shakespeare's language—why not the thought as well? The magic is in the words. The Germans have done much for Shakespeare, perhaps too much. But when I saw Henry IV acted at the Burgtheater of Vienna in a wonderful setting and with a very good Falstaff, I muttered to myself: 'Heinz' is not 'Hal'.

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Bernhardy was one of the prime favourites of my apprenticeship, with his 'Wissenschaftliche Syntax', to which I owe the true doctrine of the accusative, his Histories of Greek and Roman Literature. Soon after my return to America, I sought, and sought in vain, from a great publishing-house the commission of translating his 'Grundriss der römischen Literatur'. Precious is the memory of those far off days when I used to gather up emanations of Bernhardy's sarcastic vein as they were wafted from his lecture-room at Halle to the philological circles of Göttingen. Carl Friedrich Hermann's books on Greek Antiquities he used to call 'Plumpudding mit Rosinen' and Hartung's performances 'Philologische Bummelarbeiten'. Little did I dream that I should live to perpetrate a long series of 'Bummelarbeiten' in the shape of *Brief Mention*. Hartung was incredibly careless and the critics remembered his 'Ἡρακλεῖδ ε ε' against him. I sympathize with Hartung. In the foregoing section, I have adverted to my mania for accuracy: and long experience as teacher, editor, proof-reader, ought to have curbed my 'genius for inexactitude', but my *primesautière* nature is my undoing, though I have never gone so far, that I can remember, as the distinguished author of a Latin Grammar in which 'ipse' follows the lead of 'ille' so that the paradigm runs 'ipse, ipsa, ipsud', recalling to my mind the 'Sle, sla, slud | Stuck in the mud' of one of William Cowper's delightful letters. But mud is to be wiped off without

further ado, not wallowed in. Therefore, for 'vermifugient' (A. J. P. XXXVII 221, l. 20) read 'vermifugant'. In the same number l. 6 from bottom for 'Gesner' Harrison read 'Gessner' Harrison. For the former lapse I am responsible. The second I am inclined to attribute to some Robin Good-fellow. Gessner Harrison was my colleague for three years. I knew him well (A. J. P. XXXV 497). I knew that he was named for the idyllist Salomon Gessner, not for the lexicographer Johann Matthias Gesner. However, those who remember, or who will look up, Gibbon's correspondence with Gesner will forgive the false spelling for the reference.

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## I.—THE STAG-MESSENGER EPISODE.

It seems to be generally agreed by those who are best qualified to express an opinion about mediaeval Celtic literature that that form of the so-called fairy induction motif in which a stag or hind serves as a messenger to lead a mortal hero to a *fée* is of Celtic origin, and the presence of this episode in a mediaeval poem is cited as evidence that the poem is derived from Celtic sources or has undergone Celtic influence. This conclusion seems to be based upon the fact that the episode in question occurs most frequently in poetry dealing with the "*matière Bretagne*", but the evidence is not conclusive enough, as I shall try to make clear, to warrant such definite statements as are made concerning its Celtic provenience. It should not be forgotten that before we can definitely assign a given episode, occurring in mediaeval French poetry or prose, to Celtic tradition or to a Celtic literary source, there are at least two conditions which must be met: 1. The episode must be proved beyond reasonable doubt, on evidence independent of the French work in which it is found, to have been a part of Celtic tradition, oral or written, before its earliest appearance on French soil. 2. It must not occur in any form, oral or written, which is demonstrably free from Celtic influence, and at the same time equally current, and also equally accessible and well-known to a French writer as any possible Celtic source. The first of these conditions is accepted<sup>1</sup> even by the most enthusiastic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. the remarks of Professor Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, p. 590; Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 9 sq.

advocates of the Celtic theory, but the second, which is just as important as the first, just as necessary for convincing proof, seems to be entirely disregarded. In the following study I have tried to keep both these conditions in mind, and my endeavor has been to present, unbiased by preconceived theories, certain facts which seem to have been overlooked and yet are certainly not without importance.

As a fair example of the usual form of the episode may be cited the Lay of Graeent,<sup>1</sup> 193 sq. Graeent, having been wrongfully treated by his king and sought as her lover by the queen, mounts his horse during the former's absence and leaves the court unattended. He is riding sadly through the forest when suddenly a hind "tute blanche | plus n'est nois nul sor brance", starts up before him. He pursues her hotly but cannot overtake her, and finally she leads him to a fountain of clear, sparkling water in which a maiden is bathing; her clothes are hanging on a tree near by, and two other maidens are serving her. Graeent is at once smitten with her beauty, forgets all about the hind, and to keep the maiden from escaping, takes possession of her clothes, and in the end works his will upon her; she grants him her love, promises him bountiful treasure and declares that she will be with him whenever he desires her, but that if at any time he reveals their relations he shall lose her.

In this story, as Professor Schofield pointed out long ago,<sup>2</sup> there is a confusion of a fairy mistress and a swan-maiden, and he also called attention to the fact that the same situation exists in a version of the story of Wayland and the swan-maidens contained in the Middle High German poem of Friedrich von Schwaben (14th cen.). Here the details are practically the same as in Graeent. It is clear, however, that originally the hind-messenger episode was not connected with this swan-maiden story, for in the earliest version of the latter, that in the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I, pp. 202 sq. The Lay has been studied by Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 15, 1900, pp. 121 sq. He recognizes that the so-called Breton lays contain much matter that is not Celtic, but he regards the Celtic character of the hind-messenger episode as established. This is also the conclusion of Cross in the article cited, and of Kittredge, *I. c.*, pp. 231 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Stud. and Notes*, 5, 1896, pp. 236-7, and also his article referred to above. Cross, *I. c.*, pp. 616 sq., thinks that the entire lay, hind-messenger and "the other world woman of the swan-maiden type", was part of Celtic tradition before the 12th cen.

Eddic *Völundarkviða*<sup>1</sup> (9th cen.), no hind appears; Wayland and his brothers have arrived at *Ulfadal*, and there one morning on the border of a lake, they come upon the swan-maidens with their swan-plumage beside them.

In another swan-maiden story, however, a story which is very similar in many of its details to *Graelent*, and doubtless prior to it in date, the same method is employed to bring the hero to the maiden. This is the story of the *Cygni*, told by the seventh *Wise Man* in the *Dolopathos* of *Johannes de Alta Silva*.<sup>2</sup> Here the hero goes hunting with his dogs and sees "cervam nive candidiorem, decem in quolibet cornu habentem ramos".<sup>3</sup> He pursues the hind down into a well-wooded valley, loses sight of both the hind and his dogs, and finally "fontem repperit nimphamque in eo catenam auream tenentem manu nudaque membra lavantem conspicit". He is overcome by her beauty and, like *Graelent*, forgets the hind and his dogs, and approaching her by stealth seizes the chain "in qua virtus et operatio virginis constabat". He then promises to make her his wife and on the next morning takes her to his home, where in due time she bears him six sons and a daughter. These the jealous mother of the youth orders to be exposed, and they are found by an old hermit who feeds them on hind's milk and raises them as his own children. The French version of *Herbert*, vs. 9188 sq., shows no important variation from this account.

This story is the earliest extant version of the *Chevalier au Cygne*, and this introductory episode of the hind-messenger occurs in most of the later versions;<sup>4</sup> the feeding of the chil-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Saemundar Edda*, ed. Bugge, p. 163. For further references on this subject, cf. Cross, l. c., p. 621, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the edition of Hilka, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 80 sq.

<sup>3</sup> That this hind should have horns is noteworthy. The hind of *Keryneia* which *Hercules* hunted had golden horns (*Pind. O. 3, 29: χρυσόκερων ἑλαφον θήλειαν*), and hinds are sometimes given horns in ancient writings, cf. *Ael. de nat. an. 7, 39*. On a gem which depicts the suckling of *Hercules'* son *Telephus* by a hind the hind is given horns; the gem is in Vienna; cf. the catalogue of *Sacken and Kenner*, no. 663. On this matter, cf. a paper by *Ridgeway*, summarized in *A. J. A. IX, 1894, p. 571*. He suggests that the "horned hind of *Keryneia*" was a reindeer, a species of deer found in northern Europe and Asia.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Todd, La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. 4, 1889, Intro. p. II sq.* He makes no special comment on the intro-

dren is generally due directly to a hind. In the French romance, *Chevalier au Cygne*, however, the hind-messenger episode does not have a place, nor in the English metrical romance, *Cheuelere Assigne*, based upon it.<sup>1</sup> In the English prose romance, *The Knight of the Swanne*, on the other hand, there is a rationalized account of the episode. The young king Oriant goes hunting with his dogs, raises a hart, and in his pursuit of it is led to a river across which the hart swims and escapes.<sup>2</sup> The king then comes upon a fountain "which was so clere and pleasaunt" that he dismounts and sits down under a tree. Presently a young damsel, Beatrice, appears, accompanied by a noble knight and two squires. Oriant falls in love with her, pays his court in true knightly fashion, and later makes her his wife. The children are born, exposed, and found by a devout hermit who, not knowing how to feed them, prays to God for aid, and miraculously there appeared in his house a fair white goat which gave them suck.

Very close to the form of the episode found in these stories is that occurring in the shorter version of the romance of *Parténopeus of Blois*, a version based upon a lost French original and now existing in a fragmentary form in English, and in a complete but altered form in a Danish, Icelandic, and Spanish-Catalan translation.<sup>3</sup> In view of the undoubted non-Celtic

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ductory episode, nor does Paris, *Rom.* 19, 1890, pp. 314 sq., or Huet, *Rom.* 34, 1905, pp. 206 sq. According to Paris "Jean a bien probablement recueilli ce conte dans la tradition orale du pays où il l'écrivait"; Huet notes the composite character of the story in *Dolopathos* and suggests a written source, a poem already attached to the *Crusades* and in the form of a *chanson de geste*. It may be noted that some claim an oriental origin for the *Knight of the Swan*; on this whole matter, cf. Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan*, London, 1910, pp. 2 sq., 23 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Gibbs, *E. E. T. Extra Ser. VI.* For the prose romance, cf. Thoms, *Early Prose Romances*, v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Tupper reminds me of the opening episode in Scott's *Lady of the Lake* which resembles this account. In view of Scott's knowledge of these old romances it cannot be doubted that he had some such story in mind when he wrote his poem.

<sup>3</sup> The English version is printed by Böttker in his edition of *Partonopeus of Blois*, *E. E. T. Extr. Ser. CIX*, pp. 481 sq. The Spanish-Catalan version (in prose) which was accessible to me is an old volume printed at Gerona without date. I have not compared the Danish and Icelandic versions.

origin of the main feature of this romance, the appearance in it of the stag-messenger episode is, in view of what I shall show below, of great importance. Melior, the young queen of Byzantium, is ripe for a husband and seeks all over the world for one worthy of her. She finds him in the young prince Partonope, and in order to get him to her she raises by enchantment, for she possesses wondrous powers, a white hart with wide horns as he was hunting one day with his uncle and attendants in the forest of Ardennes. Partonope follows the hart in a vain pursuit and is led to the sea-shore, where appears a marvelous and beautiful ship. He goes on board, finds that he is the only passenger, and is carried to another land, to an uninhabited castle.<sup>1</sup> Here unseen hands wait upon him and at night the lady comes. In the Spanish-Catalan version the inducting animal is a "porch salvatge",<sup>2</sup> which, we are told at the outset, Melior has raised by her magic power. This boar occurs also in the longer version.<sup>3</sup> Here Parténopeus kills one boar and a second appears which, when he pursues it, leads him to the sea, into which it plunges and swims across to safety. P. wanders in the forest unable to find his way home and does not come upon the ship until the following night. Not until the queen visits him and discloses her identity do we learn that she by her witchcraft brought about the hunt, made him follow the boar, sent the enchanted ship, etc.

These details in the Parténopeus story are paralleled by several in the Lay of Guigemar of Marie de France.<sup>4</sup> Here also it must be noted that there are, as in the Parténopeus story,

<sup>1</sup> This romance, as is well known, is related to the Cupid and Psyche story of Apuleius. In view of the tendency to ascribe such magic ships and voyages to fairy castles to Celtic tradition, I would call attention not only to the situation and description of the castle in Apuleius, 5, 1, "Psyche—videt lucum proceris et vastis arboribus consitum, videt fontem vitreo latice perlucidum", but also to the fact that a voyage to it by ship is implied in 5, 15, "iugum sororium—recta de navibus scopulum petunt".

<sup>2</sup> I shall cite below a neglected passage from Ovid which is strikingly similar.

<sup>3</sup> French version ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834; English version ed. Bödtker, l. c. There is also a German version by Conrad v. Würzburg, ed. Bartsch, Wien, 1871.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Warnke, *Die Lais de M. de France*, 2d ed., Halle, 1900, pp. 5 sq.

motifs drawn from oriental and classical sources.<sup>1</sup> In Guigemar the hero is taking part in a hunt after a great stag, during the course of which he, together with his squire, is separated from the rest of the company; the stag escapes, but G. then comes upon a white hind and her faun, which his dogs attack, and which he, without pursuit, be it noted, succeeds in wounding with an arrow which flies back and wounds him. The hind then addresses him and tells him that he will never be cured of his wound until he finds a lady who will suffer much on his account. G., greatly amazed, leaves the hind and finally comes to the sea-coast, where he finds a deserted ship built of ivory with sails of silk, on which he embarks and is carried to a wonderful land and a wonderful lady who, with her niece as her companion, is kept in a tower by her jealous husband and guarded by a eunuch. He remains with the lady, whose husband happens, very conveniently, to be away, for a year and a half, when the husband returns and forces him to depart; later he is successful in bringing her to his land.

It is commonly stated, compare the preceding note, that in this story the hind is the messenger of the *fée*, although the presence of the faun is thus left unaccounted for.<sup>2</sup> The hind, however, certainly does not lead Guigemar anywhere, since it apparently does not move from the covert in which he first sees it, nor is it, as Marie tells the tale, connected in any way with the ladies, who know nothing about it, nothing about the ship, nothing about Guigemar. The real messenger, I would suggest, is the stag which leads Guigemar to the hind and her faun and then escapes. These latter animals seem to be introduced solely to represent allegorically,—perhaps in a primitive version in

<sup>1</sup> These are pointed out by Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 15, p. 173; the *hind*-messenger, the magic ship, and the *fée* mistress he labels Celtic; so Cross, *Studies in Philology*, Univ. North Carolina Pub. 1913, p. 49. The similarity between the introduction to the *fée* in Guigemar and that in *Parténopeus* was noted by Hertz, *Uebersetzung d. Lais d. M. de France*, p. 250 and by Koelbing, *M. de France*, pp. LXXVIII sq.

<sup>2</sup> Curious and diverse are the explanations given to account for this episode. Some see two *fées*, even a bad and a good one, some one, cf. Koehler's note to Warnke, *Die Lais*, p. LX; according to Professor Nitzke, *Mod. Phil.* 1914, p. 481, the hind is the *fée* herself; according to Miss Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 70 sq., the hero should have been turned into a stag and wandered in the woods until released.

reality,—the lady and her niece whom Guigemar is to meet later, and to inform him, in words strongly reminiscent of Ovid, of the love adventures which await him. When we compare the Lay with the corresponding portions of Parténopeus we realize how completely Marie, or her source, could spoil a well-told tale.

In the Parténopeus story it is explicitly stated that the appearance of the stag, or the boar, is due to the magic power of the lady who sends the animal to lead her beloved to her, and this feature occurs in several stories. In Auberon,<sup>1</sup> for example, Mantanors, attended by a company of hunters and his pack, goes forth one morning in May to hunt. A great stag, sent by Brunehaut, appears,—a “chierf fae” it is called in vs. 711,—in the pursuit of which Mantanors soon outdistances his companions. The stag takes refuge in a “pavillon noble”, which stood in a “desert vert”. Mantanors enters the “pavillon” and is amazed to find himself in the presence of thirty “dames et plus”, among whom is Brunehaut. Similarly in Froissart’s *Meliador*,<sup>2</sup> vs. 28362 sq., Diana sends a white stag to lead Saigremor to her when he is out hunting with his companions. Here the episode is varied somewhat, for the stag, after Saigremor has been led by his pursuit apart from his companions, approaches him and allows him to mount on its back. It then carries him to a lake, into which it plunges, whereupon Saigremor finds himself in a castle with Diana and her nymphs, who had arranged the whole game.

The last example of this type which I need quote raises a problem with which I am not qualified to deal, the relation, namely, of the various versions of the Tristan story. The facts, however, are plain enough and very important for the matter in hand. In Malory, bk. 8, ch. 1, in the account of the birth of Sir Tristram, we are told that his father, Meliodas,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Graf, *I Complementi della Chanson d’Huon de Bordeaux*, Halle, 1878, vs. 700 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Longnon, *Soc. Anc. Text.* Cf. Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, 1905, pp. 694 sq.; he connects the carrying beast, such as the stag in this story, with guiding beasts and refers them all to Celtic sources. He also makes no distinction, I may note, between such stories and those which I shall cite below in which the animal is slain. I assume, at least, that he makes no distinction since he refers to Miss Paton, *I. c.*, p. 230, n. 3, and to Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 354, who group them all together. Cf. below, p. 405.

was hunting one day when a lady of that country who loved him, "by an enchaînement made hym chace an herte by hym selfe alone, til that he came to an old castel and there anone he was taken prysoner by the lady that hym loved"; during his absence Tristram was born. Now this episode is not found in Gottfried, the Old Norse version, or the English romance, and we must conclude that it was wanting in Thomas; and yet, if the episode is Celtic, and if, as we are told,<sup>1</sup> the version of Thomas derives from the "recits" of the "conteur gallois, Breri" (so Lot, l. c.), this is exactly where we should have expected to find it. Nor does it occur in Eilhart of Oberge,<sup>2</sup> and that it had no place in Bérout's<sup>3</sup> version we may be sure, since he agrees with all these versions in naming Tristan's father Rivalin, not Meliodas, as in Malory. Only in the French prose romance and in the Italian version do we find his father called by this name, and only in the Italian version,<sup>4</sup> it is important to note, do we find the episode of Meliodas' hunt of the stag, and the meeting with the lady by a fountain.<sup>5</sup> The story is as follows. Meliadus and his wife Eliabella, who was heavy with child, are dwelling at Lionis. Meliadus, accompanied by many knights, goes forth to hunt, "e cacciando in tale maniera per lo grande deserto di Medilontas, lo re solo sie prese a sequitare uno cerbio; tanto gli andò dirietro sì a lungo, ch' egli si smarri da sua

<sup>1</sup> Cf. inter alios, Lot, Rom. 25, p. 23; Schofield, English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer, p. 116, is not sure.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Piper, in Deutsch. National-Literatur, Hôfische Epik, Erster Teil, pp. 13 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Muret, Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge, Paris, 1913. According to Muret, Intro. p. VI, the poems of Thomas and Eilhart, the prose romance, and the first part of Bérout, all derive, through intermediate versions, from a lost poem, composed before 1154, perhaps in Cornwall.

<sup>4</sup> According to the summary of the prose version of Löseth, Le Roman en Prose de Tristan, Paris, 1891, p. 16, Meliadus is hunting in the forest, and comes upon the dead body of a knight; he stops, and is then approached by a "demoiselle enchanteresse", who loves him; she leads him to a tower situated on a black rock, and there, forgetful of his wife, he remains a long time. In his Introduction, pp. XXII sq., Löseth speaks of the essential agreement of Malory, the Italian version, and the prose romance, but makes no remark on details.

<sup>5</sup> La Tavola Ritonda, ed. Polidori, Bologna, 1864, v. I, p. 39, ch. XII.



compagnia. E allora egli se n'andò alla fontana del Dragone, e quivi dismontò e si riposa. . . . E riposato ch' egli fue uno poco quivi, si v' arrivò una bella donzella". After a parley she leads him to a beautiful castle called "la Torre dello Incantamento", of which the lady, who was known as "la Savia Donzella", was the mistress. Here by her enchantment she made him forget Eliabella and all his former life.

The most striking detail in this story, which in other respects agrees very closely with the episode in Dolopathos, is the fact that the hunt takes place in a desert, all the more striking if we are to suppose that this episode had its origin in England or France or Italy, or anywhere in the west. It is clear, also, that if the author drew from the same source as the author of the prose romance, which alone contains the episode in a form at all comparable, he made several important changes in his original,—introduction of the stag, the fountain, and the desert in place of a forest,—and these changes could not have been due to any Celtic material which may have become attached to the Tristan story; otherwise we should have had, in all probability, some reference to it in some one, at least, of the many versions.<sup>1</sup>

These stories, almost without exception, agree in certain essential details on which I would lay especial emphasis. 1. The hero with his companions and dogs goes out to hunt (Graelent is the exception here). 2. His going is entirely upon his own initiative, as far as he knows, and the hunt is nothing but a hunt, not a quest after any particular animal undertaken at the command or upon the challenge of some one else. 3. A stag (hind) starts up before him, and in his eager pursuit of it, he is separated from his companions and is led into a forest, or to

<sup>1</sup> I may note that in the prose Tristan (Löseth, sec. 323) there is an episode which seems to be derived from the stag-messenger episode; Tristan is out hunting and pursues a stag; he meets a "demoiselle" who leads him to the sea-coast and shows him a wonderful ship which is to take Iseut and himself to Logres. Tristan thereupon hurries to "la belle Fontaine du Cerf" where Iseut was wont to enjoy the air and there he finds her with many ladies and knights. In the version of Gottfried, 17201 sq. (ed. Bechstein), it is through the pursuit of a remarkable white stag, which appears only to disappear, that Mark is led to the hiding place, the Grot of Love, of Tristan and Iseut. Miss Schoepperle, in her book, *Tristan and Isolde*, has nothing to say about the stag-messenger episode as found in the Italian version.

some region unknown to him (note the desert in two versions), where the animal disappears unhurt. 4. The hero, either immediately, or after further wandering, finds himself in the presence of a beautiful maiden with whom he at once falls in love. The place of meeting and the outcome vary, but in the earliest of the stories the maiden is near a fountain and the hero takes her to his home and makes her his wife. These details, as I shall show, are a part of the original tale, and it is they which, to my mind at least, form the kernel of the stag-messenger episode; only by keeping them clearly before us can we make our way through the maze in which they have become entangled.

Needless confusion, in the first place, has been caused by the failure to distinguish carefully between such stories as those summarized above, in which the hunt is undertaken on the hero's initiative apparently, and the hunted animal escapes, and those in which the hero sets out to capture an animal known to him beforehand, and which end in the death of the animal. Such failure may be due to the fact that in many an old tale we find one or more of the above details used in connection with others with which originally they had nothing to do, but it does not follow that they should all be grouped together and labelled Celtic. Since this, however, is the usual practice, it is necessary to notice briefly, by way of example, certain stories which illustrate this confusion or which have been cited as parallels to the stag-messenger episode outlined above.

In Malory's account of the appearance of Merlin to Arthur, bk. I, ch. 19, we seem to catch an echo of a genuine stag-messenger story. Arthur, after his adventure with the wife of King Lot, goes out with many knights to hunt. A great hart appears before him and he gives chase, and chased so long that his horse fell down dead. Another horse is sent for, and when the king "saw the herte enbusshed and his horse dede, he sette hym doune by a fontayne and there he fell in grete thoughtes". After the appearance of a strange beast who is pursued by a knight, Merlin suddenly comes on the scene. Here we have the voluntary hunt, the stag, the fountain, but it seems to be implied that the stag does not escape. If, however, the purpose of the episode is to serve as an introduction for the appearance of Merlin, and if we are to suppose that Merlin by

his magic art brought about the hunt, it is obvious that the stag should have escaped.<sup>1</sup>

Very similar is the situation in another story in Malory, bk. IV, 6. Arthur and many knights go hunting in a great forest, and he, King Uryens, and Sir Accolon follow a great hart until they are separated from the rest of the company. They finally ambush the hart on the sea-coast and Arthur kills it. Then a marvelous ship appears, which the three board, and on which they find twelve maidens who serve them with all manner of wines and meats and then lead them, each one to a great chamber, where they spend the night. In the morning King Uryens awakes to find himself in Camelot abed in the arms of his wife Morgan le fay, Arthur, to find himself in a prison along with many other knights, Sir Accolon, to find himself on the brink of a great well. All this, we learn, was due to the magic art of Morgan, whose object was to have Sir Accolon, to whom she sends the sword Excalibur, and Arthur, to whom she sends a counterfeit sword, meet in combat so that the latter would be slain. Here clearly the slaying of the stag is unnecessary, and there seems to be a confusion between the type of the stag-messenger story considered above, and what is, in my judgment, another type of story, namely, that in which the hunt is after an animal known beforehand to the hunter and which results in the death of the animal.

To these two important differences may be added a third, the fact, namely, that the hero undertakes the hunt at the request or command of some one else. In the face of these differences it is surprising that the stories should all be grouped together without distinction, but the fact that they are makes it necessary to consider briefly one or two examples.

The one most commonly cited is the Lay of Guingamor.<sup>2</sup> The introduction is a form of the Joseph-Potiphar story, in which a queen, when spurned by a knight whom she loves, in order to punish him, challenges him to hunt the "blanc porc" which dwells in a "lande aventureuse" where there is a "rivere

<sup>1</sup> In origin, if origins need concern us, the stag must have been an illusion, as we are expressly told in some stories; cf. below, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Paris, Rom. 8, 1879, pp. 50 sq. Cf. Schofield, *The Lay of Guingamor*, Harvard Studies and Notes, 5, 1896, p. 227; Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, 590 sq.

perilleuse". Ten brave knights who went to hunt this beast have never returned. Guingamor sets out (vs. 248 sq.) accompanied by many people and, while following the tracks of the boar, is separated from his companions. He finally comes to the perilous stream, which he crosses, and arrives at a beautiful castle which is apparently uninhabited. He leaves the castle, still in pursuit of the boar, and follows it to a fountain in which a maiden, attended by one companion, is bathing, having left her clothing upon the bank. Guingamor gets possession of this and after a parley, during which she promises to get the boar for him if he will abide with her for a while, she leads him into the castle, which is now filled with knights, among them the lost ten, and fair ladies. Here he stays, enjoying, as do his companions, all carnal delights, for three hundred years which seem to him but three days. He then decides to return to his home and carry back the head of the boar, which he had set out to secure, does so, breaks an injunction laid upon him by the fairy-mistress, pays the penalty, but in the end is carried back across the stream to the fairy's land.

Professor Schofield, in the article referred to, in his comparison between the swan-maiden episode in this Lay and that in *Graelent* and *Dolopathos*, makes no distinction between the induction episodes. In each case the result of the pursuit of the animal is, to be sure, the meeting with the lady at the fountain, but, as he notes, in *Guingamor*, the intriguing queen and her challenge to the hunt have absolutely no connection with the rest of the story, nor, I may add, has the slaying of the boar. In the other stories, however, the hunt is at least a logical episode and the stag, having performed its duty of leading the hero to the lady, disappears unhurt. In *Guingamor*, therefore, some such episode has been replaced by one belonging to the other type and the hunt is a task set the hero, his slaying of the animal the proper fulfillment of it.

To this type, also, belongs the hunt in the *Percival* saga in connection with the adventures of the hero in the *Castle of the Chess Board*.<sup>1</sup> *Percival*, after his first failure, crosses a river and enters a castle in the hall of which stands a chess-board; he plays and is beaten, and is about to throw the board into the

<sup>1</sup> For this episode in the various versions, cf. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 138 sq.

moat, when a maiden arises from the water, stays his hand, and enters the room. He is overcome by her beauty and she consents to give him her favor if he will bring her the head of the stag which is in the park; she lends him her hound, he hunts the stag and kills it, but as he returns, carrying its head, a "pucelle de malaire" intercepts him and deprives him of his prize. A knight finally carries off the head and the hound, and we learn that Percival lost them because he had omitted to ask concerning the Grail. (Potvin, *Conte de Grail*, 22395 sq.)

The Lay of Tyolet<sup>1</sup> is very similar in many of its details to parts of the Percival story. Tyolet, who, like Percival, was brought up apart from men, is taught by a *fée* to catch wild beasts by whistling. One day he sees a large stag, whistles, but the stag does not respond, and moves away from him into a forest. Tyolet follows it and is led to a stream across which it swims and becomes an armed knight. Tyolet then determines to become a knight, goes to Arthur's court, whither one day a beautiful damsel comes to seek a knight who will get for her the white foot of a beautiful stag which is guarded by six lions. One knight has made the attempt and failed, but Tyolet volunteers, declaring that he will not return without the foot. The maiden gives him a hound, which leads him to a stream across which it swims. Tyolet follows, finds the stag, and is successful in cutting off its foot; in the end he returns to marry the maiden and becomes king of her land.

This story is of importance because it shows very clearly the fundamental difference between the two episodes under consideration. For there can be no doubt that the matter in Tyolet is derived from an original tale in which the stag represents a person under enchantment, in this case the father or some male relative of the maiden, and the cutting off the foot, which brings about the disenchantment, is a task set the hero which he must perform before he can win the hand of the maiden. This type of story is widespread,<sup>2</sup> but it certainly has nothing whatever to do with the stag-messenger episode as employed in the stories cited

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Paris, Rom. 8, pp. 41 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nutt, l. c., pp. 161 sq.; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 241 sq.; Kittredge, *Disenchantment by Decapitation*, Amer. Jour. of Folklore, 18, 1905, pp. 1 sq. The Mabinogi of Peredur ab Evrawc, Loth, *Les Mabinogian*, II, pp. 107 sq. is to be compared.

above. Nor are we justified in comparing the dog,<sup>1</sup> which in this story, as in Percival, aids the hero in the performance of his task, with the stag-messenger, since the essential features are totally different; the dog is not hunted, nor does it lead the hero to a lady who is to become his wife. Rather does it belong to the category of helpful beasts which play such a large part in folk tales,<sup>2</sup> but which agree with the stag messenger in one respect only, that they may be directed by a fairy lady.

It is needless to cite further examples of these stories in which the animal is slain, but I may call attention to another type of tale in which the hunt seems to be merely a test of the hero's fitness, generally for the performance of some larger task. The two are hard to distinguish and one may be derived from the other; however this may be, certainly to the writers of our tales the slaying of the animal did not mean a method of disenchantment; to most of them it was simply a task the performance of which met with a suitable reward; compare the stag hunt which forms the introduction to Chrétien's Erec, and such an incident as the pursuit by Gawain of a white stag which had entered Arthur's court, Malory, bk. III, ch. 5.

There are also several passages in the Welsh Mabinogion which, in view of the accepted Celtic origin of the stag-messenger episode, must be noticed. With the pursuit of the white boar in Guingamor has been compared the hunt of Arthur and his Knights of Twrch Trwyth in Kulhwch and Olwen (Loth I, pp. 275 sq.), and the pursuit of the boar by Pryderi and Manawyddan in Manawyddan, Son of Llyr (Loth I, p. 105).<sup>3</sup> In the former the object of the hunt is to gain the magic comb and scissors which were to be found between the ears of the animal, and this quest is a task which the hero must perform before he can win the hand of Olwen from her ogre father Yspaddaden Penkawr. After a chase which led the hunters from one end of Britain to the other, the quest was accom-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Miss Paton, l. c., p. 230, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, 1905, pp. 688 sq.; Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, p. 634, n. 2. On the general topic, cf. Hartland, l. c., pp. 294 sq.; Legend of Perseus, III, pp. 191 sq., and the excellent remarks of Kittredge, *Gawain*, pp. 234 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lot, *Rom.* 25, 1896, p. 590, and 30, 1901, p. 14. Lot does not cite these passages as parallels to the stag-messenger episode.

plished and Kulhwch and Olwen married and lived happily ever after. Whatever this weird tale may have been in origin, it certainly has nothing in common with the stag-messenger episode. The other tale, as Lot notes, is much closer to the hunt in Guingamor, but the animal is not slain. Pryderi and Manawyddan go hunting and come upon a white boar; it leads them to a deserted castle into which the boar, pursued by the dogs, disappears. Pryderi follows, finds himself in a tenantless castle where there is a fountain surrounded by a marble railing on which is a golden cup; he takes hold of the cup and then can neither withdraw his hand nor utter a single word, but remains there, transfixed and dumb, beside the fountain. The same fate befalls his mother Riannon when, on the next day, she enters the castle in search of him. Here again the essential features of the stag-messenger episode are lacking and, although there may be similarities, we certainly are not justified in assuming that we are dealing with the same story. This must be the conclusion, also, it seems to me, in regard to the hunt in Pwyll, Prince of Dyvet (Loth I, pp. 27 sq.). Pwyll is hunting with his companions and pack of hounds, and while following these,—we are not told the game,—is lost. He then hears the cry of a pack not his own, and soon a stag appears, pursued by the strange pack, which bring it to earth and kill it. These hounds are of wondrous beauty, snow-white with red ears, such hounds as Pwyll had never seen before. He drives them off, however, and recalls his pack to the quarry; a noble knight comes up and reproaches him for his discourtesy. Pwyll offers to make amends and the stranger, who turns out to be Arawn, king of Annwn, i. e. the Other World, suggests that they exchange shapes and circumstances for a year; to this Pwyll consents, and his true worth as knight is proved by the fact that he forbears to claim the prerogatives of a husband from the other's wife. At the conclusion of the year they resume their former selves, remaining loyal friends and exchanging presents.

In this story, it is to be noted, the stag does not lead Pwyll to Arawn, for it is he who is chasing the stag, and the emphasis is laid not on the latter but on the dogs; nor, furthermore, is Pwyll led, as a result of this encounter, to the lady who is to become his wife; his meeting with Riannon, whom he afterwards marries, is the result of another episode. Whatever the original of this story may have been, it is clear that we are far

removed from such an episode as that in Dolopathos. I have tried hard to convince myself that the two episodes are related, for it would serve me a very pretty turn. This Welsh tale contains a version of the story of The Calumniated Wife, a story widespread but certainly not Celtic,<sup>1</sup> and a version of this same story occurs in the Swan-maiden story in Dolopathos in connection with the stag-messenger episode. This story, then, and Pwyll are constructed after the same pattern and out of similar material; in Dolopathos we have, 1. Stag-messenger episode; 2. story of the Swan-maiden; 3. story of The Calumniated Wife; in Pwyll, 1. modified stag-messenger episode; 2. fairy maiden story (Riannon); 3. story of the Calumniated Wife. Since, therefore, this last story is certainly not Celtic, and since I shall prove, just as conclusively, I think, that the first is not Celtic, it would be permissible to conjecture that the author of Pwyll or his source, having a non-Celtic tale before him, modified the stag-messenger episode, which is kept practically unchanged in Dolopathos, and substituted a different type of fairy maiden story, in which, however, the end is the same, namely, marriage of the lady, as a mortal, with the hero, and her calumination. This is no more improbable than the results of many comparative studies in this field, but I am content to note that, since we have in Pwyll, just as in the so-called Breton lays, material which is certainly not Celtic, any argument for the Celtic origin of the stag-messenger episode, based upon the fact that it occurs in these stories, has to be supported by other evidence.

