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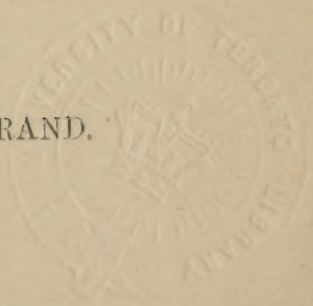
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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1896.

MISCELLANEA CRITICA II.

1. Soph. *Oed. R.* 449 sqq.

λέγω δέ σοι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν πάλαι
ζητεῖς ἀπειλῶν κἀνακηρύσσω φόνον
τὸν Λαίειον, οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε,
ξένος λόγῳ μέτοικος, εἴτα δ' ἐγγενῆς
φανήσεται Θεβαῖος, κτέ.

THE words κἀνακηρύσσω—Λαίειον are pronounced by Nauck to be 'schwerlich echt.' But why should they have been padded in? Were it not better to pronounce them 'schwerlich richtig' and seek to mend them? Why may we not change φόνον to φονέα (disyllabic as elsewhere) and place a comma after κηρύσσω?

Again, the expression ξένος λόγῳ μέτοικος has a more than suspicious look. The Schneidewin-Nauck note reads: 'Zu verstehen λόγῳ μὲν ὢν ξένος μέτοικος.' Professor Jebb writes: 'a foreign sojourner: ξένος, because Oedipus was reputed a Corinthian. In poetry μέτοικος is simply *one who comes to dwell with others*: it has not the full technical sense which belonged to it at Athens, a resident *alien*: hence the addition of ξένος was necessary. Cp. *O.C.* 934 μέτοικος τῆσδε γῆς: *Ant.* 868 πρὸς οὓς (to the dead) ἄδ' ἐγὼ μέτοικος ἔρχομαι.' But in the passage in the *O.C.* Professor Jebb (*ad loc.*) finds the irony to consist in the political connotation of μέτοικος: and certainly the point of the touching verse in the *Antigone* lies in the fact that Antigone is to be an alien (a living soul) dwelling among the legitimate inhabitants of the tomb. So too in Aesch. *Ag.* 57 the vultures are pictured as μέτοικοι seeking

the protection of their προστάται—the gods of the air and mountain-tops where the birds fly and nest. It thus appears that ξένος is not necessary in our passage. Furthermore, note the position of the word, its emphasis. I cannot read the passage as it stands otherwise than thus: 'That man is here, a *stranger* in the guise of a metic; but then a native shall he be shown—a Theban,' etc. If this view of the passage be correct, we ought to have here not μέτοικος, but rather ἀσπός ('a stranger in the guise of a citizen'): cf. *O.C.* 13 μανθάνειν γὰρ ἤκομεν ξένοι πρὸς ἀστῶν, and *O.T.* 817. Are we then to alter μέτοικος? No; for we have the contrast to 'stranger,' 'alien,' in ἐγγενῆς at the end of the verse. Let us then try the easy alteration of ξένος to ξυνὸν (cf. *infra* 457 with Jebb's note) and observe the result. We shall now read: 'That man is here—*dwelling among you* in the guise of a resident alien; but then a native shall he be shown—a Theban,' etc. For the contrast of words placed one before the hephthemimeral caesura, the other at the end of the trimeter cf. v. 416 τοῖς σοῖσι αὐτοῦ νέρθε || κἀπὶ γῆς ἄνω, where the contrast is not aided by the absence of penthemimeral caesura as in v. 452. The occurrence of ξένην in v. 455 cannot be urged in support of ξένος in v. 452: it seems to be remotely contrasted with ἐγγενῆς and Θεβαῖος. Nor can it, I think, be made out that because we have ἐγγενῆς followed and enhanced by Θεβαῖος we should have ξένος followed and enhanced by

μέτοικος. The fact that we find in v. 457 *ση φανήσεται δὲ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ξυνὼν* | *ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς καὶ πατὴρ κτέ.* might be urged in favour of *ξυνὼν* in v. 452; but this need not be pressed.

I would read the whole passage here discussed as follows:—

λέγω δέ σοι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν πάλαι
ζητεῖς ἀπειλῶν κἀνακηρύσσων, φονεῖα
τὸν Δαίειον, οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε
ξυνὼν, λόγῳ μέτοικος, εἶτα δ' ἐγγεγῆς
φανήσεται Θηβαίος, κτέ.

2. *Ib.* 705 *sq.*

μάντιν μὲν οὖν κακοῦργον εἰσπέμψας, ἐπεὶ
τό γ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν πᾶν ἐλευθεροὶ στόμα.

Perhaps the key to the right reading of this difficult passage has been given (unconsciously) by Nauck. He suggests (without assigning a reason) *πανοῦργον* for *κακοῦργον*. Assume now that a variant (or a combination of text and gloss) was once written thus in v. 705:—

κακ
πανοῦργον.

Assume further that *παν-* was written in such a way as to oust a word of the same number of letters in the same place in the verse below. We shall then have:—

μάντιν μὲν οὖν πανοῦργον εἰσπέμψας, ἐπεὶ
τό γ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν...ἐλευθεροὶ στόμα.

If we are on the right track, we may now insert *οὐκ* in v. 706. Thus, with the additional change of *ἐλευθεροὶ στόμα* to a compound verb (a change often suggested), we shall read:

τό γ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν <οὐκ> ἐλευθεροστομεῖ.

The emendation of *ἐλευθεροὶ στόμα* reminds me of a correction in *Philoctet.* 108 that has not, I think, been suggested. For τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν read τὸ ψευδηγορεῖν. The origin of the corruption 'liegt auf der Hand,' as German philologists say. The verb *ψευδηγορεῖν* occurs (but at the beginning of a trimeter) Aesch. *Prom.* 1032.

3. *Ib.* *l.* 715 it seems altogether probable that at least *ποτὲ* at the end is wrong. v. 715 and the following verse run thus:—

καὶ τὸν μὲν (v. 855 makes Mr. Blaydes' suggestion *καὶ τοι νῦν* very plausible), ὥσπερ γ' ἡ φάτις, ξένοι ποτὲ | ληισταὶ φονεύουσ' ἐν τριπλαῖς ἀμαξίταις. Professor van Herwer-

den says in his *Lucubrations Sophocleae*, p. 44, that he should not be displeased with *τινὲς* for *ποτέ*. Perhaps this change, weak though the word *τινὲς* seems, is all that is necessary; but I would suggest the possibility, if not the propriety, of reading *ξένης ἐπι* (cf. *O.C.* 184).

4. *Ib.* 815 *sq.* we may well utilize all the material that L gives us (see Professor Jebb's critical note *ad loc.*), and Dindorf's conjecture *ἐτ'* for *ἔστ'* besides, to elicit the following:—

τίς τοῦδέ γ' ἄλλος νῦν ἔτ' ἀθλιώτερος—
τίς ἐχθροδαίμων μᾶλλον—ἂν γένουτ' ἀνὴρ;

Read thus as a single period the double question gains vastly in power.

5. Here I cannot forbear from adverting to the splendid passage *ib.* 420 *sq.*, where (as Mr. Blaydes long ago saw, but did not perhaps indicate with sufficient clearness) we should read (it is merely a matter of punctuation):—

βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς ποίος οὐκ ἔσται λιμὴν—
ποίος Κιθαιρῶν οὐχί—σύμφωνος τάχα;

'With thy cry what harbour (of the sea)—
—what Cithaeron (mountain of the land)—
shall not ring full soon?'

The arrangement of vv. 420–1 is strikingly similar to that of vv. 815–6.

Professor van Herwerden's attempt on vv. 420–1 (*Lucubr. Soph.* p. 42) may be cited *animi causa*:—

βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς ποίος οὐκ ἔσται μέλη,
ποίος θ' ἐταίρων οὐχί σύμφωνος γόος;

III.

1. Eurip. *Med.* 214–218.

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξῆλθον δόμων
μή μοί τι μέμψησθ'. οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν
σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας—τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἄπο,
τοὺς δ' ἐν θυραίοις—, οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἡσυχου ποδὸς
δύσνοιαν* ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ραιθυμίαν.

* MSS. *δύσκειαν*: em. Prin.

There are two classes, the *σεμνοὶ* and the *ἡσυχῶν*. The *σεμνοὶ* again are divided into *οἱ ὀμμάτων ἄπο* and *οἱ ἐν θυραίοις*. The latter class may be more briefly described as *οἱ θυραῖοι*; for the expression *ἐν θυραίοις* seems due, in part at least, to *οἶδα* ('I have known others among aliens'). At all events, the meaning of the latter division seems sufficiently clear. The *μὲν* and *δέ* show us that the former class must be distinctly opposed to *οἱ ἐν θυραίοις* (or *οἱ*

θυραῖοι). But οἱ ὀμμάτων ἄπο is fairly meaningless. Emendation suggests itself. The natural contrast to the phrase τοὺς δ' ἐν θυραίοις would be τοὺς μὲν ἐν οἰκείοις, or τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους. The expression ὀμμάτων ἄπο cannot suggest such a sense, but αἰμάτων ἄπο can and does; nor is the source of the error far to seek. The last two words of v. 219 are ὁ φ θ α λ μ οῖς βροτῶν.

2. *Ib.* 340-3.

μίαν με μείναι τήνδ' ἕασον ἡμέραν
καὶ ξυμπεράναι φροντίδ' ἢ φειξόμεθα
παισίν τ' ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ἐπεὶ πατήρ
οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ, μηχανήσασθαι τέκνοις.

That this pointing (comma after ἐμοῖς and after προτιμᾷ) is right seems tolerably certain from *Alc.* 761 sq. τῶν ἐν Ἀδμήτου κακῶν | οὐδὲν προτιμῶν and *Aristoph. Ran.* 655 ἐπεὶ προτιμᾷς γ' οὐδὲν (the positive *ib.* 638 προτιμήσανιά τι).

In the passage in the *Medea* we may supply αὐτῶν = τῶν παιδῶν with προτιμᾷ. If this be true, τέκνοις cannot stand at the close of v. 343, but must give way to another word. I would suggest τινά.

3. *Ib.* 560 sq.

—γγνώσκων ὅτι
πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἔκποδῶν φίλος.

Read as far as ἔκποδῶν, and you have no fault to find; but φίλος seems to introduce an unnecessary restriction. Shall we not rather read thus:—

πένητα φεύγειν πᾶς τις ἔκποδῶν φιλεῖ?

4. *Ib.* 776 sqq. I venture, with some hesitation, to propose the following:—

μολόντι δ' αὐτῶι μαλθακοὺς λέξω λόγους,
ὡς καὶ δοκεῖ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει<ν>—
γάμοι τυράννων, οἷς προδοὺς ἡμᾶς ἔχει—
καὶ ξύμφορ' εἶναι καὶ καλῶς ἐγνωσμένα.

5. *Ib.* 1111 should we not read φροῦδος ἐς Ἄϊδο υ?

6. *Ib.* 1276 I would accept M. Weil's arrangement but change the pronoun and the pointing, reading thus:—

τέκνοις σοι δοκεῖ;

IV.

1. *Thucyd.* 6. 11, 2.

Σικελιώται δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὡς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἦσσαν δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι, κτέ.

After ἔχουσι Classen indicates a lacuna; Herbst admires the elliptical form of

expression and scouts the idea of a lacuna. Both scholars supply the omission in the same way: οὐ δεινοὶ εἶναι, apparently ignoring the fact that Σικελιώται δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ δεινοὶ εἶναι is a strange way of saying Σικελιώται δ' οὐ μοι δοκοῦσι δεινοὶ εἶναι. So much for the German Greek: let us turn to Thucydides himself. The sentence (*pace Herbstii*) demands a negative near its head in order to yield any proper sense as it stands: the material for supplying the ellipsis is ready to hand in δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι: the clauses may have been dislocated. In fine why not read thus: Σικελιώται δ' <οὐκ> ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὡς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἦσσαν, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι, κτέ.?

2. *Ib.* 6. 17, 3 I would read thus:—

ὁ, τι δὲ ἕκαστος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λέγων πείθειν οἴεται ἢ στασιάζειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαβῶν κτέ. The Scholiast's paraphrase εἴτε ἐκ τοῦ λόγῳ πείθειν περιγένοιτο αὐτῶι τὸ λαβεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν shows the reading στασιάζειν to be ancient.

V.

Heliodor. Aethiop. 10. 14, 25 sqq. Bekk.

τῆς γε μὴν κατὰ τὴν χροίαν ἀπορίας φράζει μὲν σοι καὶ ἡ ταῖναι τὴν λύσιν, ὁμολογούσης ἐν αὐτῇ ταυτησὶ Περίσνης ἐσπακέναι τινὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ φαντασίας ὁμοιοτήτων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἄνδρομέδαν πρὸς σὲ ὁμιλίας ὀρωμένης. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλως πιστώσασθαι βούλει, πρόκειται τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐπισκόπει τὴν Ἄνδρομέδαν, ἀπαράλλακτον ἐν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ κόρῃ δεικνυμένην.

All is right here except the spaced words. These are senseless; but the following words of Persina's letter (4. 8, 35 sqq. [pp. 106 sq.]) help us out: ἐπειδὴ δέ σε λευκὴν ἀπέτεκον, ἀπρόσφυλον λιθόπων χροίαν ἀπανγίζουσαν, ἐγὼ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγνώριζον, ὅτι μοι παρὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα προσβλέψαι τὴν Ἄνδρομέδαν ἢ γραφῇ παρασχοῦσα, κτέ. We may, therefore, read ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς σὲ ὁμιλίαν ὀρωμένης. The gloss Ἄνδρομέδας wrongly inserted is the *fons et origo malorum*.

VI.

In Statius's *Thebaid*, 2, 294 sqq., we find these verses (the reference is to the necklace of Harmonia):—

Teque etiam, infelix, perhibent, Iocasta, decorum
possidisse nefas; vultus hac laude colebas,
heu quibus, heu placitura toris! post
longior ordo.

Evidently *laude* is wrong; but Baehrens's *luce* does not seem extremely probable

palaeographically, nor does it yield a brilliant sense. I would suggest *clade*. The explanation is simple: *hacclade* came to be written *haclade*, and was 'corrected' into *hac laude*. We may, perhaps, find further support for *clade* in vv. 301—303.

VII.

One of my students, Miss F. L. Dunn of Barnard College, has suggested the following excellent and, I think, certain correction in Eurip. *I. T.* 1008 sq.: *κοινόφρων δὲ σοὶ | καὶ ζῆν θέλοιμ' ἄν καὶ θανεῖν λαχῶν ἕσον.*
MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

AGE EPONUMOI AT ATHENS.

In his valuable work on Greek Constitutional Antiquities Gilbert gives an entirely erroneous interpretation of the Age Eponumoi (οἱ τῶν ἡλικίων ἐπώνυμοι) mentioned in chapter 53 of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*. In spite of the language of this treatise, which he accepts as authentic, he identifies the Age Eponumos with the Archon Eponumos. The true theory has been broadly indicated by Dr. Sandys, but it requires some patient thought and an examination in various aspects for its full apprehension; and the following developments may be of service to the student.

The Ephebos was enrolled in his nineteenth year, not his eighteenth as Gilbert supposes. This follows from the fact that in forty-one more years he will be in his sixtieth. The citizen owed his country forty-one years of military service, and accordingly the hoplites were divided into forty-one sets, not forty-two as Gilbert states. The forty-second set furnished not hoplites but arbitrators. Each set of citizens, as they were annually enrolled, received the name of one of forty-two mythical heroes. Under this Eponumos they remained for forty-two years: after that they fell out of the roll, were no longer liable to serve as hoplites or arbitrators, and left their Eponumos free by a sort of metempsychosis to give his name to a younger generation. The following propositions give various consequences of this arrangement:—

All men of the same age, between the limits of nineteen and sixty, had the same Eponumos.

In different years the same Eponumos indicated a different age.

In any given year, in order to ascertain what age was indicated by a given Eponumos, a reference to the calendar would be requisite to see in what archonship or *anno domini*, to use an anachronism, the given Eponumos was Ephebos.

After serving as Eponumos to one set of Epheboi, as these kept him to themselves throughout their period of service, a hero could not serve again as Eponumos to a different set of men until an interval of forty-two years had intervened. The Eponumos of a new set of Epheboi would always be the hero who had designated the arbitrators of the last year. There could be no other hero available, as the remaining forty-one were already designators of sets who had not completed their period of duty. The Eponumos of the ex-arbitrators would be available because the ex-arbitrators had now dropped out of the rolls into private life, so far as regarded military service or arbitration. Two problems now remain, which require a little care in the solution:—

(1). We read: τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον τῶν ἐπώνυμων λαβόντες οἱ τετταράκοντα διανέμουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς διαίτας. Here ὁ τελευταῖος is equivalent to ὁ πρῶτος. How is this to be explained? Let us name the forty-two Eponumoi by the twenty-four letters of the English alphabet + the first eighteen of the Greek alphabet; i.e. A, B, C... X, Y, Z + α, β, γ... π, ρ, σ.

Let us suppose that in 1800 A.D. the Eponumos of the Epheboi is A: then in 1801 the Eponumos of another set will be B, and A will denote those in their twentieth year. In 1802 the Eponumos of a third set will be C, B will denote those in their twentieth year, A those in their twenty-first; and so on. A complete table of all the forty-two Eponumoi, embracing forty-two years, would make the result clear, but would occupy considerable space. Any one, however, who takes the trouble to count will see that in 1841 those who have A for Eponumos will be in their sixtieth year: those who have B in their fifty-ninth, and so on: those who have ρ in their twentieth, and those who have σ in their nineteenth. Let us advance to 1842. We assign A as Eponumos to the new Epheboi; we find

those under B in their sixtieth year, and so on; those under ρ in their twenty-first, and those under σ in their twentieth. We devote B to arbitration, and we have to find that B is the *last* set inscribed on the pillar. This condition will be evidently satisfied if the order of inscription on the pillar is the same as the order of age, and not otherwise: *i.e.* it must be the following: A, $\sigma, \rho, \dots, \gamma, \beta, \alpha, Z, Y, X, \dots, D, C, B$. In other words the inscription must proceed from A backwards, first through the Greek alphabet from σ to α , and then through the English alphabet from Z to B.

(2). We read: *χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμψουσιν προγράφουσιν ἀπὸ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπωνύμου μέχρι τίνων δὲ στρατεύεσθαι.*

Very well. Suppose that the current year is 1842, and that an expedition is decreed of all the hoplites between the ages of thirty and forty inclusive: how must the programma be worded if the ages are to be defined by archons and eponymous heroes? Let me be permitted for the sake of clearness to call the archon eponomos by the name of the *annus domini*; *e.g.* 1800, 1801, &c. In the year 1842 if, as above assumed, σ is the eponomos of the hoplites aged twenty, and ρ of those aged twenty-one, we may easily see by counting that the Eponomos of those aged thirty will be θ , and the Eponomos of those aged forty will be X (of the English alphabet). Again if, as was assumed, σ was the Eponomos of Epheboi in 1841, and ρ in 1840, and so on; θ must have been eponymous hero of Epheboi in 1831, and X in 1821. If then the decree begins by naming the youngest hoplites and latest archons, it will be to this effect: *στρατενέσθωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ 1831 ἄρχοντος μέχρι 1821 ἄρχοντος ἐγγραφέντες· οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ θ, ἦ, ζ, ε, δ, γ, β, α, Z, Y, X, ἐπώνυμοι.* If it begins with the earliest archons and oldest hoplites, its purport will be: *στρατενέσθωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ 1821 ἄρχοντος μέχρι 1831 ἄρχοντος ἐγγραφέντες· οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ X, Y, Z, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, ἦ, θ, ἐπώνυμοι.* It may be observed that ἀπὸ in the text of the *Athenian Constitution* has not the same meaning in connection with the eponymous archon and the eponymous hero: in the former case it denotes a number of enrolments successive in time; in the latter a number of contemporaneous divisions arranged in definite order. This double meaning produces an obscurity that perhaps is one of the factors that have caused the description of the Eponomoi to be misinterpreted. These details were not clearly before my mind

when I said in my Translation that the cycle of forty-two eponymous heroes corresponded to forty-two years in the calendar. Every one of the forty-two heroes might be mentioned in every year of the calendar. For instance in 1800 P would represent citizens of sixty years of age, C those of fifty-nine, and so on; ρ those of twenty-one, σ those of twenty. And similarly in every year every Eponomos would denote a group of a certain age. No Eponomos, then, can be said to have had a special relation to any particular year of the calendar. We may note that an annual revision of the names under each Eponomos would be requisite, the group denoted varying from year to year as it was gradually diminished by death.

Before concluding, two kinds of eponymia may be distinguished: (1) One kind only involves paronymia: *i.e.* the names of φυλαί, φυλέται, δήμοι, δημόται, γένη, γενιήται, were not the very names of eponymous heroes, but only derivatives from them. (2) The second involves homonymia, *i.e.* the two objects that stand in the relation of eponyms have absolutely the same name. Nautical matters furnish a good example: *e.g.* τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς νεὺς θεὸν ἔχουσα τὴν Ἴσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἢ πρῶρα, quoted by Cecil Torr in *Ancient Ships*, p. 36. Here the ship and the goddess have the identical name, Isis. In the nomenclature of judicial procedure letters of the alphabet often discharge the function of eponyms: *e.g.* A, B, Γ, &c. are eponyms of boxes (κιβώτια) containing juror tickets, of contingents coming from juror brigades (μέρη) and of the total brigades. Again other letters λ, μ, ν, &c. are eponyms of other boxes containing other juror tickets, of the composite juror sections whose tickets they contain, and of the courts where those jurors are detailed to serve. In the following lines of the *Ecclēsiastus*:

καὶ κηρύξω τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοῖαν
ἀκολουθεῖν
τὴν βασιλείον δεινήσοντας, τὸ δὲ θῆτ' ἐς τὴν
παρὰ ταύτην,
τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ κάπ' εἰς τὴν στοῖαν χωρεῖν τὴν
ἀλφετόπωλον,

Theta is the homonym-eponym of a contingent from a brigade of jurors. The expression τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτα does not indeed employ the figure of eponymia to denote another contingent from another brigade by the letter Beta: but according as we suppose the preposition ἐκ to relate to the box

that held their tickets or to the whole brigade of which they are a contingent, it implies that Beta is an eponym of the box or of the brigade. The text, speaking of an

Eponymos as having arbitrated, shows that the 42 Eponymous Heroes were homonym-eponyms of the arbitrators and hoplites.

E. POSTE.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF φάναί.

THE last number of the *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses* contains an article which purports to be 'Quaestiones de Elocutione Demosthenica,' but is in effect rather a careless analysis of the Index Demosthenicus of S. Preuss. Its compiler is Bruno Kaiser.

In the catalogue of *Verba dicendi et declarandi* on pp. 5 ff. the following passages are quoted: 16, 20; 19, 88; 20, 135; 22, 23; 24, 204 as supplying examples of φάναί with its sense completed by ὅτι, while other three passages are cited, viz. 4, 48; 21, 98; and 27, 19 as furnishing instances of φάναί followed by ὡς. Here are eight instances in all of a most abnormal construction. But any one who will look the passage out will find that Kaiser has misinterpreted 21, 98. As for 16, 20 and 19, 88, he does not appear to understand that a τοῦτο φῆ is a very different thing from a simple φῆ. Thus the examples are reduced to three of ὅτι and two of ὡς, and these are all most instructive, but not in the way which Kaiser imagines. In two of them the ὅτι clause begins the sentence: 20, 135 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἔν τι τῶν αἰσχροῶν ἐστί, πάντας ἀν' ἡγοῦμαι φῆσαι. 24, 204 καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν προσήκει πάντας κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικούντας, εἰ οἷδ' ὅτι πάντες ἄν, εἴ τις ἔροιο, φῆσαιτε. In the other

three the construction with ὅτι or ὡς is used at a distance from the verb either to increase the orderliness of the sentence, or to add to it the suggestiveness which a late Greek would have called πανουργία. Perhaps I had better quote them: 22, 23 ὅταν μὲν λοιδορίαν ταῦτα καὶ αἰτίαν εἶναι φῆ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὡς ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔλεγχος, ἃ δ' οὗτος ποιεῖ λοιδορία καὶ αἰτία· ὅταν δ' ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας προσῆκεν ἐπαγγέλλειν ἡμῖν, ἐκείνο ὑπολαμβάνετε ὅτι κ.τ.λ.; 27, 19 οὗτος δὲ δὴ ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα ἐπιμεληθεὶς οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀποδείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνίστε μὲν φησὶν ἀργῆσαι τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἐνίστε δ' ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐπεμελήθη τούτων, ὃ δ' ἐπίτροπος Μιλίας, ὃ ἀπελεύθερος ὃ ἡμέτερος, διώκησεν αὐτὰ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου μοι προσήκει λόγων λαβεῖν; 4, 48 ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιϋόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις πόλεις τειχίζεις, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα.

It has seemed to me worth while to point out this mistake, on the one hand because it is characteristic of Kaiser's method, and on the other because any work upon Demosthenes coming from Halle at the present time is presumably deserving of confidence.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

CLAUDIUS AND THE QUAESTURA GALLICA.

WE are told by Suetonius that Claudius not only transferred the supervision of the harbour at Ostia and of the cornships from one of the quaestors of the year to a procurator of his own, but also abolished the quaestura Gallica (Suet. *Claud.* 25). What this Gallic quaestorship precisely was is matter for conjecture, but the following view is at least possible. The duties of a quaestor were always more or less financial. As long as Cisalpine Gaul continued to be a separate province under the government of a

proconsul, there must have been a quaestor stationed there, who may very well have been known as the quaestor Gallicus. When Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated with Italy by Augustus, it shared of course in the immunity from direct taxation which all Italy enjoyed, and thus one important part of the Gallic quaestor's duties must have come to an end. It is however conceivable that Augustus may have thought it expedient still to keep a quaestor in Cisalpine Gaul to look after the extensive

state domains in that district (*saltus publici*), just as in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 4, 27) a quaestor seems to have been stationed in South Italy to look after the great public grazing lands of Apulia and Calabria. Claudius, when he abolished this Gallic quaestorship, must have made some provision for the supervision of the state domains, and it is natural to assume that in Cisalpine Gaul, as at Ostia, the quaestor was replaced by imperial procuratores. That such a change was made may perhaps be inferred from the language of Claudius' edict about the Anauni (Wilmanns, *Inscr. Lat.* 2842). In that edict Claudius refers to the extensive domains (*saltus*) in North Italy 'which,' as he says, 'I learn belong

to me' [*mei juris esse*]*—*and which it is clear from the language of the edict were under the management of imperial procuratores. It may also be worth while to notice that after this period no further traces are found of a quaestor in South Italy, but, on the other hand, the traces of the presence of imperial procuratores become increasingly numerous. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the great public grazing lands of Samnium and Apulia were under the supreme control of the procurator a rationibus (*Wilm. Inscr. Lat.* 2841) and from a passage in Statius (*Statius, Silv.* 3, 3, 92) we gather that the same was the case as early as the reign of Nero.

H. F. PELHAM.

ON THE WORD ἀντηρίδες IN THUCYDIDES VII. 36, 2.

καὶ ἀντηρίδας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέτειναν πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξήχεις ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἔξωθεν.

It would be difficult to mention any sentence in Thucydides the interpretation of which is in a more unsatisfactory condition than the one which I propose to discuss.

It is not necessary to quote what has been written on the subject by commentators or translators from Stephanus downwards. Most of the explanations given are obscure, and some that are not obscure are absurd. And they all proceed on the assumption, which I believe to be wrong, that the ἀντηρίδες were of the nature of prows or stays, and were intended to strengthen the ἐπωτίδες. This is the view taken in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* and in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*; and a similar view is accepted, though with hesitation, by Grote and Freeman. Grote indeed says: 'The words which Thucydides employs to describe the position of these ἀντηρίδες are to me very obscure; nor do I think that any of the commentators clear them up satisfactorily.' And Freeman says: 'I hope I may be forgiven for not risking myself in the mysteries of ἐπωτίδες and such like.' Thirlwall contents himself with saying that the Syracusans did as the Corinthians had done before the battle of Erineus, that is, they 'strengthened the bows of their galleys by solid timbers'; and afterwards, when describing the action, he says: 'the solidity of the Syracusan

bows overpowered, as had been foreseen, the slighter frame of the enemy's galleys.' He does not say a word about strengthening the ἐπωτίδες with spars, and so far as his language goes I think it is not impossible that he may have held the view which I am going to put forward.

I believe that the commentators have all missed the meaning of the passage, first, through putting a wrong interpretation on the word ἀντηρίδες, secondly, through the more serious mistake of giving a wrong and, as I think, impossible meaning to the preposition πρὸς.

I will first give my own rendering of the sentence, and I will then try to support it by arguments on both these points.

Thucydides describes three peculiarities in the construction of the Syracusan galleys: (1) short, stumpy prows; (2) strong, heavy ἐπωτίδες; (3) extra thick sides, or, as we should say, bows (τοίχους). And he denotes the whole arrangement collectively, in chapter 40, by ἐμβόλων παρασκευή. It is the third of these peculiarities which I believe Thucydides is describing in the sentence with which we are concerned. And this third peculiarity, though by no means the least important of the three, is omitted altogether in the explanations of the passage which have been given hitherto. I render the sentence as follows: 'And they strengthened the bows (τοίχους) both inside and outside with additional thicknesses of timber for a length of nine feet from the

ἐπωτίδες.' I think it will be conceded that if the sentence will bear this meaning, it is more intelligible than any that has yet been given to it.

First as to the meaning of ἀντηρίδες. If we had nothing but etymology to guide us, we should naturally take the word to mean 'something attached to the face or front of something else.' And this I believe to be substantially its meaning. Omitting Euripides, *Rhesus* 785, where Musgrave's correction ἀρτηριῶν is now generally accepted, and omitting also, for the present, the references in Suidas and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the word ἀντηρίδες is found in two passages besides the one in Thucydides. These are Xenophon, *Cyngeticus* 10, 7, and Polybius viii. 6, 6. In the former Xenophon is describing the mode of taking the wild boar by means of nets, and he says that when the net has been placed in position it must be held open by means of κλώνες used as ἀντηρίδες. This cannot mean 'props,' for he has already spoken of them, and has said that forked sticks are to be used for that purpose. It can only mean long sticks used as stretchers or spreaders, to hold up the net between and beyond the props.

Polybius, in the passage where he uses the word, is describing the contrivance used by Marcellus which he calls σαμβύκη. He tells us that it consisted of a large ladder or companion, four feet in width, placed in the fore part of two vessels lashed together. This companion was hoisted up by men on the poops, by means of ropes rove through blocks fixed at the mast-heads; while men on the fore part of the vessels shoved the ladder forward ταῖς ἀντηρίσιν. Lipsius (*Poliiorcet.*) translates these words by 'fulcris aut tignis.' It is a pity he did not give a drawing illustrating the operation. I am quite sure that any sailor would find it as difficult to believe that the men on the bows used *fulera* or *tigna* for pushing the ladder, when they had the ladder itself to take hold of, as to believe that the men on the poop used *tigna* for hauling on the ropes. Besides the article ταῖς makes Lipsius's rendering impossible, and compels us (assuming that there was no part of the ordinary ship's tackling called ἀντηρίδες) to understand the word of some part of the κλίμαξ itself. And if so it can hardly mean anything but the planks or timbers which formed its sides.

Both these uses of the word in Xenophon and Polybius would then correspond very fairly with the meaning suggested by its

etymology. And so also would the meaning 'stout planks, or timbers, attached to the ship's sides' which I have suggested for the passage in Thucydides.

How then did any one ever come to give the word the meaning 'props' or 'stays'? I believe the mistake arose first from the old erroneous derivation for ἐρείδω, given in the *Etymologicum Magnum*; secondly from the use of the word in architecture to denote a buttress. Vitruvius must have borrowed the word from Greek writers, and in the passage where he uses it he explains it quite clearly to mean a buttress. But a buttress is not a 'prop,' which is *capreoelus* or *tibicen*. Nor does a buttress act by a longitudinal thrust, except in the case of what we call a flying buttress. It acts by stiffening and thickening the wall from bottom to top, and the pressure is exerted laterally not longitudinally. It is not even essential to a buttress that it should be thicker at the bottom than at the top, although it is true the 'anterides' described by Vitruvius are intended to be so constructed. In fact the ordinary additions which a bricklayer makes, at intervals, to a garden wall would, according to my view, be 'anterides' just as much as the buttresses of a cathedral. If this view is correct, the meanings which the word has in Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, and Vitruvius may all be comprehended in the following definition of ἀντηρίδες: 'Pieces of wood or other material attached to any structure for the purpose of strengthening or stiffening it.'

It is true that Suidas is generally supposed to give an entirely different meaning. He says, if the reading is correct; ἀντήρις δὲ ἀντήριδος (sic) καὶ σημαίνει τὴν θυρίδα. I had thought of suggesting *σανίδα* for *θυρίδα*: but in reality it is not necessary to give the word *θυρίς* universally (or even, as it would appear, generally) the sense 'an opening.' In Herodotus ii. 96 the word *θύρη* means 'a raft'; and again in viii. 51 the word *θύρησι* means boards used as barricades. But the strongest passage is in Athenaeus 521 F., where, quoting a story told by Heraclides of Pontus, he tells us that the floor of a temple was covered closely with plates of copper, κατεχάλκωσαν θυρίσιν, in order to stop a miraculous flow of blood. There is therefore no need to suggest any alteration in Suidas, who probably means by *θυρίδα* a board or plate, not a window or opening. And if so, his words confirm my view that the essential meaning of ἀντήρις is 'something attached to the face of something else,' and that it would therefore be a most natural and

obvious word to use for the sheathing or lining of a galley's bows.

I have said that the meaning given to the passage in Thucydides by the commentators involves, in my opinion, a misuse of the preposition *πρός*. If Thucydides had intended to express 'extending from the *ἐπωτίδες* to the ship's sides' he must, I think, have written *εἰς τοὺς τοίχους*, not *πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους*. The preposition *πρός*, when used in a physical sense with the accusative, means either 'motion to' or 'attachment to' a thing. The former meaning is out of the question; but the latter is exactly what is required. It will be noticed that the words *πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους* follow *δπέτειναν*. It seems to me hardly possible to read these words together without giving them the meaning 'they attached to the ship's sides.' It is scarcely necessary to illustrate this, not uncommon, use of *πρός*. I will merely quote three instances: Sophocles, *Ajax* 108, *δεθεῖς πρὸς κίων' ἐρκείου στέγης*, Plato, *Phaedo* 83 D, *προσηλοῖ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα*, and *Timaeus* 82 D, *κολλᾷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀστέων φύσιν*. Also Thucydides himself in iv. 110, 3 has *οὐσης τῆς πόλεως πρὸς λόφον*, and in vi. 101, 3 *τὸ πρὸς τὸν κρημνόν*.

I will only add, in confirmation of what I have said, (1) that it is inconceivable to me that the Syracusans should have omitted to strengthen their bows, or that Thucydides should have omitted to mention the fact; (2) that there was no necessity to add 'props' or 'stays' to the *ἐπωτίδες*, for Thucydides tells us that they were made *παχέαι*, and 'props' carried to, or through,

the ship's sides would have given them no additional strength; (3) that Thucydides himself, in section 3 of the chapter, implies that the bows were made thicker than usual, for he says that the bows of the Athenian galleys were *λεπτὰ, κοῖλα* and *ἀσθενῆ*, in comparison with those of the Syracusan galleys which were *στέριφα* and *παχέα*. These epithets are admirably chosen, if the view I take of the passage is correct; but they certainly are not very well chosen if they only describe the difference between *ἐπωτίδες* with props and *ἐπωτίδες* without props. (4) Finally in chapter 40, where he describes the action, he tells us that, owing to the special build of the Syracusan galleys, they stove in the Athenian triremes and carried away a great part of the oarsmen's galleries (*παρεξίρεσις*).¹ This effect would be produced, not by the beaks, or prows, which were shortened for the very purpose of bringing the strong bows into play, nor even, completely, by the *ἐπωτίδες*, but by the broad part of the strengthened bows, grinding against and tearing away the thinner bows and sides of the Athenian triremes.

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¹ I am aware that the meaning which I here give to *παρεξίρεσις* is different from that usually given. This is a matter which requires more than a short note for its discussion. I may mention, however, that I have the authority of E. Assmann, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, for the meaning I have given; and I have other stronger reasons which I may perhaps take another opportunity of explaining.

RHYMES AND ASSONANCES IN THE *AENEID*.

IN the *Aeneid* I have noticed about sixteen accurately rhyming couplets, not reckoning about half-a-dozen others in which the same word or words are repeated for an ending. There are other examples too where the rhyme is almost perfect; with yet others where verses which accurately rhyme alternate with others which do not. Further, there are series of two, three, or more verses whose endings, though not in strict rhyme, are more or less assonant.

Now rhyme is a thing so comparatively rare in Latin verses, that the question naturally suggests itself: Are these examples mere oversights, which would have

been removed on revision, or were they inserted of set purpose and for special effect? That the latter is the true reply will become evident upon examination of the cases. In the first place the verses of each couplet are arranged to correspond in time, rhythm and general effect. Secondly, the sounds chosen for rhyme are practically but two—the 3rd pers. of an imperfect tense, and the sound *-entem* or *-entum*. The ending *-ator* occurs once; and there is besides one case where the reading is doubtful. Thirdly, all these verses have trisyllabic terminations, and, in accordance with Virgil's usual practice in such case, have mostly the strong caesura in

the 4th foot. Lastly, such rhymes are not peculiar to the *Aeneid*.

But the careful correspondence of sound

and arrangement will best be felt by glancing at a few examples.

I. 625-6.

Ipsē	hos	tis	Teuc	ros	in	signi	laude	fer	ebat	
Seque	or	tum	anti	qua	Teuc	rorum	a	stirp	vol	ebat.

Here note in both verses the heavy spondaic rhythm, the elision in first foot, and the (exceptional in these rhyming verses) bucolic caesura: as well as the italicized resemblances in sound.

II. 124-5.

Flagitat	et	mihi	iam	mul	ti cru	dele	can	ebant
Artifi	cis	scelus	et	taci	ti ven	tura	vid	ebant.

Here note pair of initial dactyls, strong caesura followed by disyllabic word in 2nd foot.

II. 456-7.

Saepius	Androma	che	fer	re	incomi	tata	sol	ebat			
Ad	socer	os,	et	av	o	puer	um	Astyan	acta	trah	ebat.

Here again we have the pair of initial dactyls, and the long penultimate words of identical structure; both, too, united to the preceding word by elision.

VI. 843-4.

Scipiad	as	clad	em	Liby	ae?	par	voque	pot	entem	
Fabrici	um	?	vel	te	sul	co,	Ser	rane,	ser	entem?

Here note initial quadrisyllabic proper name, and the similarly alliterating terminations.

VIII. 620-1.

Terribil	em	cris	tis	gale	am	flam	masque	vom	entem
Fatifer	umque	en	sem,	lor	icam	ex	aere	rig	entem.

Here the correspondence is so close and neat as to be strikingly obvious.

The rhymes are very unequally distributed among the different books of the *Aeneid*. In the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th, I have noticed but single couplets (i. 625, iii. 656, v. 385, vii. 187, ix. 182, x. 804, xi. 886); two instances occur both in the 2nd (124 and 456), and in the 8th (620 and 646); three in the 4th (189, 256 and 331); while the twelfth is the only book from which they seem to be altogether absent.

Finally, there occurs in book vii. (796) a peculiar case:

Et	Sac	ranae	aci	es,	et	picti	scuta	Lab	iei
Qui	sal	tus	Tiber	ine	tu	os sac	rumque	Num	iei.

Here the first verse will be seen to be in many respects exceptional, not to say suspicious, taking together the elision, division in middle,¹ lack of caesura in it. Then, too, the reading *Labici* seems to be doubtful. Perhaps *Lanini* was written. However, there stands the couplet, such as it is. The rhyme is not at all like the other instances

in the *Aeneid*, for it is a meaningless termination of a proper name, whereas the rest form significant syllables denoting action (usually sustained) which the poet desires to emphasize by repetition.

As for those rare cases in which the terminations of the verses in the couplet are formed by identical words, I have noticed half-a-dozen: none in the first six books, one each in the 7th (653), 9th (544), and

¹ Though this is not at all so rare as some books would have us believe.

11th (204), the other three in the 8th (271, 396 and 568), which book indeed is remarkable for the number and emphatic character of its rhymes and assonances; while from this class as well as the former the 12th is free.

In this class we note: 1st foot does not end with end of word unless in shape | — | 〰 |; 2nd foot has always caesura, strong with one exception; 4th has strong caesura, but, unlike the first class, the ending is as often disyllabic as trisyllabic.

VII. 653-4.

Mille | vir | os | ; dig | nus, | patri | is | qui | laetior | esset
Imperi | is | , et | cui | pater | haud | Me | zentius | esset.

Here the identity consists best in the final pair of verses the same similarity of structure as we found in the true rhyming couplets.

VIII. 396-7.

Quo | tibi | | Diva | me | i? | Simil | is | si | | cura | fu | isset
Tum | quoque | | fas | no | bis | Teuc | ros | ar | mare | fu | isset.

Here the identity reaches one syllable further. The similarity is again clear.

IX. 544-5.

Transfos | | si | lig | no | veni | unt. | Vix | | unus | Hel | enor
Et | Lycus | | e | lap | si : | quo | rum | pri | | maevus | Hel | enor

The termination is here of four syllables. But the most striking example is:—

VIII. 271-2.

Hanc | a | ram | lu | co | statu | it | quae | Maxima | semper
Dice | tur | no | bis | et | er | it | quae | Maxima | semper.

where the identity extends to the full half of the verse.

Next let us look at that class of cases which includes verses not strictly rhyming indeed, yet in which there is a certain assonance. This assonance may approach very closely to a perfect identity of sound, or may fade away by imperceptible degrees to the point where it ceases to attract our notice.

Then as to the structure of the verses, there may be, as in the true rhyming verses, a similarity so close as to force us to the conclusion that the poet's intention was thus to emphasize some idea; or the resemblance may be so slight as to leave it doubtful whether he had any definite end in view.

X. 904-5.

Corpus | hu | mo | pati | are | teg | i. | Scio | ac | erba | me | orum
Circum | stare | odi | a | hunc | o | ro, | de | fende fur | orem.

Here we have a similarity of termination closely approximating to identity, while the *or* sound is still further emphasized by its additional occurrence in the middle of the second verse. Then, too, the assonantal imitation throughout is very noticeable. I may add that the line previous to these ends 'hostibus

oro,' that following 'sepulcro,' and the next but one 'cruore,' echoing the *are* in the previous one; each too in a leading position before an important caesura.

It is remarkable that while Virgil's favourite rhyme is *ebat* or *ebant*, his favourite assonance is *orem*, *ore*, *ora*, &c.

So again iv. 178-9.

Illam | | terra | par | ens | ira | irrit | ata | de | orum
Extrem | am | ut | perhib | ent Cocco | Encela | doque sor | orem.

where the correspondence is sharply marked. Another example of a nearly perfect rhyme, though not quite so much so as these, is such an one as xi. 544-5 :—

Ipse | sin | u | prae | | se | por | tans | iuga | | longa | pet | ebat
Solor | | um | nemor | un : | te | la | undique | saeva | prem | ebant.

In these cases the identity of the first of the two final syllables is perfect; it is in the second that the divergence occurs. Thus we have instances of the contrary arrangement, such, for example, as ix. 250 :—

Pectora. | | Sic | memor | ans, | humer | os | dex | trasque | ten | ebat
Ambo | | rum, | et | vul | tum | lacrim | is | at | que | ora | rig | abat.

In neither of the two last couplets is the correspondence and assonance throughout the verses very marked; it is much more so in, for example, i. 278-9 :—

His | ego | | nec | me | tas | re | rum | nec | | tempora | pono :
Imperi | | um | sine | fine | ded | i. | Quin | | aspera | | Iuno.

Here we see the assonance not only in the latter half of the final spondee, but also of the final dactyl, with other agreements. Somewhat similar is x. 597-8 :—

Per | te, | | per | qui | | te | ta | lem | genu | ere | par | entes
Vir | Tro | iane | sin | e | hanc | anim | am | et | miser | ere | prec | antis.

Then we find again the closeness of resemblance fade away by delicate gradations.

VI. 812-3.

Missus | in | | imperi | um | mag | num. Cui | | deinde | sub | ibit,
Otia | | | qui | rum | pet | patri | ae, | resid | | esque | mov | ebit.

VIII. 423-4.

Hoc | tunc | | ignipot | ens | cae | lo | des | cendit | ab | | alto.
Ferrum ex | | erce | bant | vas | to | Cyc | lopes in | | antro.

X. 302-3.

Omnes | | innocu | ae. | Sed | | non | pup | pis | tua, | Tarcho.
Namque in | | flicta vad | is | dor | so | dum | pendet | in | iquo.

It is not unworthy of notice that in those couplets where the similarity of ending is exact—true rhymes and word-repetitions—there is usually no pause at the end of the first line, the sentence running on into the second; or else there is merely that pause which occurs between two parallel or con-

trasted clauses. But in the case of a mere assonance there may be a distinct close coinciding with the end of the first line, and this even where the assonance approaches pretty nearly to the identity of rhyme. Thus x. 556-7 :—

Provolvens, super haec inimico pectore fatur :
Istic nunc, metuende, iace ! Non te optima mater.

So too xi. 501-2, &c. Then again x. 506-7 :—

Impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.
O dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti !

But perhaps more remarkable and striking than any of the rhymes and assonances hitherto cited are those which extend beyond the limits of a couplet. I have not noticed any such cases formed entirely of perfect rhymes, but the similarity of termination is yet frequently very marked. Thus, take the triplet xii. 138-140 :—

Extemplo Turni sic est affata sororem,
 Diva deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris
 Praesidet; hunc illi rex aetheris altus honorem.

Here, when all the endings are assonantal, the alternate ones form a perfect rhyme.

In the next example (v. 60-63) the second and fourth endings form an identity, while

the first and third are closely assonantal with one another, and also, though to a less degree, with the former pair:—

Urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
 Bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes
 Dat numero capita in naves; adhibete Penates
 Et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.

Further on in the same book (v. 552-555) we have an example of four more closely assonantal endings:—

Infusum populum, et campos iubet esse patentes.
 Incedunt pueri, pariterque ante ora parentum
 Frenatis lucent in equis: quos omnis euntes
 Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaequae iuventus.

The alliteration harmony of the first two verses is striking; that of the second part is less so.

Proceeding yet further we meet a still more extended group (v. 744-751):

Pergameumque Larem, et canae penetralia Vestae,
 Farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.
 Extemplo socios primumque arcessit Acestes,
 Et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
 Edocet, et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
 Haud mora consiliis; nec iussa recusat Acestes.
 Transcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem
 Deponunt, animos nil magna laudis egentis.

In xii. 586 ff. we find the following endings: defendere muros; 587 pumice pastor; 588 implevit amaro; 589 cerea castra; 590 iras; 592 auras: then 599 turbata dolore; 600 caputque malorum; 601 effata furorem; (602 amictus); 603 nectit ab alta; 604 acceperere Latinae; 605 Lavinia crines.

Another example of extended assonantal connexion appears at v. 331 ff.: presso; 332 pronus in ipso; 333 sacroque cruore; 334 oblitus amorum; 335 lubrica surgens; 336 revolutus arena: then 339 Diore; 340 et ora; 341 clamoribus implet; 342 poscit honorem; 343 decorae; 344 corpore virtus; 345 voce Diore; (346 praemia venit); 347 honores.

It will have been observed, in such cases

Omnibus. Alloquitur maerentem, et talibus infit:
 Rhoebe, diu (res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est).

On the whole it plainly appears, not only from what has been pointed out as regards the actual rhymes, but from the number, variety and arrangement of the assonances—from which we have selected but a few 'leading cases'—that they form a not unimportant and an especially interesting instance of the means adopted by the poet for

for instance as that just cited (xii. 599 and 601, turbata dolore, effata furorem), that the assonance exists not only between the final spondees, but also between the preceding dactyls. Now sometimes, though rarely, we find the dactylic assonance without the spondaic. Thus in v. 706-7, portenderet ira, posceret ordo; or better, 649-50, gressus eunti, digressa reliqui. This assonance too, like the other, may continue through several verses: ix. 507-512, ascendere muros, [interlucetque corona], effundere contra, detrudere contis, defendere bello, pondere si qua, where a variety of assonances are tastefully combined. So here again we may even have an actual rhyme (compare the example already quoted, x. 597), as in x. 860-1:

harmoniously binding together the verses of his poem. Nor does he stand alone in his employment of this device. Other Latin poets too have made use both of rhyme and of various assonances, not without individual and characteristic diversities. Some instances of these may be given upon another occasion.
 H. T. JOHNSTONE.

BARTH'S MSS. OF THE *THEBAIS* OF STATIUS.

OTTO MÜLLER in his excellent edition of the first six books of the *Thebais* (Teubner 1870) writes (Praef. xi.) 'neque excusare opus est, quod Barthii mendacia, quibus omnes fefellit, et hic et in variae lectionis corpore silentio praetermitto.' The deception lasted long. Fr. Dübner in his preface (1845) says (p. xiv.) 'Immortalia Barthii de Statio merita, et ob optimorum codicum usum (quas si accuratius distinxisset, nihil fere superesset quod optares), et ob doctrinam maximam in explicando exhibitam.' The learning of Barth is unquestionable. He boasts himself that he had read 'ad viciis octies centum omnis generis auctores'; but this is perhaps only one of his *mendacia*. His good faith seems to have gone unquestioned for nearly two centuries. Now it is sharply challenged, or rather, looked upon as so bad as not to need challenging. What are the grounds for this? I asked this question in vain of some of our highest English authorities, and sought an answer to no purpose in the literature accessible to me. It may therefore be possibly worth while putting together some of the evidence.

The title-page of Barth's edition, issued, however, six years after his death by Christian Daum (1664), contains the words 'ad auctoritatem et opem manuscriptorum exemplarium, praecipue unius alteriusque admirandae bonitatis.' At the close of the preface the editor, after speaking of the numerous works which Barth had left unprinted, says 'etiam nonnulla flammis, incendio Sellerhusano anno MDCXXXVI absumpta periere': this of course was twenty-two years before the death of Barth. But he appears during his life-time to have utilized this fire at his estate of Sellerhausen near Leipzig to screen his fictions; for he writes to Stephanius, a commentator on Saxo Grammaticus, 'Saxonis vestri exemplaria duo manu exarata in villa prope hanc civitatem (Lipsiam) cum ipso codice cui varia margines compleverant, et maiore parte inclutae meae Bibliothecae funesto flebilique incendio perierunt.' Bursian (*Gesch. d. Classischen Philologie* i. 288 sq.) cruelly remarks, 'It appears to me indubitable that Barth never possessed any MS. of Saxo at all.' There is too much evidence that Barth in other instances never hesitated to invent MS. authority for his own conjectures, as Jahn has shown in the preface to his edition of Censorinus.

It may be briefly noted that the extant MSS. of the *Thebais* are divided into two classes, each representing a recension earlier at any rate than the scholiast. The former of these is represented by the Paris MS. 8051, known also as the cod. Puteaneus, from its former possessor. It is very extraordinary that the Paris editors Amar and Lemaire, though frequently quoting the MS. under the sign of Reg. B., do not seem to have suspected its identity with the cod. Puteaneus, which they also frequently quote, probably from Lindenbrog's edition. The confusion is not lessened by Dübner's habit of quoting this as Reg. 1. The second recension is best represented by the cod. Bambergensis (B): we have a good specimen of it in the cod. Roffensis, now in the British Museum. The very numerous later MSS. are derived either from a codex very similar to the Bambergensis on the one hand, or (at a later date) from the Puteaneus or some MS. like it, largely supplemented by conjectures.

Müller gives a very full *apparatus criticus*, and Kohlmann has added material of some importance; so that the MSS. of the *Thebais* are well known to us.

Now let us examine the following passages in which Barth's report as to his MS. is not borne out by any known MS.

I. 1. 'quidem codices cognataque': *alternaque* ω.

15. 'nostrae membranae atque ideo.' Rejected by B.

34. 'probo optimi exemplaris lectionem *excidiale*': *exitiale* ω.

49. 'scriptus optimus liber *imoque*. Nihil mutamus.'

77. 'optimae et antiquissimae membranae non agnoscunt hunc versum.' No known MS. omits it.

83. 'in praestantissimo libro est *parentis*': *paternis* ω.

86. 'scriptus liber *ne tarda sequatur*': nec—sequetur ω.

93. 'scriptum optimae notae exemplar *rippis*, quo pacto infra etiam semper ubique haec vox occurrit.'

110. 'in vetustissimis membranibus *caeruleisque redeunt*': Barth conjectures *sedent*: *caerulei* ω.

112. 'melius membranae *tunc geminas*': *tum* ω. Barth adds that 'in optimo manuscripto duo hemisticha omisa sunt.' This is not known to be the case in any MS.

124. 'scriptum exemplar *tabe*': *nube* ω.
 130. 'in vetustissimo libro *regni*': *regnis* ω. Gronovius conjectured *regni*.
 201. 'in illo laudatissimo nobis perprisco exemplari diserte scriptum est *ipse deus*': *deus* cod. Burmanni, sed totus versus in margine tantum apparet.
 229. 'praestantissimus liber diserte *facem*': *aciem* ω.
 267. 'manuscriptus liber *subvenit atque tuis*. puto Papinium scripsisse *subvenietque tuis*': *subvenitque* ω.
 280. 'disertis litteris vetustissimus codex *tanta*': *tandem* ω. Barth adds 'in finitis locis is codex melior est omnibus hactenus collatis exemplaribus, ut res ipsa testificabitur.'
 302. 'in codice illo insigniter observando scribitur *certo ordine cetera ducam*': *certo reliqua ordine ducam* ω.
 306. 'in membranis est *qua pellere somnos aut mandare iterum dulces*': *qua pellere dulces aut suadere iterum somnos* ω.
 311. 'omnino scribendum cum' iisdem perfecte bonis membranis *dissignat*: *designat* ω.
 326. '*ducat* membranarum habent': *ducit* ω.
 331. 'in manuscriptorum principe est *prorigitur*': *porrigitur* ω.
 343. 'varia lectio est in optimo libro *de crescentibus*' (an obvious gloss): *rarecentibus* ω.
 359. 'in manu exarato codice vetustissimo *revulsa est* perspicue legitur': *refusa est* ω.
 364. '*ruptis*: in textu optimi libri est *raptis*. Illud alterum instar variantis lectionis suprascriptum': *ruptis* ω.
 372. 'in optimo libro legitur *monstrant*': *monstrat* ω.
 405. *et liquentia*: 'vocalum et optimae et aliae membranarum omittunt.' None are known to do so.
 407. 'melius optimus librorum *intulit*': *attulit* ω.
 436. 'melius liber scriptus a *limine*': *limine* ω.
 466. '*facti*: hanc lectionem clare praeferunt omnes nostri codices': only a few inferior MSS. have this instead of *fati*.
 486. '*armis* optimus codicum': so only a few inferior MSS.
 511. 'in optimis vetustissimisque primum

dein in alteris etiam membranis nostris clare scriptum offendimus in *manibus nec-tens*': *innectens manibus* ω.

550. 'in eodem optimo libro superest veritas Papinianae scriptionis *sonacia*, cum interpretatione *sonare consueta*': *sonantia* ω.

571. 'optimae membranarum *contigit*': *attigit* ω.

594. 'in optimo librorum est *occurrit manifesta patri, cum glossa vel confessa*': *confessa* ω.

603. 'etiam clare in ibidem scriptum a *gremiis*': om. a ω.

606. 'in optimo libro ambigua scriptura est *ultor an ultro* legendum censeat': *ultro* ω.

636. 'membranarum *actor*': *auctor* ω (excepto π).

672. 'optimus et vetustissimus liber *evenias*': *advenias* ω.

A similar collection of examples has been made for Books ii. and iii., but it is hardly worth while printing it here. There are of course some instances in which Barth cites from his favourite MS. readings now generally adopted; and others in which his reading has some, though often but slight, support. In the latter it most frequently seems to agree with δ, an MS. belonging to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, collated by Bentley. But on a review of the whole evidence, it seems quite impossible to believe that Barth's quotations can be trusted. It is not easy to see the purpose of such wholesale falsification. He does not always prefer the reading of his 'optimus codex,' sometimes mentioning it only to reject it. Nor does he always use it, as has sometimes been the case, to support conjectures of his own. He gives conjectures, e.g. on i. 227, 271, 518; ii. 235, 559, 695; iii. 196, 294, and elsewhere, without claiming any authority. But considering the character which he brings with him into court, Barth can hardly be acquitted of something worse than blundering. If it is not possible to establish *mala fides* in every instance, yet recent editors like O. Müller and Kohlmann are fully justified in treating Barth's citations of his *membranarum* as carrying no more weight than may be given to pure conjectures.

A. S. WILKINS.

THE LOST 'CODEX OPTIMUS' OF NONIUS MARCELLUS.

THE list of the light ink corrections (F³) in Bks. i.-iii. of the Florence Nonius contributed by Mr. Wood Brown¹ to the last two numbers of the *Classical Review* makes it possible to try to settle a question which is the all-important question for textual criticism of the *De Conpendiosa Doctrina*: How was the lost MS. from which these corrections come related to other MSS. of our author?

It has long been known that all existing MSS. of Nonius must have come from one archetype, in which a loose leaf of Book iv. containing pp. 406 M. *interiere tamen*—409 M. *auster nascitur*, had been put for safe keeping after the first leaf of the codex; for the transposed passage stands in all our MSS. at p. 3 M, 13, after the word *Pausimacho*. This is one of the many corruptions which are shared in common by all our MSS. The late Mr. J. H. Onions in his posthumous edition of Nonius i.-iii. recently published (Clar. Press, 1895) has pointed out that there are no corrections by F³ throughout this transposed portion, while a mark of corruption, the 'asteriscus,' has been set by this hand in the margin at the beginning and the end of it. This is strong evidence that the lost codex either had not the transposed passage at this place, or possibly had it accompanied by clear indications of the transposition. The 'codex optimus,' as Mr. Onions calls it, from which the F³-corrections come, was thus either

derived from a different archetype, or, at least, if from the same archetype, it was derived at an earlier stage than the rest. It is the object of this paper to determine which of these theories is the more likely.

While admitting the inferiority of these corrections in the minor matter of spelling,² Mr. Onions is emphatic in his praise of their textual value. He says (Introd. p. xxiii.): 'This source (F³) is by far the best; and its corrections are almost invariably to be adopted.' An inspection of his critical apparatus will convince every one of the truth of this verdict. Our dependence on F³ for the recovery of the true text may be gauged by readings like these:—30, 32 *difficillimum* (*dicit facillimum* cett.); 67, 18 *pareutactae* (where F³ above preserves the true form; cf. τῶν παρευτάκτων *C.I.A.* iii. 107, 108); 68, 3 *et decurionibus* (omitted by all MSS.); 76, 4 *exta* (*extra* cett.); 78, 32 *nemus* (*nemes* cett.); 78, 34 *quid prodest* (*quid est* cett.); 79, 19 *ut* (*it* cett.); 82, 25 *Varro* (om. cett.); 87, 33 *me coicerem*; 90, 21 *congermanati*; 99, 9 *favitores* (the Plautine form; *fautores* cett.); 103, 25 *multa* (*mata* cett.); 194, 10 *Sympheobis* (*in faebis* F³; *inimbris* cett.); 195, 27 *adcuratusque* (*adcurat usque* cett.); 198, 32 *ratione* (*rare* cett.); 200, 32 *barba* (*barra* cett.); 209, 22 *ac* (*hac* F³); 212, 34 *spero rem*; 214, 23 *pusilli nigri qui expectant*; 215, 6 *suraene* (*surene* F³; *serene* cett.); 216, 1 *grauēs*;

¹ My own notes of these corrections agree with Mr. Brown's list in assigning to F³ the few readings which Mr. Onions assigned to F⁴, and in referring to F³ some corrections referred by Mr. Onions to F², viz. 10, 13 *illec*; 114, 14 *faex*; 4, 5 *pontica* (where Mr. Onions seems to have first written F², then F³, then to have deleted the latter, perhaps accidentally). In 68, 22 I could not decide whether *thauameno* or *thauomeno* was the reading of F³, nor in 109, 5 whether the *lib. viii.* of F⁴ was deleted by F³ or by another hand. My notes disagree with Mr. Brown's list in that they refer to F³ the following readings: 15, 15 *pater*; 74, 17 *pinnis*; 81, 32 *comestque*; 94, 26 *compilo*; 99, 2 *Disciscere* (?); 99, 4 *discinisset* (?); 100, 13 *dimissu m*; 102, 4 *cuallavit*; 103, 10 *pro errans*; 109, 14 *uestra*; 110, 14 *flaccet*; 120, 16 *marini*; 130, 21 *antepetitam*; 134, 26 *luculentulus*; 200, 11 *sardisueniense*; 209, 7 *intibos*; 227, 5 *uere*. In 19, 21 *u[annu]* seemed to me merely a catch-letter in the margin to call attention to the word *uannu* as well as the heading-word of the paragraph *euannetur*. In 17, 31 my notes refer the correction *Macherio* to F³. Mr. Brown authorizes me to make the following additions to his list: 74, 19 *misc* \wedge *rin* \wedge *um* E?; 146, 33 *extinctas* \wedge *iam* A. Dist. C.; 149, 15 *iiii.* E?; and to correct 150, 39 *assestris* A. marg.

² The Leyden MS. (L), a 9th cent. MS. of Tours, is to Mr. Onions, as to the last German editor, Prof. Lucian Müller, the guide in matters of orthography. This MS. (especially L¹) has faithfully preserved what is recognized to have been the spelling of the archetype, such as the non-assimilation of prepositions in compounds (e.g. *impedimenta*, *implicationes*), *aput* for *apud*, *set* for *sed*. F³ on the other hand offers 'modernized' spelling, e.g. *impedimenta*, *implicationes*, *Virgilius* for *Vergilius*. In 228, 34 it seems to me that F³ wrote first *aput*, then corrected it to *apud*. If so, *aput* was probably the spelling of the 'codex optimus' (cf. 145, 28 *at* for *ad* in all MSS.). At the same time it must be remembered that we have clear evidence that the Carolingian scribes did occasionally change to a more archaic form the spelling of their originals. For the Reginensis Codex of Livy (9th cent. MS. of Tours, like the Leyden Nonius), is a direct copy of the 5th cent. Puteaneus of Paris, and offers examples of the non-assimilation of prepositions which are not found in its original, e.g. *subplicatio* for *supplicatio* of the older MS. (see Chatelain, *Paléogr. des Classiques Latins*; T. Live, ad tab. 117). To ascertain the extent of this practice is a matter of some importance for the orthography of our editions of the Latin classics. I hope to discuss the subject on a future occasion.

216, 9 *multinummus piscis ex salo*; 228, 29 *infectori*; 232, 4 *qui videt*; 124, 32 *liber...* *quasi* (omitted by all MSS.); 142, 4 *galli* (omitted by all MSS.); 153, 35 *proferre*; 155, 5 *istuc*; 155, 14 *prae fracte*; 156, 14 *atastula*; 161, 5 *commoti auito*; 162, 19 *cultu*; 166, 2 *dolasti*; 171, 10 *abibis*; 172, 6 *cruditate*; 178, 25 *caluam* (omitted by all MSS.); 180, 3 *te*; 181, 32 *atque*; 185, 22 *uenerans*; not to mention a host of other instances where F³ alone preserves or suggests the true reading.

For my own part, I should be inclined to follow F³ in one or two passages where Mr. Onions has not ventured to accept its readings:—23, 20 *precando* (cf. 23, 22); 36, 25 xxviii; 41, 33 *et*; 75, 22 *Abcondit pro abscondidit*; 81, 11 (*Libram aibant sat esse ambobus*) *farris intrit(i; plus comest)*; 88, 4 *istaec*, Neut. Pl. (*est haec F³*); 117, 23 iiiii; 118, 2 (*mille*) *euctulae*; 130, 2 *tumulto*; 175, 2 del. [*expuere*]; 175, 33 del. [*em sutorem*]; 177, 2 del. [*a saltu dictae*]; 177, 18 del. [*aut ab spartu, quasi sparteas, aut ab asportando*]; 178, 24 del. [*minutim*]; 188, 15 del. [*per uicos*]; 188, 18 del. [*tristem*]; 199, 28 *tum ut si*; 207, 7 *pertinebat* (cf. *transtinet* Plaut. *Mil.* 468); 208, 4 del. [*libri*]; 209, 28 *dicta risitantis*; 224, 11 *Eheu* (making the line Iambic); 229, 16 *Pleni* (dialectal for *Plini*); 231, 30 *aethera*. To these I would add (see above) 74, 19 *miserinum*, this being an Adj. with the *ino-*suffix (cf. *-ino* of mod. Italian), and possibly 131, 26 *lucuentulos* or *lucuenculos* (*lucuentulus F³*), as the earliest form of the Greek loanword.

Of course a number of its readings are manifestly wrong; but they are almost invariably the readings which must have existed in the archetype:—4, 5 *pontica*; 5, 4 *pellectori* (apparently a marginal variant in the arch.); 12, 1 *si quid ea*; 12, 21 *indige nasturcium*; 13, 4 *gretaceant lia*;¹ 34, 24 *plaudare* (a marginal variant?); 37, 1 *aquam*; 41, 29 *illa* (possibly also *vi. taque*); 56, 22 *suppeditat*; 68, 20 *in se*; 91, 16 *sententiam*; 93, 1 *ita*; 102, 16 *ex officio*; 105, 13 *culeratum*; 115, 20 *mulis caluunt*; 126, 33 *indignat*; 135, 23 om. *Cicero*; 151, 30 *Perpexabile*; 154, 27 *protuli item*; 173, 4 *Turpidius*; 175, 27 *succedens*; 175, 29 *et quo*; 177, 3 *devidere*; 189, 22 *eundulatis*; 192, 29 *sedere*; 193, 21 *annit*; 196, 27 *in Marte*; 197, 6 *hi sunt*; 202, 7 *pastusque*; 207, 33 *mattico foro*; 214, 11 *ni*; 214, 14 *mur fit uerus*; 217, 24 *lib. ii.*; 221, 12

¹ Mr. Brown suggests that the original reading may be *gracce τὰ ἀντλία* with τὰ suprascript in the archetype.

utaeque; 223, 18 *facidem*; 224, 35 *Prometinensibus*; 228, 32 *tribulaeque*.

Cases where F³ has apparently made a wilful change on its own account are very rare and are mostly of such a kind that they might be called mere corrections of spelling like the instances mentioned above (*Virgilius* for *Vergilius*, *apud* for *aput*, &c.):—29, 16 *Diorus*; 41, 33 *prudentiam*; 67, 9 *cantoris* (so the H²PVE family); 71, 18 *in* (so the H²PVE family); 113, 5 *Catilinario*; 145, 28 *tibiis*; 160, 11 *dolorum reste* (ut vid.); 174, 14 *argumentare dicunt* (for *argumenta redigunt*); 213, 23 *seminis*; 226, 6 *squales*.

It thus appears that the value set by Mr. Onions on these F³-corrections is fully borne out by the facts. They supply words or clauses omitted by all our other MSS.; they give or suggest to us correct readings where all our other MSS. have corrupt readings; and where they are wrong, the other MSS. are usually wrong with them. Must we then assume that the lost codex, from which these corrections come, was of a quite different family from the existing MSS.? It seems to me that this assumption is unnecessary. All the differences, great and important as they are, between the F³-corrections on the one hand and the text represented by the consensus of existing MSS. on the other, are no more than might have arisen in the making of a single copy of a common original; they may well be the growth of one 'generation,' if I may use the term, in the hereditary line of the text. If we compare them with the differences between the Harleian MS. (H) and its parent, the Florentine codex, or with the differences between the Escorial MS. (E) in Books ii. med.—iii fin. and the same parent, or with the differences between the Florentine codex itself and its parent,² the Leyden codex (L), and if we take into account that the archetype of our MSS. was probably a much less legible original than the originals of F and of HE, we must, I think, allow the possibility of the theory that the F³-corrections are derived from a lost MS. of which the original of our existing MSS. was an immediate copy, that F³ in fact is a 'cousin,' while (1) L, (2) the parent of H² PV and the first part of E, (3) the parent of the Extract MSS. are 'brothers and sisters.'

Can we go farther and admit that this theory is not only possible but probable? All that is wanted to make it probable is to

² This relationship I have tried to establish in the *Classical Review* for October of last year (pp. 356 sq.).

show that the lost 'codex optimus' had a sufficient number of points of similarity with the original of our MSS. Now we have already seen that a large number of corrupt readings were shared by the two. (See the list above beginning with 4, 5 *pontica*.) And we may add that the lost codex had in all probability the lacunae of our MSS., seeing that no attempt is made by the F³ corrector to fill up these lacunae though corrections are made immediately before a lacuna and immediately after it. These points of similarity are very strong, and they are all the stronger in the absence

of definite evidence of the contrary supposition. I am inclined then to regard the 'codex optimus' as the archetype of our existing MSS., so that the relation of the readings of F³ to the readings of F and the other MSS. of Nonius will be like that of the readings of the 'codex vetus' (B) to the other two important minuscule MSS. of Plautus (C and D). Students of the text of Plautus will understand what an importance this comparison ascribes to these F³-corrections.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ON THE OSCAN WORDS *PRÚFFED* AND *PRUFTUSET*.

THE perfect form *prúffed* occurs in two Oscan inscriptions, and *prúftú-set*, a passive form evidently corresponding to it, is once found. These words have hitherto been translated by *probavit* and *probata sunt*, as connected with the verb **prúffaum* = *probare*. We are thus obliged to look upon them as shorter formations belonging to an *ā*-verb, somewhat analogous to *iuvi* or *secui*, but more difficult, inasmuch as they cannot be regarded as actual root-formations. It is, in fact, as if we had *probi* and *proptus* or *probitus*, instead of *probavi* and *probatus*.¹ Among recent discussions of the words, I may refer to Danielsson in Pauli's *Altitalische Studien*, iv. p. 137, and Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. p. 1243. Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects* p. 239, has an extremely complicated theory of the same sort. I do not say that the supposed process is impossible. There are certain other forms, which, according to current theories of their meaning, have to be similarly explained; thus Oscan *urust* and Umbrian *portust*. But, without pronouncing on this, let me point out two things.

First, the verb *prúffaum* has its regular perfect *prúffatted*, *prúffattens*. This occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions, and is the only form used in the regular phrases (*isidum prúffatted* = *idem probavit*, &c.) where the meaning 'approved' is certain.

Secondly, where *prúffed*, *prúftú-set* occur, the meaning 'approved' is nowhere required, and in two cases is unsuited to the context. The three occurrences² are these:—

¹ *Probitus* is actually quoted by Schuchardt, from I forget what late source, but along with *probinto*.

² The enigmatical form *prúffis*, Capua, *Rhein. Mus.* 43, p. 129 ff., no. 2, I leave out of account.

1. Samnium; block of limestone. Zvetaiieff *SIO*. no. 22, *Inscript. Ital. Infer.* no. 100. *Bn. Betitis Bn. meddiss prúffed*.

The meaning of *prúffed* is indeterminate.

2. Herculaneum; marble table. Zvet. *SIO*. no. 60, *Inscr. Ital. Inf.* no. 140. *Herentateis sum. L. Slabiis L. Aukil meddiss túvútkis Herentatei Herukinaí prúffed*.

I am not aware of any warrant for the expression *Veneri Erycinae probavit*, nor do I know just what such an expression would signify. The natural sense requires something like 'set up' 'posuit,' ἀπέθηκεν.

3. Cippus Abellanus (Zvet. *SIO*. no. 56, *Inscr. Ital. Inf.* no. 136), line 15. *paí tere-menniú mí[ínúkad] tanginúid prúftúset*.

It is hardly likely that the two communities by mutual vote or agreement 'approved' boundary-stones already standing. This agreement would naturally precede the setting of the stone, not follow it. The sense seems rather to be *quae termina communi consilio posita sunt*.

In view of these facts, I suggest that *prúffed* in all likelihood stands for **profefed*, and that *fefed* (formed like *deded*) is the perfect of the verb corresponding to *τιθέμαι*—the same verb which we commonly recognize in *condere*, *obdere*, *abdere*. **Profefed* would be etymologically identical with *pro-didit* from a *prodere* = *προθεῖναι*. I think it very probable that such a verb *prodere* is mixed with *prodere* = *προδοῖναι*. Thus we have *prodere* ('put forward') *interregem*, *prodere* ('put off,' 'defer') *diem*. This verb, meaning properly 'set forth,' 'put forward,' appears to have taken in Oscan the simple meaning of *ponere* or *statuere*.

Bücheler takes it as a graphical abbreviation of *prúffattens*. It certainly cannot stand for *prúffens*. It is not even certain that the form is plural.

So the participle *prāftū*, for **pro-feta*, I would take as *πρό-θετα*; in form equivalent to *pro-dita*, in meaning to *posita*.

The use of *prū-* (instead of *pru-*) suggests *prō-* rather than *prō-*, but this need be no

bar in view of *prō-ficiscor* and the like in Latin.

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Harvard University,
August 15, 1895.

LUCRETIUS AND CICERO.

AMONG the new *data* concerning the life of Lucretius contained in the manuscript biography discovered by J. Masson in the British Museum copy of the Venice edition of Lucretius of 1492 (see *Academy*, 23 June 1894) are the references to Cicero's criticism of the poem, especially as contained in the words *admonitus ut in translationibus servaret verecundiam ex quibus duo potissimum loci referuntur neptuni lacunas et caeli cavernas*. In the form in which the poem has reached us the expression *Neptuni lacunas* does not occur. Carl Radinger in *B.P.W.* 22 Sept. 1894 has compared the objection of the *Auctor ad Herennium* (4, 15) to harsh and extravagant metaphors: *cum aut novis aut prisceis verbis aut duriter aliunde translatis aut gravioribus quam res postulat, aliquid dicitur hoc modo:....si praeceps in Neptunias depulsus erit lacunas*. Lucretius has referred to the principle in ii. 652: *hic siquis mare Neptunum Cereremque vocare | constituit fruges et Bacchi nomine abuti*, and in vi. 1076 is a good example of his use: *non si Neptuni fluctu renovare operam des*. Now in v. 794 occurs *terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis*. Could Lucretius have substituted *salsis* for *Neptuni* owing to Cicero's criticism? This is the only passage in the poem where such a substitution is possible. But as *salsus* is used

by him with *aequor* (iii. 493, v. 128, vi. 634), with *gurgite* (v. 482), with *momine ponti* (vi. 474), and *in salso* alone is found in v. 1080; and moreover *salsas lacunas* is written in iii. 1031 in such a connection that *Neptuni* cannot be substituted, there is no apparent evidence in the poem that this particular criticism was noticed. The evidence is negative as far as it goes.

Caeli cavernas, on the other hand, is found in iv. 171, and *aetheriis cavernis* in vi. 391; still the fourth book is known to be unfinished, and the word *caverna* occurs only in the fourth and sixth books; possibly the author in his revision would have removed the word.

As Radinger has remarked, *l.c.*, we have in this new biography strong reason for believing that Lucretius profited by Cicero's criticism, and hence that Cicero actually did criticize the work before publication. Consequently the date of the poet's death cannot be fixed by the date of the letter *ad Q. F.* ii. 9, 3 (700/54).

The biography is so circumstantial in relation to the suicide of the poet that it will hereafter be difficult to reject it as a calumny of the haters of Epicurus.

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ATHENS AND THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

NEARLY half a century ago Grote, ignoring the hypothesis of Böckh (*Staatshaush.* i. 546), that in the interval between the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., and the Peace of Antalcidas, 387/6 B.C., Athens made a deliberate and not unsuccessful attempt to regain her maritime empire, wrote the following words: 'Never on any occasion did the excuse of self-preservation find less real place than in regard to the mission of Antalcidas. Sparta was at that time so

powerful, even after the loss of her maritime empire, that the allies at the Isthmus of Corinth, jealous of each other and held together only by common terror, could hardly stand on the defensive against her, and would probably have been disunited by reasonable offers on her part; nor would she have needed even to recall Agesilaus from Asia. Nevertheless the mission was probably dictated by a *groundless* panic (the italics are mine), arising from the sight of

the revived Long Walls and re-fortified Peiræus, and springing at once to the fancy, that a new Athenian Empire, such as had existed forty years before, was about to start into life: a fancy *little* likely to be realized, since the very peculiar circumstances which had created the first Athenian Empire were now totally reversed.'

Quite recently (1891), even after the articles of Svoboda and Köhler (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.* vii.) which deal with the new evidence to be derived from inscriptions, and the excursus of Beloch (*Athen seit Perikles*) which reviews the whole policy of Athens at the time, A. Holm in his *Greek History* has summed up the result of the Peace of Antalcidas by saying: 'entschieden gewonnen hatte durch den Königsfrieden Sparta, entschieden verloren vor Allen Theben.'

It is the object of this paper to piece together the evidence, which can be collected both from authors and inscriptions, tending to show that Athens had regained much of her former empire, and that her ambitious schemes of further aggrandizement were the real cause of the Peace of Antalcidas.

To begin with Xenophon: in the *Hellenics* (iii. 5, 10) he represents the dream of a renewed supremacy as the leading motive which induced the Athenians in 395 B.C. to take the Theban side against Sparta in the so-called Corinthian War: ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, says the Theban orator, βούλοισθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε, ἀναλαβεῖν, πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. Thrasybulus himself, the hero of the return of the democratical exiles, supported the Thebans, pointing out however the great risk run by Athens ἀπειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος. After his great victory at Cnidus in 394 B.C. Conon formed a series of alliances—which must all have been to the advantage of Athens—with Cos, Nisyros, Teos, Chios, Mitylene, Ephesus, Erythrae, and the Cyclades (*Diod.* xiv. 89, 94).