As far, therefore, as our earliest Welsh remains are concerned there is in them no episode which shows the essential features of the stag messenger,—the apparently voluntary hunt of a stag which escapes unhurt, meeting with a lady at a fountain, marriage of the hero and this lady, and life in the hero's domains. This same conclusion results from a study of the earliest Irish tales, which certainly antedate the appearance of the episode on French soil. No one will deny that the fairy mistress episode, the notable characteristic of which is the dwelling of the hero in the fairy world with his mistress,<sup>2</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup>This is admitted by the warmest adherents of the Celtic cause; cf. Kittredge, *Harv. Studies and Notes*, 8, 1903, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup>The other form, in which the lady lives as a mortal with the hero in his home, is rare in the earliest tales. One of the best examples occurs



journey to the Other World, loom large in Irish literature, but there is nothing to warrant the conclusion that the stag-messenger episode had a place there. In regard to the journey to the Other World, in the earliest type, the voyages of Bran and Maelduin, no animal<sup>1</sup> is the guide of the travelers, and the hero has no adventure with the supernatural ladies which his companions do not share.<sup>2</sup> In regard to the fairy mistress episodes, it is characteristic of the earliest examples that the lady presents herself directly to the hero or sends a messenger in human shape.<sup>3</sup> Whenever an animal does occur in such stories, a dog, a lion, or even a fish,<sup>4</sup> it seems to belong to the category of the helpful beast and there is no hunt.

One early example of such a story must be considered at some length, not only because of the wide acceptance of the theory that the stag-messenger episode had its origin in Celtic stories which told of a mortal's journey to the other world to a fairy mistress, but because this story has been expressly cited as evidence of such origin.<sup>5</sup> This is the famous Tochmarc

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in *The Debility of the Ultonian Warriors*, found in the *Book of Leinster*; cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée Celtique*, I, pp. 320 sq.; other examples are cited by Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, pp. 593 sq.

<sup>1</sup> According to Professor Cross, however, l. c., p. 592, "the hunt for the white deer in Graeent" was "probably borrowed from the conventional Journey to the Other World".

<sup>2</sup> This is very common in Celtic other world stories; cf. the examples collected by Schofield, *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, 5, 1896, pp. 225 sq.

<sup>3</sup> This is true, e. g. of the appearance of the fairy to Crunniuc mac Agnoman in *The Debility of the Ultonian Warriors*, cited above, and in the most famous instance of them all, that of Fand and Cuchulinn, one version of which is contained in the *Lebor na h'Uidre* (11th cen.), Fand sends a messenger; cf. D'Arbois, l. c., pp. 170 sq. This messenger is in some cases a shape-shifter, cf. Brown, *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, 8, 1903, p. 114, Cross, *Stud. in Philol. Univ. N. Carolina*, 1913, pp. 31 sq.; in no case, however, does such a messenger take on the shape of a stag. Professor Cross in *Mod. Phil.* 12, pp. 594 sq., has collected a great number of fairy mistress stories, but in no one of them does the hero meet the féé as the result of a hunt in which the animal leads him to her. He himself notes that "in early Irish saga the féé and her mortal prototype generally take the initiative in love-making," that "in every case the woman does the wooing", (p. 615), and that this is entirely in harmony with what we know of the early Irish social system, cf. pp. 612, 617.

<sup>4</sup> Examples are given by Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, pp. 688 sq.

<sup>5</sup> By Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, pp. 688 sq.

Emer,<sup>1</sup> The Wooing of Emer, which tells of a journey made by Cuchulinn to the other world. Cuchulinn is a suitor for the hand of the beautiful Emer, but before she will marry him he must give further proof of his prowess in arms. In order, therefore, to receive instruction he sets out, with two companions, to visit Scathach, the warrior queen of Albion,<sup>2</sup> but, owing to the tricks of an ugly maiden who loves him but whom he has repulsed, he is separated from his companions, and as he goes on his way alone a strange creature resembling a lion presents itself before him. He mounts on its back and travels thus for four days, when the lion leaves him. His adventures then begin, but he finally succeeds, partly with the help of a supernatural youth, in making his way into Scathach's land. Here he is received by Scathach and her daughter Uathach, who at once falls in love with him and determines, with her mother's permission, to make him her bed-fellow. She even disguises herself as a maid to wait upon him and while she is performing this service Cuchulinn strikes her and breaks her finger. At her cries all the attendants of the castle rush to her aid and Cuchulinn, in the fight which ensues, slays Cochor Cruifne, a brave champion of Scathach, much to the sorrow of the latter; Cuchulinn, however, promises to serve her in his stead. From Uathach he learns how to find Scathach "that he might receive the instruction in arms for which he had come", and how to make her give him such instruction. All is done as Uathach advises, whose husband Cuchulinn was as long as he remained in the house of Scathach. This did not prevent him, however, from having another love affair during his stay in the other world, with Aife, a supernatural Amazon, an enemy of Scathach, whom he overcomes in more ways than one, and the child of this union was Connla.<sup>3</sup> If the helpful

<sup>1</sup> Contained in part in the *Lebor na h'Uidre*, and complete in later MSS. A translation of the entire story by Meyer, *Archaeol. Rev.* vol. I. Cf. D'Arbois, l. c., pp. 39 sq.

<sup>2</sup> For this theme, the supernatural woman instructing a young hero in the art of war, in Celtic literature, cf. Nutt, *Folk Lore Jour.* IV, 1881, p. 31. It may also be noted that the father of Emer expressly sets a certain task for Cuchulinn to perform before he begins the journey to the land of Scathach; in this part of the tale, at least, we are dealing with a type of the testing of a hero.

<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that this summary differs radically from that given by Professor Brown, l. c., and it is to be regretted that he did not call

lion in this story is to be connected with the stag in the episode under discussion, one cannot help wondering which of these three supernatural ladies sent the lion to guide Cuchulinn to her, and why, if Scathach is the fairy mistress, she differs from all other fairy mistresses in this type of story in that she is sought by the hero, instead of seeking him without his knowledge, and sought, too, not to be his paramour but his teacher in the art of war.

We must conclude, therefore, it seems to me, that the first condition postulated above has not been met; it cannot be proved beyond reasonable doubt that the stag-messenger episode was part of Celtic tradition before its appearance on French soil. It must be noted, also, that there is no theory which has been advanced to explain the origin of one or both of the episodes in question, which will explain them both, or account for the fact that in one type the stag, after leading the hero to the lady, disappears, whereas in the other type it is slain. If we group all such episodes under one head and consider them to be derived from a Celtic tale of a fairy mistress<sup>1</sup> in which an animal serves to lead a mortal lover to the Other World to the *fée*, it is not easy to see why the animal should disappear in the one case and be slain in the other. If we are to connect such guiding beasts with helpful beasts, there is no explanation for the hunt, since helpful beasts are not hunted by those whom they help. If, on the other hand, we refer those stories in which the animal is slain to an original in which the beast represented a *fée* or a maiden under enchantment, and the decapitation brought about

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attention to these details in citing this story as the foundation for the second part of Ivain, even though they render less startling the parallel which he finds between them. Cuchulinn is not invited to the fairy world, he does not fight with Cochor as the result of a challenge or before being received in Scathach's abode; we are not told that she, who is an elderly lady with two sons and a daughter, became his fairy mistress, and, if she does, Cuchulinn is at the same time the paramour of the daughter, with the mother's permission, and also has a liaison with another fairy princess.

<sup>1</sup>The last word which I have seen upon the subject is that of Professor Nitze, *Mod. Phil.* 1914, p. 481. He groups "the hunt in Pwyll, Guigemar, Guingamor, Tyolet, Graelent, the Dutch Lancelot, Perceval, Gottfried's Tristan, etc. It is, indeed, . . . a common induction motif to the fairy mistress episode". This seems to be also the view of Professor Cross; cf. his article in *Mod. Phil.* 1. c.

the disenchantment;<sup>1</sup> or if we maintain that the slaying of the animal is a task set the hero either by his lady-love or his kinsman who is under a spell and is to be rescued by the hero,<sup>2</sup> we still have no explanation for the fact that in one group the animal is not slain. The only logical conclusion is that the two types are not variants of one original, as far, at least, as we can judge from literary tradition, but differ fundamentally.

When we once admit that there is a fundamental difference between the two types of the stag hunt, and that there is no story in early Celtic literature which shows the essential features of the stag-messenger episode, we may turn with some hope of success to the question of the source of the latter. This must occur in some form, oral or written, which is demonstrably free from Celtic influence, and equally current and equally accessible to a French writer as any possible Celtic source.

It is natural that a student of the classics should think of a classical analogue to the stag-messenger episode, and I had long ago convinced myself that certain essentials of the story, the hunt, vain pursuit of the animal, disappearance of the hunter, were well known to the Greeks and Romans. A very striking example of such a story is furnished by Ovid, *Met.* 14, 320 sq., the tale of Picus and Circe. The former was a young king, beauteous in person and brave of soul, so that all the water-nymphs were in love with him. He spurned them all, however, save the beautiful Canens, who could sing so sweetly that she charmed wild beasts. One day Picus with his companions went forth to hunt boars, and Circe, who happened to be gathering magic herbs in the neighborhood, saw him and was at once overcome with love. She determined to get him in her power, and by her magic arts she fashioned the likeness of a wild boar, "nullo cum corpore", which seemed to spring up in front of him and to go into the thick forest whither his horse could not make its way. Picus thereupon dismounted, followed the boar,

<sup>1</sup> So, for example, Professor Nitze, l. c.; he fails to note that in Graeent, if not in others embraced in his "etc.", the animal is not slain.

<sup>2</sup> For such stories, cf. Nutt, *Stud. on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 144, 161; Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 242 sq.; Kittredge, l. c., pp. 232 sq. In some cases the performance of the task seems to be merely a test of the hero's fitness, in others it brings about the disenchantment.

and was led into the depths of the forest far from his companions. Circe appeared before him, begged for his love, but he remained true to Canens, and she, in revenge, turned him into a bird (Picus).

This tale,—which I do not cite as a direct source for the stories considered above, although Ovid is a possible source for any mediaeval story,—contains the hunt, separation from companions, meeting with the lady, but a boar instead of a stag and no fountain. In the following tale, found in Pausanias 2, 30, 7 (a Greek writer of the 2d cen. A. D.), we have the hunt and a hind, but other characteristics are lacking. Saron, a king of Epidauria, the builder of a temple to Saronian Artemis on the sea-shore, took great delight in hunting, and one day it befell that he chased a hind which fled from him into the sea. He plunged in after it and, transported by the ardor of the chase, he swam in pursuit until he found himself in the open sea. Then his strength failed, the waves washed over him and he was drowned. His body, Pausanias adds, was cast up on the shore and was buried within the sacred inclosure of the temple. In another passage, 8, 22, 8, Pausanias tells a similar tale in connection with his account of the sanctuary of Artemis in Stymphalus. Here the huntsman disappears completely, as, in the original tale, must have been the case with Saron.

Such a story, which was doubtless derived from a form in which Artemis sent the deer to lead a hero from the land of mortals, either as a reward or punishment, recalls at once the famous hind on Mt. Keryneia with its golden horns which was sacred to the goddess,<sup>1</sup>—the hind which Hercules pursued and which led him to the other world, to the land of the Hyperboreans (Pindar, l. c.). And it was this same Hercules, we may note, who met Auge by a spring<sup>2</sup> and became by her the father of Telephus, and the latter, just as the children in the swan-maiden stories considered above, was exposed, and then suckled by a hind.<sup>3</sup> In view of the appearance of the hind in these stories dealing with Hercules, it cannot be chance that it is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pindar, Ol. 3, 29; Kallimachus, Hym. Art. 107 sq.; Apollod. 2, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8, 47, 4; according to other versions he first saw her in a temple; cf. Frazer's note on this passage and on Paus. 1, 4, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the references in the preceding note. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, 6, 141, Zeus ordered the hind to feed the babe.

another story in which Hercules appears which furnishes us with the closest sort of a parallel to the stag-messenger episode. This is the story of Hylas, the young attendant of Hercules upon the Argonautic expedition, as told by Valerius Flaccus, a Latin poet of the time of Vespasian, in his *Argonautica*, 3. 508, sq.

Upon the landing of the Argonauts in Mysia, Hercules, attended by Hylas, sets out into the forest to hunt. Juno, who is watching things from her seat in heaven, thinks that this would be a good chance to punish her enemy, and, catching sight of a band of water-nymphs, she drops down from heaven and takes her stand by the side of one of them, Dryope by name, who, frightened by the wild animals which are fleeing from Hercules, is hurrying for the refuge of her spring. Juno tells her that Hylas, whom she has destined for her spouse, is wandering about the woods, and she then rouses up through the shady paths a swift stag that broke forth just before the youth. Hylas catches at the bait, and sets out in pursuit of the stag, but it keeps just far enough ahead of him to be safe, gradually drawing Hylas on and on through the forest, away from Hercules, until it leads him "ad nitidi spiracula fontis", where it escapes (vs. 553). The boy, wearied by his fruitless task, bends greedily over the still pool which "was not one whit disturbed as the nymph rose to snatch kisses from his rosy lips"; she cast her eager arms about him and drew him, calling in vain the name of his mighty friend, down beneath the waves. Hercules sought long for the boy and finally fell into a deep sleep, when Hylas appeared to him and told him not to indulge in bootless woe, since the grove was now his home and Juno was striving to win for him immortality and the honors of the fountain.

In none other of the many versions of the Hylas story does this stag-messenger episode occur, although in two other versions<sup>1</sup> we are told that Hylas disappeared while on a hunt; these versions are independent of Valerius. Nor is the animal specified in a doublet of this story which tells how Bormos, the

<sup>1</sup> Six poetic versions survive and four in prose, to say nothing of the many references to the story. The hunt is mentioned in two late Greek versions, that of Zenobius, 6, 21, and a poetic version ascribed to Orpheus but written about 400 A. D.

beautiful son of a rich and well-known father, was carried off by the nymphs while hunting.<sup>1</sup> It is clear, however, that none of these stories could have served as the source for the mediaeval version of the stag-messenger, for the poem of Valerius, containing the only complete one, was not known apparently during the Middle Ages, and besides this, his version lacks what seems to me to be a very essential element of the story, namely, the return of the hero to his own domains with the fairy lady as his bride. Its importance lies in the fact that, taken in connection with the other stories which I have quoted, it proves beyond all doubt that the ancients were well acquainted with the episode in the form which became a commonplace during the 12th century. Of much more importance is it, however, that the Hylas story was localized in that part of Asia Minor where the Greeks very early came into contact with people largely of Semitic stock, and it is recognized that the ritual which doubtless underlies this story,—the lamentation and cries for Hylas at a spring,—is Hebrew and not Greek, and is to be compared with the stories of Lityerses, Linos, Adonis, and Attis.<sup>2</sup>

This fact turns our attention at once from a possible occidental source,—possible, because the story of Hylas may have lingered on among the people<sup>3</sup> without appearing in literature, to a

<sup>1</sup> Complete references are given in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* s. v. Bormos. The same story is told of other youths; cf. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, III, p. 13, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythol.* pp. 319, 967; Roscher, *Lex. d. Gr. u. Röm. Mythol.* s. v. Hylas. For the sacredness of springs among the Semites, cf. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 106 sq., 167 sq. For the Semitic character of such rites, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, *Attis, Adonis, Osiris*, I, pp. 1 sq., 223 sq. The connection of Hylas with Hercules, although very old, is probably not original, and Hercules seems to have taken the place of an earlier hero, Polyphemus; cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides, Herakles*, 2d. ed. p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that stories of the metamorphosis of people into stags were apparently well known; cf. the story of Actaeon, for example, and Terence, in the prologue to his *Phormio*, attacks a rival dramatist for introducing on the stage "*insanum—adulescentulum | cervam videre fugere et sectari canes | et eam plorare, orare ut subveniat sibi*"; cf. also the story of Iphigenia and the proverb, "a hind instead of a maid", *Achilles Tatius*, 6, 2. Hence human and even superhuman powers were given to stags; Mithridates was said to have had one which acted as his guard while he slept and gave warning by its cry when any one approached, *Ael. de nat. an.* 7, 46. And *Pliny, N. H.* 8, 117, tells of

possible oriental source. This is suggestive in view of the fact noted above that the stag-messenger episode occurs in tales which contain material that is undoubtedly oriental, but it increases the difficulty, since we are pointed to a path where few can walk without stumbling. All that I can do is to offer conclusive evidence that the stag-messenger episode is oriental in origin, not Celtic, and that it occurred in forms which were early known and widely known in the west.

I have called attention in the preceding note to the supernatural qualities of the stag and to its position in the *Physiologos* as the enemy of the dragon. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the oriental character of this production, which probably originated among the Hellenic Hebrews in Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> and I merely wish to note the fact that the Christian redactor, whoever he may have been, used the old folk belief in the enmity between the stag and the serpent to explain the words of David, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God"; the hart longs for water which he uses to expel dragons from their holes in order to kill them, just as the Savior, with the water and blood which flowed from His side, killed the great dragon. In early Christian exegesis, therefore, owing chiefly, no doubt, to the symbolic interpretation of passages in the Old Testament (cf. e. g. Ps. 29, 9, Cant. 2, 17), the stag is very important, and is referred to as the symbol of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is not unnatural that it should have passed over into Christian legend, nor unseemly that Christ should have

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a white hind which belonged to Sertorius "quam esse fatidicam Hispaniae gentibus persuaserat". I need hardly add that the antipathy of the stag to the serpent, which plays such a prominent part in the *Physiologos*, was recognized by the Ancients; cf. Pliny, l. c.; on this matter, cf. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, pp. 171 sq.

<sup>1</sup>The Greek version, ed. Lauchert, Strassburg, 1889, is ascribed to Epiphanius (298-403), Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus. On the widespread popularity of the work, cf. Evans, l. c., pp. 62 sq.; Karniev, *Documents et remarques pour l'histoire littéraire du Physiologos*, and the review of this work in *Rom.* 25, 1896, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ambrose in Ps. David XLI, *Enarratio*: *Cervi similitudinem suscipit etiam Christus, quia veniens in terras serpentem illum diabolum sine ulla sui offensione protrivit*; id. *Praefatio in Ps. XLI*; Jerome, in *Is. XXIV*.



appeared in the form of a stag to the Roman general Placidus, the Christian saint, Eustatius.<sup>1</sup>

Placidus was a Roman of illustrious birth, high station, and great wealth, who, although he gave himself to the doing of kind deeds, was still lost in the mazes of idolatry. He was passionately devoted to the chase, and one day, with many attendants, he went out into the forest to hunt. A herd of stags passed in view, and one, larger and more beautiful than the rest, detached itself from the others and fled into the depths of the forest. Placidus, with a few of the company, started out in pursuit, but soon his companions fell behind, and Placidus, whose horse owing to Divine Providence suffered no fatigue, followed on alone. The stag stopped finally on the summit of a great rock, and as Placidus gazed in admiration of its size and beauty, he saw a cross appear between its horns, and the stag spoke with human voice, telling him that it was Christ whom he was honoring though he knew it not.

This episode, which recalls at once the stag-messenger in the tales summarized above, serves as an introduction to a tale which belongs to the cycle of the Man Tried by Fate. This motif is oriental, perhaps Sanscrit, in origin, and Professor Gerould, in the article referred to, suggests that the Eustace version "derives through Arabian and Pahlavi from Sanscrit". Only in this version, however, does the stag appear, but "that it was essential to the legend as we have it is shown by the account in John of Damascus—and further by the fact that though the European derivatives do not usually keep the matter of the episode they almost invariably offer some substitute for it". (Gerould, l. c. p. 386.) The source of the episode is unknown and does not matter for my purpose,<sup>1</sup> since it is sufficient to have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. VI, pp. 123 sq., Sept. 20. The earliest reference to the Saint occurs in the works of John of Damascus, *de Imag.*, Or. III, in ed. 1712, I, p. 372. The life was translated from the *Acta* by Aelfric in the 10th cen.; it is found, also, in the *Gesta Rom.* ed. Oesterly, pp. 444 sq., in the *Legenda aurea*, ed. Graesse, pp. 714 sq., and was one of the most popular legends of the Middle Ages; cf. the exhaustive study of Gerould, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 19, 1904, pp. 335 sq.

<sup>1</sup> The episode of the stag was taken over into the life of Saint Hubert, and seems to find an echo in the story of St. Felix de Valois, who lived as a hermit in the midst of a deep forest, near a spring, since called *Cerfroid* (*cervus frigidus*); thither comes to drink a stag having be-

shown that in a story which cannot possibly be Celtic, and which was well known in the West as early as the 10th century at the very latest, we find two important characteristics of the stag-messenger episode, the hunt voluntarily undertaken by an important personage, and the pursuit of a stag which separates him from his companions and is not slain. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar episode occurs in a rabbinical legend of David.<sup>1</sup> One day David was hunting in the wilderness when God, to punish David for his boastfulness, causes a stag to appear before him. David shot an arrow at it, but much to his surprise fails to wound the animal, which runs off. He gives chase and is led past the borders of the Philistines, where he is made captive by Yishbi of Nob, the brother of Goliath. In view of the sacred character of deer and antelopes in several parts of the Semitic world<sup>2</sup> it cannot be doubted that, in such stories, we are dealing with genuine Semitic tradition. It should be noted, however, that a similar story is found in the *Râmâyana* (ed. Gorresio, III, 48 sq.); a demon in the form of a stag leads Râma off into the forest and the king, who is responsible for the ruse, is successful in seizing Râma's wife, Sitâ; Râma, however, kills the stag.

The story, then, in its main features, must have been of Indian origin, and doubtless reached the Hebrews through the Persian,<sup>3</sup> but it is very probable, it seems to me, that to an Arabian tale is due the romantic coloring, the meeting with the fairy lady

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tween its horns a red and blue cross; hence the members of the order of the Redemption of Captives founded by him, wore a cross of this color. Professor Tupper kindly called my attention to the Middle English poetic version of the life of St. Eustace in Miss Weston, *The Chief Middle English Poets*, p. 78. From the Placidus story, I would suggest, is derived the episode of the stag-knight in Tyolet, noted above.

<sup>1</sup> The story occurs in the *Midrasch*, a work of the 10th cen., in two places; cf. Jellinek, *Bethamidrasch* 4, 140, 6, 106; cf. Marmorstein, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 17, 1913, p. 172. The latter fails to note the fact that a version also occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, cf. the translation of Rodkinson, 8, *Jurisprudence*, Pt. II, p. 291, where the Hebrew word for stag (*Javya*) is mistakenly translated by 'ram'; cf. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Talmud*, Pt. I, p. 516. Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, pp. 321 sq., gives the former version also without mentioning the Talmudic variant.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 466 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Darmesteter, *Revue des Études Juives*, 2 (1881) pp. 300-2.

at the fountain, which is characteristic both of the Hylas story, although here this detail may be Greek, as well as of the French versions of the stag-messenger story.<sup>1</sup> This is rendered almost a certainty by the fact that we find an exact prototype of the latter in the Hebrew version of the Seven Sages (Mischle Sendabar), which is derived from a lost Arabian version dating from the 9th century at the latest.<sup>2</sup> It is unnecessary for me to enter into the vexed question of the relation between this Hebrew version and the other versions of the oriental group on the one hand, and the versions of the western group on the other; suffice it to say that the Hebrew, which can hardly be later than the 11th century, was known in France, perhaps in a Latin dress,<sup>3</sup> in the 12th century, is more closely related to the western group than any other of the oriental versions,<sup>4</sup> and was known in some form, either through oral tradition or a Latin medium, to Johannes de Alta Silva, the author of *Dolopathos*,<sup>5</sup> in which occurs the stag-messenger episode in combination with the swan-maiden story.

The tale to which I wish to call attention is the sixth in the collection, the second story of the queen (Hilka, Latin text, pp. 11 sq.). The matter, with slight variations, occurs in all the oriental versions, but the Hebrew differs from the others in combining two stories (Striga and Fons in Hilka's table, p. XXIV), to form one which runs as follows. A young prince,

<sup>1</sup> I may note the story in the Arabian Nights in which a maiden is changed into a gazelle; Lane's translation, London, 1839, v. I, pp. 48 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Campbell, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 14, 1899, pp. 6 sq., and his book, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, Boston, 1907, pp. XV sq.

<sup>3</sup> This is made extremely probable by the discovery by Hilka of a Latin version of the Hebrew text, either translated directly from it, or from some version intimately connected with it. The Latin MS in which it is found was written in Italy in 1407 and is edited by Hilka in his *Historia septem sapientum*, I, Heidelberg, 1912, with a valuable introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Paris, *Rom.* 2, 1873, p. 486; Campbell, l. c., pp. 9, 15; Hilka, l. c., p. XII.

<sup>5</sup> This is shown, among other things, by the fact that Johannes' version stands alone among the western versions in having but one tutor for the young prince as is the case in the Hebrew version. On the points of agreement, cf. the authorities cited; we must add, now, it seems to me, this stag-messenger episode, although it may have, and doubtless did, come to Johannes already combined with the swan-maiden story.

attended by one of his father's ministers and other companions, goes forth to hunt; a stag<sup>1</sup> appears and the prince starts out in pursuit of it, is separated from his companions, and is lost in the forest. He comes upon a beautiful maiden who tells him that she is a princess and, since she knows the way, can direct him aright. He takes her up on his horse behind him and they come to a deserted building,<sup>2</sup> where the maiden tells him that she must dismount in order to bathe her feet. She enters the building, and the youth, after waiting some time, looks through a crack in the wall. He sees that she is a *fée*,<sup>3</sup> and hears her tell other fairy maidens that she has brought to them the king's son, and them reply that she must lead him to a certain place where they can work their will upon him. This frightens the boy and he returns to his horse, but the *fée* resumes her mortal form and again mounts the horse behind him. He finally manages to free himself from her, and flees through the desert, arriving at last at a spring, the water of which has the power of turning a man who drank of it into a woman, a woman into a man. He is thirsty from his hot ride and drinks eagerly,<sup>4</sup> and straightway becomes a maiden. Very sorrowfully he remains there for the night, when a band of maidens comes and sports and sings by the spring. He arises to join in their play because he thinks that he has become a *fée*, and they all ask him who he is and whence he comes. He tells them his story, whereupon one of them remarks that if he will promise to make her his wife, she will free him and conduct him to his father. He gives her his promise and, upon her advice, drinks again of the spring and becomes again a male. She then acts as his guide and leads him safely to his father.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A wild ass in the Greek, Syrian, and Persian versions, a gazelle in the Arabic, simply a wild animal in the Old Spanish.

<sup>2</sup> Quoddam desertum, in the Latin version, a "ruin" in all except the Arabic version which has simply a "wall".

<sup>3</sup> "Striga" in the Latin, "Lamia" in the Greek, "ghûl" in the Syrian and in one of the Arabic versions.

<sup>4</sup> This reminds one of the Hylas story cited above.

<sup>5</sup> I do not believe in using modern tales to support an argument which concerns mediaeval problems, for folk-tales travel far and in unaccountable ways; merely for the purpose of illustrating the persistency of tradition, I call attention to the modern Greek tale in Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, no. 15, a tale in which the stag-messenger

In this story, therefore, we find all the essential details which I have noted above as characteristic of the stag-messenger episode,—the hunt, undertaken by the hero simply as a hunt, the appearance of the stag, the pursuit by the hero and resulting separation from his companions, disappearance of the stag unwounded, meeting with a maiden by a spring, return of the hero to his home with the maiden who becomes his wife. Here we find, also, in the wandering of the prince in the desert the explanation of the presence of a desert in Auberon and the Italian version of Tristan; this is surely a genuine oriental touch and is meaningless in these last named tales without reference to an oriental setting. Finally, this story is one which entirely satisfies the second of the two conditions postulated above; it is demonstrably oriental and not Celtic, and it occurs in a form which was as widely known (even more widely known) and as accessible as any possible Celtic source. Since,

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episode is connected with a swan-maiden story as in Dolopathos. The beginning is very similar to this story in the oriental versions of the Seven Sages, and is clearly derived from the same stock. In the modern tale, however, there is introduced between the hunt and the finding of the swan-maidens an episode which seems to be derived, although Hahn does not note it, from the famous story of Hasan of Bassorah, found in the Arabian Nights (translation by Lane, v. III, pp. 384 sq.). Curiously enough there also occurs in this modern tale an exact parallel to the helpful beasts in the Mabinogi of Culhwch and Olwen (Loth, I, pp. 260 sq.); the hero is sent by one animal to another until he obtains the information he is seeking, and the last animal carries him to his destination; in the Welsh tale this animal is a salmon, in the Greek, a species of hen. An interesting version of the stag-messenger episode also survives in the modern German tale of the Little Brother and Sister, Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, no. 11. According to Remy, *Jour. English and German Phil.* 12, 1913, p. 54, in the Scottish ballad which contains the story of Thomas of Erceldoune, Thomas "is summoned to return to the mountain by the apparition of a hart and a hind,—sure signs of a fairy messenger". As a matter of fact, however, the ballad tells us nothing of the sort, nor does the romance; cf. Murray's ed. of *Thomas of Erceldoune*, *E. E. T.* 61, 1875, p. XLIX; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 204. The information is due to Sir Walter Scott, *Border Minstrelsy*, III, p. 209. Nor is there any trace in the popular tradition set forth by Murray, l. c. Even if Scott's record is authentic it has no bearing upon the source of the stag-messenger episode since it is more than offset by the fuller account in the modern Greek tale.

therefore, no Celtic tale satisfies the first of the two conditions, and since this story satisfies the second, we may conclude with entire assurance that our episode is derived from oriental sources. In regard to its immediate source all that we can safely say is that it seems to have been a popular version, which was doubtless put into Latin before the time of Johannes de Alta Silva, of this story in *Mischle Sendabar*. What influence Ovid's story of Picus may have had, or whether the Hylas story, in the form used by Valerius Flaccus, was known among the people, cannot now be determined; they are evidence, however, that the type was familiar for many centuries, and, combined with the Hebrew story, render any Celtic hypothesis absolutely unnecessary.

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## II.—THE SEMANTICS OF LATIN ADJECTIVE TERMINATIONS.

The purpose of the following paper is to discuss, and roughly to classify, Latin adjectives from the point of view of the relation between stem and termination; to point out why variation in semantic content of adjective terminations may be readily detected and estimated in some instances and not in others, and to furnish some examples of the analysis of semantic content in suitable contexts.<sup>1</sup> The material for examination has been taken from Plautus. It is believed that the collection is reasonably complete, though an exact statistical statement of the various classes of adjectives examined has not been attempted.

Classified according to their morphology, for purposes of semantic investigation, there are in Latin three kinds of adjectives.

I. Those in which both stem and termination are known as independent words, allowing of course for proper modification of the two constituent elements into the form of an adjective: as *expers*,<sup>2</sup> *furtificus*.

<sup>1</sup> It may be permissible here to repeat from a previous paper the distinction which I there drew between semantic *content* and semantic *area*. "Semantic Variability and Semantic Equivalents of *-oso-* and *-lento-*", New Era Publishing Company, 1914, p. 2, sec. 2: "The term 'semantic content' applied to suffixes throughout this paper denotes the meaning of a suffix in some particular context. For the general meaning of a suffix, which is of course an abstraction, the term 'semantic area' (Gebrauchssphäre) is perhaps as good as any, and will be used in that sense where necessary. The suffix *-oso-* has a semantic area; in the sense here employed it has no semantic content until placed in a definite context which determines such content."

<sup>2</sup> I have in this paper used the word "termination", when necessary, to include the second member of such words as *expers*, *furtificus*. In such words as *inops*, *copis*, the second member is the distinguishing part of the compound, and perhaps some other term should be used to describe it. Morphologically, however, these second members are as much terminations as *-oso-* or *-no-*, and the appending of suffixes to a preposition or adverb finds a parallel in *interior*, *exterior*, etc.

II. Those in which the stem is known and the termination of no very definite independent value, perhaps even of uncertain etymology: as *aquosus, aureus, rapax*.

III. Those in which both stem and termination are unknown, doubtful, or at any rate of no independent signification: as *bonus, aequus, malus*.

Broadly speaking, this morphological classification will be found to correspond with certain semantic phenomena. There are exceptions, and there is one notable subdivision under Class II which almost deserves to be treated by itself. But the general tendency in each group is fairly clear.

It must further be remembered that these adjectives when spoken conveyed their meaning to those who heard them with the help of various factors which one may recognize but cannot now determine—gesture, intonation, and emphasis. At the same time the written words are intelligible and it is by means of these that one must operate in dealing with Latin. Beginning with Class I, it is evident that some of these compound adjectives have also a sort of secondary termination (as the *o/a* termination) added to the real termination or second element of the word. It may be advanced as a preliminary hypothesis that such termination was a mere accommodation due to the fact that a Latin adjective was under the necessity of having some such ending for inflectional purposes.

Following are some examples of adjectives of this sort:

Asin. 33,<sup>1</sup> *apud fustitudinas ferricrepinas insulas*. Aul. 502, *Salutigerulos pueros*. Cist. 492, *Quia tibi aliast locuples Lemnia*. Epid. 153, *Est Euboicus miles locuples, multo auro potens*. M. G. 107, *Opiparisque opsoniis*<sup>2</sup> (noun and verb). Rud. 515, *Dum tuis ausculto magnidicis mendaciis*. Capt. 671, *Tuis scelestis falsidicis fallaciis* (adj. and verb). Amph. 212,

<sup>1</sup> It might be objected to the use of some of these compounds that they are introduced by Plautus for comic effect and can hardly count in a grammatical discussion. In rejoinder it may be said that the comic element in language constantly plays a part in everyday speech and is entitled to consideration as much as any poetical or emotional element. Ordinary speech is not the result of purely intellectual processes any more than the language of Plautus was.

<sup>2</sup> To illustrate equivalence of semantic content between *-lento-* and *parare*, Bacc. 96, *Tu facito opsonatum nobis sit opulentum opsonium*.



*Magnanimi viri freti virtute et viribus.* Rud. 281, *Misericordior nulla mest feminarum.* M. G. 631, *Si albicapillus hic videtur* (adj. and noun). Men. 24, *Pueri septuennes.* Poen. 66, *Puer septuennis.* Aul. 809, 821, *Quadrilibrem oulam* (numeral adj. and noun). Bacc. 641, *Nam duplex facinus hodie feci duplicibus spoliis sum adfectus* (numeral adj. and verb). Persa, 266, *Triparcos homines, vetulos, avidos* (adv. and adj.). Id. 298, *Tamquam proserpens bestias, bilinguis et scelestus* (adv. and noun). Most. 213, *Illa hanc corrumpit mulierem malesuada.* Stic. 385, *Malevoli perquisitores* (id. and verb). Bacc. 657, *Vorsipellem frugi convenit esse* (verb and noun). Amph. 170, *Ipse dominus dives operis et laboris expers.* Bacc. 351, *Ut erilem copem facerem filium.* Capt. 622, *Patriae compotem.* Cist. 674, *Tam socordem esse quam sum.* Men. 891, *Aqua inintercus tenet* (prep. and noun). Trin. 100, *Turpilucricupidum*<sup>1</sup> *te vocant cives tui* (adj. and noun and adj.).

Two general observations may be made on this class of adjectives. (1) It makes no difference whatever whether or not the compound adjective has a further *-o/a-* or other termination. Usually when the verbal part of the adjective is the suffix there is added an ending suitable for inflection as in '*opiparus*', '*ferricrepinus*'. When an adjective forms the second part of the compound, there is of course no need for any other than the regular adjectival inflection as in '*triparcus*'. Where the noun forms the second member of the compound, it may be inflected as the simple noun is inflected, for example,

<sup>1</sup> This word '*turpilucricupidus*' forms an interesting example of the way in which the Latin language did *not* develop. It is to be doubted whether it expresses anything more than would be expressed by '*avarus*'. In general it is true that Latin avoids such compounds, not from any undesirable complexity in the concept they represent, but, it is probable, simply because they are physically awkward for speech. An adjective may convey a concept as complex as a phrase. In the phrase it is apt to be more clearly differentiated. '*Locuples*' is perhaps not less complex than '*multo auro potens*', but the latter is more clear and vivid. Cf. Cato, R. R. 157, 3. *Cancer ater, is olet et saniem spurcam mittit; albus purulentus, sed fistulosus et subtus suppurat sub carne.* '*Olet*', '*saniem spurcam mittit*', '*purulentus*', '*fistulosus*', '*suppurat sub carne*', each describes some aspect of an ulcer. It would be difficult, perhaps, to establish the relative complexity of the various percepts here presented. Further, the whole question of the relation between the adjective and the relative clause would probably repay investigation.

'*expertes*'. It may also take a different termination from the regular as '*quadrilibris*', '*septuennis*'. The trend of evidence is to show that any termination added to the compound has no force and is used for purely inflectional purposes. (2) In the second place it may be observed that both parts of the components are stable in meaning, and retain very largely the original forces that they have when uncompounded. '*Furtificas manus*', '*illa malesuada*', and in fact almost any of the compounds examined cannot be dissolved without making some difference in the force of the expression. With reference to the phrase '*furtificas manus*', '*furtum*' united to '*manus*' by any colorless termination would have practically the same force, but '*ficus*' exactly fits the context, and makes the meaning absolutely clear. That is, '*furtum*' is the determining member of the compound. In '*malesuada*', however, the force is more evenly distributed, but neither member of the compound would serve alone. In general, while the first part of the compound adjective considered in this group retains its signification as do stems like '*aqua*' or '*auro*' in '*aquosus*' and '*aureus*', the second member of the compound adjective, quite different from the termination of '*aquosus*' or '*aureus*', has an independent force which it has also in its uncompounded form. That is, it has not reached the condition of those terminations which mean nothing until brought into connection with some stem and word limited.

It may be observed further that this class of adjectives, owing to their relatively much more stable character, is not widely used. In a total of 2600 adjectives collected from Plautus there are 100<sup>1</sup> examples of this class, but this small number of examples contains about 40 different adjectives. To be widely used an adjective must possess more flexibility than most of these possess. The precise relation between the noun limited and the stem of the adjective limiting it is already defined almost completely in these compounds, and the environment must be provided for the termination rather than the termination adapted to the environment. Their emotional ingre-

<sup>1</sup>\*Words compounded with *in-*, either negative or intensive, are not, of course, included here. The function of *in-* is so regular and at the same time so general that it might as well be a separate word and cannot count in a discussion of the semantics of the adjective.

dient may be pleasant or unpleasant, important or negligible, but the intellectual content is pretty clearly defined, and no very satisfactory results have been reached in studying the semantic variability of their terminations because their sphere of usage is thus limited.<sup>1</sup>

The second class which it is proposed to consider is that composed of adjectives which are formed on definite and known stems, but have terminations of no independent value. Such adjectives may be formed on various stems, but the majority of them will be found on noun and verb stems, and it is to these that the discussion of adjectives in Class II will be limited. Those found on verb stems make up the subdivision above referred to, which might perhaps have been included in a separate class. Their morphology, however, puts them in this class. To illustrate the adjective formed on a verb stem, words in *-ax* will be considered. These words, Lindsay says (*L. L.*, V, §69), "express tendency or character". That is, the terminations are colorless and denote nothing except that the noun limited by the adjective in *-ax* has the habit of performing the action which is expressed by the verbal stem of the adjective. The termination has a temporal, durative force; the adjective resembles a frozen present participle.<sup>2</sup> This fact renders the semantic variability of the termination *-ax* when appended to any particular verb stem practically nil; though some difference of content may be found in the termination when applied to different stems. In this respect, too, it differs from terminations added

<sup>1</sup>'*Commodus*' is a word which belongs etymologically in this class. It is much more widely used than most of the words mentioned here. The reason is, that both its component parts are words of large and general meaning, and hence it is not nearly so limited in its application as the majority of the words discussed. '*Expers*' is of the same nature, though probably not so widely extended in its use. However, exceptions will be found to practically every statement made in grammar, and these exceptions will not vitiate the conclusions drawn from the general trend of the evidence.

<sup>2</sup>The nominal suffix *-tor* has a force somewhat similar. It might be worth while to examine words in *-tor* and *-ax*, to see how far these endings are found on the same stems, how far one takes the place of the other, and what their difference of content is when both are found on the same stem. It might be conjectured that in many instances the adjective does duty for the noun and vice versa; vid. Hor. Ep. I, 1. 38, *Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator*.

to noun stems as *-tus* the adjectival termination differs from *-tus* the participial termination (vid. infra).

Here a few statistics dealing with adjectives in some of the more usual terminations may be of interest. Of *-oso-* words 128 examples were examined. Of this number 111 are formed on stems which are not concrete and tangible, 17 upon stems which are. There is, so far as can be discovered, no single instance in Plautus of *-oso-* added to a stem which is not that of a known word.

Of 80 examples of *-eo-* words examined, on the contrary, 73 were formed on stems unquestionably concrete and tangible. Two other words (*purpureus* and *verbereus*) were formed on stems which are probably abstract but possibly concrete, one (*Pellaeus*) on the name of a city, two (*caeruleus* and *idoneus*) on roots more or less uncertain. Thus the huge majority are formed on concrete noun stems.

In *-no-* words, there is no clear instance of the termination's being added to a noun which denotes an abstract quality.<sup>1</sup> There are instances of its being added to roots, as '*dignus*', '*plenus*', perhaps '*serenus*'.

Of 262 *-to-* words examined 150 are formed on nouns, 90 are real participles, 5 are formed on adjectives, 6 on verbs with prefix added, 2 on nouns with prefix, 4 on roots more or less closely related to known Latin words and 5 are doubtful.

Further, in the *-to-* adjectives formed on noun stems, while the variety of words is far greater among those formed on concrete stems, the number of examples is greater among those on abstract stems. Thus 60 examples of the former give 35 different words, while 90 examples of the latter give 6 words. These six words are '*molestus*'—formed always on '*moles*' in the sense of 'troublesome', '*iustus*', '*honestus*', '*scelestus*', '*venustus*' and '*modestus*'. '*Scelestus*' occurs 47 times.

Now it is entirely probable that the convenience of '*scelestus*' and '*molestus*' as terms of abuse in the comedy makes the proportion here quite unfair. But there is a further fact to be noted about concrete stems. Any adjective termination may be vaguely translated 'related to', just as anything may be vaguely

<sup>1</sup> Unless '*ferricrepinus*', etc., be so considered, and here *-no-* is hardly a separate termination, but used for merely inflectional purposes, as pointed out above.

said to be 'related to' anything else. In the concrete instance, however, the termination can almost always be further defined. Now if a man be called '*molestus*', nothing very definite—from an intellectual point of view—has been said about him. It has been merely pointed out that he is annoying, and the reader is left to gather the reason from the context. *-To-* may be translated 'causing', but 'causing' takes place in many ways. If on the other hand he be referred to as '*caesariatus*' he is pretty definitely defined. His hair is long, and that is all there is about it. There is no need to go to the content for further definition. Adjective terminations formed on abstract stems are subject, as are other adjective terminations, to a considerable range of variability depending on the noun to which they are attached. But given a definite noun and two adjectives, one formed on a concrete and the other on an abstract stem, the former is usually susceptible of a more precise definition. Compare for example, Rud. 255, *Haud longe abesse oportet homines hinc: ita hic lepidus locus* and id. 907, *Qui salsis locis incolit pisculentis*. '*Lepidus*' is wholly emotional, and gives no definite information about the place. The termination might be translated 'provided with', 'displaying', 'causing'. These terms are all large and general. '*Pisculentus*', on the other hand, is wholly unemotional. The termination means 'inhabited by'. It might be expressed by some other form of words, but that is the meaning. It is the nature of fish to live in the water. So in most such instances the concrete noun forming the stem has certain obvious, tangible characteristics which affect the noun limited in a manner that can often be very closely defined, more closely than when the termination is joined to an abstract stem.

The ordinary meanings<sup>1</sup> given for the termination *-eo-* are 'made of' and 'resembling'. 'Made of' is a fairly definite meaning. 'Resembling' is, however, extremely indefinite. Wherever an instance occurs of an adjective which is translated 'resembling', something is always necessary to make the point of comparison intellectually complete, the specific mention of

<sup>1</sup> The term 'meaning' is used in this paper as equivalent to 'semantic content' defined above. When any Latin example is quoted, and the 'meaning' of the termination is spoken of, nothing whatever is implied as to the semantic content of the termination in other contexts.

the tertium quid comparationis. This is usually quite easy to find in adjectives in *-eo-*, since this termination is added to concrete stems and the concrete objects suggested by these stems have certain definite qualities which are easily distinguished. It may be worth while to examine the examples of 'aureus', 'plumbeus', and 'argenteus' among the adjectives collected from Plautus in order to illustrate these remarks, and also to find out how these adjectives conform to the categories 'made of' and 'resembling'.

Of seven instances of 'argenteus' examined, three are used in the sense of "'made of' silver", i. e. Truc. 53, *Aut aliquod vasum argenteum*. Aul. 343, *Supellex, aurum, vestis, vasa argentea*. Pseud. 100, *Nisi tu illi lacrumis fleveris argenteis*.<sup>1</sup> The other four instances are: Pseud. 46, *Quam salutem? argenteam*. Id. 47, *Pro ligneam salute veis argenteam remittere?* Most. 621, *Perfacile ego ictus perpetior argenteos*. Pseud. 347, *Amicam tuam esse factam argenteam*.

In the above examples from Pseud. 46, 47, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the termination precisely. It is, however, 'obtained by means of' or something of the sort, and has nothing to do with the physical qualities of 'argentum'. The fact that the meaning is not affected by the physical qualities of silver is probably the reason that it cannot be specifically determined. In Most. 621, the meaning is 'inflicted by'. Tranio has urged that money be thrown in the face of the money lender; to which he replies, "I can easily bear the blows inflicted by silver." Here it may be noted that the physical qualities of silver come into play, though the qualities by means of which it is possible to inflict blows with silver are common to it with many other substances. The content of the expression might be inferred from the phrase 'ictus argenteos', and is made quite certain by the preceding context. In the sentence, "*Amicam tuam esse factam argenteam*" Ballio says that he has sold Calidorus' sweetheart. She has been 'turned into' silver, as

<sup>1</sup> Pseud. 100 calls for comment. At first sight it might be supposed that as tears are never made of silver it would be impossible for *-eo-* here to mean 'made of'. The point is, however, that Pseudolus says they must be made of silver if Calidorus is to accomplish anything; and the semantic content of the termination is not affected by the impossibility of the actual occurrence of any such object as the expression denotes.

we say, 'turned into' cash. This expression is a mixture of the ideas of the physical properties of the silver and its commercial value, and cannot perhaps be further defined.

It is to be noted here that the meaning 'like' has not been found in *-eo-* in any of the examples examined. Those instances in which nothing but the physical qualities of silver were involved were perfectly simple, and had the meaning 'made of'. The other instances involved the use of silver in two senses, (1) a physical object, (2) a medium of exchange, and the meaning was not always quite so easy to determine owing to the running together of the two concepts.

Four examples of '*plumbeus*' have been examined. Three of these are perfectly easy, as nothing but lead as a physical object is involved, and in each instance *-eo-* has its orthodox meaning of 'made of'. Cas. 258, *Peculi nummus non est plumbeus*. Most. 892, *Qui cudere soles plumbeos nummos*. Tri. 962, *Nummum nunquam credam plumbeum*. The other is not quite so easy. Poen. 813, *Plumbeas iras gerunt*. Now in what sense is anger like lead? There would seem to be only two possibilities: it may be (1) as heavy as lead, or (2) sluggish, slow, hard to move as lead. The matter is decided by the context. The whole expression is: *Siquid bene facias, levior plumast gratia, siquid peccatumst, plumbeas iras gerunt*. "If you do them (i. e. rich people) a favour, their thanks are lighter than air; but if you make a mistake their anger is heavier than lead." This is a good example of definition by contrast. In none of these instances is '*plumbum*' brought into use in any but its physical meaning.

Of 20 examples of '*aureus*' examined, 16 have the meaning 'made of gold', and call for no further comment.

Each of the remaining four has some peculiarity, and they may be individually examined. M. G. 16, *Nempe illum dicis cum armis aureis*. Here the meaning may be 'made of gold', but is much more likely to be 'bright as gold', 'gleaming like gold'. Each of these two meanings for *-eo-*, 'made of' or 'like', is well known. In the second instance it is always necessary, as has been repeatedly pointed out, to determine the tertium quid comparisonis, which is here the brightness of gold and of the arms. Aul. 701, *Picis divitiis qui aureos montes colunt ego solus supero*. Here the meaning of *-eo-* must be

'abounding in'; it can hardly be 'made of'. Bacc. 647, *Regias copias aureasque obtuli*. In this instance 'aureus' if meaning 'made of gold' can hardly have this meaning in the literal sense. It is probably 'splendid', 'good as gold', and if the latter is the true sense there is here a sort of emotional likeness. Gold is very excellent; so is the device Chrysalus has found. In Asin. 691, *Mi Libane, ocellus aureus, donum decusque amoris*, 'aureus' must mean 'good as gold', and is another instance of emotional comparison.

The latter instances are at any rate on the border land between intellectual and emotional likeness. Some examples of other adjectives may be cited to illustrate this point further. Trin. 297, *Nil ego istos moror faeces mores*. 'Vile customs' would be a good translation for 'faeces mores'. Now 'faeces' were looked upon as vile, and there is some intellectual connotation in the word; but there is no one physical characteristic which can be singled out as predominant and furnish a definite tertium quid. 'Faeces' are unpleasant, so are such 'mores'; and here is the real ground of the likeness. The same thing is true in Truc. 854, *Blitea et luteast meretrix*, and M. G. 90, *Stercoreus, plenus perurii et adulterii*.

In Capt. 849, *Pullos gallinaceos* is an instance of a double termination which means 'of the race of' or something of the sort; and in Asin. 333, *Meministin asinos Arcadicos mercatori Pellaeo vostrum vendere atriensem*, -eo- occurs in the sense of 'a native of', or more briefly, 'from'.

-To- as a participial termination need not be discussed here. It is to be noted, however, that there is a distinct difference between its use as a participial termination and its use as an adjectival termination on a noun stem. For example, Poen. 1121, *Novistin tu illum tunicatum hominem qui siet?* There is a verb 'tunicare' which means 'to provide with a tunic'. Consequently the relation between 'homo' and 'tunica' is not expressed by the termination, as that relation is already expressed by the verb in any form. The meaning of the verb may be looked upon as a specialized act with the tunic. At the same time, though many things may be done with a tunic, the natural and most common thing is to wear it; and from force of circumstances this meaning of 'putting on and wearing' is the one expressed in the verb. It might as well, if lan-



guage were determined by abstract logic without special reference to the meaning of the words involved, mean to take it off, burn it, give it to the poor, or any other thing. When once the meaning 'put on and wear' comes to reside in the verb the *-to-* ending expresses no more than that the action has been performed and its effect continues. This semantic content is more abstract and less definite than when *-to-* is used on a noun stem.

In Poen. 644, *Hunc chlamydatum quem vides*, *-to-* has the content 'wearing'. There is no verb \**chlamydare* to specialize the meaning of 'chlamys'. The noun by itself, however, tells nothing about the action that is performed with the chlamys. It may be put on, taken off, bought, sold, or what not. But here again the ordinary and natural thing to do with a chlamys is to wear it, and hence without any intermediate process through the verb form, the word 'chlamydatum' gets the meaning 'wearing the chlamys', and the termination means 'wearing'.<sup>1</sup>

It may be objected that in ordinary speech the speaker was not conscious of any difference between the content of *-to-* in 'tunicatus' and in 'chlamydatum'. It is possible to admit the justice of this criticism and deny its relevancy. In rejoinder it may be urged that (1) the ordinary speaker, learned or unlearned, does not analyze his speech and distinctions much greater than the one here pointed out regularly pass without observation in conversation, and (2) there must have been a time at which the distinction was noted, or why the verb 'tunicare'? It is quite possible that a formation 'chlamydatum' was made direct upon 'chlamys' after the analogy of 'tunicatus', without any thought of 'tunicare'. That would come, however, by neglect of the verb 'tunicare', and by giving to the *-to-* of 'tunicatus' a force which it did not originally contain.

In addition to the meaning 'wearing' found in 'chlamydatum', 'palliatum', etc., the following meanings may be discriminated in *-to-*: 'Laden with'. Stic. 276, *Itaque onustum pectus porto*. Aul. 611, *Aulam onustam auri*. Here the material of the burden is added. The construction is that which would be used if 'onus' were felt in its nominal force. In many other instances the material composing the burden is in

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Lindsay, L. L., Chap. V, §28, "Words like *pilati*, . . . *barbatus*, . . . *auritus*, *cincturus* do not of course imply the existence of verbs \**pilare*, \**barbare*, \**aurire*, etc."

the ablative. Aul. 809, *Quadrilibrem aulam auro onustam habeo; quis mest divitior?* Rud. 909, *Pluruma praeda onustum*. All the examples of 'onustus' discovered fall under this head. There is only one predominant thing about 'onus'—it must be borne to be a burden—and this fact determines the content of the termination. Another example of the same meaning of -to- is in Poen. 979, *Viden hominis sarcinatos consequi?* In reference to 'onustus' it may be remarked that a verb was formed on the stem in late Latin—'onustare'. In earlier Latin 'onerare' served the purpose.

Another meaning for -to- is 'adorned with'. Aul. 168, *Eburata vehicula*. Stic. 377, *Lectos eburatos, auratos*. Here 'eburatus' and 'auratus' may not be contrasted as may 'chlamydatus' and 'tunicatus' above, as the verb 'aurare' is late and found in its finite tenses only in one doubtful passage in Tertullian. Still another meaning is 'provided with'. Persa. 308. *Sed quis hic ansatus ambulat?* 'Ansatus' means 'provided with handles', i. e. with arms on hips, though the expression undoubtedly comes psychologically through the idea of likeness—a comparison between the man and a dish with handles. A slightly different semantic content is 'using'. Asin. 4, *Face nunciam tu praeco omnem auritum populum*. Truc. 489, *Pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem*. There would be no sense in saying 'provided with eyes, ears'. The people are all provided with these. The idea is not to bring out any difference between them and the deaf or blind; but the contrast is in the one instance between people listening or heedless, and in the other instance between a witness who has used his eyes and one who has used only his ears. In the second example -to- means strictly 'having used'. Here belongs also Bacc. 63, *Ubi periculum facias, aculeata sunt*.

Some other meanings are: 'Covered with'. Men. 919. *Soleamne esse avis <s>quamossas, piscis pennatos?* 'Having grown'. Amph. 1108, *Devolant angucs iubati*. Men. 854. *Barbatum tremulum Tithonum*. 'Adorned with'. Poen. 981. *Quia incedunt cum anulatis auribus*. Pseud. 147, *Neque Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia*. 'Resting on'. M. G. 211. *Nam os columnatum poetae esse inaudivi barbaro*. 'Armed with'. Curc. 424, *Clypeatus elephantum ubi machaera dis-sicit*.

To the preceding classification of words in *-to-* it might be objected that all are comprehended under the meaning 'provided with'. The objection contains some truth. In answer it might be claimed (1) that 'provided with' is a term which covers too much. It might often be applied to cover other adjective terminations, e. g. *-oso-*. There is a considerable difference between being provided with ears, beard, shield, chlamys, sting. (2) This meaning, though present, is not the emphatic one. (See '*auriti*' and '*oculati*' above.) Some other examples might be adduced of the same general type, but sufficiently different in exact meaning to require classification in different categories. It seems more to the point, however, to bring forward some examples which could by no stretch of the imagination be brought under the general head 'provided with'.

These are: 'Entertained by'. Poen. 1051. *Patrius ergo hospes Antidamas fuit*. 'Rough as'. Poen. 398. *Itaque iam quasi ostreatum tergum ulceribus gestito*. 'Shaped like'. Epid. 224. *Impluviatam, ut istae faciunt vestimentis nomina*. 'Made of' (if the usual interpretation be correct). Poen. 1153. *Inde porro ad puteum atque ad robustum codicem*. 'Possessed by' or 'affected in', according to the etymology (*Ceres, Cerri, cerebrum*). Men. 890, *Num larvatus aut cerritust? fac sciam*.

Of this class of adjectives it may be said that they form a sort of golden mean between the exactly defined adjectives of the first class and the (intellectually) very vague third class. Their stems are sufficiently definite to make it nearly sure that their meaning will fall within a certain range, often pretty wide; while the fact that the termination is not definite in meaning but fluid and adaptable prevented the range from being limited unless the adjective was formed on a noun which signified an object having one very definite and preponderant characteristic—as '*onustus*', above. They are flexible enough to be widely used and definite enough not to be vague.

The third class of adjectives mentioned above is composed of those in which both stem and termination are etymologically unknown, doubtful, or at any rate of no independent value. Different terminations may be used but the *-o-* termination is perhaps as good as any for purposes of illustration. It is to be noted that this termination when affixed to a noun stem to form an adjective can, in concrete contexts, be defined about

as clearly as any other adjective termination. For example, Pseud. 178, *Nisi mihi penus annuos convenit*. Here *-o-* means 'lasting'. But in Bacc. 29, *Nec a quoquam acciperes alio mercedem annuam*, it means 'proper to', or strictly 'earned during'. The difference here is due to the difference between 'penus' and 'merces'. In Aul. 220, *Haud decorum facinus tuis factis facis*, *-o-* means 'displaying', or something of the sort. In Capt. 718, *Recens captum hominem, nuperum et novicium*, 'nuperus' is difficult to evaluate. The reason is that it is manifestly only another way of saying 'recens captum', and is probably turned into an adjective owing to its position between 'hominem' and 'novicium'. If *-o-* means anything here it may be only another way of saying 'captum'.

The following examples, however, will not yield to any analysis. There is no definite stem by means of which the termination can be defined.

- (1) M. G. 641. *Ex amoenis rebus et voluptariis.*
- (2) Curc. 115. *Tibi qui screanti siccae semisomnae Adfert potionem et sitim sedatum it.*
- (3) Trin. 825. *Nam te omnes saevumque severumque commemorant.*
- (4) Asin. 533. *Ne ille ecastor hinc trudetur largus lacrumarum foras.*
- (5) Cas. 652. *Quod haud Atticam conderet disciplinam.*
- (6) Aul. 80. *Postquam perspexi salva esse intus omnia.*
- (7) Epid. 133. *Quia meo neque carast cordi neque placet.*
- (8) Amph. 843. *Si haec vera loquitur.*

It will be seen that no definite semantic content can be determined for any of the *-o/a-* adjectives given above. In one instance (5) there is no termination. The noun is morphologically exactly what the adjective formed on it is. The termination is simply inflected (when necessary) in all genders. So it may be said that the *-o/a-* termination in these instances is nothing but a means of inflection. The words themselves are more or less definite according to their psychological associations. 'Siccus' is perhaps the most definite of the lot, 'saevus' and 'severus' slightly less so. 'Largus' by itself conveys a dim notion of bigness—which is not what it means in its present context (4). 'Salva' and 'cara' convey very little or no intel-

lectual content. '*Cara*' especially is almost all emotional. The difference between this sort of adjective and those which have definite noun stems is illustrated in (1). '*Voluptarius*' heard or seen suggests '*voluptas*'; '*amoenus*' suggests nothing but its own associations in the mind of the hearer or reader, and does not necessarily recall any particular noun. -*Ario*- of '*voluptarius*' may be defined as 'causing', -*o*- of '*amoenus*' can not be defined at all.

There are two ways in which an adjective gets its meaning: etymology, and, more important, usage. In the class of adjectives now under discussion the latter is the only method of approach which the investigator can use; and it is probably the only way the speaker or hearer in historical times had of understanding such adjectives. The Romans were not scientific etymologists. So such words as '*salvus*', '*carus*', were not tied to any noun or other stem. They would readily vary in the mind of the individual more than other words of more definite attachment. To be sure, some noun stems are themselves very subjective in character, and adjectives formed on them may be of the same type. But the adjective entirely unattached to any known stem had always the chance of wider variation. Even a physical term as '*largus*' is almost entirely relative to the individual's point of view.

This relativity of content and consequent vagueness is seen most clearly in words like '*bonus*' and '*malus*'. Intellectually they mean nothing at all until attached to some noun. Each is an expression of emotion, whether supported by reason or not. The vividness of their emotional content would depend for the hearer largely upon the gesture and emphasis of the speaker, factors which cannot now be reproduced, but which must be inferred from the context; and their intellectual content is as vague and undetermined as that of -*oso*- or -*lento*- and far vaguer than that of -*ficus* or -*dicus*.

Lindsay says (L. L., V, §2, p. 317) that words in -*o/a*- were more common in the early period of the language than later. As far as the adjective is concerned, the reason is not difficult to conjecture. Very many of the -*o/a*- adjectives are words of vague import. Those which were definite in intellectual content would obtain that definiteness in one of two ways. Either they would connote some physical quality, or they would be attached

to some noun stem. Many of them would not fulfil either of these conditions. As the language developed, the need for accurate delimitation of meaning grew, and adjectives which would satisfy that need took the place of *-o/a-* words in many instances. More accurate definition and delimitation of meaning became possible when adjectives were formed on noun stems—especially concrete noun stems—and these adjectives were usually formed with terminations other than *-o/a-*. It may be that *-o/a-* was felt as a mere inflectional ending. Thus the simpler and broader terms could be kept for occasions where precise definition was undesirable, and other and more definite words were used where the speaker or writer wished to differentiate more accurately.

The process of development in the usage of these various types of adjectives can be inferred, and could be partially deduced, from the literary evidence. It would probably be shown that adjectives of the first class were coined at different times as occasion required, but that, owing to their inflexible character few examples of any one word were used. There would be exceptions, due to the fact that one or other of the component parts of the adjective—presumably most often the suffix—was a word in itself of rather elastic signification and with a wide area of use—as in the case of '*commodus*', and, less strikingly, of '*expers*'. But the general truth about the whole class would be found as stated.

The third class would be found very common at all periods, lending itself readily to the expression of emotional and rather vague concepts, but not sufficiently definite for clear intellectual definition.

The second class is by far the most interesting and valuable for the purposes of the student of semantics. The fixity of the stem combined with the flexibility of the suffix furnished an instrument by means of which clear and definite ideas could be expressed over a wide range. It will probably be found that as time went on these adjectives tended to fall more and more into definite groups, though throughout the possibilities of variation are so great that no fixed line of demarcation depending upon termination could be established between different adjectives; and in each specific instance the context would require to be examined before the value of the termination could be stated.

One of the first lessons in language study is that it is impossible to take a word in any language, bound it accurately, and then make it correspond exactly in all its semantic area with any one word in any other language. The same thing is true of terminations in the second class examined. For purposes of translation it is possible to get some blanket term such as 'having' or 'full of' for *-oso-*, or 'made of' for *-eo-*, or something of that sort. But when it comes to a question of what exactly was in the mind of the writer, a different method must be followed. Apart from the purely scientific and speculative interest of such work, it is by the farthest possible analysis of the constituent elements of speech that one can arrive at the clearest conception of its meaning; so that the results of some such work as has been attempted in this article may be of use even in literary interpretation.

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### III.—THE JUDAS ISCARIOT CURSE.

The Christian world has never fully obeyed the injunction "Swear not at all". On the contrary we find the Christian from the beginning proficient in cursing as well as in blessing, and his stock of imprecations and epithets proves to be quite as rich and varying as that of his pagan forbears, a point which he reached, too, in spite of precept and some legal restraint. It is the purpose of this article to trace in several directions<sup>1</sup> the genealogy and kinship of one of these early Christian oaths, which seems to have escaped detailed treatment, or at least not to have received a definite title, though from time to time collections<sup>2</sup> of such oaths have been made and the general subject is trite enough. The Judas curse has a long and honorable history. Because it was so widespread and served so definite a purpose, because it is so venerable, too, it deserves a special name at least. Examples of a more recent date than the 15th century are not introduced here, though the life of the curse may have extended beyond that date.

The title chosen is not perfectly inclusive, since Judas is not the only imprecatory term in the oath, but it is usually the most prominent and frequently is the only term; otherwise we might

<sup>1</sup> Absolute completeness is not claimed for the subject even thus limited; on the contrary it is almost certain that there are nooks, perhaps broad reaches, remaining unexamined where examples may be found. This means of restraining was universal and hence the records in which the Judas curse may occur are practically exhaustless, while the bibliography connected with the subject is colossal. Since, however, the type of writings in which Judas is invoked is the same everywhere, the conclusions drawn seem fairly well authorized.

<sup>2</sup> *De Iureiurando Veterum*, Hansen, J. B., *Thes. Ant. Rom.*, Graevius, J. G., Vol. 5, 797 (1696); *De Formulæ etc.*, Libri VIII, Brissonius, Halle, 1743; *Serments et juremens espagnols*, *Oeuvres complètes du Seigneur de Brantôme*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1823; *Alte Verwünschungsformeln*, Schmidt, *Jahrbücher für Phil.*, 143, 561; *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina*, R. Heim, *Jahrb. für Phil.* 19 (Suppl.), pp. 465 f.; *Der Fluch bei Griechen und Römern*, Ernst von Lasaulx, *Studien des Classischen Alterthums*, Regensburg, 1854, pp. 159-177 and pp. 208-232.



with almost as much exactness speak of it as the Cain or Ananias curse. The name of Judas, then, often associated with a qualifying epithet such as traitor, may be taken as the nucleus of the curse in its complex or long form. Linked with the name of Judas for the purpose of completeness and solemnity are certain other scriptural characters also typical of disobedience and greed or in general of unrighteous qualities. Furthermore, the characters conjoined are always those whose wicked conduct brought upon them swift and unusual retribution. They are in nearly every case, taken singly or collectively, Cain, Gehazi, Korah, Dathan and Abiram from the Old Testament, and from the New, Ananias and Sapphira; occasionally other characters, as Caiaphas and Pharaoh, or even Barabbas, Haman and Holofernes, are written with Judas, but so rarely as to be exceptions. That an exact conception of the oath in this form may be gained at the outset a few examples<sup>1</sup> suitably abbreviated are given at

<sup>1</sup>Qui . . . infringere voluerint, sint excommunicati a Deo Patre omnipotente et filio eius Iesu Christo et Spiritu Sancto et de omnibus sanctis Dei sint excommunicati, maledicti et detestati hic et in perpetuum, et sint damnati sicut Datan et Abiron et sicut Iudas . . . si ad emendationem non venerint etc. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 151. 751 (yr. 1041); Si autem aliquis malus homo a diabolo inflamatus sit, ut hoc meum privilegium diminuat vel parvi faciat, sit socius Iudae proditoris Christi, laceretur canum infernalium dentibus inter terribilia gehennae supplicia cum omnibus diabolis absque ullo fine, nisi illud ante obitum suum rite emendaverit etc. *Ibidem*, p. 1170 (*Privilegium Regis Aethelredi*).

Si quis tamen . . . contra hoc magnum testamentum ad irrumpendum venerit . . . orbatus . . . et suis propriis oculis habeat participationem cum sociis tenebrarum . . . in eternum habeat regis ira et . . . confusio dupla quo maranatha, Dathan et Abiron meritis et Iudas traditor sit socius eius. *España Sagrada*, 34. 434.

Si quispiam . . . distulerit, pars eius cum Datan et Abiron et Chore et cum Iuda traditore Domini omnesque maledictiones que in libris continentur divinis veniant supra eum. *Chartularium Matisconense*, VIII (yr. 930).

Si aliquis . . . inquietare voluerit, in Arverno flamivomis ignibus cum Datan et Abiron et Iuda traditore demergatur penitus. *Cartularium Piperacense*, Doc. III.

Si quis vero . . . adnullare . . . conatus fuerit, . . . sitque illi pars cum Datan et Abyron, Symone Mago, Iuda traditore Domini atque Pylato etc. *Cartulaire de l' Eglise de Notre Dame de Paris*, I, Car. 10.

Insuper sustineat poenas cum Iuda Scarioth et in inferno inferiori habeat societatem cum Caipha et communionem cum Baraba et partem

this point. They date from the 8th century on and can be multiplied indefinitely from the same sources. The foregoing, apart from negligible variations, may be regarded as a working description of the Judas curse: to insure absolute completeness the list of personages just given must be supplemented by the addition of the following non-biblical names: (a) Certain Roman emperors memorable as persecutors of the Church or as types of the old pagan order; (b) founders of sects considered as heretics, and well known preachers of doctrines pernicious to orthodox faith, such as Arius and Sabellius. All these are conceived to be as really in Hell as any of the biblical characters just named, but obviously their names are late additions to the original. Examples<sup>1</sup> of this grouping are sufficiently uncommon to warrant attention. Furthermore, when ingenuity had in this wise been exhausted, every avenue of escape was closed to the violator by calling down upon him provisionally any or all punishments not previously suggested.<sup>2</sup>

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cum Datan et Abiron, et solacium cum Lucifero et (quod maius est) iram Dei et omnium sanctorum incurrat. Cartulaire de Saint Victor de Marseille, I, Car. 56.

<sup>1</sup> Sane si quis . . . cartam inquietare vel infringere voluerit, iram Dei etc. incurrat et cum Datan et Abyron qui in infernum descenderunt ac Domitiano, vel Diocletiano et Maximiano vel apostata Iuliano vel Iuda traditore etc. penas infernales possideat et sit anathema maranatha. Cartulaires de l'Église de Grenoble, Car. 12; Si quis etc. iram Dei incurrat . . . et beate Marie semper virginis, sanctique Michaelis clavigerique Petri vinculis innodatus existat omniumque sanctorum Dei, et cum Iuda traditore et Nerone imperatore et Symone Mago et Iuliano apostata, ac Datan et Abiron participetur in infernum. Ibidem, Car. 13; Cui dono si quis umquam contraire voluerit, cum Anna et Caïpha et Iuda traditore in igne inferni positus . . . doleat. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Père de Chartres, Car. 16; Si quis etc. cum Iuda Scarioth Caïfanque, Arrio atque Sabellio in inferno penas sustineat. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, Car. 255; Sane si quislibet . . . inquietare presumpserit . . . incurrat etc. . . et cum Iuda proditore et Simone Mago et Arrio et Sabellio et Aman et Oloferno demergatur in inferno etc. Ibid. I, Car. 162; Ut quisquis huic cartulae contraire voluerit, cum Iuda traditore, cum Dathan et Abiron, quos vivos terra absorbit; cum Herode, innocentum occisore, et cum Nerone, Petri et Pauli interfectore, in inferno pereat. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Père de Chartres, I, Car. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Si ego aut heredes mei . . . inrumpere voluerit, non valeat vindicare quod repetit, sed in primis iram Dei omnipotentis et omnium sanctorum incurrat, et cum Pilato et Iuda traditore et Symone Mago in profundum

The Judas curse is really a Christian scion grafted on a pagan stem, and the parent stock is the official oath<sup>1</sup> of the Greeks and Romans. The growth of the mongrel product by successive accretions from holy writ will be apparent as we proceed. But in dealing with any question of Roman magic after the third century B. C., the investigator must go backward a step and consider the Chaldean element. The supremacy of the Babylonians in all departments of occult science is a commonplace, while their influence in a large way on Roman magic exerted both by Roman contact with the Orient through conquest and by the influx of Chaldean charlatans into Rome is incontrovertible.<sup>2</sup> If the curses cited previously (p. 435) be compared with those given by Fossey,<sup>3</sup> it would seem that the Babylonian oath had merely been transplanted with slight changes in phrasing. The form is identical, the purpose is the same, the terminology alone is somewhat different. While the indebtedness, great though it is, can not be estimated in exact terms,<sup>4</sup> it is not so absolute as a superficial glance would suggest. For curses in this form were uttered wherever man is found and mere similarity does not prove that borrowing took place. Therefore the impulse was native and this impulse was confirmed by Roman contact with the Orient through which new modes of procedure were opened to the less proficient

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*inferni participationem habeant, non sit illis Deus adiutor, nec sit qui misereatur pupullis eius; fiat habitatio eorum deserta, et in tabernaculis eorum non sit qui inhabitet; fiant filii eius orphani et uxor eius vidua; veniant, super illos omnis maledictio qui sunt scripta in vetus et in Novo Testamento etc.* Cartulaire de l' Abbaye de Saint Victor de Marseille, 1 Car. 187.