Then in 393 Conon first subjugated Cythera and left on the island a garrison under the command of the Athenian Nicophemus, and during his visit to Athens, which must have lasted some fifteen months (393—392), secured the necessary basis for any future naval supremacy of Athens by rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piræus (*Hell.* iv. 8, 9). During this period Athens recovered possession of her ancient cleruchies, Lemnos, Imbros, and Seyros (iv. 8, 15), and an unsuccessful attempt was made to detach Dionysus of

Syracuse from Sparta and procure his alliance with Athens (Lysias xix. 19, *C.I.A.* ii. 8), at the same time that public honours were decreed to Evagoras, the tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus, who had materially helped Conon at the battle of Cnidus (Lysias xix. 20, Isocr. ix. 54—57, *C.I.A.* ii. 10*b*). In the same year a treaty was made between Athens and Phaselis in Lycia. Consequently we are not surprised to hear that the reason why in 392 the Lacedaemonians first sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus to negotiate a peace with Persia, was because they heard ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοῖη, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων τρέφων τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπέζοι (iv. 8, 12); or that Tiribazus arrested Conon ὡς ἀδικοῦντα βασιλέα (iv. 8, 16). Again in the winter of 392—1 the ambition of Athens *Χερρόνησον καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν* seems to have led to the breakdown of Sparta's renewed attempt to make peace, this time without the interference of Persia (*Andocid. De Pace*, 15).

In 391, notwithstanding the disappearance of Conon, the Athenians further excited the alarm of the Lacedaemonians by their support of the democrats in Rhodes, and even ventured to send a small squadron to the aid of Evagoras in his war against the Persians; and when the Lacedaemonians took more decided measures to check their further progress, finally despatched Thrasybulus at the head of forty vessels (the largest fleet that they had mustered since the Peloponnesian war) to reinforce their Rhodian allies. Thrasybulus had still wider schemes of his own. Instead of sailing straight to Rhodes he turned towards Thrace and the Hellespont—probably in the spring of 390. First he gained possession of Thasos through the party of Ecphantus, who contrived to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison and admit the Athenians—a success which further resulted in an alliance with the Thracian princes Amedocus and Seuthes and ὁ περὶ Θράκην τόπος. Then Archebius and Heraclides delivered Byzantium into his hands, the oligarchical constitution of which he replaced by a democracy, so that he became master of the Hellespont, and, as Alcibiades had done after his victory at Cyzicus, imposed a toll of 10 per cent. on all vessels passing through the straits (cp. *Dem.* xx. 60). The Spartan Dercylidas, however, though powerless to offer any opposition,

still held Abydos. Then after making an alliance with Chalcedon, Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, and with Mitylene as the base of his operations forced Eresus and Antissa to join the Athenian alliance. At the same time Samothrace (v. 1, 7), Tenedos (*ibid.*), and Clazomenae (*C.I.A.* ii. 14*b*) appear as Athenian allies. Finally, reinforced by Chian and Mytilenaeen ships (Diod. xiv. 94), he made descents ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν upon Halicarnassus (Lysias xxviii. 17) and other towns on the Asiatic coast, until he was surprised and slain at Aspendus.

Thus it was that Thrasybulus, continuing the work of Conon, succeeded in extending the Athenian Empire to the limits which marked it in the interval between the battles of Cyzicus and Aegospotami. Inscriptions further prove that in some instances he once more imposed the φόρος in its later form of an εἰκοστή or 5 per cent. tax upon imports and exports. Thus the Clazomenians (*C.I.A.* ii. 14, Swoboda, *Mitth. d. deutsch. Inst.* vii. 176) agreed to pay τὴν ἐπὶ Θρασυβούλου εἰκοστήν, and the like was apparently done by the Thasians (Köhler, *ibid.* p. 314). Finally the same inscriptions mention apparently Athenian commandants and garrisons, and even Athenian interference with the judicial

procedure of the allies (cp. 'Αθηναίων vii. 1878, p. 95). The peace of Antalcidas (387/6) therefore was aimed, not so much against the Thebans, as against the Athenians (cp. *Hell.* v. 1, 25 διαπεπραγμένους συμμαχεῖν (*i.e.* with the Lacedaemonians) βασιλεία, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ). The Athenians however had not forgotten the lesson that they had learnt after Aegospotami. Once more they saw the Persian king actively supporting their Spartan enemies, and the Hellespont, through which alone corn-ships from the Euxine could make their way to Peiraeus, commanded by the overwhelming fleet of Antalcidas; already even they had begun to feel the rigours of a siege, being blockaded in their harbours by the Aeginetan pirates. Rather therefore than incur the horrors of a second siege and the humiliation of a second capitulation, the Athenians renounced without a struggle all their claims upon the Thracian and Hellespontine districts and upon the islands of the Aegean, with the exception of their ancient cleruchies, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which Antalcidas had thrown in as a sop to make his peace a little more acceptable.

G. E. UNDERHILL.

BASSAREUS.

BASSAREUS, the name under which Dionysus or a deity corresponding to Dionysus was worshipped in Lydia, has long been connected with *bassara* (βασσάρα), the Lydian name for the fox. A foxskin (βασσάρα) was worn by the Bacchants, who were hence called Bassarides. But, as far as I am aware, the connection between the wine-god and the fox has never been explained. Even the new edition of of Preller (1894) is silent on the subject. I venture to offer the following solution. The name Bassareus, as a name for a god derived from the name of an animal, is paralleled by Smintheus,

Κλύθι μιν, ἀργυρότοξ', ὅς Χρῦσιν ἀμφιβέβηκας
Κίλλαν τε λαθεάν, Τενέδοιο τε Φίφι Φανάσσεις,
Σμινθεῦ, εἰ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα.

Il. i. 37-39.

the name under which Apollo was worshipped in the Troad and Tenedos, and

Lycceios (Λύκειος), the epithet of Apollo at Argos. Apollo Smintheus derived his name from *σμίνθος*, a mouse, and was supposed to keep away the mice from the corn crops. Plagues of voles have occurred in recent years in Scotland and in Greece. The statue of Apollo in the Sminthion, which stood in the territory of Hamaxitus, had a mouse appearing from under the foot of the god, who doubtless was worshipped as the protector of the rich wheat-bearing plains of the Troad. So in Argolis he was worshipped as the averter of wolves from the flock, and the wolf is the regular type on the coins of Argos, just as the mouse appears as a symbol on the coins of Hamaxitus.

Was then the Asiatic Dionysus Bassareus who, according to Macrobius (i. 18), was represented as an elderly man with a beard, and not a jocund young reveller, the deity whose special function it was to keep off the chief pest from the vineyards?

That the chief enemy of the ancient vinegrower was not the phylloxera but the fox, can be demonstrated. Aesop's fable of the Fox and the Grapes of itself indicates the notorious love of that animal for the fruit. But the familiar passage of Theocritus (i. 47 *sqq.*) makes it clear that boys were set in the vineyards to keep off the depredations of foxes, just as we set boys in the fields and orchards to keep off rooks from the corn and blackbirds from the cherries:—

πυρραΐσιν σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἀλωά,
τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἰμασίησι φυλάσσει
ἤμενος, ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δὴ ἀλώπεκες, ἃ μὲν ἄν
ὄρχας
φοιτῆ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ πῆρα κ.τ.λ.

No doubt it is the same marauders which Aeschylus had in mind when he wrote (*Suppl.* 975 *seqq.*):—

τέρειν' ὄπωρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς
θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί, τί μῆ;

καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ
καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις.

The foxes of Theocritus are the θῆρες of Aeschylus, and the adjective εὐφύλακτος is well explained by the φυλάσσει of the later poet.

In the Old Testament there are various passages which show clearly that in Palestine also the fox was held to be the chief scourge of the vineyard, for instance Solomon's Song ii. 15: Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes. The LXX. gives πιάσατε ἡμῖν ἀλώπεκας μικροὺς ἀφανίζοντας ἀμπέλους καὶ αἱ ἀμπέλοι ἡμῶν κυπρίζουσαι. The verb κυπρίζω recalls the Κύπρις of Aeschylus *supra*.

It seems therefore probable that the Asiatic Bassareus was the special deity that kept the grapes safe, just as in later times Priapus kept off birds and thieves from gardens (Horace, *Sat.* i. 8, 3).

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

INDO-EUROPEAN MODES OF ORIENTATION.

ACCORDING to J. Grimm (*Geschichte d. D., Sprache*, pp. 980-6) the primitive Aryan in taking his bearings literally oriented himself and turned to the east: Aryan words for 'east' mean 'in front,' for 'south' 'to the right,' for 'north' 'to the left.' Further, the abode of the Aryan's gods was to the north and the north was to the left, therefore 'north' and 'left' were lucky. The Romans preserved this view: Cicero *Div.* ii. 94 says 'nobis sinistra videntur, Graiis et barbaris dextra meliora,' and Servius ad *Aen.* ii. 693 testifies that 'sinistras autem partes septentrionales esse.' But the Greeks and other Aryan peoples in historic times regarded the right as lucky; therefore they must have turned their right sides to the lucky north, the abode of the gods, that is to say, they must have oriented themselves by turning to the west.

O. Schrader on the other hand (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, pp. 254-257) argues that as Sanskrit, Greek, and Teutonic agree in regarding the right as lucky, that was the original Aryan notion. But as the Greek regarded the east as lucky (*Iliad* xii. 239), he—to have the east on his lucky right hand—must have oriented himself north.

Further, the Roman who, like the Greek, considered (sometimes) the east to be lucky, but, unlike the Greek, placed the luck in his left, must, to make his lucky left coincide with the east, have oriented himself south.

Thus, between them, Grimm and Schrader box the compass: they both turn the original Aryan to the east, Grimm turns the Greeks to the west, Schrader turns the Romans to the north and the Greeks to the south. It might seem therefore that as the four airts are exhausted there is no room for a new theory. But without having recourse yet to the violent hypothesis of a fifth cardinal point, I may at least indicate some weak points in the two hypotheses already before us. It is doubted whether the primitive Aryan had any gods, and it is doubtful whether he had a pantheon; and whilst this is the case it is not well to base ourselves on the supposed locality of the pantheon. Schrader has to assume that the Romans abandoned the original mode of orientation, and does not even attempt to explain why they, notoriously conservative in ritual observances, departed from the custom of their ancestors. So too Grimm postulates that, except the Romans, all the Aryan

peoples were faithless to the original mode, but gives no reason to account for their change. Of course both Grimm and Schrader make their contradictory assumptions in order to account for certain facts, but their inability to show cause otherwise may reasonably make us somewhat suspicious; and anyhow a hypothesis which should equally well account for those facts and yet not compel us to assume a change not to be accounted for would obviously be so far superior.

Now the facts which have to be colligated are that the north and the east, the left and the right are all accounted lucky by some or other of the Aryan peoples and that the primitive Aryan undoubtedly oriented east. We have therefore, as it were, to find the curve which shall join all these points; and—to continue the metaphor—it is obvious that in order to do so we must introduce the ideas of motion and direction. Let us do so, and let us suppose that whilst the Aryan is facing E. a bird of omén gets up on his left: he will at once, if a Roman, declare the bird lucky, for it is on his left and to the N. The bird continues its flight till it comes *πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε*, and the Aryan, if a Greek, pronounces it lucky, for it has flown from N. to E. Finally it continues in the same semi-circle till it is on the S. of the Aryan, *i.e.* on his right hand, which is the lucky side of the Greek. Thus one and the same bird in the same flight passes through all the points regarded by Aryans as lucky. If therefore we may assume that it is not the quarter in which the bird appears but the direction in which it flies that causes it to be regarded as lucky, we can explain all the facts without any further assumption. Now the direction of the flight described is N.E.S., *i.e.* clock-wise as mathematicians say, the way of the sun as the less learned put it; and the bird to fly sun-wise must keep its right side towards the person round whom it flies.

Thus far we have been dealing with pure hypothesis: assuming motion sun-wise round a person to be considered by the Aryans lucky for that person, we can account for all the facts. Now 'circumambulation' is considered by most or all Aryan peoples to bring or prognosticate good luck to the person or thing circumambulated. In India the pilgrim makes a solemn circumambulation (*parikrama*) of the temple that he visits; the Greek for circumambulation is amphidromia, the Latin *decurso*: at the amphidromia the relatives of the child danced round it (Schol.

Aristoph. *Lys.* 757) or, like the Hindoo bride and bridegroom, round the sacred fire; the Roman troops marched round the corpse in a *decurso*. In these islands a coffin is sometimes carried sun-wise round the church, 'in the Hebrides animals are led round a sick person following the sun; and in the Highlands it is the custom "to make the deazil," or walk three times in the sun's course round those whom they wish well. We follow the same rule in passing the decanters round our own dinner tables' (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 7).

But if sun-wise circumambulation is lucky for the person circumambulated, then motion in the opposite direction should be unlucky; and this we find to be the case. Such motion, counter-clock-wise, is known to the superstitious as 'widershins.' A person walking widershins keeps his left side towards the thing on which he wishes thus to bring bad luck; and so in Homer a bird of ill-luck is described as keeping those to whom it boded ill on its left:—

ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περιηρόμεναι μεμαῶσιν
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔργων.
Il. xii. 200.

Conversely, if ἐπ' ἀριστερά means keeping something to your left and so motion widershins, it follows that ἐπὶ δεξιὰ will mean keeping something to your right and so motion sun-wise. Thus it follows that with the Greeks, as with us, the way of the wine was the way of the sun: the *οἶνοχόος* like a bird of good omen kept the company on his right as he served them and circumambulated them sun-wise to bring them good luck. So the man on your right got his wine before you did, and the man on your left after you; and Liddell and Scott, Ameis, and Butcher and Lang must on this showing all be wrong in taking *Od.* xxi. 141 ὄρνισθ' ἐξείης ἐπιδέξια to mean 'rise in order beginning with the left hand man'; ἐπιδέξια ἀναβάλλεσθαι, used of wrapping the *ιμάτιον*, will have its natural meaning of taking the loose corner in your right hand and flinging it over your left shoulder (just as you take the decanter in your right hand and eventually put it down to the left); and no one will believe that Plautus's 'da, puere, ab summo' proves that Roman wine circulated widershins, or even proves from which of the three summi the puer started.

F. B. JEVONS.

SOME FORMS OF THE HOMERIC SUBJUNCTIVE.

I.

AN examination into Bekker's list of Subjunctives in *-ησι*, into their number and their nature, seems to show conclusively that they are not a poetical coinage, but genuine representatives of the original forms in *-ητι*.

Bekker (*H. Bl.* i. 218) gives a list of 88 (76, if compounds are not separately reckoned), to which *ἐρρίγγησι* is to be added. This is a considerable number, since subjunctive forms are not really very numerous in Homer (*πείθει*, *βάλλη*, and other obvious forms do not occur at all), and a comparison with the frequency of the corresponding forms in *-η* confirms the view that *-ησι* is a normal form of the Homeric Subjunctive. Of the 77, 58 correspond to thematic Presents or Aorists, viz. 35 Presents, 23 Aorists. Of the Presents 21 forms occurring 27 times, of the Aorists 7 forms occurring 12 times have no corresponding form in *-η*; the remaining 14 Presents occur 57 times in *-ησι*, 28 in *-η*, and the 16 Aorists 67 times in *-ησι*, 77 in *-η*; in the several instances the difference between the frequency of the two endings does not go beyond 5, except in *ἐθέλωσι* 29 to *ἐθέλω* 6, and *ἔλθωσι* 11 to *ἔλθω* 26; these two set apart, the numbers are for Presents 28 to 22, and for Aorists 56 to 51.

An examination of Od. i.—iv. gives similar results. We find 39 forms of 3rd person sing. subj. act. occurring 53 times. Of these 12 are Presents, viz. 8 (including *φῆσι*) in *-ησι* occurring 13 times, and 4 in *-η* occurring 4 times: 13 are thematic Aorists, viz. 9 in *-ησι* (15 times) and 4 in *-η* (7 times).

We are justified then in regarding *-ησι* as a genuine termination, unlike *-ωμι*, *-ησθα*, at least in the Subjunctive of stems with the thematic vowel. If genuine, it can only represent *-ητι*. A priori the retention in the Indicative of *-τι* after long, though it was lost after short, vowels is in favour of this view: *ἔλθωσι* : *λύσει* (>*λύσῃ*) = *πίθωσι* : *λύει*. Nor does the *ἰῶτα* form a difficulty. It may be post-Homeric: 'In Odys. a 168 omnes libri exhibent *φῆσιν* aut *φῆσει*, vera lectio in Aristarchi annotatione tantum servata est. Similiter Odys. θ 318 nullus est liber qui *ἀποδῶσιν* servaverit, sed aut *ἀποδώσει* aut *ἀποδώσει* exhibit' (Cobet, *Misc. Cr.* 339), and Cobet points out that Zoilus and Chrysippus probably read *δῶσι* in A 129. But let the *ἰῶτα* be early and Homeric: then *φέρησι* has followed the

analogy of *φέρης*, *φέρη*. Inasmuch however as the subjunctive form in *-η*, i.e. *-ητι*, survived in dialects into historical times (v. Brugmann, *Gr.* ii. 1347, *M. U.* i. 183, and Meister, *Gr. Dial.* ii. 112), it is not unreasonable to follow the MSS. when they omit, rather than when they insert, *ἰῶτα* in this ancient form in *-ησι*. However this may be, we are justified in equating *-ω*, *-ης* (*-ης*), *-η* (*ῆ*), *-ησι* (*ῆσι*) with old Indian *-ā*, *-ās*, *-āt*, *-āti* in Subjunctives corresponding to thematic Indicatives.

With these Subjunctives are to be grouped a few forms of the Perfect that do not correspond to thematic Indicatives, but are formed as if they did. Such is *ἐρρίγγησι* and possibly *δρῶρησι* N 271 (van Leeuwen): perhaps also *ἰλήκησι* which we have treated hitherto as a Present. As the scholiast (Γ 353) perceived, *ἐρρίγγησι* is an instance of the intrusion of the forms of the thematic Present into the Perfect, on which cf. Monro *H. G.*² p. 30 (*ἰλήκοι H. H. Apoll.* 165). Again *ἦσι*, and probably *ἔησι*, and possibly *ῆσι* (vide *ἰνῆρα*), are thematic formations, cf. *ἔοι*, *ἴοι*, *ἔών*, *οὔσης*, *ἰών*, and *asātha*, *ayās*, *ayāt* (Whitney, *Sk. Gr.* p. 192).

Only 8 forms have any claim to belong to the sigmatic Aorist. Of these *ἐγείρησι*, *κλίνησι*, *δρύνησι* are ambiguous, but are probably Presents used as Aorists by reason of the identity in the first person of Present and Aorist. *κλίνησι* is certainly aorist in use, as it follows *επεί*; cf. the use of the same conjunction with *δρύνητον* Z 83. But *ἀπαγγείλωσι* δ 775, *παύσῃσι*, *πέμψῃσι*, *ἐμπνεύσῃσι* (O 60: cf. *ἐπιπνεύσει* δ 357 and v. Schulze, *Q. Ep.* p. 279), may be ejected without scruple in favour of the corresponding Presents, cf. δ 672 where the correct *ναυτίλεται* is retained only by one good MS. Only one form preserves *-σ-* and is also metrically fixed, *ἀποστρέψῃσι* O 62, i.e. the interpolation in that speech begins at v. 61, not v. 64.

An isolated form is *ἦσι* N 234—no other Present Subj. is found from *ἦμι*, *ἴστημι*, *τίθημι*, *δίδωμι*: cf. Messen. *τίθηντι*. It is due to assimilation to the root Aorists, *ῆσι*, *θῆσι*, *φῆσι*, *φθῆσι*, *δῶσι*, which with *δώσι*, *φθαίσι* are the only Subjunctives in *-σι* <*τι* remaining.

II.

Old Indian Subjunctives to *āsthām*, *ādām*, *ādhām*, are *sthāti*, *dāti*, *dhāti*, but we read in Whitney (*Sk. Gr.* § 835, Modes of the Root-Aorist) that 'in Subjunctive use, forms

identical with the augmentless Indicative of this Aorist are much more frequent than the more proper Subjunctives, *i.e.* *dās, dāt*, which = **δως, *δω(τ)*, are used as Subjunctives (Injunctives). Now *dās, dāt, gās, gāt, dhās, dhāt* are to *δῶς, δῶ, βῆς, βῆ, θῆς, θῆ*, just as *bharāt (supra)* to *φέρη, i.e. δῶς* H 27, *στῆ σ* 334, *φῆ, τ* 122, *ἀναβῆ β* 358, *γνῶς χ* 373, *γνῶ Α* 411 = Π 273 are Injunctives, disguised by that process of assimilation to the commoner type *φέρω, -ης, -η, -ωμεν* (which is itself indebted for its *ἰῶτα* to *φέρεις, -ει, -ομεν*) which created *δῶ (ι* 356, *ν* 296) and produced *μεθῶμεν K* 449, *βῶσι ξ* 86 for **ῆμεν, *βῆσι* cf. *τιθῶσι*, but *Messen. τίθηντι*. Monro is then right in his view *H. G²* p. 70—except that he has not gone far enough—and there is no need to suspect these forms and emend them as van Leeuwen does (*Enchir.* p. 308).

Certainly we must not expel *δῶσι* to bring in *δώσι* as he proposes, for of the three forms *δῶσι, δῶη, δῶησι* the last is the only one that must be regarded as an epic coinage. It does not stand to *δώη* as *ἔλθησι* to *ἔλθη*, for *δώη*, as *δώμεν* and the like show, is for *δώει*; but it might be compared with forms of the sigmatic Aorist in *-ησι* if any of them could be regarded as early. A comparison of A 137 with A 324 (*αἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσι*, and *αἰ δέ κε μὴ δῶησι*) suggests that the third plural has supplied the pattern: but *δώωσι* was probably *δῶουσι* in the epic period. It remains then to regard *δώησι* as *δω+ησι*, a non-thematic form that has borrowed the thematic termination. The same explanation must be applied to the only similar form *παραφθῆησι K* 346. We must suppose that this last form was taken for an optative and assimilated to *φθαίην*; cf. Schol A on Z 459 (*εἴησι* for *εἴποι ἄν*) and on Δ 191: J. Schmidt's aeolic *φθαίω <φθα-ἰω (K. Z. 23, 298, and 27, 295)* is not very plausible, especially since Schulze's *Quaestiones Epicae*.

However Ven. A writes *-η* in the optative seven times, *φθαίη K* 368, *εἴη Π* 568, &c. (La Roche, *Hom. Textkr.* p. 410), and in this place an optative would be quite appropriate: perhaps *παραφθαίη γε* or something of the sort. The one similar form *δώησι* occurs twice, but M 275 for *αἰ κε Ζεὺς δῶησι* we may substitute *αἰ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς δῶσι* from Δ 129 and α 379 = β 144, and at A 324 *εἰ δέ κε μὴ δῶη* *Fe* would be tempting, if one felt sure that such an order were possible: note, however, that the irregular *παύσησι* (only Δ 191) might be removed in a similar way by reading *φάρμαχ' ἄ κεν παύση σι μελαινάων δοννάων*.

One cannot tell whether *δῶμεν θ* 389, *ν* 13, *γνώμεν X* 382 are properly Injunctives or Subjunctives, as the Indian Subjunctive shows only the secondary ending in this person. *ἐπιβῆτον ψ* 52, and *γνώτον φ* 218 may be Injunctives. The remaining form is *γνώσι Z* 231.

III.

The Subjunctives of the root-aorists **φθησι, *φθη(τ)* and **φθῆι* formed the model for many others. Thus *μετείω Ψ* 47, *εἴη H* 340, *I* 245, *Theogn.* 689 and *παρείω* in the proverb are Subjunctives of a stem *ῆ-* abstracted from the imperfect forms *ῆν, ἔην, ῆμεν, ῆσαν*, beside *βῆ, ἔβη, βῆμεν, βῆσαν* &c.: cf. the same analogy working in the other direction to produce *φῆσθα* beside *ῆσθα*.

Schulze's view (*Q. Ep.* 433) that *εἶω, εἴη* which appear only in the sixth foot form *στίχοι μείουροι*, is not very acceptable; and still less plausible is Christ's derivation from *ἐσ-ἰω, ἐσ-ἰη (Rh. M.* 36, 30) since, a form corresponding to *dā-syāmi* would be *ἐσ-σιω > ἔσσω*: we have no right to break up *-sya-*. Other forms of this Subj. are perhaps *ῆσι*, and *ῶσι (θ* 163, *T* 202; *ω* 491 = 274)—*ἔην, ῆν*: *εἶω, εἴη*: *ῆσι = ἔφη, φῆ*: *φῆη*: *φῆσιν (α* 168) and with *ῶσι* cf. *βῶσι* beside *βῆη* and *βῆ*. However if *οὔσης τ* 489, *όντας η* 94 are genuine, then *ῆσι, ῶσι <σῆσι, σῶσι*: *ἔ(σ)ησι = οὔσης, ὄντας <σούσης, σόντας*: *ἔ(σ)ούσης ἔ(σ)όντας*, and the forms are thematic (*supra*).

But the most important extension was to the passive Aorists in *-ην* (with which we may reckon *ἔαλων*), and *-θην*. It took place, for metrical reasons as we shall see, in such wise that the longer forms are commoner in the Aorist in *-ην*, the shorter in that in *-θην*. We find *δαμείω, δαμείης, δαμείετε, θερέω, μιγῆης, μιγέωσι, σαπήη, φανίης* (once each), and *φανίη (5), τραπέομεν (3), δαείω (4), ἀλώω (2), and ἀλώη (5)*, as against *φανῆ (1), and δαῶμεν (1)*. From Aorists in *-θην* we have *ἀληθῆ, ἀμερθῆ, ἰανθῆς, ἰανθῆ, χολωθῆς, κρυθῆτε, περιρθῆτον* (once each), *πειρηθῶμεν (twice), πιστωθῆτον (once)* as against *νεμεσηθῆμεν* restored Ω 53. The reason for this difference between the two Aorists is that the syllable preceding *-θην*, unlike that preceding *-ην*, is long by position; whence the use of the so-called contracted forms in the first five instances of *-θην*: on the metrical awkwardness of forms like *ἀληθῆη* *vide* Schulze, *Q. Ep.* pp. 258 seq. Similarly, *πειρηθῆτον* is more manageable than *πειρηθῆη*: *διακρυθῆτε ω* 532, if it may be counted as Homeric, may be balanced against *φανῆ*.

An argument for this view, that contraction in these Aorists is not represented at all in the two Epics, except perhaps in ω 532 if that book be very late, may also be found in the occurrence of three examples, and three only, ἀφέη Π 590, θερέω ρ 23 and μιγέωσι Β 475, of the intermediate stage between the Homeric ἀφήη (ἀφήει) and the later ἀφήη. Obviously that δαῶμεν &c. are now accented as though contracted is no argument one way or the other. The later forms resulting from shortening and contraction of -ηω, -ηης, &c., were identical with the earlier forms in -ω, -ης, and determined their accentuation in our texts. Similarly the monosyllabic $\epsilon\omega$ < ηω has been intruded into φθέωμεν π 383 and φθέωσι ω 437 (unless this passage be quite late) for -ωμεν and -ωσι. For στέωμεν Λ 348 X 231 and ζώμεν T 402 read στῶμεν, ὤμεν (*ζῶην) unless, on considerable MS. authority X 231 and T 402, we prefer στέομεν, ζομεν with $\epsilon\omega$ < ηο like ἀφέη &c., whereas Ionic στεωμεν comes from στηομεν by way of στηωμέν or στεωμεν with the long vowel introduced from φερωμεν &c.: σταῶμεν (van Leeuwen) would only come directly from σταῶμεν and is therefore improbable. Also we must either read the regular *κτενομεν χ 216 or κτῶμεν, which is to ἐκτᾶ as συνῶμεθα to ζύνετο.

For the Subjunctive of the root-aorist Active Voice also affected the Middle: and corresponding to φανῆ, φανῆη we find ξύμβληται η 204, θῆαι τ 403, συνῶμεθα N 381, περιδῶμεθα (-ον) Ψ 485, and on the other hand βλήσει Y 335 (βλήσειαι codd.), βλήσειαι ρ 472, θήσομαι (thrice), θῆσει δ 163 (θήσειαι codd.), ὀνήσει Z 260 (ὀνήσειαι codd.), φθῆσει β 368 (φθῆσι codd.: similarly read ἐφθῆσι Σ 446 in fourth foot for ἐφθῆεν), φθῆσει Y 173, φθῶμεσθα Ξ 87—the emendations given are due to Cobet and van Leeuwen. The latter would reject the forms without σ/ϵ , or remove them in favour of the not much commoner type with the vowel. But not only do they support one another, but perhaps derive support also from the Presents δαίνυαι θ 243, τ 328 Schulze, *l.l.* 331, δύνυαι Z 229, ἐπίστυγται Π 243 (the variants ἐπίσταται AL, -εσται Zen., are due to the belief that it is ἀντι τοῦ ἐπίσταται Schol. A *ad loc.*) as well as the dialectical forms δυνᾶμαι, καθιστάται &c. (*apud* G. Meyer, p. 502), which, like ἰῆσι and τίθηντι already quoted, may be extensions of the type δῶσι, βῆσι (< βητι < βατι). μεμῶμεθα ξ 168 is probably a thematic form: it is defended against alteration to μνησῶμεθα or *μνῶμεθα (Fick) by the dependent Accusative, a case found only with the Perfect, and also

by the circumstance that μνησῶμεθα appears only in one type of phrase (*vide infra*).

IV.

The terminations -ωμι, -ησθα like ησι are properly confined to Subjunctives with ω/η : the only possible exceptions are κτείνωμι τ 490, δηθύνησθα μ 121 (both of which in their contexts may be present), and ἐλάσσησθα Ψ 344 in a speech of Nestor, and probably late.

The impulse to the formation of -ωμι and to the extension of -θα to the Subjunctive was given by the third persons in -ησι. Four of the six instances of -ωμι—ἀγάγωμι, ἐθέλωμι, εἴπωμι, τύχωμι—and seven of the twelve in -ησθα have beside them -ησι—in only two verbs ἐθέλειν, εἰπεῖν is the full series found—but in no case does the same verb show both -ωμι and -ησθα, yet want -ησι. They occur rarely; only ἐθέλωμι, τύχωμι, probably εἴπωμι, and ἐθέλησθα, εἴπησθα occur more than once, and only the forms from ἐθέλειν and probably εἰπεῖν are frequent. εἴπωμι occurs once only in our texts χ 392, but that passage (ὄφρα ἔπος εἴπωμι, τό μοι καταθύμιόν ἐστι) probably gives the true version of the nine times recurring ὄφρ' εἴπω, τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κεύθει, which also occurs T 102 with the variation ἀνώγει—this leaves only three instances of elision before εἰπεῖν. Further we may introduce it δ 348. This supposed frequency of εἴπωμι is not surprising, since εἴπησι is very frequent (fourteen times, a number approached only by ἔλθησι eleven times and surpassed only by ἐθέλησι), and besides is found in a phrase marked as ancient by its unique syntax—καὶ ποτέ τις εἴπησι (Z 459, H 87).

The relation between -ωμι, -ησθα, and -ησι appears clearly in the case of ἐθέλειν. To I 146 with ἐθέλησι correspond v. 288 with -ησθα and v. 397 with -ωμι. Further ἐθέλησι appears twenty times out of the twenty-nine in collocations such as αἶ κ' ἐ, ὄν κ' ἐ, and ἐθέλησθα seventeen times out of eighteen in the same collocations, ἐθέλωμι two out of three times. In the third instance A 549, the Optative of the MSS. is quite defensible cf. δ 600. Should we read ᾧ κ' ἐθέλωμι || δόμεν for ᾧ κ' ἐθέλω δόμεναι φ 345? On the other hand ἴδωμι || φίλον Σ 63 (Ven. A) may be wrong like I 414 ἴκωμι || φίλην of the same MS. Should the Optatives βάλοισθα O 571, κλαίοισθα Ω 619, προφύγοισθα χ 325 be changed to Subjunctives? All three stems show -ησι, and βάλησθα once occurs. The change is easy, except in O 571, but cf. φ 260 and read κεν for που—εἰ κέ τινα Τρώων ἐξάλμενος ἄνδρα βάλησθα.

V.

Among the forms in *-ωμι, -γησθα, -γησι* we found, besides *ἐλάσησθα* and *στρέψησι*, both in interpolations, only a few forms like *ἐγείρησι* which might be Subjunctives of non-thematic Aorists. In the case of *κλίησι* T 223 the aoristic use is proved by the conjunction *ἐπεί*, and the same holds good of *ἐποτρύνητον* Z 83, nor is this really surprising, since forms like *ἐγείρω, κλίνω, ὀτρύνω* are equivocal and could affect the other persons. Apart from these we may reject all instances of *ω/η* in the Subjunctive of the non-thematic Aorist.

(1) *ὄρσωμεν, ὄρσητε* belong to the Thematic Conjugation and are to *ὄρσομεν* (Δ 16) as *ὄρσο* (seven times) to *ὄρσο* (five): and *ἄλληται* (Φ 536) is also thematic, standing to *ἄλλομαι* as *βαλεῖν* to *βάλλειν*, or as *ταμείν* to *τάμνειν*; cf. *O. T.* 1311 (Jebb). *ἄλεται* Δ 192 = 207 is Subj. of a non-thematic *ἄλ* or *ἄλ*, rightly or wrongly abstracted from *ἄλτο* (better *ἄλτο*), which however may be for *ἄλσ-το* in which case *ἄλεται* is wrongly formed.

(2) *δείσητ'* Ω 779 is due to the tendency to remove legitimate hiatus. We must read *δείσετε*, just as we must read *ὡς δ' ὅτε* for *ὡς δ' ὅταν* (thirteen times and always in the first foot), and *οἷθ' ὅτε* in the same position λ 18: in the remaining instances of *ὅταν* in a general sentence read *οἷτ'* B 397, *αἷτ' ν* 101.

(3) The context requires the Optative π 369 (*φθίσωμεν*) and favours it ο 453 (*περάσσητε*) and the MSS. support the Present Φ 467 (*πανσώμεθα*) and ν 383 *πέμψωμεν*—ν. Monro, *H. G.* pp. 71 and 270. Hence we may venture to correct *πανσώμεσθα* H 290, cf. Φ 467, *παύσωμεν* H 29, *βουλεύσωμεν* π 234, *ἀντιάσητον* M 356, to Present Subj. or, in the last case, to the Aorist Optative, cf. Monro, p. 71. Also *μνησώμεθα* must give way to a *μνηόμεθα*, Subj. to *μνηόμενος, μνήοντο*: it must have been changed before the Participle and Imperfect became 'assimilated' (cf. *πρώονες* for *πρήονες*). Its very frequency (six times) is against the genuineness of *μνησώμεθα* (in view of the rareness of such forms with the long vowel), and so is the probable antiquity of the phrase *μν. χάρμησ* (thrice) which formed the type for the remaining instances.

(4) Some passages that are doubtful on other grounds show the forms in question. The most interesting is τ 12 = π 293. Verses τ 10–13 = π 291–294 form a period that is marked as late by the proverb '*αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.*' The mere mention of iron is certainly not enough to prove a passage to be late (cf. Jevons, *J. H. S.* xiii. 25), but such a use of the generic word 'iron' instead of the special word 'knife,' 'sword' as we get here means not only that iron is known, but that it is regularly used in such articles. Further the proverb undoubtedly refers to daggers and to stabbing, and, any way, the passage shows a misconception of the situation, for the suitors retained weapons enough to spoil any feast *οἰνωθέντες*, for they had their *φάσγανα* χ 90. *ἀνήνηται* I 510 is in the allegory of the *Διταί*: it may be an early extension of the type *κρήνησι, ὀτρύνητον*. *ἐνιπλήξωμεν* M 72 is wedged in between what are probably interpolated passages 3–33 and 86–107 (ν. Leaf) and may reasonably be attributed to a late hand.

Lastly Γ 107 *μή τις ὑπερβασίη Διὸς ὄρκια δηλήσσηται* may be considered to be an adaptation of the phrase *ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσασθαι* Δ 67, 236, by some one who considered *ὑπὲρ* to go with the verb, replaced it by *ὑπερβασίη* and invented the phrase found here only *Διὸς ὄρκια*. If the line is to be defended, it must be on the ground that the thematic *οἶσετε* and *ἄξετε* precede (νν. 103, 105) and suggested this thematic form. But on the most favourable view of the case the only reasonably probable instances of *ω/η* outside the thematic conjugation are *κρήνησι, ὀτρύνητον, &c.*, which have a special excuse, and *ἀνήνηται* on their model together with *ἐνιπλήξωμεν, δηλήσσηται, and μνησώμεθα* on the pattern of *ὄρσωμεν*; and these instances are so few, that really nothing is found in Homer to defend *-σησ, -ση, -σωσι*, or to make it surprising that the third person, singular and plural, shows the short vowel in inscriptions of the fifth cent. from Ephesus, Teos and Chios (Schulze, *Hermes* xx. 493).

C. M. MULVANY.

NOTE ON THE USE OF οὐχ ὅτι IN PLATO.

THERE are a few passages in Plato where οὐχ ὅτι is generally said to mean, not what it usually does, but 'although.' How that meaning is to be extracted from οὐχ ὅτι it is difficult to see; 'although' may be a convenient paraphrase, but the usage surely demands more exact treatment. Four such passages, with the interpretations of some of the editors, are as follows:—

1. *Theaet.* 157 B. ...τὸ δ' εἶναι πανταχόθεν ἐξαιρετέον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμεῖς πολλὰ καὶ ἄρτι ἡναγκάσμεθα ὑπὸ συνηθείας καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ.

Kennedy's translation: '...and the term "being" must be removed on all sides, although we are often, even in our present discussion, compelled to use it from habit and ignorance.' So Campbell, 'Though, as I need not observe.'

2. *Protag.* 336 D. ...ἔως ἂν ἐπιλάβωνται περὶ ὅτου τὸ ἐρώτημα ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀκούοντων, ἐπεὶ Σωκράτης γε ἐγὼ ἐγγυῶμαι μὴ ἐπιλήσασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι παίζει καὶ φησιν ἐπιλήσμων εἶναι.

Thompson, in a note on *Gorg.* 450 E, translates the above, 'though he does make believe and protest that he has no memory.' Cp. Bekker's note from Heindorf, 'οὐχ ὅτι παίζει, *quamvis jocetur.*'

3. *Gorgias* 450 E. ἀλλ' οὗτοι τούτων γε οὐδεμίαν οἶμαι σε βούλεσθαι ῥητορικὴν καλεῖν, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ ῥήματι οὕτως εἶπες, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

Thompson translates 'not but what, taken at your word, you did say as much as that,' etc. Explained similarly by others.

4. *Lysis* 220 A. οὐχ ὅτι πολλάκις λέγομεν, ὡς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον. 'Οὐχ ὅτι est simpliciter *quamquam,*' Heindorf.

By rendering 'although' or 'not but what' we seem to ignore what οὐχ ὅτι really is, οὐκ ἐρῶ ὅτι. I would suggest that the passages can be explained in accordance with that fundamental meaning quite as well as by (apparently) losing sight of it. They are simply examples of οὐχ ὅτι or μὴ ὅτι introducing a statement which is true as far as it goes, but is inadequate; as in *Symp.* 179 B ὑπεραποθνήσκειν γε μόνον ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ἐρώντες, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες, or *Xen. Cyr.* 7, 2, 17 μὴ ὅτι θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωποι καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας. The difference is only that in these latter cases the inadequate phrase comes before the adequate one, in

our passages after it. Ours then may be translated:—

1. *Theaet.* 157 B. ...τὸ δ' εἶναι πανταχόθεν ἐξαιρετέον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμεῖς πολλὰ καὶ ἄρτι ἡναγκάσμεθα ὑπὸ συνηθείας καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ. '...and the term "being" must be removed on all sides; I will not merely say that through habit and ignorance we have been frequently compelled (=that it is through habit and ignorance that we have been frequently compelled) even on the present occasion, to use it'; i.e. the latter statement, though true, does not go far enough; we must do more than call the use of the term 'being' an unscientific habit; we must absolutely renounce it.

Note that ἡναγκάσμεθα here, like the corresponding verbs φησιν and εἶπες in the next two passages, exemplifies the Greek tendency to co-ordination; we need to subordinate them.

2. *Protag.* 336 D. ...ἔως ἂν ἐπιλάβωνται περὶ ὅτου τὸ ἐρώτημα ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀκούοντων, ἐπεὶ Σωκράτης γε ἐγὼ ἐγγυῶμαι μὴ ἐπιλήσασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι παίζει καὶ φησιν ἐπιλήσμων εἶναι. '...until most of the hearers forget the subject of the inquiry; for as to Socrates, I warrant he will not forget; I won't merely say that he jests and calls himself (=is in jest when he calls himself) forgetful'; i.e. the latter observation is true, but not forcible enough; we must say outright that he will *not* forget.

3. *Gorgias* 450 E. ἀλλ' οὗτοι τούτων γε οὐδεμίαν οἶμαι σε βούλεσθαι ῥητορικὴν καλεῖν, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ ῥήματι οὕτως εἶπες, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. 'But I do not suppose that you wish to call any of these arts rhetoric; I will not merely say that in word you so expressed yourself (=that it was only in word, only in your passing utterance, that you so expressed yourself)...'; i.e. to describe the erroneous remark as a mere passing phrase, not to be taken literally, is correct, but insufficient; the erroneous remark is absolutely *contrary* to the speaker's meaning.

4. *Lysis* 220 A. οὐχ ὅτι πολλάκις λέγομεν, ὡς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον. 'I will not merely put it thus, that we often say we prize gold and silver highly' (emphasizing λέγομεν); i.e. such a statement is not merely a harmless conventional one; it is false; we do not care for gold and silver themselves, but for the ulterior objects, &c. Before οὐχ ὅτι punctuate with a colon or comma rather than a full stop.

Kühner § 525*b*, on *Theaet.* 157 B, gets 'nicht jedoch leugne ich' out of οὐχ ὄρι,

carrying on the previous negative in an extraordinary way. E. H. DONKIN.

CRITICA QUAEDAM.

Cic. Ep. Q. Fr. ii. 3, 5.

vulg. Sed idem Neriis index edidit ad adligatos Cn. Lentulum Vatiā et C. Cornelium: † ista ei.

(1) ad adlegatos. Orelli-Baiter.

(2) itaque rei facti sunt. Orelli.

(1) Adligati is supported by reference to *pro Clu.* 13, 39: but Metzger's rendering 'in addition to the other accused' (a) gives a sense to ad scarcely tolerable in Cicero, (b) ignores the fact that there is only one accused, Sestius, in question. May not Cicero have written apud legatos, i.e. officers to whom the duty of considering such informations had been temporarily delegated? The rarity of the term would explain the inroad of marginal annotations.

(2) Orelli's suggestion 'itaque rei facti sunt' is simply an attempt to complete the sense. But is this the sense required? Cicero seems to intend a contrast: he hastened to place his services at Sestius' disposal, but when Neriis went on to accuse others (*sed idem*), refrained,—they were otherwise provided for. I venture to propose, therefore, satis eis, with ellipse of such an idea as praesidii, patronorum. Ista of the MS. would arise by metathesis of syllables.

Cic. ad Att. v. 11, 6.

vulg. † in praefectis excusatio iis.

For these obviously corrupt words Orelli suggests exceptis negotiatoribus. Boot prefers Gronovius' in praefectis negotiator ni sit to Popma's excusatio ni sit and Koch's praefectis excusationes iis. Is not the corruption to be traced to a Greek word? Perhaps exclusis ἀργυραμοιβοῖς. Cf. the special sense of excludere in the dramatists (e.g. Ter. *Eun.* i. 2, 79 ego excludor, ille recipitur), ἀργυραμοιβός in Plat. *Polit.* 289 E &c.

Cic. ad Fam. viii. 8, 2.

† si quod iniuriis suis esset, ut Vestorius teneret.

The point of the story is too obscure to render any emendation certain. Is it not

sufficient to alter quod to quid? Then iniuriis suis = suo damno as Manutius interprets, the construction being parallel to the use of ingratiis with an adjective in agreement, as e.g. in Plaut. *Merc.* ii. 4, 11 tuis ingratiis.

Cic. pro Sest. xlii. § 91.

Tum res ad communem utilitatem, quas publicas appellamus.....

Holden interprets 'things serving for public use' and explains publicas as opposed to privatas, 'the things which are common to all, such as temples, fora, streets,' &c. Madvig on the phrase res ad communem utilitatem says 'neque Latine et grammaticè dicitur neque sententiam satis definitam habet' and adopts Lambinus' conjecture res communem utilitatem continentem.

But the passage may surely stand as it is, if we understand res to be repeated before publicas. Thus res ad communem utilitatem, quas (res) publicas appellamus. Res is used absolutely, almost in its Ennian sense (cunctando restituit rem). The grammatical difficulty is removed by the participle coniuncta following, whose force is felt also with res and conventicula. The whole sentence is somewhat harsh for Cicero, but not therefore to be re-arranged.

Horace, *Sat.* i. 6, 22.

vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.

Dittenb. *ad loc.* 'Ex proverbio, quod sump-tum videtur ab asino in fabula, qui leonis pellem induit.' So edd. generally. But (a) this sense of quiescere is unusual in Latin except when the word is directly metaphorical—in which case the meaning is common enough; (b) the reference in 'pelle' is to Lucilius probably, cf. *fragm.* iii. 41 (Müller's ed.). In pelle propria quiescere therefore is 'to lie on one's own bed,' from the habit of using skins and fleeces for bed furniture.

Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 41 44.

Hoc tibi Paullus
et Messala videris? At hic, si plostra
ducenta

concurrantque foro tria funera, magna
sonabit
cornua quod vincatque tubas: saltem tenet
hoc nos.
nunc ad me redeo, &c.

This is the ordinary punctuation, without discrimination of interlocutors in the dialogue. Editors generally seem to leave the passage without comment, or deal only with the phrase magna sonare which presents no difficulty. Also explanation of the phrase saltem tenet hoc nos is wanting. I would read thus:

(Hor.) 'Hoc tibi Paullus
et Messala videris?' (Novus homo) 'At hic,
si plostra ducenta
concurrantque foro tria funera, magna
sonabit
cornua quod vincatque tubas.' (Hor.)
'Saltem tenet hoc nos.'

The argument then is, 'At any rate I am

better born than my colleague Novius: he is a libertinus.' 'Which puts you among our oldest nobility?' 'Your sneer is not undeserved; but think what a vulgar bawler this fellow Novius is.' 'Doubtless,' returns Horace, 'a loud voice is vulgar: but in my eyes it ought to be a merit, for I am the son of a coactor, and was to have been a praeco' (*infr.* ll. 85-6-7). (Saltem tenet hoc nos = 'this quality claims at least my approval.') Then the transition nunc ad me redeo is natural and inevitable, instead of being, with the usual punctuation, an awkward break in the sense.

This interpretation of the passage seems to be so obvious that I can scarcely suppose it has not been already suggested: but having no access to anything which can be called a library it is impossible to assure myself on this head.

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NOTE ON MENAECHEMI 182 sq.

Er. Aníme mei, Menaéche, salve. Pen.
Quíd ego? Er. Extra numerum es
mihi.
Pen. Ídem istuc aliis ádscripívis fieri ad
legioném solet. 184
Men. (Égo ístic mihi hodie ádparari ítssi
apud te proélium. 185
Er. Hódie id fiet. Men. Ín eo uterque
proélio potabimus.
Úter ibi meliór bellator érit inven-
tus cantharo,
Tuæ legióni ádiúdicato, cúm eo ut
hanc noctém sies.)

THIS passage contains one or two difficulties of exegesis, besides a slight textual difficulty. I have given Schoell's reading in the great Ritschl edition which has undertaken to rewrite the manuscripts on any and no occasion. In the fourth edition of the *Menaechmi* by Brix-Niemeyer, N. accepts the readings given entire, but omits the parenthesis and reads in vs. 188 *cum vivo*. In the third edition of Brix, vs. 185 has *ísti <a>c* and *íussim*, corrections of Acidalius. For vs. 188 the reading is *T'íos est: legito ac iudicato, cum utro<d>* etc. In vs. 185 Er. and Men. have no MS. warrant, though B. erases Me. at the beginning of vs. 186; A seems to have left room

for a rubric within vs. 186, according to the measure of the letters lacking at the beginning of the line. The missing rubric may be Pe., and Brix-Fowler so reads. If the speech of Menaechmus continued through *fiet* in vs. 185, then the loss of the rubric Pe. would account for the omission of Men. at the beginning of vs. 186. The only substantial variations from the MSS. I have written in italics; *fiet* for *flet* is a perfectly good correction on palaeographic grounds. In vs. 188 the MSS. read *tuest* (but in B, second hand, ^a*tuest*) *legio adiudicato cum utro hanc noctem sies*. There is every palaeographic reason to read *tua est*, and in a capital MS. *legio* might be a mistake for *lecto*, a mistake helped into being by the near presence of *bellator*. I propose to read the last vs. *Tua est; lecto adiudicato, cum utro<d> hanc noctem sies*.

No commentator, so far as I am aware, has got the entire force of *extra numerum*; to Erotium it meant 'out of my <good> books,' and in Peniculus's rejoinder 'out of step like the raw recruits in the army.' As to *proelium* in vs. 185 we can render it perfectly by our 'bout,' but it may well be that Scaliger was right in correcting to *prandium* which Peniculus in the next verse

turned by *proelium*, 'bout.' Or may it not have been that Menaechmus in his exultation said *proelium* by mistake, being full of his great battle (cf. pugnari fortiter, vs. 129) of stealing the palla (?). It may be however that *adparari...proelium* is a simple *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* witicism, substituted for the expected *adparari prandium* of vs. 174, only some ten lines before. I thus translate the passage.

Er. My darling, Menaechmus, good-morning, Pen. How are you going to greet me? Er. You are out of it.

Pen. Out of it! as the raw recruits are apt to be in the army.

Men. I bade you to-day to get ready for me at your house a bout;
It shall take place to-day. Pen.
In that bout let us each drink;
And the one of us who is found
the better man o' the tankard
Is yours; take him for your bed
with whom to pass to-night.

My interpretation may not be an improvement on the current ones, but it is certainly in closer touch with the manuscripts, and admits nothing but plain palaeographic corrections.

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NOTE ON HORACE, SAT. I. i. 36.

Quae, simul *inversum contristat Aquarius*
annuum,
Non usquam prorepat et illis utitur ante
Quaesitis sapiens

RECENT editors, it seems to me, have made unnecessary difficulty with the words *inversum annum*. Kirkland, interpreting them to mean 'the closing year, *i.e.*, turned round to its point of beginning,' compares Macrob. *Sat.* i. 14, and the Homeric phrases, *περιπλόμενος*, *περιτελλόμενος ἐνιαυτός*; also Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 2, 25, *περιούντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ*; Thuc. i. 30, *περιούντι τῷ θέρει*. Kiessling's comment is brief, but of similar purport: 'Der Jahresring ist im Januar wieder zu seinem Ausgang (*sic*) zurückgekehrt, also *inversus*: im Januar tritt die Sonne in das Zeichen des Wassermannes, *Aquarius*.' In the editio quarta maior of Orelli (revised by W. Mewes, 1892) we find this note: '*inversum—annum des Jahres Umschwung*. Cfr. Theoc. xiii. 26: *τετραμμένω εἶαρος ἤδη*, et Homeri *περιπλομένων*, *περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν*. De bruma loquitur, ex qua velut novus circulus sive cursus anni semper vertentis (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 14) exordium capit. Formicae quidem sese abdunt iam ante pluviosae hiemis initium; pro qualicumque vero hiemali signo ponit *Aquarium*.....' The source of this comment would seem to be Prophyron's note on the passage, which runs thus:¹ *inversum annum perpetuum epitheton est anni, quia in se semper vertitur, id est, revertitur. Maxime*

autem sole in Aquario constituto tempestates horrendae et frigora ingentia solent esse. Schütz writes: 'Mit dem Wassermann, in welches Zeichen die Sonne Mitte Januar eintritt, ist die strengste Winterzeit bezeichnet; die Aemeise verbirgt sich freilich schon vorher. Das Jahr ist bildlich der von der Sonne innerhalb des Thierkreises am Himmel zurückgelegte Cirkel; daher *inversus* entsprechend dem homerischen *περιπλόμενος*, *περιτελλόμενος*, *περιτροπέων* u. a. Aehnlich *mensem vortentem servire* Plaut. *Pers.* iv. 4, 76.²

In commenting on these views I shall begin by asking whether *inversus* by itself can bear any such meaning as *turned round to its beginning*? For such a sense some limiting word or words (such as *retro* or *ad initium*) are, I think, indispensable. Secondly, I maintain that the Greek phrases cited by Kirkland, Orelli, and Schütz are not in point. I base this claim on the following considerations. (1) We hardly look for (nor do we find) translations of Greek poetic epithets in the prosaic Satires. (2) Assuming that we have a translation of any Greek epithet, *inversus* is surely not a fair equivalent for *περιπλόμενος*, *περιτελλόμενος*, *περιούν*, *περιτροπέων*. Vergil (*Aen.* i. 234) translates *περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* by *volvuntibus annis* (see Conington *ad loc.*). We may compare also *Aen.* viii. 247 *ter denis redeuntibus annis*. On this passage Conington remarks (*inter alia*) that *redeuntibus*

² Keightley, Dillenburger, and Palmer also cite the phrases from Homer.

¹ I cite from Meyer's edition (Teubner, 1874).

annis is from Lucretius i. 311 *multis solis redeuntibus annis*, and both perhaps from the Homeric περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. *Veniēt lustris labentibus actas*, Aen. i. 283, also bears a certain likeness to the Greek phrases under discussion. The evidence thus afforded by the actual practice of a poet whose study and imitation of Homer are well known is supported by the grammatical consideration that a *past passive* participle like *inversus* cannot be the equivalent of a *present active* (or *neuter*) participle like περιτροπέων or περιούϊν, or of a *present middle* participle like περιπλόμενος or περιτελλόμενος.

Nor do I see any appropriateness in the reference made by Dillenburger, Orelli-Mewes and Kirkland to Macrob. *Sat.* i. 14. The only part of that chapter which bears any resemblance to our passage is § 4: *Nam sicut lunaris annus mensis est, quia luna paulo minus quam mensem in zodiaci circumitione consumit, ita solis annus hoc dierum numero colligendus est quem peragit dum ad id signum se denuo vertit ex quo digressus est, unde annus vertens vocatur...* Note that here again we have *annus vertens*, not *inversus*. The same phrase is suggested by Porphyryon's words cited above: *quia semper (annus) in se vertitur, id est, revertitur*. Again, if we interpret at all strictly, when the sun enters Aquarius on January 16th, the year is not 'turned round to its beginning,' as Kirkland and Kiessling¹ would have us believe, but rather turned *past* its beginning. In order to get the sense advocated by them, we must say (as does Conington on Verg. *Georg.* iii. 303, *cum frigidus olim | Iam cadit extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno*) that 'Aquarius sets in February, which with the Romans would be close to the end of the natural year.'

Turning now to Wickham and Palmer, we find that the former is entirely too subtle. 'Summer and winter,' he says, 'are represented like night and day (Verg. *Aen.* ii. 250) as two hemispheres which succeed each other. In the winter the lower one has come to the top.' I fail to see any such suggestion in the passage. Palmer seems undecided: 'The "inverted year" may mean

the new year: the sun enters A. on Jan. 16th. Cf. the Homeric περιτελλόμενων ἐνιαυτῶν. Theocr. 13, 26: τετραμμένο εἶαρος ἤδη. The year has run its course and begins as it were over again. But another explanation is possible: just as *vomer inversus*, *Epod.* 2, 63, means the ploughshare turned backwards so that it will not cut; as *inversi mores*, *Carm.* 3, 5, 7, mean manners with their bad side out, altered for the worse; as *virtutes invertere*, 1, 3, 155, means to turn virtues into vices; so here *inversus annus* may mean the year with its winter 'side, wet and cold, turned towards one, the bright summer side being turned out of sight.'

In all these differing views, the fault, as it seems to me, is precisely that of over-acuteness. I would take *inversum* in our passage as equivalent merely to *changed*, *altered*. If it be objected that this sense is indefinite, I would reply that its indefiniteness is relieved by the very next word *contristat*. Then take *inversum contristat . . . annum* as = *invertit et contristat annum*, a piece of syntax for which it is surely unnecessary to cite parallels. Translate 'As soon as Aquarius brings a saddening change over the year.' This interpretation is perfectly simple, requiring on the one hand no recourse to any Greek original, and on the other according fully with the context. The meaning of the whole sentence plainly is 'As soon as winter comes, the ant ceases to gather and begins to use, whereas neither summer's heat nor winter's cold abates your zeal in gathering.' This interpretation, I am aware, makes it necessary to regard Aquarius as used generally for any winter sign. But this can create no difficulty. The sun's passage through Aquarius, as Porphyryon tells us, was attended by especial cold and storms. Hence the selection of Aquarius here would be precisely parallel with the selection of *Aufidus* in *Sat.* i. 1, 58, or that of *Auster* in *Sat.* i. 1, 6, or of *Pontica pinus* *Carm.* i. 14, 11, or of *Cypria trabs* *Carm.* i. 1, 13. Just as *Aufidus*, poetry apart, = simply *flumen*, as *Auster* = *ventus*, so *Aquarius* = *hiemps*.

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¹ I take it for granted that in Kiessling's note *Ausgang* is an error of the press for *Eingang*.

NOTE ON HORACE, *CARM.* I ii 39.

THAT *Mauri* is pretty certainly wrong, and *Marsi* a probable restoration, occurred to some great scholars, among them to Bentley.

I do not propose to argue the point, but to record what seems to me a curious coincidence, in case it has not been already noticed.

Claudian *Bell. Gild.* 433-6 makes Honorius, encouraging the troops destined for the war with Gildo in Africa, speak thus :

an Mauri fremitum raucosque repul-
sus
umbonum et uestros passuri comminus
enses?
non contra clipeis tectos gladiisque micantes
ibitis : in solis longe fiducia telis.

He goes on to describe the *Mauri* as light cavalry, and so forth. The passage is of course modelled on Lucan, as is the way with Claudian.

But so far we have merely what other writers, and better authorities than Claudian, sufficiently supply. What is (so far as I know) peculiar to the case of Claudian is that the following passage occurs in the same poem 39-43 where Roma is addressing Juppiter, and referring to her recent calamities :

quid referam morbiue luem tumulosue re-
pletos
stragibus et crebras corrupto sidere mortes?
aut fluuium per tecta uagum summisque
minatum
collibus? ingentes uexi summersa carinas
remorumque sonos et Pyrrhae saecula sensi.

It is just possible, I suppose, that 41-3 are not an echo of the well-known lines of Horace, but I believe they are ; and that Claudian knew his Horace is plain to any that will read him. If he is here thinking of Horace, we have the curious fact of his giving an account of the *Mauri* (derived no doubt from his reading) wholly opposed to the traditional text of Horace, in the same poem and within 400 lines' distance of a passage suggested by the very same ode of Horace. Perhaps I make too much of this situation. I leave the kind reader to judge.

The former of my two quotations is given by Bentley, but he does not notice the second. The close relation of the second passage to Horace is observed by Birt, who calls attention to it on *uagum* and *Pyrrhae saecula*. I had noticed it before referring to Birt.

W. E. HEITLAND.

THUCYDIDES VI.

4, 2. πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι.. Πάμμυλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι· καὶ ἐκ Μεγάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως οὐσης αὐτοῖς ἐπελθὼν ξυγκατάκτισε. Lege igitur μεταπέμψαντες. Neque aliter ad hunc locum quadrat usus particulae καὶ a Stallio indicatus.

4, 5. τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς (αὐτὸς Dobree) ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας. Fortasse αὐτὸς ἐκ—αὐτοῦ ΕΙC.

6, 3. τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἄμα [πρὸς τοὺς Σελινοῦντίους] Sta., qui iure negat hanc verborum

collocationem cum Thucydidis more congruere. An <τοῦ> πρὸς τοὺς Σελ.?

8, 3. ἐκκλησία αὐθις ἐγίγνετο, καθ' ὅτι χρὴ τὴν παρασκευὴν ταῖς ναυσὶ τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, εἴ του προσδέοιτο, ψηφισθῆναι. Hunc locum nescio an corruerit Hudius, post καὶ inserto τοῦ. Nam τοῖς στρατηγοῖς cum verbo ἐγίγνετο artius cohaeret quam cum ψηφισθῆναι, quod per epegesin additur. Cf. Andoc. ἦν ἐκκλησία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς εἰς Σικελίαν. E. C. M.

A FRAGMENT OF HERMIPPUS.

I QUOTE at once the vulgate as represented by Tauchnitz (1829) in Plutarch, *Pericles* 33 :

Βασιλεῦ σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις
 Δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
 Περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινοὺς παρέχει,
 Ψυχὴν δὲ Τέλητος ὑπέστης ;
 5 Κἀγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόνη σκληρᾶ
 Παραθηγομένης βρέχεις κοπίδος
 Δηχθεῖς αἰθῶνι Κλέωνι.

The point is that Pericles after preventing peace will not allow a battle, though a Spartan army is in Attica (431 B.C.).

Lines 1—3 are plain enough. Line 4 seems meaningless. Koock objecting to a paroemiac among anapaests reads *ψυχὴν δ' ἀτέλειτος ὑπέξιστης*, not a very pretty or even likely line. Most editors correct to *ψυχὴν δὲ Τέλητος ὑπέστη* explaining Teles as 'some notorious coward.' This is easy enough, and no doubt right if there ever was such a person. But commentary of this order is dangerous. We must remember the grammarian who read in Virgil, *E. ix. 1 Quot Emori Pedes*, and explained Emorus as an Arab horse. It might be possible to combine both suggestions and

read *ψυχὴν δ' ἀτέλειτος ὑπέστη*, and translate with Hosea Biglow,

'But sermon thru an' come to *du*
 'Why, there's the old J. B.'

Lines 5—7 are desperate. Holden in his edition of the *Pericles* quotes with some scorn the explanations of Koraës, Blass and Meineke, and is sagaciously silent himself. In fact, as the lines stand, you can get no more meaning out of them than you put in. Of course the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* type of joke is frequently fatal to meaning. But I incline to think that if for *ἀκόνη* we read *ἀκοῆ* we get nearer something reasonable. I translate roughly: 'And yet (in spite of this warlike talk) your teeth are set on edge at the harsh sound of a hand-chopper being sharpened, and the flashing Cleon really does hit home [when he calls you coward].' The mere presence of *παραθηγομένης* would be more than enough to turn *ἀκοῆ* into *ἀκόνη*, a change exemplified quite gratuitously in Pindar, *O. vi. 82 = 140 δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσα ἀκόνας λιγυρᾶς | ἄ μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρροῖσι πνοαῖς*.

T. R. GLOVER.

EURIPIDES, *TROADES* 256.

ῥίπτε, τέκνον, ζαθέους
 κληῖδας καὶ ἀπὸ χροῦς ἐνδυτῶν στεφέων
 ἱερούς στολμούς.

I OBJECT to the word *κληῖδας* on three grounds:—

(1) If *κληῖδας* means 'keys,' as Liddell and Scott and others take it, what keys are meant? Were they those of the *ὀπισθόδομος* of a temple of Apollo? If so, is it probable that the captive Cassandra had been allowed to retain them until now?

(2) If *κληῖδας* means 'chaplets,' as it is explained by Dr. Tyrrell, is it not tautological when followed by *στεφέων*? Besides, the gloss quoted from Hesychius (*παρὰ Ἐφεσίου τῆς θεοῦ τὰ στέμματα*) does not sufficiently prove that such is the meaning here.

(3) We should expect the Doric form *κλᾶδας* just as we find *τλάμονα* v. 247, *τᾶ*

νύμφα *δοῦλαν* v. 250, *τὰν* v. 253, *ἐτεκόμαν* v. 265 κ.τ.λ.

I suggest therefore that we should for *κληῖδας* read *κλάδας*, a heteroclit acc. pl. of *κλάδος*, 'suppliant bough,' found in a fragment of Nicander quoted in Athenaeus 684 B *λιβάνου τε νέας κλάδας*. A dative *κλάδεσι* is found Aristoph. *Av. 239*. This change will give a short anacrusis, as in lines 266 and 271 of this passage of Euripides.

The reading I suggest will give a preferable meaning, and it is to be noticed that Cassandra is represented *σὺν κλάδοις ἔγχειριδίσι* and wearing a wreath on her head in Pitture d' Ercolano ii. 18.

The trifling difference, both to eye and ear, between ΚΛΑΔΑΣ, ΚΛΑΙΔΑΣ, and ΚΛΗΙΔΑΣ, will readily account for such a corruption of the text.

J. STANLEY.

SOME PASSAGES IN VALERIUS FLACCUS.

I. 17 *sqq.*

neque enim Tyrii Cynosura carinis

certior aut Graiis Helice seruanda magistris

19 seu tu signa dabis seu te duce Graecia mittet

et Sidon Nilusque rates.

SLOTHOWER saw that *seu* must be restored for *et* in 20, but none of the corrections of 19 are quite convincing. Thilo's *cum* is satisfactory in regard to sense—*pace* Schenkl (*Studien*, p. 71). The meaning is 'when your star shines in the heaven, it will be as sure a guide to Greek pilots as Helice, to Tyrian ships as Cynosura' (*cum tu signa dabis, seu Graecia mittet rates non seruanda (est) certior Helice magistris, seu Sidon Nilusque mittent, non seru. (est) certior Cynosura*). There is no simile, and therefore there is no point in Schenkl's criticism of Thilo's *cum* that 'bei ihrer Annahme nicht der verglichene Gegenstand neben dem Bilde angegeben wäre.' With Slothower's *cum* which Haupt approved, and with Schenkl's *ac* (arrived at by supposing that the beginnings of vv. 19 and 20 were interchanged, and that *et* arose from *ac*), we should have to understand *quam (ac) tu seruandus cum signa dabis*. It seems to me that Thilo's emendation is simpler and better,—only it does not explain the corruption. We must read—with the same sense—

tu *si* signa dabis seu te duce Graecia mittet
seu Sidon Nilusque rates.

By this correction, we gain the advantage of placing *tu* in the emphatic position. When *si* fell out and the line was a syllable short, *seu* was the word that was sure to be inserted; and the third step, which followed as a consequence, was the deliberate change of *seu* in l. 20 to *et*. 'If your star guides, then Helice shall not seem a surer beacon to Greek helmsmen, nor Cynosura to Tyrian ships.'

I. 670 *sqq.*tuque fretum diuosque pater sortite
biformes,670 seu casus nox ista fuit, seu uoluitur
axis,ut superum sic staret opus, tollique
uicissimpontus habet, seu te subitae noua puppis
imagoarmorumque hominumque truces con-
surgero in irasinpulit, haec luerim satis et tua nu-
mina, rector,

iam fuerint meliora tibi.

The words *seu uoluitur*—*pontus habet* have not as yet been interpreted or satisfactorily corrected. As they stand, they convey no meaning. Voss thought he had explained them by the paraphrase *seu pontus id fatale habeat ut uicissim tollatur*, but this—which is obviously the general sense—does not elucidate the actual words. The emendations of Burmann and Oudendorp depart too far from the MS. to be seriously considered; they agree in introducing *ui* for *ut* and *seu* for *sic*. Baehrens deals still more freely with the text, but his correction illustrates what seems to be the prevalent view as to the meaning of the clause. He reads:

seu uoluitur axis

ut superum sic constet opus, tollique ne-
cessum

pontus habet;

the idea being that the conservation of the world involves as a condition the rising of the ocean from time to time, and that such commotions are connected with the revolution of the heavens.

But if we abandon this view, which has signally failed to do justice to the passage, and suppose that the argument is not one of causation but of analogy, we can, by one very slight alteration, elicit a meaning which is perfectly satisfactory. We have only to read *stare et* for *staret* and punctuate thus:

seu, uoluitur axis

ut superum, sic stare et opus tollique ui-
cissim

pontus habet;

'or, even as the heaven of the upper gods rolls round, so too (*et*) the ocean must needs rest and rise alternately.' The *superi* of the sky are opposed to the gods of the sea (l. 667 *sqq.*). Analogy suggests that the sea like the sky should have its motions.

II. 316 *sqq.*
 tunc etiam uates Phoebo dilecta Polyxo
 (non patriam non certa genus sed maxima
 taeta
 Proteaque ambiguum Pharii se . . . ab
 antris
 huc rexisse uias iunctis super aequora
 phocis).

Two questions arise: what word is hidden under the corruption at the end of l. 317, and how is the lacuna to be filled up in l. 318? In regard to the first, *Ceto* was suggested by Heinsius, and has been taken up by Schenkl and Baehrens, both of whom find it necessary to make further changes in the text, which seem to have very little probability; Schenkl proposing *te, uaga Ceto* (*Studien*, p. 18), and Baehrens reading *te, anxia Ceto*. Thilo (preface xliii.) thought that the passage originally ran:

non patriam non certa genus, inmania cete,
 <inter . . . comitata Cabiros>
 Proteaque ambiguum Phariis narratur ab
 antris.

The merit of this is the adoption of *cete* from Carrion (*caete* = κήτη), which is the only probable interpretation of the corruption in l. 317. But *inmania* is wild, and the assumption of a lacuna can only be admitted when simpler expedients have failed. *narratur* in 318 (like Burmann's *referebat*) does not explain its own disappearance; and the same criticism must be made on *fert rumor* proposed by Heinsius and adopted by Baehrens, and on *est rumor*. Koestlin's proposal to read *sed, maxima, teque*, the person addressed being the eldest Vestal, is highly ingenious, but introduces an idea which seems to be alien from the present passage.

As the corruption in V distinctly points to a Latin translation of κήτη, and not to *Ceto*, it seems to me that the only scientific procedure is to accept Carrion's *cete* and be content to assume that Valerius merely draws a picture of Polyxo travelling over seas, with a yoke of seals, accompanied by Proteus and a train of sea monsters. We have only to discover the word which has fallen out in 317, and which must be equivalent either to Burmann's *referebat* or Thilo's *narratur*. Now, *narratur* or a synonym would require, I think, some further change, whereas *referebat* would give sense, as the words stand: 'not certain as to her country or race, but she said that mighty sea-beasts and Proteus had guided her ways

hither' (sc. *sibi*); or, if it be preferred, with the infinitesimal change of *set* to *se et*: 'she said that she and etc. directed their ways hither.' But until we find the word which carries with it the explanation of its own disappearance we have no certainty; and even if we decide that *referebat* represents the true sense, we cannot choose between it and *narrabat* and other suggestions that might be made.

The solution is *fabatur*, which fell out most easily in copying from an uncial MS.

(1) PHARIISFABATVRABĀTRIS.

(2) PHARIISFABĀTRIS.

The F, read as E, survives in V.

II. 518 *sqq.*

illa simul molem horrificam scopu-
 losaque terga
 promouet ingentique umbra subit, in-
 tremere Ide
 520 inlidique ratis pronaeque resurgere
 turres.

So Thilo. (V has *idem* 519, rates 520). Schenkl calls the passage 'eine wahrhaft verzweifelte Stelle,' and rightly observes that the last words can only mean 'die Thürme Troias neigen sich bei der furchtbaren Erderschütterung und richten sich dann wieder auf' (*Studien*, p. 92). But this he thinks is a highly improbable hyperbola, and concludes that the words are corrupt. He follows Ph. Wagner (*Philol.* 20, 634) in assuming that l. 520 ended with an elaboration of the preceding *inlidique ratis*, and reads *proraque* (Ph. Wagner *resurgere tursa*). This involves a considerable change, which Damsté's *proraque* — *turres* (supposing the Argo to have been a *ratis turrita*) avoids. Baehrens rewrites the passage, and his version (which assumes the presence of other ships than the Argo) need not be considered.

The corruption however lies elsewhere. Critics have lost sight of the circumstance that in 519 we are given *idem* (Baehrens indeed reads *inde*). This points, not to *Ide*, but to *Iden*. Noting this, we immediately see that *rates* is an error for *putes* (an error most easily committed in the context of *inlidi*). So we get:

intremere Iden
 inlidique *putes* pronasque resurgere turres.

The change of *pronasque* to *pronaque* was a necessary consequence of the corruption of *putes*. It is unnecessary to read *Troiaequae*

(as Koestlin has suggested, *Philologus* 1891, p. 334); the towers of Pergama (l. 489) were the only towers which could be meant. The criticism of Schenkl that the hyperbola is extravagant does not apply to the text thus amended. 'As soon as the monster advances, one would fancy that Ida quakes and that Troy rocks' (lit. that the towers are being dashed on the hill, and falling, rise again). Valerius had *Iliad* 20. 57, 58 in his mind, as Koestlin rightly notes, but $\nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ 'Αχαιῶν there does not defend *rates* here.

The verb *illido* occurs several times in Valerius. Its use in vii. 53 is notable: *quos—rex suus inlisit pelago utruitque reuertit*, where Baehrens substitutes the tame *innisit*. There is surely no difficulty in accepting *inlisit* as equivalent to *uiolenter innisit*, 'launched roughly,' 'dashed.' There are echoes of Propertius in Valerius; and *inlisit* suggests as a possible restoration in Prop. i. 17, 3,
nec mihi Cassiope pelago inlisure carinam
(MSS. solito uisura): *inlisure* = *celeriter inmissura*.

II. 643-4.

non tamen haec adeo semota neque
ardua tellus

643 *longaque iam populis imperuia lucis
eoae,*
cum tales intrasse duces, tot robora
cerno.

Numerous corrections have been proposed for l. 643, but the words are sound. I would not however explain, with Mr. Summers (*Valerius Flaccus*, p. 72), *imperuia* as a neuter plural, *longa* qualifying it in an adverbial way, and connoting time ('that have been so long pathless'), though he is right in interpreting *populis* of the peoples of the West.

(1) *lucis eoae* depends on *tellus* and the distance-measure implied in *longa*. (2) *imperuia populis* is the consequence of being a *longa* (= *longinqua*) *tellus lucis Eoae*. (3) *longaque = nec iam longa*. Then we may render: 'nor so far (eastward) in the eastern world as to be already beyond the reach of the peoples of the west.' We may punctuate:

longaque, iam populis imperuia, lucis eoae.

IV. 326.

at manus omnīs

heroum densis certatim amplexibus
urguent

326 *armaque ferre iuuat fessasque attollere
palmas.*

Recent editors have not solicited this passage, but various changes in l. 326 were proposed by earlier critics. *arma* means the caestus, cp. Virgil *Aen.* 5, 425, but Burmann hardly explains the words by his comment: 'quare capio cum Pio de caestibus quos, Polluci fatigato ablatos, Heroes nunc portant ut eum subleuent, eodem modo ut antea ipsius palmis in-nexuerant,' which seems to mean that they have bound the caestus on their own hands (in succession). This cannot be right. Reading on, we learn in l. 332 that Pollux *auerso sicabat uulnera caestu*, which most naturally implies that the caestus had not yet been taken off. This gives the explanation of l. 326; his friends gather round Pollux and support, raise in their hand his weary hands, which still wear the boxing thongs.

IV. 364.

qua fronte negaret
aut quos inuentus timuisset Iuppiter astus?

The proposed corrections of this difficult passage (whether by alterations of *inuentus* or of *timuisset*) have not succeeded; not one of them gives a really satisfactory sense. I am convinced that the reading of V is perfectly right; to understand it we must realize the situation and give its strict meaning to the word *inuentus*, on which the point of the sentence depends. Juno has discovered Jupiter's amour with Io, and Jupiter transforms Io into a cow. Juno then comes to Jupiter with a pleasant smile and begs for the trifling gift of the young cow at Argos. Juno knows, and Jupiter knows that she knows; but both pretend unconsciousness, Juno of her husband's offence, Jupiter of his wife's discovery. Thus, so far as appearances go, Jupiter has not been caught (*depressus*); his cow has been found, but no inferences are supposed to have been drawn. This point is brought out by the use of *inuentus*. 'As Jupiter has been merely "come upon"—neither proved guilty nor charged with a crime—, with what face could he refuse such a trifling request, or what deceit on Juno's part could he have professed to fear?' Köstlin has missed the point by equating *inuentus* with *depressus* (he takes it as meaning with *negaret* 'da er ertappt war,' with *timuisset* 'obgleich er ertappt war').

The subtle way in which *inuenio* may be used is illustrated by another passage, Bk. ii. 215, which has likewise been unnecessarily altered:

cunctantibus *inuenit* enses.

The swords occur—by the arrangement of the goddess.

V. 222 *sqq.*

ante dolos, ante infidi tamen exequar
astus

Soligenae falli meriti meritique relinqui
224 inde canens: Scythica senior iam Solis
in urbe
fata laborati Phrixus compleuerat aevi.

Valerius is here passing from the Argonauts to the Colchians, with an incantation to the Muse (*incipi nunc cantus alios, dea et sqq. v. 217*) imitated from the beginning of the second Book of Apollonius. The corruption in l. 224 has disguised an artistic transition. *inde canens, Scythica ut—compleuerit*, suggested by Burmann, is not more satisfactory than *inde canes* of Heinsius, or the square 'unci' of Baehrens. The corruption lies in a single letter. In the context of an invocation to the Muse it was easy for *cauens* to be read carelessly as *canens*. We must punctuate:

inde *cauens* Scythica senior iam Solis in
urbe
fata laborati Phrixus compleuerat aevi.

inde means *ab astibus Soligenae*, and explains how it came to pass that Phrixus managed to die *iam senior* in the city of the Sun. He knew how to guard against the craft of Aetes.¹ In this way Valerius cunningly and almost imperceptibly passes from his invocation to events in Colchis.

Statius has the phrase *laboratae uitae* (I cannot at this moment fix the reference), which may be imitated from *laborati aevi* in this passage.

V. 483 *sqq.*

sceptra tui tutor Pelias sua numine
Phoebi

484 maxima sorte tenens totque illa † cre-
mantia diuos
oppida tot uigili pulcherrima flumina
cornu.

¹ In Bk. i. 43 *sqq.* [Pelias states that Aetes murdered Phrixus. Valerius may have intended to represent a false report as prevalent in Greece; but it is to be observed that v. 224 *sqq.* do not exclude the possibility that Phrixus was finally a victim of foul play, though his wariness preserved him to a good old age. A third alternative is that Pelias deliberately lies (see Mr. Summers, *Val. Flaccus*, p. 3); a fourth that we have to do with an inconsistency which Valerius in revising his poem would have removed.

In l. 483 I have given the admirable corrections of Köstlin, *tutor* for *toto* and *sua* for *sub*, with J. Wagner's *numine*. In l. 484 Ph. Wagner took the first important step by discerning that *diuos* arose from the confusion of *cl* with *d*. He read *haerentia cliuis* (*Neue Jahrb.* 89, 404). Schenkl conjectured *ornantia cliuos*, Baehrens read *prementia cliuos*, and both of them are advances on Wagner, since they keep nearer to what is given. But the true reading is still closer, and brings out the point that the towns are fortresses:

totque ille *armantia* cliuos
oppida.

ille, due to Gronovius, was rightly restored by Schenkl and Baehrens.

The attempts of Madvig, Thilo, and Köstlin to retain *diu-* are distinctly failures.

VI. 351.

nec minus hinc urguet Scythiae manus
armaque Canthi

351 quisque sibi et Graio poenam de corpore
poscens.

352 arduus inde labos medioque in corpore
pugna
conseritur.

It is virtually certain that *corpore* either in 351 or in 352 is an error for some other word. Baehrens reads *funere* in 352. But the true correction is

poenam de *pectore* poscens,

as the alliteration almost proves. Confusion in MSS. between *corpus* and *pectus* is sufficiently common.

VII. 169.

quin illa sacro, quo freta,
ueneno

illum etiam totis adstantem noctibus
anguem,

qui nemus omne suum quique aurea
(respice porro)

uellerat tot spiris circum, tot ductibus
implet,

169 † soluat et in somnos ingenti soluat ab
ono

Though some have proposed to alter the second *soluat* (to *uoluat*, etc.), it has been generally recognized that J. Wagner was right in seeking the error in the first *soluat* (cp. Schenkl, *Studien*, p. 73). Ph. Wagner indeed attempted to rescue both the first

and the second *solvat* by inserting *et* after *ingenti*; but it is hardly too much to say that the resulting line could not have been written by Valerius. J. Wagner's *sternat* and Thilo's *fundat* were both rightly rejected by Schenkl, but his own *vincat* is scarcely more persuasive. The question arises: is the word, which has been ousted by *solvat*, a verb? It seems more likely that the only verb was *solvat*, but the conjecture of *cantibus* can hardly be accepted; for the means which Medea will employ has been mentioned in 165, *sacro veneno* (so that *cantibus* would almost require a conjunction), and the disappearance of *cantibus* is hardly explained. Now the great difficulty in the task of Medea was the circumstance that she had to lull a dragon whose nature was not to sleep, l. 536 *pervigilis monstri*, Ov. *Met.* 7, 141 *pervigilem superest herbis sopire draconem*; *Her.* 12, 49 *lumina custodis succumbere nescia somno, ultimus est aliqua decipere arte labor*. Hence we obtain the correction which explains how the corruption arose:

insomn<em in somn>os ingenti solvat ab orno.

solvat et was an unusually feeble attempt to complete the defective verse. The rhythm of the verse is suited to the sense. For this elision between the first and second foot, where the first foot is a spondee, compare

V. 749, *iam tandem extremas pugnae defertur in oras*, an exact parallel.

VII. 640 sqq.

stupet Aectes ultroque furentes
ipse uiros reuocare cupit sed cuncta iacebant
agmina nec quisquam primus ruit aut super
ullus
linquitur atque hausit subito sua funera
tellus.

Editors have made no remark on the words *nec quisquam primus ruit* in 642. They must mean 'nor does any of the earth-born warriors fall before the rest.' This implies several assumptions: (1) that the total number of the combatants was even; (2) that they fought in pairs, each pair falling together; there was no case of A slaying B and then turning against C to slay, or be slain by, him; (3) that all the pairs of combatants mutually slew each other *at the same moment*. This may have been the picture in the poet's imagination, and it accords with *subito*. But no such assumptions were present to the mind of Apollonius (iii. *ad fin.*), and it seems just worth while to hazard the conjecture that *primus ruit* might be an error for *primas tulit* (or *primas fuit*); the idea being simply that as all the champions fell none could claim the victory.

J. B. BURY.

NOTE ON CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.

ON p. 302 of Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, we have the story of Patrick in an hour of temptation at night crying *Heliam*. 'Venit in spiritum ut Heliam vocarem. Et in hoc vidi in caelum solem oriri; et dum clamarem Heliam viribus meis, ecco splendor solis illius decedit super me, et statim discussit a me gravitudinem.'

Commentators fall into two classes here. Some say Patrick calls for Elias, and thereby witnesses to his practice of invoking the saints. But there is nothing of the sort in his *Confessio* nor his letter on Coroticus nor his great *Lorica*. In fact, it would seem an interpretation made for a controversial purpose.

Others again say it is Greek Ἡλῖος. But

what is Ἡλῖος to him or he to Ἡλῖος? I find no trace of the word being even written in Greek character, though Irish scribes had a fancy for writing Latin in Greek letters.

It must be remembered that Patrick was a deacon's son and had a religious upbringing, and knew his scripture well. Couple this with the fact that three out of our five MSS. duplicate *Heliam* at the second mention, and a fourth reads 'Eliam Eliam,' and it becomes hard to see why it should not be *Eloi Eloi* (Mc. 15, 34). It would not be a worse barbarism than Patrick's own 'Christe lesson' for ἐλέησον, and it would at least be sense.

T. R. GLOVER.

LUTOSLAWSKI ON THE GENUINENESS AND ORDER OF THE PLATONIC DIALOGUES.

Ueber die Echtheit, Reihenfolge und logische Theorien von Plato's drei ersten Tetralogien, von W. LUTOSLAWSKI. Pp. 48. W. LUTOSLAWSKI. *O trzech pierwszych tetralogiach Platona. (Sur les trois premières tétralogies de Platon.)* Pp. 10.

THE former of these two articles, in German, appeared in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* last October; the latter, in French, was published at Cracow, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Cracovie*, in November.

In both the writer aims at making known to European scholars the main drift of a work which he has produced in the Polish language, and hopes soon to bring out in German; *On the Logical Element in the Philosophy of Plato*,—a contribution, in short, to the history of Logic.

As, in dealing with the Platonic dialogues, M. Lutoslawski starts from the Thrasyllean Canon, which he is very far from believing to be authentic,—and as English students, in spite of Mr. Grote, are unaccustomed to this mode of treatment, it may be of some service to readers of the *Classical Review* that I should indicate briefly the most essential points in the author's method. Those who care to pursue the subject further may then consult the *Archiv* for themselves.

And first I may perhaps be excused if I say something of the writer, who is at present little known in England. He is a Polish gentleman who has devoted himself to the study of Philosophy. After some years in Germany, where he had the privilege, I believe, of being the pupil of Teichmüller, he spent several months in England, chiefly at the British Museum. Here he made himself acquainted with all the Platonic Literature he could lay his hands on; and was surprised to find that independent work had been done in Great Britain, of which he had heard nothing from his German teachers. In particular, having already realized both the importance and the difficulty of the question of the chronological order, from which that of genuineness could not be dis severed, he found light for the first time in the Introductions to an edition of the *Sophist* and *Politicus* which had issued from the Clarendon Press in 1867. About 1890 he was appointed to a Professorship of

Philosophy at Kazan in Russia, where he worked diligently at his book on the Logic of Plato.

I had never heard either of M. Lutoslawski or (to my shame be it spoken) of the University of Kazan; and a universal silence on the subject had convinced me that what I had believed to be my demonstration of the relative position of the chief dialectical Dialogues had met with no acceptance anywhere. What therefore was my surprise at receiving, in 1892, from an unknown Professor of Kazan, a long letter, in good English, declaring unreservedly his adhesion to my view. I have since had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of the writer, whose enthusiasm appeared to me to be equalled by his native force of mind, his independence of judgment, his practical energy, and his candid love of Truth; and as he was still young, it seemed that much was to be expected from him, νέων γὰρ πάντες οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι.

Accepting, then, as the cardinal point of any attempt to determine the order of the Platonic Dialogues, the proved hypothesis, that the *Sophist*, *Politicus*, and *Philebus*, as well as the *Timæus* and *Critias*, are intermediate between the *Republic* and the *Laws*, M. Lutoslawski has prosecuted his study of the Platonic question, neglecting no aid from any quarter, but concentrating his own attention, as Ueberweg had done, on the logical aspect of the several Dialogues. While acknowledging the value of the argument from style, and also of the statistical proofs which have subsequently pointed the same way, and not ignoring such arguments as those of Felice Tocco, which turn on metaphysical points of view, he observes with truth that the logical content, regarded both in its quality and quantity, affords a surer basis of comparison than this last: and it is of this, in accordance with the main purpose of his work, that he speaks most fully.

Like other advocates of test theories, he perhaps sometimes carries his proofs a little too far, ignoring counter arguments which might be adduced; but his theory in its main outline has much that is both striking and conclusive. Take, for example, his exposition of the relative positions of the *Cratylus*, *Phædo*, and *Theætetus*,—which may be abridged as follows:—

'The *Cratylus* is logically less important

than the *Phaedo*, especially since the polemical character of the former Dialogue makes it difficult to distinguish Plato's serious meaning from what is only playfully advanced. Supposing the existence of truth and error, words may be rightly or falsely applied; but things themselves have a permanent essence that is independent of our modes of expression. If Protagoras were right, and all things were as they appeared, one could not be sure whether men were noble or worthless, and there could be no such thing as reason. But all human activity has a reality that is independent of impressions. This reality, however, is not always understood by the maker of words. The dialectician only, who uses them with knowledge, can be a competent judge: not so the poet or the sophist. From words Plato proceeds to roots and elementary sounds, but concludes that speech is not of divine origin, and that the philosopher must not rely on words only, but on ideas. The idea of the Beautiful remains unchangeably, whatever may be its imperfect forms or expressions. Unless this vision of the Ideas had something in it, both subject and object would be inconceivable, as being in perpetual flux.—These thoughts have some relation to the *Phaedo*, but rather lead up to it than presuppose it. For in the *Phaedo*, what in the *Cratylus* is suggested as a possibility, is regarded as a familiar truth. In dialectic the mind beholds reality as in a mirror, and rises out of sensible impressions to the conception of those perfect forms which they imperfectly represent. The idea is present in the particulars which partake of it, and of which they are dim and battered copies. Plato says distinctly that the expressions *μέθεξις, παρρησία, κοινωνία*, indicate less clearly the law of thought which he has discovered than the simple statement *τῷ καλῷ τὰ κατὰ γίγνεται καλά*. And he insists that first principles must be clearly distinguished from their consequences, and that we must rise from hypothesis to hypothesis until we reach a truth that is independent of all hypothesis. As such an absolute truth Plato affirms the existence of ideas of the reason that are independent of sense, and through which the mind interprets her experience. These ideas are lasting, and can never pass into their opposites.

'Teichmüller has shown that the *Phaedo* is later than the *Symposium*. On the other hand there is good reason to regard it as earlier than the *Theaetetus*. If both Dialogues are compared with regard to the

theory of sensation, we observe that Plato in the *Theaetetus* thinks less slightly of the function of sense than in the *Phaedo*. The senses lead us certainly not to knowledge but only to opinion, but it is not easy to prove the falsehood of opinion, whereas in the *Phaedo* all value is curtly denied to sensible impressions. This brings the *Theaetetus* much nearer to the *Timaeus* than to the *Phaedo*, and may be regarded as an indication of the comparative lateness of the *Theaetetus* in its final shape. In the *Theaetetus* as in the *Phaedo* ideas can never pass into their opposites. The question of the existence of falsehood, briefly touched on in the *Cratylus*, is handled at length in the *Theaetetus*, and the criticism of Heraclitus and Protagoras, to which the *Cratylus* points, and which is there postponed, is finally disposed of in the *Theaetetus*. In the latter Dialogue the relation of sensation to conception is also far more distinct. The objects of sensible perception are specific, but the general notions concerning these, as to their being or not being, likeness or unlikeness, identity or difference, unity and number, are intuitions of the mind, arrived at not immediately, but through a rational process, which is the prerogative of man, and, in its perfection, of a few only amongst mankind. The philosopher of the *Theaetetus* resembles the philosopher of the *Phaedo*, in standing aloof from the world, but the image of him there involves far greater maturity of analytic thought. The *Theaetetus* belongs to the important central group of Dialogues which includes it with the *Phaedrus* and the *Republic*.'

Perhaps the most original part of Lutoslawski's contribution to the whole problem, is his reasoning on the very difficult question of the position of the *Phaedrus*. He observes that although Grote and W. H. Thompson called attention to the logical element in the *Phaedrus*, and although Teichmüller spoke of it as a hymn to Dialectic, and Lucas, in his special work on the Theory of Logical Divisions in Plato, had this Dialogue immediately in his eye, no one has taken the trouble to bring into one view the logical theories of the *Phaedrus*, and compare them with those of other Dialogues. If those who have confidently fixed the date of its composition—some in the twentieth, some in the fiftieth, year of Plato's life—had taken instead of doubtful external relations the logical content of the Dialogue as a criterion of maturity, so wide a difference of opinion

would hardly have been possible; since, as Thompson rightly observed, Plato in the *Phaedrus* sets forth those very principles and views which he brings to their application for the first time in his latest writings. Our author follows up an acute analysis of the dialogue, which I have not room to quote, with the remark that Thompson, in his edition of the *Gorgias*, has shown by unanswerable arguments that the *Gorgias* is prior to the *Phaedrus*, and his arguments have been so corroborated by Siebeck, Natorp, and Dümmler, that even Zeller has relinquished his former opinion, about the relation of the two Dialogues to each other, and now acknowledges the priority of the *Gorgias*; although Thompson's meritorious investigations seem to be as little known in Germany as those of the Oxford editors of the *Sophist* and the *Apology*.

One special merit of M. Lutoslawski's work is its comprehensiveness. His isolation, combined with his great industry, has been turned by him to excellent account. German philology is sufficient to itself, and English students have been too ready to accept it as all-sufficient. This Polish thinker, in looking beyond his immediate horizon, has an eye for what has been done in England and in Italy, as well as in Germany,—in the last century as well as in the present: and,

while his own speculations have turned chiefly on that growth of dialectic of which, as he generously reminds me, I had spoken in 1867, he acknowledges the force of the cumulative argument from style and 'Sprach-statistik' as a valuable aid. He rightly observes that the mere counting of particles or even of words and phrases is inconclusive when taken alone; but he is ready to contend that when the stylistic method, the statistical method, and the method of logical comparisons, are found to point all the same way, the resulting evidence of these concomitant variations is overwhelming. In this I believe that he is right, and that notwithstanding the high authority of Zeller, which yet holds the field, his theory, in its main outlines, will be ultimately accepted. In common with W. H. Thompson, he attaches more importance to the Platonic Epistles than I am inclined to give them, and some of his conclusions are more precise than the available evidence seems to me to warrant; but this detracts little from the intrinsic value of his labours on the whole. I am not a Polish scholar, and look forward with much interest to the German version of his book. Meanwhile I must content myself with calling attention to the account of it which he has given in the writings named at the head of this article.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF'S *HERACLES* OF EURIPIDES.¹

THE republication, in a modified form, of this highly important book will of itself attract the notice of those who read the *Classical Review*, and on practical grounds would scarcely call for more than a simple record. But I gladly accept the invitation to comment on it at more length, as it gives me the opportunity to repair an omission. Though I have long ago expressed, both in and out of season, my admiration for the book and gratitude to the author, I could wish, on reading it again, that I had happened to do so in the course of my recent essays on the poet: for my debt appears to me now even larger and more precisely estimable than I was aware. To others must be left the business of assailing weak points,

and making minor corrections; mine is to insist on this, that the sort of interest which the editor feels in the figures of mythology is just that sort of interest which Euripides felt, whereas modern Hellenists with scarcely an exception, and many, as we may guess, in the ancient world too, have been and still are debarred from this interest by others incompatible with it, and for want of it have praised or blamed the poet blindly and without illumination.

Of the changes made in the present edition one only calls for mention. The chapter on the origin and history of tragedy, which at first formed part of the introduction, has now been detached; and is to be developed in another work. This is a gain; for that essay contained, as it seemed to me, a disproportionate quantity of disputable matter, and might affect unjustly the doc-

¹ Euripides: *Herakles*: erklärt von Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Zweite Bearbeitung. 2 vols. Berlin, Weidmann. 1895. 16 Mk.

trines of the editor respecting his immediate theme, really distinct and separable from these wider speculations. This said, we will go directly to the main point.

The base of the editor's exposition, and the ground of its superiority (in my judgment) to anything which had preceded it in the criticism of Euripides by the moderns, lies in recognizing as intentional, indispensable, and all-important to the meaning of the dramatist, the contrast and 'discord' of opposing elements which here as elsewhere all readers must in some sort perceive, however little they may be disposed to justify it or even to account for it. That no such doctrine had been preached before, effectively at least and in such a way as to command attention, appeared not very long ago, when Mr. Swinburne, whom for his eminence I have often cited in a similar connexion elsewhere, having occasion to mention the *Heracles*, described it as 'a shapeless abortion'. The energy of the expression is a personal trait, but the substance not ill represents the conclusion to which we must come, so long as we suppose Euripides to be erecting, for acceptance by our imagination, the sacred figure of the 'son of Zeus', and do not see with our present editor that his very purpose from first to last is to strike that image down. Such, and so many, and so conspicuous are the blows which he directs at the idol and its legendary pedestal, that, if they are to be reckoned as mere diversions of ill-humour, casual vents of the author's dissatisfaction with his accepted theme—and either this they are, or else the current notions about Euripides must be rebuilt from the foundation—then there is nothing to be said but that the poet's product, if not quite 'shapeless', is in literal truth 'an abortion', offspring of a perverse, unnatural union, and incapable, however fair in the front or however nimble in the tail, of living with the whole body a sound and articulate life.

To exhibit the editor's views, which are still (so far as I can observe) not widely nor accurately known, it will be safer to cite some leading passages, rather than to summarize in my own words, with the risk of intruding my own sense. They will be found between pages 120 and 130 of the new first volume. They group themselves naturally about that scene, in which the great demonic agent of the popular deities is shown inflicting the worst tortures of human existence upon the servant of the gods and friend of man. It is a peculiarity

of the play, not casual but arising naturally out of the particular application which Euripides here makes of his method, that this *theophany* occurs not at the end but in the centre, and makes a turning-point at which the poet's intention, hitherto foreshadowed only, is abruptly revealed. And here the editor, after sketching the beautiful ode, instinct with piety and trust, in which the Chorus sum up the impression left upon them, as worshippers of the hero, by the events of the First Part, continues thus :

Euripides could hit the tone of the ancient faith, as well as other tones, when he chose; and he has proved his ability here: but he had passed beyond that faith; he could employ it only as a foil; and it is only for the sake of the sharpest contrast, that he has given such a character to the preceding scene. The hero is to fall from his height into the deepest abyss of guilt; the man is to be smitten in the purest feelings of his humanity; and reliance upon the justice of the gods, in the very instant when it has received expression from the Chorus, is to receive a shameful contradiction from the injurious act of Hera . . .

Again a little later, in discussing the strange and self-contradictory demon presented by Euripides under the name of *Madness*, the editor says :

But without any external testimony we could assure ourselves that *Lyssa* was already a figure well-known to the stage. For Euripides has disjoined her from her proper being. His *Lyssa* protests against the outrage which she is to commit, thus pronouncing judgment upon her very nature as if it were something outside of her. By this treatment the personification of frenzy is intrinsically destroyed . . . So long as a personification remains transparent as such, to universalize in this fashion the personality of the quasi-god is contrary to natural sense, illogical and irreligious. A *λύσσα σφρονοῦσα* is a contradiction in terms, and no less a blasphemy than the frivolity of Euripides' *Hera* or the recklessness of his *Iris*. To Euripides both are equally significant; for him all figures of gods are nothing after all but conventional fictions of a religion which conflicts with his notions respecting the essence of deity. If by following the popular creed he arrives at a *reductio ad absurdum* of that creed, with that result he is perfectly satisfied.

And in the same spirit the editor works out the contrast between the Second Part and the First, upon which contrast he rightly rests the main weight of the dramatist's purpose :

. . . Nor can it be without design, that the external form of the last scene is so sharply differentiated from that of the preceding. The Chorus is treated simply as non-existent; even at the entrance of Theseus, though there are lyrics, the Chorus does not speak. And instead of the animated pictures and lively action, which we had, before, not only in the scene of the frenzy, but also in the First Act, *Heracles*, on whom our interest is fixed, now remains motionless in his seat before the pillar, visited merely from time to time by an *Amphitryon* or a

Theseus: what movement there is, belongs essentially to the dialogue, not to the speakers: and although the conclusion offers us, in the Heracles who, with his arm around the shoulders of his friend, goes halting and staggering from the stage, a visible presentation of deeply moving pathos, it is made manifest by the poet that this picture is conceived as pendant and counterfoil to the far richer series, which concluded with that of Heracles the Deliverer. All displays the purpose of presenting something different, novel, and simply human in opposition to the highly-coloured fable of tradition. . . . But it must be recognized without reserve, that between the concluding portion and the rest of the drama the contrast is violent, so much so that each part lessens the operative force of the other. At first and for a time the reader is possessed by the sensuous power of the stage effects and plot: but when he has comprehended the latter part and the depth of thought in it, this may well prompt objections to the earlier. Of this discord we must not make a beauty; what we must do is to understand that it is in perfect unison with the inner discord, which the poet found in his material and educed in representation. The first part reproduces the Heracles of legend and popular faith, a figure comprehended by Euripides in all its greatness. He paints him upon the assumptions of the fable. . . . He shows us in its full sublimity the image of the ancient Doric ἀρετή. But he does this only to strike the image down. For not only has he lost faith in it; as an ideal it seems to him unsatisfactory and immoral, and his desire is to make war against it. . . . Heracles, the son of Zeus, Heracles persecuted by Hera, Hera and her jealousy, the whole picturesque and legendary world of gods and heroes, is all false, all just nothing but a blasphemous invention of the poets. If a deity exists, nothing can attach thereto of human semblance or human limitation. Even thus does Heracles, wielding the weapons of Xenophanes, dash into pieces the whole of that fair creation.

It will not be disputed by any one who will look into the case, that the exposition thus outlined offers to the student of Euripides something which was and remains essentially new. The editor deals with familiar facts, and takes up into his treatment (or else assuredly it would be false) much that for other purposes and in a different spirit had been said before. But the spirit and purpose, the attitude of mind, he found for himself and brought with him, so that his paragraphs could not be congruously transplanted into the work of any predecessor. To me the book came at first, and doubtless to many others—for no one is really in front of his time—as just the thing which waited for utterance. In reading it again, I have seen, as already said, that it has dwelt with me more even than I knew; I have even unconsciously cited it; and in short shall readily reckon as high as any one may think fit my debt to Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.

Nevertheless we are not yet entirely at one: and where I should diverge will be manifest to those who may be acquainted

with what I have written elsewhere. According to the editor, although the Heracles of Euripides is himself an unbeliever, and with the weapons of philosophy 'dashes the whole world of mythology to pieces', nevertheless it is in that very world, and 'upon the assumption' of the mythical data as facts, that the story of Euripides proceeds and is enacted. It is (says the editor truly, and separating himself profoundly from the common track of commentary) the standing purpose and not the casual eccentricity of Euripides' play to assure us that there is not, cannot, must not be any Zeus or Pluto, any Geryon or Centaur, any Cerberus or Hesperides. But nevertheless (says the editor) the hero of the play is one who (*ex hypothesi*) has actually gathered the dragon-guarded apples; and it is, for the events supposed and acted, an indispensable condition that this and other like things should have been done. And upon this showing the discord of the piece, though no longer attributable (which is much gain) to mere impertinence or want of sensibility, becomes in itself more startling, aesthetically more offensive, than ever. But surely we are thus brought to a point, where it is impossible to rest and be content. The editor seems to feel this himself, and once at least, in commenting upon what he regards as the 'mythological facts', accounts for the way in which an incident of the fable is treated by remarking that the dramatist would not have it 'appear too real'. This is a hard saying. How could it appear 'too real', if, unless we will suppose it real, the story cannot proceed? Surely at this point it becomes proper and necessary to investigate rigorously the question, what the requirements and presumptions of the story precisely are. That is the question which, with regard to some plays of the poet, I have tried to answer elsewhere, and would answer, in time and place, with regard to others and to this.

And indeed no play calls for such inquiry more loudly. If for the purpose of this drama the Heracleian fable is to be taken as fact, with what reason or sense, for example, is it shown to us, by an elaborate and lively scene, that the dramatic personages, and the other contemporaries of the hero, are divided in opinion respecting the real nature and extent of his exploits? In the representation by his enemy Lycus, a personage who, whatever his vices, cannot possibly be supposed idiotic, and whose cause is supported in Thebes by a victorious party, those exploits are abated by reduc-

tions far exceeding the requirements of rationalism. It is true that Lycus is mean and malicious, cruel and insolent; that much of what he says is undoubtedly false; and that we are justly pleased when he meets his punishment: but that his death is a general refutation of his opinions, a divine judgment by which everything which he impeaches is established—this is a view which we are peremptorily forbidden to entertain. Those who advance it, the friends and adherents of Heracles, are themselves tremendously refuted, when a blow far worse than death falls at the very instant upon Heracles himself. Nor indeed is there much need for such a refutation; for the very eulogy of Heracles and catalogue of his deeds, which they themselves pronounce by way of defiance to the sarcasms of the enemy, itself betrays the fact, that their belief rests upon nothing but hearsay and imagination, and that, as for proof, they do not even understand what it is. That there are some people to be found so hard of heart, when wonderful things are reported, as to ask for evidence, they are aware: after the brutal frankness of Lycus and the debate thereby provoked, they must at the moment be even painfully conscious of it. And evidence they offer, with indignant triumph, in one single instance; one exploit, upon their showing, is certainly beyond dispute; a trophy of it actually exists at Mycenae, and what is more, it was performed in the face of the world, in the company of a mighty host (*vv.* 406—417). In both respects this feat is sharply distinguished from the rest, with regard to which it is, broadly speaking, manifest throughout, when we read the recital in the light of what precedes, that, for all the reciters know or can know, mere rumour, exaggerating or inventing outright, is responsible for everything which transcends common experience. Now are we to suppose it an accident—for to this we must come, if we hold that, in spite of all, the ‘facts’ of the fable are the facts of the Euripidean story—is it an accident, that the single exploit, thus proved, is the conquest of the Amazons, precisely that one among the legendary list which not only falls wholly within the accustomed order of possibility, but with the severest critics of the fifth century before Christ would have passed for simple history, and remains in some sense historical according to the standards of a Grote or a Curtius? Surely this is enough to prove, on the contrary, that the value, or rather the worthlessness, of

the declamation, as a piece of religious ‘apologetic’, was regarded by the author, not indeed as the only consideration, but as of the highest importance. Surely, if we take for basis of the play the supposition that the Heracles of the play has really performed, among the people of the play, the feats of the religious legend, the tone and line taken by his admirers at this crisis are inexplicably improper and absurd. Imagine for a moment how the objections of a Lycus, if in the world of the *Trachiniae* any sane Lycus could possibly have existed, would have been answered by the Deianira of Sophocles. If the Chorus and other personages of the Euripidean play are to be taken and assumed, for the purposes of the story, to be living in a world like that of the *Trachiniae*, and sharing its daily experiences, why do they not reason like a Deianira? Should it not be plain, upon this passage alone, that the Euripidean Heracles, and the rest of the Euripidean company, are supposed to be living and acting not in the world of the *Trachiniae*, but in a quite different world, different in its phenomena no less than in the mental condition of the inhabitants? And if confirmation be wanted, we have it in the *Heracidae*. In the *Heracles*, one element of evidence regarding the hero, which religious persons might suppose to have once existed, does not fall within view: Iolaus, his ‘inseparable companion’, is here ignored. But in the *Heracidae* Iolaus appears before us, and we hear what he has to say. Are we once more to suppose it accidental, that Iolaus also, while he describes himself in general terms as having had ‘more share in the adventures than any other’ (*Heracidae* 8), nevertheless, when he comes in another place to particulars, specifies, as performed within his own cognizance, just this same natural and historical enterprise against the Amazons? And not only is this so, but, being led by the situation to cite another and a supernatural exploit, no less than the descent into Hades, Iolaus adduces it with the careless addition that the testimony for the fact is ‘all Hellas’ (*Heracidae* 215—219). The testimony is no worse than that,—and no better.

But to return to our editor. At some points he goes so very far, so far beyond any predecessor, in what I should call the right direction, that there seems but one step left to take. For instance, he justly insists that by the whole spirit of Euripides’ play we are impelled and compelled to see the *father of Heracles*, the real, genuine, veritable father, in *Amphitryon*. Assuredly that is so; but if

it is so, surely it cannot also be the intention of Euripides that we should in any sort or fashion assume, as required or admissible on the facts of the story, the superhuman nature and power of Heracles, or the fatherhood of Zeus. That Euripides had no such intention, we may learn from *Amphitryon* himself. During the whole first act of the piece *Amphitryon* is seen endeavouring to persuade himself, manifestly against the belief of his heart, but under the urgency of a terrible situation, that the popular tale is true, and that 'his son' is really of parentage divine. But how is it that *Amphitryon* allows this question to be agitated in scene after scene, instead of crushing the doubts of himself and of others by one simple fact, which, if legend had any truth, he knew, he saw with his own eyes, and must for ever have remembered? That *Amphitryon*, so placed and so assailed as he is in his controversy with Lycus, should be silent on *the strangling of the serpents*, is intelligible on no other supposition than that by *Amphitryon* that particular sign of grace is not accepted for a fact, or (in other words) that, whatever might have been rumoured among those who could not know, as a matter of fact nothing of the sort had ever taken place. The infantile exploit as a story, as part of what has been said about Heracles, is recounted by Heracles himself (for Euripides has by no means forgotten it) in a speech which must not now be discussed (*vv.* 1263 foll.); but, like everything else of the kind, it is not supported, but tacitly and involuntarily refuted by the only competent witness who presents himself on the scene. *Amphitryon's* story of Heracles, like that of the others, is made up of two elements, (1) things on which *Amphitryon's* belief is good evidence, but which lend no support to the miraculous legend, and (2) things which are certainly miraculous, but upon which *Amphitryon's* belief is not evidence. As to the nature, origin, and, above all, value of what is believed about Heracles by Heracles himself—to investigate that would take us far beyond our limits. Here we must leave for the present this line of inquiry: this is not the place to show in full either what, according to the play of Euripides, were the facts about Heracles, or in what way (for it was an essential part of his purpose to suggest a way, and in truth he does copiously suggest it) the hero's story acquired or might have acquired its traditional vesture of miracle. I touch the subject here only to show that I do not speak without consideration in reserving the question whether

the editor is right on this particular point, that is to say, in allowing to the miracles of the legend some residuum of validity as a hypothetical basis for the play. I believe that they have for Euripides no validity or supposed validity whatever: I believe that the whole work is faithful to its passionate and pathetic conclusion, *These things*—that is to say, the whole fabric of religious legend then existing or even anywhere destined to exist—*these things are poets' miserable tales*.

But neither this particular reservation, nor any objections of detail, to which these large volumes must of course give opportunity, affect materially the respect which is due to them, in my opinion, on the whole. The merit of Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, as an expositor of Euripides, is simply this; that he, and he first, so far as I know, in modern times, has sat down to expound a religious play by Euripides upon the principle, firmly grasped and plainly stated, that the main purpose of the dramatist was to present a criticism of religion. Others may have said as much, or nearly as much, in words; no one else, or none with equal energy, has acted on it; and 'in Anfang war die That'.

If the editor must needs be shown also in his less favourable aspect, we might turn for a specimen to that passage of the introduction (pp. 58 foll. of the present edition) in which he traces back conjecturally the origin of the canonical 'twelve labours' to a hypothetical *Dodekathlos*, a prehistoric poem of Argos. There may have been such a poem, nay, if the editor will so have it, we will say that there must have been. But all the same, if he will believe us, he does but give occasion for blaspheming, when he talks about this *Dodekathlos* as he here does. No one, until further testimony shall appear, can know anything about that imaginary work, nor even assert, without lessening the current value of his statements, that it did ever exist. Little harm indeed would be done, if we could be sure that the affair would be left by others where it is left by the editor. But the spirit of *weiterbilden*, once raised, is not so easily to be quieted; the Professor is a power and an impetus; and if he will insist on telling us when and where and with what motives this canonical poem was produced, others will be tempted to investigate its 'Quellen' and (who knows?) its 'Stichometrie'. But, compared with what is valuable in the book, these things are as nothing; so no more of them.

A. W. VERRALL.

COVINO'S MANILIUS, BOOK I.

Covino's edition of the first book of Manilius.
Torino: Rour. 1895. 3 Lire.

THIS is a translation into Italian prose, accompanied by the Latin text, of that section of Manilius' poem in which he describes the earth and sky according to the geographical and astronomical ideas of his time. It has, besides, copious notes dealing with the different stars passed in review by Manilius, the mathematical difficulties which his semi-scientific reasoning occasions, and sometimes with the obscurities of the text.

It is disappointing to find so little notice of Manilian criticism since Bentley. The edition of Jacob, published in 1846, is not even mentioned in the preface, still less any of the numerous works which have appeared on Manilius within the last twenty-five years. Prof. Thomas' *Lucubrationes Manilianae*, which contains a complete collation of the Gemblacensis, the best MS. of the poem, does not seem to be known to the author, nor my own *Noctes Manilianae*, which followed upon the publication of Prof. Thomas' work. All this is the more to be regretted, as the difficulties of the poem are notoriously great, and a translation based on a text in which so much is ignored of the highest critical importance is, from the philological point of view, an anachronism. On the other hand, from a scientific stand-point, M. Covino's version can hardly claim the same authority as the excellent French version, executed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, of Pingré.

Judging from the length of the astrono-

mical notes, I conclude that the author's view was rather to present to his countrymen an introduction to the astronomy of the ancients as represented by a poet of the late Augustan epoch, than to anything of a more purely critical or philological kind. This end to some extent he has secured. The translation is fairly faithful, and the student of astronomy as now known will find much that is modern worked up into the notes by way of supplementing the statements of Manilius. The author, too, is not without views of his own, e.g. on 101 *Arderent terrae* which he is certainly right in explaining (as Creech did before him) of volcanic fires; and it is obvious that in scientific matters he is no tiro: this may account for the somewhat lengthy appendix on the planetary system.

The episode of Perseus and Andromeda from B. v. would, I think, have more wisely been omitted. It merely adds to the bulk of the book and has no special connexion with B. i. Nor can much be said for the planisphere at the end of the volume, which is too confused to be of any great service.

I take this opportunity of calling attention to the important dissertation of Boll *Studien über Claudius Ptolemaeus*, the last section of which deals with Manilius. It forms part of the twenty-first supplemental volume to Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher* and is mainly occupied with the *Tetrabiblos*, an astrological treatise of which Boll promises a new edition.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

GARDNER'S JULIAN.

Julian, Philosopher and Emperor, and the last struggle of Paganism against Christianity, by ALICE GARDNER. 8vo. Putnam. 1895. 5s.

THE 'Heroes of the Nations' Series aims at 'picturing the National conditions of the selected periods around the central figure of some representative historical character.' It is a picturesque method of writing history, which gives an advantageous platform of appeal to the general reader. But

for success three things at least are indispensable—right selection of subject; vivid grasp of 'the hero's' personality; and just comprehension of the age itself. It was inevitable that Julian should sooner or later find a place in this gallery of national portraits. His historical importance is not comparable with that of men like Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine, or Theodosius; and it cannot in truth be said that he was a 'representative historical character,' or embodied any 'National ideal.' Of the motley

figures who make up the procession of the Roman Emperors, Julian is among the most eccentric and unexpected; but his personality is vivid and arresting, and illuminated as it were by every variety of natural and artificial light. The meagre literary record, by which most emperors must be interpreted, suddenly becomes copious; and the spokesmen on either side—Ammianus and Libanius, Gregory Nazianzen and Basil—concentrate attack and defence upon the person of Julian; the Church historians—Rufinus, Orosius, Philostorgius, Socrates, Sozomen, Zosimus—retail the current anecdotes, with which Christians whetted their indignation against the Apostate; Eunapius, Athanasius and Cyril assist delineation from a different side; and Julian himself has left a larger body of writing than survives from the hand of any other emperor. He stands too at the last parting of the ways, and his brief tenure of power announces the final surrender of Imperial Paganism to Christianity.

Miss Gardner has brought to her task intelligence, candour, and sympathy, and has read up her authorities with commendable diligence; but the subject is 'got up' only, and not mastered, so that the book fails in historic breadth and perspective, and in any large appreciation of the deeper vital issues which were in course of determination. This defect tells seriously on composition, and breaks all sense of unity. Details of the intrigues of Constantius' subalterns in Gaul (p. 82) are foreign to the main theme, and merely distract attention. The sketches of university life at Athens (p. 53) and the digression on the Roman Post (pp. 254-7) should form an illustrative background of knowledge, instead of being patched in as obvious summaries from de Julleville, Capes, and Studemann. The excursus on the Cynics (p. 283), who are oddly introduced as 'originally a Pre-Socratic sect,' is more redolent of the fourth century before than after Christ, and partly by irrelevance, partly by omissions, fails to revivify the age of Julian. But these, except from the artistic side, are minor blemishes.

A much graver fault is that the writer, in her very anxiety to be fair, continually finds herself at the mercy of the last speaker; and having no guiding clues through the mazes of a complicated period, vacillates among uncertain and often conflicting verdicts of censure or approval with such results as these. 'The dealings of Constantius, especially with his ill-fated eldest

son, are hardly to be viewed as uniformly those of a strictly moral and religious man. We may add that he postponed his baptism till he was at the point of death' (p. 119)!! 'It is quite possible that Constantius may have acted with some statesmanlike purpose when he determined on making this progress. Even if it were not so, it was surely a laudable curiosity that made him desirous of a personal inspection of the great sights of the Eternal City' (p. 119). So in the final summary of his character (p. 161), deserved condemnation loses itself in mild apology, just as, in the discussion of Julian's contemptible *Orationes to Constantius*, one line of wholesome censure is recanted through a page of weak extenuations (pp. 103-4). Julian was not a court rhetorician, paid by the piece for his compliments. These sycophant *Orationes* are a bit of mean and tawdry adulation, of a piece with the calculated dissimulation, under which for years Julian masked his hatreds and his hopes. The excuse for them lies not in literary conventions of the day, but in the instinct of self-preservation, which made falsehood and flattery a condition of survival. It is creditable to him that they did not corrode his nature more irremediably.

But besides this want of historic nerve, the writer fails signally to grasp the larger moments, social and political, which were shaping and determining the course of events. In all history the main forces are social and economic. The economic conditions of the century are left untouched, and that which was incomparably the greatest social factor of the age, the development of Christianity, is viewed only in its most superficial expressions. Church history, instead of being apprehended in its larger aspect, is read only through the little feuds and personalities that come into direct collision with Julian: Aetius and Athanasius by this reading become persons of about equal importance. The constructive work of the Church, which was re-modelling society, and among other things dividing east and west, is entirely ignored. In the east, the victory of Christianity over Hellenism was virtually achieved; in the west the very different struggle with Paganism was still active. But of this distinction there is no hint; nor any indication that Julian's Oriental Hellenism was as far removed from Western Paganism as from Christianity itself. If any reader should ask the natural question—What relations had Julian to Rome and the Senate of Rome?—he could not extract materials or

even suggestions for an answer from this volume. An extract will best show the limitations of view that naturally result: 'There was little scope in the Empire at that time for anything like state-craft. There were no rival foreign powers to be dealt with by skilful diplomacy, unless we may regard the relations of the border states between the Roman and the Persian Empires as furnishing a field for that art. If they did, the field was not skilfully cultivated by Julian. And in domestic affairs, there were no distinct political parties to be balanced against one another, and dealt with by measures of compromise or of subjugation. There were, of course, ecclesiastical parties, but Julian would have disdained to steer between them.' And this can be written of the half-century preceding the division of the Empire, within immediate sight of the transplantation of the Goths and the irruptions of the Huns, at the moment when Roman hold is relaxing over Britain in the west and Mesopotamia in the east, the very years which determined the severance and the eventual character of Greek and Roman Christianity. This is to read history through the spectacles of Julian, and it would be hard to find a ruler who, with the same amount of spirit and intelligence, more profoundly missed and misinterpreted the true drift of the age in which he lived. It may be that the times were not conducive to greatness; but had the great man been there, the opportunity was well nigh unexampled. A great constructive statesman, throwing himself upon the forces of Christianity, might have reshaped the crumbling Empire into a solid unity, homogeneous in faith as well as in military and secular administration. A 'Holy Roman Empire' stretching from the Forth to the Euphrates, united in an effective faith and loyalty, would have been invulnerable to the barbarian. Julian's reactionary blindness exacerbated the forces of dissension and helped to destroy the last possibility of union. His 'state-craft' sees no deeper than the surface agitations, which touched himself. Sensitive to criticism and rasping in analysis, he never penetrates below the symptoms to the deeper forces which they implied. The forces of Christianity represented themselves to him as mere wrangles of illiterate agitators, quarrelling for place and power, bids of ecclesiastical partisans for ends of solid advantage; Homoiousian and Homocousian, Homoean and Anomoean distinctions were a noise of words, undeserving of serious valuation;

the Christians themselves were perverse sectaries, mostly dupes or hypocrites, misled, mainly through want of education, by noisy charlatans. And the history of the fourth century, read under prepossessions of this kind, never can be made intelligible. Impatient dismissal of the vital issues of Christian controversy and Christian polity may be 'refreshingly redolent of a lay mind' (p. 15), but will miss more than half of the meaning of the age.

The best chapters in the book are those (such as chaps. ix., x., xi.) which narrow to the consideration of Julian's personal actions and opinions. They contain interesting work, though the general estimate of his literary compositions seems much too favourable. After attempting to extract coherent meaning from the survey of his 'pregnant little treatises on *King Helios*, and *The Mother of the Gods*,' we are relieved to find on the last page that they are a 'twilight of obscure speculations.' It was rather clever (if true) to get them written in three nights and one night respectively, but it was a want of wit to let these pages of hurried and fantastic jargon go beyond the eyes of Maximus, or some other fond 'foster-father of my babies' (*Ep.* 40, 41*a*). His 'Pastoral Epistles' are taken (pp. 196-206) with not less seriousness, shall we say, than Julian took himself. This is true to life, and from the side of Christianity significant; but for 'Julianism' and its hopes, the true commentary on them was after all the one priest and a goose at Daphne (*Mis.* 362)! And one cannot quite forget companion effusions, such as that to Libanius: 'O speech! O intellect! O composition! O distribution! O treatment! O arrangement! O materials! O language! O harmony! O combination!' O Gemini! O Julian! as Professor Gildersleeve aptly appends. The truth is that his views of life were formed from books and sophists, not from enlarging intercourse with men, or touch with facts. 'In him the bookworm never dies,' whether his pen is busy with literature, or politics, or religion.

Julian's legislation is gracefully handled, but Palace economics, personal activities upon the bench, and reform of postal abuses do not go to the heart of things; they are traits of the excellent, though somewhat fussy, official, not of the world-Emperor. To speak of 'his achievements' as 'almost unique in character,' to search for possible peers in 'military genius' among Alexander the Great, Charles XII., Epaminondas, Timoleon, and Oliver Cromwell

(p. 113), and to conclude that 'as a philosophic idealist who was also a great military leader, there is hardly a name, except perhaps that of Epaminondas, that we can place besides his' (p. 91) shows want of balance. Even the trite comparison with 'his hero-model, Marcus Aurelius'—the phrase palls with iteration (pp. 87, 102, 233)—is strangely misconceived; the life of Marcus was 'one of action' from the first (p. 91); at eighteen he became consul and Caesar; the five-and-twenty years during which he toiled at Imperial administration left upon Roman Law an impress that still abides; while his long Marcomannic Wars probably secured to the Western Empire two added centuries of independence. On the other hand not one fragment of the work of Julian outlived the hour of his death, except the Gallo-German frontier and the wrecks of the cause he loved, and did to death; his alienation of Christian Armenia and his eastern campaigns were portentous blunders, which could not be retrieved. 'The secret' of his eulogized success is traced finally to 'the possession of an iron will' (p. 114). Iron will lies deeper than mere physical courage and impetuosity of temper, and is remote from the restless neurotic personality of Julian; what of good metal was in him was mercury, not iron. There is no iron in the tinsel of his letters and orations, none in the acrid spleen of the *Misopogon* and *Cæsars*, none

in the schoolboy pedantry of his manifestoes *To the Athenians* and *The Alexandrians*, none in the disputatious Rescript on Education. In the field of action 'iron will' does not lock itself up in bedrooms, and pray for a shooting star (*see* p. 136), while the legionaries are acclaiming 'Augustus'; nor does it carry on a duel for empire with irresolute parleyings at Sirmium, or inspecting entrails at Naissus. If it is liable to such weaker accesses of doubt or superstition, self-restraint at least forbids their publication to the world.

The relegation of Notes to the end of each separate chapter is an inconvenient arrangement; and proof-correction, which has left such blemishes as 'manifestatoes' (p. 152) and 'turn the machine into a blockade' (p. 148), seems hardly to have extended to proper names or Greek. Variants such as Rhaetia—Raetia, Allemanni—Alamanni, Osroene, Bathnae, Hieropolis, Magentius, Mentz, Cronica (= Κρόνια) are distressing, and the Greek scholar must face a shock at each new chapter heading. Perhaps p. 73 is the worst—with AUC for AUG, 'the Christian monogram between A and W' (!), ἀκραγμοσύνης κολιτεία καιδέιαν in three successive lines, and seven misplaced or omitted accents. Even the accent of Χρίστος is depraved (p. 309): Greek should either be banished, or presented in scholarly dress and type.

GERALD H. RENDALL.

WALTZING ON ROMAN COLLEGIA ARTIFICUM.

Étude historique sur les Corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident, par J. P. WALTZING. Tome I. *Le droit d'association à Rome. Les collèges professionnels considérés comme associations privées*. Charles Peeters, Louvain. Pp. 525. 1895.

ALTHOUGH it is impossible to ascribe finality to any work based on epigraphic evidence, it is yet possible to recognize where a nearly final analysis of one department of such evidence, so far as it has been collected, has been made. This is the character which we shall probably be willing to ascribe to Waltzing's work when it is finished; for, if the merit and completeness of the discussion be adequate to the scale

on which it has been undertaken—and from the specimen before us we have no doubt that it will be—the only function left to an inquirer into the nature of the Roman guilds will be that of conjecture, no doubt a valuable function but one from which the exigencies of his present task have compelled our author to abstain. If such a thing as over-sobriety be possible we may justly charge him with it. It is almost painful to see what a wealth of evidence is required to lead to attenuated, sometimes negative and always accurate conclusions, how manfully the attractions of analogy are resisted and how frankly the insignificance of the objects of this world-wide association is expressed; for, if these conclusions are final, the Roman guild is not a very valuable contribution to the social,

political or economic history of the world. The drift of the whole work is to show that through the greater part of their history, from the earliest times to the close of the middle Empire, they were working-men's clubs and nothing more. It is not until we reach the later Empire (a period which Waltzing has yet to treat) that these hitherto insignificant associations become saddled with the greater part of the administration of the Roman Empire.

The portion of the work which lies before us is far more complete than its title might imply. It claims to treat only of the professional colleges (*collegia artificum*); but, as the author shows, besides the (in his view) very limited professional aim of these guilds, they invariably possessed a secondary object of a two-fold character which strangely enough would seem, according to his conclusions, to have been more important than the object connected with trade. They were religious associations and burial societies, sometimes (as at the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire) they assumed an accidentally political character. Thus trade, religion, funerals, politics, every possible object of guild-association except one, are treated in turn. The one which is mentioned only to be shelved is charity and mutual assistance. That, according to the author, was never the object of the Roman collegiate system. But the determination of the scope of the colleges, difficult as it is, is yet an easier task than a conclusion as to their origin. For the first we have evidence which, scanty for the Republic even at its close, is abundant for the first three centuries of the Empire, its chief defect being the almost fatal one of the absence of information as to the object and working, as opposed to the structure of these associations. But for their origin there is practically no evidence at all, and we have to answer the two questions 'What was the first impulse to this form of organization?' and 'How were the early colleges looked on by the state?' on somewhat general grounds.

As regards the first, Waltzing, dismissing the traditions which connect them with the state through Numa or Servius, holds that they were from the first the result of private enterprise, tolerated and not encouraged by the state, associations of the 'opificum vulgus' drawn together by community of exclusion from public life and from the army, and sometimes by community of locality. Mommsen's view that

they were founded by members excluded from the *tribe* is rejected; but the author's caution prevents him from boldly accepting what immediately suggests itself as the alternative view, that it was exclusion from the *gens* which prompted these associations, and that they were composed mainly of poor plebeians who were not *gentiles*. Yet he often notes the striking resemblance between the life of the college and the life of the clan. The funerary object of the 'collegia' is a substitute for the common burial of the 'gentiles' (p. 257). For, in respect of securing a final resting-place, the slave or freedman was better off than the unattached artisan. The perpetuation of memory secured by a donation or legacy to a college 'ad memoriam perpetuo colendam' expresses the belief that the life of the guild is at least as long as that of the family and that its duties will be better performed. The private character of the collegiate 'cultus,' on which the author lays stress, is no argument for or against state-creation or state-regulation. The worships of the 'gentes' were in every sense private, yet Cincius (*ap. Arnob.* iii. 38) tells us that they were sometimes imposed by the state. It might have been pointed out that sometimes the guild-members bear a designation denoting a family relationship, as in the case of the 'Juventutis Manliensium gentiles' of Virunum in Noricum, and perhaps in the case of the 'phretrium Augustalium' of Caere. It is scarcely correct to say that Greece did not know of an 'official organization' of crafts (p. 71). Sometimes the *γένος* is a craft, and its services might be, as at Sparta, secured to the state.

The author's view that the early colleges had a purely spontaneous origin is accompanied by an acceptance of Mommsen's opinion that until 64 B.C. (the year when many—if not most of them—were suddenly suppressed by the Senate) the right of association was perfectly free. This is undoubtedly the principle of the early Roman law as expounded by Gaius;¹ but the author seems to minimize—if he does not deny—the existence of state-regulation and state-control exercised by the Senate. Any one accustomed to the gradual growth of senatorial prerogatives will be more inclined to believe that this act of annihilation perpetrated by the Senate in 64 was but the last step in a long career of

¹ Gaius *ad leg. xii. Tab.* (Dig. 47, 22, 4), 'sodales sunt, qui ejusdem collegii sunt—his autem potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant.'

administrative interference. What the author means by the 'personnification civile' of a chartered college, or why a corporation authorized by the state should *necessarily* have more of it than an unchartered corporation, it is difficult to divine; for state-authorization at Rome seems to have had originally merely a preventive character: it does not confer special privileges but secures against illegal acts. The power of receiving legacies, which Waltzing seems to think an accompaniment of this 'personality,' is surely not a greater power legally than that of expelling or exacting fines from members, which is known to have been possessed by the unauthorized colleges of the Republic.

From the occasional interference of the Republican government we pass on to the strict regulation of these corporations under the Empire. Waltzing is a believer in a 'lex Julia de collegiis' implied in the usual formula 'quibus senatus c. c. c. permisit e lege Julia ex auctoritate Augusti.' He notes the curious fact of the complete disappearance of Augustus' law, which is not appealed to by the classical jurists. It may have been buried under a mass of imperial rescripts and mandates; but these were not sufficient to kill other Julian laws of hardly greater importance, and it is possible that no law 'de collegiis' was ever framed, but that the colleges authorized by the Senate were those whose motives did not offend against one of the more general 'leges Juliae' (e.g. 'de majestate' or 'de vi'). But, whatever the legal ground of the authorization may have originally been, the result was that henceforth a college only received a sanction for its existence on proof of a 'causa,' i.e. on some ground of public utility, and the formation of a society might be only permitted under certain conditions, such as those affecting the number of associates and meetings and the reception of strangers into the craft. A college which had not obtained such a sanction was 'illicit.' Yet Waltzing accepts the distinction between a 'collegium illicitum' and one 'cui non licet coire,' and recognizes two kinds of illegal colleges, those which lacked authorization, and those which, whether authorized or not, had a dangerous or criminal end. This distinction may have existed in fact owing to the practice of the government of simply dissolving unauthorized colleges which were harmless without taking any criminal proceedings against them. But we doubt whether the distinction will bear legal

analysis. Although the Digest (47, 22) is inconclusive, the evidence of the Basilica, that most valuable of all commentaries to the Digest, is against it.¹ It is probable that in every case of the dissolution of an unchartered college prosecution for 'majestas' was legally possible, and we may see an instance of it in the punishment of the authors of the sedition which broke out between Pompeii and Nuceria in 59.² In the object, real or professed, of the colleges which fomented this disturbance there may have been nothing illegal. It is hardly necessary to point out the importance of this question—whether a criminal end had to be proved to entail a prosecution for treason—in the history of the early Christian societies.

Hitherto we have been dealing with special authorization. But Waltzing believes that a general authorization was accorded to at least one class of guilds—the 'collegia tenuiorum,' basing it, like Mommsen, on the heading of the rules drawn up by the funeral guild of Lanuvium. It is doubtful whether this heading and the parallel passage of Marcian³ state more than a general principle, and exempt these colleges from asking for special charters. But, if they do imply an exemption, this was also accorded to religious colleges, which were therefore recognized 'en bloc.' It is true that Waltzing refers the apparent permission in Marcian to the 'collegia tenuiorum' before mentioned; but the evidence of the Basilica renders this interpretation impossible.⁴ Christian guilds were therefore recognized by this universal principle of toleration; the legality of the persecution must have been based on the saving clause 'dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo collegia illicita arcentur.'

We have already noticed the author's view that little importance is to be attached

¹ Basilica 60, 32. Β' ἰδὲ παράνομον ποιῶν σύστημα τῆ κατὰ τῶν σὺν ἄλλοις τόπον δημόσιον ἢ ἱερὸν κατασχόντων υπόκειται ποινῇ—ἀθέμιτον δὲ σύστημα καὶ σωματεῖόν ἐστι, τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ νόμου ἢ βασιλέως συστάν.

² Tac. Ann. 14, 17, 'prohibiti publice in decem annos ejus modi coetu Pompeiani collegiaque, quae contra leges instituerant, dissoluta; Livineius et qui alii seditionem conciverant exilio multati sunt.'

³ Kaput ex S. C. populi Romani. Quibus coire convenire collegiumque habere liceat. Qui stipem menstruum conferre volent in funera, in it collegium coeant' (Brun's *Fontes* p. 315); Marcian in Dig. 47, 22, 1.

⁴ Marcian in Dig. l.c. 'sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo collegia illicita arcentur.' In the Basilica (60, 32) καὶ χάριν εὐχῆς θεμιτῶς ἔξεστι συνίεναι is made a distinct regulation, applicable to 'collegia' in general.

to the 'professional' objects of the guilds of artisans. But this is a point on which we think epigraphic evidence to be misleading. It does not lead us to a positive conclusion as to the importance of this object, but it ought not to lead us to a wholly negative conclusion as to its unimportance. We have to remember the absence of the actual charters of workmen's colleges, and that even such charters as have been preserved are confessedly inadequate, the most valuable one—that of Lanuvium—only specifying incidentally the end of the guild. Can we conceive the frequent meetings of numbers of the same craft without discussions of matters of trade interest? The organization of these clubs into 'decuries' and 'centuries' might be used for political ends; why not for professional purposes? Waltzing is inclined to reject the theory that these guilds were formed to meet the competition of slaves, on the general ground that there is no evidence of their adopting a counter-organization capable of resisting this competition; he does not believe with Herzog that they were ever co-operative societies; he even goes so far as to deny the probability of corporate work on the ground that 'one never finds a corporation undertaking work in common' (p. 186). But the influence of the hierarchy within these colleges must have been very great. If a college calls itself an *ἐργον* and is presided over by an *ἐργατηγός*, the latter must have been head of the craft; he would be appealed to in all important contracts and would choose his workmen. It is true that these expressive titles are found chiefly in the East, but at Beneventum we have 'studia' and 'discentes,' which suggest a regular course of trade-instruction and apprenticeship. The argument against the professional object or efficiency of these guilds drawn from the fact that some of them seem to have admitted members who were strangers to their particular craft does not seem to us of very great weight. It is impossible to examine the individual instances here, but a great many cases of double membership can be explained by the simultaneous exercise or by the similarity and close connection of different trades; others might no doubt be due to hereditary connection with a craft. A boy eight years old is found as a member of a guild; such youthful members might have retained their original trade-interest after they had grown up and entered on other professions. The protective measures taken by the 'collegia'

are practically reduced by Waltzing to the strength given by the mere fact of association and the influence of the 'patronus.' Although concessions obtained from the state were usually gained through the intermediation of a patron, it is easy to exaggerate his influence, and it is difficult to believe that patronage was the essential feature of the commercial life of the colleges.

On Waltzing's views as to the religious character of the professional 'collegia' we have already touched. The cult is usually private and the worship associated with the patron divinity of the trade. Yet some of the colleges, such as the 'tibicines,' gain almost an official character from being associated with the worship of the state, while others are allowed to celebrate their festivals in public places. One college at least—the 'dendrophori'—he thinks to have exercised sacred and secular duties which were quite distinct; but, as the members of the trade were always employed for the festival of Cybele, the civil and religious character became inextricably united in the individual. It is interesting to note how readily the professional guilds embraced the spreading Caesar-worship; the 'mantle-makers' (sagari) of the theatre of Marcellus are 'cultores domus Augustae,' and the 'dendrophori' of Ostia dedicate their 'schola' to the 'numen domus Augustae.'

Closely associated with their religious aspect is their funerary end. Waltzing holds that all—or almost all—the professional colleges 'added to their primitive and principal end the accessory end of the care of funerals' (p. 267), the support of this conclusion being found in the fact that the legacies left by benefactors for the perpetuation of their memory are less often bequeathed to the purely funerary or the purely religious associations than to the professional colleges. With regard to the purely religious colleges he quotes from a yet unpublished work of Cumont to show how necessary it was for some of the religious colleges of the Empire to be burial societies, since some (*e.g.* the members of the cult of Mithra) had their particular dogmas on a future life and particular funerary rites. Hence this accessory character was inevitably added to the Christian societies; the funerary character described by Tertullian does not require the author's hypothesis that it was adopted to shelter themselves under the judgment of universal toleration accorded to the 'collegia tenui-

orum.' With regard to the guilds which bear this particular title, Waltzing decidedly rejects Mommsen's view that they were associations for mutual help as well as funerary societies on the ground that 'neither in the authors nor in inscriptions is there mention of a chest or of extraordinary contributions' (*i.e.* contributions other than the burial subscriptions) 'or of expenditure applied to the help of the indigent or infirm.' Certainly the evidence (so far as the Western world is concerned) is in Waltzing's favour; but the real question at issue he does not state quite clearly; that is, whether the admittedly charitable associations of the East, such as the *ἔρανοι*, were included in the technical designation 'collegia tenuiorum.' The evidence of Pliny (*ad. Traj.* 92-93) seems to answer the question in the affirmative; and this, though it does not prove a charitable object for the Western colleges, would show that the general permission finally accorded to burial associations included mutual-loan and insurance societies as well. The author cites some striking exceptions to his own view that charity played a small part in the life of the Roman corporations. Such are the *θρέμματα* or training-schools for the young at Hierapolis, the workmen's houses at Thyatira, the savings-bank of the under-officers in the camp at Lambesis (the primary but not the sole object of which was funerary) and the *ἔρανοι* of Bithynia. The uncertainty of epigraphic evidence and the chance which has determined the character of the inscriptions preserved make us less certain than the author that these are really such very exceptional cases; the passage of Tertullian descriptive of the Christian society of Carthage¹ leaves it an open question as to whether this was one of the objects of the pagan guilds; but, if it was not often their expressed object, the professional associations probably implied a great deal of informal mutual assistance, a constant reference to the patron and a guarantee of occasional help from the 'sportulae,' which were paid partly in money and partly in kind. The three taken together almost enable us to say that they may have performed a charitable function.

We have left ourselves little space to discuss what is perhaps the most difficult

¹ Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) 'Nam inde non epulis nec potaculis nec ingratis voratrinis (as in the pagan colleges) sed egenis alendis humanisque, and other charitable objects. 'Alere' is here put side by side with 'humare' which was an object of the pagan guilds.

portion of a work on Roman guilds—the accidental political character which they assumed at the end of the Republic. Waltzing denies both the title and the existence of Mommsen's 'collegia compitalicia,' the religious colleges of each 'compitum' which was itself composed of several 'vici.' But Dio Cassius proves that local colleges existed bearing local names,² and his *κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα* are as appropriate to the 'compita' as to the 'vici.' It is possible, however, that the connection between the 'ludi compitalicii' and the 'collegia' was, though close, somewhat accidental. The games might not have been possible without the support of the neighbouring 'collegia'; this would explain their presidency by the double magistri and the fact that the dissolution of the colleges brought with it the cessation of the games.³ It is difficult to see why he denies the name 'colleges' to Clodius' foundations in 58 (p. 97); they were enrolled 'vicatim' and divided into 'decuries,' the normal collegiate division.⁴ If it is true that the Senate in 64 abolished 'collegia' and not 'sodalitates' (*i.e.* purely political clubs)—(pp. 106—107)—we may have here a recognition of its claiming no right to interfere with purely private associations⁵ and consequently the recognition of the college as a public association. The same theory is expressed in Clodius' public foundation of new 'collegia.' Both events conflict with the theory that the state did not control these associations until 64.

It is probable that the civic colleges of Rome had a very long and active and to some extent public life before we catch the earliest glimpses of them. The acquisition of empire was out of keeping with their strictly professional character and broke down the exclusiveness of the guild-system: and in some cases they may, like our city companies, have changed from active working organizations into social and philan-

² Dio Cass. 38, 13. *καὶ τὰ ἐταιρικὰ κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὅντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἀνανεώσατο.*

³ Ascon. *in Pison.* pp. 6 and 7 (Kiessling and Schöll) 'solebant autem magistri collegiorum ludos facere, sicut magistri vicorum faciebant, compitalicios praetextati, qui ludi sublati collegiis discussi sunt.' Cf. Cic. *in Pis.* 4, 8.

⁴ Cic. *pro Sest.* 15, 34.

⁵ When the 'sodalitates' and 'decuriati' were dissolved in 56 a law was necessary, 'lexque de iis ferretur ut qui non discessissent ea poena, quae est de vi, tenerentur' (Cic. *ad. Q. fr.* 2, 3, 5). The 'decuriati' were probably edifice-erecting associations. For the abolition of the 'collegia' in 64 a senatus consultum alone seems to have sufficed.

thropic bodies. But in most cases the professional character of the guilds must have been still distinctly marked, when the type was spread through the provincial world, since their final destiny shows a closer connection with trade than Waltzing will admit; for it is hardly credible that Severus Alexander or his successors could have thought of applying to purposes of state, corporations which were mainly social and religious and had no traditions of a common industrial life behind them.

But, however one may differ from some of the author's views and regret the negative nature of the conclusions to which he feels himself to have been forced, every one will readily admit, on laying down these five hundred pages of controversial matter, that the honesty and erudition of the work are above reproach, and that here we have quite the most patient and exhaustive treatment of the Roman guilds which has yet appeared.

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HERAEUS' CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Spicilegium Criticum in Valerio Maximo eiusque epitomatoribus scripsit GULIELMUS HERAEUS. Reprint from the xix. Supplementband of the Jahrbücher, pp. 580-636.

HERAEUS, who is not to be confused with the editor of the *Histories* of Tacitus, has treated directly about eighty passages of Valerius, using the materials furnished by Halm, and by Kempf in his two editions (see *C. R.* v. 428), and the scanty critical contributions of other scholars, notably Madvig, Gertz, Wensky, and Novák. So little has been done for Valerius that this pamphlet will be welcomed by scholars.

Heraeus takes on the whole a very conservative position; thirty-two of his remarks defend the manuscript readings of the Bernensis and the Laurentian on the established readings of the received text. Space, of course, forbids an estimate of all his propositions; some will fail to win acceptance, as 1, 7, 2, †*non est* where *n<on atti>net* is proposed, a too violent change; and 3, 2, 2, *eadem [enim]* where he would read *eadem reipublicae*. In 3, 8, 5, *ferebatur* is questionably defended against the *feribat* of Gertz, and in 9, 3, 6, *neget <aliquis>* for *negas* seems unnecessary. But, on the other hand, *diripientes* 'contending for' for *opperientes* in 2, 10, 5 is acute; and perhaps his most brilliant success appears in the treatment of 3, 2, 7, where he reads *ut et ipsi in occasu suo splendorem et ornamenta praeteritae vitae retinerent et publi ad fortius sustinendos casus [suos splendorem et ornamenta praeteritae vitae retinerent] <exemplum praerberent>*. The *crux, experet*, in 5, 3, ext.

3 he would solve by *cohaeret* which is neither better nor worse than former attempts. In another corrupt passage, 5, 7, ext. 1, for *excitatiorem, expeditiorem* is proposed. *Irae for ita* in 6, 3, praef. also deserves notice.

Pages 622-635 discuss the epitomators Paris and Nepotianus. A collation of the Vatican MS. of Paris lately made by Mau gave interesting testimony for orthography: *Galus, Messala* (contrary to Lachmann's rule), *Larisam, condicionem*, and *quingagensimum* are noted among others. Heraeus then adds two pages of various readings from Mau's collation, and then three pages or more of criticism of the emendations of Paris by Novák and others. Scholars have treated these epitomators too roughly for the sake of bringing them into agreement with Ciceronian usage, or of harmonizing them with Valerius himself: so Gertz would change *dimicaverant* to *dimic<antes occub>uerant* because Valerius wrote *dimicantes occiderant*. Heraeus proposes ten emendations of Paris; one of them, *Pisistratus in tantum eloquentia praestitit* (8, 9, ext. 1) for *tantum [in] e. p.*, is probably correct.

Nepotianus has been more severely treated than Paris; it is not worth while to correct so late an author and write with Eberhard *effoderent ea signa imperavit* for *effodere* of the MS. c. 7, 7. Twelve passages are emended. The Latinity of the pamphlet is smooth and correct.

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ARCHER-HIND'S EDITION OF THE *PHAEDO*.

The Phaedo of Plato. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by R. D. ARCHER-HIND, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Macmillan. 1894. 8s. 6d. net.

THE new edition of this work gives the text in the artistic Greek type specially cast for the publishers. It has many merits; it is elegant, solid, legible. Perhaps the central bar of θ , ξ , like that of ϵ in ordinary type, is the least bit too heavy for the reduced size of the letters and suggests compression. Of one thing there can be no doubt; the new type is expressly adapted for the lemma of a note: there it shows to unique advantage. Its slight divergence from authority is amply redeemed by its symmetry. Still in the next experiment of the kind we should like to see whether the slender and graceful curves of the best papyri—for preference some from the Flinders Petrie collection—might not be exactly reproduced with as good artistic effect.

The commentary has received additions at 65 A, 69 B, 72 A, 86 E, 93 C, 110 E, etc., but in its main outlines it is unchanged. The more important changes in the text are 115 D $\mu\eta$ for $\mu\omicron\iota$, a conjecture due to Dr. Jackson, and at 100 D, where Ueberweg's *προσγενομένου* is adopted in place of *προσγενομένη* which was bracketed before. The threefold *εἶτε* in this passage might be compared with *Republic* 612 A, *εἶτε πολυειδῆς εἶτε μονοειδῆς εἶτε ὅπη ἔχει καὶ ὅπως*, which lends a shadow of support to the omission of the participle. Appendix ii. has been greatly modified, the

important passage 99 D *sqq.* receiving a new explanation, partly due to Mr. C. E. Campbell. When Socrates says that he is forced to take refuge in the study of *λόγοι* or universals he compares himself with those who study the reflection of the sun's image during an eclipse. This illustration is thus expanded: as the ideas to particulars so the sun to the sun eclipsed; as particulars to universals so the sun eclipsed to its reflection in water. With this interpretation it is possible to take *πράγματα*, 99 E, of particulars, which accords much better with the mention of sense (*ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων*) as the means employed to reach them.

Much remains to be done for the explanation and illustration of this Dialogue. The myth would amply repay a separate study. Plato's imaginary descriptions, though always clear and precise in the setting, are not to be understood offhand. The obscurities of Tartarus and the rivers require a commentary, or still better the accompaniment of a map, nearly if not quite as much as the orrery of *Republic*, B. x. The main object of this work is to expound the philosophical content of the Dialogue. For the Platonic student who approaches the ideal theory it is an invaluable guide. Everything else is made subordinate to this end. The grammatical commentary does not claim to be exhaustive, and the relation of the received text to that of the recently published papyrus fragments—a tempting subject for digression, albeit unprofitable—is dismissed with a few words of depreciation in the preface.

R. D. HICKS.

VERGIL IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Vergil in the Middle Ages, by DOMENICO COMPARETTI. Translated by E. F. M. BENECKE, with an Introduction by ROBINSON ELLIS. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co; New York, Macmillan and Co. 1895. 7s. 6d.

'To give a complete history of the medieval conception of Vergil, to follow its various evolutions and vicissitudes, and to determine the nature and causes of these and their connection with the general history of

European thought,' such is the object of the book which the energy of Mr. Benecke has made accessible to English readers. In following out this purpose, and tracing the transformations by which the greatest of Roman poets has become the centre of a grotesque series of medieval fictions, Comparetti has brought together—in the words of Professor Ellis—'the results of his multifarious and ubiquitous researches,—researches which extend to regions where few indeed can follow, to authors whose very

names are unheard of and new, chronicles of every age and place, romances shocking no less by the improbability than the incongruity of their incidents, MSS. in widely scattered libraries, many of them still unedited, and to most readers inaccessible.' Thus we learn, in some measure, to understand, how John Doesboreke came to empyrnt in the cite of Anwarpe a boke that 'treatethe of the lyfe of Virgilius and of his death, and many maravayles that he did in his lyfe tyme by witchcraft and nigromansy, thorough the help of the devylls of hell,' wherein is set forth how Vergil was born in the Ardennes not long after the foundation of Rome, studied at Toledo, and settled at Rome; how he carried off the daughter of the sultan of Babylon, found her a husband in a Spanish nobleman, and built Naples to be her dowry, and how, finally, growing old, he had himself cut in pieces and salted, part of a process of rejuvenescence that did not end successfully. Such a conception of Vergil seems to be no further removed from the Vergil of history, than from the noble and touching figure revealed to us in the verse of Dante. Yet Comparetti shows that there is a real connection between all three, the Vergil of history, of popular romance, and of the *Divine Comedy*: and hence the manifold interest of the book. On the one hand it traces limitations of the medieval mind; on the other, it shows us the relation of the decay to the renascence of classical culture: and again, in comparing the Vergil of Dante with the ordinary medieval conception, it teaches us how the genius of a great poet truthfully transfigured the dim conventional Vergil of Dante's lettered contemporaries.

The notion of Vergil as a magician originated at Naples. Here the memory of the poet never died out, but, as learning and civilization declined, was transformed by the popular imagination, and to him were referred various works of antiquity at Naples as things transcending ordinary human ability. Accordingly at the end of the twelfth century, when, through reports of credulous visitors, the Neapolitan legend penetrated into the rest of Europe, Vergil was already a benevolent wizard, who by a sort of natural magic, *i.e.* by his deep knowledge of the secret forces of nature, had conferred great benefits on Naples. These ideas of Vergil lingered in the neighbourhood of the city until this century, as we learn from the conversation of a traveller with an old fisherman at the 'School of

Vergil.' 'Often when cloud and storm were coming down from Vesuvius he would turn them back with a powerful spell, and often he would spend whole nights with his face towards the mountain when the lightnings were beginning to flash about its head, perhaps in silent converse with its spirits' (p. 373). But towards the end of the twelfth century the ancient city of Vergil, the *operosum opus Vergilii*, as Conrad calls it, was dismantled by the Imperialist soldiers, who were full of fear lest, when demolishing the walls, they should let loose the serpents confined by Vergil under the Porta Ferrea. 'Then the spell was broken, the shrine of patriotic beliefs was violated, and the sacred fire that had fed them was quenched for ever. Foreigners, already convinced of the infinite nature of Vergil's knowledge, eagerly collected and disseminated these stories, and while in the new Naples, no longer Roman and hence no longer Vergilian, their production ceased and their very memory became faint, they began to be propagated in even stranger forms throughout the countries of Europe' (p. 287). The patriotic imagination of the Neapolitans had not associated Vergil with diabolical agencies, but 'from *ars mathematica* and *astrologica* to *ars diabolica* was but a step'; the step was now taken, and the benevolent constructor of the talismans of Naples became 'a necromancer in the blackest sense of the word,' doing his deeds 'through the help of the devylls of hell.' But this Neapolitan idea of Vergil the wonder-worker would never have obtained such popularity merely on its own merits, and without union with the literary tradition, developed in the schools, of Vergil the perfect scholar, master of all the Seven Arts from grammar to astronomy (*i.e.* astrology) 'qui est fins de toute clergie' (p. 237).

This literary tradition is traced from the first impressions made by the Vergilian poetry on the Roman world onwards until we reach the *Divine Comedy* and its contemporary, the *Dolopathos*. We are shown how Vergil quickly obtained in education a position from which he was never dislodged, as the highest authority on language and rhetoric; we see too how criticism, unable from the first to analyse his real merits, expressed its enthusiasm by attributing to him a sort of omniscient infallibility, and how from the time of Statius he was the object of quasi-religious veneration on the part of pagans, just as later he was transformed into a prophet of the Messiah. Amid the decline of taste and art, the

historical Vergil receded ever further from view; we find instead the conception of the learned man natural to ages which held learning for something rare and uncanny. The result is that stage of the literary tradition which is shown in the *Dolopathos*, and by way of contrast serves as measure of Dante's elevation above his fellows. Consequently the Neapolitan idea of the wonder-worker, once disseminated through Europe, fell on favourable soil: grave writers like Vincent de Beauvais joined with poets and street-singers in propagating the legends, which penetrated even to the Slavonic peoples.

Throughout the book we find numerous anecdotes of true medieval grotesqueness, but for the general reader the interest probably reaches its climax in the chapters

which treat of Dante and Vergil, of Vergil's significance in the scheme of the *Divine Comedy* and of the meaning of the famous lines:—

Tu se' solo colui da cu' io tolsi
Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.

The translation has been made from the proof-sheets of the Second Edition, which is shortly to appear; and therefore has the advantage of the Author's latest revision. The reviewer cannot judge of the excellence of the work as a translation, but it is clear that Mr. Benecke was master of his own language. The book is but one more proof of the loss suffered by classical learning through his premature death in last July.

C. M. MULVANY.

ROCKWOOD'S EDITION OF VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

Velleius Paterculus, Book II., Chapters xli.—cxxx. By FRANK ERNEST ROCKWOOD. The Students' Series of Latin Classics. Leach, Shewell, and Sanborn. \$1.25.

THE editors of the 'Students' Series' have done well to include Velleius in their list of editions, for his *History* is interesting not only for its subject-matter, but because it belongs to an epoch in the history of Roman literature of which there are few representatives, and to which little attention is ordinarily given.

Professor Rockwood has selected that part of the work which deals with the Civil War and the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and has made a convenient and attractive text-book which may well have the result for which he hopes, of 'securing for Velleius the recognition to which he is fairly entitled by his merits as a writer.'

The Introduction gives a brief account of the life of Velleius, with a summary of the special characteristics of his language and style. The Text is in the main that of Halm, the deviations from whom are noted and commented on in a Critical Appendix. The Notes are full, and as a rule judicious, although sometimes they appear somewhat too elementary for the class of students for which the book is designed.

In 41, 2; *qui—uteretur*, it would be better to omit the words 'in which *qui* = *is* or *talibus ut*.' In 45, 5, the statement that *longe* for *multo* is poetic and post-Augustan is not

strictly accurate, since Hirtius and Sallust use *longe* in the same way. *Biennium* (48, 2) is surely not accusative 'after *ante*,' but is an accusative of extent, as in similar expressions with *abhinc*. To speak of the 'omission' of *ut* with *veniret* (49, 4) and *excederet* (80, 2) is misleading. In 52, 2, the note on *fruit* does not seem to be well put. In such cases the indicative is used for vividness, rather than to 'emphasize the fact.' A fuller note might well be given on *dum—expectat* (57, 1), since the difference in meaning between the present and the imperfect or perfect is not clearly stated in two of the grammars to which reference is made. *Dum erat sobrius* (63, 1) might be cited for comparison, where no comment is made on the tense, although it is as interesting as that of *expectat*. In the note on *difficile* (63, 3) it would be safer to insert the word 'probably' in the statement that 'this use of *difficile* dates from the time of Velleius.' The note on *pridie quam* (83, 3) is hardly complete enough, especially in view of the meagre and unsatisfactory treatment of *priusquam* which is given in most of our school grammars. In 103, 5, *potuerit*, the explanation that the perfect subjunctive 'emphasizes the result' is vague and unsatisfactory. The difference between the imperfect and perfect in such cases is surely not one of emphasis.