<sup>1</sup> Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum tu ille Diespiter populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam. Livy, 1, 24; *εἰ δὲ μή, ἐξώλη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ.* E. Ziebarth, *Der Fluch im griechischen Recht*, Hermes, 30 p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 1500 and 1505; *La Magie Assyrienne*, Fossey, p. 9; *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Franz Cumont, pp. 186 f.; *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, Friedländer, 3. p. 103; *Names of Demons in Magic*, F. Legge, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 23. p. 45; questioned for *defixiones*, and the reverse suggested by Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, p. XLII.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 116 and 121.

<sup>4</sup> Hubert ap. Daremberg et Saglio, op. cit., p. 1505; Cumont, l. c., p. 188, n. 66 and p. 189.

people, and their store of malediction enriched by association with natures more luxurious and imaginative. Hence method was evolved, magic in Rome was organized and in the matter of oaths a decided advance was made toward style, which the Judas curse shows in a marked degree.

The psychology of magical practices is now well understood, but perspective demands a brief restatement. The motif of this and all curses lies in that sphere of magic or charms called specifically will magic,<sup>1</sup> wherein the belief prevails that the spoken or written word<sup>2</sup> expressing the will of the operator has power to restrain. Closely connected with the psychological aspect are the form and phraseology, which are important;<sup>3</sup> for since the agent holds himself aloof from the execution of his desire, the words are conceived to be charged with inhibitory force and to be in themselves potent, for they are divorced from all symbol, all gesture; therefore their action must be automatic and direct.<sup>4</sup> This is the analysts' point of view which, if carried too far, would leave slight spontaneity to the swearer, but it must be borne in mind that the curse under consideration is not spontaneous, but rather a devised product with studied effect: and in it, as in all other formulae of the kind, the terms are reduced to relatively few, which finally develop the character of a trademark.<sup>5</sup> Exactness, which means the elimination of error, counts,<sup>6</sup> hence the phraseology is stereotyped and the form iron-clad. The form may be more accurately described as provisional,<sup>7</sup> and in this particular does not differ from the classic

<sup>1</sup> Psychology of Religion, James Leuba, p. 162 and refs.; Oaths; their Origin, Nature, etc., Tyler, J. E., London, 1834, pp. 5 and 235; Fossey, l. c., pp. 104 and 105; Cumont, l. c., p. 183; Fox, W. S., Am. Jour. Phil. 33. 302. For different view, cf. Irving King, Development of Religion, p. 179, who regards magic acts as "the spontaneous outflow of action along the line of that which absorbed the attention."

<sup>2</sup> *Ei vendere ne liceat, caveo . . . per numina divom. Vendere si velit, littera prohibet.* C. I. L., 12. 3619.

<sup>3</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, l. c., p. 113, s. v. *Devotio*; *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Lenormant (Paris, 1874), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Fossey, l. c., p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> *Cursory History of Swearing*, Julian Sharman, p. 68 (London, 1884).

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, l. c., p. 187; King, op. cit., p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Tib.*, 2. 5. 63 (C. G. Ramsey's note); *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 43. p. XLIX.

literary oath. The curse itself is really cast, however, in the mold of the Greco-Roman official and military oath,<sup>1</sup> of which it is the offspring and successor; it is therefore virtually an edict and to that extent is not original.

Obviously the content of the new oath was Christian; but though it did not get away from a few motifs, these were true and tried, the result of much experience, as it were, and hence adequate. The Christian curse was more vivid and aggressive than its pagan model and excited the imagination more readily because of the superior richness of its associations. And as its substance was more suggestive, in the same measure its appeal to the feelings of awe and horror was more intense. It would seem possible to account for the terms of the imprecation, as they were evidently not taken at random.<sup>2</sup> The frequency of popular curses by the body and members of Christ has been explained<sup>3</sup> on the supposition that the sufferings of Christ were made real to the illiterate by the persistent teaching of the priest with emphasis on the passion, and thus vividly impressed on the imagination found the way into their speech. The converse is also true that these imprecations would be effective on the imagination when once the mind was alive to the meaning of their terms. There is no sharp dividing line between the popular and official oaths; the same reason operates in both, but we may find an additional source of this bookish oath, for surely it is a conscious creation, in the fact that Judas and the other characters involved in it were endlessly mentioned by prelates and ecclesiastical writers in their polemics and controversial writings as awful examples to heretics and recreants of every kind to the spirit of the gospel or will of the Church. Judas is the traitor par excellence, a type of disloyalty, named as such everywhere. The leprosy of Gehazi is hideous, deserved because of greed, and is a sign of darkness within. Ananias and Sapphira are conspicuous examples of dishonesty miraculously detected and promptly confounded, as are also Korah, Dathan and Abiram and many others mentioned with these as exorcising

<sup>1</sup> *Ut ego rempublicam non deseram, neque ullum civem Romanum deserere patiar. Si sciens fallo ex animi mei sententia, tum me Iupiter optime maxime domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias.* Livy, 22. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Sharman, l. c., p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Sharman, l. c., p. 78.

terms. References<sup>1</sup> to them giving due attention to their sinful nature and sensational end can be found with monotonous repetition in the pages of the Church Fathers. It seems entirely possible that this continual mention of these malefactors intended always to serve as a warning could have determined their choice as the framework of an oath.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it can not be exactly known how the new material was inwrought with the old; however, phrases from the original curse appear intact in the new, while the names of the infernal divinities are supplanted by Judas et al., Cocytus and the Styx by the correspond-

<sup>1</sup> *Judas*: Non potest esse cum Christo qui imitator Iudae maluit esse quam Christi. Cyprian, de dom. oratione, 24; Alii autem ab Iuda traditore instituerunt heresim, dicentes bonum opus fecisse Iudam, etc. Filastrius, Diversarum Hereseon Liber, VI; Cum superbis et prevaricatoribus cum eis qui volueritis cum Iuda Scarioth inveniri quam cum beatissimis propheta . . . quomodo esse possumus. Luciferus, de non conveniendo cum haereticis, VII.

*Gehazi*: Quarum trium ruinarum exempla etiam in scripturis sanctis invenimus non levi poena fuisse damnata. Nam Giezi ea quae ne ante quidem possederat volens acquirere . . . aeterna lepra sancti Helisaei maledictione perfunditur. Iudas autem . . . vitam . . . conclusit. Ananias et Sapphira . . . morte multantur. Cassianus, de Inst. 7. 14. 2.

*Ananias*: Percussus est Ananias et Elimas, Ananias morte, Elimas caecitate, ut hoc ipso probaretur Christum et haec facere potuisse. Tertull., de Pud. 21.

*Korah, Dathan and Abiram*: Sic Core et Dathan et Abiron . . . poenas statim pro suis conatibus pependerunt. Cyprian, de Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate, 18; Quanti autem divino iudicio pendatur hoc facinus, lege, etc. Invenies Dathan et Abiron hiatu terrae devoratos ceterosque omnes qui eis consensuerant, igne . . . consumptos. Aug. Ep. 87. 4. 10; 107. 5. 25; 108. 4. 13.

*Leprosy*: Sic et Ozias rex . . . divina indignatione confusus et leprae varietate in fronte maculatus est. Cyprian, de Cath. Eccl. Unitate, 18; Emundet vox a leprae interioris contagio. Migne, Patrologia, 121. 872.

*Anathema and Maranatha*. Anathema ei qui negat adiutorium Dei. Orosius, Lib. Apol., 9. 5; Si quisquam . . . hunc non tantum dixerim blasphemum anathema detestandum sed etiam vel in exemplum Nadab et Abiu divino igne damnandum vel iuxta perditionem Dathan atque Abiron hiatu terrae receptum vivum ad inferna mergendum. Orosius, l. c., 9. 2; Aug., Ep. 93. 52. 20.

<sup>2</sup> An old writer naively remarks: "The greed of men is so great that it must be thwarted by extreme measures; and what is stronger than the appeal to religious scruples and fear of the law? And so such curses were approved by the Fathers and by Councils." Mabillon, De re diplomatica (Naples, 1789), p. 100.

ing Christian terms. Examples extant in which the pagan name is retained in the new Christian setting show the process of adjustment not yet completed.<sup>1</sup> Finally it is conjectured<sup>2</sup> that paintings of the lower world executed on porticoes, vases, etc., by ancient artists assisted those who viewed them in visualizing Judas and his tribe in actual torment and in giving them the rank of demons, as the swearer justly considered them. But it would be a mistake to assume the influence of disputative works only and the absence of all popular connection; for familiarity and additional background were furnished by works in the vernacular also, if we may judge from the Old French and Old Spanish as well as from popular Latin. Here, too, Judas was always associated with avarice and treachery; in certain poems he is vividly represented as lying in perdition and suffering its tortures.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that such references

<sup>1</sup> Si quis vero hanc donationem . . . infringere presumpserit, pereat cum Iuda Scarihot, traditore Domini et cum Datan et Abiron sustineat penas Averni. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Victor de Marseille, I, Car. 434.

<sup>2</sup> La Magie et l'Astrologie dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age, A. Maury, p. 169 (Paris, 1868).

<sup>3</sup> Ecce olim velut Iudas Salvatorem tradidit, sic te, rex, tuique duces tradiderunt gladio. Poésies populaires Latines, E. Du Ménil, p. 250.

Et puis vit-il d'enfer, si avant les dampnes  
Qu'il parla à Judas, qui tant fut diffaés.  
Qui vendi Jhésu-Crist etc.

Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourg, Chant X, l. 1245.

Also Chant XV, ll. 435-490 (Judas is some days in Hell, some out).

E Judas, el qual en otro tiempo avia oydo: e tu omne . . . es reprehendido traydor del amigo por la muerte de maestro etc.

La Estoria de los Quatro Dotores de la Santa Iglesia, Cap. 30.

Alabados son los comienços de Judas, mas la fin es dapñada por traicion.

Ibidem, Cap. 58.

Son frère baise quant vint au desevrer  
Et Gerars lui, en autel loiauté  
Con fist Judas qui trai Damedé.

Huon de Bordeaux, 2419.

Car ensi que Judas traï Dieu fausement  
Fu li bons Roys trays et vendus pour argent.

Li Romans de Bauduin de Sebourg, Chant I, 633.

Je veuls qu' enfer ma sepulture face

could not determine the origin of a curse already in vogue, but they assisted in keeping alive the Judas tradition and imparted vitality to the example. The literary references, then, smoothed the way for the curse, and undoubtedly there was interaction; each gained point and currency from the other. And when we consider that the untutored traced most of their bodily ills to the working of some curse or charm, we get a fresh idea of the cunning of this formula.

Broadly speaking, its purpose was not to conjure evil spirits, nor modify the action of some power higher than human; its force was negative,<sup>1</sup> its function to inhibit. Neither was it in that class of profanity which rises freely and spontaneously to the lips of the ready swearer. So that, although persecutors of the Christians became at an early date subjects of popular exorcisms and were invoked as demons in spells parallel with Beelzebub and kindred, as happened in the case of Nero,<sup>2</sup> associated in the curse with Judas, yet examples are lacking to show that Judas was so treated. Nor is he invoked in *defixiones*:<sup>3</sup> on the contrary the proper atmosphere of this curse was solemn and formal. It is therefore found in (a) political pronouncements, (b) pontifical decrees including deeds of gift, (c) epitaphs, and (d) in poetry. In some of these particulars it corresponded with the pagan official oath.<sup>4</sup> It will now be considered in these several connections in the order named.

Ou fut Cayn par sa temptation  
 Judas aussi par sa tradition  
 Est en enfer en poyne inestimable.

Le Testament de Martin Leuter, 1546.

Arbres d'orgueil, plante d'iniquité  
 Et racine de toute traison  
 Branches aussi de toute fausseté  
 Feuilles, fleur, fruit de contradicion  
 Cause moment de grant rebellion  
 De Canaan, Caym et Judas néé  
 Avise-toi, fausse ville de Gand.

Eustache Deschamps, Ballade 94.

<sup>1</sup> Fossey, l. c., p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> In lamina stagna scribe: In te Nero (emended) et desuper nomen eius iocinerosi, cui mederi voles, scribe . . . R. Heim, l. c., p. 532. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Audollent, l. c., p. LXIII.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ziebarth, l. c., pp. 57 f.



Without doubt the appearance of the Judas curse in the ratifying clause of state documents of the nature of contracts constitutes it as one of the earliest Christian oaths of which we have any knowledge, and it is that use wherein its genealogical connection with the pagan official oath begins and is most clearly discernible. Beyond question the imperial oath of allegiance lies in the immediate background, and the movement here was ever from the simple to the complex. It is common knowledge that the oath administered to soldiers and magistrates during the life of the republic was practical and concise,<sup>1</sup> and that in the imperial period when adulation had become general and patriotism faint even the conservative oath was made verbose<sup>2</sup> and was no longer characterized by good sense. Obviously, when Christianity was established in the empire, an infusion of Christian terms into the old creation took place, as of new vigor and fiber into an old body, as it were. Then the blended product became truly lurid though remaining intelligible as before. That is to say, the multiplication of terms and the resulting complexity did not issue in anything mysterious or cryptic,<sup>3</sup> and at the same time there was as much apparent spontaneity as a dictated oath ever could possess. Into this oath the Judas clause was introduced at an early period; certain it is that it was a part of the oath exacted by Justinian of his praetorian prefects, excerpts<sup>4</sup> from which are here given, and this

<sup>1</sup> *Coniurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli sumendi aut petendi aut hostis ferendi, aut civis servandi causa.* Livy, 22. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex mei animi sententia ut ego iis inimicus ero quos C. Caesari Germanico inimicos esse cognovero et si quis periculum ei salutiq(ue) eius infert in(tul)erit(v)e armis bello internecivo terra mariq(ue) persequi non desinam quoad poenas ei persolverit neque liberos meos eius salutem cariores habebō eosque qui in eum hostili animo fuerint mihi hostes esse ducam si s(cie)ns fa(II)o fefellerove tum me liberosque Iuppiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceterique omnes di immortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faxint.* C. I. L. 2. 172. (Oath exacted of the Aritienses in Spain.)

<sup>3</sup> Fossey, l. c., p. 102; Magic Ivories. F. Legge, Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology, 27. p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> *Testor ego iurando omnipotentem Deum etc.; quodque pro ipsorum imperio et republicae in concessio mihi ab ipsis officio, summa cum animi promptitudine, sine dolo et absque fraude omnem operam ac laborem subiturus sum . . . . Si vero haec omnia ita servavero, omnibus*

may be its earliest official occurrence. At any rate it is not seen in inscriptions of a period prior to the 6th century, though from that time on examples are not difficult to find.

An obvious and natural use would next be in pontifical decrees and less frequently as an attachment to papers of the nature of charters,<sup>1</sup> in which agreements are ratified between kings and councils or kings and people. It is therefore seen in *fueros* of the 11th century or later. The language is in nearly all cases Latin; even where the agreement itself is written in Spanish, the imprecatory clause is usually attached in Latin. Of decided interest therefore is an example of the curse in Spanish used as subscript to a *fuero* of the 12th or 13th century, showing that it was making its way into the vernacular at a right early period.<sup>2</sup>

It was no new thing that a magic formula should be employed and trusted in to prevent the desecration of property and to insure the execution of the owner's wish in respect to it, when he was absent or after he had died. The Babylonians employed this very simple device,<sup>3</sup> attaching various curses to

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incommodis ero expositus hic et in futuro saeculo in terribili iudicio Magni Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi habeboque partem cum Iuda, et lepra Giezi et tremori Cain. Insuper et poenis quae lege eorum pietatis continentur ero subiectus. Thes. Ant. Rom., Graevius. J. G., 5. 824 (cited from Cassiodorus).

<sup>1</sup>Quicumque de meo genere . . . istud nostrum iuramentum . . . frangere voluerit, mea maledictione sit maledictus . . . et cum Iuda traditore in inferno sepultus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. Fuero Latino de Cáceres (Alfonso and Council, 13th century); Si quis autem quod non optamus, nefario ausu praesumpserit, his quae a nobis ad laudem Dei pro salute tuae Sanctae Ecclesiae statuta sunt, refragari aut in quoquam transgredi, sciat se anathematis vinculo innodatum, et cum diabolo et eius atrocissimis pompis, atque Iuda traditore Domini nostri Iesu Christi, aeterni incendii supplicio concremandum deputatum. (Sergii III Privilegium pro Ecclesia Viennensi, a. 908.) Migne, Patrologia Latina, 131. 979.

<sup>2</sup>Toda omne que quiser venir contra esta constitucion et contra el rey, sea escomungado et sea dapnado enno avenimiento de Ihesu-Christo, et sea parcionero de la pena con Iudas Escarioth, él et todos sos companneros. Fuero Juzgo, p. XII; for other examples, cf. La Poema de Fernan González, p. 182, ed. C. C. Marden.

<sup>3</sup>Fossey, op. cit., pp. 104 ff; The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pa.; Babylonian Legal and Business Documents, ed. Poebel,

amulets, which they deposited in the buildings or upon the premises, with full belief in their efficacy to prevent intrusion; indeed, the curse was a necessary adjunct to wills. The Judas curse seems not to be found on talismans, but as a result of the same superstition, was placed as a subscript to various papers recording gifts or sales of property, usually to monasteries, to seal such transfers and to frustrate alienation to purposes and individuals other than those specified. It is accordingly found as the inhibiting clause in most deeds of gift drawn in favor of private individuals, monasteries or other charitable institutions, in which type of paper it may be coupled with a definite fine in money to be assessed for infringement of the wishes of the donor. This natural combination of curse and fine, it seems, was thought to form the strongest deterrent. If any safe inference can be drawn from its frequency here and relative infrequency elsewhere, this tends to become the exclusive use of the Judas oath, certainly after the 10th century, and if this conclusion be correct, then it has become virtually specialized and technical. Examples<sup>1</sup> ever recurring are monotonous in

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Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 6 f; as parallel, cf. "Will of a Coptic Monk". Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. 1-5, p. 23, ending: "the one who comes to annul this act contrary to my wish, may he be a stranger to all communion of Christians". (A. D. 640.)

<sup>1</sup>Quod si quis . . . venire conaverit, vestros persolvat et iudicium Iudae Scariotis sumat ut in eius condemnatione communem participium habeat ut in adventu Domini sit anatema et maranata vel in hoc saeculo exors ab omni cetu religionis Giezi lepra percutiantur qui . . . cartulam . . . inervare voluerint etc. Esp. Sagrada, 34. p. 428 (gift of monastery, yr. 873).

Haec dona . . . si quis perturbaverit et infringerit, anathema sit et cum diabolo et Iuda Domini traditore, inferni poenis ubi est stridor dentium et foetor teterrimus, damnetur et sine fine excrucietur. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Savigny, 1. 81. 7 (yr. 1096).

Si quis hunc factum nostrum ad dirumpendum venerit vel venerimus tam ex nostris quam alienis quisquis ille fuerit qui talia comiserit imprimis sedeat excommunicatus et ab ecclesia Dei separatus et cum Iuda traditore luat penas in eterna damnatione. Manual de Paleografía Diplomática Española, Muñoz y Romero, Doc. II.

Quod si aliquis . . . huic nostre scriptionis privilegia contraire vel inquietudinem inferre temptaverit, iram Dei omnipotentis incurrere et a cetu ecclesie catholice segregatum se noverit ac perpetua pena cum Antichristo dampnatum, cumque Iuda Scarioth et Dathan et Abyron, Symone quoque Mago, eternis ignibus concremandum, nisi digne

their sameness; in this class of documents as in that just discussed, tradition or official conservatism determined that the language in most cases should be Latin and Latin it remained even after the speech of the masses had come into general use. This is true in a marked degree of the formulae or parts which were common to all.<sup>1</sup> Examples of the Judas curse in the vernacular are, then, relatively uncommon; a few are given gathered from Anglo-Saxon and Spanish,<sup>2</sup> and their very paucity makes them worthy of note.

In Babylonian funerary inscriptions, so far as our knowledge goes,<sup>3</sup> an imprecation was not employed to protect the memory of the dead. The qualifying phrase is in order, for only two mortuary inscriptions from that source have come to light,

resipuerit. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Victor de Marseille, 2 Car. 824.

Si quis vero . . . infringere voluerit . . . primitus iram omnipotentis Dei incurrat, et sanctorum angelorum, et a liminibus Ecclesiae Dei vel communionem sanctorum extraneus efficiatur et lepram Giezi vel percussione Ananiae et Saphirae consequatur, partemque habeat cum Iuda Scariothe . . . et insuper inferat tibi . . . auri libras V, argenti pondo XV, etc. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 89, 537; also p. 553; *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos*, M. Férotin, p. 77: cf. si quis vero voluerit sine conscientia supra sibi praesumere, det poene nomine sanctae Aeclesiae ante litis ingressum auri unc IV. C. I. L. 3. 2704; 6<sup>e</sup>. 15405.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ancient Charters in the British Museum* (E. A. Bond), Part II, Cotton Charter, VIII. 36; *ibidem*, Part IV, Cotton MS, Augustus II. 24. In these and many others the main portion of the deed is Anglo-Saxon, the curse in Latin.

<sup>2</sup> E si por aventura alguno de nuestro linage o de otra part viniessse contra este nuestro fecho, sea maldicho e descomulgado e con Ju[da]s en infierno dapnado, e peche en coto al rey de la tierra C morabetinos, e la heredat duplada e meiorada en otro tal logar. (yr. 1245.) *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos*, M. Férotin, Doc. 136, p. 190.

E ninguno de mio linage que esto quisiere demandar, nin contrallar, nin menguar en ninguna cosa o parte dello, que aya la yra del Rey omnipotent et sea perduda la su alma con la de Judas el traydor, e peche al rey de Castiella mill maravedis en coto (yr. 1258). *Ibidem*, Doc. 195. p. 232.

Swa hwilc man swa ðisne cwide awende sy he Iudas gefere ðe urne Drihten beledwe on helle wite. *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1865), p. 543 (*Will of Queen Aethelred*). Cf. King Eadgar's charter of liberties to Taunton, yr. 968. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Fossey, l. c., p. 120.

both of which contain blessings on him who should respect the tomb; presumption is strong, therefore, that material for verification is simply lacking and that in some instances the blessing was also accompanied by a curse directed against a possible desecrator. In either case we have in this use of the Judas curse, if not an original yet an important phase, because it is in Christian epitaphs that the Judas oath fully justifies its name. Here it is most suitable and unstudied, here truly epigrammatic. Examples<sup>1</sup> date from the 8th century on, found on pavements and walls of churches as well as upon tombs proper. The Latin in which they are written is crude and ungrammatical, suggesting unfamiliarity with a written version and pointing away from a copy. Yet the official version is ever in sight and for this reason it would not be safe to call this a popular, in the sense of conversational, use of the Judas curse. It is to be identified with those oaths<sup>2</sup> seen in abundance in funerary inscriptions and often metrical in form, the object of which is to protect the tomb and to enforce attention. These are most accurately called literary. After all, as language formal and sacred tends by repetition to become informal and familiar, it

<sup>1</sup> Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, I. p. 291, gives the list for Gaul. *Sed siquis vero . . . inquietare voluerit, sit anathema percussus lebra Gezie perfruatur et cum Iuda traditore abeat portionem et a leminibus ecclesiae separetur et a communionem s(an)c(ta)m. I. H. C. (Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae, ed. Hübner), 336; Siquis tentaverit isto monumento, abeat parte com Iuda Iscariota. I. H. C., 403; Siquis cum presumserit inde de loco isto et ossa ipsorum inde iactaverint, habeant partem cum Iuda. Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, De Rossi, 2. p. 309; Et siquis hunc sepulchrum violaverit, partem abeam (sic) cum Iuda traditorem et in die iudicii non resurgat; partem suam cum infidelibus ponam. C. I. L., II. 322, 325 and 329; coniu(r)ante(s) ut qui h(unc) mon(imentum aut) meum (n)omine (lae)serit abeant tradictio(nem Iudae) et ubi iusti rem(u)nerati (f)ueri(nt) exseant condemnati o(re etc.). C. I. L., 10. 4539.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vicinas mihi carpe rosas, mihi lilia pone; ita beatum. C. I. L., 3. 4185; Sed quicumque legis nostros . . . dolores (lachruma), sic apud Elysias (v)ivas. C. I. L., 3. 3397; Te pie possessor sive colone precor: ne patiare meis tumulis (i)ncrescere silvas: sic tibi dona Ceres larga det e(t) Bromius. C. I. L., II. 911; Hoc monumentum . . . vendere ne liceat caveo . . . ut aequae frui liceat. C. I. L., 12. 3619; Si quis forte mea gaudet de morte iniqua, huic sit iniqua Ceres perficiatque fame. C. I. L., 6. 7898; Si quis titulo manus intulerit, non illunc recipiat tellus. C. I. L., 6. 20459; Si quis hunc amoverit, eundem dolorem experiscatur quem ego experta sum. C. I. L., 6. 7308.*

is a natural process that juristic and ritualistic formulae should be taken from their original sphere and occasionally devoted to more common purposes. The opening words, *Si mei animi sententia*, and *Si sciens fallo fefellerō*, of the well known Roman oath crept into the literature and were used elsewhere than before officers of the state; <sup>1</sup> yet the oath, if we may judge from written remains, can hardly have been employed in ordinary intercourse between man and man, or to any great extent divorced from legal procedure. In our own day, we hear "So help me", when the speaker is not on his oath; we even hear the expression given a humorous turn; none the less, it suggests the atmosphere of the court room and the attitude of the raised right hand. The legal aspect of the Judas oath is, then, still uppermost, even when it is written on a tombstone; further, the small number of examples gathered from so many inscriptions, the list collected on another page being practically complete for the entire Corpus, fortifies the conclusion that here, too, the oath is a loan, a mere survival, an echo of the formal decree.

Comparatively early, that is to say, the 12th or 13th century, the Judas curse made its appearance in the vernacular, and not only in the ways we have seen, but also in the literature of the vernacular, as we are now to see. This extension of sphere should cause no surprise; instances, however, are extremely rare, as indeed was to be expected, and, it seems, confined to Old Spanish.<sup>2</sup> In Spanish again it appears only in the chronicle

<sup>1</sup> Id ego si fallo, tum te summe Iupiter  
Quaeso Amphitruoni ut semper iratus sies.

Plautus, Amph., 933.

Si fallo, vipera nostris  
Sibilet in tumulis et super ossa cubet.

Prop., 4. 7. 53.

Consilium, prudensque animi sententia iurat  
Et nisi iudicii vincula nulla valent.

Ovid, Heroides, 21. 137

<sup>2</sup> El que cuydar facer al,  
Sea del mundo perdido  
E en el fuego infernal  
Con Iudas sea ardido.

Poema de Alfonso Onceno, 1278.

Todo aquel que vos-otrros a presyon se les diere  
E con mïedo de la muerte del campo saliere,

or romance, where heroic style prevailed and conventionality was in order. For though it occurs in dialog and at dramatic or tense moments, yet the interplay of speech is always on a high plane, and that dignified and orderly setting is maintained which is the true environment of this stately oath. That no examples are to be found in Old French, either poetry or prose,<sup>1</sup> is a matter calling for some comment, since the history of the oath in the two countries is in every other respect parallel. The statement of Hansen<sup>2</sup> suggests a geographical distribution, but does not apply to the Judas curse, because he has reference to the oath of fealty exacted of bishops. Perhaps its absence, then, from Old French literature, in spite of its wide distribution in charters and other legal documents in Gaul, is either merely casual or is entirely natural, since the curse itself was not literary but legal, formal and colorless. The paucity of examples in Spanish would then confirm this view. Were it common in the farce or even in the epic, we might conclude that it occurred in

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Quede por alevoso el que tal fecho fyciere,  
Con Iudas en el infyerno yagua quando moriere.

Poema de Fernan Gonzalez, 445.

Quando esto oyo el su pueblo loçano,  
Todos por una voca fablaron muy pryado  
Sennor, lo que tu dices sea de nos otorgado.  
El que fuyre de nos ayaga con Iudas abraçado.

Ibidem, 446.

<sup>1</sup> In the nature of things this is not an exhaustive statement, since all possible sources can not come under the eye of one investigator. However, it is based on an examination by indices or otherwise of the charters in the Johns Hopkins and Congressional Libraries, and in the same way of thousands of pages of epics, plays and other literature in both Old French and Italian.

<sup>2</sup> *Thes. Ant. Rom.* (Graevius) 5. 866 under the captions: *Christianos veteres non iurasse. Non Antistites, Presbyterosque. Cur hodie Episcopi in Gallia iurent?*

*Quod si quis instet ac quaerat de Gallia Ecclesiae Catholicae primigenita? dicam id paulatim introductum et haec consuetudo est. Qui rationes huius investigant Iurisiurandi varias imaginantur. Equidem duas esse primarias didici . . . : priorem, quod Galliae reges omnium sint Ecclesiarum fundatores, ex quo eis hoc ius: tum quod cum in utriusque ordinis (i. e. antistites et presbyteri) suae dioecesi subditos, magna iurisdictionem auctoritate tueantur, eamque cum permissu regis exerçant, ut id sine dolo fraude fiat, an non Sacramenti fidem praestatione Regi securam praestant?*

speech also, but in every department it was juristic, a residuum from the state oath. It was from this semi-official character that it gained authority and won standing, while by sheer weight and fearful doom of its examples it made its appeal to the superstitious. The proof of its efficacy was its universality.

Parallels to the Judas curse might be extended indefinitely, limited only by the patience or judgment of the collector. Other than those examples already cited a small number will be given having the same form and pedigree as the Judas oath and to some extent the same purpose. They will be, then, virtually variations of the same curse selected on account of rare occurrence or because of some other special feature.

CURSE OF DATHAN AND ABIRAM WITH OLD FRENCH PARALLEL.

Si quis hanc kartam stabilitatis frange(re) tentavit, sit excommunicatus et a lege segregatus, et cum Datan et Abiron in infernus dampnatus et in vita sua careat lumen oculorum suorum. Fuero de Avilés, 43.

Si quis homo vel femina hanc ingenuitatem quam ego facio contradixerit, vel calumpniatus fuerit, de libro viventium deleatur et cum Datan et Abiron in inferno perpetualiter crucietur. Cartulaire de Sainte-Foi de Morlaas, Doc. 3.

Les dous de vus aurat Satan  
Od Abiron e od Dathan.

La Légende de St. Brandan, 199.

CURSE INVOLVING PHARAOH ALONE; VERY UNCOMMON.

Quod si quis possidere tentaverit, maledicatur per universum orbem et audiatur de illo etc. et erubescat et conturbetur in saeculum saeculi et confundatur et pereat. Non sit cohaeres Christi, sed sit particeps Pharaonis in inferno, qui ait: Dominum nescio, et Israel non dimittam. Cartulaire des Abbayes de Tulle et de Roc-Amadour, J. B. Champeval, 46, p. 51.

CURSE OF THE APOSTLES, REALLY A PONTIFICAL BULL, IN OLD FRENCH; RARE.

Que personne donc, de nostre permission ou inhibition ne vienne rompre ou enfreindre ceste page . . . qu'il sache qu'il encourra l'indignation de Dieu tout puissant et des bienheureux



apostres Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul. Le Cartulaire de Montreuil-sur-Mer, Doc. IV, yr. 1236. Cf. Si quis autem hoc attemptare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli . . . se noverit incursum. Cartulaire de N. Dame de Prouile, yr. 1248.

COMPLETE ECCLESIASTICAL CURSE WITH PARALLEL FROM  
ITALIAN EROTIC POETRY OF 14TH OR 15TH CENTURY.

Maledicti fiant de vertice capitis usque ad plantam pedis et fiant filii eorum orphani et uxores eorum vidue, et in memoria apud deum numquam fiant et maledicti fiant ambulantes vel stantes vel sedentes, manducantes vel bibentes, dormientes et vigilantes. Cartulaire du Mas d'Azil, yr. 1067.

Cf. Sian tutte le mie membre maledecti  
Sian maledecti i mei perduti passi  
E gli ochiz mei ch' a riguardar te stelle.  
Sian maledecti sti mei pedi lassi,  
La nocte senza somno, el tempo perso  
E la mia lingua, ch' or s'è muta stassi.  
Sia maledecto tutto l' universo,  
E tu, giudia, sii sempre maledecta  
Per cui nel mondo io vivirò disperso.

Cantilena Domini Leonardi Justiniani Veneti,  
132 ff. (Le Rime del Codice Isoldiano, 2. p.  
112, ed., Frati.)

Si quis . . . infringere temptaverit, perpressus sit gelidis glaciaryum flatibus et pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum (Aethelstan, yr. 939). Cotton MS, Augustus II, 23, E. A. Bond, op. cit., Part III.

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#### IV.—THE LATEST EXPANSIONS OF THE ODYSSEY.

In an article published in *A. J. P.* XXXVII (1916) 1 ff. I examined the relation between lines omitted in manuscripts of the *Iliad* and lines omitted in the papyri, and sought among other things to show that this relation was constant enough to enable one to forecast what lines would be omitted in those parts of the *Iliad* for which papyrus evidence is not yet available. It was my intention to extend this work to the *Odyssey*, and it then occurred to me that it was possible to conduct the investigation in such a way as to test the accuracy of my forecast, and thus secure an experimental verification of the theory.

Accordingly at my request one of my pupils in the Ohio State University, Miss Ruth M. Kellar, collected the material from Ludwich's commentary, which I checked and supplemented by the critical apparatus of Monro-Allen. Then, before consulting any papyrus,<sup>1</sup> I prepared in writing on the principles set forth in my preceding article the following lists.

I. Instances of "surface corruption": (a) certain as leaving an obvious lacuna, (b) others open to but little less doubt.