A full Index adds to the convenience of the book.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

DAWES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK ASPIRATES.

The Pronunciation of the Greek Aspirates, by ELIZABETH A. S. DAWES, M.A., D.LIT. (Lond.). London: D. Nutt. 1895. 2s. net.

BLASS'S well-known treatise on Greek Pronunciation, which has served the present generation of students, exhibits here and there a want of precision that renders a re-examination of some of the more controverted points extremely desirable. Among these must still be reckoned the exact sound of θ , ϕ and χ , and Dr. Dawes' dissertation is an attempt to unsettle the orthodox theory of their purely aspiratic value. The evidence to be weighed is complicated and scattered in time and place, and if ever there was a subject in which strict accuracy of method, in chronology, in phonetics, and in the ordinary principles of logical inference is indispensable, this is one. It must be confessed that in these respects Dr. Dawes does not appear to be adequately equipped for her task, in spite of the zealous labour that she has devoted to it. The 'conclusion' runs as follows (p. 102):

'We consider the question one that does not admit of any definite solution because even the safest, viz. the internal evidence of the language itself, is both of an uncertain and a conflicting nature. This being so, we can, after carefully sifting the same, do nothing beyond forming a more or less certain hypothesis from estimating the value of the arguments on either side and trying duly to appreciate them. From such an estimate we obtain the following results.

'In support of the aspiratic theory we have the two analogical (*sic*) phonetic laws in Sanskrit and Greek, by which two consecutive syllables cannot begin with an aspirate. Add to this the *a priori* evidence found in the process of elision and we have the main arguments for the aspiratic theory.

'On the other hand, in support of the spirantic theory, we have the difference of phonetic law in Sanskrit and Greek by which in the latter language we find combinations of aspirates. As regards internal evidence, with the exception of that furnished by elision, it would seem to favour this theory. That it does so, we have attempted to show in our investigation of the evolution of the phonetic laws and the history of interchange (*sic*) which, in our opinion, seems to point to a continuity of pronunciation.

'As to the testimony of the grammarians, we think we have shown by our exposition, that, if considered impartially and in its entirety, it cannot be looked upon as reliable evidence for either theory.

'These are the broad conclusions at which we arrive, and we do not think they are such as to justify a final decision in favour of the two opposed theories (*sic*) which we have attempted to elucidate.'

I have quoted these paragraphs exactly as they stand (except for the italics), because they may be taken, I think, to represent

very fairly the whole essay. The words italicised in the first and last paragraph, if I understand them rightly, involve a practical contradiction, since no 'more or less certain hypothesis' is 'formed' or even suggested. Similar contradictions may be found elsewhere (*e.g.* between the last two paragraphs of p. 51, between the foot of p. 98 and the top of p. 99, etc.) along with a number of inferences on which the only possible comment is *non sequitur*, *e.g.* the first paragraph of p. 23, where we read that 'this Skt. and Lat. *h* [corresponding to Gr. χ] generally represents, it is true, an original *gh* whose "g" reappears in Gothic, etc., but the fact remains that in Skt. we have a guttural spirant *h*, and in Latin a spirant or breathing (*sic*) "h," and, as there is some possibility of χ having been a spirant, these cases make such a supposition probable.' The inference on p. 21 as to the origin of the 'modern tenuis' in certain cases begs the question completely.

As the essay stands, it is difficult, or rather impossible, to discuss it as a whole, simply because while professing to deal with a strictly scientific subject, it shows no grasp whatever of any scientific method. There are pages and chapters about 'phonetic law,' but it is difficult to discover what is meant by the term, except that it has not the meaning of a definite uniform change of a given sound under definite conditions completed within definite limits of time and place, which—it is grievous to have to repeat—is the only sense in which it can be legitimately used. Any one who can still believe (as Dr. Dawes does) in Corssenian 'tendencies' is free to do so, but to call them 'laws' is to plunge into inextricable confusion. In some places (*e.g.* in the last line of p. 74) Dr. Dawes speaks of a 'law' in this sense; in others (*e.g.* p. 24) it seems to mean a rule describing any sounds in existence at a given period of a language; in the first three pages, and indeed the whole, of the chapter headed 'Phonetic Laws' I cannot discover any one definite meaning to attach to it. This unhappy union of antiquated principles with confused terminology vitiates every single argument that concerns a phonetic change, and explains, at least in part, why Dr. Dawes finds it impossible to arrive at a conclusion on the whole question, in spite of her vigorous interest in the subject, and much careful reading. I hardly think that

any one who has really grasped the argument¹ from the detachableness of the aspiration in vulgar Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ($\chi\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\kappa\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ for $\chi\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\chi\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\tau\iota$ for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\rho\kappa\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\tau\iota$ κ.τ.λ.) can have any doubt that θ , ϕ and χ each contained an explosive and a genuine aspiration in Attic at that date. The evidence of transcription into and from other languages, to which Dr. Dawes hardly alludes, is equally decisive, and in the same direction; see for instance the well-known passages Cic. *Orator* § 160, and Quintilian 1, 4, 14, and there is a mass of evidence of the same kind in the transcriptions of Greek words into early Latin and the other Italic dialects.

We learn, however, from the preface that a complete collection of the evidence was not contemplated, and it is to be regretted that the essay was not restricted to what is clearly its chief purpose, an attack on the weak points of the case put forward by the orthodox school. The two chapters on the evidence of ancient Greek writers, so far as they are confined to pointing out the defects of Blass's account, are interesting, straightforward, and on the whole must be called successful, and here and there in the other chapters certain real and well-known difficulties in the present statement of the aspiratic theory (e.g. $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\sigma\phi\omicron\nu$ in Aristo-

¹ This has been unfortunately misstated by Meisterhans, *Gramm. Att. Inschr.* ed. 2, p. 78, but is put quite clearly by Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.* ed. 2, p. 73.

phanes) are brought into notice. Had these points been assembled, and cogently stated in an article of a dozen pages, Dr. Dawes would have made a substantial though a negative contribution to our knowledge of the question.

Since the essay was published fresh evidence of a most conclusive character from the transcription of a very large number of Demotic words into Greek characters in the two gnostic papyri of London and Leyden respectively has been lucidly set forth by Hess, in the current number of *Indog. Forschungen* (vi. p. 123). The papyri are ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the second century A.D. ϕ is the invariable transcription of Demotic $p+h$, while Demotic f is represented by a special sign taken over from the Egyptian alphabet; χ is the invariable transcription of Demotic $k+h$ and $g+h$ (Demotic g is voiceless), never of the Demotic spirant h , which is represented by another borrowed Egyptian sign; while θ always transcribes $t+h$, except before i and e , when it also represents ts , showing that in this position θ had become a spirant at this date. I may add that Hess shows by similar evidence that γ was then in all positions an explosive, and δ an explosive except before i , where it had become a spirant.

R. SEYMOUR CONWAY.

Cardiff, January 1896.

LORD ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN.

FRANCES E. LORD.—*The Roman Pronunciation of Latin; Why we use it and How to use it.* Ginn and Company. 1894.

It is not without considerable reluctance that I have acceded to the request to write a brief notice of this work. It is not a pleasing task to review a book to which so little praise can be given. But when one has commended the author's motive, the hope of giving help to teachers of Latin in secondary schools who desire to know the 'Why and the How' of the 'Roman Pronunciation,' the possibilities of favourable criticism are, I fear, exhausted. The author seems to have only a limited acquaintance with the modern literature of the subject. The introduction states, indeed, that free use has been made of the highest English authorities, of Oxford and Cam-

bridge. But the books of Ellis and Munro are not the most recent expressions of the best English opinion of to-day; and of German authorities, of such a work as Seelmann's *Ausprache des Latein*, we are forced to assume that the author has no knowledge. Else how, for example, could she so confidently pronounce the Latin accent one of pitch, as if no one had ever thought of its being anything else, whereas there is almost complete unanimity among scholars (we must except Havet, followed by Victor Henry) that the predominating characteristic of the Latin accent was stress? But more unfortunate still is the author's lack of critical judgment in weighing evidence, her ignorance of the history of the sounds in Latin and the other languages compared and, most of all, a fatal confusion of *sounds* and

letters. A study of the pages treating of consonantal *v* will convince any one that this judgment is not too harsh. After quoting passages from the grammarians who compare the Greek digamma with the consonantal *v*, the author asks the question: 'What then was the sound of this Aeolic digamma or *βav*?' And the authority for settling this question is—Priscian (who is trying to account for the fact that the *f* is the same as the digamma) with the following remarkable elucidation: 'Now the office of the Greek *digamma* was apparently manifold. It stood for *ς*, *β* (Eng. *v*), *γ*, *χ*, *φ*, and for the breathings "rough" and "smooth." Sometimes the sound of the *digamma* is given, we are told, when the character itself is not written. It is said that in the neighbourhood of Olympiu it is to-day pronounced, though not written, between two vowels as *β* (Eng. *v*). Which of these various sounds should be given the digamma appears to have been determined by the law of Euphony. It was sometimes written but not sounded (like our *h*). The question then is, which of these various sounds of the digamma is represented by the Latin *u*-consonant, or does it represent all, or none, of these?'

If the digamma was in reality such a colourless and unstable character, it would better have been wholly omitted from the discussion. And still more emphatically, from the author's standpoint of furnishing an argument for the pronunciation of Latin, *v* is a spirant, if we hold the more rational view that the sound represented by the *f* was that of English *w*, and that such facts as the smooth breathing taking the place of an earlier initial digamma (or, in the case of original *sv*, the rough breathing), or the occurrence of the spelling *β* on late inscriptions, or of *γ* in glosses of Hesychius (a purely orthographical matter), or the development of a *v*-sound between vowels in certain Modern Greek dialects, are all entirely irrelevant.

The Caeneas story is made to do duty for the author's contention, by means of the suggestion that Caunos was a Greek town, and that *v* in such a connection is at present pronounced like our *f* or *v*, and that we know of no time when it was pronounced like our *u*. The only difficulty is in the statement of the last clause, for the approval of which the author will have to

look mainly to the more chauvinistic of the Modern Greeks.

In general, the book evinces an unusual degree of confidence in the Roman grammarians, in fact is chiefly made up of selected quotations from them. Now no one wishes to belittle the value of the works of the Roman grammarians, but it must be said that the intelligent use of them is one of the most difficult of tasks. Individual statements, though ever so explicit, may be absolutely valueless. The whole mass of material must be sifted, the manner of composition, the constant working over of another's material, which again was taken from still another, the aping of the Greek grammarians,—all this must be taken into account, and judged in the light of other evidence. For example, to take a comparatively fine point, the author quotes a passage from Pompeius to the effect that of the five vowels three (*a*, *i*, *u*) do not change their quality with their quantity. But those who have looked over the whole field point out that the statements of these fourth and early fifth century grammarians do not harmonize with either the accounts of earlier grammarians or that of the later Consentius. And, though the descriptions of the difference in the *i*-sounds are never very clear, the Romance development and the analogy of the other Italic dialects make it reasonably certain that a qualitative difference accompanied the variation in quantity. So also in the case of the *u*-vowels, where the frequent confusion of short *u* with *o* on inscriptions more than counterbalances the complete silence of the grammarians on this point. Though the difference may not have been so marked in the case of the *i*- and *v*-vowels as in the case of *e* and *o*, there is ground for the suspicion that the powers of observation of the Latin grammarians were dulled by the fact that the Greeks noted a distinction in quality only for *e*:*y*, *o*:*w*, but not for *i*:*ī*, *v*:*ṽ*.

To sum up our judgment of the book before us:—The 'How' fails in many points to voice the best opinion of the time; and in those points in which the pronunciation advocated is to be commended, the 'Why' is an inadequate representation of the reasons for adopting it.

CARL D. BUCH.

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TYCHO MOMMSEN ON GREEK PREPOSITIONS.

Beiträge zu der Lehre von den Griechischen Präpositionen, von TYCHO MOMMSEN. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1895. 18 Mk.)

THE work before us is destined to rank high among the many valuable contributions to Historical Greek Grammar which are every day appearing from the ever fertile pens of German scholars. Prof. Tycho Mommsen has the honour of being one of the earliest workers in a field which has been most assiduously cultivated in Germany, and which is now yielding such fruits as Schanz's *Beiträge*, and the forthcoming Latin Grammar whose gigantic proportions may be gauged from the fact that the portion allotted to one collaborateur is the single subject of *Parataxis*. The title of the present volume does not convey an adequate idea of its contents. It naturally calls to mind minute distinctions between the various idioms connected with the different prepositions. The reader will look in vain for any such lists. It is a study of prepositions in general and a close investigation of 'with'-prepositions in particular. Thus the scope of the work is limited, being mostly taken up with a study of *σύν* and *μετά* and their equivalents *ἅμα*, *ὁμοῦ* etc. About one-third of the whole is a reprint of Easter programmes or rather dissertations prefixed to the school calendar of the public gymnasium of Frankfurt.

These parts appeared in 1874, 1876, and 1879. Notwithstanding the unity of subject, this difference in the date of composition gives a certain air of disjointedness to the whole, and involves repetition and cross-references somewhat tedious to the reader. Nevertheless the oneness of plan, which the author must have had in mind from the beginning, as well as the precise divisions adopted—historical and according to subject-matter—are sufficient compensation for the defect alluded to. Indeed the new essays fit in so admirably beside the old, that the patchwork might easily escape the reader's notice.

The first dissertation, or first section of the work in its present state, is perhaps the most valuable; certainly it is of the greatest moment to the Greek grammarian, as it states the general laws arrived at in the course of laborious researches, the details of which appear in the subsequent

portions. The chapters following from page 39 onwards are, with some exceptions, *pièces justificatives* for the general results propounded at the beginning. It may not be out of place to mention some of these here. First comes the law affecting *σύν* and *μετά*—one which nowadays has lost much of its novelty—namely that in the best days of Greek literature *σύν* is used only in poetry strictly so called, as also in Xenophon, whereas *μετά* is confined to prose and prosaic verse, and further, where both are used indifferently, *μετά* always clings to relatives and reflexives. To establish this thesis is the main object of the work. Tables are inserted containing statistics of the occurrence of these particles (as well as those of similar import *ἅμα*, *σύνάμα*, *ὁμοῦ* etc.) in the classical prose and poetry of Greece. Then the usage of each writer is examined in detail whether classical or post-classical. Not a single name is omitted of whom the author could find any fragments in the vast libraries of Germany. Hence the book will serve as a *repertoire* and book of reference as regards the use of 'with'-prepositions from Homer down to the latest Byzantine chronicler.

Moreover the task of finding and sifting examples involved an immense amount of reading, even from original MSS.; and the author has availed himself of the opportunity to touch on literary, bibliographical and critical questions outside the immediate scope of his inquiry. When dealing with the more obscure writers of later times, Prof. Mommsen has in most cases added short notices on the style and authorship of writings whose prepositional usage he is discussing. Hence these pages possess an historical and literary value quite independent of the stores of scholarship they contain. It may here be noticed in passing that the tone of the author in speaking of the great Fathers of the Greek Church is marked by a freedom from bias which one does not always meet with. The verdict to which his researches have led him seems to me on the whole strikingly just. He acknowledges the Attic purity of diction of the great pulpit orator St. Chrysostom. The language of St. Basil is found to be fairly good Attic, though less so than that of his contemporary Libanius. That of Gregory of Nyssa is admitted to be correct, if sometimes affected. A similar

favourable judgment is passed on Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen and Cyril of Alexandria.

The next question of importance discussed is the general frequency of the use of prepositions in the different species of prose and poetry. The inquiry leads to the general law that prose is polyprothetic and poetry oligoprothetic. The gradual development from extreme oligoprothesis to considerable polyprothesis, in the Tragic writers, is especially dwelt on and fully demonstrated, according to the author's method, by statistical tables. This point is further minutely discussed for various groups of writers of all periods. An interesting chapter follows on the preponderance of particular cases governed by prepositions. As a general result of this investigation, it would appear that the dative predominates in the older and more poetical language; the accusative in that of later generations and in prose generally; the genitive prevails in the rhetoricophilosophical elements of prose and poetry. Thus the tendency of the accusative ultimately to oust its rivals shows itself already before the close of the classical period; in Modern Greek it is the only oblique case in use after prepositions in the language of the people. Space will not allow us to discuss the very interesting treatise on 'favourite prepositions' (*Liebings-Präpositionen*) which must have cost the author immense labour.

In conclusion the question forces itself on us, What is the value of results thus laboriously won? Certain it is they must ever possess an interest of their own for the student of Greek as so many linguistic facts, apart from any ulterior use to be made of them. They help to determine and differentiate the styles of various classes of authors and of the different periods of Greek literature. They may also serve as implements of critical dissection, whereby to eliminate interpolated portions of works otherwise open to the suspicion of corruption. It may be admitted that the author's method

is on the whole safe, and his general results reliable, though in the majority of cases resting on a very incomplete induction. Thus for most of the later writers Prof. Mommsen restricted his researches in each case to an examination of from 40 to 50 pages of the smaller Teubner texts, and, in the case of the Epic poets, to from 750 to 1,500 lines. He himself has not failed to perceive the many objections which may be raised to this mode of inquiry, but nevertheless holds 'die Hauptresultate für gewiss.' So much may be conceded as regards the general results referred to. The particular conclusions however, which he has deduced from certain of his statistics are not so felicitous. Thus he would deprive St. Luke of the middle portion of his Gospel (9, 33—19, 23), because forsooth it has no *σύν*, whereas *σύν* and *μετά* occur side by side in the other parts. I am of opinion he ought not to stop there. The first five chapters of this same Gospel (at least 1—5, 9) contain only 4 *σύν* to 7 *μετά* whilst the last chapter (24) has 7 *σύν* to 4 *μετά*, i.e. in the inverse ratio. Hence our author ought to conclude that these portions also are not from the same hand. Further from 1, 58 to 2, 5 there is no *σύν* at all; consequently neither can this part belong to the same writer.

It follows that the Gospel of St. Luke must have had three different authors: so great is the power of statistics!

The eight valuable excursions appended to this bulky volume (it contains 824 octavo pages)—especially the lengthy dissertation on the peculiarities of the style of Euripides and also that on Anastrophe—will be most welcome to students. Lastly let me remind the reader that, inasmuch as the author spent upwards of twenty years in the compilation of this work, it is not to be wondered at if, within the narrow limits of a review, I have not succeeded in giving more than a very slight and inadequate sketch of the treasures of learning stowed away within these unpretentious pages.

J. DONOVAN.

GILDERSLEEVE'S *LATIN GRAMMAR*.

Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar. Third edition, revised and enlarged, by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE and GONZALEZ LODGE. (University Publishing Company: New York, etc. 1894. Macmillan & Co.: London. 1895.)

PROFESSOR GILDERSLEEVE'S work as a grammarian has been before the world for more than a quarter of a century, and has exercised so important an influence on American scholarship that it might be

thought unnecessary in a review of a third edition of his *Latin Grammar* to do more than call attention to its appearance. At the same time the present issue is in many respects practically a new work, and the great amount of labour and thought which has clearly been devoted to it makes it the duty of a reviewer to express as best he may his opinion of its merits, especially as the book is not as widely known in England as it deserves to be. Professor Gildersleeve is a commanding personality in the field of grammar; Professor Goodwin, whose work is better known in England, has handsomely acknowledged the extent of his indebtedness to his brother Professor, 'whose writings have thrown light upon most of the dark places in Greek syntax' (Preface to *Moods and Tenses*, 1889, p. viii.); and it would be difficult to estimate the number of enthusiastic admirers of Gildersleeve among the younger generation of American scholars, whom he has trained and stimulated to independent research as grammarians. In England too there must be many who, like the present writer, owe to Prof. Gildersleeve a debt of gratitude for guidance through the mazes of Pindaric diction and metre.

The present grammar is eminently a work of high learning and refined scholarship, and the views propounded in it are no ἀτελής σοφίας καρπός. The edition of 1884 consisted of 400 pp., the present edition has 550 pp. (including indices). In the work of revision Prof. Gildersleeve has associated with himself Prof. Lodge, of Bryn Mawr College, 'who is responsible for nearly everything that pertains to the history of usage; the office of the senior collaborator has been chiefly advisory, except in the Syntax' (Preface); obligations are acknowledged to a large number of American scholars, who have contributed by criticism and suggestion to the perfecting of the work. The most recent researches on Latin etymology and syntax have been carefully studied and utilized.

To discuss the details of a grammar of this compass—especially a work at the back of which lies so much learning and experience—is obviously impossible within the brief limits of a review. All that the critic can do is to select for notice some few points in which he is specially interested—with the full knowledge that the points selected may not be equally interesting to others, and cannot be really representative of the work as a whole.

A striking instance of the influence which research may exert upon grammatical prac-

tice even in the simplest and apparently most obvious matters is the new doctrine of prohibitions. Gildersleeve, following Elmer's article in the *American Journal of Philology* (vol. xv. 1894), gives the following list (§ 275): *ne audi* (poetic), *ne audito* (legal), *non audies* (familiar), *ne audias* (chiefly ideal), *noli audire* (common), *ne audiveris* (rare). This will be a startling revelation to many schoolmasters; does not Cicero say *hoc facito, hoc ne feceris* (*de Div.* ii. 61, 127)? Yes, but if Elmer's statistics are right, there are in elevated prose from the beginning of the Ciceronian period up to near the end of the Augustan period only seven instances of *ne* with the perfect subj. in prohibitions, and these are all in Cicero. This enumeration excludes the *Letters* of Cicero and disregards *nec* with the perfect subj., which Elmer considers to stand on a somewhat different footing. Personally I am inclined to accept the conclusion that *ne* with the perf. subj. in prohibitions must be regarded as colloquial and peremptory (e.g. in Horace *tu ne quaesieris*).¹

In regard to the classification of conditional sentences I am sorry to find that the view which Mr. Inge forbids me to call mine, but which I have never seen expressed in any grammar except my own, has not found favour in the eyes of Gildersleeve. He still divides into (i.) logical, (ii.) ideal, (iii.) unreal—according to the character of the protasis. This is open to several objections; but I will content myself here with asking: (1) Why is *si id credis erras* more 'logical' than *si id credas erres* or *si id crederes errares*? (ii.) Does not the division into 'ideal' and 'unreal' as two separate genera ignore an essential point of unity in the apodoses of these sentences (marked in Greek by the use of ἄν and in English by *should* or *would*)? The difference between *si credas* ('if you were to believe') and *si crederes* ('if you believed') I regard as simply one of time. Under 'ideal' Gildersleeve classes sentences like *otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus*, and in so doing is consistent with his principle of classifying according to the character of the protasis; but to me this sentence is much more akin to the 'logical' group. However it is satisfactory to find some recognition of a class of sentences which has been too much ignored by grammarians, or even declared by some to be bad Latin (subjunctive in protasis, indicative in apodosis—without

¹ In regard to the question of the negative in deliberative questions some pronouncement on Elmer's theory might have been expected (in § 265).

anacoluthon): why does not Gildersleeve quote some instances from classical prose like Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 10 *si in Italia consistat, omnes erimus una* (where there is no question of the 'ideal 2nd pers. sing.' raised)? The subj. I should here call 'prospective' ('should he make a stand in Italy, we shall all be with him').

This leads me to ask to what extent the doctrine of the 'prospective subjunctive' is countenanced by Gildersleeve. All grammarians have of course recognized it to some extent; e.g. in the conversion of *si id credes, errabis into dixi te si id crederes, erraturum esse* (Gild. § 656, 3); and the general doctrine of the kinship of the subjunctive and the future is fully insisted upon by Gildersleeve in this as in the previous edition (e.g. § 277, 2 and 4; § 515, 3, where we read 'of course the deliberative subj. is future'). But something more than this was intended in the article which I wrote in the *Classical Review* for Feb. 1893 and in the treatise by my friend Prof. Hale on the 'Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin' (*Studies in Classical Philology*, 1894).¹ As Hale says (note on p. 10), 'the distinction on which the whole matter of classification turns does not lie between a present sense and a future sense—it lies between a *volitive* future sense and an *anticipatory* future sense; in other words, between the conception of an act as willed and the conception of an act as expected or imminent.' How far then does Gildersleeve recognize the latter as distinct from the former meaning of the subjunctive? Crucial instances are most readily found under the head of Temporal Clauses; the question here is whether the subj. with *donec, antequam*, etc., denotes purpose or merely marks the act as in prospect. The answer is given by §§ 572 and 577: '*dum, donec, and quoad*, "until," take the subj. when suspense and design are involved'; here 'suspense' (=anticipation?) and 'design' (=purpose) are coupled together as both present in the subj.: '*antequam* and *priusquam* are used with the subj. when an ideal limit is given'; what is meant by an 'ideal limit' is explained by the sentence which follows, 'when the action is expected, contingent, designed, or subordinate'; here expectation appears as an alternative to design. These statements do not quite satisfy me; it appears unnecessary to speak of purpose at all in connexion with these subjunctives; the idea is inapplicable to many instances and, I think, not essential to

any. The subj. here steps into the shoes of the future and future perfect indicative, which it has almost entirely ousted (in the classical period) from the construction in question.² In the translations of the examples given in § 577 I miss the use of the word 'should,' which is the English equivalent in past time; the sentence *Scipioni Silanoque donec revocati ab senatu forent prorogatum imperium est* (Livy xxvii. 7, 17) is put under the head of *Oratio Obliqua*; I doubt the obliquity of the subordinate clause, and should call the subj. prospective ('till they should be recalled').

The definition of mood in § 253 ('good signifies manner') is probably intended for the young student; but even so I doubt whether it is satisfactory. On the definition of the subjunctive in § 255 ('the subj. represents the predicate *as an idea*') one feels inclined to appeal to Gildersleeve himself in the *A.J.P.* iv. reprint p. 11 ('What is the subjunctive? It is the mood of the *will*.'). But no such shorthand definition is really adequate to all the meanings. On the same page there is a curious note referring to *nostras iniurias nec potest nec possit alius ulcisci quam vos* (Livy xxix. 18, 18): 'in this unique passage *nec potest* denies with the head, *nec possit* refuses to believe with the heart.' I feel sceptical about translating *possit* 'can well have the power,' and prefer Weissenborn's rendering. On one small matter this grammar is behind the age; *hem* does not mean *h'm* (§ 534).

The *Accidence*, which occupies 142 pp. of the book, is worked out on a philological basis, and contains a number of valuable remarks (in small print) on early Latin forms. It is not intended for absolute beginners, but rather for that intermediate class of learners who have mastered the rudiments but require a grammar to accompany them through the remainder of their course. Still I am struck by the absence of practical rules, e.g. as to the declension of participles (§ 82, 'the participles, as such, have *e*; but used as substantives or adjectives, either *e* or *i*, with tendency to *i*'), and of adjectives of the 3rd decl. (§ 77, cf. § 82, where the consonant stems are said to have *i* and *-ium*). Whether the classifica-

² This is recognized so far as the future indic. is concerned in note 2 to § 571, but without saying that the imperfect as well as the present subjunctive may represent the future indic. These historical notes ought in many instances to have produced more reaction upon the rules given in the text, and there ought to have been more of a line of demarcation between the usages of different periods in the text, Livian usage being treated apart.

¹ The word 'anticipatory' seems to have been first used by Gildersleeve; see note by Hale, *op. cit.* p. 6. NO. LXXXIV. VOL. X.

tion of the principal parts of verbs according to the formation of the perfect can be called practical, can only be proved by experience. This classified list (§§ 137-167) is supplemented by an alphabetical list at the end of the book.¹ In the matter of 'hidden quantities' the 2nd edition of Marx has been followed 'for the sake of consistency' (Preface).²

That this grammar will be a welcome addition to the scholar's library goes without saying. How far it will be found serviceable in schools is a question on which different teachers would probably give very different answers. The principle on which stress is laid in the prospectus issued by the publishing firm deserves most hearty approval.

¹ Ought the supine of *sto* to be given as *stātum* (with long vowel)? There is no direct evidence for the supine at all, except that Priscian mentions it (with a short vowel); against *-stātūrus*, which alone appears in § 151, we may set the nouns *stātus*, *stābulum*, etc., and the supine of *sisto* (*stātum*).

² It must be remembered however that Marx changed his views upon the quantity of a large number of important words between his first and his second edition.

'Recognizing the importance of familiarity with one grammatical text-book, the authors have endeavoured to make a work that will serve the student from the time he leaves his Latin primer to the very end of his Latin studies.' And if this principle involves the use of a book of considerable size, this disadvantage may be more than counterbalanced by avoidance of the confusion which results from using differently planned books at different stages of learning. Of one thing teachers may feel confident, that in entrusting their pupils to the guidance of Prof. Gildersleeve they are committing them to the hands of a master of grammatical theory and method. It should be added that the book contains a useful list of 138 'Principal Rules of Syntax' (pp. 437-444), and that everything has been done in the way of good print and paper to make the book attractive. The valuable sections on versification (pp. 455-490) present the subject in the light of the best scientific research of the present day.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

GOODWIN'S GREEK GRAMMAR.

A Greek Grammar, by W. W. GOODWIN. New edition, revised and enlarged. (Macmillan & Co.: London and New York. 1894.)

PROFESSOR GOODWIN'S *Greek Grammar* is so well known in England that it would be out of place in discussing the present edition to do more than call attention to changes which have been made since the edition of 1879. The book is now no longer called an *Elementary Greek Grammar*; it consists of 451 pp. (including indices) as compared with 360 pp. in the previous edition (which had no index). The original edition (1870) consisted of only 235 pp. In the Preface Prof. Goodwin says: 'I trust that no one will infer from this repeated increase in the size of the book that I attribute ever increasing importance to the study of formal grammar in school. On the contrary, the growth of the book has come from a more decided opinion that the amount of grammar which should be learned by rote is exceedingly small compared with that which every real student of the Classics must learn in a very different way.'³ 'The chief increase in the

present work has been made in the department of Syntax.' 'One of the most radical changes is the use of 1691 new sections instead of the former 302': *i.e.* the subject matter of the book is better subdivided—a distinct change for the better.

In the Accidence Goodwin has adopted a more philological and scientific method of treatment on some points, and has gone a certain length in the direction of adopting innovations in the matter of forms.

The N. V. A. dual of πόλις, πῆχυσ, etc. is now given as -ει (instead of -εε, as in 1879), and of τρυήρης as -ει (instead of -η). This I believe to be an improvement in the light of such evidence as the inscriptions afford (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, pp. 108, 113, 162, etc.).

In the treatment of the Verb several changes have been made. The verbs in μ are now inflected in close connexion with those in ω ; and 'the old make-shift known as the connecting-vowel has been discarded, and with no misgivings.' The paradigms are still printed without divisions of words, but the sections on tense-formation adopt the analysis into λύο-μεν, λύε-τε, etc. (§ 561; for -ω, -εις, -ει see § 623). The fact that the paradigms of verbs in - μ as well as of verbs in - ω precede the list of personal endings makes

³ That is, as the book is not intended to be learnt by heart, its scope may be extended without danger. Obviously, however, there must be some limit to the scope of a school book.

it possible to give the latter as $-\mu$, $-\varsigma$, $-\sigma$; though I am inclined to think that even so the table in this form is likely to prove somewhat of a stumbling-block to beginners.

The old edition gave as the 2nd pers. sing. of the middle and passive $\lambdaύη$, $\lambdaύει$; the new edition gives $\lambdaύει$, $\lambdaύη$. This seems to be a change for the worse. It is strange to what an extent this particular ending is the victim of fashion: and it would be well for the peace of mind of editors if the question could be definitely settled. Prof. Goodwin (§ 624) says ‘ ϵ is the true Attic form, which was used in prose and comedy, but the tragedians preferred η , which is the regular form in other dialects, except Ionic, and in the later common dialect.’ This statement seems to attach altogether too much importance to MSS. and editions and to neglect the fact that in inscriptions there is no support for $-\epsilon$ earlier than the fourth century B.C. (Meisterhans, p. 131). Dr. Rutherford’s statement (*First Greek Grammar*, § 96) that $-\eta$ is ‘certainly late’ seems to invert the facts of the case; it is $-\epsilon$ which is late, and $-\eta$, the normal contraction of $-\epsilon\alpha$ (= $-\epsilon\alpha\iota$), seems to claim the place of honour for the fifth century.¹

Goodwin accepts Rutherford’s conclusion as to the true endings of the pluperfect active ($-\eta$, $-\eta\varsigma$, $-\epsilon\iota$, instead of $-\epsilon\upsilon$, $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $-\epsilon\iota$, 1879); but not as to those of the aorist optative active; here the place of honour is still given to the short forms in $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $-\alpha\iota$, in spite of the fact that § 781 declares the ‘so-called Aeolic forms’ to be ‘the common forms in all dialects.’ Compare *New Phrygn.* p. 436 f. for a list of the very few passages in which $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $-\alpha\iota$ are really supported by evidence. In one passage where $-\alpha\iota$ has been introduced by conjecture (Aesch. *Eum.* 618 ὁ μὴ κελεύσαι Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατῆρ: MSS. κελεύσει) the optative appears to me to involve a mistake of syntax as well as a questionable form; read $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$. The indic. is demanded in the consecutive relative clause.

¹ Goodwin’s note to § 624 (p. 144) is misleading as to the extent to which $-\eta$ prevails in editions of the classics; one would gather that it was limited to three editors (Kirchhoff, Wecklein, and Bergk). Compare Kühner-Blass, *Greek Gram.* ii. p. 60 (3): ‘to introduce this $-\epsilon\iota$ (a mere orthographic variant of the fourth and third century) into the older Attic writers such as Thucydides, Aristophanes, and the tragedians is absurd; in Demosthenes it is indifferent whether one spells in the one way or the other’; the Attic writers of the fourth and third century employed $-\epsilon\iota$ in the 3rd pers. sing. of the pres. indic. as well, and in the dat. sing. of the first declension.

Whether the treatment of verbs in $-\mu$ side by side with those in $-\omega$ is an improvement from the practical point of view I am inclined to doubt. At any rate I think it a mistake to take $\tauίθημι$ and $δίδωμι$ as typical verbs; they are not types of anything, standing as they do quite alone and being moreover irregular in several important respects. The only typical verbs in $-\mu$ are $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tauημι$ (typical of others with stems in a/η) and $δείκνυμι$.

As to the augment of verbs beginning with ϵ and $\epsilon\upsilon$ Goodwin goes some way in the direction of accepting the evidence of the inscriptions (§ 519, cf. § 103 of the ed. of 1879), but not the whole way: see Meisterhans, p. 136, and *New Phrygn.* p. 245. Probably he is here guided by the fact that current texts vary so much in forms like $\eta\delta\rho\omicron\nu$, $\epsilon\delta\rho\omicron\nu$; and doubtless it is a very difficult matter for a grammarian to know how far he can venture to be ahead of his age; but the danger is that if he is not sometimes a little ahead of the texts, the texts may very soon be ahead of him.

To turn to the Syntax: here ‘the changes made in the new edition of *Moods and Tenses* have been adopted, so far as is possible in a school-book.’ The most important point is perhaps the placing of the independent uses before the dependent; e.g. $\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ before $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$ (§ 1320, etc.): this is clearly right. The sections on $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ with infin. and indic. (§ 1449 foll.) are improved and the difference of meaning pointed out. In the sections on final clauses $\mu\acute{\eta}$ is translated *lest* or *that* (§ 1362, no longer *that not*); but examples not countenanced by the best prose usage are admitted (§ 1365, $\mu\acute{\eta}$ προσθώμεθα *lest we add*, instead of $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ προσθώμεθα). The rule about $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ has been made more accurate (§ 1470), but has at the same time become very complicated and difficult to grasp. The ideal rule about $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ has still to be worked out: I had hoped to be able in this article to offer some suggestions to this end: but I am not yet satisfied, and must reserve my suggestion for another occasion. The doctrine of conditional sentences is thrown into a somewhat simpler form, but in the main is the same as in the former edition: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota$ is still distinguished from $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\eta$ as ‘less vivid’ (§ 1387), and $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\eta$ in its turn as ‘less vivid’ than $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota$ (§ 1405), the fut. indic. being used ‘especially in appeals to the feelings, and in threats and warnings.’ The last part of the rule reproduces Gildersleeve’s ‘minatory and monitory conditions.’ I have previously raised objections to these three degrees of

'vividness' as meaningless in this connexion, and it would serve no purpose to repeat them here; a better distinction might at any rate have been given for εἰ πράξει. I see no recognition of sentences like the Latin *si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae* (admitted as legitimate by Gildersleeve in his new *Latin Grammar*); yet such sentences are by no means uncommon in the best authors;¹ the Greek form is εἰ with the optative in protasis and an indicative without ἄν or an expression of command or

¹ A number of instances is given in the appendix to my *Greek Grammar*, p. 339 f.

wish in the apodosis. The sections on οὐ μή (§§ 1360 f.) are slightly altered in wording, but the upshot is identical. A discussion of the *origin* of the construction is wisely withheld.

In conclusion it is evident that no pains have been spared either by the author or the publisher to render this new edition of a well-established book worthy of its position, and those who use it have cause to be grateful to Prof. Goodwin for the labour which he has bestowed upon it.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

SCHANZ ON PLATO'S APOLOGY.

Platonis Apologia. In scholarum usum denuo edidit MARTINUS SCHANZ. 60 Pf. Sammlung ausgewählter Dialoge Platos mit deutschem Kommentar. Drittes Bändchen. Apologia. Von Prof. M. SCHANZ. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1893. 3 Mk.

THESE two books are a welcome sign that their editor is again busied with Platonic studies and that the great critical edition commenced in 1875 may be expected to proceed to completion. The text, though brought out as a part of a separate series, 'kritische Separatausgaben für den Schulgebrauch,' is to all intents and purposes a revision of the larger critical edition: a critical text of the *Apology* with collations of BTDPEW and the latest conjectural emendations cannot be said to be dear at 60 Pfennige. On comparing with the earlier edition we find alterations too numerous to mention, some conservative, some of the opposite kind. We notice that 18B μάλλον is now omitted with T; formerly it was altered to μὰ τὸν—. Again 31B εἶχον ἄν, which had been superseded by εἶχεν ἄν, is restored, a decided improvement, and 32A ἄμα κἂν is now read with Riddell, following Heindorf. On the other hand 17C ἄν λέγω for ἄ λέγω seems hardly necessary, 'um die Beziehung auf die Zukunft zu erhalten' as the note puts it. The exact force of the ἄν (as laid down in Goodwin *M. and T.* § 520) is to substitute an *indefinite* for a *definite* antecedent, and it is the latter that the context requires. We regret to see [Ἀναξαγόρου] still in brackets, 26D, when all that is wanted is a note of interrogation after λόγων. So too with 35D πολλοῦ δέ ω οὕτως ἔχειν to which is appended

the note: 'B hat δέ. Allein für die unpersönliche Konstruktion kenne ich kein Beispiel bei Plato.' Prof. Schanz surely cannot have forgotten *Prot.* 341D πολλοῦ γε δέ, ἔφη, οὕτως ἔχειν: to be consistent he must now alter there also, relying on the fact that in the Bodleian δέ stands over an erasure. Yet two such changes accord but ill with Plato's love of variety and freedom of construction.

The commentary is of a high order of excellence. It may be somewhat too advanced for use in schools, but it proceeds on the sound principle thus enunciated: 'die Periode der einseitigen Konjekturekritik ist vorüber; die in die Tiefe gehende Exegese ist jetzt unsere Aufgabe.' But even more interest attaches to the Introduction of 112 pages, which is divided into eleven chapters and treats the literary questions proposed very fully and thoroughly. The editor is convinced that no one can understand the dialogue until he has decided the question whether it is a report of Socrates' actual speech or a free composition by Plato. Like Riddell and Stock among his English predecessors, he inclines to the latter view, but as he makes no mention (p. 70, n. 3) of their *praeiudicia* we presume he has neglected to get up this part of his case and is unaware how stoutly the opinion, which he champions with all the warmth of a neophyte, has already been maintained. Certainly the first and fourth chapters which deal with Aristophanes' accusation in the *Clouds* would gain from the corresponding section of Riddell's Introduction p. xxii., p. xxviii. *sqq.*, where the imputations of 'the old accusers' are so pertinently opposed to those of Meletus. In

cap. 2 grounds are alleged for rejecting the form of indictment which Favorinus, a contemporary of Hadrian, asserted he had found upon record at Athens, Diog. Laert. ii. 40; its agreement, save for one word, with Xenophon *Mem.* i. 1, 1 proves fatal to it; for Xenophon says of his version *τοιούδεις ἦν*, and if he had quoted the actual wording he would not have used this expression. In place of the false, Prof. Schanz endeavours to restore the true form of the indictment (p. 16), substituting *καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τοὺς νέους διδάσκων* for *καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων*. We are unable to follow the subtle argument by which he persuades himself that as *ἀσέβεια* must be brought home to Socrates in act, *διδάσκειν* must find its way into the indictment. 'Das *διαφθείρειν* ist nur eine Folgerung.' Surely 'corrupting youth' as a *maius* might include within itself the *minus* 'teaching them impiety.' Further on the parallel between the deputation of three poets in the *Gerytades* of Aristophanes and the three accusers of Socrates—Meletus being one of the three on both occasions—is unduly pressed to fanciful inferences. The third chapter deals exhaustively with the pamphlet entitled *κατηγορία Σωκράτους*, which was written by the sophist Polycrates not earlier than the rebuilding of the walls of Athens, B.C. 393. As Cobet has shown, there is every ground for believing that Xenophon is alluding to Polycrates as *ὁ κατήγορος* in *Memorabilia* i. 2, 9—61, a passage which, it is suggested, must have been inserted in the memoirs after the appearance of the sophist's pamphlet, the rest of the work having been previously composed by Xenophon without reference to such an attack. We have now three indictments; (1) by 'the old accusers,' (2) by Meletus, (3) by Polycrates. In cap. 4 these are submitted to a close examination. In determining the motives which induced a statesman so patriotic and influential as Anytus to join in the prosecution Prof. Schanz does not depart from the received authorities.

The second part of the Introduction concerns the *Apology* itself and in seven shorter chapters, besides an analysis of contents and argument, deals with the structure, results, date and genuineness. There is also a detailed comparison with the *Apology* attributed to Xenophon. Unlike most critics, the editor defends it as genuine and suggests that it was in fact a protest against the account given by Plato, based on Cynic sources. The great question of the literary

character of Plato's *Apology* is discussed, pp. 68—75, 91—102. The conclusion arrived at is as old as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who from the ancient standpoint seems unable to imagine any other to be conceivable, viz. that like the rest of the dialogues this is a free invention or creation of Plato's. The general ground alleged for this conclusion is the improbability that any one on his trial would have presented a defence so inadequate as Socrates is made to do; or would have postponed the strongest point, Socrates' adherence to the religion of his country, and first argued the charge of corrupting the youth; would then have shifted the ground in a manner most unfavourable to himself by introducing a fresh array of charges of a still more serious nature. Other considerations which strengthen suspicion are the account given by Socrates of his mission, as if his cross-examination of his neighbours had not been notorious before the answer of the oracle; the *vaticinium ex eventu*, 28 A; the studied avoidance of the usual phrase *ὁ ἄνθρωπος δικασταί* on the ground at last stated, 40 A; the absence of evidence; the appearance of an extempore effort which all three speeches wear, although in fact it disguises the consummate art of their composition; lastly, the *ἀντιπίμψις*. These arguments are of very unequal force. The last is undoubtedly the strongest, and the account in the Xenophontic *Apology*, that Socrates refused to propose a penalty, seems more intrinsically probable. Some of the considerations urged might easily be met if we suppose Plato to have worked up in his own effective style a defence, the main outlines of which were historic. He may not have thought himself any more bound to furnish a literal report than Thucydides in his speeches. As to the antecedent probability of the historical Socrates dealing with the charges in a given way, it should always be remembered that no one could have predicted that Demosthenes would take just the line of defence presented in the extant speech *De Corona*, or anything approaching it. At the same time there are indications, it cannot be denied, that Plato has availed himself, as an author, of this opportunity to address to his readers his own deepest convictions on the character of Socrates and the reality of his mission. Whether we should on that account call the *Apology* a beautiful fiction is likely to remain a long time matter for controversy.

GEVAERT ON ANCIENT MUSIC AND PLAIN-SONG.

La Mélodie Antique dans le Chant de l'Église Latine, par FR. AUG. GEVAERT. Gand. 1895. 25 Francs.

READERS of M. Gevaert's great work, *La Musique de l'Antiquité*, will remember the convincing chapter (Bk. ii. chap. 2) in which he reinforced and illustrated his analysis of the modes of Greek music by parallels drawn on the one hand from the plain-song of the Western church, on the other from the *Volkslieder* of modern Europe. Such a demonstration of the historical continuity between ancient, mediæval, and modern musical form must have been felt by many to carry even greater weight than the ingenious interpretation of ancient texts. In the present volume M. Gevaert returns to the same line of demonstration, but concentrates his attention upon that part of the argument which relates to the plain-song of the church, and seeks to show, by a detailed analysis of the Antiphonaria, that the antiphons still in daily use admit of an easy classification and distribution amongst the ancient 'modes.' The second part of the book consists in a 'thematic catalogue' of the antiphons of the Divine Office, classified according to the principles laid down in the first part; it is this introductory portion, therefore, which is of interest to the student of Greek antiquity. The author follows the historical line of development, opening with a brief chapter on the ancient system of modes and keys, which receives its complement in the account of pagan music in the Imperial period and its decline given in the second chapter.

In this chapter the extant remains of ancient music are laid under contribution, and serve to establish and illustrate the principles laid down in the first chapter. With the third chapter we pass to the music of the church, and first of all to the Ambrosian hymns. The continuity of their melodies with those of classical antiquity is not difficult of demonstration. As M. Gevaert says—and the truth of his assertion is patent—the 'harmonic structure' of the Ambrosian melodies of the Dorian mode, such as those to which the hymns *Aeterna Christi munera* and *A solis ortus cardine* are sung, is identical with that of the hymns of Mesomedes to Helios and to the Muse. Four other simple modal forms

are illustrated from this class of melodies, while the mixed melodies to which Ptolemy gives the name *ιασμαίολια* are recognized by M. Gevaert in the case of the hymns *Veni redemptor gentium* and *Aeternæ rerum conditor*. That the feeling for distinctions of mode and the varying *ἦθος* of the several modes was alive and powerful in the sixth century is proved by the interesting passage from the letter of Cassiodorus to Boethius (*Var.* ii. 40) translated on p. 76. Thus far then we have met with no solution of continuity. In the next chapter (chap. iv.) we pass on to the main subject of the book—the antiphonary of the Roman church—and the conclusion to which the inquiry leads is briefly stated at the outset—'Nous retrouverons ici toutes les formes et combinaisons modales que l'hymnodie latine a prises à l'art antique.' A series of illustrations presents the doctrine thus enunciated visibly before us. Examples of eight modal forms are given, and their relation to the ancient modes is shown. At the same time it is pointed out that a certain displacement of the centre of gravity, if we may so call it, has taken place since the close of the classical period. The Dorian mode has lost the pre-eminence assigned to it by Greek tradition, and its place has been taken by the various forms of the 'Iastian' mode (as M. Gevaert calls the ancient Hypo-phrygian). This is clearly shown to result from that marked aversion to the tritone which characterizes Christian music. After the valuable summary of results in a generalized form which occupies pp. 98—102 we have a brief account of the history of notation and a detailed demonstration of the process by which (after the theory of classical music was no longer perfectly understood) the ancient names of the modes were applied in new senses to the system of 8 modes—the *Octoechos* first mentioned by St. John Damascene, which still maintains its position in ecclesiastical theory. Chapter v. contains an interesting criticism from the musician's standpoint of the structure and musical value of the antiphons, based on the idea that in homophonic music, where mode takes the place of tonality, the harmony which combines the several sounds of a musical idea is gradually revealed by the progress of the theme, whereas in the

polyphonic music of the modern world the tonality is at once determined by the chords which sustain the melody. Hence 'the ancients did not seek for the unforeseen in musical sensations.' The theme, motive, or (to give it its ancient name) the *vómos* is all-important. And M. Gevaert traces the whole body of antiphons comprised in the *Tonarius* of Regino to forty-seven such *vómoi*. The fruitfulness of this principle in furthering our understanding of plain-song can only be estimated by those who will be at pains to follow M. Gevaert through his applications of the principle. Two further chapters close the first part of the book. They deal with the history of the antiphonary,—the growth of the collection, the circumstances of its transmission, and the transformations through which it has passed in the course of centuries. These chapters really form the groundwork on which the whole argument is based and may seem to some readers to be somewhat out of place in their present position. We need not here follow M. Gevaert in his lucid and convincing criticism of the sources of our knowledge of the antiphonary and its history. The conjectural account of the formation of the collection and its three periods, based on hints drawn from the Rule of St. Benedict, the brief notices of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the letters of St. Gregory as well as on a critical analysis of the texts and melodies of the antiphons themselves, is a brilliant constructive effort. Nor is the restitution of the primitive form of the antiphonary, founded chiefly on the *Tonarius* of Regino and other pre-Guidonian sources, less worthy of the author's high reputation. This is a piece of work of which it may be said with confidence that was no one save M. Gevaert could have attempted it successfully. To borrow a description recently given of him by M. Widor, we may say: 'Fils de paysans, n'ayant guère jusqu'à l'adolescence quitté son village natal, servant de messe, enfant de chœur, sans doute son âme s'est à jamais imprégnée d'une atmosphère toute spéciale, faite d'encens et de musique pieuse.'

The points, however, of more especial interest to the readers of the *Classical Review* are the new formulation of M. Gevaert's views on the subject of classical music embodied in the earlier chapters, and his remarks on the remains of Greek music discovered within recent years, which are printed in Appendix A (pp. 383-412). In the first chapter we notice a decided change in the presentation of the doctrine of modes

and their classification, as compared with M. Gevaert's earlier work. The 'three modalities' of *La Musique de l'Antiquité* no longer form the pivot of the doctrine. The 'plagal' forms of the ancient modes have disappeared (p. 13, note 2) as the result of a closer study of the ecclesiastical modes. The *ἀρμονίαι σύντονοι* and *ἀνειμέναι* receive an explanation which seeks to do justice to the crucial passage in the *Politics* of Aristotle (1342 b 21) *τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ῥάδιον εἶδεν τὰς συντόνους ἀρμονίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἢ φύσιν ὑποβάλλει τοῖς ποιούτοις*. Few will question that M. Gevaert's theory of these modes, whether it prove strong enough to maintain itself or not, must be given the preference over the explanation offered by von Jan in his review of Mr. Monro's 'Modes of Greek Music' (*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 1895, 1206 ff.). M. Gevaert strenuously upholds against von Jan the doctrine of the 'Terzenschluss'—termination on the mediant—which Westphal—'pauvre grand Westphal'—had surrendered to his adversary's attacks just as the discovery of the Delphic hymn was about to lend it the weight of a striking parallel (in the cadence which, twice repeated, accompanies the words *ἀνακίδναται* and *ἀναμέλπεται*), while M. Gevaert's studies in plain-song were to confirm it from yet another quarter.

Not less interesting is the treatment of the extant remains of classical music, now enriched by such important additions as the monument of Seikilos, the Orestes papyrus, and the Delphic hymn. (The larger fragments of the second hymn were not discovered in time to receive their treatment at the hands of M. Gevaert, but we are promised a further appendix which shall deal with them.) The authenticity of the melody published by Kircher and set to the first Pythian ode of Pindar is still maintained, although (p. 32 note 4) the mixture of alphabets employed in the notation has raised a doubt in the mind of M. Gevaert. Strangely enough, this very fact is regarded by von Jan (*Scriptores Musici Graeci*, p. 426) as tending, so far as it goes, to support the genuineness of the document, since the finds of Delphi have shown us that both notations, the old and new, were employed alternately. And this latter view is surely the true one.

M. Gevaert's comments on the recently discovered texts are those of a practical musician and a critic of sound sense. He assigns the Seikilos melody unhesitatingly to its true mode, the 'Iastian' (Hypo-phry-

gian), and points out its appropriateness; he brushes aside the suggestion that the fragmentary score of the *Orestes* is enharmonic; he treats the curious composite scale employed in the Delphic hymn, with its almost modern chromatic passages and its transformation of the 'minor' into a 'major' mediant, with the freedom of one whom no preconceived theory hinders from appreciating the plain facts presented by the document; he sees clearly that the composition is no *προσώδιον* as Reinach had suggested, though the inscription which enabled Crusius (*Die Delphischen Hymnen*, p. 135 ff.) to assign to it its true title as the *ὑμνος* of Kleochares was as yet unpublished when he wrote.

Enough has been said to show that the importance of M. Gevaert's book cannot be too highly rated by all students of the history of music. In conclusion we may notice its bearing on the discussion raised by the appearance of Mr. Monro's book on the *Modes of Greek Music*. The author does not, it is true, meet Mr. Monro's arguments in detail, but restates the traditional view of the modes in his opening chapter and throughout the work assumes the truth and at the same time furnishes the most convincing proof of the doctrine by establishing an unbroken continuity between the musical forms employed by classical antiquity and by the mediaeval church. In an article recently contributed to this *Review*, Mr. Monro seems to limit his position in the sense of admitting diversity of mode for the post-classical period of Greek music, while holding this to be due to innovation, and recognizing as classical only the Perfect System with the tetrachord *συννημμένων* and the Dorian and Mixolydian modes. It is true, no doubt, that the examples of ancient composition in other modes belong (so far as the evidence at present extends) to the post-classical epoch, and that those documents which belong to, or may with probability trace descent from, the earlier period are explicable by the combination of the Dorian and Mixolydian. To this M. Gevaert himself bears testimony in a disputed case. The *Orestes* fragment is not Phrygian, as Crusius suggested, but Dorian (p. 391). But Plutarch quotes Aristoxenus to the effect that the combination above

mentioned was proper to tragedy; nor will it be denied that the Dorian mode is eminently fitted to be the vehicle of the worship offered to Apollo at Delphi. The *argumentum ex silentio*, never a strong one, seems especially weak here, where it is confronted by the overwhelming probability that the system on which *all* the homophonic music of Europe since the Christian era has been based traces its descent from the classical period of Greek art. The contrary theory, it must be remembered, rests on meanings which can, but need not, be read into the statements of unprofessional writers—chiefly philosophers in search of an analogy, or polymathic *littérateurs* with the usual inaccuracy of their tribe when dealing with a technical subject. What has already been written in these columns may be supplemented by two considerations there omitted:—

(1) Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1276 b 8 says: *ἁρμονίαν τῶν αὐτῶν φθόγγων ἑτέραν εἶναι λέγομεν, ἂν ὅτε μὲν ἢ Δώριος ὅτε δὲ Φρύγιος*. Surely the natural interpretation of these words—introduced as they are to illustrate the truth that a *σύνθεσις* of parts varies according to the *εἶδος τῆς συνθέσεως*—is that the sounds which fall within the limits of a single octave are variously disposed in the Dorian and Phrygian 'harmonies.'

(2) The so-called 'vocal' notation, *i.e.* the relatively 'modern' notation—the 'new' system—in the Ionic alphabet, singles out the octave F—F by the use of the unmodified form of the alphabet. Is not this because the seven modes as executed in the seven keys of the same names were brought within the compass of that octave? This, as has so often been pointed out, is the significance of the inverse order of the keys (ascending) and modes (descending). I see, therefore, no reason to depart from the position already taken in this *Review* with regard to Mr. Monro's theory. That theory is not accepted by MM. Reinach, Ruelle, Gevaert and von Jan, nor by Crusius, who, though perhaps less decided, defines his position in the words 'ablehnend oder doch abwartend.' We may hope that further discovery will bring further light.

H. STUART JONES.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN REMAINS
IN BRITAIN.—III.

SINCE May 1894, the date of my last article on this subject, several interesting discoveries of Roman remains have been made in Great Britain. In the first place there has been considerable activity along the line of Hadrian's Wall, between Newcastle and Carlisle. The Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, under Dr. Hodgkin's able guidance, has prosecuted for two seasons the excavation of Aesica or Greatchester, one of the fortresses on the Wall near Haltwhistle. Hardly any inscriptions have turned up, but discoveries have been made in other matters. A guard-chamber of the south gate yielded two very large and remarkable silver *fibulae* of late Celtic pattern, together with a silver necklace, some rings and other notable objects: the whole probably belongs to the end of the second or beginning of the third century and its occurrence suggests that the gate and its guard-chambers must have been—perhaps temporarily—ruined about that time. Outside the guard-chamber the excavators found a number of bronze scales from a piece of Roman scale-armour, resembling specimens found elsewhere in England and abroad. Besides these discoveries of lesser objects, a good deal of ground-plan has been obtained, showing that the fortress, like the other North British fortresses so far as excavated, was full of stone edifices, and therein differed from the forts along the Pfahlgraben. The junction of the Wall and the fortress has also been examined and it has been ascertained (as I understand) that the masonry of the two are bonded together. In other words, we have an indication that they were erected contemporaneously.

At the same time the exploration of the Vallum has been continued, principally by the Cumberland Society of Antiquaries. The main results are that no 'gromatic ditch' can be traced and that all the mounds of the Vallum belong to one work. A very striking discovery was made, in connexion with this exploration, near Birdswald. Here traces were found of a turf-wall, twelve or fifteen feet wide at the base, with a big ditch in front (*i.e.* north) of it, running between the Wall and the Vallum, and roughly parallel to both, for about a

mile and a quarter. The discovery will, I hope, be followed up next summer by a search for similar pieces of turfwall elsewhere along the line of the Wall and Vallum. Until we have made such search, it will be better to defer speculations on the origin of the newly-found earthwork. Thus much, however, may be asserted: the wall is built of regularly laid sods, like the Wall of Antoninus Pius in Scotland, and is pretty certainly Roman.

A farther excavation which may be connected with the Wall is the excavation, by the Scotch Society of Antiquaries, of the Roman fort 'Birrens' near Ecclefechan, probably the Roman Blatum Bulgium (or Blatobulgium, *i.e.* Blathbolg, as perhaps it should be spelt). Several inscriptions and interesting buildings have rewarded the explorers. It is to be hoped that the Society will be able to continue the exploration of Roman Scotland after so good a commencement.

South of the Wall the principal excavations have been those at Silchester, the Roman Calleva Atrebatum. Many houses of ordinary types have been laid bare and a few pieces of good figured mosaic, which seems as a rule to have been outside the means of the Callevans. In one part of the town some curious tiled structures about two feet in diameter, with adit holes, have been taken to be the remains of dyers' furnaces. In 1894 a fine hoard of 252 denarii was dug up: nine of the coins belong to Mark Antony the triumvir, the rest to the Emperors from Nero to Severus inclusive, and the hoard thus resembles in composition a great number of hoards found in England or abroad. It is probable that this particular hoard was buried in or soon after A.D. 193: we may connect it, then, with the rising of Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain and rival of Severus A.D. 193—197. It is worthy of note that a good deal of the space trenched at Silchester seems to have been destitute of buildings: the area within the walls was plainly not thickly built over.

Of lesser excavations, I should mention the villas at Darent in Kent, Ely near Cardiff, and Sudely near Cheltenham. The first is the most important, principally because of its size; the objects discovered in it and the pavements do not point to any specially important residence. Both it and

the Sudely villa are built on the 'courtyard' type. At Bishopswood, on the borders of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire and near the Roman ironworks in the Forest of Dean, an enormous hoard of 17226 'third brass' coins has been dug up. They belong to Constantius Chlorus, Constantine and their successors.

F. HAVERFIELD.

INSCRIPTIONS IN KALYMNA AND KOS.

Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften. Dritter Band, IV. Heft, 2 Hälfte. *Die Inschriften von Kalymna und Kos.* P. MÜLLENSIEFEN und F. BECHTEL. 1895.

THIS, the latest instalment of Collitz and Bechtel's *Sammlung*, to a large extent lacks the interest of novelty from the fact that nearly all the inscriptions given of Kalymna have already appeared under the editorship of the late Sir Charles Newton in the *Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*, and nearly all the Coan inscriptions in the admirable collection of Messrs. Paton and Hicks. A brief summary of the contents may be useful. The inscriptions of Kalymna comprise (a) Proxenia and honorary decrees of the usual type, (b) a long list of subscribers to some public object, (c) a document dealing with the lawsuit of the children of Diaporos against Kalymna, which has found a place in the *Recueil des Inscriptions juridiques grecques*, (d) a list of the participators in the Cult of the Delian Apollo, (e) dedicatory inscriptions, (f) manumission deeds, (g) short sepulchral inscriptions. Those of Kos begin with (a) honorary decrees; then follow (b) a very long subscription-list, of which the preamble is intact, and invites offers, for the maintenance of public safety, from those who are willing τῶν τε πολιτῶν καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ νόθων καὶ παροίκων καὶ ξένων, (c) inscriptions dealing with the sale of sacerdotal offices and with matters of ritual, (d) considerable fragments of a sacrificial calendar, which apparently contained minute instructions for the whole year, (e) guild-lists, (f) dedicatory inscriptions, (g) boundary-stones, (h) sepulchral inscriptions, (i) various honorary, ritual and other inscriptions issuing from the demes of Kos, (k) coin-legends. The editors pay a high tribute to the accuracy of the British

Museum and the Paton-Hicks collections. The notes are as usual mainly concerned with the revision of the text. Occasionally a received date is contested: thus the Kalymnian inscription found at Iasos, no. 3585 (Hicks, *Historical Inscriptions*, no. 130), hitherto assigned to 323 B.C., the date of the well-known decree of Alexander, is held to be much later; the long Koan inscription-list, no. 3624, is connected with the year 205 B.C., when Nabis was allied with the Hierapytnians, while Paton halts between this date and one half-a-century earlier.

In noticing a new collection of dialect-inscriptions, we are naturally curious to see how far the vocabulary or morphology is enriched by new words or forms. Not many of the inscriptions from this point of view are fruitful, but among the most interesting or characteristic dialectic phenomena may be cited the following: (*Kalymna*) δήλομαι for βούλομαι (so in Kos), ἐξορκώ[ντω], δικασσέω (cf. *Arg.* δικάσσαιεν, ἐδικασσαν), ἐγμάρτηρησάντω, ἐγρᾶ conjunctive (cf. *Epidaur.* ἐξερρύα), ἀποδεδωκέν (infin.), ἀνηρίκαμες; note also the syntax of ἐφ' ὃ παραμενεῖ. And in the Coan inscriptions: of the names in no. 3624 Νάννακος, says Bechtel, 'ist bekanntlich phrygisch' (cf. κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω, Herond. 3, 10); Βίτταρος (also in Herondas) 'wird karisch sein'; Νόσσων is a 'Kosename' from νεοσσός. Note also ναῦσσον for ναῦλον, σκοπά. i.e. θηνησκοπέειν, κοποξέσται, ἐλάντω (cf. *Arg.* ποτελάτω), ἱερώσθω, ἱερώσθαι (perfects), πρηγιστεύειντος.

E. S. R.

BARCLAY'S STONEHENGE.

Stonehenge and its Earthworks, with Plans and Illustrations, by EDGAR BARCLAY. (Nutt.) Pp. xii. + 152. 4to.

STONEHENGE is one of the riddles of history. For nearly a thousand years it has provoked and baffled the curiosity of archaeologists, and, as one of them has poetically observed, 'the Sphinx still sits on those stony portals.' Mr. Barclay has a new theory which he propounds in the handsome quarto which I have to review. He ascribes the monument to the age of Agricola: it was raised, he thinks, by Celtic chieftains subject to Roman influence.

'Can we conceive (he says) a more politic measure to pacify the people fearing destruction or more likely to keep the

unruly employed than an undertaking like the raising of Stonehenge which entailed distant expeditions and a vast amount of rough manual labour under the leadership and keeping of native chieftains?' Mr. Barclay's theory gives his book an interest for classical scholars, but I have no hesitation in saying that the value of his book does not consist in this theory, which I regard as unproved, improbable. There is not, it seems to me, the least evidence for ascribing Stonehenge to the Roman period or to Roman influence: there is a great deal of evidence which makes any such ascription utterly unlikely. The policy which Mr. Barclay assigns to Agricola is in direct contradiction both to the standing provincial policy of the Roman Government and to all that we know about Agricola's own efforts. For a real explanation of Stonehenge, I would turn rather to the valuable paper published by Mr. A. J. Evans in the now defunct *Archaeological Review* (ii. 312—330), where it is shown, with much probability, that the structure, though not all erected at one time, dates from something like 300 B.C. Mr. Barclay's book, however, possesses a distinct value apart from his theory. His plans and illustrations form a convenient and useful collection which probably exists nowhere else between the covers of one book, and his appendix of theories previously published is instructive enough. There you may read how one man ascribed Stonehenge to the Buddhists and another to the Apalachian Indians, how one held it to be an orrery and another a giant theodolite, and, having read, you will understand better the real weaknesses of British archaeology. Some of the illustrations, finally, though they are artistic rather than archaeological, give a real insight into the fascination of these strange stones set in the midst of lonely downs, and explain the curiosity which has so long vexed itself concerning them.

F. H.

TORR'S ANCIENT SHIPS.

MR. TORR complains that I speak slightly of the representations of an Attic trireme and a Roman trireme on which he bases the doctrine that in the trireme there were three tiers of rowers one above the other. I called attention to the fact that Mr. Torr in his footnotes referred to the inaccuracy of the drawings (which he himself

described as 'inaccurate'), and pointed out that we had no complete picture of an ancient ship with three tiers of rowers: Mr. Torr now says 'they (the pictures) are the best we have of triremes.' But surely, because they are the best we have, it does not at all follow that they are a sufficient basis for building up a certain theory of ancient ships.

Mr. Torr now says that he never cited certain coins as evidence that ships had several tiers. What was his object in alluding to them at all unless he wished to strengthen his argument by so doing?

With regard to what Mr. Torr calls my theory 'that the ancients used to put several men to an oar,' let me remind him that I made the suggestion as a possible line of research by which we might get some solution for ten-banked, twenty-banked ships etc., problems of the first importance which he does not attempt to solve in his book. The mere fact that I have as yet produced no evidence from the ancients does not make the search profitless. Mr. Torr is unable to produce any ancient proof either from literature or monuments that there were ships with three tiers of oars placed one above the other.

As regards Tarshish and Tartessus, I am gratified to find that Mr. Torr confirms my statement that all the leading Semitic scholars hold that Tarshish is Tartessus and not Tarsus in Cilicia. He says Bochart in 1646 was the first to adopt that opinion, and as Mr. Torr does not cite any Semitic scholar since then who held the opposite view, it may be taken that Semitic scholars have been agreed on the point for 250 years.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—The façade of the Colosseum has now been completely laid bare, and the immediate surroundings also excavated. A travertine pavement was discovered, surrounding the amphitheatre and extending to the tufa pavement of the street. This space was marked off by *cippi* of travertine. On the north side a sort of hall was laid bare, with pillars and engaged columns; from the style it appears to have formed part of the *Thermae* of Titus. Remains of the portico and great staircase leading to the *Thermae* have also been discovered. By these results a topographical question of long standing has been decided, viz. that the mass of ruins north-east of the Colosseum did not belong, as usually supposed, to the *Thermae* of Titus, but to those of Trajan. Some graves of various dates were found, but contained little. - In one was an inscrip-

tion with a curse against the disturber: *habeat partem cum Iuda*. Among other finds were some early Christian paintings, a replica of the Giustiniani Hestia, and two fragments of a Roman calendar, on one of which is a reference to games in honour of Sulla's victory over the Samnites at the Colline Gate.¹

Lake of Nemi.—Recently a large mass of timber was discovered sunk in the thick mud of this lake, and was generally supposed to be the ship of Caligula. It has been investigated by divers, and shown from its shape and position to be a ship capable of sailing and drifting. Its dimensions are 240 by 45 feet. The fragments have been brought to land and placed in a neighbouring villa. It is supposed that two other ships also lie buried here.²

Pisa.—At Monte Pitti in this neighbourhood an Etruscan necropolis has been brought to light, consisting of tombs enclosed in circles of rude stones. Among the remains found were terracotta vases and a golden bulla with two figures in *repoussé*, perhaps representing Paris and Helen.³

Syracuse.—At Pantalica Dr. Orsi has found the remains of a considerable prehistoric city with an extensive necropolis, consisting of nearly five thousand rock-cut tombs. They appear to belong to the second and third Siculan periods, corresponding to the bronze and first iron ages. Among the objects found in the tombs were bronze knives and daggers of primitive shape, a small gold ring, bronze fibulae of a simple bow-shape, and earthen vessels. This city is supposed to be the ancient Erbesuss. Within its area is a primitive megalithic building, probably the palace of the king; it is rectangular, with numerous rooms, one of which had been used as a foundry, as shown by the moulds and fragments of bronze found on the spot.

GREECE.

Delphi.—The temenos of the Apollo temple is now completely cleared. The remains of the *tesche* of the Cnidians have been discovered, but the ruins are very scanty, and little more than the plan is recognizable. Of the famous ancient paintings nothing was left but some fragments of plaster with dark blue background. Next year the exploration of the stadium and gymnasium will be undertaken.³

Messene.—A large part of the agora and the ruins of a considerable building with propylaea and colonnades have been brought to light; also an ancient fountain supposed to be the Arsinoë of Pausanias. Several inscriptions have been found, some of peculiar importance for the history of Messenia in Greek and Roman times.⁴

Mycenae.—An important fragment of an archaic metope in poros-stone has been discovered, on which is a well-preserved female head. About 3500 silver coins have been found during the past season, mostly of Corinth, Sikyon, and Argos.⁵

CYPRUS.

The recent excavations conducted by the Trustees of the British Museum under the Turner bequest on the site of Curium (Jan.—Apr. 1895) have produced some results of considerable interest and importance. The most notable discovery was that of a Mycenaean cemetery half-a-mile east of the village of Episkopi,

on a low hill, which appears to represent the site of an earlier Curium. The discovery of Mycenaean remains confirms the statement of Strabo that Cyprus was an Argive colony. It would seem that the city was transferred to the site now known as the Akropolis towards the end of the sixth century B.C., that being the date of the earliest tombs found there.

The pottery from the Mycenaean tombs was to a large extent of local make and primitive character, but many good specimens of imported vases were found, especially two large craters painted with figures in chariots and female figures in panels; vases of this class are remarkably rare, only four having been previously found, all in Cyprus. Several fine vases of the Ialysos type should also be mentioned: a cuttle-fish kylix, a pseudamphora with an octopus either side, and a funnel-shaped vase with murex-shells. With the cuttle-fish vase was found a sard scarab of Khonsu, a deity introduced into Egypt in the 7th cent. B.C., and with one of the large craters a steatite scaraboid with intaglio design of a bull lying down, of most masterly conception and execution, recalling the work on the Vaphio gold cups.

The later tombs were particularly rich in gold ornaments, among which may be mentioned a pair of bronze bracelets plated with gold, ending in rams' heads, and a chain necklace of delicate workmanship. Among other finds were a rock-crystal gem with a Cypriote inscription, an archaic Greek bronze statuette, and a hydria of black glazed ware with designs in white and yellow, of a type common in Southern Italy. On the site of what appears to have been a temple of Demeter and Core was found a Greek inscription which has the peculiar interest of being written first in ordinary Greek letters, and next in the Cypriote syllabary; it records a dedication to those deities.⁶

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xv., part 2.

14. A flying Eros from the school of Praxiteles (with plate). P. Bienkowski.

The style reflects that of Praxiteles; the conception is derived from the painted lacunaria introduced by Pausias.

15. The history of the names Hellas, Hellenes. J. B. Bury.

Traces the use of the term Hellas from a small district in the south of Thessaly (cf. *Il.* ix.) to the north coast of the Peloponnese (cf. *Od.* xv.), and finally, in the 7th cent. B.C., for all Greece.

16. Work and wages in Athens. F. B. Jevons.

17. On some traces connected with the original entrance of the Acropolis of Athens (four plates). F. C. Penrose.

This entrance was probably immediately under the Nike bastion.

18. The Text of the Homeric Hymns. II. T. W. Allen.

19. Aegosthena (two plates). E. F. Benson.

An account of explorations of the Greek fortress by the British School.

20. Two sepulchral lekythi (plate and cut). P. Gardner.

On one is the unique subject of Nike bringing wreaths to a tomb; on the other, a dead child on a bier.

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 16 Nov. 1895.

² *Athenaeum*, 14 Dec. 1895.

³ *Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1895.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1895.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1896.

⁶ *Times*, 6 Jan. 1896.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pædagogik. Vol. 151. Part 9. 1895.

Die gedanken der Platonischen dialoge Politikos und Republik, B. Diederich. Examines the development of thought in these dialogues with a view to determine the priority of composition. *Zu Sophokles Antigone*, C. Conradt. A defence of some textual alterations in the writer's school edition. *Zwei athenischen in Sophokles*, C. Conradt. On Antig. 1108-1114 and O. T. 1424-1431. *Nundinalfragen v.*, G. F. Unger. A comparison of selected days according to various calculations [Cl. Rev. ix. 478]. *Der præfect C. Sulpicius Simitis*, W. Schwarz. This name, which occurs in an inscription found at Wâdi Fatire in eastern Egypt, has been wrongly changed to C. S. *Simitis*. The reading *Simitis* has been confirmed by the discovery of another inscription.

Parts 10 and 11. *Ein aufsatz von Wilhelm von Humboldt über griechische urgeschichte aus dem jahr 1807*, A. Leitzmann. *Die grundzahlen theorie und die responson des Herakles*, J. Oeri. An appendix to an article in a previous no. [Cl. Rev. ix. 478], occasioned by some remarks of von Wilamowitz. *Zu den fragmenten des Euripides*, K. Busche. Some critical notes. *Zu Aristophanes Rittlern*, Th. Hultsch. In 526, 527 proposes to read $\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\iota\upsilon\omega$ $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\omega$ | $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\rho}\omega\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\delta\iota\alpha\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ *Zur thymele-frage*, K. Weissmann. Seeks to show that the complaints about the steepness of the way refer only to a raised space within the orchestra, and not, as Dörpfeld asserts, to the ascent to the orchestra [See Cl. Rev. ix. 370]. *Die gedanken der Platonischen dialoge Politikos und Republik*, B. Diederich. Concluded from the last no. Maintains that Nusser is not justified in putting the Politicus later than the Republic. *Zu den $\pi\delta\rho\omicron\iota$ des Xenophon*, G. Friedrich. Seeks to show that the date of this work is 355 and not 346 as H. Hagen and others think. *Nundinalfragen vi.*, G. F. Unger. Concluded from last no. A comparison of selected years. *Das bissextum*, W. Sternkopf. Mommsen makes the intercalated day the 25th Feb. This writer maintains the old view that it was the 24th Feb. *Beiträge zur Caesarkritik*, J. Lange. Estimates the value of the β family of MSS. for the B.G. *Zu Tibullus*, F. Wilhelm. Continued from a previous no. [Cl. Rev. ix. 239]. *Das Nepos-rätsel*, F. Vogel. In the well-known epigram *Nepotis* is perhaps to be read for *meaque*, and all the lives are to be attributed to him. *Zu Cornelius Nepos*, A. Weidner. In Dion 1, 4 suggests *tenubat* for *tenebat* [see Cl. Rev. ix. 478]. *Zu Cicero de Oratore*, Th. Stangl. In ii. § 176 proposes *ad vincendum* for *ad dicendum*.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. 51. Part 1. 1896.

Zwei neu aufgefundenene Schriften der graeco-syrischen Literatur, V. Rysse. A translation into German from a Syrian MS. found in the convent of St. Catharine on Mt. Sinai of two works of Plutarch, (1) 'on the soul' and (2) 'on the advantage to be derived from one's enemies.' An English translation of the latter has already appeared. *Qui orationum Isocratearum in archetypo codicum ordo fuerit*, E. Drerup. From an examination of the order in three MSS. and in Photius, the writer concludes that the speeches were arranged in the archetype in three parts of seven each, and the letters in three parts of

three each. He gives a conjectural order. *Text-kritisches zu Statius*, F. Vollmer. A number of critical notes based on the view that *cod. Puleanus* is the only reliable authority for the text. *Zwei Hermogeneskommentatoren*, K. Fuhr. These are (1) Eustathius, who wrote a commentary on the $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ which contained parts of an older commentary verbally taken into his work, and (2) Philammon, of whom we know nothing. *De Hippiatricorum codice Cantabrigiensi*, E. Oder. On a MS. in Emmanuel College. At the end is printed, with an apparatus, the fragment of Simon Atheniensis *de re equestri*. *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik i.*, Th. Birt. On the vocalization of *j*. Explains *cliam* as = *cli* ($\xi\tau\iota$) and *jam*. *Arrians Periplus Ponti Euxini*, C. G. Brandis. Seeks to show that Arrian wrote only the first part, viz. the letter to Trajan, and that the second and third parts were the work of some one who wrote with the intention that A. should pass as the author. *Das alte Athen vor Theseus*, W. Dörpfeld. A reply to Stahl's art. in the last no. [Cl. Rev. ix. 477]. D. maintains that S. has not quite understood him, and sets forth his view somewhat more clearly. *Der pseudo-curipideische Anfang der Danae*, R. Wünsch. Maintains that Marcus Musurus is the author of the $\iota\pi\theta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\Delta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\varsigma$.

MISCELLAN. *Versus tragicus graecus*, F. B. Emends a line quoted by Hesychius s. v. $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha$. *Zu Antisthenes und Xenophon*, Th. Birt. In Mem. iv. Xenophon is imitating the work of Antisthenes *περὶ παιδείας*. *Zu Philons Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben*, J. M. Stahl. Notices marks of corruption in the passage 479 M 27-49. *Handschriftliches zur Anthologia latina*, M. Manitius. *Zu Cicero ad Q. fratrem* iii. 1, J. Ziehen. Emends two sentences in this letter.

Mnemosyne, N. S. Vol. xxiv. Part 1. 1896.

Ad Livii libros ii.—vii. et xxviii.—xxx., II. P. Karsten. Thirty pages of critical notes with special reference to H. J. Müller's revision of Weissenborn's Livy. *Corrigitur Thucydidis locus viii. 1, § 3*, J. v. L. Points out that we should read $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\delta\omicron$ $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$, the tachygraphic mark = ν having been mistaken for the accent. *In Aeschylum observationes veteres atque novae*, II. van Herwerden. With friendly reference to Blydes' *Adversaria in Aeschylum* which are dedicated to van H. *Observationum de iure Romano*, J. C. Naber. Continued [see Cl. Rev. ix. 430]. This part contains (1) *De strictis iudiciis*, (2) *Repetitio quotuplex*, (3) *De triticaria conditione*. *Studia Lucretiana*, J. Woltjer. Continued [see Cl. Rev. ix. 430]. Defends i. 50-61 and 136-145 against Brieger who brackets them. Brieger is wrong in putting 205-207 after 204, also in putting 326 after 327 and bracketing it. *Ad Corpus Inscriptionum Rhodiarum*, II. van Gelder. A criticism of vol. i. of *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum* recently published by F. Hiller von Gärtringen. *De Aristophanis Ranis epistula critica*, J. van Leeuwen J. f. *De loco Ciceronis interpretando*, M. J. Valetou. On De leg. agr. 2, 9, 24. Maintains that even before 63 B.C. it was not lawful for a candidate to be elected at the comitia in his absence. *Annotatinnunculae ad Xenophontis Anabasin*, A. Poutsma. The three last articles are dedicated to S. A. Naber to celebrate the completion of his twenty-fifth year of professorial work at Amsterdam.

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MARCH 1896.

THE INCORPORATION OF SEVERAL DIALOGUES IN PLATO'S *REPUBLIC*.

IN Plato's introduction to the *Timæus* (20 B-D) two of the speakers, Critias and Hermocrates, hold out to Socrates a promise that they will be leaders in new and later dialogues. Their opportunity to fulfil these engagements is to arise as soon as Timæus has finished his discourse.

Yet, after promise of these two dialogues, Plato disappoints us in the case of each. There are no remains whatever of the *Hermocrates*. Of the *Critias* only the preface has been preserved, but no part of its main theme. This preface, judged from the style in which it is written, evidently belongs to the same period as the *Timæus*, *Politicus*, and *Laws*: that is to say, among Plato's latest dialogues. Plutarch (*Solon*, 32) compares the story of Atlantis which it contains to the Olympieion at Athens that had then waited so many centuries for its completion. In the same exalted strain he says that Plato πρόθηρα μὲν μεγάλα καὶ περιβόλους καὶ αὐτὰς τῇ ἀρχῇ περιέθηκεν, οἷα λόγος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσχεν οὐδὲ μῦθος οὐδὲ ποίησις, ὃψὲ δὲ ἀρξάμενος προκατέλυσε τοῦ ἔργου τὸν βίον.

Consequently it has been held by all scholars that these two missing dialogues were never written. For, had they been written, they would have been preserved. In our editions of Plato we have all his own dialogues and much more besides: nothing genuine has been lost, not even the fragment that was to introduce the *Critias*—such was the care taken by the members of the Academy to preserve the works of the founder.

Yet there is another hypothesis possible. These two dialogues may have been written, and we may now possess them in some form that we are not aware of. It is the purpose of this paper to show the greater probability of this second view, and the argument will be based on the polishings, readjustments, and combinations to which the Platonic dialogues seem to have been subjected during the long life of their author.

Historians, as we know, have often left their work incomplete. But with them the kind is different, and in many cases may not demand a definite ending. With philosophers, it is less the method of treatment and more the matter that seeks expression. The thing to be feared, if the latter reach an advanced age, is that they will write themselves out, like poets, rather than that they will carry any grand thoughts down with them to the grave. During the fifty or sixty years of Plato's literary career, there would seem to have been ample time to set down all his important thoughts, and even for repeating some of them under five or six different forms; as he has in fact done in not a few cases. As German students of Plato seem generally agreed, his last works were *fortgesponnen* out of those of his prime. Hence it seems probable that when Plato promises to give us new dialogues, he will not let them remain unwritten if they are of any value to the world. Even at the moment of promising them they have doubtless lain long in his mind, if they have not been already written out. Preface is usually written last, although placed first.

Consequently the *Critias* and *Hermocrates* were probably written before the preface of the *Timaeus*, in which they appear to be foretold.

Platonic students usually incline either to the theory of K. F. Hermann, that the dialogues show the evolution of Plato's thought, or to that of Schleiermacher which holds that they are *voussoirs*, each necessary to sustain the system. The truth, however, is probably to be found somewhere between these two extremes.

Hermann was right for the youth of Plato. The dialogues were at first written rapidly and as occasion prompted in order to bring their author into notice. At a later period his aim was rather to protect a reputation already formed by combining, co-ordinating, supplementing the thoughts to which he had previously given utterance, so as to bring them into a logical whole. Thus Schleiermacher was right in regard to Plato's later career. The philosopher's latter years were devoted to perfecting the system.

One of the methods he employed was to gather the various dialogues into groups. This was partly to prevent their being lost or scattered and partly to show in what order they were to be read; in short, to make large, united, and imposing, what had been small and separate. Like the drama of the fifth century, the dialogues were to be arranged in tetralogies or trilogies. For it was long ago recognized by Weleker that these divisions were not classifications of the Platonic dialogues originally made by Aristophanes of Byzantium and developed by Thrasylus, but were merely extensions of a hint derived by them from Plato himself (Grote, *Plato* i. chap. vii.; Christ, *Gr. Lit.* 2nd ed. p. 373).

Thus there is a trilogy intended by Plato in the *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*; and, from remarks made at *Sophist* 217 A and *Statesman* 257 A, a dialogue called the 'Philosopher' was to be added to them so as to form a tetralogy. The trial and death of Socrates is an incident that links together a second group of four dialogues. Then there is a third group containing the *Republic*, and this probably completes the list of such combinations as were intended by Plato himself. In the first group the dialogues are all in direct narrative, and in the third the narrative is in the indirect form. The second group employs both forms, and is, otherwise, less perfect than the first and third. In both of these last the marks that connect the dialogues are found only in the second and third of the series; and the

second and third of the series are written in a much later style than the first. Both of these groups were also planned as tetralogies, but exist actually as trilogies. In the third and last group or tetralogy the *Republic* was to stand first. Then were to follow the *Timaeus*, *Critias*, and *Hermocrates*. This plan or order of the dialogues is explained in the introduction to the *Timaeus*. Consequently, according to the argument used above, this introduction was probably the last part of the whole group to be committed to writing. The *Republic* was the first. The other two dialogues, if they were written at all, were written in the period between the *Republic* and the preface of the *Timaeus*.

The first dialogue in this series, the *Republic*, was the most well known, most criticized, most laughed at among all Plato's works. Contemporary references to it seem to show that it originally consisted of the first four books of what is now the *Republic*. But after the publication of these Plato went on building new defences and throwing up new ramparts before the position he had taken in these four. The fun made of the *Republic* by Theopompus in his *Stratitides*, and possibly the attacks of other comedians, endeared its four books beyond measure to their author. He reiterated part of them immediately in a fifth book. And the point there insisted upon returns again to our ears in the *Timaeus* and, as a still fainter echo, in the *Critias* (110 B). Five books, then, seem to have formed the original *Republic*, or *Πολιτεία* as it is called in the introduction of the *Timaeus*.

In this introduction we have a very careful analysis of these five books. It even goes so far as to borrow metaphors and similes from the *Republic*. Thus it calls the discussion a feast, in imitation of Book i., and compares the guardians to mercenaries, as in Book iv. Finally, toward the close of this introduction, Socrates asks: 'Have we now said enough for a brief summary of yesterday's discourse or do we feel that anything is lacking in our account?' *Timaeus* immediately replies: 'Not at all, you have described exactly what was said, Socrates.' And yet Socrates has gone no further than the fifth book, or half-way through the *Republic* as we have it in its present form.

Now we are told by ancient tradition that Plato edited two books of the *Republic* first, and that he was filing and retouching this dialogue on his very death-bed. Moreover, since the time of Hermann, when the form

and composition of the *Republic* was first seriously considered, various critics have argued that its parts were composed at different periods. Differences in both style and subject-matter seem to favour such a conclusion. These critics agree that the last five books fall mainly into two parts, vi.-vii. and viii.-ix.; with Book x. standing somewhat by itself. Hermann, *Gesch. und System*, pp. 537-541, makes four or five separate 'masses' of our *Republic*. His fivefold division was i., ii.-iv., viii.-ix., v.-vii., x. Siebeck, *Jahns Jahrb.* 1885, p. 225, adopts Hermann's fourfold division, i., ii.-iv., v.-ix., x., without change. Krohn, *Pl. Staat*, p. 261, gives the order i.-iv., viii.-ix., v., x., vi.-vii.; Pfeleiderer, *Pl. Frage* (1888), p. 10, the order i.-v. + viii.-ix., x., vi.-vii.; and Chioppelli, *Ecclesiazuse*, pp. 110 ff., the order i.-iv., v., viii.-ix., vi.-vii.

In consequence of both the external tradition and the internal evidence of revision in the *Republic*, and of there being two chief divisions in that part of it which follows the fifth book, it seems probable, in the first place, that these parts were not there when the introduction of the *Timaeus* was written, and furthermore that they represent what Plato had once intended to call the '*Critias*' and '*Hermocrates*.'

Accordingly, these last two once existed as independent dialogues. At the time when Plato began grouping his works into tetralogies he tried to combine these two dialogues with the *Timaeus* and the first five books of the *Republic*. For this purpose he wrote the introduction to the *Timaeus* and to the *Critias*. The latter resulted merely in an expansion of a story in the *Timaeus*. Thus there was evidently some difficulty in finding new material. Whether for this, or for some other reason, the projected tetralogy failed and the substance of the *Critias* and *Hermocrates* was joined immediately to the five books of the original *Republic*. This proceeding, although creating the most majestic work in the history of philosophy, required a vast amount of harmonizing and readjusting of parts. It occupied Plato until his last moments and, in consequence, the introduction to the *Timaeus* and that to the *Critias* were allowed to stand as they remain to-day either from oversight or from a haughty disregard of broken promises.

In this way the *Republic* has come to be thrice the size of the ordinary Platonic dialogue. In making his work so large and comprehensive, Plato has forgotten the limits which the nature of man puts to continuous conversation. While the other

Platonic dialogues would take from two to four hours for their oral delivery, the *Republic* is found to require twelve. It is quite unreasonable to suppose a company of eight or ten persons enduring a discussion of this length without a break. Although less than one third of the size of the *Republic*, the *Timaeus* is called by its author 'a long journey.'

Like the *Republic* in length are the *Laws*. They too are nothing but a synthesis of various dialogues and treatises put together, as tradition tells us, after Plato's death by Philip of Opus. The *Laws* have, however, been studied from this point of view by only a very few critics. Among these Zeller and Bruns stand easily first. The former finds that the end of i. and the end of ii. stand with vii. rather than in their present situations. The first four books of the *Laws*, which Plato calls the 'prelude,' would form a good-sized dialogue by themselves. Yet even they contain very discordant elements. The construction of the *Laws* was checked in the process of combining the materials, rather than at a time when these were themselves unready. At the same time, it is more difficult to tell just what these component parts are, because they all seem to belong to about the same period.

Books viii.-ix. of the *Republic* describe Plato's theory of the evolution of government. It may have been urged by opponents that no historical facts bore out his theory. For in fact there were none. In order to help the matter, Plato in the *Laws* appeals to certain antediluvian and mythical conditions to sustain his point. The same effort was evidently to be made in the *Critias* by means of the myth of Atlantis and certain traditions of ancient Athens. The difficulty of thus weaving together the mythical and the theoretic, and making a strong case out of them, perhaps accounts partly for the incompleteness of the *Critias*.

The name *Critias* was eminently suitable for a dialogue such as is contained in Books viii. and ix. The historical *Critias*, like the author of these books, had the most bitter hatred of democracy. He had led in revolutions and in plots to overthrow the Athenian state. Besides this he was the author of a work on constitutions, and some verses of a poem (composed by him) on this subject still remain. He would therefore be a person well suited to conduct a dialogue on the state. He was well adapted to describe it, as it lapsed from the perfect government of a mythical Athens to the hateful democracy that in the end destroyed him.

Books vi. and vii. of the *Republic* treat of the philosopher-king. Now in the group *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, the concluding member of the tetralogy was to be the dialogue *Philosopher*. Even as far back as 1846 Ludwig Spengel conjectured that this was nothing less than what now stands in the *Republic* as vi. and vii. We have now added to this the further conjecture that this dialogue was the *Hermocrates* during an intermediate period: Plato tried to make with it the tail-piece first of one tetralogy—calling it the *Philosopher*—and then of another—now calling it the *Hermocrates*; finally he allowed it to be absorbed into the *Republic*.

Why *Hermocrates* was chosen as a leader, is not so evident. Possibly it was through a desire for symmetry. For thus two parts of the tetralogy would be conducted by men from the West, two by Athenians. We are told by the scholiast that *Hermocrates* combined statesmanship and philosophy. If this statement has any foundation, he would be the right man to hold discourse on the philosopher-king, as contemplated in the *Sophist* and realized, in a manner, in Books vi. and vii. of the *Republic*.

It will, doubtless, seem very arbitrary thus to shift about a dialogue, change its name and its speakers, and transfer it from a tetralogy of dialogues composed in the direct form of narrative to another group in the indirect. An examination, however, of Plato's method of composing a dialogue will show that the changes here mentioned are external. The thought and the essential form of expressing it could easily remain the same during all such alterations.

The Platonic dialogues were, generally speaking, an imitation of the Greek drama; but were not, like it, intended primarily for acting. As almost all the glory of letters during the fifth century at Athens was centred in the drama, Plato allowed his philosophy to take as far as possible that form. The chief difference was that he wrote to be read and in prose: the dramatic authors wrote in verse and for acting.

A large part of Plato's works are thus in direct dialogue with the abbreviated name of the speaker placed just before his own words. In the *Theaetetus* (143 B, C) this question of the direct and indirect form is discussed, and there, in the note-book of Euclides, the preference is given to the direct form. This was, however, merely for the sake of brevity, and in spite of the fact that the story was told to him by Socrates in the indirect form. Teichmüller, *Lit.*

Fehden ii. pp. 13 and 309, and Schöne, *Plat. Protag.* (1862), p. 8, in arguing the question of the chronology of the dialogues, make use of this very passage. Yet, curiously enough, as Zeller notices, they arrive at opposite conclusions. Teichmüller regards the direct dialogue as the cruder in form, the later in date. Schöne regards the direct dialogue as the more finished artistically, the earlier chronologically.

The truth probably lies just between them. The indirect form is more perfect in finish. For those that are set in it are Plato's most polished works. The *Phaedo*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*, *Charmides* and *Symposium*, not to speak of the *Republic*, make up a list in which there are at least four that from a literary point of view are each superior to any other dialogue of Plato. The dialogues of Xenophon are also in the indirect form; and he is above all a writer strong on the artistic side.

Secondly, the indirect dialogues, as far as form is concerned, are a later development with Plato than the direct ones. In the early period he wrote intending to have his dialogue circulated in manuscript among a reading public. In the same way Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* are written for circulation. When his popularity had increased, there must have arisen in Plato's mind a desire that his best dialogues should be in such form that they could be read aloud and reach the public through its ears. Isocrates, his rival, was winning great favour by having his orations read in this way. Thus Plato turned away slightly from imitating the drama, and put his dialogues into a form more akin to oratory or to prose narrative. He consequently struck out the abbreviated names of speakers, which made reading aloud comparatively difficult, and inserted the phrases 'said I,' 'said he' and similar expressions in their place. He did not do this, however, quite thoroughly. Small pieces of direct dialogue were still kept at the beginnings and ends of some of the indirect dialogues, as a sort of reminder of the earlier form. Besides the direct and indirect dialogue Plato finally tried a third form. This was the continuous treatise, uninterrupted by question and answer. This is found in the *Timæus* and in some of the books of the *Laws*. And, like the indirect dialogue, it is suited for reading aloud before an audience.

Plato thus wrote a large number of his dialogues in the direct form and continued to do so probably to the end of his life. But meantime a change of relation toward

his audience caused him to prefer the indirect form, and he recast some of his more popular works in this new mould. Thus in form they belong to a late period, while in content they may fit into various earlier stages of his literary career. Probably at about the same time with this change to the narrative form came also the desire for grouping the dialogues. A group naturally should have but one form for all its members. Consequently, in the group of the *Theaetetus*; *Sophist*, *Statesman*, and *Philosopher*, the *Philosopher* would evidently have been a direct dialogue. But if, as supposed above, it was afterward fused into our present *Republic* it was then made indirect in form.

In brief, the result of this argument is, that a Platonic dialogue, irrespective of the date of the original composition, finally had one of three forms:—

- (a) direct dialogue—used at all periods;
- (β) indirect dialogue—made by recasting the direct dialogue; and
- (γ) continuous discourse—represented by the *Timaeus* and parts of the *Laus*.

In his desire to unite his dialogues into larger groups, Plato promised a tetralogy, (a) *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Philosopher*. Later he took away the *Philosopher*, and with the intention of calling it *Hermocrates*, projected a tetralogy (b), *Republic* (i.-v.), *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Hermocrates*. After dropping the names of the last two and fusing them with the first the result was (c), the *Republic* (i.-x.) and the *Timaeus*, as we have them at the present day.

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THE CALENDAR IN THE *TRACHINIAE* OF SOPHOCLES.

In submitting some observations upon the chronological framework of the story adopted by Sophocles in the *Trachiniae*, I desire to guard at once against a misunderstanding which is obvious and possibly prejudicial. In the present state of mythological controversy it may be difficult to advance the proposition that a certain Heracleian legend is closely connected with a certain development of the Calendar, without being suspected of a desire to fortify the theory which makes the hero himself a symbol and representative of the sun. Be it said therefore emphatically, that with this theory, or with any *Heracles* other than the human combatant familiar to Greek legend as we actually know it, we have for the present not the smallest concern. Our proposition is simply that, in respect of the chronological framework, the story presented in the *Trachiniae* exhibits and is founded upon a certain calendar, and certain institutions relating to the calendar, which existed when the story was first thrown into this shape; and that this fact, interesting in itself as a piece of historical evidence, is not without significance even for the reader of Sophocles, as accounting for some peculiarities of structure and expression, which were naturally accepted by the poet from his traditional authority, but would not be justifiable if we supposed them invented by him for the purpose of his play.

Manifestly all this may be true, whether the hero was or was not by remote origin symbolic of the sun, or symbolic at all. That has nothing to do with the matter.

The story of the *Trachiniae*, as compared with other legends of the Attic stage, presents a chronology uncommonly copious and precise. The event of the play is the death of the hero, agreeing in date with the terms of an oracle, received by himself at Dodona, which, with oracular ambiguity, fixed 'the end of his labours' at the completion of the twelfth year from the date of the prophecy. His wanderings occupied, with the exception of visits to his home 'rare as those of the husbandman at seed-time and harvest to a distant farm', the whole of his time, and from the last of these absences he returns only to die. At his last departure he solemnly delivered to his wife the tablet containing the oracle, explaining to her that there wanted then 'a year and three months' to the date fixed, so that if by that time he were not heard of, she must presume his death, for which case he made disposition. At the opening of the play the prescribed period has elapsed, that is to say, 'fifteen months' according to the wife, though another speaker marks the duration as 'twelve months' (*Trach.* 44 foll., 155 foll., 647 foll., 821 foll., 1164 foll.).

Now, as compared with the habits of ancient

Greek legend, this chronology is, as we have said, uncommonly full and exact, especially with regard to the duration of the last absence. We do not usually find, in the tales adopted by the tragedians, dates precise to the month, or dates unnecessary for the comprehension of the facts, or indeed any dates at all. If we had been simply informed that at the opening of the play the time had arrived which was fixed by the oracle for the end of Heracles' labours, we should have had all that we needed and as much as we usually get. It is already something extra, when we are told that this time is twelve years from the giving of the oracle; and still more remarkable is the superfluous specification of fifteen months (or twelve months) as the distance of this same time from that of the last departure. Terms of months are very rarely mentioned in Attic drama, never, I think, except in connexion with natural processes regularly so limited, such as the 'six months' of the herdsman's summer in the hills (*Oed. Tyr.*), or the 'ten months' of the woman's gestation (*Ion*). As being an artificial term, limited only by the events of the story, this 'fifteen months' is perhaps unique. Odd therefore also, in the circumstances, is the variation already noticed in the number, from fifteen months (*v.* 44) to twelve (*v.* 648). A period of fifteen months might no doubt be described loosely as 'a year,' but why it should be called 'twelve months' is not obvious. If the exact length of the period was not important (and in the existing play there is nothing to show that it was), why number the months? And if it was important, why number them wrong?

Passing by for the moment other questions which will emerge when we come to explanation, we may remark that chronology is not the only matter in which we find here a numerical precision beyond the apparent need. Concerning the sacrifice with which Heracles celebrated his final victory, and which became the occasion of his death, we are told (*v.* 760) that 'he began his offering with twelve bulls, free from blemish, the first of the spoil; but altogether he brought a hundred victims, great or small, to the altar.' To Sophocles, so far as appears, these figures signified nothing, except generally the magnificence of the ceremony; but that they were once significant remains clear even in his version, which presents not only the specific combination of 12 and 100, but also a sharp and unexplained opposition between the two figures, the one

apparently correcting something which might have been wrong or defective in the other,

ταυροκτονεῖ μὲν δώδεκ' ἐκτελεῖς ἔχων
 λείας ἀπαρχὴν βοῦς· ἀτὰρ τὰ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ
 ἑκατὸν προσήγη συμμιγῆ βοσκήματα.

It is now to be shown that all these facts, with others, hang together, and have one common origin in a certain calendric practice, to which the story was originally adjusted. It will be simplest first to state this practice continuously, and then to justify the statement by reference to the Sophoclean expressions which it serves to account for and elucidate.

The calendar in question, like all ancient calendars, presupposes a time, of very remote antiquity, when infant agriculture was content with empirical notes of the seasons, and the course of the sun had not yet been measured or divided. Time was then reckoned, on a decimal system, by days, and by 'moons' counted, as the nearest decimal approximation, at 30 days. The next denomination (the year, so far as there was then any year) was the ten moons, and the next the hundred moons, probably the largest unit by which in those times it was ever found necessary to reckon. Each period, moon, ten-moon, and hundred-moon, was marked by an appropriate ritual, and the largest, the hundred-moon, by a great calendric feast with a corresponding sacrifice of one hundred victims. This institution offered, besides its symmetry, the incidental advantage of a simple and symmetrical rectification of the inevitable error in days. With thirty days to a moon, the end of the hundredth moon would so fall, in relation to the end of a true moon, that by allowing ten days for the feast itself it might be celebrated with a quite respectable appearance of accuracy. Next, with the increasing importance of agriculture came the observation of the solar year, and the connected practice of counting moons not by tens but by twelves. The minor period or common year was now a *twelve-month*, 360 days, and the major period, or 'great year,' by analogy twelve *twelve-months*. Accordingly at the calendric feast which marked the period, the supremacy of the number 12, and also the fact that each *twelve-month* made up (as was at first supposed) a perfect solar course, was recognized by a principal sacrifice of 'twelve perfect' animals; while, to propitiate antique usage, the number 100 was nevertheless retained as the total of

indiscriminate victims. And if sacrifice could have persuaded the heavenly bodies to be reasonable, all would now have been well. But of course it could not escape notice that in fact, though the single year seemed correct to the sun, the 'great year' was much too short, the end of the twelve twelve-months preceding the expected solar epoch by a very considerable space. In this discrepancy itself however, the depositaries of religious learning supposed themselves to have detected, upon further observation, an element of rationality; for the defect was estimated to amount exactly, as in fact it did amount very nearly, to sixty days or two months. The discordance thus revealed, adjusted since by innumerable and highly complicated devices, was adjusted then by a method which had at least the advantage of an irreducible simplicity. The whole complement of sixty days, or two months, was added to the last year of the twelve; but as it seemed irrational and improper that there should not be in every 'twelve-month' twelve months and no more, the increase was made, in a fashion of which the history of the calendar presents frequent examples, by means of an artificial or pretended 'month'. In the last 'twelve-month' the first eleven months were ordinary months of thirty days, but the last 'month' consisted of an ordinary month *plus* the complement, that is to say, it had ninety days, and was, vulgarly speaking, not a month but three months. The residual error (for of course there was still a residue) would accumulate so slowly that a primitive society would be content to rectify it by arbitrary and occasional expedients, and the feast could be celebrated without suspicion of impiety.

It is to this condition of the calendar that the story of Heracles was adapted by the narrator, whose version descended to Sophocles. Probably (though this supposition is not necessary) it was held that the system had originated with Heracles or with his adventures, and that he actually founded the calendric feast in the form which corresponded to the improved system, as he was believed to have founded the feast at Olympia, itself calendric, and others of the same character. At all events the chronological scheme of the story is calculated by this system, and designed to exhibit it. Heracles, like other heroes in legend and like the offending gods in Hesiod, is condemned to a period of expiatory labour, measuring the length of a μέγας ἐνιαυτός, *magnus annus*, or 'great

year'. The length and divisions of this period are set forth to him in a tablet which he receives at Dodona, containing a symbolic representation of the calendric cycle. With the beginning of each year he is to go forth from his home to a fresh adventure or course of adventures, and with the end of each year he is to return. Accordingly, upon his departure for the twelfth course, he delivers the tablet to his wife, explaining to her that according to its significance this 'year' is the last, and that it differs in length from the other eleven, that is to say, that for the last 'month' is to be reckoned not an ordinary month, but a term of three ordinary months. Finally, having worked out the sentence, he returns and celebrates the great feast with the symbolic offerings since customary. Of course this chronological scheme did not make the story, of which the main interest lay from the first, where it lies now, in the adventures and destiny of the hero; though for the primitive audience, by whom the adjustment of the cycle, rude as it seems to us, must have been regarded as a work of mysterious and superhuman wisdom, profoundly important to life and religion, the chronological scheme itself had probably more interest than we can easily appreciate.

We are now to see how much there is in the play of Sophocles which from his altered point of view is not meaningless indeed nor offensive, but nevertheless not accounted for and not perfectly intelligible, until we refer his expressions to that historical authority, the lines and language of which he inevitably followed, even where they were no longer of much significance. We can justify for instance the strangely mysterious terms in which Deianira describes the tablet delivered to her by Heracles at his last departure, 'an ancient tablet, inscribed with tokens, which he had never brought himself to explain to me before, many as were the ordeals to which he had gone forth. . . . And he fixed the time; saying that when a year and three months should have passed since he had left the country, then he was fated to die; or, if he should have survived that term, to live thenceforth an untroubled life.'¹ Now what the tablet contained, according to the account which we receive long afterwards from Heracles, was simply the words or substance of the oracle, taken down in writing by the hero himself, to the effect

¹ 157 foll. Prof. Jebb's version, from which I cite generally, unless the context shows otherwise.

that his labours should end at the expiration of twelve years from that time.¹ If this were so, there really seems to be little reason for calling it 'ancient', and still less reason why Heracles should have spoken to his wife of his own note as if it were something abstruse and required explanation. Indeed we might even ask why the tablet should be so prominent in the story, or should figure there at all, since it adds nothing either in substance or weight to the all-sufficient evidence of Heracles. But when, as was the original conception, this tablet contained the 'tokens' or symbols of a calendric cycle, when it was actually in existence as a venerable relic, and was supposed to have existed from a dateless antiquity in the divine archives, until the day came when through Heracles it was revealed to mankind, the language applied to it by Deianira was perfectly natural, and the thing itself an essential feature in the story. We are reminded of the bronze tablet, recording a far more scientific improvement of the same kind, which was dedicated at Olympia in the fifth century by the mathematician Oenopides of Chios.

But above all, it is in the calendric import of the legend that we are to find the reason for its chronological details, and not only for the existence of these details (which, as was said above, is itself remarkable), but still more for the striking peculiarities of the language in which they are given by Sophocles. We see, for example, that there is, or at least there once was, something more than a graceful verbiage in 'the divine word of the old prophecy which said that when the twelfth year should have run through its full tale of months, it should end the series of toils for the true-born son of Zeus'.

ὅποτε τελέομνος ἐκφέρει
 δωδέκατος ἄροτος ἀναδοχὸν τελεῖν πόσιον
 τῷ Διὸς αὐτόπαιδι.²

Those who first used this language, or language closely resembling it, meant by each word exactly what it implies. It was 'the twelfth year', or rather 'the twelfth tillage', which 'came to its end by completion of months', because this twelve-month, the last of the cycle, and not any other, received the supplementary months required to bring the period of twelve 'twelve-months' into agreement with the tillages, that is to say with the facts of nature and the necessities of agriculture. The twelfth

year, by means of the supplement, coincided in its termination with the 'tillages', whereas throughout the cycle up to this year there was a progressive discordance.

But if here the language of Sophocles receives, by relation to its origin, a more full significance, there are elsewhere places, where, apart from this relation, it is hardly to be understood or justified at all. 'He fixed the time; saying that, when a year and three months should have passed since he had left the country, then he was fated' &c. Undoubtedly this is what Sophocles meant his Deianira to say. And this is the fashion in which he words it:—

χρόνον προτάξας, ὡς τρίμηνον ἡνίκα
 χώρας ἀπεῖη κἀνιαύσιος βεβώς,
 τότε ἢ θανεῖν χρεῖή σφε κ.τ.λ.³

That the poet wrote ἐνιαύσιος (and not ἐνιαύσιον, as expositors naturally wish that he had) must be taken as certain, the substitution and preservation of the nominative being on the contrary hypothesis incredible. And Professor Jebb, who duly retains the nominative, seems also to indicate justly, what may be said for the construction, as an equivalent for the meaning of Sophocles. It is just 'conceivable', that τρίμηνον (χρόνον) κἀνιαύσιος βεβώς should mean 'gone for a year and three months', the nominative being mentally explained as adapted to βεβώς, upon the analogy of χρόνιος ἦλθε, χθιζὸς ἔβη and the like. But it is a question to be asked, what possible advantage there could be in such a contortion, and what put the obnoxious nominative into the poet's mind. And the answer is that he is repeating, as all men do, when they write or speak upon consecrated themes, the language of tradition, although, as he would interpret it, it has altogether ceased to be natural. If the 'three months' and the 'year' are to be added together, to express them in different cases is to verge on absurdity. But the equal correctness of either case offered a natural device to those who meant, and were known to mean, that the two terms were *not* to be added together, but counted *separately* to the same termination. The tablet, as explained by Heracles to Deianira, showed that this twelfth of twelve 'years', the 'year' of his last absence, was to be more than an ordinary year, that it was to conclude with a period of three months, a χρόνος τρίμηνος, substituted for the last of its twelve months, and

¹ 1164 foll. ² 824

³ 164 foll.

counting as the last month of it. And he fixed therefore the time, when he was to be expected home or assumed to be dead, as the time 'when his absence should have covered the three-month, and (*thereby*) have covered the (extended) year.' When Sophocles elsewhere designates the same period as 'ten months and then five more',¹ he is translating the archaic formula, as he understood it, into language of his own, and translates it, as we see from his citation, not exactly. 'Fourteen months', not 'fifteen months', would have been the correct equivalent in common parlance, and *neither expression would have been truly archaic*; for according to the primitive reformers of the calendar, the last 'year' of their cycle was a *twelve-month* just as truly as the rest. This also Sophocles, faithful as a poet loves to be to sacred tradition, whether comprehended or not comprehended, allows us to see, when, notwithstanding his 'ten months and five months more', he permits his Chorus to designate this self-same period of expectation as *δυσκαιδεκάμηνον χρόνον* or 'long months *twelve*'.² That the last of these months must be a *χρόνος τρίμηνος* was no reason for disallowing the designation 'twelvemonth' to the final year. On the contrary it was a principal merit of the scheme that it achieved a reconciliation with the heavenly bodies without distressing piety and sense by a departure from the accustomed names of things. Such is, and in all times has been, the regular way of progress in this department of life; change the thing, if you must; but for that very reason do not change the words.

Again, in the verses which immediately succeed this reference to 'the three months' and 'the year', we have other language confessed to be obscure, but explicable, as I think, by the same hypothesis. It follows ancient form, that is to say, without much regard to change in the signification.

τοιαῦτ' ἔφραζε πρὸς θεῶν εἰμαρμένα
τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐκτελευτᾶσθαι πόνων,
ὡς τὴν παλαιὸν φηγὸν ἀδῆσαι ποτε
Δωδῶνι δισσῶν ἐκ Πελειάδων ἔφη.

'Such, he said, was the doom ordained by the gods to be accomplished in the toils of Heracles; as the ancient oak at Dodona had spoken of yore, by the mouth of the two Peleides.' How the ancient oak proposed to construe the genitive τῶν Ἡρακλείων

πόνων, or how Sophocles construed it, are questions which, as will be seen by a reference to Professor Jebb, have exercised commentators and emendators not a little. As to Sophocles, we may well agree with Professor Jebb, that for him it was a 'genitive of connexion, equivalent to the genitive with περί, and going with the whole phrase εἰμαρμένα ἐκτελευτᾶσθαι rather than with either word alone. "He said that such things were destined to be accomplished *in regard to* the toils of Heracles." But it remains none the less clear, that, to common apprehension, the genitive ought to depend strictly on ἐκτελευτᾶσθαι, and the translation ought to be 'Such, he said, was the *result* ordained by the gods to be accomplished *by* the toils of Heracles'; and if no one propounds this version, that is only because, from the position of Sophocles, such a statement would be scarcely explicable. Nevertheless it is likely that this, or something near it, was actually said and meant by 'the ancient oak', that is to say by the traditional authority which Sophocles follows as closely as he can. The thing, that was to 'result as an accomplishment from the toils of Heracles', was the very thing which Sophocles has just before described, that is to say, the perfection and achievement of the cycle, the inestimable boon which, through and by means of the labours of Heracles, was to be realized and presented to the world. The dramatist, resolved, like Burke, when building with antique materials at all events 'not to be guilty of tampering', repeats or paraphrases the prophetic *dictum* as he found it, and understands it in his own mind presumably as Professor Jebb.

Further again, from this point of view we may perhaps get some light on the puzzling state in which we find the conclusion of the Second Stasimon. We are justified in looking for it, because that ode contains, as we have seen, at least one borrowed phrase (*δυσκαιδεκάμηνον χρόνον*), which is natural and significant only in reference to the primitive purport of the story, and not to the story as interpreted and partly remodelled by Sophocles. The situation is this. It has been announced that Heracles is about to celebrate his sacrifice in Euboea, the anointed robe has been sent to him there, and the Chorus now pray for the speedy completion of his return to his home in Trachis.

ἀφίκουτ' ἀφίκοιτο· μὴ σταίη
πολύκωπον ὄχημα ναὸς αὐτῶ,

¹ 44. ² 648.

πρὶν τάνδε πρὸς πόλιν ἀνύσει,
 ρασιδῶτιν ἐστίαν
 ἀμείψας, ἔνθα κληΐζεται θυτήρ
 ὄθεν μόλοι πανίμερος
 τᾶς πειθοῦς παγχρίστῳ
 συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ προφάσει θηρός.¹

The last three lines were plainly meant to express the hope, that by Deianira's philtre, the ointment upon the robe, the heart of Heracles may be turned to his wife; but as they are given, they do not signify this, nor indeed anything. To this extent there is a general agreement. Jebb, accepting πανίμερος (from Mudge) and φάρους: (from M. Haupt and after Whitelaw's φάρει) gives the text and translation thus:

ὄθεν μόλοι πανίμερος
 τᾶς πειθοῦς παγχρίστῳ
 συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ προφάσει φάρους.²

'Thence may he come, full of desire, steeped in love by the specious device of the robe, on which Persuasion hath spread her sovereign charm.' On every point, so far as he carries the matter, he seems to me perfectly right: πανίμερος 'admits of no satisfactory explanation', while πανίμερος gives what is wanted to fill up and determine the force of συγκραθεῖς: φάρους, of the robe, or something equivalent, is indispensable to complete the sense of παγχρίστῳ ἐπὶ προφάσει, words of which the integrity is certified by every sort of evidence that affects a textual problem. But there remains, before we can be contented, the question how then the MS. version was produced. That mere carelessness should make πανίμερος out of πανίμερος is possible, though, in this place and all things considered, we shall hesitate to call it probable. But whence and how came θηρός? The resemblance to φάρους (even when we have gone back, with Prof. Jebb, to the Sophoclean spelling φάρος) is but slight; nor could it well explain, were it stronger, why one familiar word, which makes a plain sense, should have been altered to another, which makes none. Here is the point upon which our present

¹ 655 foll.

² We need not here consider the doubt left by Prof. Jebb between συγκραθεῖς and the conjecture συντακεῖς. It rests entirely upon the assumption of syllabic correspondence with v. 654, ἐξέλυσε' ἐπίπνον ἄμεραν. The sense of συγκραθεῖς (see Jebb) is unexceptionable, and the metre, as I think, also. The metrical objection to θηρός is graver, but this also may be neglected, as θηρός is otherwise condemned.

discussion may bear. Let us remember that, when our MSS. of Sophocles give θηρός, they do not prove or even go to prove that contemporaries of the poet read that very word; we can infer only that they read either θηρός, or θέρος, or θέρου, the script then still representing all three by θερος. The copyist who in this place first converted θερος to θηρός did so doubtless because, while θηρός, of the Centaur, seemed at least to have some possibility of connexion with the subject, the other interpretations, θέρος and θέρου, appeared to him inconceivable. But was he right? He was not right. His predecessor, who wrote θερος, did not mean θηρός but θέρου, which he gave, as he gave πανάμερος (or perhaps πανήμερος), not carelessly but intentionally, presenting Sophocles absurdly indeed but nevertheless exactly as he was commonly read and sung. We will explain why.

According to Sophocles, as we have just seen, the final sacrifice of Heracles was offered upon Mt. Ceneaeum, the N.W. promontory of Euboea. But this was not the only form of the legend, and there is every reason to think that it was not the oldest. In the tale of Ovid, though³ the deity is Ceneaeum Jove, the place is not Ceneaeum, but the immediate neighbourhood of Mt. Oeta, in the entrance, that is to say, of Thermopylae, where as a historical fact the memory of Heracles prevailed. When we consider how closely the catastrophe of the sacrifice is connected with the removal of the dying hero to Oeta itself, we cannot but see that the scene of Ovid is natural, the scene of Sophocles unnatural to the verge of impossibility. And when we add that the top of Ceneaeum never was, so far as appears, the scene of a great festival, and never was likely to be, whereas the gate of Thermopylae was a famous place of assembly, associated (as Sophocles himself notices in this very ode⁴) with just such gatherings as at Pytho, at Olympia, and elsewhere became the occasion of similar periodic celebrations, we are confirmed in the conclusion that the transference of scene was from Thermopylae to Ceneaeum, and not the other way. Nevertheless the change must have been made for grave reason, and the later version must have taken firm hold, or we should not find Sophocles adhering to it, as he does, notwithstanding its particular inconvenience as a theme for the Attic stage. By simply putting the sacrifice, like Ovid, in the proper place, the dramatist

³ *Metam.* 9, 155 foll.

⁴ 637.

would have freed his story at a stroke from embarrassments which he ignores, but must have seen. Now the passage before us indicates what was the religious necessity which enforced this cumbersome alteration. The legend had to be changed, because it was the base and sanction of the calendric cycle, and the cycle proved to be wrong. The error was indeed not great, a defect of three days in the cycle of twelve years. But to correct it, by removing the anticipated feast to the true season, would with lapse of time become imperative, if the plan was to be saved at all. The terminus of the cycle, according to the legend, was the end of the labours of Heracles, comprising in one event his return home, sacrifice, and death on Oeta. It was now discovered (it had to be discovered) that these terminal events had not been so nearly simultaneous, that the sacrifice had really preceded the death by a short interval—perhaps a day or two; and to give plausibility to this, the scene of the sacrifice to *Cenaean Zeus* was relegated to the opposite coast and the promontory of *Cenaëum*. In celebrating the festival according to the date of the sacrifice, whereas it should have been determined by the true 'end', that is the death, men had constantly anticipated the intention of the heavenly powers. And so, in the usual fashion, the credit of the gods was saved, and a place made for practical correction. We need not indeed suppose, that the sacrifice on *Cenaëum* was then for the first time invented. That Heracles offered there a part of his spoil had probably always been an incident in the tale. What was new was to identify this as the final sacrifice, the occasion on which he received the fatal robe.

To this amendment of the story and the practice refer both the traditional phrases presented by the MS. version of our passage. When it was said that from 'the island altar' Heracles ἔμολε πανήμερος, *came home with all his days*, the point to be made was that only after this last journey from *Eubœa* to *Oeta*, and not before, had he absolutely and exactly completed the period fixed by the gods for the instructive cycle of his toils. And the πρόφασις θέρους, the *pretence*, or more strictly *pre-appearance, of summer*, signified the error itself, which had been committed, first in a manner by Heracles and since by mankind, in celebrating 'the close of his labours' by a festival some days too soon. What was the exact solar epoch of the calendric feast does not appear in *Sophocles*; but it was certainly *θέρους*, as

appears not only from the incidental description of the meadows as *summer haunt of oxen* (*βουθερίας* v. 188), but plainly from the important part in the catastrophe which is played by the heat of the sun (vv. 685 foll., 765 foll.). The variety of range, in which the word *θέρους* was applied, forbids any nearer definition than that the epoch fell somewhere in the warm half of the year; if we should connect it, as the allusion in *Sophocles* might suggest (v. 637), with the *Amphictyonic* assembly of historic ages, *θέρους* would be the *harvest*, and the time autumn, which is one of its many possible meanings. However, this question is of no importance: it was at any rate *θέρους*, and so called.

Now it is a familiar literary phenomenon that traditional or consecrated phrases haunt the mind, and produce, especially when the theme in hand is itself sacred, all sorts of imitations and echoes. Under such influences *Sophocles* was composing, when he wrote, as it is justly inferred that he did,

ὄθεν μόλοι πανήμερος
τῆς πειθοῦς παγχρίστῳ
συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ προφάσει φάρους.

His terms are not precisely those of the legend, but they are very like them, and pleased his ear the better for that likeness. But for common ears this delicacy was too much. Being led by the poet so near to the accustomed language, scribes, singers, and reciters took, as was to be expected, the last step for themselves, and repeated their nonsense

ὄθεν μόλοι πανήμερος
τῆς πειθοῦς παγχρίστῳ
συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ προφάσει θέρους

with no more qualms about the meaning than are felt by those who now chant with fervour 'Or ever your pots be made hot with thorns, so let indignation vex him, even as a thing that is raw.'

Lastly, the existence of this archaic cycle, of which the memory and even the practice may well have survived in backward parts for a long time, will explain a tradition which has been a stumbling-block to historians of the calendar. The *Octaeteris* or *Enneateris*, the calendric cycle chiefly used by the Greeks in historic times, had three complementary or intercalary months. Ancient authorities report¹ that originally

¹ See *Smith's Dict. Ant. Calendarium*.

all these three months were inserted in the last year of the cycle. As applied to the Octaeteris, this is justly rejected as incredible. This cycle was a scheme of considerable complication, presuming as its basis a system of *unequal months*. We cannot believe that a society, settled and instructed enough to devise and work such a plan as this, would be contented with an error accumulating within eight years up to three months. It will at once be seen that, as an imperfect reminiscence of our rude archaic cycle, the statement becomes intelligible. Our primitive intercalation was actually made in the last year of the then prevailing cycle; and though it did not really amount to three months, but to two, the fact, that it was made by means of a χρόνος τρίμηνος, offered a ready opportunity

for confusion with the three separate months intercalated under the common system. Indeed this confusion, or some such, seems to have been already made by Sophocles or before him, and probably helped to produce the interpretation 'fifteen months', which we have already cited as erroneous.

In this account no pretence is made to have exhausted the subject. Probably there is much more in the play, which with closer examination or more knowledge might be proved to betray the influence of the primitive legend and its purpose. Enough has been said perhaps to show that the legend deserves attention, both for historical curiosity and for the sake of the literary flower to which it has served for a subsoil.

A. W. VERRALL.

WHAT LED PYTHAGORAS TO THE DOCTRINE THAT THE WORLD WAS BUILT OF NUMBERS?

ARISTOTLE, when comparing Plato's doctrine of causation with that of the Pythagoreans, states in the familiar passage of the *Metaphysics* (A. 6) that Plato took the Pythagorean doctrine, merely changing the terminology: τὴν δὲ μέθεξιν τοῦνομα μόνον μετέβαλεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πυθαγορεῖοι μιμήσει τὰ ὄντα φασὶν εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, Πλάτων δὲ μεθέξει, τοῦνομα μεταβαλὼν.

What did Pythagoras mean by the imitation of numbers? First let us ask what kind of numbers does he mean? Did he mean nothing more or less than the modern scientific doctrine that all natural phenomena may be expressed in mathematical formulæ? This seems to be reading into Pythagoreanism, the first faltering step towards a scientific theory of the universe, the most advanced doctrines of our own age. Mankind always advances to the abstract from the concrete, and this principle must have prevailed in the first gropings of the early philosophers, as it did and still does in all else. As every one knows, Arithmos with the Greeks was far wider in use than our word Number. Arithmos included the whole field of mathematics. When Aeschylus represents Prometheus as the discoverer of Arithmos for mankind—ἀριθμὸν, ἕξοχον σοφισμάτων ἐξέυρον—meaning thereby that he was the founder of all which we call mathematics, he is using the term in its ordinary use among the Greeks of the fifth century. With

Plato geometry and number still run together. The very terminology, as seen in the expressions ἐπίπεδοι ἀριθμοί, στερεοὶ ἀριθμοί, 'superficial' and 'solid numbers,' is sufficient to prove how indissoluble was the bond between number and geometry proper. When Socrates gives his demonstration of the doctrine of Anamnesis on the slave in the *Meno*, he treats the construction of a square twice the size of a given one in a thoroughly concrete manner. The size of the square and the length of its side are expressed in feet. If Plato finds it so hard to deal with simply abstract or mere numerical numbers, how much more difficult was it for his forerunner, Pythagoras! It is therefore more probable that Pythagoras held that the world was made up of geometrical solids than that he held the modern doctrine. This too is the view held by the chief modern writers who have dealt with Pythagoreanism. Mr. Grote says (*Plato* I. p. 10), 'Numbers were not separate from things (like the Platonic ideas) but mere *fundamenta* of things, their essence or determining principles; they were moreover conceived as having magnitude and active force.'

But there is a passage in the *Timæus* of Plato which almost puts beyond doubt that Pythagoras held the doctrine that the universe (τὰ ὄντα) exists by the imitation of *solid* numbers.¹

¹ Plato, *Tim.* 58-61 C.

Plato there enumerates the several varieties of each element, fire, water, earth: he then proceeds to mention the attributes. The Demiurgus brought the four elements out of confusion into definite bodies and regular movements. He gave to each a body constructed upon the most beautiful proportions of arithmetic and geometry as far as this was possible.¹ Respecting such proportions the theory which Plato here lays out is admitted by himself to be a novel one, but it is most probably borrowed with more or less modification from the Pythagoreans. Every solid body is circumscribed by plane surfaces; every plane surface is composed of triangles: all triangles are generated out of two—the right-angled isosceles triangle, and the right-angled scalene or oblong triangle. Of this oblong there are infinite varieties, but the most beautiful is a right-angled triangle having the hypotenuse twice as long as the lesser of the two other sides (*Tim.* 53–54).

From this sort of oblong triangle are generated the tetrahedron or pyramid, the octahedron, and the eikosihedron; from the equilateral triangle is generated the cube. The cube, as the most stable and solid, was assigned by the Demiurgus for the fundamental structure of earth; the pyramid for that of fire; the octahedron for that of air; the eikosihedron for that of water. Lastly the dodekahedron was assigned as the basis of structure for the spherical Kosmos itself, or Universe. Upon this arrangement, each of the three elements—fire, water, air—passes into the other; being generated from the same radical triangle. But earth does not pass into either of the three, nor either of these into earth, being generated from a different radical triangle. The pyramid, as sharp and cutting, was assigned to fire as the quickest and most piercing of the four elements; the cube, as the most solid and difficult to move, was allotted to earth, the stationary element. Fire was composed of pyramids of different size, yet each too small to be visible by itself, and becoming only visible when grouped together in masses; the earth was composed of cubes of different size, each invisible from smallness; the other elements in like manner each from its respective solid in exact proportion and harmony, as far as necessity could be persuaded to tolerate. All the five regular solids were thus employed in the configuration of the new

¹ *Timaeus* 53.

structure of the Kosmos. I have given Mr. Grote's summary of chapters xix.–xxi. of the *Timaeus*: as he has no thesis to prove such as I have in view, his statements will be free from all suspicion of being *ex parte*.

The notion that the Kosmos itself is a spherical dodekahedron naturally suggests another passage of Plato still more familiar than that of the *Timaeus*.

In the *Phaedo* (chapp. lviii. lix. § 109 *seq.*) Plato gives us a set of kosmical views, which are again based on Pythagorean doctrines.

If one could look down on the earth from space, it would appear just like a ball made up of twelve pieces of leather (ὡςπερ αἱ δωδεκάσκυτοι σφαῖραι), variegated, picked out with colours, of which the colours known here are samples.

He then describes at length the glories of that unseen region, enumerating the various hues, such as gold and purple and blue, which it presents; he proceeds to describe the perfection of things, then their perfect purity and freedom from all corruption, and finally the structure of the earth itself is described—‘the mountains in like fashion and the stones in similar proportion possess both a smoothness and a transparency and colours more beautiful than those here; and of these the little stones in this world, the precious stones, are parts, such as sards and jaspers and smaragdī’ :—

τὰ ὄρη ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἔχειν ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῆν τε λειότητητα καὶ τὴν διαφάνειαν καὶ τὰ χρωμάτα καλλίω· ὦν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε λίθδια τὰ ἀγαπόμενα μόρια· οἶον σάρδια τε καὶ ἰάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους.

Plato argues thus from the most beautiful, most pure, and most imperishable of all things in this world to substantiate his doctrine of the unseen world. The natural crystals are indeed the most perfect and most enduring of all things that we know.

In later times the writer of the Apocalypse forms his conception of the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, on the same analogy. The foundations of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones, the first a jasper, the second sapphire, the third a chalcedony, the fourth an emerald, the fifth sardonyx, the sixth sardius, etc.

As Plato follows Pythagoras in the *Timaeus*, so also he seems to be following him in the *Phaedo*. The doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls embedded in this same description is beyond doubt Pythagorean. Moreover it is generally agreed

that Pythagoras was the founder of the doctrine that the earth is a sphere, and to the Pythagoreans must be ascribed the first use of the word Kosmos in the sense of an ordered universe.

The key to what Pythagoras meant by saying that τὰ ὄντα had their existence by the imitation of numbers seems to be given us here. The great mass of the earth's crust which we see around us is corrupt, and formed of amorphous matter, the rocks and stones are eaten away by the impure atmosphere and the brine of the sea. Were it not for these agencies we might see them in glorious intact forms and colours. There are certain objects however which lead us to this conclusion, the little stones called precious stones which are fragments of those diaphanous stones of perfect purity of which the unseen region is wholly compact. Is it overbold to suggest that Pythagoras from observing the perfect mathematical shapes of natural crystals was led to the conception that the world was built of numbers? If the objection is raised that it is a groundless assumption to suppose that Pythagoras ever had his attention called to any such objects as natural crystals, my answer is not far to seek. Diogenes Laertius says (viii. 1), Pythagoras was the son of the Samian Mnesarchus, a *signet-engraver* (δακτυλιόγλυφον). Thus above all men Pythagoras had the shapes of precious stones forced upon his attention from his earliest days. We are not told anywhere that he was himself brought up to the same trade as his father, but from our knowledge of the way in which arts and trades were hereditary in Greece, as they are at this day in Oriental countries, we may not unreasonably conjecture that he was brought up to his father's trade, though he may have abandoned it when he came to manhood.

That he would have approached the treatment of philosophy under the influence of his boyish training is rendered highly probable by the analogous case of Socrates. The latter introduces references and analogies borrowed not only from the trade of his father, Sophroniscus the statuary,¹ but also from the calling of his mother Phaenarete the midwife.²

If any fact in the life of Pythagoras is well attested, it is that he went to Egypt, and there studied mathematics. Geometry was the branch of that subject which was the creation of the Egyptians. Combining

then his knowledge of crystallography gained from his father's trade with that of Egyptian geometry, Pythagoras conceived the world built up of a series of material bodies imitating geometrical solids.

Aristotle is in doubt as to whether the Pythagorean cause is material or formal.³

The view that I have put forward explains this doubt; for the Pythagorean cause is material, combined with the formal element of geometry.

Plato mentions the pyramid, the octahedron or double pyramid, the eikosihedron, the cube, and the dodekahedron. Let us see what crystals suggesting such forms Pythagoras could have seen. An ordinary form of quartz crystal would give him a perfect pyramid and a double pyramid. The quartz crystal has been in use among primitive men everywhere as an amulet and ornament from the earliest times. There are many Assyrian cylinders made of it and, what is still more to our purpose, it was regularly used by the Greeks who engraved that class of signet known as the Island gems.⁴

Iron pyrites is widely diffused and was certainly known to the Greeks. It is found in cubes massed together.

Theophrastus (*Lap.* § 14) most probably alludes to it. Galena ore has been found in great quantities in the ancient mines of Laurium. This substance crystallizes in cubes.

Fluor spar exhibits the same form of crystallization, though I am not aware that any archaic Greek gems made of it have been brought to light. Assyrian cylinders made of this substance are known.

The dodekahedron is found in nature in the common garnet. This was a stone well known to the Greeks and held in high favour both in the noble kind, which came from Carthage and Massilia, and also in the common coarse varieties which were found in Greece itself, both at Orchomenus and in the island of Chios (Theophrastus, *Lap.* §§ 18 and 33). It was so highly esteemed that Theophrastus devotes a special section to it, just as he does to the smaragdus. Both of these are placed at the head of his list of stones used by the engravers for signets.

That the engravers of Samos were well

³ *Metaph.* A. 6. This I owe to my friend Dr. Jackson.

⁴ *British Museum Cat. of Gems*, Nos. 33, 57, 72. There is an early scaraboid gem in rock crystal in the Fitzwilliam Museum (No. 5).

¹ Plato, *Euthyphro* 11 C.

² *Ib.*, *Theaetetus* 161 E.

acquainted with the *smaragdus*, a term which included down to the time of Theophrastus (315 B.C.) all the three kinds of the same beautiful crystal, the beryl, the emerald, and *aqua marine*—is put beyond doubt by the fact that the renowned signet of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos (560–522 B.C.), which he cast into the sea to avert Nemesis, was a *smaragdus* engraved for him by the famous sculptor and engraver, Theodorus of Samos (Herod. iii. 41). The beryl was found in Cyprus, as we learn from Theophrastus (*op. cit.* 26), who alludes to the beautiful cylindrical hexagons in which it is found as rods (*ῥάβδοι*). The Greeks used these elegant natural crystals as earrings. Such have been found in Cypriote graves. Long cylindrical beads of emeralds and beryls have been found in the archaic tombs of Rhodes.

As Theophrastus certainly knew the difference between crystalline and amorphous substances, there can be no reasonable ground for doubting that the engravers of archaic gems must have learned very early this difference. In fact it is absolutely certain that the observation of such a difference must have been first made by those whose profession it was to seek after crystals.

I have purposely left to the last the eikosihedron of the *Timæus*. No such crystalline form is known in nature. It is strange that Plato should have taken a number which gives no relation to the octahedron. The Pythagoreans held the number 24 of great value. It was the product of $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4$, just as the sum of these first four digits was 10. If Plato had taken a 24-sided figure, it would have been in relation to 4 and 8 (the pyramid and double pyramid), and it would have had a prototype in nature. But for our purpose it is unnecessary to discuss what Plato meant. With him the mathematical side was completely detached from the natural phenomenon, the observation of which had probably led Pythagoras to conceive that the world existed by the imitation of natural crystals.

Imitation was an excellent term to employ. Every one conversant with crystallography knows how frequently crystals are mis-shapen, the facets irregular. Pythagoras as a practical engraver could not help observing this and feeling that they frequently were not perfect mathematical solids, but attempted imitations of such, more or less imperfect.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

THE second volume of the excellent English translation of Holm's *History of Greece*¹ contains some of the best work of the historian. When we come into the clear field of historical fact, Holm's narrative and exposition are masterly. It is in the dimmer regions where we find anecdote, legend, and history mixed that he is less satisfactory; and his first volume is the weakest of the four. The weakness consists in a certain credulous caution, if I may use the expression, in dealing with such a source, for example, as Herodotus. His excessive distrust of scepticism leads him into distrust of criticism. This defect is illustrated in vol. ii. in the account of the Persian war. The narrative of the campaign of Marathon given by Herodotus is simply reproduced by Holm, without any adequate recognition of the difficulties besetting that narrative,

in which the Persians are represented as acting like children. Any one who reads critically the Herodotean account must see that Herodotus had not the smallest idea why the battle was fought, and had a very inadequate notion of how it was fought. He has collected a number of details, some true, others absurd; which, as he relates them, are without any inner connexion.

In his extremely interesting and important historical studies on Herodotus (vol. ii. of his recent edition of Books iv., v., vi.) Mr. Reginald Macan has devoted a hundred pages to an elaborate examination of the problems connected with Marathon. He has not only done good service by his minute criticism of all the extant evidence, but he has made a distinct contribution to the reconstruction of the battle.

The first important step was taken by Leake who saw that the Athenian camp was near Vrana, at the mouth of the valley of Avlona; and this discovery was reinforced

¹ *History of Greece*, by Adolf Holm. Translated from the German. Vol. ii. The Fifth Century B.C. London and New York: Macmillan, 1896. Price 6s.

by Lolling who determined the site of the Herakleion in that valley. Mr. Macan has now explained, convincingly as I think, the occasion of the battle, and shown how the Athenians were lured out of a position of great strategic strength. The Persians 'decided to make a movement upon Athens, with fleet and with infantry at once, and to make it by the pass to the south, the main road to Athens. By this route navy and army would remain in touch, at least while in presence of the enemy... Whether the Persians were convinced that the Greeks would in terror allow them to go by unmolested or whether they were *in utrumque parati*, prepared to do battle if the occasion arose, may be a question. The greater probability seems to incline to the view that the Persians were fully prepared' (p. 241). 'Nothing in the traditions concerning the actual *mêlée* would justify us in assuming that the Persians were taken in flank or off guard' (p. 242). But this hypothesis is not quite complete, so far as the battle is concerned, and requires to be supplemented, as has been pointed out by Mr. Macan's reviewer in the *Athenaeum* (Dec. 21, 1895). The elements of the art of war demanded that, when the Persian army marched southward with the right flank exposed to the Greeks at Vrana, the Greek position should be masked by a strong detachment drawn up facing the Vrana valley. This assumption, which is simply a logical consequence of Mr. Macan's discovery, explains the details of the battle.

Mr. Macan's hypothesis, thus supplemented, while it elucidates the immediate circumstances of the fight, does not, and does not claim to, carry with it a fully satisfactory view of the whole campaign. But it is a step, of which the importance must be fully recognized, towards the solution of the larger problem.

The question, why the Persians landed on the Marathonian plain, was considered by Herodotus and answered thus (vi. 102): καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδέστατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνπιπέσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίας. Both the statements are false. Marathon is not the part of Attica nearest to Eretria, and the Cephisian plain was much better for cavalry 'than the confined and marshy ground at Marathon, crossed by streambeds and commanded by hills and highland' (Macan, note *ad loc.*). We might indeed, by combining the two clauses, construct a true statement; namely, that the Marathonian plain was the nearest place to Eretria that was suitable for cavalry; but

this is not what Herodotus says. Holm characteristically repeats the insufficient solution of Herodotus. 'Here, the country being level, they were able to use their cavalry to the best advantage.' If the main object of landing at Marathon was to use their cavalry, no one, on the old view of the battle, gave any reasons, that will bear examination, for the circumstance that they made no use of it at all. Curtius suggested that the cavalry must have been re-embarked, and found in this hypothesis an explanation of the Athenian attack.¹ But the hypothesis was incomplete until an adequate motive for the re-embarkation had been assigned. Mr. Macan's theory supplies the needed motive. The Persians disembark their cavalry; after the arrival of the Athenians, 'for several days the armies remained in their respective positions,' the Persians during that time desiring and attempting 'to draw the Athenians down into the plain towards the shore' (p. 240). The Athenians would not be drawn, and 'the Persians at last decided to make a movement upon Athens.' For this purpose the cavalry was re-embarked (p. 242); on the march to Athens it would have been a useless encumbrance.

But, while the problem of the cavalry is vital in determining our theory of the battle, it does not matter so much to the consideration of the question why the Persians landed at the Marathonian plain. If there had been no cavalry, this plain would have seemed to possess equal advantages for deploying large numbers of infantry against a far less numerous foe. The important point which emerges—on any theory—is that the Persians wanted to fight, or to accomplish something which might involve a fight, whether with or without cavalry, at Marathon. This leads us to the

¹ 'What became of the cavalry afterwards? Why do we hear nothing of their re-embarkation? What room is there in the story for that lengthy and elaborate operation after the battle? How were they got off? Curtius's suggestion lets in some light on this dark place. The cavalry was brought, as might be supposed, to Marathon, and there put on shore. The cavalry was re-embarked; and its re-embarkation was the reason for the Athenian attack. This suggestion does not leave the cavalry to be accounted for after the battle, as do all the other suggestions previously noticed [Leake's, Blakesley's]; it explains, as well as the suggestions of Leake, of Blakesley, and of Rawlinson, the absence of all notice of the cavalry in the description of the battle; and it explains better than any other hypothesis the determination of the moment of attack.' But it 'cannot in itself explain the assumption of the offensive by the Athenians or the probable circumstances of the actual fight.' (Macan, ii. pp. 163-4.)

ultimate problem, what was the plan of strategy in which the battle of Marathon was a designed incident, and which was defeated by the unexpected result.

The first thing to grasp is the obvious truth that the 'objective' of the Persians was Athens. This fact must govern our interpretation of the campaign. Herodotus did not grasp it, though, in his characteristic way, he implies it incidentally. 'The Persians,' he says, 'expected to do to the Athenians what they had done to the Eretrians'; and after the defeat they sail, in his pages, round Attica to make an attempt on the city, as a sort of afterthought.

That the Persians did not decide to sail straight to Athens is explained by an easily intelligible desire to avoid a wearisome siege of the Acropolis, which, as Hippias might inform them, would have been no light labour. Their decision to land at Marathon implies that they proposed to accomplish something before an attack upon Athens. The purpose clearly was to lure the Athenian forces to Marathon and keep them there, so that the city might be left unprotected. If the Athenian army were either defeated on the plain or cooped up in the hills, the Persians could march upon Athens, by the route south of Pentelikon—by Pikermi and Charváti—and seize it without difficulty. The point was to detain the Athenians in the region of Marathon, either alive or dead.

The more desirable alternative for the Persians was that their opponents should be induced to fight. Delay on the other hand was obviously the game of the Athenians; their position was strong and they expected Spartan aid. Mr. Macan reasonably accounts for the delay of some days which elapsed between the arrival of the Athenians at the Herakleion and the battle by supposing that the Persians were in vain endeavouring to bring on an action. The fact of the delay cannot be fairly questioned, although Herodotus assigns an unacceptable reason for it. But the Persians could not wait too long; it would have been clearly inexpedient to wait long enough for the arrival of Spartan reinforcements. Accordingly the march on Athens—the ultimate object from the beginning—was resolved on. The Greeks might do one or other of two things, and both possibilities had to be provided for. They might attack the flank of the Persian army as it marched past into the southern pass of the plain; this was provided for, as we saw, by masking the recess of Vrana. Or they might hesitate to run such a risk, and might determine to march back

to Athens, by the Stamata and Cephisia road, by which they had come. In this way they might by a forced march either reach Athens first, or make a dangerous attack on the Persians between Pentelikon and Hymettus. Against this danger it was needful to guard, and it could be obviously met by sending round the south of Pentelikon a small detachment to occupy a position near Stamata, sufficient to bar for hours, if not to hinder entirely, the passage of the Greeks. There was no difficulty in effecting this. Troops for example could be landed by night in boats at some distance south of the little marsh of Vrexisa, and reach their destination under the guidance of local adherents of the Pisistratids.¹ The road was not likely to be guarded, for the Athenians could not spare troops. We may calculate that the Persian soldiers (landing south of Mount Agrieliiki) would have required about six hours to march, by Pikermi and Cephisia, to the place beyond Stamata where the path to Vrana parts from the path to Marathon. Posted there, on the slopes of Aphorismós, the northern spur of Pentelikon, they would await events; ready either to oppose the passage of the Greek army, or, if a battle were fought, and the Athenians were routed, to intercept the fugitives.

In Herodotus, of course, there is not a syllable as to such a device on the part of the Mede. But here, as in some other cases, we find that he has preserved, in a wrong connexion and embedded in fable, a distinct vestige of the truth. I refer to the signal of the shield.

The episode of the shield cannot be set aside, as Mr. Macan has rightly insisted. If there is anything in the whole story that Herodotus is positive about, it is this; and his certainty about the fact is rendered all the more weighty by his uncertainty as to the explanation.² Accordingly 'any attempt at a rational reconstruction of the story of Marathon must reckon with this episode' (p. 165). Not the least valuable part of Mr. Macan's appendix is his criticism of the shield incident. He acutely discerned that the words (vi. 115) εὐοῖσι ἤδη ἐν τῆσι νηυσὶ let out part of the secret. The Persians were already in their ships before the signal was shown; it was therefore a signal not to

¹ Holm (p. 18) gives, like others, a second reason for the landing of the Persians at Marathon, the circumstance that it was 'the district in which the Peisistratidae had long had their adherents.'

² His words are (vi. 124) ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν ἐγένετο γὰρ ὅς μὲντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων (viz. suspicions about the Alcmaeonidae).

embark, but to sail (p. 167); it was shown before the battle was fought.

But the question as to the meaning of the signal remains, in Mr. Macan's reconstruction, still unsolved. Why did the moment for departure depend on a signal shown on the summit of a mountain? The suggestion that it was intended to notify to the Persians that the coast at Phaleron was clear is not plausible, nor any other suggestion implying vague dangers. The only explanation which can carry conviction is one which will fit the episode of the shield into the strategy of the campaign, as a definite and necessary part of it.

The inference, which I made above from the conditions of the problem, that the Persians must have taken measures to beset the Stamata road, involves the supposition that the army in the plain could be by some means apprized of the successful execution of this move in the game. A signal from the top of Mount Pentelikon was the obvious device for conveying the news. Nothing impressed me more when I visited the scene of the battle than the sight of the summit of Pentelikon, which seemed designed by the foresight of nature for the ἀνάδεξις of the shield. The signalman, posted there, could discern what befell in the plain, and signify to the troops of Aphorismós whether the enemy had decided to face the risks of a battle. And in the case, too improbable to contemplate, of an Athenian victory, these

soldiers, warned by him, could return to the shore by the way they had come, and be picked up by the ships of their friends.¹ We may conjecture that this is what actually happened. It is useless to speculate how far the Greeks at the time apprehended the Persian strategy. One might naturally expect that news of the movement in the rear would have been conveyed at once from Stamata to the Greek generals; and this intelligence might, in the supreme moment, have decided them to risk battle. But in those days no official accounts were drawn up of military operations; nor was there a contemporary historian like Thucydides to ask searching questions and record the truth. Some of the circumstances of the battle—if ever fully known—were soon forgotten, with the result that the rest lost their right significance. The flashing of the signal impressed itself on men's imaginations, and as the memory of the actual facts of the campaign grew dimmer, and the events shaped themselves into a story, the shield became the centre of a new mysterious incident, which lent itself to a malicious interpretation by the political enemies of the Alcmaeonidae. Mr. Macan discovered the key to the solution of the problem.

J. B. BURY.

¹ I have added this conjecture (which occurred independently to Mr. Marindin), as showing that every eventuality could be provided for easily by the Persian strategy.

ARISTOPHANICA.

Plutus.

45—52:

KAP. κἄτα ξυναντῆς δῆτα πρώτῳ τουτῶι·

εἶτ' οὐ ξυνίεις τῆν ἐπίνοϊαν τοῦ θεοῦ

φράζοντος ὃ σκαιότατέ σοι σαφέστατα

ἄσκειν τὸν νῖδν τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον;

XP. τῷ τοῦτο κρίνεις; KAP. δῆλον ὅτιῆ καὶ

τυφλῶ.

[γνῶναι δοκεῖ τοῦθ' ὡς σφόδρ' ἐστὶ συμφέρον

τὸ μηδὲν ἄσκειν ὑγιῆς ἐν τῷ νῦν ἔτει.]

γρ. γένοι καὶ χρόνω

XP. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὁ χρῆσιμος εἰς τοῦτο ῥέπει,

ἀλλ' εἰς ἕτερον τι μείζον κ.τ.λ.

I have adopted Cobet's conjectures in 45 and 47, but they do not remove all the difficulties of the passage.

The marginal note upon 51 appears in the Venetus; the Ravennas reads βίω, not ἔτει.

The two lines here bracketed are made up of several adscripts, which we may approximately restore as follows:—

(1) κρίνεις; γνῶναι δοκεῖς. Compare an adscript still to be found among the scholia, κρίνεις: κρίναι θέλεις.

(2) δῆλον: Δ (i.e. λέπει) ἐστί.

(3) καὶ τυφλῶ: σφόδρα.

(4) δῆλον ὅτιῆ καὶ τυφλῶ: ὡς συμφέροντος μηδὲν ἄσκειν ὑγιῆς. Such a genitive absolute introduced by ὡς is a form of adscript often found. The matter comes from 37, 38.

(5) τὸν ἐπιχώριον τρόπον: τὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν γένοι καὶ χρόνω. The βίω of the Ravennas comes from 38.

61—66:

XP. ἀλλ' εἴ τι χαίρεις ἀνδρὸς εὐόρκου τρόπο
ἐμοὶ φράσον. ΠΑ. κλάειν ἔγωγέ σοι λέγω.

KAP. δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦ θεοῦ.
 XP. οὔτοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα χαίρήσεις ἔτι,
 εἰ μὴ φράσεις γάρ, — KAP. ἀπό σ' ὄλω
 κακὸν κακῶς.
 XP. ὦ τὰν — ΠΑ. ἀπαλλάχθην ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.
 XP. πώμαλα.

This distribution of the persons seems to be more dramatic than that hitherto accepted. In the beginning of the play the character of Chremylus is represented as subdued and reflective. He waits to see how things will go. It is the slave who, like the Carian that he is, brings matters to a point. Chremylus tries persuasion until it is shown to be useless, or rather, until Carion has made it impossible.

144—146 :

καὶ νῆ Δί' εἴ τί γ' ἔστι λαμπρὸν καὶ καλὸν
 ἢ χάριεν ἀνθρώποισι, διὰ σέ γίγνεται.
 [ἅπαντα τῷ πλουτεῖν γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπήκοα.]

It is surprising that so plain an interpolation as line 146 should not have been observed long ago. It is τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος like 806,

οὔτω τὸ πλουτεῖν ἔστιν ἡδὺ πρᾶγμα δή,

which Bentley detected.

202—207 :

XP. . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγουσι πάντες ὡς
 δειλότατόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦτος. ΠΑ. ἦκιστ' ἀλλὰ
 με
 τοιχωρῶχος τις διέβαλ'. εἰσδὺς γάρ ποτε
 [οὐκ εἶχεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν οὐδὲν λαβεῖν]
 εἰρῶν ἀπαξάπαντα κατακεκλημένα
 εἶτ' ὀνόμασέ μου τὴν πρόνοιαν δειλίαν.

The εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν was originally adscript to εἰσδύς, the οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδὲν λαβεῖν (or λαμβάνειν Ven.) to εἶτα, its first form being ὅτι οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐκ ἔχων, or the like.

367—370 :

ΒΑ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμμ' αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν
 μένει
 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐπιὸνλον — τί πεπανούργηχ' ; XP.
 ὅ τι ;
 σὺ μὲν οἶδ' ὃ κρῶξεις· ὡς ἐμοῦ τι κεκλοφότος,
 ζητεῖς μεταλαβεῖν. ΒΑ. μεταλαβεῖν ζητῶ ;
 τίνος ;

Blepsidemus, reasoning aloud, speaks of the restless look of Chremylus as indicating guilt—he asks himself what guilt, when Chremylus can endure it no longer, and breaks in with ὅ τι ;

531 :

καίτοι τί πλέον πλουτεῖν ἔστιν τούτων πάντων
 ἀποροῦντα ;

Porson corrected ἔστιν or ἔστι το ἔσται, Valekenaeer ἀποροῦντα ; (vv. ll. ἀποροῦντας, ἀποροῦσι) το ἀποροῦντι ; but, so far as I know, the initial corruption has not yet been pointed out, though the very meaning of καίτοι indicates that something must be wrong with it. The line should run :

καὶ τῷ τί πλέον πλουτεῖν ἔσται τούτων πάντων
 ἀποροῦντι ;

768, 769 :

φέρει νυν ἰοῦσ' εἴσω κομίσω καταχίσματα
 [ὡςπερ νεωνήτοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.]

There is no occasion to alter νεωνήτοις into νεωνήτοισιν, or ἐγώ into χρεῶν or χέων or any other of the many words suggested by editors. The line is not a line, but an adscript tinkered to look like a line.

842—849 :

KAP. τὸ τριβώνιον δὲ τί δύναται πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
 ὃ φέρι τὸ μετὰ σου παιδάριον τουτί ; φράσον.
 ΔΙΚ. καὶ τουτ' ἀναθήσων ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν.
 KAP. μῶν ἐνεμνήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα ;
 ΔΙΚ. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐνεργήσωσ' ἔτη τριακαίδεκα.
 KAP. τὰ δ' ἐμβάδια ; ΔΙΚ. καὶ ταῦτα συνεχει-
 μάζετο.
 [KAP. καὶ ταῦτ' ἀναθήσων ἔφερες οὖν ; ΔΙΚ.
 νῆ τὸν Δία.]
 KAP. χαριέντά γ' ἦκεις δῶρα τῷ θεῷ φέρων.

It is not the οὖν that ought to go in 848, but the whole line. See how it has arisen : ἐμβάδια : ἔφερον οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀναθήσων—a very common form of adscript.

896, 897 :

: κακόδαιμον ὀσφραίνει τι ; : τοῦ ψύχους γ' ἴσως.
 [ἐπεὶ τοιοῦτον ἀμπέχεται τὸ τριβώνιον.]

The attempts to emend 897 are unnecessary. It is a note upon τοῦ ψύχους γ' ἴσως. 'Observe he wears a τριβώνιον, though he says a magic ring has changed it into a ἰμίτιων.'

1080—1083 :

XP. οἶδ' οἶδα τὸν νοῦν· οὐκέτ' ἀξιοῖς ἴσως
 εἶναι μετ' αὐτῆς. ΓΡ. ὃ δ' ἐπιτρέψων ἔστι τίς ;
 ΝΕ. οὐκ ἂν διαλεχθεῖην διεσπλεκωμένη
 ὑπὸ μυρίων ἐτῶν γε καὶ τρισχιλίων.

Line 1083 has not been explained. The number 13,000 is too ridiculous in the

traditional rendering. The context requires a direct reference to the audience, to whom the old woman has appealed. When Chremylus tells the young man that he can see that he no longer cares to keep company with the old woman, she turns to the spectators, and with supreme confidence in her charms demands, 'Is there a man of you all who will let him keep company with me?' The young man's response should be something in this manner: 'I would not have a word to say to a woman who has once had the attentions of so many.' Here we have the clue to the correcting of the line. Plato (*Symp.* 175 E) implies that the Theatre at Athens held a little over 30,000 men. In a comedy of Philemon quoted by Stobaeus (*Florileg.* 2, 27) we get the round number 30,000 spectators.

τί ποτε Προμηθεὺς ὄν λέγουσ' ἡμᾶς πλάσαι
καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ζῶα, τοῖς μὲν θηρίοις

ἔδωχ' ἐκάστῳ κατὰ γένος μίαν φύσιν,
..... ;
ἅπαντες οἱ λέοντές εἰσιν ἄλκιμοι,
δειλοὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς πάντες εἰσιν οἱ λαγῶ.
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλώπηξ ἢ μὲν εἴρων τῆ φύσει,
ἢ δ' αὐθέκαστος, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τρισμυρίας
ἀλώπεκας τις συναγάγη, μίαν φύσιν
ἀπαξασπασῶν ὄψεται τρόπον θ' ἕνα·
ἡμῶν δ' ὅσα καὶ τὰ σώματ' ἔστι τὸν ἀριθμὸν
καθ' ἑνός, τοσοῦτους ἔστι καὶ τρόπους ἰδεῖν.

The whole point lies in making the supposed collection of foxes identical in number with the audience in the theatre.

The line of Aristophanes should therefore run:

ὑπὸ χιλίων γε τῶνδε καὶ τρισμυρίων.

So soon as the corruption of γε τῶνδε made the 31,000 too absurd, the absurdity was diminished to some extent by transposing χιλίων and μυρίων.

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ADVERSARIA—EURIPIDES, *ELECTRA*.

Eur. *Electra* 471 sqq.

περιπλεύρω δὲ κύτει
πύρπνοος ἔσπευδε δρόμῳ λείαινα χαλαῖς
Πειρηναῖον ἄθροῶσα (θ' ὄρωσα αἰ.) πῶλον.

Mr. Keene reports of ἔσπευδε that L. has 'δε by later hand in vacant space before δρόμῳ.'

It is needless to point out the awkwardness of χαλαῖς, which is in no wise removed by reading φοβῶσα, θηρῶσα, or any other conjecture yet made.