I<sup>a</sup>: The variants cited at α 37. 51. 51-2. 107-9. 118. 138. 176. 279-92. 383. 397-8. 425. 438-9. β 30. 120-1. 171. 188-90. 271. 277-8. 297. 408. 417-8. γ 128. 171-2. 384. 396. 402. δ 59. 82. 185. 224. 384-99. 394. 464. 575. 647. 680. 721. 789. ε 117-24. 278. 325. 351. 371. 469. ζ 53. 88. 154. 224-316. η 30-1. 63. 88. 89-91. 119. 134-9. 213. 262. 283-4. 313. θ 9-31. 44. 45-7. 131-2. 251. 265. 420-1. 439. 499. 545-6. ι 31-2. 169-70. 226. 249. 326-7. 355. κ 163-4. 305. 327. 341-2. 356-7. 408. 433. 469. λ 10. 87. 195. 206. 254-7. 336-42. 337-8. 340. 408-9. 442-3. 444. 477. 516. 545. μ 54. 135. 265-70. 280-329. 416. 431-6. 441. ν 78-128. 178-229. 258-61. 333-5. 334. 374-6. ξ 52-3. 57. 162. 268. 315. 457-8. 468. 520. ο 9-10. 24. 48-9. 65. 68. 114. 130-2. 150. 169. 171. 332. 356-8. 526-31. 528-9.

<sup>1</sup> Some information about them reached me of course through Monro-Allen, but my classification was but slightly, if at all, affected by it.

π 226. 392. 452-4. ρ 33. 55. 295. 331. 333. 335. 350-2. 413. 491-3. 496. 536. 539. 546. 577-8. 604. σ 45. 92-3. 155. 158. 332. 338. τ 86-8. 93. 117. 184. 285. 331-3. 349. 458. υ 227. 268. 331. φ 158-9. 177. 179-85. 302. 326. 346. 351. 407. χ 1. 68-9. 109. 183. 259-485. 265. 323. 392-4. ψ 21-2. 50. 88. 103. 148. 151. 178-9. 223. 241. 242. ω 28-31. 32. 90-1. 253. 330. 336. 354. 384. 409. 418. 439. 446-7. 448. 491. 520-2. 527. 533.

1<sup>b</sup>: The variants cited at β 2-3. 4. 148. 217-8. 393. 426. δ 83. 118-20. 439. 614. ε 129. 153-60. 247. 402. θ 112. 148. 172. 340. 407. 435-6. 508. 510. ι 5-8. 131. 313-5. 341-3. 437. 491. 563. κ 18. 21. 411. λ 161. 179. 218. 231. 291-2. 312. 517-8. 590. 607-8. μ 103. 105. 368. ν 71-2. 314. 386-91. 435-6. ξ 101. 429. 434. ο 6. 143. 450-1. π 318. ρ 8. 277. 314. 338-9. 495-7. σ 119-20. 199. 282. 309. 318. τ 18. υ 152. 247. φ 86. 113. 283. 386. 431. χ 23. 146. 200. 317. 431. ψ 163. ω 222. 276-7. 338-9. 398. 401. υ 83 worthy of separate note because omitted by d r P<sup>1</sup>.

## II. Interpolations: (a) certain, (b) probable.

II<sup>a</sup>: α 93<sup>ab</sup>. 148. 148<sup>a</sup>. 285<sup>a</sup>. 329<sup>a</sup>. β 4<sup>a</sup>. 107<sup>a</sup>. 191. 407. 429. γ 19. 78. 416<sup>a</sup>. 493. δ 57-8. (93<sup>a</sup>). 218<sup>a</sup>. 228<sup>a</sup>. 399. 432. 598<sup>a</sup>. 783. 796<sup>a</sup>. ε 91. 157. 204<sup>a</sup>. ζ 209<sup>a</sup>. 313-5. η 177<sup>a</sup>. 203<sup>a</sup>. 221<sup>a</sup>. θ 27. 58. 62<sup>a</sup>. 303. 348<sup>a</sup>. 501<sup>a</sup>. ι 30. 89. 412<sup>a</sup>. 489. 531. κ 201-2. 225<sup>a</sup>. 233<sup>a</sup>. 253. 265. 310<sup>a</sup>. 315. 315<sup>a-d</sup>. 319<sup>ab</sup>. 368-72. 409<sup>a</sup>. 430. 456. 459<sup>a</sup>. 470. 475-9. 482. 502<sup>a</sup>. 504. 569. λ 60. 92. 178<sup>ab</sup>. 266<sup>a</sup>. 343. 343<sup>a</sup>. 369<sup>a</sup>. 407. 604. 638<sup>a</sup>. μ 6. 99<sup>a-d</sup>. 133<sup>a</sup>. 140-1. 147. 153<sup>a</sup>. 240<sup>a</sup>. 365<sup>a</sup>. ν 197<sup>a</sup>. 347-8. 369<sup>a</sup>. ξ 154. 369-70. 515-7. ο 44<sup>a</sup>. 63. 113-9. 139. 295. 345. π 24<sup>a</sup>. 256<sup>a</sup>. 317. 412<sup>a</sup>. ρ 3<sup>a</sup>. 49. 233<sup>a</sup>. 547. 565. 568<sup>a</sup>. 577<sup>a</sup>. 603<sup>a</sup>. σ 111<sup>a</sup>. 184<sup>a</sup>. 393. 413. τ 153. 291-2. 558<sup>ab</sup>. υ 327<sup>a</sup>. φ 66. 109. 276. 353<sup>a</sup>. χ 43. 43<sup>a</sup>. 191. ψ 48. 127-8. 320. ω 4<sup>a</sup>. 121. 143. 171<sup>a</sup>. Some reservations may be made for: ι 89. κ 233<sup>a</sup>. 475-9. 569.

II<sup>b</sup>: δ 273. ζ 21. ι 547. [κ 370]<sup>1</sup> ν 428. ξ 451. π 50. 224. ρ 432. σ 59. 131. τ 62. 77. 250-1. 275-7. υ 145. φ 189. 308. 381. χ 37. ω 113. 238. 542.

There remained a number of lines not necessary for the context, but for the omission of which there is only slight evidence; and there seemed a chance that some among them might prove to

<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of this line was an oversight. It is probably interpolated, but in an interpolation 368-72 already included in the preceding list.

be interpolations which had succeeded in spreading to almost all manuscripts. No doubt the limits of this possibility could have been narrowed by eliminating lines known to Aristarchus, and lines for which no obvious source in the Homeric poems could be indicated; but the results would not have repaid the work involved, and it seemed better to list them all as doubtful, and await the verdict of the papyri. They are III: α 30. 72. 139. 195. 214. 381-2. 419. β 140. 227. 272-3. 421. 434. γ 42. 209. 220. 304. 308. 381. 429. 465-7. δ 38. 53. 75. 293. 294-5. 303. 330. 346. 458. 753. 828. 845. ε 29. 48. 179. 479. ζ 213. 306. η 5. 80. 116. 132. 154. 161. 225. θ 30. 106. 335. 430-2. 440. 464. 534. 541. 558. ι 24. 35-6. 361. 406. 414. 426. 428. 505. 507. 541-2. 558-9. κ 6. 101. 185-6. 344. 392. 402. 437.<sup>1</sup> λ 109. 274. 280. 459-60. 478. 513-15. 546. μ 207. ν 91. 145. 289. 391. ξ 15. 69. 71. 93-5. 206. 340. 476. 509. ο 448. 475. 480-1. π 14. 19. 61. 105. 357. 393. ρ 43. 63-4. 131. 133-5. 156. 171. 198. 395. 402. 404. 601.<sup>2</sup> σ 39. 167-8. 197. 280. 352. τ 114. 122. 165. 170-1. 204. 357. 466. 500. 555. υ 46. 61. 335. φ 122-3. 165. 219-20. 244. 270. 318. 334-5. 373. 430. 432. χ 264. 329. ψ 217. 229. ω 53. 70. 117. 217-8. 239-40. 479-80. 484-5. 486. 535. 545-7.

In the vulgate papyri to which I have had access the following passages are contained:

α: 131-45 P. Oxyr. 562 s. III; 432-44 P. Oxyr. 563 s. II-III.

β: 304-12. 339-57. 362-74. 386-410 P. Oxyr. 773 s. II; 315-27 P. Oxyr. 564 s. II-III.

γ: 226-31 P. Oxyr. 774 s. III; 284-93. 319-27. 387-404. 422-32 (433-4) 435-7. (438) 439-97 P. Brit. Mus. 271 s. I (cf. Kenyon, JPh. XXII. 238 ff.); 364-75. 384-402 P. Genav. (cf. Nicole, Rev. de Phil. XVIII p. 101).

δ: 292-302 P. Oxyr. 565 s. II-III; 388-400 P. Oxyr. 775 s. III; 520-9 P. Oxyr. 776 s. I-II; 685-708 P. Oxyr. 566 s. III; 757-65 P. Oxyr. 567 s. III.

ε: 7-17. 34-44 P. Oxyr. 777 s. IV; 346-53 P. Bodl. MS. Gr. class. g. 7 s. III (cf. Grenfell, An Alexandr. Erot. Fragm.).

ζ: 201-3. 205-9. 255-6. 258-63. 286-300. 325-8 P. Fayum 7 s. I.

<sup>1</sup> The omission in P of 436-7 is simply haplography.

<sup>2</sup> Causing in W the loss of 602?

η: 67-126 P. Lips. III s. IV (Blass, Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. ph.-hist. Kl. 1904, p. 211 f.).

θ: 348-50 P. Berol. 7805 s. II.

ι: 75-92 P. Berol. Nr. 40 (vorher Schlüsse einer Kol. [43 u. 45]) s. I.

κ: 26-50 P. Oxyr. 778 s. III; 124-30 P. Oxyr. 779 s. II-III; 366-80. 399-402 P. Fayum 157 s. I-II.

λ: 1-20 P. Oxyr. 568 s. III; 195-208 P. Oxyr. 569 s. II; 428-40 P. Tebt. 431 s. I-II; 471-93. 523-45 P. Oxyr. 780 s. II (?); 492-511 P. Ryl. 52 s. II-III; 557-73. 588-610 P. Fayum 310 s. I-II.

μ: 275-6. 289-96. 318-26. (327-9). 333. 346-54. (355-7). 358. 375-82. 401-10. (411-2). 413-5. (416). 417-8. 430-8 (2 lines). 442-5. (446). 447 P. Ryl. 53 s. III-IV.

ν: 1-9. (10). 11-7. 28-37. (38). 39-41. (42-3). 44-5. 55-65. (66). 67-73. 83-93. (94). 95-101. 110-21. (122). 123-5. (126). 127-9. 139-49. (150). 151-3. (154). 155-6. 167-86. 196-211. (212). 213-5. 225-44. 254-70. (271). 272-4. 283-302. 311-29. 338-59. 367-87. 395-416. 424-40 P. Ryl. 53; 110-8. 120-6. 137-45. 147-54 P. Berol. Nr. 264 s. V-VI.

ξ: 8-28. 36-57. 65-85. 93-113. 120-41. 148-70. 176-98. 204. 226. 232-54. 260-82. 288. 310. 316-38. 348-66. 378-96. 406-24. 434-47. (448). 449-52. 464-80. 508-9 P. Ryl. 53; 15-24. 35 (?). 36-60. 71-86. 374-6. 379-81. 407-9. 430-41 P. Berol. 7517 s. VII-VIII; 50-72 P. Oxyr. 570 s. II.

ο: 2-3. 25-31. 57-61. 48-9 im. 91. 127. 150-1(?). 260-2. 318-9(?). 370-4. (375-8). 379-81. 397-400 P. Ryl. 53; 161-81. 189-210 P. Amh. II 23 s. III-IV; 216-31. 239-53 P. Cairo 10397 (Goodspeed, Chicago Dec. Publ. I. 5. p. 3 ff.) s. II.

π: 1-8 P. Oxyr. 571 s. I-II; 243-56. 288-301 P. Oxyr. 781 s. III.

ρ: 137-48. 182-93 P. Oxyr. 782 s. III; 410-28 P. Oxyr. 783 s. I. A. C.

σ: 1-35. 56-93 P. Oxyr. 572 s. III; 103-4; 137-8. 170. 157-8 im. (?). 201-2. 234-5. 303. 365-7. 399-401 P. Ryl. 53.

τ: 1-4. 35-8. 69-71. 104(?). 138. 174-5. 206-7. 236-9. 270-3. 309-11. 342-4. 374-7. 407-10. 440-3. 472-5. 505-8. 537-40. 569-72. 598-604 P. Ryl. 53; 452-71 P. Oxyr. 573 s. III; 534-99 P. Berol. 10568 s. IV-V.

v: 26-34. 59-68. 92-102. 125-34. 157-67. 188-202. 222-36. 257-71. 293-308. 330-44. 365-81. (382-91). 392-4 P. Ryl. 53.  
 φ: 1-14. 29-49. (50-6). 57-60. (61). 62-82. 91-153. (154-6). 157-434 P. Ryl. 53.

χ: Complete P. Ryl. 53; 31-47. 80-93. 111-48. 182-96. 230-317 P. Oxyr. 448 s. III.

ψ: Complete P. Ryl. 53; 185-94. 230-42 P. Oxyr. 448 s. III.

ω: Complete P. Ryl. 53; 501-8 P. Tebt. 432 s. II.

A lexicon to *o* is also contained in P. Amh. II 18 not later than 150 A. D. which gives some evidence for the text upon which it was based.

The behavior of these papyri as compared with my lists is as follows:

Of the variants listed in I<sup>a</sup>, I<sup>b</sup> as "surface corruption" but one <sup>1</sup> recurs in a papyrus. P. Ryl. 53 has space for but two lines between μ 438 and 442. Hunt rightly recognized that this was due to the omission of 441 as in j U<sup>a</sup>. This may be taken as an indication of a special relationship between the papyrus and these manuscripts, but is without further significance. It is needless to rehearse the lines in these lists that are attested.

Of the lines in II<sup>a</sup> designated as certain interpolations one (ι 89) that was included with some hesitation is found in P. Berol. Nr. 40. For another line (χ 191) the papyri waver, it being found in P. Ryl. 53, while P. Oxyr. 448 omits it. But my prediction is confirmed in the following cases: β 407 om. P. Oxyr. 773; γ 493 om. P. Brit. Mus. 271; δ 399 om. P. Oxyr. 775; θ 348<sup>a</sup> om. P. Berol. 7805; κ 368-72 om. P. Fayum 157; λ 604 om. P. Fayum 310; ν 197<sup>a</sup>. 347-8. 369<sup>a</sup>. ξ 154 om. P. Ryl. 53; ε 515-7. ο 113-9 om. P. Ryl. 53 (as inferred by Hunt from considerations of space); τ 558<sup>ab</sup> om. P. Berol. 10568; φ 66. 109. 276. 353<sup>a</sup>. om. P. Ryl. 53; χ 43. 43<sup>a</sup> om. P. Ryl. 53, P. Oxyr. 448; ψ 48. 127-8. 320. ω 4<sup>a</sup>. 121. 143. 171<sup>a</sup> om. P. Ryl. 53. The text used by P. Amh. II. 18 evidently did not contain ο 113-9, and the other lines from ο in this list are at least not noticed by this papyrus.

Of the verses contained in list II<sup>b</sup> but one (φ 308) is omitted (by P. Ryl. 53) while ν 428. ξ 451. σ 59 and all others from φ 189—ω 542 are attested.

<sup>1</sup> There is obviously no connection between σ 158 om. it., add. im. G and σ 157-8 om. it., add. im. P. Ryl. 53, even if these lines be correctly identified.

From list III P. Ryl. 53 omits  $\phi$  219-20.  $\omega$  480 (not 479), while on the other hand 45 passages are attested.

The only stichometric notes in the papyri are  $\gamma$  opposite  $\chi$  302 in P. Oxyr. 448, which indicates the omission of no lines other than 43. 191; and  $\epsilon$  opposite  $\omega$  504 in P. Tebt. 432 corresponding to the omission of lines 121. 143. as in P. Ryl. 53 and two other lines, which can not be definitely designated.

The papyri omit, probably correctly, four lines:  $\gamma$  487 P. Brit. Mus. 271;  $\nu$  396.  $\tau$  581.  $\phi$  65 P. Ryl. 53 (Allen informed Hunt that  $\nu$  396 is omitted also by Neap. II. F 4). Other deviations are instances of surface corruption in P. Ryl. 53: insertion of  $\nu$  339<sup>a</sup> (=343), omission of  $\sigma$  157-8 (add. im.).  $\nu$  304.  $\phi$  291-2 (add. im. m. 2).  $\chi$  174.  $\omega$  78-9. 277 being due to haplography, while no cause can be assigned for the omission of  $\nu$  197. (add. im. m. 2).  $\omega$  270 or for the transposition of  $\omega$  134. 133 which is corrected. Whether  $\nu$  271 is "lost" or omitted through haplography is not clear.

The interpretation I should place on these facts is as follows. From list III no more was expected than that some of the lines might prove to be interpolations. This has received extremely little confirmation; for no stress can be laid upon the omission in P. Ryl. 53 of  $\phi$  219-20 as in Mon. U<sup>6</sup> and of  $\omega$  480 as in U<sup>6</sup>, which may well be entirely on a par with the omission of  $\mu$  441 discussed above. It seems now most probable that the entire list is simply 'surface corruption' that has not betrayed its origin by making nonsense of the text; although it is possible that this verdict may be modified by the discovery of other and earlier papyri. List II<sup>b</sup> also has received practically no confirmation, but in judging this there is another element which must be taken into consideration. If these lines are interpolated, they have succeeded in spreading more widely than those of list II<sup>a</sup> and are therefore presumably of earlier date. Now it so happens that no evidence either for or against any line in this list is given by any papyrus earlier than the third century. The case should therefore be regarded as being still *sub iudice*; and I may point out that the stichometry of P. Tebt. 432 of the second century is exactly right if it omits the lines given in II<sup>a</sup>  $\omega$  121. 143 and also those in II<sup>b</sup>  $\omega$  113. 238.

On the other hand the predictions based on lists I and II<sup>a</sup> have received a signal confirmation, more so indeed than might

have been expected. List II<sup>a</sup> proves to be an accurate measure of the difference between the papyri and the manuscripts. The lines in it should be excluded from the text of the *Odyssey*. The result would be a form of text such as circulated in the third century, and that is the earliest form of the text which the materials now extant permit us to constitute. It seems indeed possible—I would not say probable—that the manuscripts of the *Odyssey* are derived from an archetype of no earlier date.

If the interpolations of the *Odyssey* be compared with those of the *Iliad* they will be seen to be of the same general character. In each poem we have in the main concordance interpolation; or, to employ a medical metaphor, auto-intoxication. But the text of the *Odyssey* has suffered more; and it has been slightly affected by the *Iliad*, while of the reverse process there is barely a trace. If the analogy with the *Iliad* holds for the period preceding the third century, we must believe that the *Odyssey* was already interpolated at this time—cf. above the lines omitted by papyri but found in all manuscripts—and that the detection and removal of these interpolations would lead to a text agreeing line for line with the edition of Aristarchus.

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## V.—THE SUFFIX *-μα* IN ARISTOPHANES.

A familiar source of laughter in comedy and elsewhere in the lighter forms of literature and conversation is the substitution of an unexpected ending for the usual ending of a word. This shift of termination for the comic effect is well-known to readers of Aristophanes. Two previous investigations<sup>1</sup> were devoted to the study of those diminutives, character names, and patronymics, and those adjectives in *-ικός* in Aristophanes in which the comic element lies in the ending; the present article deals with a small group of nouns in *-μα*, in so far as the suffix contributes anything comic to these words.

The suffix *-μα*, *-ματ-* (Lat. *-men-*, *-men-to-*, Eng. *-ment*) added to verbal stems makes *nomina actionis* which denote in most cases the result of the action of the verb. These derivative nouns occur in great abundance in tragedy, they are found to the number of one hundred in Herodotus, and are used with uncommon frequency by Hippocrates.<sup>2</sup> For this reason they are generally thought to be of Ionic origin, though Fraenkel finds their source in old Attic. They became extremely common in the later language, the Koine.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, in tragedy that they are most familiar to the student of classical Greek. Here they are extensively used, and often take the place of common words, e. g. *δάκρυμα* for *δάκρυνον*, *πύλωμα* for *πύλη*, *ἄλγημα* for *ἄλγος*, *αἰτίαμα* for *αἰτία*, *τέκνωμα* for *τέκνον*. Some of the reasons for their popularity with the tragic poets are their

<sup>1</sup> Comic Terminations in Aristophanes and the Comic Fragments. Part I: Diminutives, Character Names, Patronymics. (Baltimore, Murphy, 1902), and The Termination *-ικός*, as Used by Aristophanes for Comic Effect, A. J. P. XXXI, 428-444.

<sup>2</sup> "Auch von anderen Verben hat Hippokrates, wie ich aus eigener Lektüre seiner meisten Schriften bestätigen kann, eine ungemeine Menge von *-μα* Bildungen." Fraenkel, Griechische Denominativa, S. 232.

<sup>3</sup> See Cleomedes 2, 1, p. 166 Zieg.; Buresch, Rhein. Mus. 47, 347; Glaser, De ratione, quae intercedit inter sermonem Polybii et eum, qui in titulis saeculi III, II, I apparet, pp. 52 f.; Mayser, Gram. d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit, S. 24, 433 f.

greater length giving greater dignity to the style, the suitability of their inflected forms as a verse-close in many meters, especially the iambic trimeter, the variety of meanings in which they could be used, and the readiness and ease with which they could be formed from any verb. Furthermore, it is true in many cases that these derivatives in *-μα* express in the form of a noun a thought which might be expressed very naturally by some form of the verb,<sup>1</sup> and nouns both give greater elevation to style and admit of more precise modification than verbs.<sup>2</sup> Aeschylus employs 218 substantives in *-μα*,<sup>3</sup> Sophocles 188, and Euripides 302. Euripides' use of them is in some respects the most remarkable. Schirlitz,<sup>4</sup> who counted only 250 of these words in Euripides, believed that more than 80 of this number originated with him, one half being found in Euripides only, the other half in Euripides and later writers. As regards their meaning, derivatives in *-μα* as a rule signify the result of an action, and those derived from transitive verbs usually have a passive force, but Euripides, and to a less degree Aeschylus, took great liberties with them and used them with a variety of meanings. Compare, for example, *κάθαρμα* (= *κάθαρις*) Eur. I. T. 1316, *σπάραγμα* (= *σπαραγμός*) Bacch. 739, cf. 735, *λόχευμα* (= *λοχεία*) El. 1124, *θάκημα* (= *θαῖκος*) Ion 492, *δούλευμα* (= *δουλεία*) Or. 221, (= *δούλαι*) Ion 748, *ὀρφάνευμα* (= *ὀρφανία*) H. F. 546, *λύσσημα* (= *λύσσα*) Or. 270, cf. 254, *συγκοίμημα* (= *συγκοιμήτρια*) Andr. 1273, *κῆδευμα* (= *κηδεστής*) Or. 477, *ὑβρισμα* (= *ὑβρισταί*) H. F. 181, cf. Soph. Tr. 1096.

In comedy, when these nouns in *-μα* are used of persons by metonymy, abstracts taking the place of the related concretes, it is natural that they should have a reproachful or contemptu-

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἀγγέλματα Eur. Heracl. 660, 789 = τὰ ἡγγελμένα Thuc. 8, 97. τέχνημα Soph. Ph. 36 = τετεχνημένον (passive). αἰσθημά τοι κᾶν νηπιός γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγνεται Eur. I. A. 1243-4 = αἰσθῆσθαι τοι κᾶν νηπιός γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγνεται. ἰδὼν ἄθροισμα (τοῦ δχλου) Or. 874 = ἰδὼν τὸν δχλον ἄθροισμένον (οἱ ἠθροισμένον). μηχανὴν πτερώματος Aesch. fr. 139 = μηχανὴν ἐπτερωμένην, the πτέρωμα being an ἐπτερωμένος ἀτρακτος.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve, Essays and Studies, p. 155; A. J. P. XXI 473.

<sup>3</sup> A word is counted but once in an author, no matter how many times it occurs there.

<sup>4</sup> De sermonis tragici per Euripidem incrementis, Halis Saxonum 1865, p. 14 f.

ous force,<sup>1</sup> and the neuter gender contributes something to the depreciatory tone. Examples follow :

*τρίμμα* Nub. 260 for *τρίβων* (Nub. 869) or *τριπτός* as in *ἐπίτριπτος* (Ach. 557, Pac. 1236, Pl. 275, 619, Soph. Aj. 103, Andoc. 1, 99). See the scholiast, and Dieterich in Rhein. Mus. 48, 278 f.

*περίτριμμα* Nub. 447 (= *περίτριπτος*). Cf. Bekk. Anecd. 59, 32. Like *περίτριμμα δικῶν* here is *περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς* in Dem. 18, 127. *σόφισμα*,<sup>2</sup> *κύρμα*, *τρίμμα*, *παιπάλημα* <sup>3</sup> Av. 431. The comic force of these words arising from metonymy and homoeoteleuton is cumulative.

*στώμυλα* Ran. 92 (= *στωμύλος*), quoted in Dion. H., Ars Rhet. 10, 18. Cf. *λάλημα* Soph. Ant. 320.

*κάβαρμα* Pl. 454, Eupol. 117, fr. ap. Suid. s. v., "scum of the earth" (Rogers).<sup>4</sup>

*πατάγημα* Menand. fr. 913 (= *λάλος καὶ πανούργος*, Phot., Suid.). Cf. *παταγητικός*.

*βρόντημα* adesp. 965 (= *ὁ ἐμβρόντητος*,<sup>5</sup> Hesych.).

In a comic context Aristophanes uses the unusual form *δέημα* Ach. 1059 'beseechment', 'requestment', in place of the familiar word *δέσις* 'request' by a shift of termination from *-σις* to *-μα*, plainly for the comic effect. *δέημα* is quoted from this passage by the scholiast h. l. and by Suidas s. v., and is found elsewhere only in schol.<sup>6</sup> Aesch. Eum. 92, and in Hesych. s. v.

Aeschylus had a great fondness for derivatives in *-μα* from verbs in *-ῶ*,<sup>7</sup> perhaps because besides having greater length

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bremi on Dem. 18, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ταῦτ' εἶπε τὸ Θετταλὸν σόφισμα, ἦτοι ὁ ἐκ Θετταλίας σοφιστῆς. παίζει δ' ἴσως πρὸς τὴν παροιμίαν ὁ Ἀθήναιος, Ath. 11b, and ὁ Θετταλὸν πάλαισμα Μυρτίλε, 308b. Cf. Eustath. 331, 35-40.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aeschin. 2, 40, Luc. Pseudolog. c. 32, Aeschro ap. Ath. 335d, and ἄλημα in Soph. Aj. 381, 389.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Luc. Dial. Mort. 2, 1, Jup. Trag. 52, Dem. 18, 128; 21, 185, 198.

<sup>5</sup> This meaning of *βρόντημα* is omitted in Liddell and Scott. For *ἐμβρόντητος* see Ar. Eccl. 793, Antiphan. 233, Philem. 44, Plat. Alc. 2 140c, Dem. 18, 243.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the desire for homoeoteleuton—*σίσβισμα καὶ δέημα*—caused the use of the form here.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *δρκωμα* (= *δρκος*) Eum. 486, 768, *δόλωμα* (= *δόλος*) Cho. 1003, *σκύφωμα* (= *σκύφος*) fr. 184, *κάρπωμα* (= *καρπός*) Suppl. 1001, *δέσμουμα* (= *δεσμός*) Pers. 745, κ. τ. λ. In some cases no verb in *-ῶ* has survived, cf. *χαίτωμα* (= *χαίτη*) Sept. 385, *πλευρώμα* (= *πλευρά, πλευρόν*) Sept. 890, Cho. 682, κ. τ. λ.

they produced a grandiose effect. Euripides used nearly the same number of forms in *-ωμα*,<sup>1</sup> and some of them frequently. *πέπλωμα*, a more pretentious word than *πέπλος*, occurs in all three tragic poets, and is put in the mouth of Euripides by Aristophanes in a parody in Ach. 426 *δυσπινῆ πεπλώματα*<sup>2</sup>; cf. *πέπλος* in 423. A few lines farther on in the Acharnians (432) the same character, the rag-stitcher Euripides (*ὁ ρακιοσυρραπτάδης*), is made to employ *ράκώματα* in the same position, the end of the line, and with the same tragic swagger. He had used in succession first the poetic *λακίδας πέπλων* (423), then *πεπλώματα*, and now *ράκώματα*. *ράκώματα*, the poetic form of the homely word *rags* (*ράκη* 433, 438, *ράκια* 412, 415) has the appearance of being a comic coinage, the tragic ending being added for the sake of bombast. It occurs nowhere else in the literature.

The sphere of use of forms in *-ευμα* derived from verbs in *-εύω* and *-εύομαι* may be defined with more exactness. Their great frequency in Euripides and rarity in Herodotus, Thucydides, and the orators are the striking facts about them. This becomes evident if one leaves out of account *βούλευμα*, *κέλευ(σ)μα*, *στράτευμα*, and *τόξευμα*, which are common in both poetry and prose, *ἐπιτήδευμα* and *πολίτευμα*, which are common in prose, and the familiar words *πνεῦμα* (*πνέω*), *ρέυμα* (*ρέω*), *χεῦμα* (*χέω*). Then it appears that Aeschylus has 12 forms in *-ευμα*, Sophocles 9, and Euripides 38, while on the other hand Herodotus has no example, Thucydides uses only *ικέτευμα*, *νεῦμα*, and *σκύλευμα*, and of the orators only three have examples: Isocrates and the pseudo-Demosthenes use *παίδευμα*, Aeschines *ἀλαζόνευμα*, and Demosthenes *πονήρευμα*. Formations of this kind that had such a large and varied use in tragedy,<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes felt free to take up

<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus has 34, Sophocles 21, and Euripides 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nauck, *Trag. graec. frag<sup>2</sup>*, p. 443 and adesp. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *θαλάμευμα* (=θάλαμος) Eur. Bacch. 120, lyric passage; *λάτρειμα* (=λάτρις) Tro. 1106, lyr. pas.; *πύρθμευμα* (=πυρθμός) Aesch. Ag. 1558, lyr. pas.; *γαμήλευμα* (=γάμος) Cho. 625, lyr. pas.; *κῆβευμα* (=κηδεστή) Soph. O. T. 85, Eur. Or. 477; *πρέσβευμα* (=πρεσβευτής) Eur. Suppl. 173; *κινδόνευμα* (=κίνδυνος) Soph. Ant. 42, O. C. 564, Eur. I. T. 1001; *τύμφευμα* (=τύμφη) Eur. Tro. 420; *ἀγγευμα* (=ἀγγελία) Tro. 501; *τύμβευμα* (=τύμβος) Soph. Ant. 1220; *σκόπευμα* (=σκόψ) Aesch. fr. 79; *θεράπευμα* (=θεραπεία) Phoen. 1549, lyr. pas.; *ἡγεμόνευμα* (=ἡγεμών) Phoen. 1492, lyr. pas.; *τύρευμα* (=τυρός) El. 496, Cycl. 162.

and employ for his own purposes. He has 16 forms in -εμμα, some of them drawn from Euripides. *ἵππευμα*<sup>1</sup> Th. 1066 comes from the beginning of the prologue of Euripides' *Andromeda*. It is probable that *δίνευμα* too in Th. 122 is taken from Euripides, for an ancient commentator on *κρούματα* 'Ασιάδος (120) reports that Aristophanes is here parodying the *Erechtheus* of Euripides, and the parody in all probability extends down to the words *δινεύματα*<sup>2</sup> *Χαρίτων* at the end of the sentence, cf. Nauck, Eur. fr. 370. There are, besides, other passages, e. g. vss. 110, 120, in Agathon's lyric dialogue that remind one of Euripides. A similar expression, *Χαρίτων κηπέματα* Av. 1100, may likewise have been drawn from some poetic source, compare Pindar's *Χαρίτων κάπον* (O. 9, 40) and Stesichorus' words *Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων* quoted by Aristophanes in Pac. 798. *σμίλευμα*<sup>3</sup> found in Ran. 819 only is a direct reference to the poetry of Euripides, and, just as the long compounds *ἵππολόφων*, *κορυθαίολα*, *φρενοτέκτονος*, and *ἵπποβάμονα* (818-21) imitate the grandiose style of Aeschylus, so it is fair to assume that *σμιλεύματα* is meant to be an imitation of Euripidean phraseology. *χόρευμα* Av. 746 is a word of which Euripides<sup>4</sup> was fond, cf. Phoen. 655, H. F. 891, Bacch. 132, Ion 1474, El. 875, all lyric passages. On the other hand, *χορεία* occurs only once in Euripides, namely Phoen. 1265—the only place in tragedy, according to the Thesaurus—and here it is in iambic trimeter. Aristophanes' word is *χορεία*, even in choral passages, cf. Th. 956, 968, 980, 982, Ran. 336, 398, 1303. That there is parody in Av. 746 is most likely, since parodies both precede and follow, cf. Rossbach u. Westphal, Griech. Metrik<sup>5</sup> 2, 402, Nauck, Phryn. fr. 19, p. 725, and v. d. Sande Bakhuyzen, De Parod. p. 82.

There is something of tragic bombast in the long trailing words *βωμολοχεύματα*, *ἀλαζονεύματα*, *τερατεύματα*, and *κοβαλικεύ-*

<sup>1</sup> A distinctly Euripidean word, cf. I. T. 1428, fr. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *δινεύω* in Eur. Phoen. 792. Here as always in Euripides the poetic *δινεύω* is in a lyric passage. Of the noun *δίνη* he is extremely fond. *δινεύματα* is Bentley's generally accepted conjecture, supported by the scholiast's explanation *ἄρχήματα*, for *διανεύματα* of the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *σμιλεύματα ἔργων*—*ἔσμιλευμένα* (*σμιλευτά*) *ἔργα*. *σμίλευμα* is quoted from this passage by Poll. 7, 83.

<sup>4</sup> It is found first in Pratin. 1, 1.