The true text seems to me to be:

πύρπνοος ἔσπα διδύμῳ λείαινα χαλᾶ
Πειρηναῖον θοροῶσα πῶλον—

i.e. 'had made a spring and was rending with both claws.'

σπᾶν = σπαράσσειν hardly needs illustration. Yet cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1003 σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους.

After εσπαδιδυμῶι had been wrongly divided as εσπευδε δυμῶι, the alteration to δομῶι and thence to δρομῶι was inevitable.

660-662.

ΗΛ. ἐλθοῦσα μέντοι δῆλον ὡς ἀπόλλυται.
ΠΡ. καὶ μὴν ἐπ' αὐτάς γ' ἴεισῶ δόμων πύλας.
ΗΛ. οὐκοῦν τραπέσθαι σμικρὸν εἰς Ἄιδου τόδε.

The position is this: Clytemnestra is expected to come into the immediate neighbourhood of Electra's cottage in order to join Aegisthus in a certain ceremony. Electra desires to entice her by false pretences to enter the cottage and there meet her death. Here she says, 'If she comes, she is of course a dead woman.' Then follows the corrupt line, spoken by the proposed emissary, to which Electra replies, 'Then all it means is but a step aside into...Hades.'

I can find no satisfaction in Musgrave's εἰσίτω and the attempts at rendering with that emendation.

Rather read

καὶ μὴν ἐπ' αὐτάς γ' εἴσι σῶν δόμων πύλας.

i.e. 'Well, as a matter of fact, she (on her way to Aegisthus) will come right up to the door of your house (=will pass your very door).'

'Then,' answers Electra, 'it will require but one little step aside and she will find herself in Hades.'

861 sqq.

ἴνικας στεφαναφορίαν
κρείσσω † τοῖς παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ ῥέεθροις τελέσας
κασίγητος σέθεν.

Canter emended to *νικᾶ*, and the metre of the (obviously sound) antistrophe rejects τοῖς. For the rest the passage is unemended, inasmuch as an alteration of *κρείσσω* is unwarranted.

Orestes had pretended to be on his way to the Olympic contests. Instead of proceeding thither he gains 'a greater crown' by overcoming Aegisthus. This sense becomes clear by reading:

νικᾶ στεφαναφορίαν
κρείσσω παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ ῥέεθρ' οὐ τελέσας,

where *τελέσας* (cf. *ἀνύσας*) = 'having accomplished the journey,' a sense for which v. L. and S. *τελέω* 6, 2b. 'He wins a greater crown without having fared to the streams of Alpheus.'

1262 sq. (Of the Areopagus.)

ἴν' εὐσεβεστάτη
ψήφος βεβαία τ' ἐστὶν ἕκ γε τοῦ ἴθεοῖς.

(*ἕκ γε τοῦ* for *ἕκ τε τοῦ* is due to Schaefer.) The difficult word is *θεοῖς*, for which nothing better has been suggested than the revolutionary *βροτοῖς* of Kirchhoff. I read:

ἴν' εὐσεβεστάτη
ψήφου βεβαία τ' ἐστὶν ἕκ γε τοῦ θέσις,

where *ψήφου θέσις* corresponds to the familiar *θέσθαι ψήφον*.

1301.

μοῖρας ἀνάγκης ἤγειτο χρεών. MSS.

The line is anapaestic, and Mr. Keene, after Seidler, gives

μοῖραν ἀνάγκης ἤγεν τὸ χρεών.

Better, I should imagine,

μοῖρά σ' ἀνάγκης ἤγ' εἰς τὸ χρεών.

There are a few other places in Mr.

Keene's scholarly text with which one may be excused for feeling still dissatisfied.

Line 87.

ἀφίγμαι δ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἄ μυστηρίων.

The *χρηστηρίων* of Barnes is farther from the text than *πευστηρίων*, which I venture to suggest.

95—97.

δυοῖν δ' ἄμιλλαν ξυντιθεῖς ἀφικόμην
πρὸς τέρμονας γῆς τῆσδ', ἴν' ἐκβάλω ποδὶ
ἄλλον ἐπ' αἶαν....

There is no point whatever in *τῆσδ'*. The word wanted is *τούσδ'*, which suffered a frequent corruption by attraction.

303 sq.

ἄγγελ' Ὀρέστη τὰ μὰ καὶ κείνου κακά
πρῶτον μὲν οἷοις ἐν πέπλοις ταύλιζομαι.....

Is the conjectured *αυαίνομαι* as near to *αυλιζομαι* as *ἀγλάζομαι* (ironical) would be?

484.

ἦ σὰν | ἔτ' ἔτι φόνιον ὑπὸ δέραν |
ᾄψομαι αἶμα χιθὲν σιδάρω.

Would not *σᾶν...δερᾶν* improve the expression grammatically?

616 sq.

OP. *φρουραῖς κέασται δεξιαῖς τε δορυφόρων;*
IP. *ἔγνωσ' φοβεῖται γάρ σε κοῦχ εὔδει ἴσταφῶς.*

Read *σ' ἀφείς*. 'He cannot let the thought of you go.'

640 sq.

OP. *καλῶς ἔλεξας. ἡ τεκοῦσα δ' ἐστὶ ποῦ;*
IP. *Ἄργει. παρέσται δ' ἴ ἐν πόσει θοίνην ἔπι.*

Such alterations as *ἐν τάχει* are obviously out of court. The easiest change is *ἐπιπόσει*, 'to join her husband.'

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XENOPHON'S *OECONOMICUS*.

As the main foundation of the following notes I took Dr. Holden's very useful edition (1894¹) with critical notes, commentary, and

¹ Dr. Holden's new edition (1895) appeared too late for me to make use of it.

an admirable index. Besides older books, I also made use of Hartman's *Analecta Xenophontea* (1887) which contains with other things suggestions on various passages of the *Oeconomicus*. In 1895 Herwerden

published in *Mnemosyne* a few notes of his own, in which some of my alterations are anticipated, and drew attention to a text with occasional notes in Dutch brought out by Hartman in 1888. To this text I have now made reference here and there in my remarks.

1, 18.—εἰ εὐχόμενοι εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν βουλόμενοι ἀφ' ὧν ἔχουεν ἀγαθὰ ἔπειτα κωλύονται.

ἀν must be added before or after ἔχουεν. Cf. 2, 1 εἴ μοι συμβουλευόεις ὃ τι ἀν ποιῶν αὔξομαι τὸν οἶκον: and so *passim*.

2, 5.—Whether the words ἀπεφάνητο ὁ Σωκράτης are genuine or not, ἀπεφάνητο is an evident error for ἀπεκρίνατο. The same confusion occurs in Diod. Sic. xi. 12, 5, where Cobet (*Collectanea* p. 239) has corrected ἀπεκρίνατο γνώμην το ἀπεφάνητο γνώμην.

ibid. ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι καὶ τούτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

Does not Greek idiom require καὶ ταῦτα for καὶ τούτους? The difference is just the same as we should make in English according as we added 'and that—' or 'and those—.' We should say 'entertain many people and *that* sumptuously' or 'entertain many people and *those* people of high position,' and we could not interchange *that* and *those*. So in *Anab.* 2, 5, 21, ἀπόρων ἐστί...καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, we could not put ταῦτα, and in *Plat. Euthyd.* 299 D, οὐκοῦν καὶ χρυσίον, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι ἔχειν; Πάνυ γε, καὶ ταῦτά γε πολὺ we could not put τοῦτο. So too *infra* 20, 28, we could not put καὶ τούτων for καὶ ταῦτα. The words καὶ τούτους here would require to be followed by some word agreeing with τούτους and descriptive of the persons. Such at least is my impression, but there may perhaps be other instances to the contrary.

2, 7.—παιδικοῖς πράγμασι is defended against Hartman, who would omit πράγμασι, by παιδικῶν λόγων in *Ages.* 8, 2.

2, 10.—τὸν οὖν ἀπ' ὀλίγων περιποιῶντα ἐλπίζω ἀπὸ πολλῶν γ' ἂν ῥαδίως πολλὴν περιουσίαν ποιεῖν.

The antithesis suggests that Xenophon wrote ἀπ' ὀλίγων < ὀλίγον > περιποιῶντα, or possibly < τι > περιποιῶντα, as τι sometimes gets omitted before π from similarity to it. But 11, 10 and *Mem.* 4, 2, 38 show that περιποιεῖν can be used absolutely.

2, 13.—οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς χρήματα ὄργανα ἐκεκτήμεν.

Omit χρήματα as a manifest gloss on ὄργανα. (So too Hartman.)

2, 15.—οἶμαι δ' ἂν καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐλθόντος σου καὶ μὴ ὄντος παρ' ἐμοὶ ἄλλοσε ἡγησάμεν

ὁπόθεν σοι εἴη λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἐμέμφου μοι καὶ εἰ ὕδωρ παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτοῦντί σοι αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχων ἄλλοσε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡγαγον, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτό μοι ἐμέμφου.

Hartman would omit καὶ before μὴ ὄντος, but this seems impossible from the awkwardness that would arise as to the subject of ὄντος, nor can I see any objection to καὶ. He points out rightly enough that αἰτοῦντί σοι is deficient in construction (Holden joins it awkwardly with ἔχων) and proposes αἰτοῦντά σε. I would rather read αἰτοῦντί σοι αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχων <παρέχειν>. Cf. 8. 1.

2, 17.—καὶ εἶρον ἐπισκοπῶν πάνυ οἰκείως ταῦτα γινόμενα.

οἰκείως is oddly used. No doubt Xenophon wrote εἰκότως. (I find this anticipated by Herwerden and adopted in Hartman's text.)

2, 18.—τοὺς δὲ γνώμῃ συντεταμένη ἐπιμελουμένους καὶ θάττον καὶ ῥᾶον καὶ κερδαλεώτερον κατέγων πράττοντας.

It is very doubtful whether κατέγων can be used in this way. It means perceiving or deciding or pronouncing something that is somehow to a man's disadvantage, and never has a merely neutral sense.

Thus in 2, 1 above, ἡ κατέγνωκας ἡμῶν ἱκανῶς πλουτεῖν, where the disadvantage may not be immediately apparent, it is brought out in the parallel words καὶ οὐδὲν δοκοῦμέν σοι προσδέσθαι χρημάτων. Socrates has decided against any need on Critobulus' part of more money. In all the examples to which Sturz refers in his *Lexicon Xenophon-teum* as having a neutral sense there is no difficulty in detecting the real meaning. As we have an imperfect (ἐώρων) in the parallel clause, perhaps we ought to read κατενόουν. Ἐπέγων is also possible.

3, 16.—Mehler and Hartman would omit the second σοι, which is a mere repetition of the first (οἶμαι δέ σοι ἔχειν ἂν ἐπιδείξαι σοι). Others have wished to omit the first. Perhaps we should read οἶμαι δέ τοι. Cf. *Cyrop.* 1, 5, 13, ἀλλὰ πιστεύω τοι τῇ πείρᾳ.

4, 4.—ἀρ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μὴ αἰσχυρῶμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μιμήσασθαι;

Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses* § 287) gives what I cannot help thinking an impossible theory of this passage, when he translates it 'Shall we then be ashamed? We shall not be ashamed, shall we?' How can the subjunctive with μὴ in a question have this meaning? He has just himself given instances of a similar construction in which the meaning is, as it must be, the very reverse. Thus *Plato Rep.* 337 B μὴ ἀποκρίνομαι; 'am I not to answer?' *ib.* 554 B μὴ φῶμεν; 'are we not to say?' *Xen. Mem.*

1, 2, 36, μηδ'...ἔρωμαι; 'am I not even to ask?' In other words, μή with such a question necessarily expects an answer in the affirmative, and we cannot get out of it by translating with Heindorf, who cites these words in his note on *Phaedo* 64 C, *num verendum ne pudeat nos, i.e. num pudebit nos Persarum regem imitari?* Dr. Holden translates the phrase here *numquid pudeat nos?* 'can it be that we should be ashamed?' but this in Greek would be μή *αἰσχυνθήμεν ἂν* and not the subjunctive at all. The fact is that μή *αἰσχυνθόμεν* in a question with ἄρα gives us here an impossible sense. Ἄρα I take to be a blunder for ἀλλά, and the words are not a question. 'But let us not be ashamed' is the plain sense required. Dr. Holden's index will furnish instances of ἀλλά thus used at the beginning of an answer. In 12, 1, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔφην ἐγὼ, μή σε κατακώλυς, ὦ Ἰσχομάχε, ἀπίναί ἤδη βουλόμενον; Holden translates 'let me not detain you.' I doubt whether this would be good Attic Greek, but in any case it is not what the speaker means, and, if it is, I do not see how Holden can be right in punctuating the words as a question. He should have given the explanation he gives on 4, 4, for the words mean 'I am not detaining you, am I?' (or perhaps 'but I fear I am detaining you').

For a quite certain instance of the confusion of ἀλλά and ἄρα see *Alcibiades I.* 119 D, where the Bodleian MS. has ἄρα and the Venetian T has ἀλλά.

4, 6.—Hartman omits the καί before τοὺς μέν. There does seem to be something wrong with the sentence, but it is not unlikely that the difficulty arises from the accidental omission after *συνάγων* of some such verb as ἐφορᾷ, ἐπισκοπεῖ, or δοκιμᾷζει (8).

4, 13.—ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐν ὁπόσας τε χώραις ἐνοικεῖ καὶ εἰς ὁπόσας ἐπιστρέφεται, ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων, ὅπως κῆποι τε ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι πάντων καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν μεστοί, ὅσα ἢ γῆ φύειν ἐθέλει, καὶ ἐν τούτοις αὐτοῖς τὰ πλείεστα διατρίβει.

Hartman omits κῆποι τε. Surely the probable adscript is not κῆποι but οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι, just what a note-writer would add. As for τε, I should suggest that it is quite right and that it points to our writing διατρίβει for διατρίβει. So we get ὅπως κῆποι τε ἔσονται πάντων...μεστοί... καὶ ἐν τούτοις... διατρίβει.

5, 1.—ταῦτα δέ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐγὼ διηγῶμαι, ὅτι τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ' οἱ πάνν μακάριοι δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι.

ταῦτα refers not to ὅτι κ.τ.λ. but to the anecdote just told. We have to read some-

thing like <ἐπιδεικνύων> ὅτι, or <ἴν' εἰδῆς> ὅτι. The omission is as old as Stobaeus, who quotes this passage. It may be thought that ὅτι means here 'to show that,' as for instance in Dem. 18, 37 ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει λέγε μοι το ψήφισμα. But is not this use restricted to cases in which ὅτι (or ὡς) begins the sentence? The meaning 'because' seems unsuited to the context.

5, 7.—Here and in 4, 8 Hartman takes exception to the use of χώρα and γῆ as though they were distinct things and proposes to omit τῇ χώρα καὶ here and τὴν γῆν there. In both places γῆ ('soil') is used with reference to cultivation, χώρα ('country') to habitation, and in this way there is nothing strange in the language used.

5, 8.—καὶ δραμεῖν δὲ καὶ βαλεῖν καὶ πηδησαι. One would think βαλεῖν ought either to follow πηδησαι or to precede δραμεῖν. Schenk's βᾶδην ἰέναι seems to me quite wrong. βαλεῖν refers to the ὄπλα mentioned in the sentence before.

5, 18.—I think there must certainly be something missing after *προνοῆσαι*, as Schneider and others have supposed. Cf. the construction of 6, 11.

6, 3.—I had conjectured διελεῖν for διελεθεῖν and find my view shared by Herwerden.

6, 13.—τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς τέκτονας, χαλκείας ἀγαθοὺς, ζωγράφους ἀγαθοὺς, ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα πάνν ὀλίγος μοι χρόνος ἐγένετο ἱκανὸς περιελθεῖν τε καὶ κ.τ.λ.

The position of ἀγαθοὺς after χαλκείας and ζωγράφους is hardly to be justified, considering that there is an article preceding. Now the whole context both before and after deals not with persons who are good at this or that, but with such as are called good. Thus in 12 ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα δικαίως ἐστίν, ὃ καλεῖται καλὸς τε κάγαθὸς ἀνὴρ, and again in 14, 16, 17. It occurs to me therefore as probable, and as explaining the position of the adjective, that Xenophon wrote καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα <καλουμένους>. Holden may very probably be right in inserting another ἀγαθοὺς before ἀνδριαντοποιούς.

7, 5.—ἔζη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὄψοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἀκούσοιτο.

I do not feel very sure that the genitive πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας should not be the dative, such as we have in Plat. *Rep.* 574 E ἦν... ὑπὸ νόμοις τε καὶ πατρί. ὡς after ὅπως is probably a case of dittography: otherwise ought it not to be repeated with the second ἐλάχιστα? 16, 9 and other passages show it

to be unnecessary. (Hartman gives πολλῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ.)

7, 10.—τί δέ; ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ. Read τί δέ... <εἰ μὴ> ἐπεὶ, as in 9, 1 and 2. (So Hartman.)

7, 18.—δοκοῦσι πολὺ διεσκεμμένως μάλιστα τὸ ζεῦγος τοῦτο συννεθεικῆναι... ὅπως ὅτι ὠφελιμώτατον ἢ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν.

Read something like <δὲ ἐκείνο> μάλιστα.

7, 35.—οἷς μὲν ἂν ἔξω τὸ ἔργον ἢ τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτους συνεκπέμπειν. Hartman σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐκπέμπειν. Perhaps τούτους μὲν ἐκπέμπειν.

7, 40.—Possibly σώζοι here should be σώσοι and σώζῃ in 8, 16 σώσῃ. In this place at any rate the future would be much

more idiomatic: in the other the aorist would be symmetrical but is less called for by custom.

7, 43.—τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τε κάγαθά, ἐγὼ ἔφην, οὐ διὰ τὰς ὠραιότητας ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς εἰς τὸν βίον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαύξεται.

'The word (ἐπαύξεται) is only found in this one passage in Xenophon,' says Holden. He might have added that ἐπαύξεται εἰς τὸν βίον is an odd expression. I conjecture Xenophon to have written ἐπέρχεται or perhaps ἐπάγεται. Cf. 8, 7 εἰς γὰρ τὸ κενούμενον ἀεὶ οἱ ὀπισθεν ἐπέρχονται. The καλὰ κάγαθά are something additional, over and above common living: hence ἐπί.

H. RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

NOTE ON EUR. *MEDEA*, vss. 340-345.

THE passage in Eur. *Med.* 340-345 has been objected to by scholars as unsatisfactory. It reads as follows:

μίαν με μείναι τήνδ' ἕασον ἡμέραν
καὶ ξυμπερᾶναι φροντίδ' ἢ φευξοῦμεθα,
παισὶν τ' ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ἐπεὶ πατὴρ
οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ μηχανήσασθαι τέκνοισ.
οἴκτειρε δ' αὐτούς· καὶ σύ τοι παίδων πατὴρ
πέφυκας· εἰκὸς δ' ἐστὶν εὐνοϊάν σ' ἔχειν.

The τέκνοισ at the end of v. 343 is a pleonastic repetition of παισὶν at the beginning of v. 342, which is again repeated as παίδων in v. 344. Again, the verb μηχανάσθαι, we are told, is extremely seldom, if ever, used absolutely. Further it may be argued that αὐτούς in v. 344 strikes the ear at least as odd, if not incorrect, immediately after τέκνοισ: one would rather expect αὐτὰ agreeing with the preceding τέκνα and not with the παίδων following.

All these objections, it seems to me, can be easily avoided by a very slight change of the reading and punctuation. I would therefore propose to alter the lines 342-343 as follows:

παισὶν τ' ἀφορμὴν ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ἐπεὶ πατὴρ
οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ, μηχανήσασθαι τέχνην;

The palaeographical difficulties involved in this change are so unimportant and so easily overcome, and the psychological reasons for the blunder of the copyist are so obvious as to make it hardly worth while to dwell upon these points.

An objection may be raised as to whether the word τέχνησ would not sound too ominous in Medea's mouth. But the word τέχνησ would not strike Creon's ear as suspicious; for he himself had suggested it to her:

ὡς ταῦτ' ἄραρε, κοῦκ ἔχεις τέχνην, ὅπως
μενεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, οὐσα δυσμενῆς ἐμοί (vss.
321-322).

She unconsciously repeats the word without fearing to rouse any suspicion in Creon. That she is really plotting while uttering vss. 340-347 is apparent from her whole succeeding monologue, vss. 364-408. But we get at a striking proof of this, if we compare vss. 340-345 with vss. 368-369:

δοκεῖς γὰρ ἂν με τόνδε θωπεύσασαι ποτε
εἰ μὴ τι κερδαίνουσαν ἢ τεχνωμένην;

where θωπεύσασαι recalls to one's mind v. 345, while τεχνωμένην is in like manner to be referred to l. 343. Is it not natural then that Medea, in whose soliloquy 'plotting' and the cry for vengeance is the 'Leitmotiv,' finding its embodiment in the words τεχνωμένην (v. 369) and τεχνωμένη (v. 382 and v. 401) should have used the word τέχνησ in v. 343, even if there were reason to fear that it would elicit suspicion in Creon, which really, as we have seen, was not the case?

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NOTE ON PLATO, *REPUBLIC* X. 607 C.

THE words καὶ ὁ τῶν δία σοφῶν ὄχλος κρατῶν—such is the reading of Parisinus A—have been discussed in the *Classical Review*, vol. viii. p. 394, by Mr. Herbert Richards, who suggests λίαν for δία. The same suggestion had already been made by Herwerden (in *Mnemosyne* xii. p. 333), and is probably right, though the traditional view, ‘the crowd of philosophers overmastering Jove’ (as Jowett and Campbell render the phrase), has something to be said for itself, and finds an apt parallel (so far as it goes) in the Shakespearian quotation (also in Jowett and Campbell) ‘A politician...one that would circumvent God.’ Mr. Richards’ suggestion however leaves κρατῶν even more obscure than before. It is admitted that the whole phrase is a quotation from some poet who either in his own person or by the mouth of one of his characters sneered at philosophers. I do not think that Plato is likely to have selected a quotation containing a word which is either otiose or obscure; and κρατῶν is one of the two. Mr. Richards remarks: ‘it would probably be unwise to alter κρατῶν, but κριτῶν is an obvious conjecture.’ Why κριτῶν? I venture to suggest κράτων ‘heads.’ ‘The rabble of the unco-clever heads’ is a fair gibe for a poet to throw at a philosopher. We may compare with the general sentiment the words of Burns (‘Address to the Unco Guid’):

My son, these maxims make a rule
And lump them aye thegither;
The rigid righteous is a fool,
The rigid wise anither.

Both because Euripides seems to be the only one of the three great tragedians who uses the plural of *κράς, and also because (forgetful of the proverb about glass houses) he is fond of sneering at οἱ ἄγαν σοφοί (as the passages cited by Mr. Richards prove: cf. also *Hipp.* 518, to which Herwerden refers), I think it likely that we have

here a fragment of Euripides, than whom Plato castigated no poet more unmercifully:

τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὄχλος
κράτων.

The contempt expressed by the rare, and possibly somewhat vulgar, form κράτων (*Scotticè* ‘pows,’ perhaps) at the beginning of the line seems to me admirable. It is perhaps no mere accident that in the only two passages where the form occurs in Homer it is the heads of the unhappy suitors that are punished:

τῶν δὲ στόνος ὄρνυτ’ ἀεικῆς
κράτων τυπτομένων, δάπεδον δ’ ἅπαν αἵματι θύεν.
(χ 308-9 and ω 184-5).

Here too (as it seems to me) the derision is obvious, and is accentuated by the position of the word at the beginning of the line.

The accentuation κράτων (rather than κρατῶν) is in conformity with the precepts of the grammarians Choeroboscus and others (see Chandler’s *Greek Accentuation*, pp. 159 and 279). Although κρατός, κρατί, and κρασί were allowed, κρατῶν was rejected, in case (so we are told) it should be confounded with the genitive plural of κράτος or the present participle of κρατῶ. One might have thought that the quantitative difference would have been sufficient to differentiate them, at all events in an age when accents had not yet begun to regulate the quantity of syllables. The grammarians may or may not be right; in any case it is interesting to note (if my suggestion is accepted) that the difference in accent did not prevent the confusion which they feared. I strongly suspect however that the accentuation of the word was regular in Plato’s time; and if so, no change, not even that of an accent, need be made in the κρατῶν of the manuscripts.

J. ADAM.

ETHOPOIIA IN LYSIAS.

IN his recent edition of Lysias Professor Morgan has paid considerable attention to the author’s ethopoia, drawing largely, with due credit, from Dr. Devries’ dissertation on the subject. In his appendix, therefore,

on *Oration* xxiv. 13 one might have looked for a defence of πάντας as read in the codex Palatinus (X) against the emendations of Frohberger and Rauchenstein.

For surely, if Professor Morgan has no

misgivings that he is riding ethopoiia too hard, when he packs upon it the use of ἐλεημονέστατοι, δειλαιότατος, and the rest mentioned on page 119, he need not hesitate to add to the burden the quite remarkable postponement in its clause, in this speech alone, of the word πᾶς—a mere trick perhaps of the cripple's tongue, which Lysias might well have noted and introduced. So at least I had explained the matter in my class-room, before learning from Professor Bristol that he too had taken it so, though not committing himself to this explanation in his edition of Lysias.

πᾶς, as every one knows, more frequently precedes than follows the noun, pronoun, or verb. When post-position occurs, it is almost invariably immediate, or, if a word intervene,—and there is rarely more than one,—it is some necessary conjunction claiming its right to the second place, as δέ or γάρ. Yet even this slight postponement of the word gives it almost the emphasis of an appositive. How much more emphatic, then, does it become when carried back *past the verb* and lodged at or near the end of its clause. The question how often in the later emphatic oratory of Demosthenes the word claims this significant position, I cannot answer. Rehdantz's *Index* cites but one instance of ἄπαντα—viii. 20 εἶτ' ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἄπαντα; But certainly among the characters of the earlier Lysias, the cripple only is permitted to use this, perhaps at that time, over-emphatic and plebeian mode of expression.

With the aid of the new *Index Lysiacus* by Dr. D. H. Holmes, Lysias' adjectival use of the word πᾶς may be presented briefly as follows:—

(1) In thirty-six cases where the noun has no article, πᾶς in every instance immediately precedes, as: ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, πάντα κακά. (The words πάντες ὄμνον Ἀθηναῖοι, Sauppe *Frg.* 157, can be attributed to Lysias only with great doubt, and the collocation is unlike any other instance where the substantive lacks the article.)

(2) In four cases where the noun has the article, πᾶς stands after the article and again precedes the noun, as: ὁ πᾶς χρόνος, no instance appearing such as (ὁ) χρόνος ὁ πᾶς.

(3) In fifty-seven cases where the noun has the article, πᾶς precedes either immediately, as: πάντα τὸν χρόνον (forty-two times), or with γάρ intervening (once), or

with a verb, as: πάντα γράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα (nine times), and only five times follows its noun, as: ἐκ τοῦ βίου παντός, τᾶλλα τὰ γεγόμενα πάντα. But in these five instances be it observed that πᾶς follows immediately except once, where an adverb intervenes (xiii. 2). But in no case does the verb come between.

(4) In thirty cases where πάντες is used in agreement with the subject implied in the verb-ending, but expressed by no word, it precedes the verb twenty-eight times. Only in viii. 8 do we have περιήλθετε πάντες, and in xix. 37 βούλονται γὰρ πάντες.

(5) In thirty-two cases of πᾶς used with a pronoun, as: πάντες ὑμεῖς, πάντα ταῦτα, we find that πᾶς precedes seventeen times, and—disregarding *Orat.* xxiv.—in ten instances follows its pronoun, in six of these immediately, in one after an intervening δέ, in one after μέν, one after a substantive, one after ἐστί (which, however, does not belong to the immediate syntax—xiii. 92).

But in no case have we yet found the order: noun (or pronoun) + verb + πᾶς. Such a disposition, we can see by comparison with the normal orders already given, would be doubly emphatic—first, because πᾶς follows its noun; secondly, because separated from it, and that too by their verb. Turning now to *Orat.* xxiv. we find that in Lysias' long gallery of characters it is alone our 'character' the cripple who five times over points his clauses with a πάντες, as follows: § 13 τί κωλύει... ἡμᾶς ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν δόλοισιν ὡς ὑγαίνοντος, τούτῳ δὲ ψηφίσασθαι πάντας ὡς ἀναπήρω;—§ 14 πειράται πείθειν ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐκ εἰμι τοιοῦτος οἷον ὑμεῖς ὄρατε πάντες—§ 19 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐνθυμήθητε πάντες ὅτι κ.τ.λ.—§ 21 ἐγὼ δ' ἡμῶν, ὦ βουλή, δέομαι πάντων κ.τ.λ.—§ 27 καὶ οὕτως ὑμεῖς μὲν τὰ δίκαια γνώσεσθε πάντες κ.τ.λ.

What is this if not ethopoiia? One may recall Lessing's Klosterbruder in *Nathan the Wise* with his recurrent 'Sagt der Patriarch,' to realize how slight a touch is needed to individualize a character. I may add that among the thirty-eight like instances of πᾶς following its substantive in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, as detailed by Joost in his most instructive book *Der Sprachgebrauch Xenophon's*, p. 78 f., I find only one where the order is: subject, verb, πᾶς; viz. vi. 3, 21 παρηγγέλη τὰ πυρὰ κατασβεννύειν πάντα.

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NATURAL HISTORY IN HOMER.

I do not know whether the following parallel passages from Homer's *Iliad* and the 'Badminton Library' on Big Game Shooting have been noticed before, but they seemed to me interesting as showing how true to nature Homer always is in his descriptions of animal life.

Il. v. 161.

ὄς δὲ λέων ἐν βοσὶ θορῶν ἐξ ἀχένα
ἄξῃ

πόρτιος ἢ βόος, ξύλοχον κῆτα βόσκομενάων.

Il. xi. 174

βόες ὡς

ἄστε λέων ἐφόβησε, μολῶν ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ
πάσας· τῇ δὲ τ' ἰῆ ἀναφαίνεται αἰπὺς

ἄλεθρος·

τῆς δ' ἐξ ἀχένα' ἔαξεν.

Big Game Shooting, vol. i., F. C. Selous,
p. 327.

'A single large male lion will kill a heavy ox or a buffalo cow without using his teeth at all by *breaking its neck* or rather causing the frightened beast to break its own neck... We will suppose a large heavy ox weighing 1000 lbs. is seized by a lion whilst grazing or walking, the attack being made from the left side. In that case the lion seizes the ox by the muzzle with its left paw putting its head in under it. At the same time with the extended claws of the right paw it holds its victim by the top of the shoulder, its hind feet being firmly planted on the ground. The ox plunges madly forward and from the position in which its head is held not seeing where it is going, and hampered by the weight of the lion, soon falls and rolling over *breaks its neck by the weight of its own body.*'

H. W. AUDEN.

NOTE ON SALLUST *IUG.* 78.

SALL. *Iug.* 78. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa... quorum proxima terrae praealta sunt, cetera ut fors tulit alta, alia in tempestate vadosa.

In the last part of this sentence, *ut fors tulit* answers to *vadosa*; *alia* has nothing to answer to it; and *alta* is flat after *praealta*. I suggest 'cetera ut fors tulit *aliâ*,

aliâ in tempestate vadosa.' We thus get a chiasmus, with more skilful disposition of the ideas, and the clumsiness vanishes. 'The rest is in some weathers as may happen, in other weathers shallow.'

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JOWETT AND CAMPBELL'S *REPUBLIC*.

Plato's Republic. The Greek Text, edited with notes and essays by the late B. JOWETT, M.A., and LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D. In three volumes, £2 2s. Oxford. 1894.

It is strange how slow we English have been in providing ourselves with satisfactory editions even of the books which form the staple of classical education, as carried on in our schools and universities. How long we had to wait for decent editions of Homer and Sophocles, of Horace and Virgil and Tacitus! The best intellects in Oxford had been devoted to the study of the *Ethics*

and *Politics*, the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* of Aristotle for many years, before Grant and Stewart touched the *Ethics*, or Cope had busied himself with the *Rhetoric*, or Butcher with the *Poetics*; while as to the *Politics*, nothing worthy of English scholarship found its way into print, till Newman and Hicks published the first portion of their editions in 1887 and 1894 respectively. The case has been even worse with the most widely known and the most generally admired of all the remains of ancient philosophy—the *Republic* of Plato. If I am not mistaken, the subject of this notice is absolutely the first complete English edition of Plato's

greatest work,—a neglect which is no doubt capable of partial explanation from the fact that for more than forty years scholars have been warned off from this province by the rumour that Jowett had marked it out for his own.

What then do we find as the result of this long incubation? I think the general verdict will be that it has given us the best existing edition of the *Republic*, and a work not unworthy of its distinguished editors and of the University from which it proceeds. In the first place it is beautifully printed and got up. It is possible here to read Plato, as he ought to be read, with unmixed enjoyment, in a more accurate text than is to be found elsewhere, accompanied by short critical notes at the foot of the page. The reader is not embarrassed by having to grope his way through a thin margin of text, drowned in an ocean of explanatory notes, these latter being happily stowed away in the third volume, where we may consult them or not, as we please. Beside the Text, the first volume contains a Preface, giving a history of the edition, and stating how the work was distributed between the two editors, together with a photographic specimen of the Paris MS., and an Index of the rarer words.

The second volume begins with thirty-four pages by Prof. Jowett, containing three short notes on particular passages and an unfinished essay on the Text of Greek Authors and of Plato in particular. Here the late Master of Balliol appears in the character of an uncompromising champion of the MS. tradition and a determined opponent of conjectural criticism. Standing, as it does, at the head of the volume and affording plenty of scope for easy rhetoric, this essay has formed the natural prey of the 'indolent reviewer.' I shall content myself with saying that it should be compared with Prof. Campbell's later essay on the same subject, and that, as far as my experience goes, faith in the infallibility of MSS. is apt to vary inversely with faith in the principles of logic and grammar.

The remaining 356 pages of the second volume are due to Prof. Lewis Campbell. In an excellent essay of sixty-six pages on the structure of the *Republic* and its relation to other Dialogues, followed by an excursus on the place of the *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, and *Philebus* in the order of the Platonic writings, he endeavours to show by considerations, partly linguistic and partly philosophical, that the *Parmenides*, *Theaetetus*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, and *Philebus* form

a distinct group, which is later than the *Republic*, these being again succeeded by the final group of the *Timaeus*, *Critias*, and *Laws*. The next essay, consisting of nearly 100 pages, is occupied with the Text. Prof. Campbell divides the MSS. into three families, the representative of the first being the Paris A, of which he has himself made a new collation, correcting several readings which have been misquoted in all previous editions. Of the Venice II, which he takes as the representative of the second family, he gives a new collation by Prof. Castellani. These two families are the only ones recognized by Schanz, but Prof. Campbell brings forward strong evidence to show the independence of a third group of MSS., as the representative of which he takes a Cesena MS. (M), unused by any previous editor of the *Republic* but collated for this edition by Prof. E. Rostagno. The various readings given at the foot of the text in vol. i. are taken from AHM, supplemented, where their evidence was doubtful, by secondary MSS., especially the Venice MS. (Ξ) which has also been collated by Prof. Castellani for this edition. After a full account of these and other MSS., Prof. Campbell goes on to speak of textual emendation, which he illustrates by reference to the *Phaedo* papyrus discovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie. Then follows a judicious chapter on the different kinds of textual error, with examples from the *Republic*. Schneider is condemned for over-conservatism, and a list of passages (twenty-nine in number) is given, in which the present text has been restored by conjecture. Prof. Campbell is responsible for only one of these, but he gives a list of fifteen other emendations, which he has proposed in the notes without altering the text. He also gives his reasons for rejecting various plausible conjectures by Cobet, Madvig, W. H. Thompson, and others.

Essay III. deals with Plato's use of language. Beginning with some good remarks on his style it goes on to treat of peculiarities of construction, and closes with remarks on the Platonic vocabulary. There is much here that is interesting and instructive, but I notice an occasional want of precision and a certain hastiness, which seem to me to detract from the value of this essay as compared with the two which precede. To give instances: on p. 174, as an instance of a difficult optative, we have, without note, (i. 352 E), *τί δέ; ἀκούσῃς ἄλλω ἢ ὤσιν*; but when we read the preceding words *εἴθ' ὅτῳ ἂν ἄλλω ἴδοις ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς*,

we see that this should be classed with (ii. 382 D) ἀλλὰ δεδῶς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ψεύδοιτο; which is cited on p. 175 as an instance of a 'construction continued from a preceding sentence having the optative with ἄν.'¹ P. 177, among difficult uses of the infinitive, we have (i. 133 E) καὶ λαθεῖν οὗτος δεινότατος ἐμπούησαι, where it is said 'there is a double construction of this kind: most clever to implant, most clever to escape notice (in implanting). Schneider's emendation ἐμπούησας saves the grammar at the expense of natural emphasis.' But the emendation is *Stallbaum's*, who says in his note on the passage, 'Schneiderus recte dici posse statuit λαθεῖν ἐμπούησαι, quod certe a probae Graecitatis usu abhorret. Imo refigendum est δεινότατος ἐμπούησας.' The idea of a double construction seems to me impossible. Nor do I see anything wrong in the emphasis 'he who is most skilful in guarding against the approaches of disease, is also most skilful in the stealthy introduction of disease.' It is the converse of 'Set a thief to catch a thief.' P. 177. 'The infinitive instead of the participle, as elsewhere, sometimes follows φαίνεσθαι,' of which the example is (iv. 432 D) φαίνεται πρὸ ποδῶν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κυλινδέεσθαι 'it has manifestly been rolling at our feet all the while.' But surely it is more in harmony with the following καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶμεν ἄρ' αὐτό, and has more of a Platonic colouring, if we translate, 'Unless I am mistaken, it has been at our feet all the while,' keeping the ordinary force of the infinitive. P. 177. 'Plato makes continual use of participial expressions for pleonastic (or expegetic) uses, see especially (iii. 397 C) ἢ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τούτων ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ... ἢ τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τινὶ ἐυκερανύντες they hit on one or other of these modes or on a third, which they compound out of both.' The explanation does not seem to me to throw much light on the phrase. I should be disposed to take ἐπιτ. in the sense of 'to succeed,' equivalent to εἰ μέλλει οἰκείως λέγεσθαι in the preceding sentence. (Compare *Meno* 97 C ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχων αἰεὶ ἂν ἐπιτυγχάνοι, ὁ δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν δόξαν τότε μὲν... τότε δ' οὐ.) The last clause would be made regular either by the omission of τινὶ (which is the more idiomatic construction and, I think, what Plato wrote) or by changing the active participle into the passive ἐυκεκραμένῳ. We may translate it literally as it stands, 'or by one derived from both, mixing them together.' But as ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τινὶ could not

stand alone, the participle cannot be described as pleonastic: it is rather an instance of the substitution of a participle active, in agreement with the subject, for the participle passive in agreement with an oblique case. In the same page we are told that 'in Plato's long sentences the participle sometimes alternates with the infinitive.' Add 'where the governing verb admits either.' P. 178 'the accusative and participle with or without ὡς have the effect of a reported statement.' It might be well to add, 'commonly called the accusative absolute.' The examples given are sometimes capable of a simpler explanation, e.g. (iii. 390 A) τί δέ; ποιεῖν [τὸν σοφώτατον λέγοντα κ.τ.λ.] δοκεῖ σοι ἐπιτηδέειον εἶναι... ἀκούειν νέω... ἢ Δία... ὡς... ἐπιλανθανόμενον, 'do you think it fitting that a young man should hear such a poetical description, or that he should hear Zeus described as forgetting?'² But if we look at the passage, we shall see that Δία is not governed by ἀκούειν, but by ποιεῖν, 'to represent the wisest of men using such words as these... or to represent Zeus as forgetting his resolves,—do you think this expedient for a [young man to hear?]' P. 178. 'In x. 604 B the transition from the genitive to [τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ]... οὔτε [οὐδὲν] προβαῖνον [τῷ χαλεπῶς φέροντι] is occasioned by the impersonal verb.' As the sentence is in *oratio obliqua* either gen. or acc. abs. is allowable. *Stallbaum* gives instances of the combination of both, which show that an impersonal verb is not required to justify the accusative, e.g. *Thuc.* vii. 25 ὡς Ἀθηναίων προσδοκίμων ὄντων καὶ τὸ παρὸν στρατεύμα αὐτῶν διαπολεμισμόμενον. Moreover, can οὐδὲν προβαίνει τῷδε be classed as impersonal? P. 179. 'the subject of an infinitive or participle following a verb is accusative even when the same with the main subject, if this happens to be considered in two aspects, e.g. x. 621 B ἰδεῖν... αὐτόν... κείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ "he saw that he himself was lying." The previous narrative referred to the disembodied soul.' But αὐτόν is the ordinary accusative of the *object*: 'he beheld himself lying.' Nor is it necessary to introduce a 'consideration under two aspects' to justify the repetition of the subject in the accusative case, where it is required for emphasis or clearness. P. 182. β. 'In the absence of a definite construction the accusative is the case usually preferred.' The only example under

¹ In these and other quotations I have omitted the superfluous words.

² The words in square brackets are omitted by Prof. Campbell, but are essential to the construction.

this extraordinary rule is Soph. *El.* 479, which need not be discussed here; but there is a reference to viii. 559 B where mention is made of an ordinary case of the attraction of a dative to an accusative with the infinitive. In grammar, as in law, it is inexpedient to make the rule wider than is required for the cases contemplated. P. 183. 'An adverbial accusative is sometimes abruptly introduced.' Among the examples we have (vi. 492 B) [ὅταν τὰ μὲν ψέγωσι τῶν λεγομένων...τὰ δὲ ἐπαινώσιν] ἑπερβαλλόντως ἑκάτερα. When the omitted words are supplied, it is evident that ἑκάτερα is the acc. pl. in apposition with τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ. (*Symp.* 204 C) τί τῶν καλῶν ἔστιν ὁ Ἔρως; But τί here is the nom. case, expecting such an answer as ἐνδεής or θηρευτής ἔστι. (Compare x. 597 D τί αὐτὸν κλίνης φήσεις εἶναι;... μμητής.) P. 185. It is said that the gen. meaning 'in respect of' does not occur with other adverbs than those in *ωσ*. What are we to say then of the gen. with εὖ, πόρρω, ἐνταῦθα, etc.? P. 187. 'It (the dat. of manner) has the effect of an absolute clause in ix. 578 C [οὐκ οἶσθαί χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλ' εὖ μάλα] τῷ τοιοῦτῳ λόγῳ [σκοπεῖν].' When the omitted words are supplied, it is plain that the dat. is simply instrumental, 'to investigate it with a discussion of this kind.' This is compared with (x. 598 D) ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, which is rightly translated by D. and V. 'we must reply to our informant,' cf. *Protag.* 320 C πολλοὶ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπέλαβον. P. 215. 'The want of the word omitted is not felt because of another word which suggests it to the mind.' The example is (ii. 358 D) εἴ σοι βουλομένῳ ἂ λέγω, which is explained by understanding λέγω, but it is surely more natural to take it as an abbreviation of the common phrase βουλομένῳ ἔστί. P. 233. Under the heading Imperfect Construction, we have as an example of 'construction with the nearest word' (ii. 370 E) ἵνα οἱ τε γεωργοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀροῦν ἔχουεν βοῦς, οἱ τε οἰκοδόμοι πρὸς τὰς ἀγωγὰς μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν χρῆσθαι ὑποζύγιοις, which is explained ἔχουεν ὑποζύγια ὥστε χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. But surely it is better to follow Stallbaum and take χρῆσθαι as governed by ἔχουεν in the sense of δύναντο.¹

I have thought myself bound in honesty to mention what seem to me blemishes in the essay on syntax, but on the whole, when taken in connexion with what follows on diction, it will be found a very useful help to the study of Plato. Perhaps the best thing in the latter essay is the discussion of

¹ I see this is given as an alternative explanation in the note on the passage.

philosophical terms, such as εἶδος and ἰδέα. In the interesting section on Plato's use of vernacular words, we might add such words as χαρίεις, ἐπιεικής, ἡδύς, εὐήθης, σοφός, δεινός, and it might be well to refer to *Equites* 1381 and *Nubes* 1172, as showing that the use of adjectives in -κός was a fashionable affectation of the time. P. 327. 'The abstract noun as well as the adjective φιλόσοφος occurs in Isocrates, but not elsewhere before Plato.' Should not reference have been made to the tradition that it was first introduced by Pythagoras?

The chief drawback to this volume, as a whole, is the absence of anything corresponding to the Introduction of 200 pages, which Jowett has prefixed to his Translation. The essays which we have been considering here are rather introductory to the study of Plato in general than to that of the *Republic* in particular. To the ordinary reader they cannot compensate for the want of the analysis and running comments and the discussions on the history of philosophy and literature, which add so much interest to Jowett's book. In fact, to make this edition complete, we must join with it the volume containing the translation.

I turn now to the third volume containing the notes. These are apparently due in the first instance to Prof. Jowett, but they were criticized and added to by Prof. Campbell, and again revised by Jowett shortly before his death. Prof. Campbell states in the Preface that he has occasionally altered this revision, adding his initials where the alteration was of any importance, or where he thought a second note required. As far as I have observed, there can be little doubt that in the case of these duplicate notes the initials L.C. mark the truer view. Compare (341 B) οὐδὲν ὄν καὶ ταῦτα, on which L.C.'s note is, "With as little effect as ever" Thrasymachus has been prophesying that Socrates will try to cheat, but without success: Socrates replies that he is not such a madman as to try and cheat Thrasymachus. The latter rejoins that he has made the attempt, though in this case, as on former occasions, unsuccessfully.' B. J. has, 'Although you make a fool of yourself at this too, i.e. at cheating Thrasymachus, as you would also have done at shaving a lion if you had attempted it.' (442 A) καὶ τοῦτο δὴ οὕτω τραφέντε...καὶ παιδευθέντε προστατήσεων τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ. Bekker's certain conjecture προστατήσεων for the MS. προστήσεων is given in the text, but in a note signed B. J. we read, 'The correction is

not absolutely necessary, and therefore, like all emendations which are not absolutely necessary, should not be admitted in the text.' Probably where we find mention of alternative explanations of which only one is tenable, this is to be attributed to the double authorship, as in (336 B) *συστρέφας ἑαυτὸν ὡς περ θηρίον ἦκεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*, where it is suggested as a possibility that ἦκεν might come from ἦκω, and just below the force of ἵποκατακλιόμενοι is similarly weakened by regarding it as a metaphor from the guest who takes a lower place in the banquet.

By way of testing the notes I have looked at some of the passages emended by Mr. Richards in the *C.R.* (330 A) *πότερον δὲ κέκτησθαι τὰ πλείω παρέλαβες ἢ ἐπικτήσω ; ποῖ ἐπεκτησάμην, ἔφη ;* Here Mr. Richards is very uncompromising : 'ποῖ ἐπεκτησάμην,' he says, 'is bad grammar, and, as commonly understood, bad sense.' The note, which seems to me entirely right, is "Acquired, do you say?" This use of ποῖος is not necessarily derisive or ironical, but only denotes a humorous feeling of contrast between the suggestion and the fact.' (366 A) *δίκαιοι μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἀζήμιοι ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐσόμεθα... ἄδικοι δὲ κερδανοῦμέν τε καὶ λισσόμενοι ὑπερβαίνοντες καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες πείθοντες αὐτοὺς ἀζήμιοι ἀπαλλάξομεν.* Here Mr. Richards has the plausible conjecture that *καὶ λισσόμενοι* should be placed after *ἀμαρτάνοντες*. I think however that the text is successfully defended by the note, 'the line of Homer already quoted, *λισσόμενοι ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβήῃ καὶ ἀμάρτη*, is ingeniously turned so as to suggest the notion of sinning and praying at once.' (444 B) *τοιούτου ὄντος... οἷον πρέπειν αὐτῷ δουλεύειν.* Mr. Richards says, 'οἷον δουλεύειν would be Greek ; so would ὥστε πρέπειν αὐτῷ δουλεύειν.' But the text as it stands is not Greek at all. *πρέπειν αὐτῷ* appears to be a gloss intended to explain οἷον with infinitive.' To this Prof. Campbell fairly replies (vol. ii. p. 237), 'It may stand as Platonic Greek,' i.e. it is the natural carelessness of easy conversation. A slight pause would be made before and after *πρέπειν αὐτῷ*, which is an afterthought to define and heighten the force of οἷον.

I conclude with a few remarks on passages which happen to have caught my eye, where the view taken in the notes differs from that which seems to me correct. (351 C) *εἰ μὲν, ὡς σὺ ἄρτι ἔλεγες, ἔχει, <εἰ> ἢ δικαιοσύνη σοφία, κ.τ.λ.* 'The repetition of εἰ before ἢ δικαιοσύνη (a conjecture of Baier's) is unnecessary, and also objectionable on the ground of the hiatus.' I confess that the εἰ appears to me essential, and its loss

is easily accounted for after ἔχει : but the particular point against which I would enter my protest is the use made of the fashionable doctrine of the hiatus. At the beginning of this very sentence we have ὡς σὺ ἄρτι ἔλεγες, and in the line before ἔξει ἢ ἀνάγκη αὐτῇ, not to mention that in vol. ii. p. 49, Prof. Campbell himself speaks of the rareness of the hiatus as a mark of Plato's later style. (363 A) *γίγνηται... ἀρχαί τε καὶ γάμοι καὶ ὅσα περ Γλαύκων διήλθεν :* 'the singular has a collective force which is assisted by the neuter ὅσα περ.' It might have been well to state that it is only where the verb precedes the still indeterminate noun, that such a construction is usual. (372 E) *εἰ δ' αὖ βούλεσθε καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει.* I think that here Mr. Richards is right in denying that the deliberative subjunctive can be used after βούλεσθε depending on a conjunction. I should therefore punctuate as he does, putting a comma after βούλεσθε and a colon after θεωρήσωμεν. (376 A) 'οὐ πάνυ "not at all" or "certainly not," the absoluteness of the negative being used to intensify the statement.' It should have been stated that the usual meaning in Plato is not to intensify the negative, but to negative the intensity ('not quite'), the difference of meaning being probably marked by a difference of stress. (388 D) *εἰ καὶ ἐπίοι αὐτῷ* 'should it ever come into his mind.' The force of καὶ is rather 'if it did come into his head' (implying 'we hope it won't'). (460 E) 'The time for man to marry is ἐπειδὴν τὴν ὀξυτάτην δρόμον ἀκμὴν παρῆ, 'when his powers of running are at their highest.' I think Stallbaum is right in regarding this as a quotation, describing metaphorically the time when the violence of passion is cooling down. In any case I do not see what force is assigned to παρῆ by the editors. (497 D) *οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἐδηλώθη φόβῳ ὦν ὑμεῖς ἀντιλαμβάνόμενοι δεδηλώκατε μακρὰν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν :* here the note is 'ὦν, sc. ἐκείνων ἂ,' but the genitive is required after ἀντιλαμβάνόμενοι.

The 'general remarks on philosophy and life' are said to be 'almost without exception the Master's own.' They are always interesting, but sometimes a little indefinite, and not always, I think, entirely accurate. E.g. in p. 444 we have two notes on the ideas : in the former note (597 C) we read, 'It may be asked whether the third bed is the idea of a bed. We may reply it is not distinguished from it, neither does Plato identify them.' But surely he has identified them in 596 B *ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐκατέρου τοῦ*

σκεύους πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν βλέπων οὕτω ποιεῖ, ὁ μὲν τὰς κλίνας κ.τ.λ. The second note is on (597 E) ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς, εἴπερ μιμητὴς ἐστὶ, τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πεφυκῶς, where we read 'God is here represented as king,' but there cannot be a doubt that the three degrees are (1) the stage king, (2) the actual king, say, Darius, (3) the idea of the king, in virtue of his resemblance to which Darius is called king. The sentence is elliptical and obscure owing to the rapid movement of the dialogue. Just before, the three sorts of makers and the three sorts of products had been separately compared (the painter: the carpenter: God :: the painted bed: the actual bed: the idea). Here what corresponds to the first term of the former series is compared with the last term of the latter, and we are left to supply the remaining terms for ourselves. Strictly speaking, the tragic poet is a maker, and as such should have

been compared with God; but, in order to make the thought more definite, Plato substitutes the divine idea of the king for God, and expects us to see in the tragic poet the form of the king embodied in his imagination. Take again the note on 353 B, 'The conception (of an ἔργον) exercised a great influence on Logic and Ethics in the ancient world, leading to the ἀγαθόν of Aristotle... Modern philosophy has moulded Ethics into another form. The favourite notion of a τὰγαθόν... has been replaced by modes of speech, such as duty, law, will, or resolved into the more concrete abstractions of utility and pleasure.' But 'duty, law, will,' are precisely the catch-words of the Stoic philosophy as pleasure is of the Epicurean. People are too fond of these sweeping generalizations in contrasting the ancient with the modern world.

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BONHOEFFER ON THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

Epictet und die Stoa, Untersuchungen zur stoischen Philosophie. 1890. 10 Mk.
Die Ethik des Stoikers Epictet. Anhang. Von ADOLF BONHOEFFER. Stuttgart: Enke. 1894. 10 Mk.

THESE two volumes are intended to investigate the Stoic system so far as presented by Epictetus. They may be regarded as a single work, and the second volume has indices to both. Their characteristic is the application of minute and laborious research to the interpretation of the *Discourses* and the *Manual*; a masterly analysis of the doctrine there laid down is followed by a minute comparison under the heads of anthropology, psychology, ethics, and (in a short appendix) pantheism with the Stoic teaching generally—before all with that of Seneca, Musonius, and Marcus Aurelius, who stand in point of time the nearest to Epictetus. It is not a systematic exposition historically arranged that we find here, but rather a series of critical disquisitions in which various questions of psychology and ethics are examined on all sides. As a whole the execution deserves the highest possible commendation; no future student can afford to disregard it. But the nature of its peculiar merits must not blind us to its limitations. Epictetus is not exactly

the authority for Stoicism whom we should be most anxious to consult. However orthodox, he is late and addresses himself to the practical common sense of the Roman world in which he lived, not to an audience of Athenian students in the third century B.C. The strong point in his favour is that we have a faithful report of what he taught: his predecessors, with scarcely an exception, we only know at second hand, often through the distorted medium of hostile criticism. Moreover, as Mr. Bonhoeffer insists (*Epictet*, p. 33), Zeller's view that from Posidonius onward Stoicism shows an increasing approximation to Platonism, and that when we come to Epictetus the boundaries of the system are transcended, is certain to give way before the contrary opinion that the later Stoics mark a reaction against eclecticism; that this tendency can be discerned even in Seneca, and that apart from unessential deviations and developments Epictetus presents to us the purest reflection of the old Stoic theory of life and the universe. Without going quite so far as to endorse this last remark we may agree that the influence of Panaetius and Posidonius, profound as it was, was after all but temporary: the tide of Academic invasion was turned; in the limited field to which practical considerations confined the attention of the

Roman Stoics the desire to be orthodox was strongly felt. At the same time it needs much wariness to sift the later doctrine. Epictetus has a division of philosophy, which stands for far more to him than any of the older school—that into the three *τόποι* of *ὄρεξις*, *ὀρμή*, *συγκατάθεσις*, and our author is doubtless right in claiming this for him as original. Again it is shown in a convincing manner that Epictetus held out no expectation of a future life for the individual: but it would be erroneous to suppose that here he is entitled to speak for the whole school. On the other hand the quasi-personification of reason in man as his genius or *δαίμων*, which receives a wide development in the later Stoics, can be traced back to Chrysippus.

The Stoic psychology abounds in knotty problems, some of which come up for detailed discussion in the earlier and more important of these two volumes: e.g. What is the relation of the parts of the soul to the mind or 'ruling' part? What is the seat of sensation? Are the parts of the soul organs or functions? Is the Hegemonikon always active, or is it e.g. in perception alternately active and passive? How are we to conceive of the mechanism of sense-perception? To these questions a clear and consistent answer can generally be returned after the evidence has been carefully sifted. Thus it seems probable that feeling resides in the central soul (*ἡγεμονικόν*) alone; that the 'parts' of the soul are currents—but *πνεύματα νοερά*, be it remembered—which connect the central soul with the organs of sense. That the process of perception is two-fold; the first stage or simple apprehension of a sensible quality (*ἀντίληψις αἰσθητοῦ*) wherein the motion or change in the organ of sense conveyed by the connecting current to the central soul produces there a presentation (*φαντασία*): the further stage, in which the central soul appropriates this 'content of consciousness' as a permanent possession (*κατάληψις*) by giving assent (*συγκατάθεσις*). If so, it follows that the mind (*ἡγεμονικόν*) is passive when it receives the presentation, active when it gives assent. The difficult term for the presentation or sense impression which the Stoics made the criterion of truth because it brought irresistible conviction with it, the famous *καταληπτικὴ φαντασία*, is lucidly and convincingly explained. Like other adjectives in *-ικος* this must have an active force (English *-ive*). If the phrase suggests any doubt whether it is the perceiving mind or the perceived sensible

quality which is *apprehended*, this is not due to the adjective *καταληπτικὴ*, but to the noun *φαντασία* which has a two-fold aspect, being a modification of the Hegemonikon (*τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ*) and at the same time a presentation of something external. Literally interpreted then the κ. φ. is a cognitive presentation, one which either actually cognizes, or is capable of cognizing, some sensible quality: in Cicero's paraphrase, *Ac. post. i. 41*, *quae propriam quandam haberet declarationem earum rerum quae viderentur*, distinctly setting forth its object, namely by exactly reproducing all its *ιδιώματα*. The original graphic turn in *λαμβάνειν*, to fasten, seize upon, grasp, was retained by *ἀντιλαμβάνειν*: it hardly survives in *καταλαμβάνειν*, which is technical for 'cognize' = to apprehend mentally. The difference between *κατάληψις* and *ἐπιστήμη* is that between the atom of knowledge and the structure built up out of it. Not less thorough and satisfactory is the section devoted to the classification of *φαντασίαι*. In his ordinary usage Epictetus makes the word serve for almost any sensation or idea: as Locke puts it, whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks: his thoughts about these external things and, in particular, the value he sets on them: then by a natural transition external things themselves, so that *πιθανότητες τῶν φαντασιῶν* practically stands for *πιθανότητες τῶν πραγμάτων*. A rapid survey of instances serves to convince us that the intellect (*διάνοια*) is nearly as important a source of ideas as sense itself. The current belief that the Stoics derived all knowledge from sensation must be subjected to very careful limitation before it can be endorsed, and this becomes still more apparent when *πρόληψις* has been analysed, *Epictet.* p. 187–222. Instead of thorough-going empiricism our author claims for the Stoics a rational element, and vindicates the 'inborn' character of our moral and aesthetic ideas. When the reader has got over the shock of this announcement he must be prepared to find that the Stoics defended the freedom of the will, and that their many statements respecting the emotions can be harmonized into a consistent doctrine! Both in the details and as a whole the aspect of Stoicism is considerably modified, so many received opinions are fearlessly challenged.

This is less perhaps the case with the ethical doctrine. Our author emphasizes the eudaemonistic and optimistic character of Stoic ethics: from the latter he infers, as others have done, its genuine idealism.

He defends the obstinacy with which Epictetus adheres to that shibboleth of the system, the tenet that virtue, apart from external goods, suffices for wellbeing:—I dare not say Happiness, for that term, like *Glück*, is a very misleading translation of *εὐδαιμονία*. The development of the various formulæ for the *τέλος* is carefully traced and the attitude of the heterodox Middle Stoa thus described: they made the rational choice of things according to nature the one end of man; to Epicurus this is one department of morality, complemented by others. The predominant theism of Epictetus is ascribed to his practical bent. At the same time we are reminded that if complete works of Zeno and Cleanthes had been preserved, they might, like the Hymn of the latter, have reflected the theistic as well as the pantheistic interpretation of the system. But when the admission is made that Epictetus' religion is a mixture of theism with pantheism and polytheism, it is hardly worth while to claim him as a representative Stoic on the matter. The opinion is expressed that his tendency to cynicism has been exaggerated: he certainly upheld the claims and practice of logic against the Cynics as well as the vulgar.

Of the higher or ultimate ethical problems the origin of evil is the most fascinating. Was it due to *πιθανότης τῶν πραγμάτων*? How can this be in a world where all is designed for the best? Or to inherited depravity—which after all only removes the difficulty a stage further back? It is here that Mr. Bonhoeffer discerns the doctrine of free will, which he holds to be necessarily implied in the fundamental thought of Stoic ethics, that every man can attain Happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*), and that this Happiness is independent of all that is external and fortuitous. While on the other side, if virtue rests on knowledge there can be no such thing as free agency: all right conduct is strictly determined. But this is an antinomy which no ingenuity has yet been able to remove.

We have only space to notice the treatment of *καθήκον*, one of the most perplexing of Stoic terms (*Ethik*, p. 193-233). The result is to reject the widespread but er-

roneous belief that *καθήκον* denotes a subordinate morality, legality as contrasted with the higher morality of the *κατόρθωμα*. Further, that *ἀεὶ καθήκοντα* cannot stand for unconditional duty, as opposed to *οὐκ ἀεὶ καθήκοντα*, duties binding on us in certain conditions. For, as is pertinently remarked, life is a series of actions, every one of which is *οὐκ ἀεὶ κ.* in the sense that it is sometimes a duty, sometimes not. But when this *οὐκ ἀεὶ κ.* is our duty it is so in no conditional or imperfect sense: in a given case it may become the only course open to us, and, if so, a *κατόρθωμα*. It is proposed then in place of 'conditional' and 'unconditional' to divide duties into chronic (*ἀεὶ καθήκοντα*), temporary (*οὐκ ἀεὶ κ.*), occasional (*περιστατικά*), and regular (*ἀνευ περιστάσεως*). For the further difficulty of *μέσον* and *τέλειον καθήκον* a solution is provided by calling in a distinction between *λόγος* and *ὀρθὸς λόγος*. The *μέσα* will then be actions dictated by instinctive or egoistic choice of 'things according to nature' of the lower kind, and in the observance of the elementary rules of universal obligation. This solution is possibly provisional: at any rate it does not carry with it the same authority as other parts of the author's work.

It was inevitable that a controversial tone should be introduced into a subject so difficult and so much discussed. If this, the latest exposition of Stoicism, although from its design necessarily imperfect, is at the same time the best, this is because the writer stands on the shoulders of his predecessors and has begun where they left off. Yet it is precisely those to whom he is under the greatest obligation, Zeller, Hirzel, and Stein, who come in for the sharpest criticism, much of which, it might be urged, in the earlier volume at any rate, wears the aspect of captious verbal quibbling. Yet after all deductions have been made the author may be congratulated on the success with which he has cleared up so much that was before obscure or doubtful, and established on a surer basis our knowledge of a great school of thought.

R. D. HICKS.

D'ARCY THOMPSON'S *GLOSSARY OF GREEK BIRDS*.

A Glossary of Greek Birds: by D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON, Prof. of Nat. Hist. in University College, Dundee. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1895. 10s. net.

If Peithetaerus had been asked to review Professor D'Arcy Thompson's book he would certainly have repeated the exclamation he made when the noisy, fluttering crowd put in an appearance in the *Birds* (l. 294), ὦ Πόσειδον, οὐχ ὄρας ὅσον ξυνείλεται κακῶν | ὀρνέων; while Eulpidēs would have been quite justified in expressing his amazement once more, ὦναξ Ἄπολλον, τοῦ νέφους· ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. And the services of the Hoopoe might have been secured again as a showman, ready with all the names of the motley troop:

οὔτοσὶ πέριξ, ἕκεινοσὶ δὲ νῆ Δί' ἀτταγᾶς,
οὔτοσὶ δὲ πηνέλου, ἕκεινῆ δέ γ' ἄλκων.

But, in the play of Aristophanes, the Hoopoe proceeds to rattle off three more lines, with the names of six birds in each, which sorely need Professor Thompson's interpretation. Those who know how hard a matter is the identification of some of the commonest flowers in Greek and Latin, who recognize that they must be content to leave unsettled the exact equivalent of ἴον and ἰάκινθος, of *lilia* and *vaccinia*, will be prepared to find the identification of Greek birds not a whit easier. Indeed, in his preface, the Professor wisely defines his position: 'Instead of succeeding in the attempt to identify a greater number of species than other naturalist-commentators, dealing chiefly with the Aristotelian birds, I have on the contrary ventured to identify a great many less.' And, except perhaps to eager ornithologists, the loss is not great; for it is not every one who can instantly call up a clear presentment of the 'Short-toed Eagle' or the 'Purple Gallinule.' But all ornithologists are eger. No men show more willingness to 'live laborious days,' and laborious nights as well, in studying the migrations and nesting of birds; now camping out on the marshy Uralian *tundra*, like the late Henry Seebohm, now swinging, like Mr. Kearton, over the precipices of the Farne Islands to photograph the guillemots. And Professor Thompson is not less devoted than these wanderers and climbers. The work which he has put into his *Glossary of Greek Birds* is so thorough and valuable, that the volume is indispensable to the student as a book of reference. First, he has collected

for us all the curious lore about birds, the information, good, bad and indifferent, recorded by Aristotle in his *History of Animals*. (And here it may be an act of kindness to commend to any one who has not seen it, a singularly interesting paper on Aristotle as an ornithologist by Mr. W. Warde Fowler, printed in his *Summer Studies of Birds and Books*.) But not only is Aristotle's description given us of the sizes, colours, notes, habits and anatomy of birds, their nesting and breeding, their migrations, their likes and dislikes, but also Aelian and Phile and Pliny are laid under similar contribution, and notices of birds known and unknown are gathered from the grammarians and lexicographers, while classical writers are ransacked for references, proverbs, legends, metamorphoses, etc., checked and interpreted by commentators of every age down to the present day. Indeed, the number and complexity of the references suggest a fuller bibliographical appendix for the next edition.

It is therefore no mock modesty to express diffidence in attempting to estimate the value of a book which seems to record on every page the contrast between the fulness of the special knowledge of the author with the ignorance of the reviewer. But it may be permitted to him, while recognizing most warmly the importance of the work, to venture on a few minor criticisms on one or two points. The wording on p. 8 might be improved, where allusion is made to a *combat* between the Eagle and the Hare. Might not the Hare object to the word *combat*, and shrewdly say 'si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum'? The melancholy ritual of the Ἀδώνια, p. 73, (which may or may not be etymologically connected with ἀηδών) should hardly be described as 'lamenting the departing year.' The lamentation was rather over the departed freshness of the spring; for, nearly everywhere, the feast was kept at midsummer (Thuc. 6, 30); or, perhaps, even in March (cp. Arist. *Lysist.* 389). Why does the Professor (p. 34) seek an equivalent for ἀνόπαια in Hebrew, and propose to identify it with the 'night heron'? It seems very unsuitable to the passage in the *Odyssey*. And the mention of Herons reminds us that under ἐρωδιός we might expect to find an allusion to the story preserved in a fragment of the *Ψυχαγωγοί* of Aeschylus, connecting the death of Odysseus with the fish-bone dropped by the bird in its flight.

And as Prof. Thompson is particularly devoted to the Pleiads or *πλειάδες*, we expect to find some interpretation (possibly astronomical) of the story which recounts the repeated carrying off of one of the doves by the *λῆς πέρρη* (*Od.* 12, 64), and the constant despatch of a new one to make up the loss (*ἐναρίθμιον εἶναι*). The passage is quoted, but no explanation is offered. On p. 72 the whirling of the *ἕλγξ* on its four-spoked wheel is described, and an alternative explanation added, that it 'was not rotated round its own axis, but spun at the end of a string, as we spin cockchafers.' This particular process may be Aristophanic; but our village boys would say that it is not the modern usage; at least not south of the Tweed! The quotation on p. 87 from *Acharn.* 598 is misleading as printed: it should run—*ΛΑΜ. ἐχειροτόνησαν γάρ με ΔΙΚ. κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς*. Exception may also be taken to the identification of the *σπερμολόγος* with the 'rook'; certainly the use of the word in *Av.* 232 is all against the view. But any attempt here to enlarge on the question would open up the whole controversy, upon which farmers have so much to say, as to the ordinary food of the rook. Points of etymology raised in the book are not always convincing, as *e.g.* the suggested anagram *σπέρβυς* (*σπέργυς*) out of *πρέσβυς*, or *τροχίλος* from *ὄρχιλος*. The orthography of Latin words leaves something to desire, for we find *cœcus*, *coeruleus*, *obsœœnus*, *hÿems* and *quum* along with *cum*. But, as a rule, the printing is remarkably correct: a few slips are noticeable here and there, as 'sic' for Germ. 'sie' (p. 182); *φύσιγξ* for *φύσιγξ* (p. 22); *μελώδουσι* for *μελῶδουσι*. A few errors in punctuation catch the eye, as *e.g.* a comma out of place after *πετρίνας* (p. 29), and after *pullos* (p. 128).

But now a far larger and more difficult question arises, for which we are prepared by the preface to the *Glossary*. Starting with the curious statements recorded by Aristotle and others of certain unintelligible enmities and intimacies between various species of birds—as, *e.g.* the hostility of one sort of hawk to the raven and of another to the dove; of one particular eagle to the goose and the swan—the Professor rightly refuses them 'entry into the domain of Zoological Science.' He offers a new solution; 'an astronomical interpretation.' Thus, according to his theory, 'the Eagle which attacks the Swan, and is in turn defeated by it, is the constellation Aquila which rises in the East immediately after Cygnus, but, setting in the West, goes down

a little before that more northern constellation: Haliaetus and Ciris are the Sun and Moon in opposition, which rise and set alternately, like the opposite constellations of Scorpio and Orion, with which the poet compares them.' This theory is evidently capable of indefinite expansion, and offers an irresistible temptation to that particular form of ingenuity which, a few years ago, read every heroic legend into a solar myth. There was the solar Odysseus warring with the storms and clouds represented by the Sutors: there was Samson (the Babylonian Sun-god *Shamash*) shorn of his rays by the cold mists of the departing year (*Delilah*, the languishing one). Nor is Professor Thompson at all averse to solar myths, which, soberly used, give a plausible interpretation to many stories in mythology; though he frankly acknowledges that the theory has been overdone. The astronomical myth is far less simple, and must belong to a different period of the world's history, and to a different development of thought and observation. This fact the Professor duly recognizes: but until we have clearer evidence as to the age in which the sequence of the zodiacal signs and the general grouping of the constellations became so widely accepted as to form a part of current language, we must feel the strength of the Herodotean criticism: *ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον*. It is a wise saying that 'the magic mirror of mythology shows every inquirer what he wishes to see.' We need therefore make no apology for setting against Prof. Thompson's theory the dictum of Otfried Müller, that 'astronomical myths are an unimportant part of Greek mythology.' The connexion of the orientation of temples with early astronomy is not denied; and we are quite prepared to find in the great tunnel that pierces the pyramid of Gizeh a sort of monster telescope for use in an age when the pole-star was in the constellation Draco. But the gap between rudimentary science and popular myth is 'a great gulf'; and there is a strong temptation to bridge it over. Will the Professor's theory cross it without being strained beyond the breaking point? In an earlier paper on 'Bird and Beast in Ancient Symbolism,'¹ he notes that 'the sun, which had its summer and winter solstices in Cancer and Capricorn in classical times, stood in Leo and Aquarius at the corresponding seasons in the immediately preceding age.' These points of time are somewhat loosely stated; but, in

¹ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*: vol. 38, part 1. (No. 3).

happy innocence of accurate astronomical science, I venture to ask whether the 'precession of the equinoxes' has not had a little extra steam turned on to produce this result? We want more than 2,000 years to give the sun time to perform the feat of changing his equinoctial points from a place in one sign to the corresponding place in the next. Prof. Thompson, in a brilliant passage ('Bird and Beast,' p. 191), tells us how 'generations of Hellenic priests, like their fathers in Egypt and Chaldea, had regarded the strength of Mazzaroth and the bands of Orion and the sweet influences of the Pleiades. These guardians of an esoteric knowledge divulged their store little by little, in myth and allegory, in the sacred art of sculptor and of poet, and through the mystified lips of the teller of tales and the singer of songs. The traditional belief that Perseus and Boötes, Cepheus and Heracles, were earthly heroes translated to a restful seat in the stellar firmament is an inversion of the true order of things. The Heroes that were set in the sky had been drawn thence in the beginning: the Gorgon's head was not the creation of a poet's fancy, nor the legend of an antique chronicler, before a place was found for it in the star Algol; but patient study and accurate knowledge of the Demon Star, with its mysterious flashes and its rhythmical wax and wane, preceded the allegorical conception of Medusa's snaky head.' This is very picturesque: but was this the process which passed the loves and hates of the birds into the common language of Greece? There are other factors in the sum, which Prof. Thompson does not ignore, though he does not seem to allow them sufficient counterpoise to the overwhelming weight of his astral theory. For instance, there is 'Volksetymologie.' Is it not as likely that the Halcyon Days, for which the Professor can find no explanation except an astronomical one connected with the culmination of the Pleiads, represent a story which has grown round the absurd idea of the ἀκκύν as ἡ ἐν ἀλι κύουσα? The inventive ignorance which could easily supply Ἀργεῖφόντης with an Argus ready to be slain should find no difficulty in making the Halcyon nest on a waveless sea, irrespective of the position of the Pleiads.

But let us confine ourselves for a moment to the antipathies of the birds, and see if nothing analogous can be found in circumstances which can suggest nothing of zodiacal signs or defined constellations.

Among the aborigines of Victoria, Pundjel the Eagle-hawk is a creative, cosmogonic power. His rival, the Jay, opened a great bag in which the winds were confined, and blew him into the heavens. In Australian legend generally the Crow is always at war with the Owl. The Bushman mythology gives us the conflict of the Mantis-insect with the Cat. The Zulus attributed thunderstorms to the thunderbird, with red bill, legs and tail. In the legends of the Alaskan Thinkleets, Yehl went about in the feathers of the crane, or in the form of a raven, with a peculiar animosity against the wolf. In Mexico, Huitzilopochtli is confused with the Humming-bird, which ultimately becomes his attendant. And, as Plutarch remarks, the Egyptians actually worshipped beasts, while the Greeks made the same creatures attendants upon the gods, rather than the gods themselves.¹ Here we are, unfortunately, plunged in the thick of a keenly contested fray; and we find ourselves supporting the survival of savagery and totemism in Greek myths—and certainly there were survivals of savagery in Greek religion. But Professor Thompson raises a warning finger ('Bird and Beast,' p. 183), condemning 'the speculations of those who, running folk-lore to the death, seek to read antiquity in the light of savagery; who see the childhood of the world in a culminating age [?] of astronomic science, symbolic art, and mystical religion, and who arrive at what I unhesitatingly regard as misconception by the double blunder of unduly depreciating the complexity of initial or archaic Greek thought, and unduly exalting the importance, and too freely correlating the results, of their own study of incipient or semibarbarous civilizations.' Yet may not a similar rebuke be reserved for those who run astronomical interpretations 'to the death'; who find the mystical lore of Hellenic priests in stories which have their counterpart in the traditions of Australasia? Perhaps it is the very attractiveness of Prof. Thompson's theory which makes us resist, for fear of being converted; and which suggests at least a 'suspension of judgment.'

Meanwhile we are heartily grateful to him for a 'corpus' of Greek bird-lore, at once scholarly and conscientious, which will not easily be superseded.

W. W. MERRY.

¹ But see Mr A. B. Cook's article on 'Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age.' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiv. pt. 1.

CLARK'S EDITION OF THE *PRO MILONE*.

M. Tulli Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices Oratio. Edited with introduction and commentary by ALBERT C. CLARK, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. 8s. 6d.

THIS finely printed book stands on a different footing from the numerous school editions that have appeared of this popular speech; the teacher rather than the beginner will be grateful for it. As would be expected from the author of the Oxford Anecdote on the Harley MS. of Cicero, Mr. Clark's chief concern is with the text. He has sifted the sources, gathering his results in a succinct apparatus criticus, and has produced a new revision, which no one in future can afford to neglect. Yet he has in no way overlooked the other departments of the editor's task. The introduction of fifty-nine pages comprises the following subjects: (1) the authorities for the events of the year B.C. 52, (2) an historical introduction, (3) the sources of the text, (4) the style and composition of the speech, (5) the orthography of this edition. Then follows the text and commentary; after which are printed the commentary of Asconius with notes, and the Scholia Bobiensia without notes. Lastly there are four appendices: (1) on the date of the trial of Milo, (2) on the trial of the two tribunes, (3) additional readings from P, the Turin palimpsest, (4) a mediæval argument of the speech. The book closes with three indices.

It will be gathered from this analysis that special attention has been paid to historical questions. In this respect the work is masterly, especially in the introduction, where the editor's wide knowledge of Cicero enables him to invest the characters of the narrative with life-like personality. Milo's wife Fausta, the great lady with a 'seamy' past, Curio the 'creature of impulse,' the dialectic of Hortensius, the gibes of Cælius, the pathos of Cicero, that great master who could work upon the feelings as a musician on the strings of a lyre, are specimens of vivid touches and sympathetic criticism, inspiring for its interest, and true, as being drawn from ancient texts.

The commentary, which I have compared with several others, contains but a small amount of that traditional stock matter which is handed on from editor to editor. As Mr. Clark has produced a new text, so,

as far as that is possible, he has written a new commentary, a commentary which enables the reader to appreciate with a thoroughness impossible before the delicacies and intricacies of this laboured speech. The notes consist of discussions and vindications of the readings accepted in the text, illustrations of matters of rhetoric, showing a careful study of Quintilian and of all questions connected with the growth of Cicero's style, and remarks on Ciceronian uses of words, based specially on Krebs-Allgayer's *Antibarbarus*. It is therefore clear that the greater part of the matter is new; and indeed, excepting Dr. Reid's *Academics* and Dr. Wilkins' *De Oratore*, no English edition of Cicero appears to have added so much to our knowledge.

The classification of the manuscripts has been performed with clearness. Mr. Clark's own position is that the Harleianus is the best. Though, like all eleventh century MSS., it contains corruptions, glosses, and interpolations, it presents them in a more rudimentary and distinguishable form than the other MSS. In order to prove the superiority of the Harleianus, the claims of the other MSS. are examined in detail. After dismissing the so-called interpolated, and amongst them the Oxford, MSS. as worthless, about which there is no question, Mr. Clark demonstrates that amongst these sinners must be reckoned the Salisburgensis, which, without sufficient inquiry, has been treated as a serious authority, but which is clearly interpolated and conflated. There thus remain P, the Turin palimpsest, of which only a few fragments are preserved, and the so-called German MSS., H, Harleianus, T, Tergernseensis, and E, Erfurtensis. To P Mr. Clark attaches considerable importance, though not the extreme value that some critics ascribe to it. But so little of the speech is contained in this palimpsest, that the really interesting question is the settlement of the claims of the German MSS. To most modern editors, including Baiter and C. F. W. Müller, E has seemed of primary importance. This view Mr. Clark combats in much detail, and establishes, in my opinion convincingly, that 'E is a "contaminated" MS., being a mixture of two recensions. It has been copied from the same source as T, but corrected by superscriptions and additions

drawn from H or a similar MS.' and 'its chief importance is that it throws light upon the archetype of T, the two MSS. seeming to check each other.' This dethronement of E leaves H and T as our authorities; of these H is far superior to T, which is itself the *parens deteriorum*.

Mr. Clark has therefore been guided mainly by H, and consequently his text differs widely from those in general use. The extraordinary excellence of H is obvious to any one conversant with MSS., and a general revision will be necessary of the current school editions of the Milo by the light of Mr. Clark's book. The following are specimens of the improvements introduced into the text from H:

§ 53 *superiorem se fore putabat* Milo (for *putarat*), 'the imperfect denotes that it was a "fixed idea" with him.'

§ 57 *quid opus est terrere* (for *tortore*)? 'the alteration to *tortore* is...due to *tortorem* and *tormentis* infr.'

§ 68 *te, Magne, tamen, ante testaretur, quod nunc etiam facit* (for *antestaretur*). The new reading makes it no longer necessary to distort the meaning of *antestaretur*.

§ 74 *calcem, caementa, harenam conuexit* (for *arma*). This fine restoration is justified in an elaborate note: *harena* was 'the most important ingredient in a *caementicia structura*; cf. Vitruv. ii. ch. iv. in *caementi-*

cis structuris primum est de harena quaerendum.'

§ 75 *ut sororem non modo uestibulo priuaret, sed omni aditu et lumine* (for *limine*). This is clearly right: he interfered with her lights: Mr. Clark quotes Dig. viii. 2, 15 *si modo sic faciat ut lumini noceat*.

§ 85 *regiones* mehercule ipsae, quae illam beluam cadere uiderunt, commosse se uidentur (for *religiones*). By *regiones* is meant the *Albani tumuli atque luci*.

§ 90 *ille denique uiuus mali nihil fecisset, cui mortuo unus ex suis satellitibus curiam incenderit* (for *qui mortuus uno*). This brilliant restoration is based on *qui mortuo unus* the reading of H. The confusion of *qui, cui* is common, e.g. in the MSS. in Catull. 1, 1.

§ 95 *eam . . . suam se fecisse* (for *eam se fecisse*).

These examples are enough to show the solid nature of the work; nor have I space to register the editor's fresh conjectures (e.g. §§ 35, 42), restorations (e.g. § 91), and judicious excisions of adscripts from the text. Enough has been said to indicate that this is one of the most serious of recent contributions to Latin literature; if accuracy acuteness and freshness count for anything, it cannot fail to give an impetus to the study of Cicero. S. G. OWEN.

OWEN'S EDITION OF THE *DE ORATORE*.

M. Tulli Ciceronis De Oratore. Liber Primus. Edited on the basis of Sorof's second edition by W. B. OWEN, PH. D., Professor in Lafayette College. The Student's Series of Latin Classics: Leach, Shewell, and Sanborn, 1895.

THE idea of including in this series some of the works of Cicero which are less commonly read in our colleges is a very good one. The writer, however, has for some time been of the opinion that the best editions of the classics for the use of American students are on the whole not those which are based on some particular German edition; and this impression is somewhat strengthened by Professor Owen's book.

We have first an Introduction of 33 pages based for the most part on Sorof, but with a section on the style of the *De Oratore* which is entirely the work of the

American editor. Especial attention is given to the subject of *libration*, that is to 'the balancing of related parts of sentences, and the grouping of ideas and synonyms in pairs.' This section is well and thoughtfully done, although in some cases the wording is not so clear as might be desired; and the Introduction as a whole is excellent.

The Notes are somewhat uneven in character, the grammatical references in particular being somewhat elementary for the class of students for which the book is evidently designed. For instance, there are no less than three separate references (pp. 87, 94, and 109) to the use of the fut. perf. ind. in conditional clauses, and the student is referred to his grammar for 'the use of the plural for the singular' in *nos*, and for the subj. in an indirect question. Such translations too as 'within these few days'

for *in his paucis diebus* (p. 144), and 'as to the fact that' for *quod* (pp. 116 and 168) are out of place in a book of this character, or indeed in any edition of a Latin author.

Some of the syntactical notes are not in harmony with the latest views on the subject: for example, p. 84, *fruit cum...arbitraver*: 'the ind. in such sentences marks of course the simple fact'; p. 102, *concesserit* and p. 173, *suaserit*: where one should no longer refer without comment to the statement of the grammars that the pres. and perf. subj. do not differ in meaning, after the careful investigation of Elmer (*A Discussion of the Latin Prohibitive*); p. 90, *confirmavit*: where the note on the use of the perf. ind. is not satisfactory; p. 122, *optaret*: this passage is rightly cited by Schmalz (*Antibarbarus*, ii. p. 200) as an

instance of the use of the acc. and inf. which is the natural one in the connection; p. 126, *postulet*: 'the more usual construction being *ut* with the subj.' Add 'in the writers of the Classical Period,' and cf. Schmalz, *Syntax*, § 228. Also open to objection are the notes on *quodam* (in § 14); on *quod sentio = sensa* (p. 114); and on *satis...factum* (p. 156).

The book ends with a Critical Appendix, the usefulness of which in a work of this class may perhaps be questioned. The student for whom the grammatical references are designed could make no use of such an Appendix, while more advanced students would prefer to use a complete *apparatus*.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

BOSANQUET'S COMPANION TO THE REPUBLIC

A Companion to Plato's Republic; for English Readers, by BERNARD BOSANQUET, M. A., LL.D. Rivington. 1895. 5s.

THIS book is not at all what one might have expected from its title and from the fact that (as we learn from the Dedication) it is the outcome of a series of University Extension Lectures. Far from being an easy introduction for the use of schoolboys, it might rather be described as an attempt to explain the logical and metaphysical difficulties of the *Republic*, as viewed from a Hegelian stand-point. That is, the author dwells upon that aspect of the Dialogue which, to nine out of ten readers, is the least useful and the least interesting. I think too that many of his readers would find the difficulties of the original rather increased than diminished by the explanations here given. Those, however, who are not frightened away by such phrases as 'sensed' (= τὰ αἰσθητά), 'categories of the understanding,' 'atomistic theories of society,' 'unified sense-perception,' 'the real nature of the soul lies in a simplicity to be attained not by unification but by abstraction,' 'Plato takes the position which is at once absolutely practical and absolutely critical,' 'a significant negative is always a concealed positive and therefore asserts a content and does not embody bare not-being,' 'the primitive undiscriminated flux or continuum of sensation'—such readers must recognize the

honesty and ability of the writer and will, I think, find much that is suggestive and stimulating in his comments.

The two main points which Mr. Bosanquet seems to set before himself are (1) to guard his readers against being misled by Davies and Vaughan's translation (which he takes as his text-book), where it attributes to Plato a more advanced technology than he really was master of. Compare for instance p. 156, where, in his comment on the words used by D. and V., 'the conditions of health and disease,' he adds 'literally "the healthy and the unwholesome." There is nothing about "abstract" or "qualified" or "correlative" or "object," or "member of relation," or "relative term" in the whole section we are considering. Yet the use of this technical language may not only be necessary,' etc. Perhaps he is inclined to insist too much on this, and his own literal translations are at times both awkward and obscure; but he certainly compels us to remember that Plato had to invent expressions for what appear to us the most familiar abstractions, and he sometimes corrects carelessnesses into which the earlier translators had fallen. As the second main object of the book, I would specify the warning against confounding the pictorial expression with the philosophical meaning, in regard to such questions as the nature of the soul, the future life, the divine personality, etc. It is the 'shadowed hint' on such points which

I think would more than anything else cause perplexity to the ordinary reader.

The following are some of the passages in which I should take exception to the view put forward by Mr. Bosanquet. P. 42, 'the influence of the Greek poets on the Greeks was more intimate than that of the Bible on us.' The constant use of Homeric quotations as a text for ethical discussions has naturally led people to compare Homer with the Bible; but when we speak of an 'intimate influence,' where are the signs of this to be found? Plato himself asks in this very book (599 D foll.), What community, what man, was ever made better by Homer? and we might ask, What life has ever been moulded on any of the Homeric characters, as thousands have been moulded on the characters presented in the N. T.? Where is the St. Francis or the Luther, the John Bunyan, or John Howard of the Homeric tradition? Christendom with all its vices and virtues has sprung from the Gospel mustard seed; would the history of Greece have been materially affected if Homer had never lived? P. 398, 'the Greek dramatist, though limited in the range of his passion, almost shocks a reader trailed upon Shakespeare, by the violence of his recriminations and the ingeniousness of his lamentations.' Can it really be maintained that there is more violence, say, in the *Agamemnon* or *Oedipus of Colonus* than in *King Lear*? Mr. Bosanquet himself tells us elsewhere (p. 137) that 'in Greek art of the great time no characteristic is more striking than sober-mindedness.' P. 384, commenting on 597 B, he says, '*Nature* in Greek philosophy is never far removed from the meaning of the corresponding verb, *to be born, to grow*,' and he proposes to render it by *evolution* taken in a general sense. Thus he translates *μία μὲν (κλίη) ἢ ἐν τῇ φύσει οὕσα ἦν φαίμεν ἂν θεὸν ἐργάσασθαι* by the words 'one is that which evolution has produced, which we should say, I suppose, was the workmanship of God,' and just below

εἴτε τις ἀνάγκη ἐπὶ μὴ πλεόν ἢ μίαν ἐν τῇ φύσει ἀπεργάσασθαι αὐτὸν κλίη, οὕτως ἐποίησε μίαν μόνον αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ὃ ἔστι κλίη, by 'whether it was that God was precluded from bringing to pass more than one bed in the course of evolution, he made accordingly one only, that very self of a bed, which is what a bed *is*.' Yet again, he translates *βουλόμενος εἶναι ὄντως κλίης ποιητὴς ὄντως οὕσης...μίαν φύσει αὐτὴν ἔφυσεν* by the words 'wishing to be really the maker of bed in its real being... he grew it as a unity by course of nature'—adding, 'here again "evolved it by evolution" would be nearer the thought.' I must say the use of the term *evolution* in such passages seems to me productive only of confusion. However loosely understood, it must surely imply that the thing evolved is the last in a series; but Plato's 'idea' precedes and underlies all concrete existence. It may of course be said that the perfect realization of this divine idea, though *πρῶτον ἀπλῶς*, is the last stage in the process of evolution, but such a thought is inconsistent with the passages quoted. I think too that Mr. Bosanquet exaggerates the etymological force of *φύσις*, which may be used of the unchanging *ἔν* of Parmenides as well as of the 'dynamical' systems of the Ionic school. P. 386, commenting on 597 E, 'the tragedian is by nature a third from the King and from Trueness,' he adds, 'this seems to bring the imitator, as such, to the level of the oligarchical man... But Plato wants to bring down the tragedian to the level of the tyrannical man, and apparently, so far, the argument is a first approximation.' The same reference to the tyrant is made on p. 387 in regard to the painter. I have explained in the preceding review how I think this passage should be taken. The assumption that there is an allusion to the tyrant of ix. 587 C seems to me to be superfluous and to lead to great confusion.

J. B. MAYOR.

MEYER AND NUTT'S VOYAGE OF BRAN.

The Voyage of Bran to the Land of the Living, edited with translation by KUNO MEYER. With an Essay upon the Irish *Vision of the Happy Otherworld and the Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth*, by ALFRED NUTT. Section I. The Happy Otherworld. London: Nutt. 1895. 10s. 6d. net.

It is pretty generally agreed that man had not, to start with, any conception of a state of future blessedness; and yet the Hindoos by the sixth century B.C., and the Egyptians a good deal earlier, had developed a very elaborate belief in future rewards and punishments and very vivid ideas of

Heaven and Hell; and recent writers have argued that the description of both places, given in the *Revelation of Peter*, is derived in all its details from Greek sources. It is therefore a matter of some interest to both classical and theological scholars to learn as far as possible what the Indo-European belief in a future state exactly was, and how it was formed. It is this problem that Mr. Nutt attacks, from the side of his own *fach*, Celtic literature; and in this the first section of his Essay he has established a fact of considerable importance. Different minds may draw different inferences from it, but all will agree that the fact itself is proven. What it is will perhaps be best explained, if we begin from the classical side instead of the Celtic.

In Greece the retribution theory of the future life makes its first appearance in connexion with the Mysteries; and the imagery there used to depict the abode of the souls of the righteous is largely borrowed from the Homeric description of Elysium—eventually indeed Elysium came to be regarded as a place to which the good went after death. But in Homer, Elysium has nothing to do with the dead; it is a land of the living, to which, according to the prophecy of Proteus, Menelaus is to be translated before death—and then not as a reward of virtue but because he married into the family of Zeus. In a word, the Homeric Elysium has neither an eschatological nor an ethical significance: it is purely romantic, a wonderland over the western sea, to which Menelaus is conveyed because of his connexion with Helen. Further, the Homeric Elysium is but a variant of a class of romantic, over-sea wonderlands, happy isles, of which other instances are to be found in the *Odyssey*, in the isle of Syriê (o 403), or the isle in which Calypso would have had Odysseus stay with her, as Menelaus was presumably to abide in Elysium with Helen. In post-Homeric literature this happy otherworld reappears still more frequently—always however in the west, always in the glowing colours of the sun-set and always offering the same round of simple, sensuous delights.

But, deeply and widely rooted as is this type of wonderland in Greek literature, Mr. Nutt shows that it is still more extensively represented in Celtic literature, from which he gives many examples—the *Voyage of Bran* being one—of lands, like the Greek wonderlands, ‘whither mortals may, as an exception, be transported by special favour of the gods; of lands excelling earth in

fertility and delight, to which mortals may penetrate in the ordinary course of nature; of lands dwelt in by amorous goddesses who attract and retain favoured mortals’ (p. 260).

The Greek tales of this happy otherworld and the Celtic are identical in type and cannot be dissociated from one another. The establishment of this identity all readers of Mr. Nutt’s Essay will regard as alike certain and important. Equally certain and even more important is his demonstration of the fact that the Celtic tales, though they took literary shape under Christian influence, are substantially pre-Christian: the points which constitute the resemblance between the Greek and the Celtic tales are precisely the features which are pagan and wholly foreign to the Christian ideal of heaven. The Celtic tales are as pre-Christian as the Greek and may well be as old.

The question now arises, How is this identity to be accounted for? and Mr. Nutt suggests tentatively that Celts and Greeks alike inherited the tales from their common Aryan forefathers; and that this type of tale ‘forms the most archaic Aryan presentment of the divine and happy land we possess’ (p. 331). The absence of these tales, so far as they are absent, from the myths of other Aryans would be accounted for, I suppose, on this theory, by the supposition that they were early worked up into descriptions of the abode of the blessed, just as they were incorporated into the Greek descriptions of the place of the righteous departed. But what then are we to say of the Italians, who neither advanced to the conception of a Heaven, nor betray the slightest consciousness of any romantic wonderland? I confess that the Italians seem to me decisively to bar us from regarding the happy otherworld as pan-Aryan. And whether we believe in a Graeco-Italian period or prefer the more scientific assumption of an Italo-Celtic period, the invincible ignorance of the Italians prevents us from crediting either period with a knowledge of the romantic tales in question. The same considerations forbid us to believe that the pan-Aryans knew of any ‘divine’ land: the Italians had no Olympus; their deities did not marry or form a community; their goddesses formed no alliances with mortals.

These tales of a romantic island, over the western sea, must then have sprung up at a time subsequent to the separation of Celts and Greeks. How then, once more, is the

identity of the tales to be accounted for? Did each people invent them for itself independently or did one borrow from the other? The former seems to be suggested as the right answer, when we reflect that similar tales are to be found amongst non-Aryan peoples. A happy western island, where, if pigs do not run about ready roasted, at any rate, when one is eaten, immediately *non deficit alter*, is to be found in the fabulous Bolotu of Polynesia. The Algonquins knew of a similar happy otherworld. The Gulchewan of the Chilians and the joyous garden of Tlalocan belong to the same type. On the other hand, the resemblances between the Celtic and Greek tales are closer than those between the Aryan and the non-Aryan tales, which seems to suggest borrowing. Probably both processes took place, and the borrowed tales spread all the more quickly and took root all the more firmly because there were native tales in existence to which the imported tales could be assimilated. The borrowing took place, we must assume, while the Celts were still within comparatively easy reach of the north of Greece.

But, without being pan-Aryan, these Greek and Celtic tales may well be the oldest instances of a happy otherworld that the Aryan peoples can offer us: it may well be that 'Irish and Hellenes have alone preserved the first stage of the Happy Otherworld conception,' as Mr. Nutt suggests (pp. 329, 330), a stage in which it 'is altogether unconnected with speculation concerning the fate of man after he has quitted this life' (*ib.*). Whether however in that stage 'it is solely the gods' land' (*ib.*) is a point on which a little more light would be welcome: for instance, there are no gods in the Homeric Elysium; Syrië is exclusively inhabited by human beings; the Ethiopians and Hyperboreans were human—and I do not gather from Mr. Nutt's Essay that the inhabitants of Celtic wonderlands were always gods, *e.g.* not in the tales of Cuchulinn and Laegaire. *Vice versa*, Olympus and Phoebus' garden and the stables of the Sun belonged to gods indeed, but no mortals ever penetrated there. The presence of gods does not seem to be a necessary ingredient of a romantic wonderland any more than of a land of Cockaigne or of a Utopia; it is not even necessary to a paradise such as that of the Persian Eran Vej. But this of course does not affect the undoubted fact that Elysium, though not a gods' land, did become an abode of the blessed; or that Olympus,

which was the abode of the gods, at last opened its gates to the ghosts whose presence would at an earlier time have been, like Hades, hateful to the gods, bringing with it the death-pollution.

The bulk of Mr. Nutt's Essay, dealing with Celtic literature, I can only read and admire, not criticize, because I know no more of the subject than what I have learnt from his pages. But his criticism of Rohde's theory that Homer is a break in the Epic tradition of the other world, I can appreciate: it is quite conclusive and inspires one with full confidence in his judgment of similar questions in Celtic literature. He would agree, I take it, with Rohde (and everybody else) that the Homeric Elysium was not a 'heaven' in our sense of the word: it was not a place of the departed, at all; and, though an abode of bliss, it was not one to which the souls of *all* who were righteous went; indeed it was not righteousness but favour that conferred admission to it—in a word it was not a religious conception. So too, according to Mr. Nutt, this same wonderland, as it appears in Celtic literature, is a land of the living not of the dead, and admission to it depends on quite other than ethical or religious considerations. But, according to Rohde, the Elysium of Menelaus is a protest, a re-action against the weary, dreary Hades which Achilles inhabits; and is therefore later than that Nekyia, and later than the rest of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*—whereas Mr. Nutt shows, conclusively as those who will read him will admit, that the Menelaus-wonderland is as old as anything in Homer. And as to the ethical and religious significance of the Menelaus-Elysium, Mr. Nutt seems to have much clearer ideas than Rohde has: he sees that when once the idea of future retribution and of the necessity of a 'heaven' in our sense had—for whatever reason—dawned upon the mind of man, a romantic wonderland might supply 'the constituents of a heaven' (p. 271), the scenery and setting of the vision, but could not originate the ethical and religious idea. Rohde is by no means so clear; or rather, perhaps, I fail to see how the Menelaus-wonderland could be, as Rohde argues, a consolatory idea or ideal, or afford 'a last refuge for the yearnings of the human heart.' One man in a million does not die but is carried off to fairyland, for no merit of his own: and that is to console the million who must die, without a chance of fairyland. One beggar in a workhouse

unexpectedly and undeservedly comes in for a vast fortune—and that is to console me for being unable to pay my bills. It is not a consolation: it is an aggravation. However, the million are so comforted in heart by this ‘consolation,’ so cheered by the thought that any one of them may come in for a fortune, that eventually they end by believing that they all have not merely the chance of a fortune, but are actually legally established heirs to a large estate, and will in due time enter into possession of it, if they behave themselves properly. Thus the imaginary Elysium, which was originally the pure product of the poetic fancy providing a refuge for the yearnings of the human heart, ends by becoming, say in the fifth century B.C., a heaven, even more capable of satisfying human yearnings, and not less imaginary than the first creation of the poetic fancy. I may however have misconceived the tendency of Rohde’s arguments; he may not have intended to suggest that a pure exercise of the imagination will account for the later Greek belief in a heaven. But then in that case neither will the Menelaus-wonderland be any consolation for the dreariness of Hades; nor was it a germ capable of producing the later ‘heaven.’ These romantic wonderlands might provide the local colour for that later ‘heaven’: they could not originate the belief in it. To put it another way: if the yearnings of the human heart, on which Rohde bases his case, were yearnings for a heavenly home, the Menelaus-wonderland would not even begin to satisfy them. If they were not, then whence came the properly religious yearnings? Tales of a land of Cockaigne would not produce them. To say that these romantic lands, these fortunate islands over the western sea, were gardens of the gods, does not help us much: for one thing, they probably were not abodes of the gods, certainly the Elysium of Menelaus was not; and for another, if they were, then their original conception was religious not romantic.

Mr. Nutt has shown that the tales of these wonderlands go back in their romantic form to the earliest Greek and Celtic times: he has not traced them further or at any rate not to their origin. Their nucleus must be something which is simple and

obvious to the savage, for similar tales are found amongst non-Aryan peoples. Now, given the belief in a remote delectable land, all savages would picture its delights in much the same simple sensuous style: that is readily understood. But why should they in the first instance believe in the real existence of a delectable land? What was the argument for its existence, so simple and so cogent to the uncultured mind that it was held as an article of faith by Poly-nesians as well as by Celts, by Greeks as well as by Aztecs?

Mr. Nutt’s answer to all these questions, as far as they concern the genesis of the Aryan belief in ‘heaven,’ is reserved for the second section of his Essay, which is to deal with the Celtic doctrine of re-birth, and promises to be a volume of exceptional interest. The line which he will take may perhaps—perhaps may not—be indicated by some remarks he lets fall at the end of this section, *e.g.* ‘Buddhism was essentially a revolt against a creed that had re-incarnation for its animating principle and its chief sanction. In Greece again the transformation of the Homeric Happy Otherworld into a definite heaven was brought about at a slightly later date by a like desire to escape the consequences of a creed based upon re-incarnation. This reminds us that in our Irish group of stories the doctrine of re-incarnation is prominent’ (p. 330). These are all points alike of interest and importance; and it looks as though Mr. Nutt’s treatment of them would revolutionize certain current ideas, or at any rate lead to a serious re-consideration of them, *e.g.* of the idea that the Celtic belief in the transformation of men into animals had not become a belief in the transmigration of souls; and of the idea that the Indian reaction against the transmigration theory resulted not in the evolution of a definite heaven but in the Buddhist denial of a future state; and of the common assumption that a definite heaven was part of the Pythagorean doctrine. Anyhow, theological, Celtic, and classical scholars will all unite in the hope that Mr. Nutt will succeed in finding time to write the second section of his Essay and to complete the valuable work which in this the fourth volume of the ‘Grimm Library’ he has so successfully begun.

F. B. JEVONS.

O LYRIC LOVE.

O Lyric Love, half angel and half bird,
 And all a wonder and a wild desire,—
 Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,
 Took sanctuary within the holier blue,
 And sang a kindred soul out to his face,—
 Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart,
 When the first summons from the darkling
 earth
 Reached thee amid thy chambers, blanched
 their blue,
 And bared them of the glory—to drop
 down,
 To toil for man, to suffer, or to die—
 This is the same voice: can thy soul know
 change?
 Hail then, and hearken from the realms of
 help!
 Never may I commence my song, my due
 To God, who best taught song by gift of
 thee,
 Except with bent head and beseeching
 hand—
 That still, despite the distance and the dark,
 What was, again may be: some interchange
 Of grace, some splendour once thy very
 thought,
 Some benediction, anciently thy smile:
 —Never conclude, but raising hand and
 head
 Thither where eyes, that cannot reach, yet
 yearn,
 For all hope, all sustainment, all reward,
 Their utmost up and on,—so blessing back
 In those thy realms of help, that Heaven
 thy home,
 Some whiteness which, I judge, thy face
 makes proud,
 Some wanness, where I think thy foot may
 fall.

ROBERT BROWNING.

ᾠ φίλη, ᾧ θείας κρείστων κορύδοιο μελωδεῖν,
 ᾧ θάμβει ποθέουσ' ἀγῆς ἀπείριστον ἄσαι,
 ᾧ κῆρ ἄδάματον, κατεναντίον ἡελίοιο
 αἴρσθαι περὺγεσσι μετ' οὐρανοῦ ἱερὸν ἔρκος,
 ὑψόθι τ' ἴσα θεοῖσι χεῖαι μεγαλήτορ' αἰοδῆν·
 ἦπια δ' αὖ φρονέειν ἠδῆσθ' ἐλέημονι θυμῷ,
 εἴτ' σε πρῶτ' ἐκαλεῖμεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἡεροσσης,
 ἦ δέ σοι ἴκετ' ἀρά, θαλάμοις δ' ἐνὶ παμφανώουσιν
 ἔσβεσε κυανέρην αἴγλην, κατὰ δ' ἔπταο πρόφρων
 λυγρὰ βροτῶν ἔνεκεν παθείειν, καὶ πότμον
 ἐπισπεῖν·
 αὖτις ἐγὼ σ' ἐκάλεσσ' ἦ σοὶ φρεσὶν ἔστι
 λαθέσθαι;
 κλιθί νιν οὐρανόθεν, θεία τ' ἐπάμνον ἀρωγῆ·
 μὴ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀρχοίμην ὦδῆς, θεῶ ἄξι' ὀφείλων
 ἀντὶ σέθεν, τὴν πρῶτα διδούς μ' ἐδίδαξεν αἰεΐειν,
 πρὶν κεφαλὴν ἄρας καὶ ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἀνασχῶν
 εὐξαίμην σ', εἰ τηλόσε περ νεφέλησιν ἐκρύφθης,
 ἀλλὰ μοι ὡς πρότερόν τι νέμειν· χάριτός τιν'
 ἀμοιβήν,
 ἀγλαὸν ἡὲ νόημα, φρενὸς σέθεν ἄγγελον αὐτῆς,
 ἦ φάος, οἷα πάλαι μ' ἡσπάζεο μειδιώσα·
 μηδὲ μέλος τελέσαιμι, πρὶν ὑψόσε χεῖρα κάρη τε
 αὐτ' ἀνέχοιμ', εἴθ' ὄμματ' ἐτώσιον ἴεται ἀθρεῖν,
 ἐλπιδος εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἦ καὶ γέρας, ἡέ μοι ἀλκή,
 ἄσπετον ἱμείροντ'· εὐχῆ δέ κ' ὄναισθε κλύοντες,
 ἦχι φίλ' ἄμμιν ἰδνὶ ἱεροῖς ἐνὶ δώμασι ναίεις,
 καὶ σ' ὀρόων μετεοῖσαν ἀγάλλεται οὐρανὸς
 ἀργής,
 σοῖς δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ χάρη πέδον ἡεροειδὲς
 Ὀλύμπον.

A. SIDGWICK.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

REINACH'S *BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES MONUMENTS FIGURÉS*, VOL. IV.

Pierres Gravées des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, des Recueils d'Eckhel, Gori, Gravelle, Mariette, Millin, Stosch, réunies et rééditées par S. REINACH (Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés Grecs et Romains IV.). Paris, Firmin-Didot: large 8vo. pages xv. and 195; plates 138: 30 francs.

MONSIEUR S. REINACH has issued the fourth volume of his *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés*; and, useful as the others were to the scholar, this new volume surpasses them all in practical utility. Every working student remembers how often an investigation in which he was engaged was impeded, until he could go to any of the few libraries containing the huge and rare folio where alone he could find a representation of some gem, which promised to bear upon

his work. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the name and the plan of the book: every one is aware that the *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés* is among the indispensable parts of the modern scholar's equipment. In 138 plates M. Reinach has brought together reproductions of the gems published in eight different works (comprising thirteen volumes). Two of these works are of extreme rarity: I have for my own part never used them: La Chaud et Le Blond, *Description des Pierres Gravées du Cabinet du Duc d'Orléans*, Paris 1780-1784, and Levesque de Gravelle, *Recueil de Pierres Gravées Antiques*, Paris, 1732-1737.

The subjects of the antique gems from these and other collections are reproduced in such a way that they are fully available for the purposes of study and comparison; and it is nothing short of a marvel that this could be done at the moderate price which the volume costs. On the accompanying text a great amount of labour has been spent. Anything that was worth reprinting in the text accompanying the original publications has been quoted; and it is remarkable how little was worth quotation. The history both of individual gems and of the collections is described, partly on the authority of the original publications, but in a much greater degree from further investigation on the part of M. Reinach. In many cases, one finds a vast amount of information united in a paragraph or a page, which could not be found elsewhere without great labour and widely extended search. In fact the historical notes have been gathered from such varied and widely scattered sources, that they are justly entitled to the rank of original investigation. Every student who uses the book will find much to help him in these pages; and the author's deserved reputation for accuracy may be taken as guarantee for their trustworthiness. The study of gems has been hitherto impeded as much by the scarcity of trustworthy information and of sensible commentary as from the rarity and costliness of the books; and on this side M. Reinach's commentary will be found as indispensable as his plates. In fact his book would be necessary even for the happy student (if such there be) who possesses all the works abridged in this volume.

Considerable attention has been devoted to the question of genuineness. All suspicious subjects are marked in the commentary with an asterisk. In this respect of course much remains to be done; and it would be unfair to expect that a final

judgment should be pronounced in such a work on every gem. M. Reinach has not in the majority of cases sought to decide on the genuineness of the gem (which would in every case require personal examination), but only on the question whether the subject is ancient or modern. If the *motif* is genuinely antique, it is valuable for the student, even though the supposed gem is a mere paste, just as an electrotype of a coin is useful to the student, though valueless to the collector. On the other hand, if the subject is a modern composition, the gem is worse than valueless; and M. Reinach has aimed at labelling all these dangerous specimens. While it would be unsafe and unfair to expect that no errors¹ should have been admitted in a book involving such a vast and scattered mass of details, one may say confidently that this work goes far to place the study of gem-subjects and their utilization in archaeological studies on a new footing.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ On p. xiv. read 1766 for 1762 in the title of the *Museum Florentinum*: on p. 11 the number is correctly given. On p. 121 of the text, we should read in the heading 'Planche 118 et 119,' and insert 119 before II, 56, seven lines from the end. On these two plates various purely modern subjects are reproduced 'par un scrupule de conscience peut-être excessif.'

RUGGIERO'S *DIZIONARIO EPIGRAFICO*.

Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane
di ETTORE DI RUGGIERO (Roma, 1895).
Fasc. 43-44.

ONE is glad to record the steady progress of this useful work. The two fascicules now before me cover the ground between *Cilicia* and *Claudia* and contain much valuable matter, notably concerning Cilicia, the uses in epigraphy of *civis*, *civitas*, *vir clarissimus*, the Roman fleets (by Ferrero), and so forth, most of which concerns the historian as much as or more than the epigraphist. Now and then one notes a small defect. Thus I think the use of *civis* to denote mere birth (*civis Afer* and the like) is not very fully treated on p. 255. No reference is made to the date of the use, while a fuller list of instances might have been obtained by a reference to my article in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 50, p. 314. M. Ruggiero does not seem, however, to pay much attention to English scholarship.

F. HAVERFIELD.

TORR'S *ANCIENT SHIPS*.

MR. RIDGEWAY'S reply requires a rejoinder. In dealing with my statement 'They are the best (representations) we have of triremes, and they agree with what we know from other sources,' he quotes the first half and omits the second, and then he says:—

'But surely, because they are the best we have, it does not follow that they are a sufficient basis for building up a certain theory of ancient ships.'

Here he misrepresents me, my statement being that they are only a portion of the basis. Then he proceeds:—

'Mr. Torr now says that he never cited certain coins as evidence that ships had several tiers. What was his object in alluding to them at all unless he wished to strengthen his argument by so doing?'

I did not allude to them in my book. But when Mr. Ridgeway asserted that there are not any representations of ships with more than two tiers of oars, I mentioned some reliefs which show the three tiers, and then added that 'ships with more than three tiers may be intended on some coins, the upper tiers concealing the lower tiers in these broadside views.' My object was not to show that there were ships with several tiers, but to show the impropriety of his assertion. Again, he says:—

'Mr. Torr is unable to produce any ancient proof either from literature or monuments that there were ships with three tiers of oars placed one above the other.'

That is incorrect. For example, I may instance the trireme on Trajan's Column.

There may be inaccuracies there in matters of detail, but they do not affect the characteristic feature of the ship—the three tiers of oars placed one above the other.

I mentioned that Bochart started the notion that Tarshish was Tartessus in Spain, and that he based it on a statement in Eusebius that Tarshish, the son of Javan, the son of Japheth, was the ancestor of the Iberians; but I did not pursue the matter further, as I thought the notion too absurd to be discussed. Mr. Ridgeway construes my silence as an admission that the notion has been accepted by Semitic scholars from Bochart's time till now. That does not appear to be the case; but, if it was, it would serve only to discredit the statements of Semitic scholars, and not to fix the site of Tarshish.

CECIL TORR.

THE REVIEW OF ROGERS'
EMENDATIONS.

PROFESSOR L. L. FORMAN, of Cornell University, writes with reference to a review (in many respects favourable) of the late Mr. Rogers' *Emendations to the Greek Tragic Poets*, which appeared last October, that he ought not to have been held accountable for certain mistakes in metre and idiom which were noticed, inasmuch as he was designedly publishing the MS. unaltered. This disavowal of responsibility was expressed in his preface to the *Emendations* and we much regret that it was overlooked.—ED.

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The Classical Review

APRIL 1896.

ON THE PLACE OF THE *PARMENIDES* IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE PLATONIC DIALOGUES.

THE question of the order of the Platonic dialogues has, ever since the time of Schleiermacher, been actively discussed in Germany. In England, when the subject has been mooted at all, it has been slightly regarded, chiefly, I believe, because of the variety of the theories which have been propounded, and the rooted distrust of internal evidence which is not unnaturally entertained by English scholars. The external evidence that has any real bearing on this inquiry is scantier even than that for a chronological arrangement of Shakespeare's Plays:—especially when the Platonic Epistles are discarded as an early forgery. For even granting that the forger worked upon a real tradition (and who is to guarantee us this?), we cannot rely upon him for those details which are alone in point. We are thus thrown back upon a kind of evidence which is justly discredited, because it has been so often abused. One who undertakes such an investigation in England has a thankless task. When he records his own impressions, he is warned against 'subjectivity'; and when he seeks to verify his perceptions, to visualize and make them objective by collecting instances, he is reminded of the plasticity of genius, which nullifies such a 'mechanical' mode of analysing a work of art. And yet no connoisseur of painting doubts that Titian or Turner had an earlier, middle, and later manner, or that a competent expert deserves to be listened to when he calls attention to the points of *technique* by

which the different periods of each master are severally distinguished. The prejudice against the argument from internal evidence is notwithstanding easily intelligible. What is harder to account for, is that the question of the chronological order of Plato's writings should ever have been thought unimportant. The industry of half a century, at the most critical time in the development of Hellenic culture, reflecting the life-long struggle of a supremely powerful mind with the central problems of philosophy, must surely be better understood, when at least some grouping of his works, corresponding to the principal periods of their production, has been obtained.

More than thirty years ago, when, after editing the *Theaetetus*, I addressed myself to the closer study of the *Sophistes* and *Politicus*, I was confronted by the twofold problem of genuineness and of chronological position. It occurred to me that the metaphysical tests which had been applied to the solution of such problems were insufficient, because they were apt to vary with the philosophical 'standpoint' of the inquirer. For example, the *Parmenides*, concluding as it does with unreconciled 'antinomies,'—though only, as Kant would say, between 'empty forms of the understanding,'—might seem to Kantian students more advanced than the *Sophistes*, in which Hegel (with some perversity of interpretation, it is true) found his own identification of Being with Not-Being. I therefore had

recourse to the wholly independent test of style and diction (not of course to the neglect of any more substantial evidence, which a further examination of the two dialogues might disclose). In bringing the subject of diction to a point I drew up a list of genuine dialogues, showing the proportion of words which a page of each of them (in the edition of Stephanus) contained that were 'common and peculiar' to it with three dialogues that were confessedly later than the Republic, viz. the Timaeus, Critias and Laws. In this list the Parmenides held a low place, having only about one such word in seven pages (or, to speak more exactly, six words in the forty-one pages (St.) of which the dialogue consists). I said at the time, however, that this proportion, in the case of the Parmenides, was due to 'exceptional circumstances'; and Mr. W. W. Waddell in his elaborate edition of the dialogue, inquires, 'What circumstances?' This question has been to some extent answered in my Essay on the Structure of the Republic etc., but I am surprised that so careful a student of the Parmenides should ask it. For a writing which deals almost exclusively with high abstractions in the severest way; from which accordingly all rhetorical, poetical, ethical, political, physical,¹ cosmological, psychological² terms, as well as words of common life are banished, is really incommensurable in this respect alike with the Republic and the Laws, and much more so with the Phaedrus. To compare it with them is like comparing two works undoubtedly attributable to the same period of that versatile author, Lewis Carroll,—the *Hunting of the Snark* and the *Evaluation of Π̄*.

The six words which are 'common and peculiar' to the Parmenides with the group consisting of Tim. Critia, Legg. are:—

* διαμελετῶ, Parm. Critia, Legg.

* ἰστίον, Parm. Legg.

†* παμμεγέθης, Parm. Legg.

† μεριστός, Parm. Tim.

† μόνως, Parm. Tim.

† σύνδου, Parm. Tim. Legg.

If we separate pp. 126—138 from 138—166 we get the following result:—

$$1. \quad 3 \text{ in } 12 = \frac{1}{4}.$$

$$2. \quad 4 \text{ in } 28 = \frac{1}{7}.$$

And if to these six words are added the adverbial use of ἴσον in ἴσον ἀπέχειν (Parm. Tim. Critia) and the adverb παντοδαπῶς, we get a sum of eight words, raising the pro-

¹ Except γένεσις and κίνησις.

² Excepting ἐπιστήμη, νόημα, δόξα, φάντασμα.

portion of the Parmenides to one in five, the same with that ascribed by me in 1867 to the Euthydemus.³

In what remains of this paper I shall assume the general correctness of that arrangement of the dialogues according to which the Sophistes, Politicus and Philebus with the Timaeus, Critias and Laws form the latest group, while the Phaedrus and Theaetetus belong to the middle period of which the Republic was the central work: the rest, with some doubtful and unimportant exceptions, such as the Menexenus, being relegated to the earlier time. The proofs of this position have been long accumulating and, though often ignored, and even laughed to scorn, are easily accessible to scholars. I do not wish like Thrasymachus to thrust my argument down unwilling throats. I will only call attention to one topic which has not yet been sufficiently noticed in this connexion, viz. the *character* of the vocabulary which is shared with the Laws by the other later dialogues. The un-Attic words,⁴ taken in connexion with the introduction of the Eleatic stranger, of Timaeus from Locri Epizephyrii, Hermocrates the Syracusan, Megillus the Spartan, Cleinias the Cretan, and with the scene of the last dialogue in the neighbourhood of Cnossus in Crete, appear to justify a threefold inference; (1) Plato had travelled; (2) he had become increasingly familiar with pan-Hellenic literature;

³ For the convenience of the reader, I copy here without the numbers the order in which the dialogues come out, when tried by this single test, viz. the proportion of words common and peculiar to them with the group consisting of Tim. Critia, Legg.

1. Polit. 2. Soph. Polit. (in one). 3. Phaedr. 4. Soph. 5. Rep. 6. Menex. 7. Phaedo. 8. Symp. 9. Philebus. 10. Ion. 11. Theaetetus.

Cratylus.
12. { Protag. 13. Apology. 14. { Euthydemus.
Laches. 13. Euthyphro. { Parmenides.
Lysis. Gorgias.

15. Crito (misprinted 'Critias' in the edition of Soph. Polit.). 16. Hippias Minor. 17. Meno. 18. I. Alcibiades. 19. Charmides.

The one thing proved so far is the close affinity of Soph. Polit. to the latest group. These dialogues are shown by these and other signs to divide the Republic from the Laws. The Phaedrus from its exuberance takes a higher place than of right belongs to it. The same is true in a less degree of the Symposium. On the other hand the Philebus and Parmenides, and to a less extent the Theaetetus and Sophistes stand lower in this list than they would if tried by other considerations. Both friendly and unfriendly critics have unfairly treated this quarter of a page as if it represented the whole of my argument, which extends over twenty-seven pages.

⁴ I may call special attention to the use of τέκνον for παιδίον and of γυμναστής for παιδοτρίβης.

(3) he was writing for a wider public,—not only for his countrymen, but for ‘livers out of Attica’; in short for the whole Grecian world.

To which then of the three groups above distinguished does the Parmenides belong? And to continue first of all the previous method, what evidence is supplied by diction? For although this test has proved fallacious in finding the place of the Parmenides on a general survey, it may still be of value towards ascertaining to which of the three groups in question its vocabulary (jejune though it be) exhibits *most* affinity.

If with the three dialogues already brought into question, the Timaeus, Critias and Laws, we throw in the other three now grouped with them, viz. Soph. Polit. Phil., four words are added to the previous eight, making twelve in all which are common and peculiar to the Parmenides with this latest group. These are:—

- † ἀπειρία, Parm. Phil. Legg.
- * διαμελετώ, Parm. Critia, Legg.
- † ἴσον adv., Parm. Critia, Legg.
- * ἰστίον, Parm. Legg.
- † μέθεις, Parm. Soph.
- † μερίζω, Parm. Soph. Polit. Tim.
- † μεριστός, Parm. Tim.
- † μόνως, Parm. Tim.
- †* παμμεγέθης, Parm. Legg.
- * παντοδαπῶς, Parm. Legg.
- * πολίος, Parm. Polit. Tim.
- † σύνδυο, Parm. Tim. Legg.

* These occur in the introductory portion, pp. 126—138.

† These are in the main portion of the dialogue, pp. 138—166.

Almost any of these words might have occurred in any Attic writer without surprising the reader. Suppose now that to the seven dialogues above considered we add those of the middle period,—Phaedrus, Republic, Theaetetus,—the list of words common and peculiar to the Parmenides with the other nine is considerably larger. It comprises:—

- * ἄγνωστος, Parm. Rep. Theaet.
- * ἀδολεσχία, Parm. Phaed. Theaet.
- † ἀκίνητος, Parm. Rep. Theaet. Soph. Tim. Legg.
- * ἀνάπαυλα, Parm. Rep. Phil. Legg.
- †* ἀνομοιότης, † ἀνομοιῶ, Parm. Phaedr. Rep. Theaet. Polit. Tim. Legg.
- †* ἄπειρος (infinite), Parm. Rep. Theaet. Soph. Polit. Phil. Tim. Legg.
- † ἀπέραντος, Parm. Rep. Theaet. Soph. Polit. Tim. Critia, Legg.
- †* ἀπέχω (*disto*), Parm. Rep. Tim. Critia, Legg.

* ἀπίθανος, (unpersuadable, irrefutable), Parm. Phaedr. Legg.

* ἀπρεπής, Parm. Rep. Legg. (*ἀπρεπῶς*, Phaedr.)

† βέβηκα (= *insisto, sto*), Parm. Rep. Tim. Critia.

† γνωστός, Parm. Rep. Theaet.

* γράμμα (= *scriptum*), Parm. (singular) Rep. Phil. Tim. Legg. (plural).

* γυμνασία, Parm. Theaet. Legg.

* δεσποτεία, Parm. Rep. Legg.

* διακούω, Parm. Rep. Soph. Polit. Tim.

† διαφορότης, Parm. Rep. Theaet. Phil.

† ἐγκάθημαι, Parm. Phil.

† ἐξισούμαι, Parm. Rep. Legg.

† ἐπάνειμι = to revert (to a previous argument), Parm. Rep. Theaet. Legg.

* εὔκολον, Parm. Rep. Legg.

† εὐπετής, Parm. Rep. Soph. Legg. (*εὐπετῶς*, Euthyd.)

† ἰσοῦμαι, Parm. Phaedr.

* ἰχνεύω, Parm. Rep. Phaedr. Tim. Legg.

† μεθίσταμαι, Parm. Rep. Tim. Legg.

* μετάληψις (in different senses), Parm. Rep. Theaet.

† μηδαμοῦ, Parm. Rep. Theaet. Polit.

Phil. Tim. Legg.

† μικτός, Parm. Rep. Phil. Tim. Legg.

* ὁμοίωμα, Parm. Phaedr. Soph. Legg.

* ὁμόνυμος, Parm. Rep. Phaedr. Soph. Polit. Legg.

* πάππος, Parm. Rep. Theaet. Legg.

† ἐσκιαγραφημένος, Parm. Rep. Legg.

† στέρομαι, Parm. Rep. Phaedr. Theaet. Soph. Phil. Legg.

Besides these thirty-four, there are some other words which occur incidentally in the Meno or the Cratylus, but are otherwise confined to these ten dialogues.

Thus μέτρον (= *measure* not *metre*) occurs only in Crat. Parm. Rep. Theaet. Polit. Phil. Tim. Legg.

ὁμοιῶ only in Crat. Parm. Rep. Phaedr. Theaet. Tim. Legg.

ὁρμή only in Crat. Parm. Rep. Phaedr. Polit. Tim. Legg.

The opposition of στάσις and κίνησις is confined to Crat. Parm. Rep. Phaedr. Theaet. Soph. Phil. Tim. Legg. [Cf. also the use of στοιχεῖα in the Cratylus and in the later dialogues.]

Again πέρας in the sense of ‘limit’ occurs only in Meno, Phaedr. Rep. Soph. Phil. Tim. Legg.

περιέχω only in Meno, Parm. Soph. Tim. Legg.

σύμμετρος only in Meno (quoting Gorgias) and in Parm. Theaet. Phil. Tim. Critia, Legg.

Now if in this list of ten dialogues the

Phaedo and the Gorgias are substituted for the Phaedrus and Theaetetus, the result is strikingly different. The only words common and peculiar to Parm. with Gorg. Phaedo, Rep. Soph. Polit. Phil. Tim. Critia, Legg. are:—

- † *ἀνισος*, Parm. Phaedo, Rep. Legg.
- † *ἀνισότης*, Parm. Phaedo, Tim.
- * *δεσπόζω*, Parm. Phaedo, Rep. Legg.
- † *δνάς*, Parm. Phaedo.
- † *ῥοσοσπερ*, Parm. Gorg. Rep. Soph. Tim.
- † *παντελῶς*, Parm. Phaedo, Rep. Polit. Phil. Tim. Legg.
- † *συγκρίνεσθαι*, Parm. Phaedo, Tim. Legg.
- † *συνζυγία*, Parm. Phaedo.
- * *τρέμω*, Parm. Phaedo, Rep.

Here are but six coincidences with the Phaedo, and only one with the Gorgias.

To these seven (none of them of any striking significance) may be added, rather doubtfully, *φθορά*, only quoted by Ast from Parm. Phaedo, Phil. Tim. Critia, Legg. (but with 'cet.' following) and the active and passive voices of *ἀλλάττω*. (The middle voice occurs also in Symp. Menex.)

This comparative study of the vocabulary (by no means a rich one) raises a strong presumption in favour of placing the Parmenides in the group of dialogues belonging to the middle period. Some slighter indications pointing in the same direction may be further noticed. Plato's diction is so varied that even this dialogue has in forty-one pages sixteen words that are peculiar to it:—

1. * *ἄβυθος, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* for *ἄβυσσος*.
2. † *ἀπουσία*, in the curious phrase *οὐσίας ἀπουσία*.
3. † *ἀρτιακίς*, nowhere in earlier Gr.
4. * *διενκρinoῦμαι*, Xenophon.
5. * *δυσανάπειστος, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*.
6. * *ἐπιδημία*, Xen. Demosth. [Hippocr.].
7. † *ἑτεροῖος*, Hdt. [Hippocr.].
8. † *ἑτεροιώτης*, [Phil., Eustath.].
9. * *εὐμήκης*, Eur. Xenophon.
10. * *καταπετάννυμι*, Hom. *Il.* Aristoph. (with dat. as here), Eur. Xen.
11. † *πανταχῶς*, Isocr. Menander, Demosth.
12. † *περιττάκις*, Plut. Iamb.
13. * *πραγματειωδής*, [Schol. in Gorg. Eustath.].
14. † *προαίρεσις*, Isocr. etc.
15. * *ρύπος*, Aesch. Aristoph. [Hom. *Od.*].
16. * *συνδέομαι*, Demosth.

Now the greater number of these words belong to the class of new derivatives (*ἑτεροιώτης*, cf. *ποιότης*) and compounds (*δυσανάπειστος*) which, as I have shown in my Essay on Plato's Use of Language, he used increasingly in the period to which

the Republic belongs. *εὐμήκης* occurs elsewhere only in Eur. and Xen.; *ἀρτιακίς* and *περιττάκις* are somewhat forced expressions.

The use of *γένος* as equivalent to *εἶδος* and the periphrasis with *φύσις*, e.g. *ἡ τοῦ ἐνὸς φύσις, ἡ τοῦ ἐξαίφνης φύσις* (cf. *ἡ τοῦ πεπεροῦ φύσις* in the Phaedrus) do not belong to Plato's earliest manner.

Add to these peculiarities the use of *τὸ δὲ* without *τὸ μὲν* preceding—the most likely reading in 154C.

The employment of particles in the Parmenides has to be treated with the same caution as the general vocabulary. The nature of the subject does not admit of the variety of the Republic. In the absence of an Index Platonicus or Concordance to Plato (both sorely needed) it is difficult to speak with confidence. But the German 'statisticians' have reached results which are not at variance with the preceding argument.

Assuming then, in accordance with these indications, that the Parmenides belongs to the same period with Phaedr. Rep. Theaet., it remains to inquire what place it holds in this central group. Here the stylistic data will hardly serve us, especially if I am right in maintaining that the exuberance of language in the Phaedrus and the scanty vocabulary of the Parmenides are alike due to 'exceptional circumstances.' We must have recourse to considerations of a larger and more general scope.

And first I recognize as common to the Phaedrus and Republic an exulting and triumphant note, a tone of smiling optimism, in marked contrast, for example, to the spirit of the Politicus and the Laws. Those who do not recognize this are not the persons for whom this paper is written. The philosopher in composing Phaedr. Rep. is conscious of being in possession of a method, which (although he states it somewhat differently in either dialogue) he evidently believes to be all-prevailing. In the Parmenides and Theaetetus on the other hand he is grappling with difficulties, with metaphysical *ἀπορίαι*, which remain unsolved, while without their solution the philosophic mind remains unsatisfied. It is hardly conceivable that works written in such different moods can have been composed simultaneously. Thus the group of four divides itself into two pairs: Phaedr. Rep. on the one hand; Parm. Theaet. on the other.

With regard to the Phaedrus a slight external datum is supplied by the death of

Lysias in B.C. 378, since the dialogue would seem to have been written in his lifetime. But, as the Republic gives us no such evidence (unless we count the allusion to Ismenias in B. 1), this point is practically useless. For two reasons, however, it appears to me that the Phaedrus must have been composed before the publication of the Republic. I say the *publication*, because a work may long have existed *in petto* or even partially in MS., before it was produced even for a limited circle. Cf. what Zeno is made to say in the Parmenides about his γράμμα, which he regards as a *péché de jeunesse* but is unable to keep back because it has been pirated.

1. It seems improbable that shortly after bringing out a book of such extent and of such world-wide interest, as the Republic, Plato should belittle written composition in comparison with oral discourse, as he does in the Phaedrus; and—

2. The philosophical portion of the Republic in Bks. vi., vii. exhibits a maturity of judgment, a sobriety of expression, a 'temperance giving smoothness,' which is hardly to be found in that 'Psalm in praise of logic,' which Socrates pours forth to Phaedrus.

The next point to be settled is which of the two pairs of dialogues has the priority in the order of composition.

Some would compare the tentative or 'peirastic' arguments and negative conclusions of Parm. Theat. with those of the Euthyphro, Charmides, Protagoras and Meno, and would construe them as evidence of an early date. But although there is some resemblance in the dialectical form, the writings thus compared are not *in pari materia*. In those earlier dialogues the subject of inquiry was either the definition of a simple ethical notion or the Unity of Virtue. But that which is here subjected to the Elenchus, is Unity itself in its highest abstraction, the nature of definition, and the whole metaphysical problem of Knowing and Being. And the essential point in reference to our present inquiry is to observe that both the ontological and the epistemological doctrines thus negatively discussed have a strong affinity to those which are so confidently affirmed in the Phaedrus and Republic. When it is further considered that in the Sophist, Politicus and Philebus a more mature theory is carefully elaborated, with no blinking of difficulties and no singing of paeans, the inference is obvious that the cold fit of philosophic doubt represented by Parm.

Theat. has come in the interval which separates the Republic from the later dialogues.

I conclude therefore that the Phaedrus is the earliest of the four dialogues, and that the sceptical pair, Parm. Theat., are a little later than the Republic. The question which remains is one of extreme difficulty, viz. whether the Parmenides or the Theaetetus is the earlier. I speak with much less confidence on this than on the preceding questions.

Before entering upon it I will put forward some considerations which appear to me to corroborate the linguistic argument, in favour of placing the Parmenides and Theaetetus, as here proposed, together after the Republic and before the Sophist, etc.

Mr. W. W. Waddell, in his edition of the Parmenides,—an edition characterized not only by great labour, but by exceptional candour and love of truth,—contends that the Phaedo is later in the order of composition. His chief reason for this appears to be that the singular argument, in which the inseparable association of Life with Soul is illustrated by the constant conjunction of Heat with Fire, presupposes that communion of kinds, *κοινωνία τῶν γενῶν*, which is elaborately proved in the Sophistes. But (1) Is Plato never to anticipate himself? And (2) Is fire in the Phaedo a γένος in the sense here spoken of? Mr. Waddell cannot have forgotten that Socrates in the Parmenides is doubtful whether or not to assume an εἶδος of πῦρ.

Another cause of this opinion is the impression which Mr. Waddell shares with Mr. H. Jackson, that the notion of the idea being a *pattern* (παράδειγμα) is expressed in a manner which shows it to have been hitherto unfamiliar. And he is well aware that in the Phaedo this conception as well as that of *παρουσία* is clearly implied. But arguments of this kind (turning on Plato's manner of stating a view) have really not much force. It is more pertinent to observe that while in the Phaedo the different modes of μέθεξις (or μεράσχευσις) are treated loosely and vaguely as indifferently or interchangeable, in the Parmenides they are distinctly stated in a well-considered order, and separately examined.

Such isolated coincidences, when unduly pressed, must lead, as they have often led, to strange and contradictory inferences. The indications of close affinity, notwithstanding great differences, which 'spring to the eyes' when, in accordance with the linguistic hints, the Parmenides and

Theaetetus are examined side by side, are of a different order from these.

1. There is first the supposed meeting of the young Socrates with the aged Parmenides, mentioned only in Parm. Theaet. Sophist.

2. Secondly, there is the reflex of the Zenonian as distinguished from the Socratic Elenchus, which pervades both dialogues, and in Soph. Polit. is continued in the person of the Eleatic Stranger. This (or a derivative form of it) had been ridiculed in the Euthydemus and contrasted with the sweet reasonableness of Socrates; but in these dialogues it is seriously confronted and earnestly grappled with. And in the Cratylus he had touched slightly on the opposition of Eleaticism and Heracliteanism, but here we have the first stages of a critical survey which pierces the very soul and marrow of both philosophies.

3. Thirdly, there is the haunting sense of the great difficulty, if not of the impossibility,—after rising through heights of abstraction to the Universal,—of descending again, and finding a way from the Ideal to the Actual, from Divine to Human Knowledge, from the One to the Many, from the certainty of Knowledge to the uncertainties of Opinion and Sensation; also of passing over from Being to Becoming, and so reconciling the equally necessary conceptions of Stability and Movement.

In the Phaedo, the philosopher climbs without the sense of effort out of the contradictions of sensible particulars into a region of universals by whose light the objects of sense are seen in their true nature as transient phenomena. The way upwards in accentuated, the way downwards costs little thought. Both methods are included in the Phaedrus and Republic Book vi.; but the difficulties which beset the Dialectic which is there imagined, though they are not ignored, are discounted through all-confident faith in the powers of the

The aged Parmenides.

Ἀν εἶδος of man, fire, water? (Parm. 130).

The promise of youth in Socrates (Parm. 135).

ἔχειν = 'to be obnoxious to' (a dialectical expression).

πάνν πολλὰ...ἔχειν (Parm. 135 A).

The esoteric tone.

(Parm. 136 D) ἀπρεπή γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλῶν ἐναντίον λέγειν, (137 B) αὐτοὶ ἔσμεν.

Distinction of γίγνεσθαι and γενέσθαι.

εἰ γὰρ γένοιντο, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιγίγνοιντο (Parm. 155 A).

philosophic mind. In Parm. Theaet. they are for the first time seriously encountered, although the seriousness is not unmixed with irony.

In Soph. Polit. these same difficulties are partially removed,—in the Sophist by laying down the principles of a working logic; in the Politicus by obtaining an actual standing-ground for the scientific statesman; not without a lingering backward look at the Ideal, which in its perfection is unattainable 'upon this Earth.'

4. Fourthly, there is the gradual transition, increasingly perceptible in Parm. Theaet. Soph. Polit., from an ontological towards a logical conception of Being. It was this which gave occasion to the acute and perspicacious doubts of Socher. There is not room in this paper for developing this view, nor have I the time or strength for such a task. I leave it to some historian of the Science of Logic. I will only say that, in common with much else, this tendency is anticipated (but only anticipated) in the Phaedrus, where not only the method of diaeresis and *synagôgè* is bodied forth, but even amidst the poetic vision of the Heaven above the Heavens occur the pregnant words (249 B) δὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον συνίεναι κατ' εἶδος λεγόμενον, ἐκ πολλῶν ἰδόν (Badham conj. ἰόντ') αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἓν λογισμῷ ξυναιρούμενον.

5. Fifthly, there is, common to both dialogues, the determination that, in spite of logical difficulties which are clearly set forth but for the present remain unsolved, that high philosophic quest, which Plato identifies with *Διαλεκτική*, shall be steadfastly pursued. Few parallels in Plato are closer or more significant than that between Parm. 135 C τί οὖν ποιήσεις φιλοσοφίας περὶ; ποὶ τρέψει ἀγνοουμένων τούτων; and Theaet. 196 E ἀλλὰ τίνα τρόπον διαλέξει, ὦ Σώκρατες, τούτων ἀπεχόμενος; Σ. οὐδένα ὧν γε ὁς εἰμί.

6. Some minor points of coincidence may be added. Compare, e.g. :—

The aged and grave Theodorus.

ἄνθρωπόν τε...καὶ λίθον καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ζῶόν τε καὶ εἶδος (Theaet. 157).

The promise of youth in Theaetetus (Theaet. 155).

τοῦτ' ἔχει κομψότατον (Theaet. 171 A).

οὔτε γὰρ δικαστής, κ.τ.λ. (Theaet. 173 C).

ὁ μὴ πρότερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον τοῦτο εἶναι ἄνευ τοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ γίγνεσθαι ἀδύνατον (Theaet. 155 B).

Three kinds of motion.

ἀλλοίωσις, περιφορά, φορά (Parm. 162).

ἕτερον, ἑκάτερον, ἄμφω (Parm. 139, 143).

Distinction of πᾶν, πάντα, ὅλον (Parm. 144, 145, 153).

[οὔτω τε] καὶ οὐχ οὔτως (Parm. 159).

τοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ τινός κ.τ.λ. (Parm. 160, 164).

οὐδὲ φθέγγεσθαι (Parm. 161).

εἴη τε ἂν ἴδῃ (Parm. 161).

ὄντα = ἀληθῆ (Parm. 161).

ἀλλήλων ἄρα ἐστὶ. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτι
λείπεται (Parm. 164 C).

In the absence of Unity only ὄγκοι remain
(Parm. 165).

(Theaet. 181).

(Theaet. 185).

(Theaet. 204).

(Theaet. 183).

(Theaet. 157, 202).

(Theaet. 183).

(Theaet. 154).

(Theaet. 178, 179).

λείπεται δὲ . . . ἡμῶν ἀλλήλοισ . . .
εἶναι (Theaet. 160 B).

In the absence of Being, only an ἄθροισμα
(Theaet. 157).

To come now finally to the question,—
Which was written first, the Theaetetus,
or the Parmenides? M. W. Lutoslawski
proposes to prove in his forthcoming work
on Plato's Logic that the Parmenides was
composed some time after the Theaetetus,
i.e. in the interval between the Theaetetus
and the Sophist. I am inclined to place
it slightly earlier: and for the following
reasons:—

1. I think that most Platonic scholars
will agree with me in assuming that the
meeting of Socrates with Parmenides is an
invention of Plato's. That Parmenides
should have visited Athens at all in the
middle of the fifth century is unlikely.
Did any 'coryphaeus' of philosophy come
thither before the ascendancy of Pericles?
But even granting the reality of such a
visit, is the meeting of the μεράκιον
Socrates, the stonecutter's son, with the
great man at the house of Pythodorus
likely to be more real than the intercourse
of the same Socrates with Gorgias of
Leontini in the house of Callicles or with
Timaeus of Locri Epizephyrii and Hermo-
crates of Syracuse at a later Panathenaea?
(Compare the opening of the Laches, where
Socr. is personally unknown even in his
father's neighbourhood.) Or, once more,
even if, for the sake of argument, we make
so sweeping an admission, would Plato in
the Theaetetus have made Socrates at
seventy revert for the first time to that
occasion of fifty years ago, unless he had
some special motive? And what motive
can be more natural than to connect the
Theaetetus with an already existing and
kindred dialogue? The representation of
Socrates as 'very young' at the time of the
interview was of course inevitable, if the
alleged meeting was to have any plausi-
bility. But I still think that the youth of
Socrates is made by Plato's skill to serve

another purpose, which I pointed out in the
Art. 'Plato' in *Encyc. Brit.* ed. ix., and
which Mr. Waddell has suggested inde-
pendently: this imaginary circumstance
accentuates Plato's implied confession, that
the doctrine of Ideas as previously held by
him was a crude theory, ἄρτι τε τῶν ὄντων
τινὸς ἐφαπτομένου δηλὸς νεογενῆς ὄν.¹

2. Teichmüller imagined that he had
found a dividing link between earlier and
later dialogues in the Preface to the
Theaetetus; all narrated dialogues being
earlier, and all those later, in which 'said
I,' 'said he,' etc., are omitted. And so
much at least is true, that the latter form
is adopted in all those of the Platonic
writings which are demonstrably late, viz.
Soph. Polit. Phileb. Tim. Critia, Legg.
Therefore, although Plato was free at any
time to vary his style, and it cannot be
admitted that the Euthyphr. Apol. Laches,
Crat. Gorg. Io, Meno, and Phaedrus are
later than the Theaetetus, it does seem
from the fact mentioned above that after a
certain date Plato consistently preferred
the more succinct and concentrated form,
which, although in some ways less suited to
the imaginative treatment of philosophy,
was more convenient for the presentation
of dialectical drybones. Now the state-
ment of this preference is one motive
of the Preface to the Theaetetus, and
it seems improbable that he should have
departed from this method in his next
succeeding Essay, and then have main-
tained it during the rest of his time. M.
Lutoslawski thinks that the terms of this
Preface are sufficiently accounted for by a
reaction from the tediousness of repeating
ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἦ δ' ὅς and ἔφη, at every turn
in the Republic. But if we are to speculate
at all, is it not still more likely that he had
wearied himself and his readers in the

¹ Soph. 259 D.

Parmenides with the management of what Hegel calls the fourth person: ἔφη ὁ Ἀντιφῶν φάναι τὸν Πυθόδωρον...τὸν Παρμενίδην φάναι, κ.τ.λ. ? The elaborate manner in which both dialogues are introduced is in accordance with the date of composition here assigned to them. For it indicates the writer's consciousness of a wide gap between the lifetime of Socrates and his own, which has to be bridged over in some way. But in the Theaetetus his way of doing this is far neater, and his comment upon it in the Preface to that dialogue betrays the consciousness of a difficulty overcome.

3. The most original and suggestive passage of the Parmenides, that in which the possibility of change (μεταβολή) is provided for through the conception of the Instantaneous (ἡ τοῦ ἐξαιφνης φύσις), by removing the speculative difficulty which stood in the way of admitting the reality of γένεσις, may have cleared a path for Plato's onward thought, towards that analysis of sensation, perception, judgment, memory and opinion, as *processes*, which fills so large a space in the argument of the Theaetetus. Mr. Waddell finds that the insertion of this passage creates a want of symmetry between the two ἰποθέσεις, ἐν εἰ ἔστιν and ἐν εἰ μὴ ἔστιν, but to have pursued the latter into the third consequence 'neither all nor none,' would have been tedious and unmeaning.

4. That Plato himself connected the Sophist with the Theaetetus is not a conclusive argument, for the evidence of style

suggests that a gap of time must have come between, and except in the last sentence, which may have been tacked on at any time, the Theaetetus presents no trace of having been originally intended to be the first of a series.

But, once more, in looking at the Parmenides as a whole, while the style is that of Plato's maturity, the dialogue presents more the effect of a first effort in a new region,—that of pure dialectical abstractions,—than the Theaetetus with its mellow blending of ethical, psychological, logical and metaphysical elements, and its profound analysis (taken up afterwards in the Timaeus) of the nature of perception.

At the same time I am ready to admit that this particular question may be argued in a contrary sense;—that the thorny subtleties of the Parmenides, so remote from the spirit of the Republic, are only approached towards the end of the Theaetetus, that the thorough-going notion of a philosophy which despises nothing however trivial is shared by the Parmenides with the later dialogues (Soph. Phileb.), and that the ἐλεγκτικὸς ἀνὴρ of the Theaetetus (a contemporary portrait) may have led Plato back to Zeno and through Zeno to the re-examination of 'the great Parmenides.' I have far less of certitude on this point than I have in maintaining that the Theaetetus and Parmenides are sister dialogues and that they are intermediate between the Republic and the Sophistes.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

THE CAMPAIGN OF BASIL I. AGAINST THE PAULICIANS IN 872 A.D.

THIS campaign of Basil is of great interest and importance from a topographical point of view and will well repay a careful examination because of the mention of several geographical names which have not hitherto been definitely localized—the fortress Zapetra or Sozopetra (Zibatra in the Arab writers) which plays so important a part in frontier wars with the Saracens, the city Taranta (probably Derende), and the River Zarnouk (= Zarnūk) which is apparently not elsewhere mentioned in the Byzantine authors. When Zapetra is once fixed, it is possible to fix (from statements in the Arab geographers) the site of Adata (Al-Hadath). In his well-known *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* Professor Ramsay

makes no reference to this campaign, because, as he informs me, it was not possible at the time to localize the names mentioned. But he has very kindly directed my attention to Mr. Guy Le Strange's interesting translation (with notes) of Ibn Serapion [from *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895], which has given me invaluable aid in writing this paper, as will be seen from the numerous references to the work.¹

¹ Since these lines were written, I have received from the Author (through the kindness of Professor Ramsay) a copy of his book with MS. corrections and additional notes. I am glad to find that in several points Mr. Le Strange's views now agree with conclusions reached in this paper, e.g. in reference to the River Hurith (Jurith) and the identification of the River Karākis with the Sultan Su, &c.

The accounts of this campaign given by our authorities are somewhat confused, but by no means hopeless. Basil's first campaign (probably in 871 A.D.) had ended in disaster (Geo. Mon.¹ p. 841, Sym. Mag. 690, Zon. xvi. 8). Next year he took the field again (872 A.D.), advancing towards the Euphrates no doubt by the ordinary military road passing Dorylaion and Sebasteia. The enemy retired before him and left him free to lay waste their country and destroy their villages. But when he appeared before their capital Tephrikē² (Devrik), he found that it was too strongly fortified and too well garrisoned to be taken except by a protracted siege, and so he contented himself with capturing some neighbouring forts (among which are mentioned Abara,³ Spathē, and Koptos), and devastating the surrounding country (Theoph. Cont., p. 267, Kedrenos, p. 207). The exact site of these forts is unknown.

In alarm the city of Taranta (ἡν Τάραντα λέγουσι, Cont.; Ταύρας, Kedr., probably by mistake: v. *infra*), which lay not far off (γαιτονόουσα ταύτη, sc. τῇ Τεφρ., Kedr.), sent envoys to Basil to sue for peace and permission to be 'enrolled among the Roman allies'; and their submission was 'graciously' accepted. Taranta is evidently one of the more important towns in the Paulician territory: it is called a 'Saracen' city in alliance with Tephrikē (ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν πόλις, . . . ὁμαχιμῖαν ἔχουσα καὶ κοινοπραγίαν μετὰ τῆς Τεφρ., Kedr.), i.e. it is a Paulician stronghold. Professor Ramsay now identifies this town with Daranda (Dalanda), the modern Derende.⁴ He points out that the position of Taranta (which is probably a neuter plural, wrongly taken by Kedr. as an accus. sing.) is fixed by two⁵ passages of Theoph., pp. 312 and 372 (*ed. De Boor*). Heraclius returning from his second expedition into Persia in 626 A.D. hesitated whether to march by way of Taranta or by way of Samosata. The former road evidently denotes the great route across the Euphrates through Melitene,

Derende, Gurun (Gauraina), and Azizie (Ariarathia)—which indeed is most probably Herodotus' Royal Road.⁶ It is possible that Heraclius had taken this route in starting for his second expedition in 624 A.D., and perhaps Philippicus also traversed it in 585-6 A.D.; v. Gerland, 'die Pers. Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios,' p. 24 (*Byz. Zft.* iii. p. 351). Compare Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. x. 798 and 844-5. This identification shows that the Paulician territory included the whole mountain country extending south from Tephrikē as far at least as the Tokhma Su, the ancient Melas; and if the Paulician Argauth⁷ (see *infra*) is Arga-Arca, as is very probable, their territory must have extended even south of the river. The identification of Taranta with Derende suits the conditions of our campaign. The next fact with regard to Basil's movements that is certain is that we find him encamped some distance to the south-west of Melitene, and the submission of Taranta suggests that he had marched to this point by the road which was thus opened to him.

The submission of Taranta was the signal for the surrender of several other towns or fortresses among which was Lokana,⁸ a fort held by Kourtikios (Kourterios, Kedr.), an Armenian, i.e. a Paulician leader. Basil's ulterior object is now plainly to attempt the capture of Melitene, the capital of the Saracen territory west of the Euphrates and north of Mt. Tauros. The Saracen towns in this district were the support of the Paulicians, and the conquest of these towns would isolate the rebel heretics and make their reduction an easy matter. The time was favourable: for the internal dissensions among the Abbassides and the revolutions at Baghdad had paralysed the Saracen power and prevented any aid from being sent across the Euphrates either to the Paulicians or to the Saracen towns on the west of the river. But Melitene itself was a strongly fortified place and powerfully garrisoned: and so Basil determined first of all to capture the towns in the rear which might send assistance to the capital. With this object he crossed the hill-country between the Tokhma Su (the 'Arabic Kubākib) and the Sultan Su (the Karākis), sending forward a flying column (κοῦρσον) of picked soldiers against Zapetra and Samosata, while he himself evidently en-

¹ The Bonn edition of the Byzantine authors is quoted, unless otherwise mentioned.

² Sym. Mag. (*l.c.*) calls the town Ἀφρικῆ, Ibn Serapion's 'Abrik' (Le Strange, pp. 58, 63). This form is therefore not a mere error of the MSS. but a variant (see concluding paragraph). [Le Strange in his additional MS. notes proves that Abrik is Tephrikē (according to his first statement on p. 58), and not Arabkir (according to Mr. Hogarth's opinion, adopted by him on p. 740).]

³ Probably the Amara of Kedr. II. 154.

⁴ On Daranda I quote from his MS. additions to his *Hist. Geogr.*

⁵ In both passages Τάραντον is the form given.

⁶ The pass Βουκοῦλιθος on this road is mentioned by Kedr. II. p. 421.

⁷ Ἀργαῶν Kedr. II. 154.

⁸ Possibly identical with Gurun [R.].

camped in the country between the Karākis and the Zarnūk (see below). The column obviously took the road which leads from Melitene up the course of the Karākis (Sultan Su) and thence turns south-eastwards to Perre (Hisn Mansur, the modern Adiaman) and Samosata, joining this road of course on the west of Melitene. This road is shown in Professor Ramsay's map, (*H. G.*, p. 266). After passing through τὰ στενὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ—the description given by our authorities is too vague to admit of any definite localization of the pass referred to—the detachment captured Zapetra and released many Romans who had for long been prisoners there. They then laid waste the adjacent country and captured Samosata. It is said that they also crossed the Euphrates and ravaged the country beyond, its defenders being all concentrated against Basil. This is not impossible when we bear in mind the temporary paralysis of the Saracen power: it would mean that they crossed at Samosata for a plundering raid merely. Then they returned to the Emperor whom they found *still* encamped on the Zarnouch (= Zarnūk), ἔτι πρὸς τῷ Ζ. The ἔτι is significant: Basil had remained quiet with the main body of his army all the time the detachment was away, and they found him where they had left him, close by the Zarnūk.

The above description, taken in connexion with other statements, leaves little doubt as to the site of Zapetra. Another reference to this place belongs to the year 836 A.D., when Theophylus in his campaign against the Saracens captured *Sozopetra* (Theoph. Cont. 124, Kedr. 130, Zon. xv. 29; 'Ozopetra' in Gen. 66; 'Zapetros' in Sym. Mag. 634), the birthplace of the Caliph Al-Mo'tacim,¹ and Samosata. Here it is said that he advances a considerable distance into the Saracen country (ποπρωτέρω τῆς Συρίας) before he reaches Sozopetra. Zapetra clearly lies on or near the road between Melitene and Samosata. This is confirmed by the Arab geographers. Abul-Fida (quoted by Weil, *Gesch. der Khal.* ii. p. 309, n. 2, and by Le Strange, *Trans. of Ibn Serapion*, p. 66), who visited the place in 1315, says, 'It lies two marches southward of Malatia and the same distance westward of Hisn Mansur [Perre—Adiaman] in a plain surrounded by hills.' This description exactly suits the site near the sources of the Sultan Su and the Geuk

Su where stand the ruins called Viransheher (*i.e.* 'ruined city'), about four miles from the road,² the very spot indicated by Ibn Serapion (Le Strange, *l.c.* p. 63), when he says that the Karākis (= Sultan Su³) 'passes near the gate of Zibatra.' The statements of Ibn Khordādbeh (*Flor. ca.* 864) give a further confirmation of this argument, and at the same time indicate the site of Al-Hadath (Adata) as somewhere on the road between Zibatra and Marash. The frontier towns of Mesopotamia are given (De Goeje's *Trans.*, p. 70) as Malatia, Zibatra, Al-Hadath, Marash (thirty miles between the latter two), &c. Again, the following route is given (pp. 70 and 165): Samosata, Hisn Mansur, Malatia—then, turning to the left (see p. 165), the fortress of Zibatra (in Greek power), Al-Hadath (frontier fortress quite close to Greek territory), and Marash (frontier fortress with only Greek territory beyond). Further (p. 193) 'the town nearest the Syrian frontiers is Marash, the next Al-Hadath: formerly Zibatra s'élevait dans le voisinage, but was sacked by the Romans in the time of Al-Mo'tacim,' referring to 836 (*supra*). All this proves clearly that Zibatra was at Viransheher and Al-Hadath (Adata) on the Ak Su near Inekli. As to the latter fortress, Ibn Serapion says, 'There falls into the Kubākib [= Tokhma Su] a river Hurith (Jurith): its course lies through certain lakes and it passes near the city of Al-Hadath, falling out into the Kubākib at a point in the direction of this town.' Here, as Professor Ramsay holds, Ibn Serapion is mistaken in making the Hurith fall into the Tokhma Su instead of the Jihan (Pyramus). Yakūt (*v. Le Strange, l.c.* p. 67) is undoubtedly right in saying, 'the Hurith flows out of the Lake of Al-Hadath

² Cf. Sir C. Wilson in his *Handbook*: 'Viransheher, ruins of ancient city in the plain four miles to the left,' *i.e.* west of the Marash—Malatia road. Cf. also Ritter, *l.c.* x. 850-1. This suggestion was made by Le Strange on Ibn Serapion, p. 65, and retracted on p. 745, in deference to Mr. Hogarth's argument. Now however he will probably recur to it again, see my first note.

³ Le Strange (*v. Addenda*, p. 744) doubts this identification, which he had made on p. 65, in deference to Mr. Hogarth's argument that *ca.* 900 the whole district of Melitene was permanently occupied by the Saracens, and therefore could not be the 'Greek country' in which Ibn Serapion says the Karākis rises. But Ibn Serapion may have written as late as 930-40, and the Tauros range was by that time in Greek power, even Melitene being captured by Joannes Kourkouas in 934. [The translation formerly given 'the source of the Karākis is in a lake in the Greek country' (p. 63) is now altered to 'in the confines of . . .']