ματα, none of them high, dignified, or serious words in meaning. They are all used in the plural by Aristophanes. The last occurs in Eq. 332 preceded by πανουργία and θράσσει. To these words κοβαλεία (Dinarchus) would have corresponded in form; but, if a less abstract word with the meaning 'knavish deeds' had been desired, then κόβαλα (Eq. 417) or κόβαλα έργα (Pherecr. 162) would have answered the purpose. The comic poet, however, preferred κοβαλικεύματα, a good verse-close, a word of imposing sound and length and formed with the suffix -μα, familiar in tragedy, to give it additional pretentiousness. βωμολόχενμα (Eq. 902, Pac. 748, cf. Eq. 1194), τεράτενμα (Lys. 762, cf. Nub. 318), and ἀλαζόνενμα (Ach. 63, 87, cf. Eq. 290, 903) are less common in the literature than the formations in -ια from these same stems,<sup>1</sup> and, in general, more derivatives in -ια than in -μα are formed from the verbs in -εύω and -εύομαι of this class that denote the possession of some quality. It would be difficult to show the influence of Euripides upon the comic poet in the use of these four words or to give any evidence that Aristophanes even had him in mind when he used them. For, after all, nouns in -μα were not new—witness the three score and more of them in Homer, nearly as many in Pindar, and the goodly number found in inscriptions of the seventh, sixth, and following centuries—and, besides, they were perfectly natural and easily made formations. It must be remembered too that most verbs in -εύω are of late origin, and that derivatives in -μα from these verbs would in consequence be slower to emerge. Yet the remarkable thing about Euripides' usage is that he employed substantives in -μα in a variety of meanings and in very great numbers, thus anticipating the development of the Greek language in a later age, as seen in the Koine; that he apparently created new words in -μα (Schirlitz implies that there were as many as 80 of these); that his free use of forms in -ενμα stands in striking contrast to their paucity in Herodotus, Thucydides, and the orators; and that the ratio

<sup>1</sup> A comparison of βωμολοχεύματα Eq. 902 with ἀλαζονεῖαι 903 and θωπειῖαι 890 shows that in the plural at least the forms in -μα and those in -ια have the same meaning, since "pluralizing abstract nouns makes them concrete", Gildersleeve, Syntax, § 44. cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Griech. Gram.* I, p. 16 f. Of the two sets of derivatives those in -μα are by nature nearer to concrete nouns than those in -ια.

of the number of nouns in -εσμα in Euripides to the number of verbs in -εύω and -εύομαι that he employs is very much greater than this ratio is in other Greek authors. The most that can be said, however, about the word βωμολόχεσμα and the rest is that they are extended forms made after the Euripidean fashion, for Aristophanes himself acknowledged the influence of Euripides when he confessed that he borrowed the tragic poet's terseness or condensation of speech;<sup>1</sup> but whether in the present instance this imitation was intentional or not is open to question.

χόρδεσμα, ζώμεσμα, and διεντέρεσμα, are plainly comic coinages. Aristophanes made up the form χόρδεσμα in Eq. 315 (cf. fr. 591) in place of χορδή (Ach. 1040, 1119, Nub. 455, fr. 461), partly no doubt for the purpose of getting a word that would more nearly correspond in form with κάττυμα ('shoe-sole'—'rissole'). In like manner he formed ζωμέσματα in Eq. 279 as a substitute for ζωμός—a word that is prominent in the thought and conversation of the Sausage-seller, cf. 357, 1174, 1178—in order that it might more closely resemble ζώματα, i. e., ὑποζώματα, for which it was used παρά προσδοκίαν. Another word denoting a kind of food that was extended through the addition of the same ending is νωγαλέσματα (= νώγαλα) in Araros 8, cf. λίχνεσμα Sophron fr. 24 (Kaibel), σιναμωρέσματα Pherecr. 230, βομβυλεύματα adesp. 960, and καρύκεσμα. Again, the suffix is used in the comic formation διεντέρεσμα Nub. 166 (cf. έντερεύω) 'gutology', 'penetrative insight into the έντερον of the gnat'.

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<sup>1</sup> τὸ στρογγύλον, Ag. fr. 471, cf. schol. Plat. Apol. 19c: 'Ἀριστοφάνης κωμῳδεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκάπτειν μὲν Ἐδριπίδην, μμείσθαι δ' αὐτόν.

## VI.—CONSTRUCTION OF COORDINATED WORDS IN THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES.<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION.

In the Philippine languages, while many groups of coordinated words are connected by a conjunction meaning 'and', that is, have a simple copulative construction, there are a number of constructions denoting the sum or coordination of two things that have in common the peculiarity that a word is first used indicating either the whole combination, or more than the whole combination, and this is then limited by a word denoting one of the members of the combination. For example, the expression 'John and his father' is expressed in Tagalog by *magama ni Juan*, *magama* being a noun meaning 'father and son', *ni Juan* meaning 'of John', literally 'father and son combination of John'.

Such constructions as this occur in many of the Philippine languages, probably originally in all. They may be divided into two classes, viz., (a) subtractive, those in which the first element denotes more than the whole; (b) explicative, those in which the first element denotes the whole combination.

The subtractive combinations may be exemplified in several Indo-European languages, e. g. German *anderthalb*, *dritthalb*; Latin *undeviginti*, *duodeviginti*; but so far as I know there is no correspondent to the explicative combinations in either Indo-European or Semitic.

Coordinated words in Philippine languages, therefore, have three types of construction. These will be considered in the following order, viz., subtractive, explicative, and copulative.

### SUBTRACTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

The subtractive combinations are found chiefly in the numerals and in various measures. In expressing the numbers inter-

<sup>1</sup> The languages discussed will be abbreviated as follows, viz.: Bik. = Bikol; Bon. = Bontok Igorot; Ceb. = Cebuano (Bisayan); Hil. = Hiliguayna (Bisayan); Iban. = Ibanag; Ilok. = Iloko; Nab. = Nabalo Igorot; Pamp. = Pampanga; Pang. = Pangasinan; Sam.-Ley. = Samaro-Leytean (Bisayan); Tag. = Tagalog.



mediate between the tens, twenty-one, thirty-two, etc., a word derived from the ordinal of the next higher 'ten' is placed first; this is followed by the unit, the two being connected in various ways, usually by a ligature or genitive sign.

The meaning of these combinations seems to be, the thirtieth, fortieth, etc., one, two, etc.: the thirty, forty, etc., with respect to the one, two, etc., of the decade. The prefixes used in forming the ordinal derivatives are, Tag. *mayka*, Hil. *hingã* (<*hinka*), Pamp. *meke*, Pang. *mika*, Ilok. *kanika*, Iban. *minika*, Nab. *ka*. The word for 'ten' in these derivatives is omitted in Tagalog, Pampanga, and Nabaloi.

The connectives that join these formations to the units are in Tagalog and Pampanga the ligature (but only after vowels, after a consonant it is omitted, the two elements being simply juxtaposed); in Iloko an element *t*, probably to be considered a ligature, or the conjunction *ket* 'and'; in Hiliguayna and Ibanag the sign of the indefinite accusative, which is similar in character to the ligature; in Pangasinan and Nabaloi the genitive of the definite article.

'Twenty-one' is expressed in the various languages as follows, viz.: Tag. *maykatlo-ng isa*; Hil. *hingãtloan sing usa*; Pamp. *mekatlo-n metong*; Pang. *mikatlo-n polo na sakey*; Ilok. *kanikatlo polo*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ket \\ t \end{array} \right\}$  *maisã*; Iban. *minikatallu fulu tu tadday*; Nab. *kaddo ne sachei*.<sup>1</sup>

Numerals made with the prefixes just given may be used as modifiers of nouns of measure or weight; they seem also to occur sometimes with other nouns,<sup>2</sup> e. g.:

Tag. *maykatlo-n kaban* 'more than two *kaban's* (going on to three)'

Maykalawa-ng *saikatlo-ng kaban* 'the second third of a *kaban* (*saikatlo-ng kaban* =  $\frac{2}{3}$  *kaban*) i. e. one and a third'

Maykalima-n *bata* 'the fifth boy, i. e. the fifth beginning of a man i. e. four men and a boy'

<sup>1</sup> For a more complete discussion of these peculiar forms of the intermediate numerals cf. my article, Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar, II The Numerals, JAOS. Vol. XXVIII, 1907, pp. 216-226.

<sup>2</sup> These statements certainly hold good for Tagalog, but, though no examples are available, they are doubtless true also with regard to the other languages.

The amount in excess is added in Tagalog after the noun of measure apparently without any connecting word or particle, e. g. *maykatlo-n kaban sangsalop* 'a *salop* more than a *kaban*'.

#### EXPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

There are four kinds of coordinate constructions in which we find explicative combinations, viz.:

(a) Common noun + one or more common nouns, e. g. 'the man and the woman'.

(b) Common noun of relationship and personal noun (i. e. name of a person), e. g. 'John and his father'.

(c) Personal noun + one or more personal or common nouns, e. g. 'John and James', 'John and the gardener'.

(d) Personal pronoun + personal pronoun, or noun common or personal, e. g. 'he and I', 'he and John', 'he and the gardener'.

#### (a)

In the first kind of constructions the various elements are joined in most of the languages by the conjunction 'and', and the constructions present nothing of a peculiar character. In Pampanga, however, a construction of real explicative type is found; the first noun is followed by the pronoun of the third person plural, and this by the genitive of the second noun, e. g.:

*ing pusa ila ning aso* 'the cat and dog'.

*ing pusa ila ding aso* 'the cat and the dogs'.

Calling the first element of these combinations *a* and the second *b*, their literal meaning may be expressed by the formula 'the *a*-they of *b*' or '*b*'s *a*-they'.

In Ibanag the regular construction apparently wavers between a simple copulative and an explicative construction; the first noun, in the singular unless the plural of the first word is meant, is followed by the second and third noun, and so on, each preceded by a combination = 'and', which consists of the ligature *a* or *n̄ga* + the genitive *na* of the definite article, e. g.:

*im mapia* { *an nam*  
*n̄gan-nam* } *marakay* 'the good and the bad'.

*ik kabakabayo n̄gan-nan nunuang an-nal lamalaman* 'the horses, the carabaos and the pigs'.

## (b)

The nouns of relationship are formed with various prefixes in the different languages, and indicate in all cases a combination of two relatives having the relation indicated by the root; the prefixes are, Tag., Bis., Bik. *mag* (Sam.-Ley. also *magka*), Pamp. *mi*, Pang. *san*, Bon. *sin*, Iban. *mat* (< *mas*). When one of the two persons included in such a relationship is named, as for example in 'John and his father', the noun of relationship is used for the other one, combined in various ways with the proper name.

In Tagalog the personal name stands in the genitive after *mag* combined with the noun indicating the other party to the relationship, e. g. *mag-ama ni Juan* 'John and his father', literally 'father-and-son-combination of John'.

In Hiliguayna and Ibanag the personal name stands first with the inclusive article, and the derivative, formed in Hiliguayna as in Tagalog, or based in Ibanag on the noun denoting the position of the personal noun in the relationship, is joined to it by the ligature, e. g. Hil. *sa Juan nga maganak* 'Juan and his sons', Iban. *da Santa Muria nga masina* 'St. Mary and her son'.

A somewhat similar construction appears in Samaro-Leytean, where the personal noun with inclusive article stands last, being preceded by the derivative formed as in Ibanag; no ligature, however, is used, e. g. *magkaamay sira Ignacio* 'Ignacio and his sons'.

In Pampanga the personal noun stands first without article followed by the pronoun of the third person plural + ligature + derivative formed as in Tagalog, e. g. *Martin ila-ng miindo* 'Martin and his mother'. When there are three in the combination as in the case of brothers, the inclusive article is prefixed, e. g. *di Pedro ila-ng mikapatad* 'Pedro and his brothers'.

## (c)

In those phrases where a personal noun is joined to another noun, several types of construction present themselves.

In Tagalog the first noun takes the inclusive article and is followed by the second in the genitive, e. g. *sina Adan ni Eva* 'Adam and Eve', i. e. the combination of Adam and another person formed by Eve, Eve's Adam-combination.

In Pampanga two personal nouns stand without article connected by the pronoun of the third person plural *ila* + ligature, e. g. *Pedro ila-n Pablo* 'Pedro and Pablo', literally 'Pablo's Pedro-they'.

In Ibanag a construction similar to the Tagalog is employed, the genitive of a personal noun, however, being preceded by a connective particle *a*, after which the initial consonant of the genitive particle is doubled, e. g. *da Pedro a-nni Pablo* 'Peter and Paul'; when the second noun is common the construction is either the same, or the genitive is preceded by *a-dda*, a combination of particle *a* with *da* inclusive article or pronoun of the third person plural, e. g. *da Francisco a-nnak katuganṅak ku* or *da Francisco a-dda nak katuganṅak ku* 'Francisco and my fathers-in-law'.

In Iloko the first noun with inclusive article is followed by a second personal noun in the oblique, e. g. *da Juan ken Pedro* 'Juan and Pedro'; when the second element is a common noun it stands in the oblique after *ken*, e. g. *da Antonio ken iti cochero* 'Antonio and the coachman'.

In Bontok Igorot both personal and common nouns may be coordinated in the same way, e. g. *tja Agpaowan ken Tongay* 'Agpaowan and Tongay'; *tja ama ken ina* 'the father and the mother'.

When there are more than two in the combination, additional personal nouns stand in Ibanag and Iloko between the first and second members of the constructions just described, preceded in Ibanag by *a-dda*, in Iloko by *ka-da*, e. g. Iban. *da Pedro a-dda Pablo a-dda Juan a-nni José* 'Pedro and Pablo and Juan and José', *da Pedro a-dda Juan a-dda Antonio a-nna atawa ni José* 'Pedro, Juan, Antonio and the wife of José'; Ilok. *da Pedro ka-da Pablo ka-da Antonio ken José* 'Pedro, Paul, Antonio, and José', *da Antonio ka-da Diego ka-da Maria ken dagiti sakristan* 'Antonio, Diego, Maria, and the sacristans'.

In Bontok additional personal nouns are preceded by *ken* like the last, or the nouns after the first two are added by means of the copulative conjunction, e. g.: *tja Bomegda ken Kodsoo ken Foteng* or *tja Bomegda ken Kodsoo ya si Foteng* 'B, K, and F'. In the last example we have an instance of mixed explicative and copulative construction.

## (d)

In all copulative combinations containing a pronoun, the first element is the plural of the pronoun of the highest person contained in the combination, the second being higher than the third, and the first higher than the second; the second element is connected with the first in various ways.

In Tagalog it stands in the genitive, e. g. *kami ni Andres* 'Andres and I', *sila nang maestro* 'he and his master', *kami niya* 'he and I'; these combinations mean 'so and so's we, you, they' i. e. the we, you, they of which he is a part.

In Bisayan the construction of the second element of the combination varies according to dialect. In some parts of the Cebuan territory a personal noun stands in the genitive, elsewhere in the oblique; in Hiliguayna it usually stands in the nominative, either with or without connective *kag* 'and', though it may also stand in the genitive; in Samaro-Leytean it stands in the nominative preceded by the particle *nġan*, e. g. Ceb. *kami ni Juan*, *kami kan Juan*; Hil. *kami si Juan*, *kami kag si Juan*, *kami ni Juan*; Sam.-Ley. *si kami nġan si Juan* 'Juan and I'. In Samaro-Leytean a common noun stands after *nġan* in the genitive, e. g. *si kami nġan san panday* 'the carpenter and I'.

In Bikol a personal noun, without article, is connected with the preceding pronoun by the particle *asi* or *kasi*, e. g. *kami asi Antonio* 'Antonio and I', *kamo asi Juan* 'thou and Juan'.

In Pampanga a personal noun or noun of relationship stands without article and is usually connected with the pronoun by the ligature; a common noun usually stands in the genitive, e. g. *ike-n Pedro* 'Pedro and I', *iko-n Juan* 'thou and Juan', *ike-ng miibpa* 'my father and I', *iko-ng miasawa* 'thou and thy husband (wife)', *ike ning asawa ko* 'I and my husband (wife)', *iko ning damulag mo* 'thou and thy carabao'. Apparently a personal noun may also stand in the genitive, and a common noun after the ligature, e. g. *ikami nan Pedro* 'Pedro and I', *iko-ng kerakaldakal yo* 'you and your ———'. The phrase *ikaminat y Pedro* 'we and Pedro' may be analysed as *ikami nan at i Pedro*, or *ikami-n at i Pedro*, *nan* being genitive sign, *n* ligature, *at* = and.

In Iloko a personal noun as second element stands in the

oblique; when there is more than one personal noun, all except the last stand after *ka-da*, e. g.:

dakay ken Juan 'thou and Juan'.

dakami ken Andres 'Andres and I'.

isuda ken Antonio 'he and Antonio'.

balay-mi<sup>1</sup> ken Juan 'house of Juan and me'.

aso-da<sup>1</sup> ken uliteg-na 'dog belonging to him and his uncle'.

isuda ka-da Pedro ka-da Maria ka-da Juan ken Diego 'he, Pedro, Maria, Juan, and Diego'.

When the leading pronoun of the combination is plural, the construction in some of the languages is the same as when the pronoun is singular; so in Iloko, e. g. *dakami ken Andres* 'we and Andres' as well as 'Andres and I'. In Tagalog in such a case a following personal noun takes the inclusive article, a following pronoun stands in the plural; in these constructions, however, the leading pronoun may be considered singular, and the plural genitive have its natural meaning, e. g.:

Kayo nina Juan	{	'thou + Juan and those with him'. 'you + Juan'. 'you + Juan and those with him'.
Kayo nila	{	'thou + they'. 'you + he'. 'you + they'.

Apparently the construction is the same no matter what the case of the leading pronoun, e. g. Sam.-Ley. *namon n̄gan san panday* 'of the carpenter and me', *niyo n̄gan si José* 'of thee and José'; Ilok. *balay-mi ken Juan* 'house of Juan and me', *aso-da ken uliteg-na* 'dog of him and his uncle'.

#### COPULATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

Copulative constructions are the rule when common nouns are coordinated, except in Pampanga and Ibanag, and are apparently permissible in most of the languages in the case of any coordinated words, e. g.:

Tag. ang lalaki at ang babayi 'the man and the woman',  
si Pedro at si Pablo 'Peter and Paul'.

Ceb. si Juan ug ako 'Juan and I'.

<sup>1</sup> The particles *-mi* and *-da* are the genitives of the pronouns of first and third persons plural.

Hil. kami kag si Juan 'we and Juan'.

Sam.-Ley. si kamo n̄gan si José 'you and José'.

Bik. si Simeon asin si Ana 'Simeon and Anna'.

Ilok. ni Simeon ken ni Ana 'Simeon and Anna'.

Nab. sikak tan sikam 'I and thou'.

Bon. si ama ya si ina 'father and mother'.

It is a remarkable fact, however, that the regular word for 'and' in many of the languages is apparently derived from pronominal elements similar in character to the ligatures which stand in many cases between the elements of explicative combinations. In Bontok *ya* is identical with the particle *ya* which is used to connect subject and predicate. In Ibanag the regular word for 'and' is *anna*, i. e. ligature *a* + genitive sign *na* with doubled initial. Cebuan *ug* is the same particle which is used to connect an indefinite accusative to the verb; Pangasinan *et* is apparently identical with Ibanag *tu*, which has a similar use. Tagalog *at* and Bikol *asin* are apparently combinations of ligature *a* + *t* (identical with Pang. *et* Iban *tu*) and *sin* (apparently the same as Hiliguayna indefinite accusative sign *sing*) respectively: Bikol *asin* is apparently almost identical with the particle *asi*, used in explicative combinations.

In Hiliguayna *kag*, Iloko *ken*, *ket* we have apparently combinations of a particle *ka* 'to, in addition to', which is very frequently used to form the oblique case of pronouns, with ligatures or indefinite accusative signs, viz., *kag* = *ka* + *ug*, *ken* = *ka* + *i* + *n*, *ket* = *ka* + *i* + *t*.

#### CONCLUSION.

The material for the study of the constructions of coordinated words in the various Philippine grammars is of a very meagre character. In some of the languages practically no examples are available, and in none is the information given sufficient to clear up all the points of interest involved. The following, however, would seem to be fairly well established.

The Philippine languages originally had two ways of coordinating words, one, the subtractive construction, the other, the explicative construction. The first was used in the case of numerals and enumerated objects; the second in all other cases. Out of the explicative construction the simple copulative construction was developed through the assumption of the mean-

ing 'and' on the part of the connecting particles of the explicative construction. This copulative construction has almost completely supplanted the explicative construction in the case of common nouns, and is rapidly replacing the subtractive constructions of the numerals and the explicative constructions of personal nouns and pronouns.

The collection of a large number of examples of all these constructions by those who are in contact with the languages themselves or with texts in the native languages, is much to be desired. Care should be taken to find the equivalent of all possible combinations of common nouns, personal nouns and pronouns in all cases and all numbers, and with two, three or more coordinated elements.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

ADOLF TRENDELENBURG. Pausanias in Olympia. Pp. 5-104.  
Mit einem Plane von Olympia. Berlin: Weidmann, 1914.

This little book is dedicated to Wilhelm Dörpfeld on his birthday, December 26, 1913, as a token of esteem and indebtedness. It is the first instalment of a series promised by Trendelenburg to exemplify the views he set forth in his Pausanias' Hellenika (Berlin, Weidmann, 1911). This title, suggested by Paus. I. 26, 4, was adopted not as authentic but as better adapted to suggest the purpose of Pausanias, who should be regarded only secondarily as a periegete, as his primary aim was to entertain his readers. This seems more reasonable than Robert's idea that the monuments of Greece only served Pausanias as opportunities to exercise his literary skill. Professor David M. Robinson in his review of Robert's valuable book, A. J. P. XXXI, p. 213, while conceding the belletristic interests of Pausanias, remarks (p. 214) that after all Pausanias is a kind of a guide to the modern excavator and archaeologist. How much more must he have served the ancient traveler with the monuments *in situ*! Trendelenburg, who has written a number of articles on Pausanias, states his growing conviction that P. saw what he describes, hence the importance of a careful philological interpretation of his text, which has suffered less from interpolations than from slight gaps. He recognizes his author's faults and limitations; but even ordinary ability is sufficient for describing what is situated to the right or left, in front, behind, between, etc. Pausanias' value has been obscured by the reckless assumption of periegetical sources, whereas we should hold firmly to the primary fact that he saw what he described. T. presents a number of individual observations; but also views that are now generally held or at least shared by others. Controversial matter is avoided by a general reference to the commentaries of Hitzig-Bluemner and Frazer, and the result is clearness of outline, making the little book an excellent introduction to the study of Olympia and its monuments. Besides the preface and concluding remarks, the work contains twelve chapters, all brief excepting the last one on the temple and statue of Zeus, to which he devotes thirty pages.

Chapter I. Weg nach Olympia. T. defends the conjecture τῆς Νέδας (v. 5, 3), and proposes *ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς <Νέδας τῆς>*

'*Ἡλείας χωρίον ἐστὶν κτλ.* Hitzig-Bluemner retain the received text thinking that Pausanias' progress at this point is not continuous because of his use of a Periplus, and point to the break between books VII and VIII. T. argues that inasmuch as P. had reached the territory of Sicyon, a part of the Argolis at the river Sythas (VII, 27, 12), the continuity is established by '*Ἀρκάδων δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἀργείας Τεγεαῖται τε ἔχουσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς κτλ.* (VIII, 1, 1), but this is too general; besides, the journey, as usual, begins after the historical introduction (VIII, 6, 4), at a point considerably to the south of the river Sythas. At the same time the transition from book VII to book VIII lends no support to the theory that a Periplus determined the description of his entrance into Elis, for Pausanias was clearly systematic in his accounts of his Peloponnesian journeys. In book II Argos is taken as a pivotal point from which we are conducted along a road that leads to Tegea as far as the ruins of Hysiae, where a polyandron marks the site of a famous battle (II 24, 5-7); then along two roads that lead to Mantinea (II 25, 1-6). After these trips, which are going to serve for future reference, we set out from Argos again on the Epidaurus-Troezene circuit (II 25, 7), after which, at the end of book II (38, 6/7), we are brought again to the polyandron on the Tegean road, and are now taken to Lacedaemon and successively to the rest of the Peloponnesian coast states. When the circuit around Arcadia ends at the river Sythas and the territory of Sicyon, instead of entering Arcadia at this point, our author (VIII, 6, 4) again calls attention to Hysiae on the Tegean road and then takes up the Mantinean roads where he had left them in II 25, 6, and makes his circuit through Arcadia in an opposite direction. The last sentence in his account of the second Mantinean road (II 25, 6) *τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνείων ἢ τε Σικωνία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστὶν* seems to anticipate this transition from the river Sythas reached in VII 27, 12. The Arcadian circuit ends VIII 54, 7 *ὑπερβαλόντι δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργουμένοις Τεγεατῶν ὄρος καὶ Ἀργείων κατὰ Ὑσιάς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι.* In a similar manner the connection between books VIII and IX had been prepared in book I 38, 8/9 (cf. 39, 1), and in taking up the thread started there he locates first of all the ruins of *Hysiae* in the territory of Plataea (IX 2, 1).

II. Grenzen Olympias und der Altis. The Altis was only a part of the *ζάθειον ἄλσος* (Pindar Ol. XI 45 ff.), the western limit lying beyond the Cladeus, which Xenophon proves (Hell. VII 4, 28-32), who says *οἱ γὰρ Ἡλείοι σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις παρήσαν ἤδη εἰς τὸ τέμενος*, although they were encamped on the western bank of the Cladeus. Their seemingly unobstructed entrance into the Altis is cited as proof that there was no enclosing wall at that time (364 B. C.), although T. believes that there must have been

some slight visible enclosure; but they could easily have surmounted the low Hellenic wall, if it existed at that time.

III. Anordnung der Beschreibung. This chapter gives a useful table of the contents of Pausanias' account of Olympia, with comments on his literary interests and fondness for excursions in imitation of Herodotus, and on the awkwardness occasioned by the ancient lack of foot-notes.

IV. Die Reihe der groszen Kultanlagen. As the description of the temple of Zeus, the Pelopium, the Great Altar and the Heraeum follow in regular order, we should expect the Great Altar to be situated between the Pelopium and the Heraeum, a location for which Puchstein has contended. For a long time Pausanias' use of the terms *περίοδος* and *περίμετρος* was held to favor the identification of the oval foundations east of the Pelopium as the site of the Great Altar; accordingly the abundant remains of a great altar between the Pelopium and Heraeum were supposed to belong to an altar of Hera, possibly in conjunction with Zeus. But the worship of Hera could never have been so important, and now that Dörpfeld proved in 1908 that the oval foundations belonged to two prehistoric houses, it only remains for us to interpret the language of Pausanias (V, 13, 8): *ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμὸς ἴσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπέχων, προκείμενος μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων*. In accordance with this passage T. describes the Great Altar as narrow, leaving passageways next to these two buildings and projecting beyond them on the west with its inclined approach; hence *προκείμενος* expresses Pausanias' point of view at the western end of the Great Altar, where we should expect to find him after leaving the southwest entrance to the Pelopium. Xenophon used *προκείμενος* in a similar way. Anab. VI, 4, 3.

V. Die übrigen Bauwerke, Stirn und Rückseite der Altis. It is important to recognize the casual way in which Pausanias mentions monuments that lie outside of a circumscribed locality. The row of treasury houses at Olympia are taken in order, not so in Delphi, where they lie scattered; the Hippodamion is described as he passes it on his way to the Stadium; the Prytaneum is casually mentioned in connection with the altar-giro, the Bouleuterion, when he passes there in his enumeration of the Zeus statues. After completing his account of the Heraeum, he describes the house of Oenomaus (V 20, 6), where the text should read *Ἦν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου <οἰκίαν> οἱ Ἡλείοι, ἔστι μὲν <ἐν ἀριστερᾷ> πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ· τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσὶν [ἐν ἀριστερᾷ] κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος*. Hence it was situated east of the Pelopium not far from the Great Altar. The Metroon, now containing statues of Roman emperors, and the Philippeum are then briefly mentioned. The latter is situated in a relatively obscure part of the Altis, for we

must recognize that locations east of the great temples were far more desirable than those west of them. However, south of the steps leading to the terrace of the treasury houses, considerable space was kept vacant for contests, which could be viewed from the various porticoes, and especially from those steps. They constituted the *θέατρον* that Xenophon mentions (Hell. VII 4, 28-32), which extended, as stated there, to the sanctuary of Hestia, i. e. the Prytaneum. It has been customary to identify this *θέατρον* with the Stadium.

VI. Der Altarrundgang. T. gives a comparatively simple outline of this much debated and criticized excursus, without assuming heterogeneous sources. The procession started with a sacrifice at the altar of Hestia in the Prytaneum, where the sacrificial cakes could be conveniently prepared in the kitchen, then proceeded straight to the temple of Zeus, near which the succeeding altars were situated, the altar of Athena being the seventh. Other localities mentioned are the house of Oenomaus, the entrance to the Stadium, the treasury of the Sicyonians, the Gaeum and Stomion, the two latter being somewhere near the southwest foot of the hill of Cronus. Later, on leaving the Hippodrome the procession returned along the south side of the Altis enclosure and reentered the Processional Gate a second time (V, 15, 7) making the last sacrifice to Pan in the Prytaneum where they had started. The reference of *μεταξύ δὲ αὐτῶν* (V, 14, 10) clears up if we eliminate, what we would add as a foot-note, and read: *ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ . . . . πρὸς δὲ τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος Διονύσου μὲν καὶ Χαρίτων ἐν κοινῷ, μεταξύ δὲ αὐτῶν κτλ.* In V, 15, 3, T. adopts Hitzig's *πέραν*, but also retains *περᾶν* as the word of motion required. A few remarks of criticism on Weniger's article (Klio IX 291) are added.

VII. Das Prozessionstor. Near the Leonidaeum was the only *πομπικὴ ἔσοδος* (V, 15, 2); but VI, 20, 7 we read *ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτῆως κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν ἔσοδον <τὸ> Ἴπποδάμειον καλούμενον*, although this was situated near the entrance to the Stadium, according to V, 22, 1 ff. Hence T. proposes (VI, 20, 7) *τὴν πομπικὴν <ἐξ>οδον*, as being an appellation also used for the *κρυπτὴ ἔσοδος*; because the procession of officials and athletes passed through it in marching out of the Altis into the Stadium. The northwest gate is regularly called an *ἐξοδος* (V, 15, 8; 20, 10).

VIII. Die Weihgeschenke. Two points are emphasized here: the topographical arrangement, intended to meet the needs of travelers, and the fact that no votive statue was placed in the rear of the great temples. The Zeus facing west must have stood near the south wall.

IX. Die Standbilder. The study of this chapter may be profitably combined with that of W. W. Hyde's article, The Position of Victor Statues at Olympia (A. J. A. XVI, p.

203 ff.), whose results give greater definiteness to the locations of statues, include statues not mentioned by Pausanias, and modify some of T.'s statements. Both agree in the main as to the circuit formed by the two ἔφοδοι beginning and ending near the Heraeum, the second one setting out from the Leonidaeum and passing north behind the temple of Zeus. Pausanias tells us that he made use of the lists of Olympic victors (VI, 2, 3; 4, 2; 13, 10); but that he derived from them the directions: near, behind, in front, etc., can not be proved, and is improbable. Furthermore, the genuineness of Pausanias' account is proved by his use of inscriptions, from which he derived his information about the victor's family, country, etc. T. tries to explain the meaning of ἐν δεξιᾷ (VI, 1, 3) by assuming that Pausanias was standing at the S. E. corner of the Heraeum, the entrance to the building after the front had been virtually closed, hence he points to the east of the Heraeum. Hyde, however, (l. c. p. 207) shows from Pausanias' usage that ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας is to be understood of the temple 'pro persona', i. e. south of the temple. T. notes that the grouping of the statues in pairs in the second ἔφοδος (sixteen out of twenty) indicates that they stood on opposite sides of the street.

X. Die Schatzhäuser und das Heraeum. T. presents a pleasing picture of these dainty buildings standing, like spectators in a theatre, on the terrace above the Altis, whence they viewed with their brightly colored fronts the festive gathering below. By contrast we are made to see how matter-of-fact Pausanias was; however, his well-defined account is skillfully introduced to serve as a transition to the monuments situated outside of the Altis; moreover, the text requiring only a few simple emendations, affords an instructive insight into his method. T. introduces his account of the Heraeum here, as it was also used like the θησαυροί (not 'safes') as a repository for works of art; this was also done with the Heraeum at Samos (Strabo XIV, 1, 14). But, being the temple of the goddess Hera, we find that it received either statues of female divinities, or, excepting the standing figure of Zeus, such male divinities as Apollo and Dionysus, who symbolized the love of children for their mothers, and the Hermes nursing the infant Dionysus. T. translates τὰ μὲν δὴ κατελεγμένα ἐστὶν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ (V, 17, 3) 'Alle eben aufgezählten Werke', although the five Hesperides of cedarwood and Medon's Athena of cedar wood and gold (VI, 19, 8, 12) were included. His attempt to prove that all the archaic statues mentioned by P. were of gold and ivory seems forced, hence his objection to regard the colossal archaic head of Hera, which was found near the opisthodomus, as belonging to the cult statue, has little weight.

XI. Die Umgebung der Altis. Pausanias' description of his last ramble in Olympia is clear and well arranged. He starts

with the hill of Cronus, then on his way to the Stadium passes the Hippodamion, which occasions its description, after P.'s manner, as a supplement to the sanctuaries inside of the Altis. Arriving at the Hippodrome he gives an excellent word-picture of the starting-places of the horses. The sudden transition to the Gymnasium in the extreme northwest was natural under the circumstances, and intelligible to the ancient traveler. Here (p. 69) T. says 'über seine Lage (i. e. of the Gymnasium) zu sprechen *erübrigte sich*', he means 'war unnötig'. He interprets (VI, 21, 2) *τῆς στοᾶς δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον κτλ.* as the west portico of the Gymnasium *facing east*, which would support Wernicke's contention that it must have been the west stoa (cf. Hitzig-Bl.).

XII. Der Zeustempel. T. gives a climax to his book by reserving this long and interesting chapter to the last. Only a few points can be mentioned. P. obtained his information partly from guides, and partly drew his own inferences (*ἄρα, δῆ*): his account is a mixture of what he heard and guessed at; there is no sure indication that he used a literary source. A guide told him that Alcamenes had made the pediment figures, which he accepted for the western pediment; but he substituted Paonius for the eastern pediment from his mistaken interpretation of *τάκρωτήρια* in the inscription on the Nike pedestal. He cites as one of the proofs that Alcamenes belonged to the first half of the V century, the Hermes Propylaeus found at Pergamum; but see E. A. Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 258. The combat between the Lapiths and Centaurs is a mythological illustration of the superiority of trained over brute strength. Similarly the statue of Zeus with its accessories has its application to the honors conferred on the victors. Pausanias seems to say that the *ἐρύματα* were between the legs of the throne; but they would have been unnecessary here and ugly. This description is awkwardly placed. T. thinks the *ἐρύματα* were the barriers discovered by Dörpfeld (cf. *Jahrbuch XII* (1897) 25 ff.). The statue was probably not more than four times life size, although it seemed to be much larger; hence Pausanias, who was fond of imposing measurements, suppresses its dimensions. Strabo also omits them. T. argues for the priority of the Zeus statue over the Parthenos. The mixture of Doric and Athenian ideals: Heracles, Theseus, Amazons, etc., points to a period of good feeling, which did not exist after 438 B. C. The phrase *ὁ κολοσσὸς ὁ ἡμαρτημένος* in *Περὶ ὕψους* 36, 3, is to be taken in a generic sense and should not be applied to the Zeus of Phidias as Wilamowitz does. Friends of Pausanias will welcome further works of this kind from Trendelenburg.

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Poeti E Personaggi Catulliani. By CARLO PASCAL. Pp. vii + 224. L. 4. Catania: Francesco Battiato, 1916.

Pascal's book consists of a number of essays dealing in a general way with Catullus and his poems, and presenting in greatly amplified form some of the material to be found in the introductions of our editions, with the important exception that there are omissions which would not occur in an edition. For example, there is no discussion of Valerius Cato, mentioned in poem 56. As there is no important Italian edition of Catullus, Pascal's book will be especially serviceable to Italians. Yet it will be of use to others as well, not because of its novelties in interpretation or point of view, which are comparatively few in number, but because it presents the material in convenient form and generally passes sensible judgments on divergent theories. Still one can not help feeling occasionally that effort is wasted in discussing in detail, but without novelty, questions about which there is rather general agreement. The aim of the book, according to the preface, is to emphasize the historical importance of the poems in throwing a strong (if somewhat lurid) light on the life of the day, with its passions, its loves and its hates, and in so doing to furnish valuable aid for the study of the poet's art, which is not cold and academic, but is a "fervid emanation from the life which the poet lived".

The essays seem to have been written with little reference to a place in one book, for there are few cross-references, many repetitions and occasional slight inconsistencies. For example, on p. 105, n. 2, it is merely a probability that Aufilenus is a Veronese, but by the time that p. 163 (n. 1) is reached, it is no longer a matter of doubt. A list of the newer editions of Catullus given at the beginning includes Lachmann's of 1829 (together with Tibullus and Propertius, though these were separately published), but not Baehrens' or Schulze's revision of Baehrens. Schwabe's earlier edition is mentioned here, but in the addenda it is stated that only the later edition was used. Ellis' Oxford text edition is mentioned in the addenda only. Merrill's edition was not used.

The first essay appropriately deals with Calvus, Catullus' closest friend. Catullus' references to him and later references to both are quoted and discussed. In poem 53, Pascal goes back to Salmasius' unconvincing conjecture of *salopugium* for *salaputium*. There is a long discussion of the word *doctus*, so often applied to Calvus and Catullus. Pascal concludes that "in the salons of the elegant Roman ladies *doctrina* was not erudition, but amorous poetry and music and every other gay and graceful art", that hence poets of love like Catullus are *docti*. But this is more subtle than convincing. Miss Allen's recent note on

"Doctus Catullus" (Cl. Phil. 10. 222) is not cited. The epithets *exiguus* and *tenuis* applied to Calvus and Catullus by Ovid and Martial are taken by Pascal to refer to tenderness and delicateness of feeling. I should be inclined to consider them descriptive of the plain style of the poets. The rest of the essay deals with the fragments of Calvus' poems, beginning with his invective epigrams. The *putidum caput* of Calvus' attack on Tigellius Pascal takes in an erotic sense, rejecting my suggestion that the phrase has reference to style (Cl. Phil. 10. 270). From comparing Ov. Trist. ii. 427 ff. with Prop. ii. 34. 89-90, Pascal infers that Calvus confessed his affairs with other women in the lament for Quintilia. This inference is entirely unwarranted. Propertius' words are:

Haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,  
Cum caneret miseræ funera Quintiliae.

It is absolutely certain from the context that Propertius is emphasizing Calvus' devotion to Quintilia, that the merest hint at other affairs would spoil the passage. Ovid merely says that Calvus confesses his liaisons "variis modis", and says nothing of the elegy for Quintilia's death. There is then no shred of evidence in favor of Pascal's inference; Propertius' words are rather against it. Starting out in this way Pascal proceeds to other uncertain inferences and comes to the conclusion that Propertius' poem iv. 7, in which Cynthia's ghost appears, was modeled on Calvus' poem about Quintilia. The whole structure of Pascal's argument is very flimsy, but in its complete form it is rather alluring. On the whole, the chapter gives a good idea of the poetical activity of Calvus as far as it is known to us. But not a word is said about Calvus the famous orator, the leader of the Atticistic movement in oratory, a movement which influenced the poems of Catullus and Calvus himself and in which lay Calvus' chief claim to fame.

The second essay deals with the poet Cinna. Pascal accepts the identification of this poet with the Cinna who, according to Suetonius, met his death because a mob mistook him for Cornelius Cinna, one of the murderers of Caesar. The presence of Cinna and Catullus in the train of the praetor Memmius leads Pascal to suggest that Memmius took the two poets with him in order to have some one to sing of his hoped-for victories. His foresight in taking along two poets (the tribe is as uncertain as the weather) was commendable, but, alas, doomed to failure. He should have taken with him still another poet, or, better yet, left them all at home, for Catullus expressed his feelings about him rather freely on his return to Italy.

Pascal does not believe that Catullus' remark that Cinna's poem Zmyrna took nine years to complete was the inspiration



for Horace's advice to postpone publishing for nine years. He points to Horace's supposed unfriendly attitude toward Catullus. In both matters I disagree with him (see my article mentioned above). He even tries to show that the Horatian passage conveys an entirely different idea from that of Catullus. Throughout this portion of his book Pascal is extremely unconvincing. Poem 95 of Catullus he divides into two poems. (The unity of the poem is well defended by Robinson in *Cl. Phil.* 10. 449.) The Hortensius mentioned there is not to be identified with the Ortalus of poem 65, says Pascal, nor is it certain that this Hortensius is the orator. About the latter identification there can be no reasonable doubt, in my opinion. Pascal says that all we know for certain is that in the time of Catullus there lived an erotic poet, Hortensius, as we see from Pliny *Ep.* v. 3. 5. But as Pascal himself says elsewhere (p. 28), Pliny selects only the names of men more famous for some serious accomplishment than for their erotic trifles; Hortensius' name is with that of famous orators. Pascal's failure to see that the rhetorical theories about style affected poetry causes him needless worry; he can not see what Asiatic oratory has to do with 500,000 verses per year (*Cat.* 95. 1.). The answer is easy in my opinion; cf. *Cl. Phil.* 10. 270. Pascal accepts the view that Volusius is a nickname for Tanusius, mentioned by Seneca, but has difficulty in determining its origin. I should connect it with *volubilis*. But it is by no means certain that Volusius was Tanusius. How did Seneca know that the two were identical?

After discussing in detail the known and possible fragments of Cinna's *Zmyrna*, Pascal turns to the other fragments. He rightly assigns to the Propempticon Pollionis a verse cited by Isidore and the scholia to Lucan: *Lucida confulgent summi carchesia mali*. Nonius attributes a similar line to Catullus: *Lucida qua splendet carchesia mali*. Many scholars think that all three authors are quoting one and the same line and attribute it either to Catullus or to Cinna. But Pascal certainly seems right in distinguishing the two. It is likely enough on *a priori* grounds that Catullus and Cinna imitated each other. Pascal cites another case from Isidore, who attributes to Cinna the line: *Strophio lactantes cincta papillas*. Scholars have thought that Isidore wrote Cinna by mistake for Catullus in view of 64. 65: *Strophio lactantis vincata papillas*. There are probably other similar cases where scholars have wrongly rejected ancient testimony.

The short third essay deals with the poet Anser. The excuse for discussing him is that his name was introduced by conjecture into *Cat.* 68. 157. There is nothing whatever to warrant the conjecture and Pascal does not favor it. In fact he suggests that Anser may be one of the *pessimi poetae* mentioned by Catullus. Anser's relation to Virgil is also discussed. The

fourth essay treats of Caelius Rufus. Pascal arranges Catullus' poems about him in this order: 69, 77, 100, 58. The sixty-ninth, which explains Caelius' bad luck with the ladies, is said to be a joke and nothing more. It strikes one as a rather bitter joke. As regards poem 100, the view that Caelius broke with Clodia for Catullus' sake is hardly as novel as Pascal seems to imply. Poem 58 is interpreted as showing no ill-feeling or jealousy towards Caelius.

Mamurra and Caesar furnish the theme of the fifth essay. Catullian irony and the epigram to Cicero are the subjects of the sixth, in some respects the most interesting in the book, though based chiefly on Benoist. The opening words are worth quoting: "The irony of Catullus is so subtle that it is not always easy to notice or remember it; and in some passages it can even be said to hide and conceal itself. Critics and scholars do ill, in my opinion, to interpret some things said in jest and sarcasm as if they were said in all seriousness: the poet seems to make fun of his readers even after many centuries." So the diminutives of poem 25 are intended to mimic the language of the delicate Thallus. Another type of irony is illustrated in poem 11. The long list of places to which Furius and Aurelius are ready to go with Catullus in their devotion to him is but a preface to a trifling imaginary message to Lesbia to go *al diavolo*. But Pascal deals particularly with the perplexing poem to Cicero (49), which he treats as ironical. Catullus is not so humble, he says, as to seriously call himself *pessimus omnium poeta*; rather this is an ironical echo of a remark by Cicero. The puffing of Cicero is too extravagant to be genuine. *Disertissimus Romuli nepotum* is ironical because Cicero was not a true Roman. In the pseudo-Sallustian oration he is derisively called *Romule Arpinas*; in both cases his claim of having saved the country is ridiculed. Pascal further justifies the interpretation by reference to the personal and literary differences between Cicero and Catullus.

The seventh essay gathers up a number of odds and ends. Most of the material is summed up fairly well under the caption "Catullus and Roman Society of his Time". But the rest of the material is quite different and its title, "Catullo a Verona", is misleading. It is amplified in the words "The Memory of Catullus, Especially in Verona and the Veneto, in Antiquity and the Middle Ages". The chapter deals with the MS tradition of Catullus, and is based chiefly on Schwabe's *Testimonia*. My article in *Cl. Phil.* 5. 66 is referred to for the older humanistic citations from Catullus, though it deals only with two writers, Hieremias de Montagnone and Bencius Alexandrinus. No mention is made of the discovery made a few years ago by a fellow-countryman of Pascal's, Sabbadini, of a citation from Catullus in the works of Bencius, who must have seen the lost

Verona MS of Catullus (Sabbadini in Rhein. Mus. 63. 224; cf. also Hale in Cl. Phil. 5. 56). Curiously enough there is no reference to Sabbadini's two volumes of Scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci. There is no discussion of the probable history of the early descendants of the Verona MS. Hale's earlier suggestion that O belonged to Petrarch is quoted, but nothing is said of his subsequent withdrawal of the suggestion (Cl. Phil. 3. 244).

The other subjects treated in this essay are Catullus' life at Verona and Rome, his friends and rivals at Rome, the poems about Juventius and Gellius, Lesbia and Clodius. Pascal does not think that poems 15 and 21 belong to the Juventius cycle. His argument is based on the fact that Catullus says to Juventius in poem 24 that he would prefer to have the boy give to Furius the wealth of Midas rather than his affection. This is said to indicate Juventius' wealth in contrast to the poverty that the nameless boy of poem 21 will suffer in Aurelius' company. But the point is heightened if Juventius is not wealthy. After tracing the course of Catullus' love for Lesbia, Pascal concludes that this love probably survived all delusions, all infidelities and all shame. He ends by quoting poem 76, the touching prayer for release from unworthy love, as if it were the last scene in the tragedy. But many will disagree with him on this point. In speaking of poem 36, Pascal represents Lesbia as vowing that she would burn the verses of a very bad poet (un pessimo poeta) if Catullus returned to her (p. 188; cf. 198). It certainly seems as if Pascal failed to see that the *pessimus poeta* was Catullus himself and that the poet was punning on the meaning of the phrase.

Two appendices contain reprints of two articles recently published in periodicals. The first is on rhetorical elements in the poetry of Catullus. Examples are cited of various devices, such as the generous use of geographical details and mythological allusions, even in the shorter poems. The commonplaces of erotic poetry are exhibited, with the remark that they are fortunately not numerous on account of the intensity of the poet's feelings. The second appendix is on Horace and Catullus. By a strange coincidence it was originally published during the same month as my article on the same subject (cited above). Pascal's position is, however, quite different from mine. I was glad to see that we agree on a new bit of interpretation—in taking *simius* in Hor. Serm. i. 10. 18 in a double sense, as referring both to ugliness by contrast with *pulcher* and to imitativeness. In general, Pascal sums up the current views about Horace's attitude to Catullus and presents no striking novelties. He concludes that Horace is not friendly to Catullus in spite of many imitations of the latter's poetry. The reason is jealousy: "The thought was annoying to him that another had anticipated

him in the field (of lyric poetry) in which he wished to reign supreme", and that he could not claim priority in the field (p. 217). "Nor does it seem strange that there should be attributed to Horace the evil intention of so deliberate an injustice and the vanity of claiming as his own an honor which he knew belonged to another, and, worse still, of using the art of this same one, though pretending not to and showing contempt for it." Povero Orazio!

As I have selected for discussion chiefly the points on which I do not agree with Pascal, this review gives a rather one-sided idea of the book. In the main the views are sound, representing the result of a critical judgment applied to the opinions and suggestions of other scholars. The misprints are rather numerous, but, as far as noted, of no great consequence.

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## REPORTS.

HERMES XLVII.

Fascicle 3.

Die Verteilung der römischen Provinzen vor dem Mutinensischen Krieg (321–401). W. Sternkopf contributes valuable results of a detailed examination of the sources pertaining to the assignment of the provinces in the years 46–43 B. C., with constant reference to Mommsen, Drumann, etc. He relies mainly on the careful interpretation of Cicero's Philippics and letters in dealing with a number of vexed questions. Only the main results can be briefly mentioned: I. After Caesar had organized Africa nova in 46 B. C., there were eighteen provinces in all (cf. Mommsen, *Hermes* XXVIII, p. 599 ff.), and during his lifetime there were no more; the province Belgica was organized later. II. On his return from the African war, Caesar passed the *lex Julia de provinciis*, limiting the term of praetorian and consular governorships to one and two years respectively, which was observed from the end of 45 B. C. to the outbreak of the civil war. III. The governors for 44 B. C. were probably all appointed by Caesar toward the end of 45 B. C.; but this cannot be proved in every case. IV. Caesar appointed no governors for 43 B. C.; he merely saw to the election of the consuls and tribunes for 43 B. C., and designated the consular candidates for 42 B. C. Of course the consuls and praetors of 44 B. C. would be regarded as prospective governors. Hence it is certain that Florus (IV 7. 4) and Appian (III 2. 7 f. 12. 16. 24. 36; IV 57) are mistaken in letting Caesar assign Macedonia and Syria to Brutus and Cassius; likewise Schwartz in thinking that Caesar had assigned these provinces to Antonius and Dolabella for the year 43 B. C. V. The senate confirmed Caesar's appointments to provinces March 17, 44 B. C.; no special session was held for this purpose March 18th, as Drumann thinks. VI. Between March 17 and April 18, 44 B. C., the senate assigned Macedonia and Syria to the consuls Antonius and Dolabella for the year 43 B. C.; whether this was in accordance with Caesar's wishes is unknown; probably not (cf. IV above). VII. On the first or second of June Antonius, by a *lex tribunicia de provinciis*, had both Gauls assigned to himself in exchange for Macedonia, and the term of his and Dolabella's governorship extended to five (not six) years. The historians refer to this law as a *lex de permutatione provinciarum*; Cicero cites it correctly; hence the mistake of assuming two laws. Possibly the same law made a

disposition of the legions in Macedonia. VIII. Between the middle of July and the beginning of September 44 B. C. M. Brutus was appointed governor of Crete for the year 43 B. C., through Antonius' influence, and Cassius, probably, of Cyrene; they, however, ignored this 'favor' and later in 44 B. C. took forcible possession of Macedonia and Syria. IX. On Nov. 28, Antonius had the remaining available provinces assigned for 43 B. C. by lot. Mommsen and others have tried to reduce Cicero's fifteen names (Phil. III 24 ff.) to fourteen; whereas Schwartz, allowing for an evident oversight on his part, thought that only nine lots were drawn; but Sternkopf concludes that the number was thirteen. Macedonia, Africa, Sicily and Spain alone are mentioned. Excluded from the allotment were of course the two Gauls, Syria (already assigned to Antonius and Dolabella), and, probably Gallia Narbon. and Hisp. cit., both of which Lepidus held by virtue of the two year term granted by the lex Julia. X. On Dec. 20, 44 B. C., the senate annulled the appointments that Antonius had made by lot, by decreeing that the present governors should hold over until their successors be appointed. The whole matter, however, was finally determined by the second triumvirate.

Die Sprüche des Epicharm (402-413). W. Crönert presents a study of the Epicharmus proem, preserved on a papyrus of the years 280-240 B. C. (cf. Hibe papyri I (1906) 1. 2). We learn from it that the poet, already famous, and apparently in his old age, published a book of sententious sayings in trochaic tetrameters, which were partly designed to serve the orator in court or before an assembly, and partly, to develop character. He will show those who have criticized his tendency to prolixity, that he is also able to express his thoughts tersely. C. elucidates the text interestingly and then brings in relation to it some fifty of the previously known fragments, chiefly of doubted authenticity. The selected sayings are neatly fitted into the program outlined in the proem and harmonize with the scanty fragments accompanying the proem. Further investigation of the Epicharmus fragments is desirable.

\**Ἔδρα* (414-421). G. Finsler was moved to investigate this word by the treatment of it by Cauer, Belzner and Roemer (Grundf. d. Homerkritik<sup>2</sup>, 1909, p. 286; Homerische Probleme 1911, p. 64; Aristarchea, p. 127). We may assume that originally the bride was purchased; then the suitor presented the bride with a dowry (*ἔδρα*), and finally this was furnished by the father. The Odyssey, however, does not reflect the chronological order. The third stage only, appears in the Telemachia; the second was regular with the poet of the Odyssey (cf. λ 117, ν 378, π 390, τ 528, ζ 159, cf. also Aesch. Prom. 560, Pind. Ol. IX, 7), and is the exclusive meaning of *ἔδρα* in the Iliad (Π 178.

190, X 471), which is recognized by the scholia: *ἔδνα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν γαμουόντων δίδόμενα ταῖς γαμουμέναις*. Indications of wife-purchase in the *Odyssey*, as λ 288 is something different, occur only in ο 367, where the word *ἔδνα* is wanting, and in a late episode (θ 318), where *ἔδνα* seems to mean, incorrectly, purchase money.

Metrologische Beiträge I (422-465). O. Viedebantt determines more clearly Solon's reform of the weights and coinage of Athens, and discusses the various Greek and Oriental standards of weight, showing their relations and how they were based on given measures of oil, wine and water. The account in Plut. Solon 15, taken from Androtion, must be subordinated to Aristotle *πολ. Ἀθην.* 10, which he understands to mean, following Hill and Lehmann, that 100 old (Pheidonian-Aeginetan) drachmas equalled 70 new (Euboic-Solon.) drachmas (cf. Sandys' edition of Arist. for the opposite view), and, accordingly, as the Euboic-Solon. mina is known to have weighed 16 oz., or 436.6 gr. (general norm), and 16.66 oz., or 454.6 gr. (raised or royal norm), the old mina must have weighed respectively 11.2 oz. (305.625 gr.) and 11.66 oz. (318.178 gr.). The above increase in weight applied only to the commercial weight-mina, not to the money-mina, as has been generally thought. Solon was too shrewd to ignore the wide circulation of the Aeginetan money, and so he virtually retained the same values in his new coinage, excepting a slight increase in weight. This is the meaning of Aristotle (l. c.): that a talent now weighed 63 minae, which amounts to saying that the old money-mina weighing 11.2 and 11.66 ounces was supplanted by one weighing respectively 11.76 and 12.25 ounces, or that 100 new coins equalled 105 old ones. V. next discusses the Athenian law (I. G. II 476 = C. I. G. 123), which prescribes the addition of 12 drachmas to the *μνᾶ ἐμπορικῆ*, containing 138 drachmas, thereby establishing a mina of 150 drachmas. This was evidently done in the interests of foreign trade, as the mina of 150 drachmas equalled the Babylonian weight-mina of 18.75 oz. (royal norm). This inscription belongs to the first century B. C., so it is clear that the above mina of 138 drachmas could not be the Euboic-Solon. weight, an idea sprung from the former misunderstanding of Solon's reform; for the Solonian drachma of  $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8}$  oz. had been superseded by one of  $\frac{1}{4}$  oz. which was followed by one of  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. This last one explains the mina of 138 drachmas, which equalled a later mina of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  oz. for which there is evidence. In a third chapter V. shows that in the Revenue Papyrus the oil metretes (= 12 *χόες*) equalled 144 Alexandrian cotylae (weight, 96 minae); whereas the wine metretes (= 8 *χόες*) was measured according to the Hellenic *χοῦς*, equalling 96 Hellenic cotylae, which however also weighed, when filled with oil, 96 minae; hence the Hellenic *χοῦς* was

larger than the Alexandrian; the metretae were equal. U. Wilcken had reached the opposite conclusion (Gr. Ostraka I, p. 757).

Miscellen: H. Dessau (466-471) gives an account of the epigrams of Honestus and agrees with Jamot (Bullet. de corr. hellénique XXVI, 1902, p. 130 ff.) in identifying the Roman empress, a *Σεβαστή*, whom one epigram lauds as the mother of two Caesars, and a worthy associate of the Muses, with Augustus' daughter Julia. The probabilities favoring Julia Domna are considered; but the earlier date seems assured by the fact that five of the ten Honestus epigrams in the Anth. Pal. are included in a group IX 215-312, derived from Philip of Thessalonice (I Cent. A. D.).—K. Praechter (471-476) cites a number of passages dealing with the Cynic-Stoic doctrine that nature requires strenuous activity to be relieved by pleasurable relaxation, some of which may have been derived from the *Περὶ σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς* of Athenodorus, one of the teachers of Augustus (cf. Rh. Mus. LXII (1907) 313-315). But this theme originated much earlier, as is shown by Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1176b 32 ff., and especially Herodotus II 173, where the common illustration of the unbent bow occurs. The Greek philosophers frequently drew their material from Herodotus.—P. Corssen (476-480) discusses the repeated verses in the *Medea* of Euripides and considers v. 1148 inappropriately repeated in v. 923 and v. 1006. Both vv. 1006/7 (cf. 924) weaken v. 1005. The exclamation *εἶα* after v. 1004 belongs to *Medea*. Again v. 40/41 (= vv. 379/380) should be deleted, not however vv. 42/43 (cf. Nauck); instead change *ἦ* in v. 42 to *μὴ* (Paley) and read v. 43: *κάπειτα μείζων ἐνμφορὰ λάβη τινί*. On the authority of Didymus v. 380 should follow vv. 355/356, which should not be deleted as in most editions.—Ludwig Deubner (480) notes the agreement of the Cercidas fragment 2 (Ox. pap. VIII, p. 35) *θεικῆ. ἀν* [ . . . , where according to p. 55 'A vestige from the top of the letter following *η* suggests *λ* or *δ*' with Epicharmus 216 (Kaibel): *ὄκκ' ἀργύριον ἦ, πάντα θεὶ κῆλαύνεται*. The two poets are associated in Phot. Bibl., p. 533b 10 Bekker.

#### Fascicle 4.

Ardys et Mithridates (481-491). M. Holleaux calls attention to the three well-known sons of Antiochus the Great (two named Antiochus, one Seleucus), and discusses a number of objections to accepting the common belief, based on Livy XXXIII 19, that there were two more sons named Ardys and Mithridates. These, however, were the names of two able generals. Emend Livy (l. c.) by inserting 'et' after *filiis* or 'que' after Ardys. The sons mentioned as commanding the land forces must have



been the elder Antiochus and Seleucus, who had with them as advisers Ardys and Mithridates.

Hekataios von Abdera und Demokrit (492-513). Karl Reinhardt demonstrates the close relationship of chapters 7 and 8 of Diodorus I with chapter 10 etc., which must therefore have been also derived from the *Αἰγυπτιακά* of Hecataeus of Abdera, to which Diodorus was indebted for most of Book I (cf. Ed. Schwartz, Rh. Mus. 40, 223, and article 'Diodorus' in Pauly-Wissowa, cf. A. J. P. X 109). Epicurean doctrine has been recognized in these chapters; but R. makes it probable that Hecataeus derived this from Democritus. Extracts from various authors, and especially a comparison with Lucretius V and Diogenes of Oinoanda (Fragm. 10 William (cf. A. J. P. XV 386)), both dependent on Epicurus, show that chapters 7 and 8 are independent of Epicurus, and, further, that the latter reproduced Democritus very closely. R. concludes that Lucretius V 416 to the end of the book contains not merely the doctrines of Democritus, but also the arrangement of his matter: cosmogony, zoogony, followed by considerations of the primitive state of man and his development. Democritus seems to have confined himself to a natural growth determined by the necessities of life, without entering upon theories of government. Plato's idea of a *ὑγιεινὴ πόλις* (Rep. 373 A B; cf. Laws III 676 ff.) was probably derived from him. The work in question must have been his *Μικρὸς διάκοσμος*, which was probably a sequel to the *Μέγας διάκοσμος* of Leucippus, hence the title, and probably was related to the latter as the fifth book of Lucretius is to the first and second. The fame of the *Μικρὸς δ.* probably caused the attribution of Leucippus' work to him. The *Μικρὸς δ.* was the great authority in antiquity on the early history of mankind. Seneca's polemic in Epist. 90, directed against Posidonius' conception of the golden age, is really an attack on the ideas Posidonius derived from Democritus.

Das Proömium der Meteorologie (514-535). W. Capelle shows that Martini's reasons for the spuriousness of this proem are unfounded (cf. Leipz. Stud. XVII 342. 346). His main objection is that the use of the term *μετεωρολογία*, in the later restricted sense, is attributed to all of Aristotle's predecessors. The sentence in question is indeed somewhat careless; but *πάντες* need not be pressed, as this term is relatively late; yet it was used of atmospheric phenomena before Aristotle; but could also refer to the stars (cf. Philolog. LXXI, and A. J. P. XXXV 218). Occasional obscurity has to be reckoned with in Aristotle. C. also meets the criticism, made already before Ideler, of the comprehensiveness of the proem, which refers in general terms to Aristotle's earlier works, defines the work in hand, and ends with a promise of future investigations. Finally C.

examines the language of the proem, which is throughout Aristotelian.

Aphoristische Bemerkungen zu Sophokles' *Ἰχνηυταί* (536-561). 1. C. Robert conceives the play enacted on a *ὑλάδης πάγος* (v. 220 f.), without a scenic background, in Aeschylean style. The infant Hermes and the cattle are underground. The satyrs and Silenus are baffled in their search as there is no entrance. Cyllene (v. 236) emerges through the opening earth. A vase painting is shown illustrating this. Cyllene used the Charon's stairs here as Clytaemestra did in the *Eumenides* (cf. *Hermes XXXI*, 543). 2. A fragmentary stichomythia follows Apollo's monolog (1-39), in which Silenus must have been informed about the *σήματα*, by which the footprints of Apollo's cows could be recognized, and as the *parodos*, which follows, shows that the chorus already know about these marks, they must have entered silently during the stichomythia, probably *σποράδην* as in the *Cyclops*. 3. The chorus search in two sections; but also in three (indicating 12 choristers). The second search (vv. 177-179) is represented in a *commos* between Silenus and the chorus. They hear the bellowing of the cows, and also the entrancing sound of the lyre. 4. The Silenus in the *Ἰχ.* is more dignified than in the *Cyclops*. The latter is a vain boaster, whereas the exploits with wild beasts mentioned in the *Ἰχ.* were real. The chorus in the *Cyclops*, as in the *Syleus*, *Busiris* etc., are slaves of a monster, in this more original play, of Dionysus; they gain their liberty in both, which R. considers typical of the satyr drama. The *πόνος* referred to in v. 222 means the song and dance of the chorus; this word is the technical term for such religious service in tragedy (cf. *ὄργια*). 5. Sophocles based his play on the Homeric hymn; how he modified the story is shown. 6. Metrical considerations, the prominence of the coryphaeus etc. point to an early date for the *Ἰχνηυταί*, which seems to be the oldest extant work of Sophocles.

*Metrolologische Beiträge II* (562-632). O. Viedebant here defends Lehmann's theory of a double norm, differing usually as 25:24. He explains it as originating in the usage of filling a measure *ἐπιχειλή* i. e. *κατωτέρω τοῦ χείλους* (Pollux IV 170), not 'brim-full' (L. & S.), to avoid spilling; in contrast with *ἰσοχειλή* and *ἐπίμεστον*. A discussion of the large variety of Egyptian artabe measures follows. Thereupon an investigation of the Pheidonian system reveals its Egyptian origin; which is also the case with Solon's reform. Before Pheidon's time the Greeks used the Old-Babylonian system, imported from Asia Minor, the various systems of which are examined. The close relation of the Cyprian system to those of the Pontus region is made evident, and the trade routes of navigation pointed out. Finally he takes up the Old-Babylon. and Persian

systems. Lehmann-Haupt discovered the weights of the Babylonian mina; but failed to notice that four of them represent the weights of a single measure (containing respectively in light or full capacity: 0.5472 and 0.570 of a liter) according as it was filled with water or oil. Sixty of these 'sextars' (the identification with the Roman measure is important) yield a cube root that equals 555 mm., the length of the royal Babylon. ell. This, again, proves the linear basis for the Babylonian system, a fact doubted by Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altert.* I, 22, p. 518). V. constructs tables of the Old-Babylon. and New Babylon.-Persian systems, and finally discusses their spread west. The Persian system supplanted the Old-Babylon. for a time (in Athens during the V century); but had finally to yield to its older competitor. Many important facts and details, and numerous tables are presented.

Miscellen: P. Corssen (633-635) would place vv. 1225-27 of Eurip. *Medea* after v. 305, where the attack on the philosophers is suitable. Euripides (431 B. C.), however, is ironical and filled with bitterness over the accusation of Anaxagoras. W. A. Baehrens (635/636) shows that the author of *De mortibus persecutorum* did not invent the story that Constantine had on one occasion spared Maximian's life as Silomon supposes (cf. *Hermes* XLVII 274); but derived the idea from *Panegyrici VI (VII) ch. 20*, which thus appears as a third source of D. M. P. (cf. *A. J. P.* XXXVII, p. 363).

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## BRIEF MENTION.

Sir JOHN SANDYS'<sup>1</sup> contribution to the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. XII, deals with *Scholars, Antiquarians and Bibliographers of the Nineteenth Century*. Much of it, of course, is contained in the author's *History of Classical Scholarship*, that indispensable repository, which it is not necessary to characterize at this late day (A. J. P. XXIX 499; XXXVI 244); and in this *Brief Mention* I am going to indulge in some personal reflections on the diverse ideals of English and German scholarship—a subject which was brought forward some time ago by the most brilliant English Hellenist of our day in a memorable article (*Quarterly Review*, April, 1915), part of which has been quoted recently by the author himself in an interview with a persistent newspaper man. Book, article, and interview have aroused in me a host of memories, some of which it may be worth while to record here.

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Few are competent to enter into judgment in a matter like this. At all events comparatively few have undergone the

<sup>1</sup>The mention of Sir John's name gives me an opportunity of introducing as a footnote what was intended for a more conspicuous place and larger type.

Under date of Aug. 27 Sir JOHN SANDYS writes: 'In the middle of p. 234 you state that 'varied melody of the flute' is no translation, it is an exegesis of βοὰν ἀλῶν (O. 3. 8). The reader will naturally surmise that someone has offered these words as a translation of βοὰν ἀλῶν but if he takes the trouble to turn to my own rendering of Pindar's words φέρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν καὶ βοὰν ἀλῶν ἐπέων τε θέσειν he will find these phrases represented by 'the varied melody of the lyre and the air played by the flute <or rather as the printed copy has it 'the air played on the flutes'> with the setting of the verse <s>'. He will thus discover that so far from 'the varied melody' being a paraphrase of βοὰν, it is really a very close rendering of ποικιλόγαρυν and that it is only by combining part of my first phrase and part of my second that the imaginary rendering of βοὰν ἀλῶν is obtained.'

Too true. The curious 'telescoping' of my notes on Sir John's translation—due first to careless transcription and then to hasty proofreading—has done him great injustice. Only his name was not mentioned. 'Varied melody of the lyre' is indeed a close rendering but I still prefer Myers' 'the flute's cry' to Sir John's 'air played by the flute' or 'air played on the flutes', which is a manner of paraphrase. λυρῶν... βοᾶί, P. 10, 39, is, I confess, a harder problem, which SANDYS has met by the colorless 'sounds of the lyre' and Myers by ignoring the troublesome words after the example of the etcher Méryon.

discipline of both countries. In my year at Bonn (1852-53) I encountered two Scotchmen, who were taking what is called on the Stock Exchange a 'flyer' at German methods in their long vacation, but a semester here and a semester there do not suffice; and it is not a little noteworthy that those who are really indoctrinated in German ways are apt to lose the undeniable charm of the best exemplars of English scholarship. There are possibly those who have not forgotten what Churton Collins had to say about a certain Anglicist who had become saturated with the German atmosphere. My own testimony is worth very little because such philological schooling as I have had is wholly Teutonic. I was 'udum et molle lutum' when I went to Germany in my nineteenth year, or rather I might say of myself in 1850 as a French mother is reported to have said of her son when she sought a place for him in one of the ministries. 'Il est propre à tout. Il n'a rien appris'. To be sure, I had read a great deal of Latin, some little Greek, but my American teachers did not understand their business, and if I had had such instruction as is available in not a few American colleges to-day, I should have been spared a great deal of fumbling. Brought up in old-fashioned ways and in an old-fashioned environment, which might almost be called 'colonial', I had been taught or at all events had conceived a profound admiration of English scholarship, especially in its lighter manifestations; and I remember as a lad not yet in my teens copying from an old number of Dennie's Portfolio one of Porson's facetious contributions to the Morning Post I think it was—a translation into Greek iambs of 'Three children sliding on the ice' which purported to be a newly discovered fragment of a Greek play.

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Among the first philological books I owned was the well-known collection of Porsoniana in four volumes containing Porson's Preface to the Hecuba, his edition of the Plutus and his Photius. But as I grew up, I found that the authors of all the great dictionaries, the great grammars, the great works of reference bore German names and, when at the age of sixteen I began in earnest the study of German, there was an end of any deference to English scholarship; and afterwards as a student in Germany from 1850 to 1853, I learned to imitate my masters, who all, or nearly all, were supercilious in their bearing toward contemporary English classicists. Every now and then, they said, England gives birth to some great genius, such as Bentley, such as in a lesser degree Porson. Dobraeus was admired in Germany even more than Dobreë in England. One heard of old Dawes as Davesius and of his

exploded 'canon Davesianus'. Sometimes a professor would make a stagger at pronouncing the name of Thomas Tyrwhitt, and I remember how Boeckh, who tried to be fair to the English, wrestled with the name of Sir George Cornewall Lewis and wound up by writing it on the blackboard. Few of the German classical scholars of my day even pretended to know English and I have had to act as interpreter of English announcements of important discoveries, such as Babington's Hypereides. Things are very different to-day, and Americans have contributed to the difference, but even now the average German classicist does not know English as does the average German business man. The subtleties of the language are lost on them and their mistakes would form an amusing chapter in the history of errors. But in the fifties an American Anglomaniac was a rarity and the German attitude towards English scholars gave no offence to the patriotic American neophyte, for I was brought up on the memories of my revolutionary ancestors. I bore a deep-seated hereditary grudge against those whose forbears were responsible for the expulsion of the Acadians, the sufferings of Valley Forge, the burning of Norwalk, the insolent behaviour of British officers during the occupation of Charleston, and I was quite ready to be impressed by the judgments of my German masters. Now nothing is more contagious than the sneering habit and in no set of men does that cheap assertion of superiority exhibit itself in more repulsive form than in your fledgling Ph. D's. 'Fledgling' is the English word, but 'gelbschnabel' and 'béjaune' are much better because they express the aggressiveness of the callow youngster's beak. Of this second-hand superiority I myself have builded a monument in my maiden review article 'The Necessity of the Classics' (*Southern Quarterly Review*, July, 1854) in which I undertook to criticize English scholarship and English methods of instruction in the classics. In my collectanea it is among the 'juvenilia', and marked 'not to be reproduced', but nearly nine times seven years have passed since then and I have been made over several times, so that I am tempted to quote a verse of Theognis that has been much in my mind during a heated political campaign—*κρέσσων τοι σοφίη γίνεταί ἀτροπίης*, 'better proves wisdom, sure, than changelessness', and I do not hesitate to execute my old 'bejan' self in illustration of my theme. Here then is a small specimen:

To some of the secluded scholars of our Southern country, who devote much of their abundant leisure to the perusal of the classics, and collect Aldines, Juntines and Elzevirs with bibliomaniac zeal, England may still seem to be the Gilead whence the balm must come. But England has never had a philology. The scholars who arose from her soil were of foreign seed. The dragon's teeth brought forth a strange

race. Bentley lived a century too soon, and England laughed at the new Aristarchus as she cheered glory-and-shame Porson, not knowing what she did. It is sad to look at the full-length caricature of Bentley, which Pope has drawn, with such malicious distortion, in his *Dunciad*, and to reflect upon the uniform fate of all those great men who have been sent to that ungrateful people. But a just punishment has overtaken them. Their philological worthies have no national existence and form no national school. The type of their educationists is Dr. Busby, and the type of their scholars Dr. Parr. It is astonishing with what vehement obstinacy, so to speak, England prides herself upon the mere negative merit of keeping her quantity void of offence. In no country on the globe has so much turmoil been made about the fact that scholars know the right hand from the left, and leave Priscian's head unbroken. The most earless nation on earth, a nation which has produced no music, except those simple strains which, like currents of electricity, run round the whole globe, which cannot show a single composer of real eminence, prides itself upon an accuracy for which there is no parallel save that of a deaf musician. The whole world must be pestered with the information, that the British Senate knew that the penult of *vectigal* is long, and that Cambridge was aware that the penult of *profugus* is short: and these stories are hawked about wherever the English language is spoken, and every lad in the rudiments learns to sneer at Paley's quantity<sup>1</sup> and triumph over Pitt's short syllable in *labenti*. Every article on America contains some gibe at our unfortunate proclivity to Polish perversions.<sup>2</sup> Even men who should know better, lay stress on the mechanical accomplishment of making verses.

The same Bulwer who, in 'Pelham', laughed at the facility with which he could turn off Latin verses, compared with his other deficiencies, in 'The Caxtons' throws a slur on German erudition by contrasting Dr. Hermann's eulogy of Pisistratus' ode with the parody of Mr. Caxton.

Classical education in England has been, for long years, one huge polypos of verse-making, an exercise which, however useful, still stands, in a pedagogical point of view, far behind the exercise of writing prose, not so much on account of the disproportion in numbers between those who possess the faculty divine and those who do not, as because vapidity and inanity cannot conceal themselves so well on the plain ground of the *pedestris oratio*, as in the flight of an *anser inter olores*, nor loose syntax and careless construction shelter themselves behind the convenient plea of poetic license. "Long reading and observing, copious invention and ripe judgment," may enable a Hermann to reproduce Schiller in Greek or a Ritschl to supply the *lacunae* in Plautus; but, as Milton concludes, "these are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose or the plucking of untimely fruit." And yet, after all their true British boasting, the schools of England must be very defective in the matter of classical training, if we may judge by recent disclosures. Scholars who ignore Greek accents and are unacquainted with the composition of words of frequent occurrence and evident structure, are strangely misnamed. *We*, for our part, would apply in their favour the educational observation of the worthy South: "Stripes and blows are the last and basest remedy, and scarce ever fit to be used but upon such as carry their brains in their backs, and have souls so dull and stupid as to serve for very little else but to keep their bodies from putrefaction."

<sup>1</sup> The Paley meant here is, of course, the Natural Theology man, against whom I had a grievance. Pitt's *labenti* reminds me of '*labitur atque labetur*', which appeared on a medal struck in honor of the Philological Congress at Hamburg some years ago. My informant, an eminent British scholar, did not fail to point the moral.

<sup>2</sup> *Nos Póloni non cúramus quantitatem syllábarum.*

All this is pitifully young, but I proceeded to fortify my position from contemporary English confessions as to the inadequacy of English scholarship in certain lines; and since then the English have followed the German lead in methods of research, though in results Krähwinkel beats Oxford and Cambridge. On the other hand German thinkers have learned to value the processes by which the classics have penetrated English life, and proved themselves a working force. Wilamowitz himself is quoted as saying in his wrath that the only hope for the future of Greek scholarship is in England. All that is left he told me in 1907 is the University Extension lecture. If the range of reading is not so wide as it might be, if the studies of even the best scholars move in too narrow a circle, still it is a great thing to breathe the same pellucid air with Vergil, to feel Horace playing about the heart-strings, to hear the music of the voiceful sea from which the Iliad and the Odyssey have risen. No English scholar would have been guilty of the blunder of Lucian Müller, who balked at 'Contemplator item'—failing as he did to recognize the Vergilian verse. No English classicist would have claimed a solemn verse of St. Paul as a comic fragment, as was the fortune of Kock. Of this cultural side, this preeminently English side, no better champion could be imagined than GILBERT MURRAY, whose article I have just characterized. So far as I know, his training has been purely English, and yet he is familiar with German work and is evidently in close personal relations with German scholars, and whilst he does not make the almost absolute surrender that Masqueray made not long ago (A. J. P. XXXV 109), his acknowledgment of the obligation of the classicists to German erudition is ample, and it might suffice to register only his reserves. Still his vast concessions justify the domination of German philology in America. 'In sheer, straightforward, professional erudition Germany easily leads the way'. 'This comes out most clearly in the great works of reference', and he cites the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions, the great Latin Thesaurus, the best Greek Lexicon, Pauly-Wissowa. Roscher, Kühner-Blass, Kühner-Gerth, Collections of Fragments, the Bibliotheca Teubneriana. 'Iwan von Müller's Handbuch is by English standards an unapproached marvel'. Even the Lietzmann series has an emphatic word of commendation, and as for individuals, 'no one scholar in any other country can be compared for range and brilliancy with Wilamowitz', to whom he pays in the course of his discussion a tribute distinguished by the warmth of its feeling as well as by the justice of its appreciation. 'It would be hard to put any general Greek history since Grote on a level with Eduard Meyer or any book on style above Norden's Kunstprosa'. Still



MURRAY makes reserves in favour of Sir James Frazer's Pausanias and A. B. Cook's Zeus in their respective lines (A. J. P. XXXVI 459). His guess that the bulk of German productivity in the way of periodical literature, dissertations and monographs is ten times as great as that of the English seems to me utterly inadequate. 'The English work', it is true, 'shews sounder scholarship and less lack of judgment <but> the German shews far more thoroughness and daring and power of research'. 'These results', he continues, 'are largely caused by the university systems in vogue in the two countries. In Germany the students to get their degree have to write and often <say 'regularly'> to publish a thesis'. In England they get their degree by a very hard and wide <?> examination. 'So with teaching appointments. In Germany a man has to publish a book; in Great Britain men are usually appointed on private evidence of their teaching capacity, intellect and general character'. <Hence, I may add by way of parenthesis, many surprises to those who have no means of judging except by published work.> 'The Germans tend to put more of their force into writing and publishing, the English into life and teaching'. 'Is there anything', Professor MURRAY asks, almost despondently, 'to put on the other side of the account?' and, plucking up courage, he proceeds to cite the work of Sir Arthur Evans, the work of Grenfell, Hunt and Kenyon (A. J. P. XII 97; XVIII 492; XX 229; XXVI 114), and what the English have done for numismatics. 'Great Britain's output is rather small', he admits, 'and sometimes it is hard to tell how much competence or incompetence her silence covers'. But he contends that the answers received to the problems of Crete, of Sparta, of the Oxyrhynchus papyri have been obviously and undeniably in the first rank of competence'. And he goes on to say frankly: 'If we look away from the effectiveness of the book and try to estimate some quality in the mind of the writer, the comparison will come out in a very different way. When a thing can be ascertained and proved and instances counted I go to the Germans. If otherwise, no'. They lack the *flair* of the non-German. <Alas! how my friend Usener would have writhed at the denial to his people of what he felicitously called 'die Feinfühligkeit philologischen Nachempfindens'>. 'The Germans do not write Greek verse <despite the precept of Boeckh, Encycl. u. Methodol., p. 802; despite the precept and the example of Wilamowitz, A. J. P. XXIII 4>. They write books on Greek Metrik.' As specimens of the one deplorable weakness of German scholarship Mr. MURRAY cites two concrete examples—Gerhard's Phoenix of Colophon—a valuable book, it is true, but replete with metrical blunders, and as another notable example in the same line, he instances Wecklein—who

has caught it, by the way, on both sides of the Channel. While in Germany as well as in England the study of the classics has conserved its general and foundational character, in Germany it is either dropped or has become professional. Germany has no Gladstone, no Asquith, no Lord Bryce, no Lord Cromer. 'The professional against the amateur', that is Mr. MURRAY'S summing up, the 'specialist proper' against 'the scholar and the gentleman'. 'These two antitheses take us a long way in understanding the difference between German and English scholarship'. To point these antitheses, he takes the weaker type of scholar in both countries; the Englishman who adds nothing to our knowledge but incites to the study of Greek literature, the German who sets himself to some obscure piece of work as yet unattempted, which may yield valuable results, which can be achieved by industry without understanding.

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Of course, the great German scholars are high and lifted up above such weakness, and he cites specimens about some of which his great exemplar Wilamowitz has had hard things to say. Wilamowitz himself has no parallel, he has the range of Hermann, the vitality of Bentley and Verrall's sense of literature. To the German on the other hand Sir Richard Jebb was no 'philolog', and Jane Harrison is an incomprehensible figure, and as for the works that indicate an artistic impulse such as Cornford's and Zimmern's and Livingstone's (A. J. P. XXVIII 356; XXXIV 486), the German can neither compare with them nor appreciate them. And yet these writers are definitely technical and professional scholars, 'men who would probably dally with the thought of suicide, if guilty of publishing a false quantity or grammatical blunder'. Mr. Mackail is one of Mr. MURRAY'S exemplars. I tremble to reproduce my notes on his Greek Anthology. 'In Germany there is more one-sided devotion and more industry. In England there is more humanity, more interest in life, more common sense.'

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But for all this eloquent praise of the English spirit it is not to be denied that for the American classical teacher who wishes to fit himself for his work in life the only sensible course is to familiarize himself with German methods, and in my day that could only be compassed in Germany itself. True, the Rhodes scholarship of to-day serves to shew the lamentable weakness of American teaching in certain directions, and

to sharpen criticism of the slovenliness and formlessness from which the Germans are not exempt. True, the German universities are not so organized as to give the student a systematic training, and I look back on my own haphazard course with amazement and amusement. To be sure, I only drifted into classical philology. I am a *littérateur manqué*, but I doubt whether the average German student was any wiser. Not a few of them, I am sorry to say, are influenced by the position of the various professors, as examiners and otherwise. But the value of my five semesters was to me inestimable. What I have done in my long life as teacher, as grammarian, is due in large measure to the example and inspiration of Boeckh, of C. F. Hermann, of Schneidewin, of Ritschl (A. J. P. V 339-355), of Welcker, of Bernays, and I will permit myself to repeat what I wrote twelve years ago (A. J. P. XXIV 484):

Well rounded schemes for a Triennium Philologicum are very desirable and when we scan closely the courses once followed at the German universities, still followed at the German universities, everything seems to be at loose ends. There is no unity, no system in them. But so long as the teacher sets fire and the pupil takes fire, there is hope and it is a hope that maketh not ashamed.

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Started as this line of meditation was by the reading of Sir JOHN SANDYS' contribution to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* I seem to have wandered far from the point of origin, and yet there are two foci about which my thoughts have revolved. One is the stress laid upon the accomplishment of verse-making, the other the paucity of published works. Both are sufficiently conspicuous in Sir JOHN SANDYS' essay, and both figure in my summary of Professor MURRAY'S article. I am by no means so narrow-minded as I was on the first point and I have delivered myself emphatically as to the value of practice in verse-making for training the susceptibilities of the student. And yet one rebels at times, as when a certain scoffer at German scholarship parades, as a contribution to Latin poetry, perhaps the most familiar line in Vergil with the change of a single word. Coleridge, it will be remembered, had the utmost contempt for 'tags'. And besides, sad to say, as modern instruments of precision play havoc with versification, with synonyms, the fatal word 'baboo' comes to the mind, and the Greek *βαβαι* as well. No recent Latin poetry has the swing of the Renascence. Mosaic against fresco, that is one way of putting it. But what of the successes?—and there are successes. Their value begins and ends with the author—and I recall once

more the drastic saying of Fraccaroli as to the 'masturbazione intellettuale' (A. J. P. XV 506) of all exercises that have their be-all and end-all in the virtuoso. As to the paucity of production, of which Professor MURRAY tells, Sir JOHN SANDYS' pages produce abundant illustration.' An Oxford Don once lamented to me the modern mania for writing books. If he meant the run of school editions he was quite right. Most of them are absolutely negligible for the advanced student, and no book ought to be published that does not contain some individual contribution to what is already known. But one waxes impatient at the reputations that have been gained in England by infinitesimal productions. Where else on God's earth would a man gain immortality by an Introductory Lecture? And yet that performance was the only evidence Tennyson could have adduced, when he fastened his buttonhole bouquet on the academic gown of Prof. Lushington, destined to be laid on the bier of every worker on philological lines. 'Verify your references', as profound a maxim as 'check your ledger', has given perennial fame to the centenarian Routh. 'Do good and communicate' is a scriptural injunction that is worth while to heed. I do not underrate the scholarship that lies hidden in English colleges, and every now and then a man dies, and his friends bring out a solitary piece of work which they consider of superior quality—work that lacks the revising hand of the author. However, this is a part of the aristocratic tradition, instances of which will occur to every one who has explored outlying regions of study. Here is one out of my own experience. When it was my sad fate to undertake the editing of Justin Martyr's *Apologies*.

'The story is told in almost every obituary of an English scholar. So in a recent number of the *Classical Review* June 1916, we read of two admirable men, Strachan-Davidson, who died at 73, and William Ross Hardie, who died at 54. 'To those who knew them well the works which their preoccupation with personal tuition permitted them to publish seem but a slight revelation of their stores of solid learning and humane understanding. The world is the poorer because they deferred so late the communication to it of their unremitting study of the source of our knowledge concerning the sides of ancient life which chiefly attracted their attention. Their monument is where they would have wished it to be—in the more effective teaching of their successors who learned from them both what and how to teach. What they did publish, small it may be in bulk compared with the productions of many of their contemporaries, is throughout of high and distinguished quality, widely and securely based on first-hand study, fresh, living, illuminative—always work to which any scholar may return to find help and renewal of interest.' There is a diversity of ideals as there is a diversity of gifts. The question for Americans is 'What are we to do in our Sparta, which knows no such field of work as the English universities present or rather have presented?' The English ideal has been followed by some of our best men and those who loved them mourn that they followed it too closely—mourn for the missing monument as well as for the loss to the world—(A. J. P. XXIV 239).

I made the acquaintance of Thirlby, evidently a first-class scholar in his day. There is not a little quiet humour in the notes and some sharp satire. The Germans could not understand why Thirlbius should have done nothing more and set up the theory that Thirlby was a pseudonym for Markland.

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One word more as to the lack of 'artistic impulse' in German scholars. Of that no mere foreigner is a judge. Not long before his lamented death Karl Hillebrand wrote an article for one of the English reviews in which he maintained that very few of those Englishmen, who fancy that they read French as readily as they do English, have any appreciation of the differences in French style. The examples he cited were, if I mistake not, Prosper Mérimée and Octave Feuillet (A. J. P. XXVI 115). As for that matter, even in English, natives seldom apply to English style the exact methods that rhetoricians and grammarians are wont to use in studying the Attic orators. Sufficiently warned by precept and example I do not set up to be a judge of German style, and when Birt maintains that Bruns has a classic style and Zielinski, himself a brilliant writer, disputes the claim (NJB 1905, p. 750), I suspend judgment. Still impressions are worth something. I have sat spellbound under Ritschl. I have paid my tribute to Bücheler (A. J. P. XXIX 247). Whether it was the style or spirit that moved me I do not care. I know enough to appreciate the finish of Ernst Curtius's History of Greece—an elegant patrician style which he filed over and over again in successive editions (A. J. P. VIII 387). I was not proof in my day against the rush of Mommsen's Roman History of which I made an abstract for my own use. I feel the thrill of certain great passages still despite all that has been written about his newspaper style (A. J. P. VI 483).

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There is some danger lest in these heated times partisans should go back to the days of Père Bouhours, a forgotten critic, who undertook to decide the question whether a German could have 'esprit'. And as to the English development of the artistic handling of philological questions, well, I am old-fashioned enough to detest the reign of Pater (A. J. P. XV 93)—Pater, and all his followers, open or unavowed. I prefer sinewy strength to sinuous subtlety. Now that we Americans have become a nation, we ought to develop a national style. Yet no analyst has as yet succeeded in fixing

the fugitive flavour. If I were younger, I might urge the acceptance of Freeman's parallel of the United States with Sicily. Sicily was the melting pot of Europe, Asia and Africa. Whoso walks the streets of Monreale can see in the faces he meets types of all the old piratical races. America is the melting-pot of the world. The English base threatens to disappear; and there are those who claim the right to a new language. I came into the world too soon for such a glorious consummation, but I have urged with what measure of emphasis my more or less imperfect command of the language of my forefathers allows, a cosmopolitan philology, which shall aim at combining the best characteristics of all nationalities.

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Zeus, the red-headed woodpecker that dwells in the oak, has been followed by the applegod, Apollo, and by the mugwort goddess, Artemis (A. J. P. XXXVII 219); and we are now led by the same ingenious scholar to whom we owe these new interpretations into the recesses of the herbalist's shop and find Aphrodite revealed as the mandrake or rather mandragora, a word that has more attractive associations. It would be sheer ingratitude to my old friend, J. RENDEL HARRIS (*The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Oct.-Dec. 1916), if I did not welcome with both hands an essay that has rolled back for me the half-century that separates me from my early studies. Aphrodite, it seems, means ultimately 'the fruit of love', 'the love-apple'. 'P(h)'ri' is the Hebrew for 'fruit' and the radical for 'love' lies in the Hebrew for 'mandrake' 'dudaim'. The theoretical Phoenician form, we are told, would be 'phardidi' and there are suspicious variations in the name as it appears on early Greek vases. True, 'Aphrodide' does not seem to occur, but the dental *t* is more appropriate to Aphrodite's passionate kiss (A. P. V 253) and the change is not to be dismissed with a contemptuous 'fiddle-dee-dee'. *δευή θεός γὰρ Κύπρις*. At all events the basic word lingers in my memory from the time when I first read 'Lecho, Daudi, Likras, Kalle, 'Come, my beloved, to meet thy bride'—Heine's Ashkenazim transliteration of *לכה דודי לקראת כלה*; and 'mandragora' as a love-potion takes me back to Machiavelli's droll comedy in which the mandrake proves a potent aphrodisiac, and not the sleeping potion we associate with the poppy. The story of Leah's bargain with Rachel (Gen. 30, 14 foll.) was familiar to the men of Machiavelli's time and the mandrake figures also in the Song of Solomon (7, 13) for good reasons or bad. A number of points raised in my fifty-year-old essay, *The Legend*

of *Venus*, are met and some of them blunted by the new theory. In the original edition I subscribed to the notion that Dido was the moon. 'Moonshine' said an English reviewer, given like so many English reviewers to the obvious. In my *Essays and Studies*, I seriously inclined, to the 'love' etymology. Dido is ultimately a goddess of love, a double-ganger of her sister Anna (Hanna) = Hulda. Aphroditos corresponds to the male mandrake, as Aphrodite to the female. But the eternal feminine, the duck of a woman, as Penelope (Πηνελόπεια) was called, has it almost all her own way in Greek mythology. The Black Venus, 'Αφροδίτη Μελαινίς, like the Black Madonna, is satisfactorily accounted for on the new theory. But one of the titles of Aphrodite, 'Ambologera' or 'Postponer of Old Age'—cited by Dr. HARRIS as a convincing proof of the identity of Aphrodite with the aphrodisiac mandragora, recalls several *si vieillesse pouvait* warnings of the *Anthology*, with which I have been busy of late, and I leave the subject to those who need no postponement.

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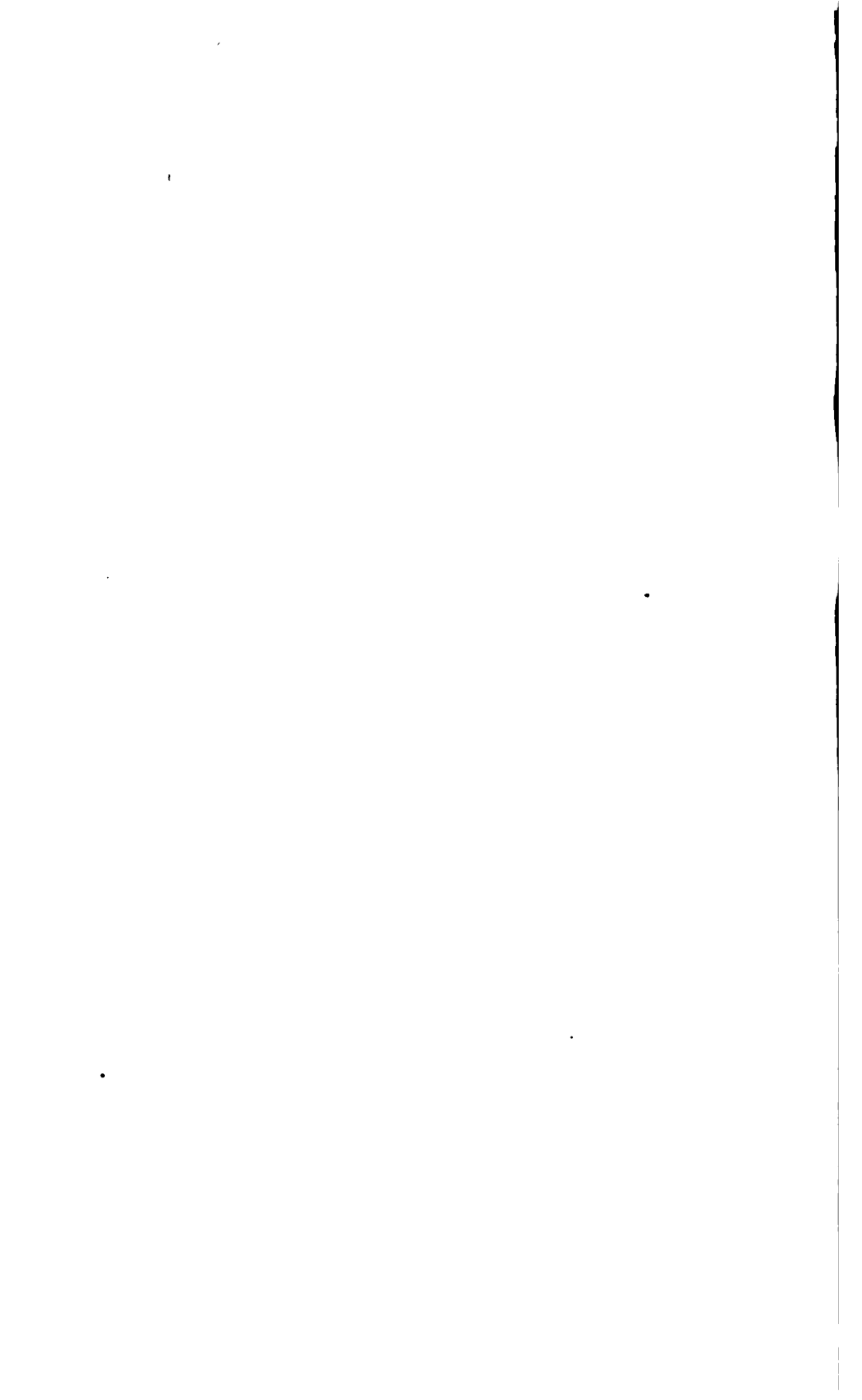
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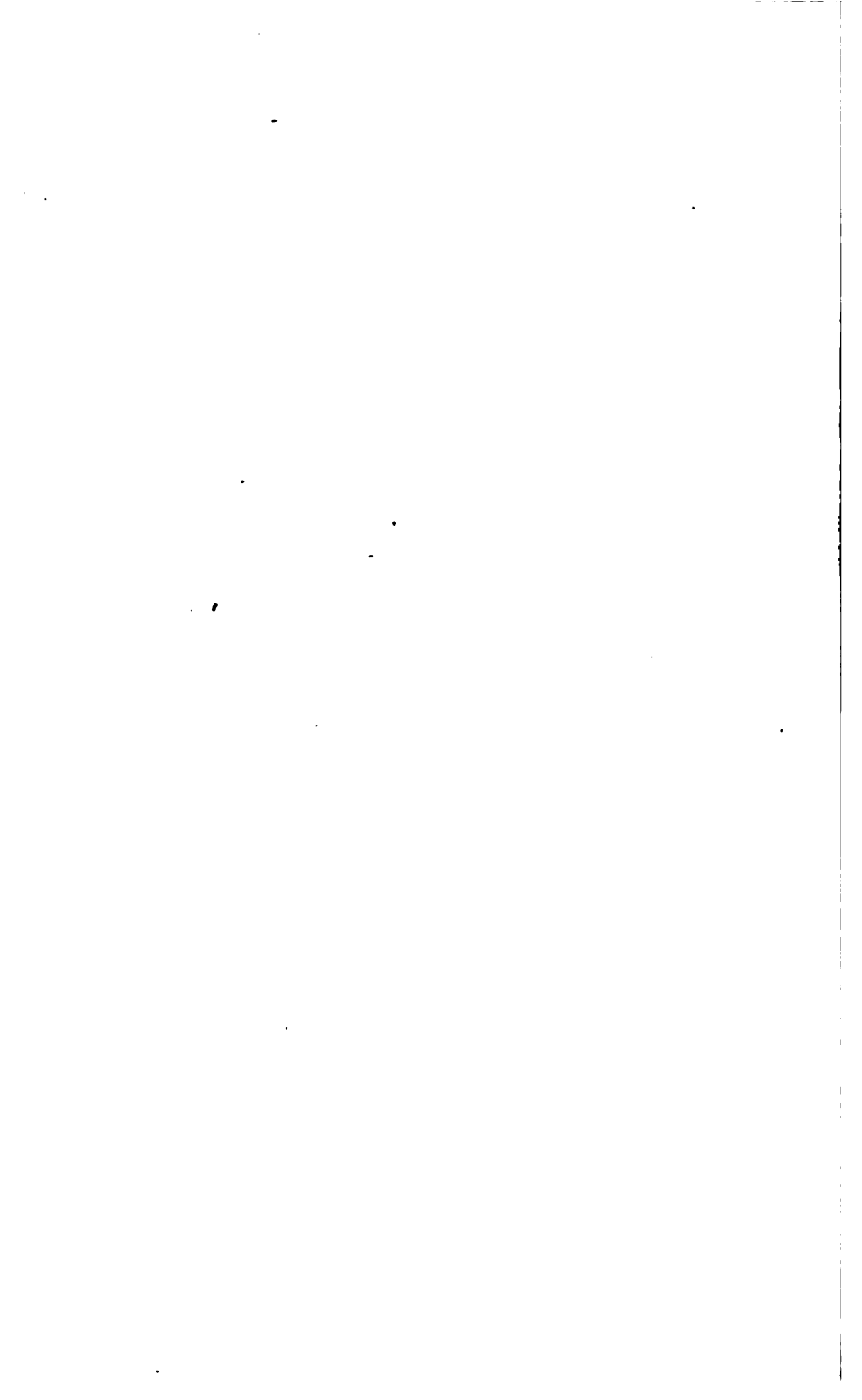
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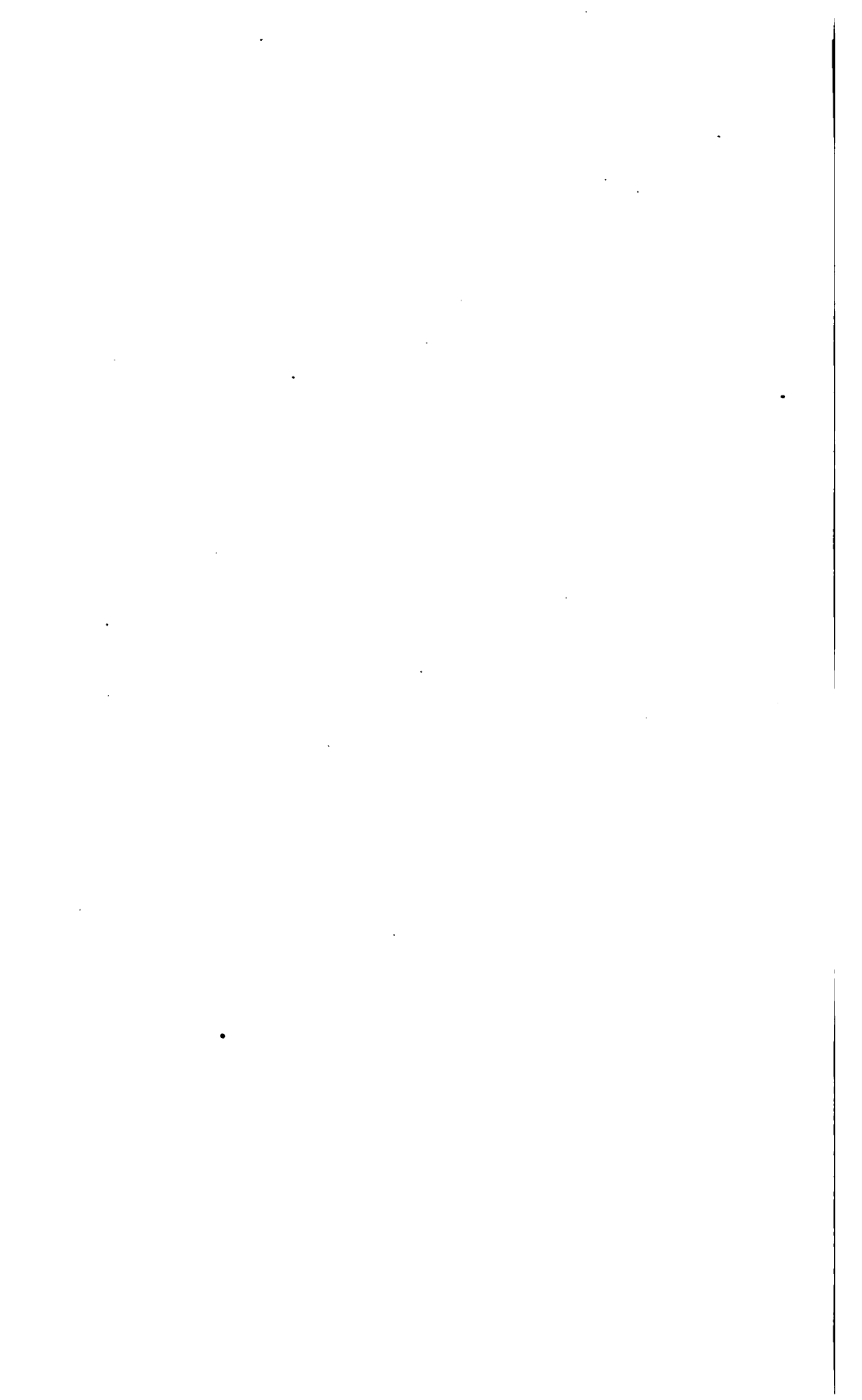
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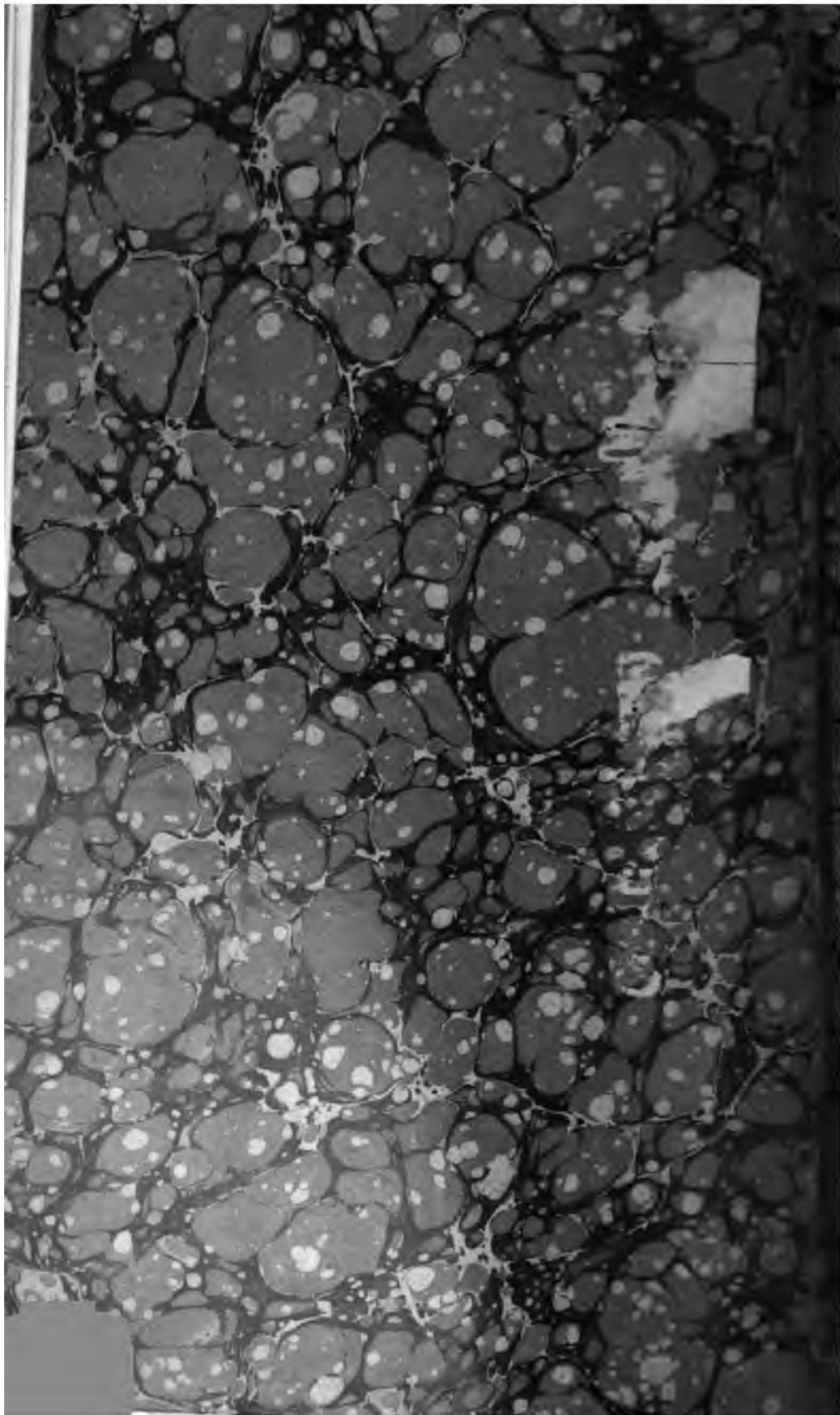
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