¹ This fact seems to be unknown to the Arab historians and is probably a mere unfounded report current in Byzantine circles.

near *Marash*; and flowing on, it falls into the *Nahr Jayhūn*.¹ The lakes are those out of which the *Ak Su* flows, and *Al-Hadath* is on the road leading from *Marash* (Germaniceia) by *Inekli*, *Pavrelu*, *Surghi*, and *Viransheher* (*Zibatra*)² to *Malatia*.

To return to *Basil's* march: the detachment found him encamped πρὸς τῷ Ζαρνούχ ποταμῷ, ἐνθα τὸ Κερακίσιον ἐστί. This river, named more correctly by *Kedrenos* Ἄτζαρνούκ, is the River *Az-Zarnūk* (i.e. 'the rivulet') which, according to *Ibn Serapion*, 'has its source in a mountain lying between *Malatia* and *Hisn Mansur* [*Perre-Adiamān*], and falls into the *Kubākib* [*Tokhma Su*] below the mouth of the *Karākis* [*Sultan Su*]; and 'from the River *Az-Zarnūk* is carried a stream called *Nahr Malatia* which . . . falls into the *Kubākib* below the mouth of the river *Az-Zarnūk*; from the *Nahr Malatia* are brought the water-courses of *Malatia*,' &c. The whole campaign therefore has been confined to the west of the *Euphrates*. *Basil* had marched southwards, keeping on the west of *Melitene*, to a position on the *Zarnuk*. Professor *Ramsay* has suggested to me that τὸ Κερακίσιον may be an error for τὸ Κερακίσιον, i.e. the country about the *Karākis*; and, if so, this also shows that *Basil's* camp lay between the two streams. Then, just as we should expect, 'he breaks up his camp and marches with his whole army against *Melitene*' (Cont. p. 269). *Constantine*, however, (= *Theoph. Cont.* 269), imagines that he is on the east of the *Euphrates* and gives a grandiose description of *Basil's* prowess during the construction of a bridge over the flooding river, when like the Homeric heroes he carried as much as three or more ordinary men! [Cf. his energy in the campaign of 880, p. 280.] Then after crossing the river he captures a fortress, *Rhapsakion* (perhaps really an outlying fort of *Melitene*), and despatches the *Khaldian* and *Koloniote* troops to ravage the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Arsines* (= the *Arsanās* of Arab writers, *Pliny* and

Tacitus' Arsania), while he marches himself against *Melitene*.

This account cannot be accepted. He is first on the east of the river, then crosses to the west, and then sends a division of his army over again! Probably the movement is misplaced and refers to a crossing³ above *Kamacha* later on. *Basil* would never have divided his force in this way when he was going to attack a fortified city like *Melitene*, and the fact that it is the *Khaldian* and *Koloniote* troops that are sent indicates that their operations took place in the country adjacent to these *Themes*. It is clear then that *Basil* proceeded straight against *Melitene*. The *Emir's* forces came out to meet him and a battle was fought before the town; but the *Saracens* were defeated and shut up within their walls. Seeing the strength of the place, however, the *Emperor* gave up the siege as hopeless, and withdrew again into the *Paulician* territory (τῆ Μανιχαίων γῆ) which he laid waste with fire and sword, capturing and burning the fortresses called *Argaouth* (probably *Arga-Ara*), φρούριον Κουτακίου, φρούριον Στεφάνου, and *Rachat* (*Ararach* in *Kedr.*, and hence no doubt the same as *Arauraca*). It was probably at this point that the troops of the *Khaldian* and *Koloniote* *Themes* were sent across the *Euphrates*. They devastated the country between that river and the *Arsines* (*Arsanās*) and sacked the forts of *Kourtikion* (*Karkinion*, *Kedr.*), *Chachon* (*Glaschon*, *Kedr.*), *Amer* (*Aman*, *Kedr.*), *Mourinix* (*Mourēx*, *Kedr.*), and *Abdēla* (or -ēla, *Kedr.*). The site of these forts I have found no means of determining. *Basil* in the meantime returned home, probably by the *Sivas-Dorylaion* route, to receive the crown of victory at the hands of the *Patriarch* (Cont. 271).

With regard to the names Ἄτζαρνούκ (*Zarνούχ*), *Κερακίσιον* (?), and Ἀφρικῆ (for *Τεφρικῆ*), it is interesting to see how the Arabic names are already displacing the Greek, even in the Greek historians. *Τεφρικῆ* becomes *Abrik* in Arabic, and then again Ἀφρικῆ in Greek. *Sosopetra* becomes *Zibatra* in Arabic, and then *Zabetros* in Greek. Compare the way in which, in the later centuries, Turkish names displace Greek names in the Byzantine writers, e.g. *Τάξαρα* (= τὸ Ἄκσεραι) for *Ak Serai*, *Πέγσιανη* for *Bey Sheher*, &c. (cf. *Ramsay, Hist. Geogr.*,

³ Of course *Constantine* (*Theoph. Cont.*) may have mistaken one of the large tributaries (e.g. *Tokhma Su*) for the *Euphrates* itself.

¹ I am pleased to see that *Le Strange* now adds a marginal note: 'probably the true description after all.'

² The following additional references may be given. *Edrisi* (*Weil, l.c.*) says that *Zibatra* lay fifteen miles from *Hisn Mansur* (which is thirty miles from *Malatia* and twenty-two from *Samosata*—Arab miles, presumably). But *Abu-l-Fida's* authority is better, since he visited the place. *Kudāma* (*Le Strange, l.c.*, p. 66) states that 'from *Malatia* to *Zibatra* was five leagues.' The lake of *Al-Hadath* (cp. *Weil III.* p. 15) is probably the southern of the three on the course of the river.

pp. 290 *n.*, 209 *n.*, and *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, pp. 19 *n.*, 21 *n.*).

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

NOTE.—Mr. Anderson's acute and suggestive paper clears away many difficulties. The discussion of Adata in my *Hist. Geogr.* p. 278 showed that it was situated on a pass that leads from Marash across Taurus; but the words of Theophanes, p. 313, seemed to show that the pass in question led to Arabissos. Probably in that passage, which obviously shows topographical confusion, Theophanes is trying unsuccessfully to report the meaning of an authority, and a slight

transposition would express the real facts, *περάσας τὴν Ἄδατα, εἰς Γερμανίειαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβὰς ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Σάρον* (on the correction Ἄδατα, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 311). I would add here the correction on *Hist. Geogr.* p. 291, *lines* 32 ff. The three days journey there mentioned is measured apparently from Boukoulithos, a pass near the Euphrates, and not from Caesareia; and the city Lykandos is to be identified with the Paulician Lokana, at or near Gurun on the 'Royal Road,' between Tsamandos and Taranta-Derende.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ADVERSARIA UPON THE *POETICS* OF ARISTOTLE.

No one who renews his studies of Aristotle's *Poetics* with a perusal of Prof. Butcher's stimulating work can help feeling that there is still much demand for conjectural emendation based upon sound principles. Nowhere could the inseparability of interpretation from textual criticism be more conclusively demonstrated. Not to criticize the existing texts is not to be in earnest with the study of the meaning. The well-chosen critical matter given by Prof. Butcher affords many gratifying proofs of the success which may still attend logical acumen combined with palaeographical knowledge.

On the other hand I venture to think that there are a large number of instances in which the incorporated or suggested emendation, however apt in sense, must necessarily be regarded as a *pis aller*.

It is, for instance, undoubtedly necessary to insert words (or groups of words) with rather a free hand. But to interpolate words is to assume that those words have actually fallen out, and that they have fallen out for a reason which will readily appear when the words are reinstated. For example, they may begin with the same, or much the same, shapes and sounds as words later on (*homoeokataktōn*), or they may end with the same, or much the same, shapes and sounds as words preceding (*homoeoteleuton*). There may be other considerations. The present contention is simply that some such explanation should spring to the eye as soon as the correction is made. Theoretically,

no doubt, every critic acts upon this principle, and Prof. Butcher has for the most part dealt wisely with conjectural material. I do not, indeed, see why in Cap. vi. ἅπαντες should have disappeared in αὐτῶν <ἅπαντες> ὡς εἶπεῖν, nor how ἄλλων fell away in Cap. xxii. τὴν τῶν <ἄλλων> ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν. But ἄλογα like these are rare, and it is in no captious spirit that I draw attention to them.

The following suggestions may occasionally fall short of my own ideal, but I venture to hope that one or two among them may be of distinct use.

C. i. 1447a 26.

αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥύθμῳ μιμοῦνται ἴοι (αἰ. ἦ) τῶν ὀρχηστῶν.

Read οἱ <α'> τῶν ὀρχηστῶν, *i.e.* οἱ πρῶτοι.

Ibid. 29.

ἦ δὲ ἔποποιία μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις.....(ἀνώνυμος) τυγχάνει οὔσα.

For ΗΔΕΠΟΠΟΙΙΑ read ΗΔΕΤΙΠΟΙΟΥΣΑ, *i.e.* for ἦ δ' ἐποποιία read ἦ δέ τι ποιοῦσα (τι = π as often). 'The art which ποιᾷ τι by means of prose or verse without music....' This art is immediately discussed in connection with the verb ποιεῖν, the noun ποιητής, and the compounds in -ποιός. ποιούσα is therefore the right word. The mistake is due partly to similar letters, partly to misconception of the copyist as to sense.

1447b 14.

οὐχ ὡς ἴτην κατὰ (al. κατὰ τὴν) μίμησιν ἀλλὰ κοινῇ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον προσαγορεύοντες.

If merely κατὰ τὴν were correct the inversion of order would be unaccountable. Read οὐχ ὡς χρῆν κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν κ.τ.λ. (When χρῆν had become τὴν the true τὴν was omitted.)

Ibid. b 20.

ὁμοίως δὲ κἄν εἴ τις ἅπαντα τὰ μέτρα μιγνύων ποιῶτο τὴν μίμησιν, καθάπερ Χαιρήμων ἐποίησε Κένταυρον μικτὴν ῥαψωδίαν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν μέτρων, ἔκαστον (τοῦτον add. al.) ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον.

Aristotle has just said that people wrongly name writers according to their metre, ἔλεγοποιοί if they write elegiacs, ἐποιοιοί if they write epic verse. He here reduces the position to the absurd. 'What then if a man writes in a medley of all sorts of metres?'

The natural answer is...καὶ τοῦτόν <π ο υ π α ν τ ο> ποιὸν προσαγορευτέον, i.e. 'him also, I suppose, we must call a παντοποιός.'

C. iii. a 19.

καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μιμῆσθαι ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα (ἢ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον, ὡς περὶ Ὀμηροῦ ποιεῖ, ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντα), ἢ ἢ πάντας ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργούντας τοὺς μιμουμένους.

All the difficulties are removed by inserting after μεταβάλλοντα the words <ὅτε δ' εἰσάγοντα> and omitting the ἢ (which became inevitable after the loss had once occurred). 'Sometimes in narrative...sometimes by introducing all his imitating characters in the capacity of actors and doers.'

C. iv. 1448b 20.

After the statement of one φυσικὴ αἰτία of poetry (viz. our congenital love of μίμησις), the second αἰτία is rather hard to distinguish in the text. Professor Butcher rightly finds it here, but his translation hardly corresponds to the original.

κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μιμῆσθαι καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ (τὰ γὰρ μέτρα ὅτι μόρια τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἐστί, φανερόν) ἔξ ἀρχῆς πεφυκότες καὶ αὐτὰ μάλιστα κατὰ μικρὸν προάγοντες ἐγέννησαν τὴν ποίησιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων.

Place a comma after μιμῆσθαι and insert <ἐρᾶν> after φανερόν (i.e. ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ-ΕΡΑΝ) outside the parenthesis, thus:

κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μιμῆσθαι, καὶ ('also,' 'in the second place') τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ.....<ἐρᾶν> ἐξ ἀρχῆς πεφυκότες κ.τ.λ., i.e. 'in the second place, being naturally passionately fond of harmony and rhythm, and gradually advancing these elements.'

For the use of ἐρᾶν (which fits well with ἐγέννησαν) cf. e.g. Ar. *Vesp.* 89 ἐρᾶ τοῦ δικάζειν, etc.

C. iv. 1449a 7.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπισκοπεῖν ἑπαρέχει (al. εἰ ἄρα ἔχει) ἤδη ἢ τραγωδία ἰκανῶς ἢ οὐ κ.τ.λ.

The readings are best accounted for by εἴτ' ἄρ' ἔχει. For εἴτε...ἢ...see Lex.

(I may remark in passing that a restoration of the text with the usual *elisions* would yield useful results.)

C. vi. 1450a 13.

τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ταῦτων ὡς εἰπεῖν κέχρηται τοῖς εἰδεσιν.

The emendation embodied in Prof. Butcher's text involves change at too many points. Read τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτόνως ὡς εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ., i.e. 'many writers have used them all by native wit, instinctively.' (This is the legitimate sense of αὐτόνοος.)

C. vi. 1450b 19.

ἄως γὰρ τῆς τραγωδίας δύναμις καὶ ἀνευ ἀγῶνος καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ἐστίν.

I am surprised that no one has made the obvious emendation σῶς. (The preceding word ends in -s.)

Ibid. 38.

συγχέεται γὰρ ἡ θεωρία ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθητοῦ χρόνου γινομένη.

Read χρόνον: 'at length.'

C. ix. 1452a 2.

ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται καὶ μάλιστα καὶ ἑμᾶλλον ὅταν γένηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν δι' ἄλληλα.

The usual transposition is much too free. Rather simply read κ ἄ λ λ ι ο ν for μᾶλλον (a frequent corruption) and render 'these effects are produced both in the strongest degree and also more artistically when the events occur with a surprise through a reciprocal connection of cause and effect.'

C. xiv. 1453b 15.

ἀνάγκη δὲ ἢ φίλων εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰς

τοιαύτας πράξεις ἢ ἐχθρῶν ἢ μηδετέρων † ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐχθρὸς ἐχθρὸν, οὐδὲν ἔλεινόν οὔτε ποιῶν οὔτε μέλλον, πλὴν κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος· οὐδ' ἂν μηδετέρως ἔχοντες.

It is no wonder that Pazzi inserted ἀποκτείνῃ after ἐχθρὸν and the editor of Aldus δείκνυσι after μέλλον, so that Bekker reads ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐχθρὸς ἐχθρὸν <ἀποκτείνῃ>, οὐδὲν ἔλεινόν οὔτε ποιῶν οὔτε μέλλον <δείκνυσι> κ.τ.λ.

Yet, obviously, these interpolations render no satisfactory account of themselves. I therefore believe that after μηδετεΡΩΝ there has been lost the word ΔΡΩΙΗ (δρῶή), and that ἂν has shifted its place and meaning in consequence, the true reading being <δρῶή> μὲν ἂν οὖν ἐχθρὸς ἐχθρὸν οὐδὲν ἔλεινόν, οὔτε ποιῶν οὔτε μέλλον, κ.τ.λ.

C. xiv. 1454a 4.

It is quite inconceivable that Aristotle, who thinks the most artistic tragedy is one which combines περιπέτεια and ἀναγνώρισις in such a way as to produce the most of pity and fear, and who commends plays which end εἰς δυστυχίαν, should here say that the 'best' situation is that in which the deed is not performed at all, but is forestalled by a recognition. To be consistent he must claim that the best contrivance is one by which a deed is done unwittingly and the recognition made afterwards. The struggles of Essen and Susemihl to rearrange the passage are creditable to their perception of the difficulty, but the results are not critically acceptable.

What Aristotle *does* say, I believe, is not 'but the best kind is...' but 'the kind which chiefly prevails, the most popular kind.'

This meaning can hardly be attached to the simple word κράτιστον, but it can be very well expressed by κρατεῖ <δὲ πλεῖ> στον..., with which cf. ἢ πλείστη χρώνται (c. xvi. *in it.*) and such expressions as ἢ φάτις πολλὴ κρατεῖ.

Aristotle admits that such plays are best liked διὰ τὴν τῶν θεατῶν ἀσθένειαν.

C. xvii. 1455a 27.

ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἀνήγει, ὃ μὴ ὀρῶντα τὸν θεατὴν ἐλάνθανεν κ.τ.λ.

To bracket τὸν θεατὴν is bold; to alter to τὸν πηγῆν is perhaps more so.

More easily ὃ μὴ ὀρῶντ' αὐτὸν θεατῆν (i.e. ὡς αὐτὸν θεατῆν ὄντα) 'and when a poet did not see this in the character of a spectator...'

Ibid. 30.

πιθανώτατοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰσι.

Emend ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως. (The attraction of flexion-endings is a frequent cause of corruption.)

C. xviii. b 26.

λέγω δὲ δέσμιον μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρη τούτου τοῦ μέρους ὃ ἔσχατόν ἐστιν, ἐξ οὗ μεταβαίνει εἰς τεύτυχίαν.

Inasmuch as the change is as often (and, to the mind of Aristotle, more properly) εἰς δυστυχίαν, editors are inclined to add <ἢ εἰς δυστυχίαν>, which may very well have fallen away.

It occurs to me, however, that the sense is met by reading εἰς ἐτεροτυχίαν.

Ibid. 32.

τραγωδίας δὲ εἶδη εἰσὶ τέσσαρα· τοσαῦτα γὰρ †καὶ τὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη· ἢ μὲν πεπλεγμένη κ.τ.λ.

But the μέρη of tragedy are six and not four, and, in any case, those μέρη do not determine the enumeration of the εἶδη.

Most editors bracket τοσαῦτα...ἐλέχθη. Rather read τοσαῦτα γὰρ κατὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη· 'for that is the number before mentioned *in detail* (though not brought together and classified).'

C. xviii. 1456a 20.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς περιπετείαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς †ἀπλοῖς πράγμασι στοχάζεται ὧν βούλονται.

Read ἀλλοῖς (cf. 1451b 33).

Ibid. 28.

τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόμητα μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγωδίας ἐστίν.

This is the exact opposite of the sense. Prof. Butcher agrees with those who insert <οὐδὲν> before μᾶλλον. But how was the word lost?

In the next sentence the same objection of Aristotle is put in the form of a question. So here I should read τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς <πῶς> τὰ ἀδόμητα μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγωδίας ἐστίν;

C. xxi. 1457a 32.

τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ σημαίνοντος καὶ ἀσήμου (πλὴν οὐκ ἐν τῷ τόνωματος σημαίνοντος καὶ ἀσήμου) κ.τ.λ.

If ὀνόματι is right, whence came ὀνόματος? The natural supposition is that the original was ἐν τὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος.

C. xxii. 1458a 27.

κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν ἴδονμάτων σύνθεσιν οὐχ οἷον τε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεταφορὰν ἐνδέχεται.

Some editors insert <ἄλλων>, others <κυρίων>. Perhaps the original was κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν <σ υ ν η θ ῶ ν> σύνθεσιν, to which ὀνομάτων was an adscript.

Ibid. 31.

ἔκ τῶν γλωττῶν βαρβαρισμός. This abrupt remark follows αἰνίγματός τε γὰρ ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ.

Answering τε with τε and filling in the sense we may read ἔκ τ' <ἀμίκτ> ὡν γλωττῶν βαρβαρισμός. I am further disposed to believe that a larger loss has occurred and that the original text was e.g.

ἔκ τ' <ἀμίκτ> ὡν γλωττῶν βαρβαρισμός <δῆλον ὅτι ποιεῖται>. δεῖ ἄρα κ.τ.λ.

C. xxii. 1458b 12.

τὸ μὲν οὖν φαίνεσθαι ἴπως χρώμενον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ γελοῖον κ.τ.λ.

The word wanted is <ἀναισθ> ἴπως, the first two syllables having been lost through the similarity of -αἰνεσθαι and ἀνεσθη- (αι=ε, cf. 1455a 20 and very frequently). ΗΤΩC then became ΠΩC.

C. xxiv. 1460a 23.

διὸ δὴ, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, ἴαλλ' οὐδὲ (αἰ. ἄλλου δὲ) τούτου ὄντος ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι ἴῃ προσθεῖναι.

The point is that 'granted the second, there is no necessity to establish the first'—popular fallacy being sufficient for the purpose. Prof. Butcher gives the right sense; but, for the reading, I should suggest διὸ δὴ, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐν, τούτου ὄντος, ἀνάγκη <κ ἀκεῖνο> εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι π ρ ὁ σ <θ ε ν> θ ε ῖ ν α ι, 'if the first is (a) fiction, nevertheless (ἄλλὰ) there is no necessity, when the latter is (a fact), to begin by laying it down that the former also is or becomes.'

The cause of the loss of κἀκεῖν' in -κη <κακεῖν> εἶναι is obvious.

C. xxv. 1460b 18.

εἰ δὲ ἴ τὸ προελέσθαι κ.τ.λ.

Rather than εἰ δὲ <διὰ> τὸ read εἰ δὲ τ ῶ (cf. 1448a 8, 1449b 11, &c.).

Ibid. 27.

εἰ μέντοι τὸ τέλος ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ <μὴ> ἦττον ἐνεδέχετο ὑπάρχειν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τούτων τέχνην ἴῃμαρτῆσθαι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς.

Rather than omit ἴμαρτῆσθαι I should read <μὴ> ἴμαρτῆσθαι and render 'if it had been possible for the end to be attained quite as readily, and yet for no error to have been made in respect of the art to which they belong.'

C. xxv. 1461a 27.

τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως, οἷον τῶν κεκραμένων ἴ οἶνον φασιν εἶναι, ὅθεν πεποιήται ὁ Γανυμήδης Διὶ οἰνοχοεῖν, οὐ πινόντων οἶνον.

Prof. Butcher inserts <ἐνια> after κεκραμένων. I should prefer (for sense as well) to read τῶν κεκραμένων <οἶον οὖν> οἶνον φασιν εἶναι: 'any and every sort.'

C. xxvi. 1462b 5.

ᾧστ' ἐὰν μὲν ἕνα μῦθον ποιῶσιν, ἀνάγκη ἢ βραχέα δεικνύμενον μύθον φαίνεσθαι, ἢ ἀκολουθοῦντα τῷ τοῦ μέτρου μήκει ὑδαρῆ. <.....> λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐὰν ἐκ πλείονων πράξεων ἢ συγκειμένη, οὐ μία.

The usual methods of filling in the lacuna, though good in sense, do not account for the loss. I should fill in with <ἐὰν δὲ π ο λ υ μ ε ρ ἦ> and account for the loss by homoeoteleuton (-αρῆ...ερῆ).

Further notes upon textual questions and upon the interpretation of difficulties are reserved for another occasion. Meanwhile, inasmuch as the *Poetics* are now regularly read in the University of Melbourne, I should be grateful for the opinion of any scholar upon the views taken above.

T. G. TUCKER.

XENOPHON'S *OECONOMICUS*.

(Continued from page 104.)

8, 1.—ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύρομαχος, καὶ δηχθεΐσάν γε οἶδα αὐτήν... ὅτι τῶν εἰσνευχθέντων τι αἰτήσαντος ἐμοῦ οὐχ εἰχέ μοι δοῦναι.

It seems necessary to insert ποτε somewhere in this sentence. A Greek could not have omitted it, any more than in 10, 2 ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἰδὼν ποτε αὐτήν κ.τ.λ. It would have fallen out most easily perhaps after ὅτι, but its more natural place would be after δηχθεΐσάν γε. (Herwerden after οἶδα.)

8, 10.—καὶ σὺ οὖν, ὦ γύναι, εἰ τοῦ μὲν παράχου τούτου μὴ δέοιο, βούλοιο δ' ἀκριβῶς διοικεῖν τὰ ὄντα εἰδέναι καὶ τῶν ὄντων εὐπόρως λαμβάνουσα ὅτω ἂν δέη χρῆσθαι... χῶραν τε δοκιμάσωμεθα τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκάστοις ἔχειν καὶ κ.τ.λ.

Hartman is probably right in demurring to διοικεῖν τὰ ὄντα. It is not a question of knowing how to 'administer your property,' but simply of avoiding confusion in your stores and knowing what you have or have not got. He reads ἀκριβῶς τὰ οἴκοι ὄντα εἰδέναι, but I am not sure that οἴκοι can be used indiscriminately for ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. I have thought of διαιρεῖν (cf. 17 and 9, 6) but it does not quite satisfy me. The optatives εἰ δέοιο and εἰ βούλοιο, to which Dr. Holden calls attention, seem unsuitable here and are probably an error for the present indicative, δέει and βούλει. Not only is the mood inharmonious with δοκιμάσωμεθα, but it puts as a mere future contingency what the speaker would naturally assume to be an actual fact. He takes it for granted that his wife wishes to avoid disorder and to have things handy.

If ὅτω ἂν δέη χρῆσθαι is right, the attraction is very unusual.

Just below in ἢ γὰρ χῶρα αὐτὴ τὸ μὴ ὄν ποθῆσει should we read τὸ μὴ ἐνόν? I hardly think that σῶν is to be understood from the sentence before, or that ὄν can be used here by itself.

8, 16.—In a storm, says the sailor, there is no time to search for things or get them out: ἀπειλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ κολάζει τοὺς βλάκας. ἀπειλεῖ is not exactly an inappropriate word, but there is a very similar word so much more appropriate that I believe Xenophon to have used it: ἐπέγει... καὶ κολάζει τοὺς βλάκας. So Soph. *O.C.* 1540 ἐπέγει γάρ με τοῦκ θεοῦ παρόν.

8, 19.—ὡς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται κ.τ.λ.

I think Hartman is right in doubting the exclamatory use of ὡς here, which would indeed be very much out of place, but he does not say how the words are to be dealt with. It seems pretty certain that this ὡς must be like the two in the preceding sentence, which follow upon εἴρηται, though εἴρηται comes after them in order. I should suppose that Xenophon was in like manner going to put something later on which this ὡς κ.τ.λ. would follow, but was diverted by the length of the sentence into an anacoluthon. What he had in his mind really appears in the next sentence (21) εἰ δ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγω, ἔξεστι... καὶ πείραν λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. It is as though 19–21 ran ὡς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται... τούτου ἔξεστι πείραν λαμβάνειν κ.τ.λ. *Agos.* 7, 7 is a sentence of somewhat similar irregularity, for it contains no regular apodosis to εἰ δ' αὖ κ.τ.λ. but the sense is given in another form.

9, 5.—οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρηστοὶ (τῶν οἰκετῶν) παιδοποιησάμενοι εὐνούστεροι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ εὐπορώτεροι πρὸς τὸ κακουργεῖν γίγνονται.

Xenophon may have meant only that bad slaves got increased facilities (εὐπορώτεροι) for mischief or dishonesty, and this makes fair sense. But the antithesis to εὐνούστεροι suggests that some effect upon their dispositions was what he meant to express. If so, he may have written εὐφορώτεροι in the sense in which Aristotle more than once has εὐκατάφορος. When εὐφορώτερον is used of the body (*Symp.* 2, 16) it has the somewhat similar meaning of 'more flexible,' 'more easily moved.' So *Περὶ Ὑψους* 44, 1 πρὸς ἡδονὰς λόγων εὐφοροί and 4, 1 πρὸς λόγων ἐνίοτε μέγεθος οὐκ ἄφορος. Cf. the analogous uses of δύσφορος, ἐπίφορος, παράφορος, &c. I have also thought of εὐροπώτεροι.

9, 18.—χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη φάναι, εἰ αὐτῇ ἐπέταττον κ.τ.λ.

ἂν cannot stand here with the adjective and without a verb. Add εἶναι before ἔφη or after φάναι.

10, 12 seems to me imperfectly expressed and I conjecture that it ran somewhat as follows: καὶ <ἢ> ὄψις δὲ, <ἔφην>, ὁπότεν ἀνταγωνίζηται <δέσποινα> διακόνῳ καθαρωτέρα οἶσα πρεπόντως τε μᾶλλον ἡμφισμένη, κινητικὸν γίγνεται. There is nothing in the preceding sentences from which δέσποινα can conveniently be understood.

ἔφην is perhaps not absolutely necessary, but is usually added when a transition is made from *oratio obliqua*. I see not the least reason for doubting ὄψις, as Hartman does, but it probably wants the article.

11, 4.—ἀπαντήσας τῷ Νικίου τοῦ ἐπηλύτου ἵππῳ.

In this troublesome expression can Xenophon have written τῷ ἐπηλύτῃ (or ἐπήλυδι) ἵππῳ? Cf. Herod. 1, 78, 3 λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. It is contrary to all probability that τοῦ Νικηράτου (Cobet) should have been corrupted thus.

11, 18.—τὰ μὲν βάδην, τὰ δὲ ἀποδραμὼν οἴκαδε. Perhaps βάδην should be βαδίσας: cf. 8, 4, ὁ μὲν βαδίζων τὸν τρέχοντα. Otherwise we must insert ἐλθὼν or some other aorist participle, perhaps βαδίσας itself. Hartman <ἴων>, but an aorist is needed to match ἀποδραμὼν. (In his text H. has βαδίσας after Herwerden.)

11, 22.—ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμμελλον δὲ ἐγώ...τοῦτο ἐρήσεσθαι.

Perhaps δέ should be σε. καὶ...δέ seems hardly possible after ἀλλὰ.

12, 14.—It will not do to omit ῥάδιον, as Hartman proposes, in the first half of the sentence, though εὔπερές ἐστι might have been omitted in the second. If any change were to be made, I should prefer to insert another infinitive after εὔπερές ἐστι, but perhaps none is necessary. Holden falls into a remarkable mistake in saying that εὔπερές is 'not found elsewhere in Xenophon.' Not only does he adopt it himself in 15, 13 of this dialogue from the conjecture of Wytttenbach (MSS. εὔπερες), but Sturz' lexicon will furnish many other examples of both adjective and adverb. Holden is also in error in this § as to ὅταν παρῆ τὸ πρακτέον. The sense shows that παρῆ is from παρήμι, not from πάρειμι. Cf. Soph. O. C. 1229: Plat. Rep. 460 E.

13, 8.—καὶ τὰ κυνίδια δὲ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆ γνώμῃ καὶ τῆ γλώττῃ ὑποδέεστερα ὄντα ὅμως καὶ περιτρέχειν καὶ κυβιστᾶν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μανθάνει τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ.

That dogs are inferior to man τῆ γνώμῃ is intelligible enough, but what can be meant by calling them inferior also τῆ γλώττῃ? or what has the tongue to do with running round in a circle and tumbling head over heels? The editors do not appear to have asked themselves these questions. But I do not see what is to be done with τῆ γλώττῃ. What is there besides γνώμῃ that it would be apposite to mention here? I can think of nothing, unless it were power of attention or docility. Did Xenophon

write μελέτῃ? (πολλὴ τῆ γνώμῃ ὑποδέεστερα ὄντα Hartman.)

13, 9.—τῆ γὰρ γαστρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις προσχαριζόμενος ἂν πολλὸν ἀνύτοις παρ' αὐτῶν.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις seems to make no sense. Can it be an adscript meaning that Xenophon uses γαστήρ here 'of the bodily desires'? (Hartman καί for ἐπί.)

14, 5.—Speaking of the laws of Draco and Solon, Ischomachus says γέγραπται γὰρ ζημιούσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέμμασι καὶ δεδέσθαι, ἢν τις ἀλῶ ποιῶν, καὶ θανατούσθαι τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας.

This statement has puzzled the commentators considerably, as it appears to give a severer punishment for an attempt at theft than for a theft actually perpetrated. Some have made the obvious suggestion that the words should be transposed, reading καὶ δεδέσθαι τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας καὶ θανατούσθαι ἢν τις ἀλῶ ποιῶν. Others have understood ἐγχειροῦντας very improbably of assault, not theft. But the addition of a word before ἐγχειροῦντας will give us an unexceptionable sense and bring this passage into harmony with the *locus classicus* on the subject in the *Timoocrates* of Demosthenes. We read there that ὁ Σόλων...νόμον εἰσήνεγκεν, εἰ μὲν τις μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ πενήτην δραχμὰς κλέπτει, ἀπαγωγὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἑνδεκ' εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τις νύκτωρ οἰοῦν κλέπτει, τοῦτον ἐξεῖναι καὶ ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τρώσαι διώκοιτα καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῖς ἑνδεκ', εἰ βούλονται. τῷ δ' ἀλόντι ὦν αἱ ἀπαγωγαὶ εἰσιν, οὐκ ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαντι ἕκτισιν εἶναι τῶν κλεμμάτων, ἀλλὰ θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν. The words of Demosthenes make it certain, I think, that we should read here θανατούσθαι τοὺς <νύκτωρ> ἐγχειροῦντας. It is well known that at Rome the old law allowed any thief to be killed by night (*duodecim tabulae nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderet, interfici impune voluerunt*, Cicero p. Milone § 9): Xenophon and Demosthenes are speaking rather of the penalty inflicted in course of law, though the latter seems to include private killing as well.

In the words that immediately follow, δῆλον οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγραφοῦν αὐτὰ βουλόμενοι &c., αὐτά should probably be ταῦτα, though αὐτά may be defended as referring to πολλοὺς τῶν νόμων in 4.

15.—It is difficult to resist the conclusion that §§ 1-4 were never meant to stand before the following §§, which simply repeat their contents at somewhat greater length, but that we have here an instance of a *duplex recensio* or two alternative versions of the same matter. How the two

versions originated, is not an easy question to settle.

15, 1.—ἐπειδάν γε ἐμποίησιν τινὶ τὸ βούλεσθαί σοι εἶναι τὰγαθὰ, ἐμποίησιν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτω τὸ ἐπιμελείσθαι ὅπως ταῦτά σοι ἐπιτελήται, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστήμην κτήσῃ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἂν ποιούμενα ἕκαστα τῶν ἔργων ὠφελιμώτερα γίγνοιτο κ.τ.λ.

κτήσῃ αὐτῷ is certainly wrong, as Cobet pointed out, but it is hard to see how to improve it. Another ἐμποίησιν is not plausible, for why should it have been so corrupted?—nor is ἐνεργάσῃ. Holden and Hartman both propose κτήσῃται αὐτός, which is quite unsuitable, as Socrates is speaking throughout of what the overseer is taught, not of what he learns for himself, nor would there be any good reason for making such a distinction in this one thing. I can only conjecture that κτήσῃ αὐτῷ, which is not necessary to the construction, was an ill-worded adscript of some one who wished to give ἐπιστήμην a verb.

It may be that the first ἐμποίησιν should be followed by a μέν and no doubt that is the common usage, but there are too many cases without μέν to make the restoration safe. We have another in 2, 3 καὶ πόσον ἂν...οἶει...εἰρέιν τὰ σὺ κτήματα, πόσον δὲ τὰ ἐμά; and cf. 11, 4. πολλούς...πολὸν δέ. Perhaps ὥσπερ σὺ σαντῷ just below should be <ὁμοίως> οἱ <ὡσαύτως> ὥσπερ σὺ σαντῷ.

16, 12.—εἰκὸς γάρ...τὴν πόαν ἀναστρεφόμενῃν...τηνικαῦτα κόπρον μὲν τῇ γῇ ἤδη παρέχειν, καρπὸν δ' οὕτω καταβαλεῖν ὥστε φέσθαι.

οὕτω can hardly stand instead of μῆπω with the infinitive here. It might perhaps stand in the first of two clauses after εἰκὸς ἐστὶ, if one word or idea was strongly negated and another, as it were, put in its place: but in the second clause it is impossible. (Kühner, § 514, 2, B, points out rightly that in Plat. *Soph.* 254 B εἰκὸς οὐχ ἦττον ἐκείνων οὕτως ἔχειν the οὐχ goes closely with ἦττον.) I would not however read μῆπω here. If we notice the change from the present παρέχειν to the aorist καταβαλεῖν, for which there is no reason, we may probably conclude that it is καταβαλεῖν which is wrong and restore καρπὸν δ' οὕτω καταβαλεῖ. The future is used as in 11 σκληρὰ ἡ γῆ ἔσται. (For a similar error cf. note on 20, 16.)

17, 7.—οὐκοῦν τούτω μὲν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἥδη μελέτης δέεται, ὥσπερ τοῖς κιθαρισταῖς ἢ χεῖρ, ὅπως δύνηται ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ.

The traditional punctuation is wrong here. The subject of δέεται is not τούτω (which is an accusative meaning 'in this

matter': cf. 16, 6) but ἡ χεῖρ. A comma must be placed after κιθαρισταῖς, if we put one before ὥσπερ.

18, 1.—στὰς ἔνθα πνεῖ ἄνεμος ἢ ἀντίος; I suspect ἔνθα should be ἔθεν. Cf. Bast's *Comm. Palaesogr.* p. 807. An adverb of place at which can be turned by attraction into an adverb of motion from or to, but not, I think, vice versa. (So too Hartman in his text.)

18, 5.—ὅπως δὲ τὸ δεόμενον κόψουσι..., τίνι τούτω, ὦ Σώκρατες;

Read τίνι τούτω <ἐπιμελητέον>. Hartman <προστάξεις>.

19, 2.—ἐν ὁποῖα τῇ γῇ δέει φυτεῖν.

Omit τῇ. It has perhaps arisen from a dittography of γῇ.

19, 19.—διδάσκει τρυγᾶν ἑαυτήν, ὥσπερ τὰ σῦκα συκάζουσι, τὸ ὄργων ἀεὶ.

Read ἐαυτῆς. Cf. *Mem.* 3, 11, 1 ἐπιδεικνύει ἐαυτῆς ὅσα καλῶς ἔχει.

20, 3.—οὐδ' ὅτι ἀγνοήσας τις τὴν γῆν φέρουσαν ἀμπέλους ἐν ἀφόρῳ ἐφύτευσεν.

τὴν γῆν <τῆν> φέρουσαν Hartman. A word has indeed been omitted, but not the article. A man planted vines in unsuitable soil, because he did not know—what? that it would not grow them; ἀγνοήσας τὴν γῆν <οὐ> φέρουσαν ἀμπέλους. Hartman has himself very plausibly added an οὐ in 2, 3, writing οὐ πάνν for πάνν. Cf. on 16 below.

20, 8.—Insert αἶ after φυλακάς. Some particle is needed and this seems the likeliest. It occurs again in the next §.

20, 16.—μέγα δὲ ἔφη διαφέρειν κ.τ.λ.

Read μέγα δέ, ἔφη, διαφέρει. The whole of this ch. is in the *oratio recta*. διαφέρει, διαφέρουσι, &c. occur repeatedly.

Ibid. ραδίως γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς παρὰ τοὺς δέκα διαφέρει τῷ ἐν ᾧρα ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλος γε ἀνὴρ διαφέρει τῷ πρὸ τῆς ᾧρας ἀπιέναι.

In company with the man who goes away early Xenophon must have put him who begins late, that is, he must have written τῷ <μήτ'> ἐν ᾧρα ἐργάζεσθαι. He has just said it is the overseer's business to see ὡς τὴν ᾧραν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ ἐργάται ὄσιν, 'begin work in good time,' and it would be extravagant to speak as though only one workman in ten did so.

20, 18.—ὅταν ὁ μὲν πράττη ἐφ' ᾧπερ ᾠρηται βαδίζων, ὁ δὲ ραστώνει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ παρὰ κρήναις καὶ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς ἀναπαυόμενος κ.τ.λ.

Cobet may be right in adopting ἐφ' ᾧπερ from Stephanus, but not in branding βαδίζων as an *inficetum interpretamentum*. The antithesis to ἀναπαυόμενος however, while defending βαδίζων, suggests that we should add to it some adverb such as προθύμως or ὡς τάχιστα.

20, 20.—Agreeing with Schneider that ἐπιμελείσθαι has no business to be mentioned here, I should suggest that τὸ δὲ δὴ καλῶς ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ κακῶς, τοῦτο δὴ κ.τ.λ. may be the right reading. ἐπιμελείσθαι was perhaps added by some one who failed to see that κακῶς went with ἐργάζεσθαι.

Ibid. ὅταν, σκαπτόντων ἵνα ὕλης καθαραὶ αἱ ἄμπελοι γέωνται, οὕτω σκάπτωσιν (σκαλλόντων and σκάλλωσιν Hartman) ὥστε πλείω καὶ καλλίω τὴν ὕλην γίγνεσθαι, πῶς οὕτως οὐκ ἄργον ἂν φήσαις εἶναι;

Surely καλλίω should be κακίω. The fineness of the weeds is hardly a thing to dwell on. So *De Vectigalibus* 4, 36 the κάκιον of Stephanus has been universally adopted for the κάλλιον of the MSS. (Hartman μὴ μείω). It also seems natural to suppose that οὕτως ἄργον should be τοῦτους ἄργους.

20, 23.—Perhaps by a contrary error to that twice pointed out above (16, 12 and

20, 16) ἔχει χῶρος πάμφορος γιγνόμενος has been written here for ἔχειν χῶρον πάμφορον γιγνόμενον. The words seem wanted to finish off the father's statement of the case.

21, 5.—αἰσχυνομένους τε ἔχουσιν αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ πείθεσθαι οἰομένους βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ ἀγαλλομένους τῷ πείθεσθαι ἕνα ἕκαστον καὶ σύμπαντας, πονεῖν ὅταν δεήσει, οὐκ ἀθύμους πονοῦντας.

(1).—ἔχουσιν after παρέχουσιν in the preceding sentence seems sufficiently defended by the precisely similar use of the two words in *Ages.* 6, 4, 5. Cf. too *Hiero* 11, 12 ἐκόντας τοὺς παιδομένους ἔχους ἄν. (2). If we do not insert a καὶ before πονεῖν, or before ἕνα (ἕνα τε!), we must at least take ἀγαλλομένους τῷ πείθεσθαι as subordinate to πονοῦντας. ἕνα ἕκαστον and σύμπαντας must not be separated.

H. RICHARDS.

ATTIC JUDICATURE.

IN the numbers of this *Review* issued in April and May 1893 I was permitted to describe some part of the mechanism of Attic judicature in the light of statements of the recently discovered Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*. Since that date the acumen of Professor Blass has satisfactorily deciphered further passages of the MS. that had been almost effaced by destructive agencies, and had hitherto proved illegible. With the help of this new information I will now attempt to complete the shadowing of an Athenian juror throughout his day of service; and at the same time will take the opportunity of criticizing some divergent views proposed by Gilbert in his *Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*.

1. The assignment by lot of eponym letters of the alphabet, λ, μ, ν, etc., to the several law courts was the work of a single Thesmothetes, whether acting in rotation or appointed by lot, is not mentioned. ἐπειδὴν δ' ὁ θεσμοθέτης ἐπικληρώσῃ τὰ γράμματα ἂ δεῖ προσπαράτιθεσθαι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις...63, 5.

2. The assignment of the courts to the several magistrates was the duty of two Thesmothetai chosen by lot. τίθεται δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν δικαστηρίων κ' κληρωτήρια καὶ κύβοι χαλκοὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπιγέγραπται τὰ γράμματα τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ ἕτεροι κύβοι ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπιγεγραμμένα. οἱ λαχόντες δὲ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν χωρὶς ἑκατέρους

τοὺς κύβους ἐμβάλλουσιν, ὁ μὲν τῶν δικαστηρίων εἰς ἐν κληρωτήριον ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν εἰς ἕτερον, column 33, lines 28 *seqq.* (Blass' reconstitution of the text is taken from Kaibel's *Stil und Text von Aristoteles Politia*). The 'first' of the courts apparently denotes the court which had the letter L assigned to it for an eponym. Kaibel observes that there was no need of more than two balloting urns, and for κ' would read β'. This is a better reading; but γ' is perhaps as likely, indicating that a third urn received the pairs of cubes after they were simultaneously withdrawn from the others. Unless the letters are distinctly visible, I would suggest that κληρωτρίδες (not κληρωτήρια) and μίαν κληρωτρίδα (not ἐν κληρωτήριον) and ἕτεραν (not ἕτερον) should be read; for it is scarcely credible that in adjacent pages of the same treatise κληρωτήριον should be used to denote such dissimilar things as balloting urns and balloting rooms. The latter usage occurs in: κανονίδες δέκα ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν κληρωτηρίων, col. 31, 16, and τὴν φυλὴν καλεῖ εἰς τὸ κληρωτήριον, col. 31, 18.

3. Instead of the total number of juror tickets in the boxes, Gilbert (p. 400) thinks that only a fraction of them were suspended on the Kanonides; but see the following paragraph. (The pages of Gilbert's treatise referred to are the pages of the translation by Brooks and Nicklin.)

4. In describing the sortition (*κυβεία*) of jurors for the service of the day, the writer uses the following terms: εἰσὶ δὲ κύβοι ξύλινοι μέλανες καὶ λευκοί ὅσους δ' ἂν δέη λαχεῖν δικάστας, τοσοῦτοι ἐμβάλλονται λευκοί, <οἶον> κατὰ πέντε πινάκια εἰς, οἱ δὲ μέλανες τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, col. 31, 20. Of these words Gilbert, if I understand him rightly, gives the following interpretation. To shorten, presumably, the process of lottery, the white cubes employed were not equal in number to the jurors required, but only a fraction of that number, say one fifth; and as soon as an amount of πινάκια equal to twice the number required had been fixed on the Kanonides, no more were withdrawn from the *κιβώτια*, but an equal number of black cubes were thrown into the urn. *E.g.* if a hundred jurors were wanted from a given tribe, twenty white and twenty black cubes would be used and two hundred tickets placed on the Kanonides. Then five tickets were withdrawn at a time from the Kanonides, and either selected or rejected in a lump by a single white or black cube. There are, however, several objections to this explanation:—

(a) If this is the meaning, why, instead of οἱ δὲ μέλανες τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, did not the writers say καὶ μέλανες ἴσοι?

(b) How can we believe that he left such an amount of pure hypothesis, viz. the canonizing of not the whole number of candidates, but only twice the number wanted, to be supplied by the reader's conjecture, when his account is so explicit and distinct in all the other details?

(c) The method could never be employed when there were not present twice as many candidates as were required for the courts.

Gilbert's solution, then, cannot be accepted. I propose the following: The first thing to be done was to ascertain how many candidates had to be rejected. For this purpose all the tickets were exhibited on the Kanonides and counted. Then black cubes were put into the urn, not equal in number to the white cubes, but bearing the same proportion to the number of candidates to be rejected as the white cubes bore to that of the jurors required. Thus, if 100 jurors were wanted, and there were 300 candidates, 200 had to be rejected. Accordingly 20 white and 40 black cubes were cast into the urn, and the candidates were selected or rejected in batches of five. If only 100 candidates were present, none had to be rejected, no black or white cubes were employed, for no lottery was needed.

Gilbert's account of the process of *κυβεία*,

at least as it appears in the translation, is mysterious. In 63, 2 he reads κλη[ρωτήρια] (not κληρωτρίδες) εἴκοσι, δύο τῇ φυλῇ ἐκάστη, and with reason holds that κληρωτήριον can only signify a balloting room. In p. 401 he says: 'Aristotle, 63, 2, gives two κληρωτήρια for each tribe, which I should explain by supposing that in the one were the πινάκια on or in the ten κανονίδες of the κληρωτήριον, in the other the κύβοι.' And in p. 400: 'Then the Archon drew the dice for his κληρωτήριον, whilst the ἐμπήκται for each die drawn took the five uppermost tokens from their κανονίς.' What was the advantage of having the cubes and the Kanonides in different rooms is not explained. Taking κληρωτήριον to mean a room, Gilbert cannot specify any vessel that was either the original or subsequent receptacle of the cubes. My view is that they were originally placed in one κληρωτρίς, and cast, as they were from time to time withdrawn, into the other κληρωτρίς.

5. Each juror, as I interpret the passage, when designated for service by the dice, immediately drew from one ἰδρία an acorn to decide the court in which he was to serve; this acorn having performed its function was at once thrown into the second ἰδρία; and the archon at once cast the juror's πινάκιον into the box inscribed with the same letter as the acorn and the court.

Gilbert, p. 400, thinks that all the lottery (*κυβεία*) for service was finished before the jurors began to draw lots for the courts, reading ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐ[ξέλη] τοὺς κύβους καλεῖ τοὺς εἰληχότας ὁ [ἄρχων], instead of Blass' ἐπειδὴν δ' [ἐξαιρή] τοὺς κύβους καλεῖ τοὺς εἰληχότας ὁ [κῆρυξ]; and supposes that in the meantime the πινάκια of the selected jurors were provisionally deposited in the second ἰδρία. When the lottery was finished the archon, he holds, drew the πινάκια one by one from the ἰδρία where they were deposited, and simultaneously the juror an acorn from the other ἰδρία; whereupon the archon cast each πινάκιον into its proper κιβώτιον. The first ἰδρία being thus occupied by the tickets, the acorns have to remain in the hands or pockets of the jurors till they reach the door of their allotted court. But there seems to be no adequate reason why the jurors should not have handed over their acorns immediately after showing them to the archon; and the ἰδρία would not have been blocked by the πινάκια, if each juror drew his acorn immediately after he was selected by the dice.

6. If we follow the selected jurors and observe what credentials (*βακτηρίαι, σύμβολα*) they received, and what use they made of them, we find that after allotment to a court each juror received from an official a staff coloured like the lintel (*σφηκίσκος*) of his particular court. *ὁ δὲ ἑτηρέτης δίδωσιν αὐτῷ βακτηρίαν ὁμόχρων τῷ δικαστηρίῳ... τοῖς γὰρ δικαστηρίοις χρώματα ἐπιγέγραπται πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σφηκίσκῳ τῆς εἰσόδου, col. 32, 3 seq.*

7. On entering the court each juror received a ticket for pay (*σύμβολον*). *ἐπειδὴν δ' εἰσέλθῃ παραλαμβάνει σύμβολον δημοσία παρὰ τοῦ εἰληχότος ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, col. 31, 13.* The *εἰληχός* may, until we have further information, be regarded as a *κωλακρέτης*, though the existence of such officials in the fourth century B.C. is not shown by any extant inscription.

Gilbert, p. 402, supposes that the juror now surrendered the acorn, which he had hitherto kept in his possession. Kaibel, also, thinks the juror was still seized of the acorn: *Durch den Stab wie durch die Eichelmarke legitimirt, steht ihm der Eingang offen, p. 262.* But, as before suggested, it was probably thrown, immediately after performing its function, into the second *ὑδρία*. The juror was sufficiently 'legitimated' or accredited by his staff, and the acorn was now superfluous.

8. When the arguments were concluded the *ψηφοί* were distributed, and, after casting his vote, each juror surrendered the staff which was his badge of office. This we may reasonably assume with Gilbert from what is stated of the next stage.

The *ψηφοί*, like the *πινάκια* and the *σύμβολα*, were marked on one side with letters of the early part of the alphabet, corresponding to the Heliastic divisions. The object of these letters on the *ψηφοί* is not obvious. Gilbert, pp. 394 and 411, thinks that the specimens so marked belong to a time when the permanent Heliastic divisions sat constantly in particular courts. If this arrangement ever existed, we must at least suppose that the assignment of magistrates, that is, of causes, to the several courts was a matter of daily sortition: as otherwise the facility of corruption which the system furnished would have been too obvious. Moreover a single brigade would hardly be able to furnish the whole number of jurors, possibly 1500, required for a single court.

Compared with *νῆες διαίρεται*, *naves solutiles* (see *Ancient Ships* by Cecil Torr, p. 38), the expression *ἀμφορέϊς διαίρετοί*, col. 36, 3, probably means that the two vessels that received the voting discs could be taken to

pieces to ascertain that they were empty before the voting began.

9. When in a *τιμητὸς ἀγὼν* a second vote was required, the jurors received back their staves and gave up their *σύμβολα*: *ἐπειτα πάλιν τιμῶσιν, ἂν δὲ τιμῆσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψηφίζόμενοι, τὸ μὲν σύμβολον ἀποδιδόντες, βακτηρίαν δὲ πάλιν ἀπολαμβάνοντες, col. 36, 35.* In the fifth century B.C. the assessment of damages or penalty was on waxen tablets, on which a long line was drawn if the juror voted for the assessment proposed by the plaintiff or prosecutor, a short line if he voted for that proposed by the defendant or accused: *σκευὴ δικαστικά, σύμβολον, βακτηρία, πινάκιον τιμητικόν, μάλθη ἢ καταλίλιπτο τὸ πινάκιον, ἐγκεντρὶς ἢ εἶλον τὴν γραμμὴν, μακρὰ δ' ἐκαλεῖτο ἢν καταδικάζοντες εἶλον, Pollux 8, 16.* But the words in the preceding quotation, *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψηφίζόμενοι*, show that this method was discarded in the fourth century.

10. After casting their second votes, it may be assumed that the jurors again gave up their staves, being *functi officio*, and received back their *symbola*, being now entitled to their pay.

11. On leaving the court the jurors gave up their *symbola*, received their pay and recovered their *pinakia* at the pay office of the *κωλακρέται*. These officials seem to have had a pay office in each court, divided into ten compartments, each distributing pay to one of the ten Heliastic divisions. *ἐπειδὴν δ' αὐτοῖς ἢ δεδικασμένα τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὸν μισθὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει οὗ ἔλαχον ἕκαστοι, col. 37, 5.* The *μέρος* refers to the permanent brigade or regiment to which the jurors had been allotted. The regimentation was mentioned in 69, 4 (*νενέμνηται*), but the mode of allotment (sortition) was not specified. Here *μέρος* seems to denote the place where that brigade or regiment received its pay. Where was this situated? After stating that the *πινάκια* of the rejected candidates were restored to them by the *Empektai*, and that the boxes, λ, μ, ν, etc., of the selected jurors were taken from each balloting room by servants of each tribe to the several courts, column 33 thus proceeds: *παραδιδόασιν δὲ τοῖς εἰληχόσιν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐν ἑκάστῳ [δ]ικαστηρίῳ ἀριθμῶ τὰ πινάκια, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων σκοποῦντες ἀποδιδῶσιν τὸν μισθόν. γίνεται δὲ πάντα ταῦτα κατὰ δικαστήριον. Οἱ εἰληχότες αὐτῶν τὰ κωλακρέται ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιτεταμένοι αὐτῶν τὰ πινάκια* or whoever were the paymasters of the jurors in the fourth century. Instead of *δικαστηρίῳ ἀριθμῶ*, which is unmeaning, I would suggest that we should read *δικαστικῶ ἀριθμῶ*, assuming that *δικαστικὸς ἀριθμὸς* was

a term equivalent to μέρος. This seems not unlikely when we remember that the letters of the alphabet were both eponyms of the Μέρη and symbols of numbers. If the extant specimens of σύμβολα have been rightly identified, each σύμβολον bore upon

it one of the letters Α, Β, Γ, etc., indicating a Heliastic brigade. The ten compartments of the pay offices may supersede the ten entrances to the law courts suggested in the April (1893) number of this *Review*.

E. POSTE.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTION οὐ μή.

SINCE the publication of Prof. Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, it may be said that his view of the origin of οὐ μή has held possession of the field. At least it has become one of the stock articles of diet, with which the British schoolboy's appetite for grammar is sated. But though it is universally taught, it is by no means universally accepted as a final solution by those who teach it. It would therefore be well to examine the merits and demerits of the theory, now that it is possible to review it, after the lapse of many years has tested its validity.

Οὐ μή sometimes expresses a strong denial, sometimes a prohibition. Prof. Goodwin explains both forms on the same principle, and it must be admitted that any theory which explains them on different principles is *prima facie* very improbable. Accepting this view, οὐ μή καταβήσει (Ar. *Vesp.* 397) cannot be regarded as a question;¹ indeed the interrogative theory is hardly tenable on any grounds, since the combination of οὐ μή + fut. with the fut. alone in such cases as Eur. *Bacch.* 792, *El.* 383, 982, Ar. *Ran.* 202, is practically fatal to these words forming a question: for these futures are clearly 'jussives,' being equivalent to the imperatives which it appears might be similarly used (Ar. *Nub.* 296, the only instance).² Further we agree with Prof. Goodwin in rejecting Soph. *Aj.* 75 (and other examples *M. T.* § 299), and would add to the list Aesch. *Sept.* 250, Eur. *Hel.* 437, *Hipp.* 498, Ar. *Eccl.* 1145, Plat. *Symp.* 175 B. In all these cases the οὐ in the first clause is not connected with the μή. These instances being rejected, the construction οὐ μή is plainly in our opinion only continued by using μηδέ in the following clause (Ar. *Vesp.* 394).

So far Prof. Goodwin appears to us not

only to have made a clear statement of the facts, but to have established it incontrovertibly. Our criticism of the structure, which he has erected upon this basis, may be divided into two parts. We propose to inquire (1) whether his theory of the direct descent of the Platonic μή + subj. from the Homeric μή + subj. is supported by facts, and (2) whether the prefixing of οὐ to such independent clauses would give the required meaning of strong denial or prohibition.

(1) Prof. Goodwin states that the independent subj. with μή 'is familiar in Homer in expressions of apprehension combined with a desire to avert the object of fear' (p. 392); that 'the real force of the negative was in abeyance' (p. 397); that the same construction 'was in good use in the fifth century B.C.' (p. 393) where it is used 'implying no apprehension' (*ibid.*), and here can be seen 'the transition from Homer's clause of apprehension to Plato's cautious assertion' (p. 292); finally Plato 'restored it to common use as a half-sarcastic form of expressing mildly a disagreeable truth' (p. 293).

To this view we offer three objections:—

(a) We deny that in Homer μή ever loses its prohibitive force.

(b) We deny the possibility of the ordinary form of prohibition passing into a cautious statement in any language.

(c) We assert that all the instances quoted either from fifth century writers or from Plato, retain the prohibitive force of μή or bear obvious traces of a different parentage to that assigned them.

(a) That μή in Homer is a prohibitive particle, and that with it the subj. has the character of an imperative (Monro *H. G.* § 278) requires no demonstration. After examining all the instances given by Prof. Goodwin, Kühner, Weber, and others, I am unable to see that the negative has in any sense lost its proper force,³ though there is

¹ References throughout to Dind. *Poet. Scen.* As far as possible examples other than those given in *M. T.* are quoted.

² To my ear οὐ μή does not even sound like the beginning of an interrogation.

³ This also applies to cases in which it is used with the fut., *Il.* x. 330 (Monro *H. G.* § 358, b).

sometimes a difficulty in expressing it in English. 'Apprehension' may be implied, but 'prohibition' or at least 'deprecation' is expressed. Nor is this a mere quibble or hair-splitting about names. There is a fundamental distinction between 'deprecation' and 'apprehension,' because in all languages the negative force in the former is essential and indestructible, while in the latter the negative expressed in the subordinate clause loses its meaning in some languages (e.g. French and Greek). Though Prof. Goodwin says these clauses express 'apprehension combined with a desire to avert,' yet in his article he absolutely disregards the 'desire to avert,' which is essential, and only concerns himself with the 'apprehension,' which is accidental. This is a most grievous error, and one into which only those could fall who regard constructions not as they are, but as they might appear when translated into some other language. I append some examples: *Il.* xxii. 122 μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰών, κ.τ.λ. 'I must not come to him, and he not pity me.' *Il.* ii. 195 μή τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξῃ 'I would not have him evilly entreat the sons of the Achaeans in his wrath.'

(b) Something may be said further on more general grounds. It is of course true that nearly all prohibitions do carry with them an apprehension of a danger which the speaker anticipates and desires to avert. When I say to my form 'Don't use the aorist middle for the aorist passive,' I have an apprehension (founded on experience) that they will occasionally do so; nevertheless I do not expect to be told that my remark was not a prohibition at all, but merely a cautious attempt at prophesy, equivalent to 'You will perhaps be tempted to use the middle for the passive aorist.' This magnifying of the implied apprehension, until it swallows up the prohibition, nay until the μή which suggests the apprehension actually swallows itself up or, as Prof. Goodwin happily puts it, 'seems to be in abeyance,' is a freak of language, on whose like we shall hardly look again—or once. It is perfectly incredible that the Greeks, or any other people, could by imperceptible stages have changed 'Thou shalt not steal' into 'I have some suspicions of your honesty,' and this too though all the while they retained the construction in its original sense! Yet Prof. Goodwin is of opinion, or at all events his theory pre-

Note that in *Soph. Aj.* 572, which is often quoted as similar, the fut. really depends on ὅπως in l. 567.

supposes, that when a Greek said μή σκώψῃς his hearer was left in doubt as to whether this meant 'Don't jest' or 'Perhaps you are jesting' or 'I fear you may jest.'

(c) We have endeavoured to show in the preceding paragraph that a prohibition could not pass into a cautious statement; it remains to point out that it *did not* do so. Prof. Goodwin quotes 8 instances earlier than Plato¹ (*Weber* 97, 130), 34 from Plato himself (*Weber* 191, where the quotations are given in full) and 1 from Demosthenes (*Weber* 171) in which 'the speaker expresses fear and desire to avert its object' or makes a simple cautious assertion, in either case the negative being in abeyance. On examination it will be found that these 43 instances may be divided into three classes:—

(1) Those in which μή is followed by οὐ, 25 cases (20 from Plato).

(2) Those in which the verb is ῥῆ, 23 cases (22 from Plato;² 12 of these overlap the preceding).

(3) Those in which μή is followed by some other verb, 7 instances, viz. *Eur. Alc.* 315, *H.F.* 1399, *Or.* 776, *Plat. Euthyd.* 272 C, *Symp.* 193 B, *Leg.* 861 E, *Theag.* 122 B.

It is with the third class that we are mainly concerned. In 5 of them the prohibitive force of μή is apparent and necessary; they do not differ from the quotations given in *M.T.* § 255 and 259. *H.F.* 1399 ἀλλ' αἷμα μή σοῖς ἐξομόρξωμαι πέπλοις 'I must not wipe off the blood upon thy garments.' *Plat. Euthyd.* 272 C μή οὖν καὶ τοῖν ξένοις τις ταῦτὸν τοῦτο ὀνειδίσῃ 'Now I should not like the strangers to experience similar treatment' (*Jowett*). *Symp.* 193 B μή μοι ὑπολάβῃ Ἐρυξίμαχος κωμῶδων τὸν λόγον 'I must beg Eryximachus not to make fun' (*Jowett*). *Leg.* 861 E μή τοίνυν τις... οἴηται 'I would not have any one suppose' (*Jowett*). *Theag.* 122 B μή γὰρ πολλάκις ἐγὼ μὲν ἄλλο τι αὐτὸ ὑπολαμβάνω, σὺ δὲ ἄλλο, κάπειτα πόρρω που τῆς συνουσίας αἰσθώμεθα γελοῖοι ὄντες 'Don't let me understand it in one sense and you in another,' etc. The two instances that remain are a little more difficult. However in *Alc.* 315 it is clear that Alcestis is in no condition to make cautious assertions; rather the words contain a passionate appeal (deprecatory force of μή) 'Don't let her' (or 'She must not') 'mar thy marriage.' So in *Orestes* 776 μή

¹ Dr. Verrall would add *Aesch. Sept.* 201 (183), *ἔνδον δ' οἶσα μή θλάβην τίθει*, 'at home she is like enough to be in the way.' See note *ad loc.*

² In one of these cases, *Lys.* 219 D, there is another verb *ἐξαπατᾷ* coordinated with ῥῆ, but this does not affect the argument.

λάβωσί σ' ἄσμενοι 'Let them not be only too glad to catch thee,' unless with Brunck and Porson we should read *μη οὐ* as in *Troad.* 982, *Rhes.* 115. In any case these two passages are not claimed as cautious assertions. Now observe: it is only in classes 1 and 2 that *μη* is found without its negative force, expressing a mild assertion, that is to say, only in cases where *οὐ* is inserted or the verb is *ῆ*, e.g. *Eur. Rhes.* 115 *μη οὐ μόλῃς*, *Plato Cratyl.* 425 B *μη φαῖλον ῆ*. This is so remarkable as to require some explanation. There can be no reasonable doubt that this limitation was enforced *in order to prevent any possibility of confusion between this construction and ordinary prohibitions*. Let me repeat. *Μη* + subj. is only used in this sense in such expressions as were impossible in any other sense: *μη ῆ* cannot mean 'let it not be,' *μη οὐ πείσῃς* cannot mean 'Do not fail to persuade,' therefore they could be (and were) used in the sense of 'perhaps it is so,' 'perhaps you will not persuade.' The two constructions, so far from being closely connected, are most carefully contrasted. Prof. Goodwin on the other hand holds that *μη σκώψῃς* can mean 'perhaps you are jesting.' Yet he cannot adduce one single instance of *μη* (as opposed to *μη οὐ*) with the subj. of any verb other than *εἶμι* in this sense.

To apply these results to *οὐ μη*. Prof. Goodwin's whole theory rests on the supposition that if the *οὐ* be removed from expressions with *οὐ μη*, a possible Greek construction is left. Let us try. Take *Aesch. Sept.* 281, *οὐ μη φύγῃς*, remove *οὐ*, and we have *μη φύγῃς*. This means 'do not flee' and cannot possibly mean anything else. If it can, where are the examples? Again *Aesch. Sept.* 199 (cf. *Supp.* 228) *οὐδὲ μη φύγῃ*. What authority has Prof. Goodwin for saying *μη φύγῃ* can mean 'perhaps he will flee'? Not one single instance. For he does not himself claim that the instances from *Plato* and *Euripides* in class 3 are 'cautious assertions,' but that they are expressions of apprehension. Now let us attempt the converse process. If we put *οὐ* before any of class 1 and 2, we ought, according to Prof. Goodwin, to get a possible Greek construction. Therefore place *οὐ* before an instance of class 1, e.g. *Eur. Troad.* 982 *μη οὐ πείσῃς*. The result is *οὐ μη οὐ πείσῃς*. The idiom is one of which the student need not be ashamed to confess his ignorance, seeing that it is unknown to the Greeks themselves. Or again from class 2 take e.g. *Gorg.* 462 E,

and prefix *οὐ*; we obtain *οὐ μη ἀγροικότερον ῆ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν*. Here too the Greek world appears to have conspired against our grammatical Athanasius; for there is no single instance of *οὐ μη* followed by *ῆ*, and this can hardly be accidental, since the examples of *οὐ μη* are very numerous; indeed I have found 117 instances¹ not later than *Demosthenes*. The whole of the preceding criticism may be summed up in a sentence. Prof. Goodwin asserts that *οὐ μη* is the negative of *μη* in cautious assertions; yet if any one of the existing instances of cautious statements be negated by prefixing *οὐ*, or if any one of the existing instances of *οὐ μη* be made affirmative by the omission of *οὐ*, a construction is produced, in support of which he cannot quote one solitary example. Those who would dwell beneath the shadow of this theory may be congratulated upon the fact that at least they will not be in danger of stumbling over its roots.

(2) The second part of our criticism can be more briefly set forth. Supposing that *μη* with the subj. of any verb did express a mild affirmation, what would be the meaning of the sentence, if *οὐ* were prefixed? We are warned (*M.T.* p. 394 note) that the *οὐ* is not to negative the verb, but the whole expression. What then is the negative of a mild and cautious assertion? There are two possible answers. It is a strong and incautious assertion, or a mild and cautious denial. This requires no demonstration. But we are told that the real negative is a strong denial. I have no wish to parody Prof. Goodwin's argument, but the application of his logical method to a parallel case will perhaps best prove its fallaciousness. His argument runs as follows: 'Such expressions' (viz. *μη* + subj.) 'are practically cautious affirmative statements' (p. 391), they 'always retain the implication that the fact thus stated is an object of apprehension to some one' (*ibid.*); by the insertion of *οὐ* the expression 'would come into the language in the sense of a denial of this apprehension' (p. 394), that is to say, the *οὐ* negatives the apprehension; and 'between negating a suspicion and suspecting a negative there is all the difference in the world' (p. 394 note). Apply the same process to the expression *φέρεσθαι νικητήρια*. *Φέρεται νικητήρια* is an affirmation, 'he wins the prize': the middle voice however has the implication that the fact

¹ The authors include *Aesch.*, *Soph.*, *Eur.*, *Aristoph.*, *Herod.*, *Thucyd.*, *Xen.*, *Plato*, *Aeschin.*, *Demosth.*, *Isaeus*.

thus stated is an object of interest to the subject: the insertion of an *οὐ* would come into the language in the sense of a denial of the interest of the subject in the action: it would therefore mean 'he wins the prize for some one else,' which is quite different from not winning it at all. The absurdity is apparent, the cause in each case is the same. The subjective side, the implication that 'the fact is an object of apprehension' (or interest) 'to some one' is brought into undue prominence, it throws the rest of the sentence into the background; it is then negated, and all is complete,—if only it were possible. But it is not possible; it is not conceivable that *οὐ* could negative the 'apprehension' in this way, unless some word of apprehension be mentally supplied, or rather, unless some word of apprehension had *actually* been employed at some stage in the development of this construction.

We will conclude by summarizing what appears to us the true history of these constructions. The ordinary independent prohibition (*μή*+subj.) became associated with and afterwards subordinated to verbs of fearing,¹ though of course the independent use was still retained. The process is already complete in Homer (*M.T.* 362, 363, *Monro H.G.* 281 (2)). When used in dependence on a verb of fearing (and here only), the *μή* loses its negative force. *Il.* xi. 470 δειδω *μή* πάθῃσι τι 'I fear he will come to grief.' In colloquial language this dependent clause began to be used independently.² But the traces of its previous dependence remain (1) in meaning, it expresses apprehension and not prohibition, (2) in form, its use is limited to those cases

¹ I have assumed that the *μή* after verbs of fearing is the prohibitive not the interrogative *μή* of *M.T.* 369, 376, to which I would add for purposes of comparison *Ar. Lys.* 326.

² Compare the construction 'ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἔσει,' *Eur. Cycl.* 595, where the dependent conjunction *ὅπως* clearly shows that this imperatival expression also went through a stage of subordination before it was used independently.

in which there can be no confusion with the original independent prohibition, *i.e.* it is confined to *μή* ἤ or *μή* οὐ,³ that is to say, forms which are possible after verbs of fearing, but impossible in prohibitions.

The construction with *οὐ μή* has a somewhat similar history, whether earlier, or later, or synchronous.⁴ The two are perfectly distinct, neither presupposes the other. However the *οὐ* must have been added when the verb of fearing was actually expressed, or at least mentally supplied; otherwise *οὐ μή* ληφθῶ could not bear the meaning it does. We would call attention to three points. (1) The limitations observed in the use of *μή*+subj. are of course not applicable here. (2) While *μή*+subj. was always colloquial, *οὐ μή* has a more dignified turn, being used in the stately language of prophecy: *Soph. Phil.* 610, *Eur. Phoen.* 1585, *I.T.* 18. (3) *οὐ μή* is far more common than the simple *μή*. This is no doubt due to the greater demand for imperatival forms than for cautious or semi-ironical expressions. For the rest of the development we return to Prof. Goodwin's guidance. *Οὐ μή* ληφθῆς = 'there is no fear that you will be caught' and so 'assuredly you will not be caught'; similarly the English slang 'No fear' means 'Certainly not.' The future was then substituted, as was also the case when words of fearing were actually expressed (*M.T.* § 367). Lastly with the 2nd person this (and also *οὐ μή*+subj.) came to be used as a strong prohibition, 'You shan't come down' being equivalent to 'I'll take good care you don't' or simply 'You are not to come down.'

C. D. CHAMBERS.

³ If I apprehend Prof. Goodwin's meaning *M.T.* § 263, he himself regards *μή οὐ* as necessarily dependent, or at least does not believe in the existence of any independent instance.

⁴ If in *Aesch. Ag.* 1640 (1618) *μή* should be read (*v.l.* μοι, *μήν*), it was probably earlier, since it is there already stereotyped.

HESYCHIANA.

1.

Ἄθάμαντα τὸν θυόμενον νεφέλαις.

Read τὸν θυόμενον, Νεφέλαις, or, <έν> Νεφέλαις: *Arist. Nub.* 258

ὥσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανθ' ὅπως *μή* θύσετε.

2.

Ἄλωδων' πλανῶν καὶ τύπτων.

The gloss is from *Arist. Thesm.* 2, as the existing 'scholia' show.

ἄπολεί μ' ἄλωδων ἀνθρωπος ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.

3.

Ἀντιβολῶ παρακαλῶ.

The gloss is from Arist. *Eq.* 142, where the same glossema is given among the existing 'scholia.'

εἴπ' ἀντιβολῶ τίς ἐστίν.

4.

Ἀρχέλαος τὸν ἐπιστάτην τοῦ Λυκείου παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ὀνόμασεν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐλαίου θέλουσιν ἀκούειν.

Read τοῦ ἐλεοῦ. Some grammarians held that the word was used in *Eq.* 164 because the ἀλλαντοπώλης came on the stage with his ἐλεός or μαγειρικὴ τράπεζα.

5.

Γράμματα· τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ συλλαβαί, καὶ τὰ ζωγραφήματα. καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς δικαστικαῖς ψήφοις.

Read τὰ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ψηφίσματα—the numbers (*i.e.* numerals) on the Courts at Athens.

6.

δεῖν· δεσμεύειν. καὶ δέον καὶ δέησιν καὶ τὸ πνεῖν φέρειν εὐρίσκειν καὶ στρέφειν Κύπριοι.

The τὸ πνεῖν is an explanation of βδεῖν. In late Greek πνεῖν has often the sense of βδεῖν.

7.

κέλυφος· ὀστέον λεπτόν. κυρίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀπίρας καὶ τῶν δένδρων.

Read ὄστρακον. λέπυρον· κυρίως κ.τ.λ.

8.

κήρυγμα· ἀχρεῖον. ἀσθενές.

The explanation of this gloss is to be found in the 'scholia' to Arist. *Vesp.* 757, which show that ΠΑΡΕΣΩΣ-ΚΙΕΡΑΜΑΤΟΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ had been misread πάρες ὡς κηρία μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, the ὡς κηρία being thought to mean ὡς ἀσθενής. Whether the κιεραμα had been corrupted still further before it entered the Lexicon is uncertain.

9.

Λαύρα· ῥύμη δι' ἧς ὁ λαὸς εἰσέρχεται. ἡ φλόξ. οἱ δὲ τόπους πρὸς ὑποχώρησιν ἀνεμίνους. οἱ δὲ ἄμφοδα. οἱ δὲ στενωπούς. καὶ δίοδοι.

Read:

Λαύρα· ῥύμη δι' ἧς ὁ λαὸς ῥεῖ καὶ ἔρχεται. αὐλαξ.

Λαύρας· τόπους πρὸς ὑποχώρησιν ἀνεμίνους, κ.τ.λ.

The first glossema of Λαύρα is etymological. In late Greek αὐλαξ seems to have the sense of a vaulted passage (*cp.* Hesych. Αὐλακας· κοίλους τόπους), a meaning approaching nearly to that of a cloister or monastery. The second gloss is from Arist. *Pax* 99. At any rate the first glossema refers to that passage.

10.

νωδός· ὁ ὀδόντας οὐκ ἔχων. [καὶ ἐνεός. κωφός. μὴ λαλῶν.]

The bracketed words do not belong to νωδός. They have been wrongly copied from the adscripts to some text of Arist. *Plut.* 266, in which the reading was

ῥυπῶντα κωφὸν ἄθλιον ῥυτὸν μαδῶντα νωδόν.

That κωφόν was read for κυφόν there is plain from the existing 'scholia,' where οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄφωνον should be corrected into οὐ γράφειν δεῖ [κωφόν] ἄφωνον.

11.

ὀδωδὴ· ὀσμὴ.

The variant ὀδωδὴ for ἐδωδὴ is implied in the 'scholia' to Arist. *Pax* 29.

12.

ὀλκάς· πλοῖον. ναὺς φορτηγός. ἀηδών. εἰρήνη. δυνατάς.

Read:

ὀλκάς· πλοῖον. ναὺς φορτηγός [Πίνδαρος] ὠδαῖς. [Ἀριστοφάνης] Εἰρήνη.

ὀλκάς· δυνατάς.

In the 'scholia' to the passage of Pindar (*Nem.* 5, :3) we find ὀλκάς· εἶδος φορτηγοῦ πλοίου ἄκατος δὲ πλοίου βραχυτάτου. The reference to the *Peace* is line 37. The conjecture Εἰρήνη was made by M. Meibom (1671).

13.

πιτύλους· οἱ ἀλειπαὶ τὰς ἐν περιόδῳ καταβολὰς τῶν πληγῶν· οἱ δὲ ναυτικοὶ τὸ πρὸς κέλευσμα ἐλάσαι.

Read πληγῶν· πιτυλεῖσαι δὲ οἱ ναυτικοὶ κ.τ.λ. *CP.* the 'scholia' to Arist. *Vesp.* 678.

14.

χλωρόν· ὑγρόν. δεινόν. χαλεπόν.

Read δειλόν. *CP.* 'scholia' to Arist. *Pl.* 204.

Also χαροπόν, *i.e.* blue, in lieu of χαλεπόν.
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NOTE ON CIC. *DE FIN.* ii. 56.

CICERO *De Finibus* ii. § 56: uester sapiens, magno aliquo emolumento commotus cum causa, si opus erit, dimicabit. The words *cum causa* have generally been assumed to be corrupt. Some inferior MSS. give *animi causa*, but, as Madvig remarks *animi* has arisen from the contraction for *cum*, misunderstood. According to Iwan Mueller, the Erlangen MS. has \widehat{ni} *causa*, which has apparently come from \widehat{ai} (= *animi*) *causa*. Many have been the emendations of the suspected phrase, but the palm for ingenuity can never be wrested from Kraffert, who conjectured *cum caupa*, after having described the passage as a 'berüchtigte crux interpretum'! Some other corrections are *cum amico* or *amica* (Madvig); *cum Medusa* (M. Haupt); *amicum suum necabit* (Koch and Morel). The last-named

reading is preferred by C. F. W. Mueller to that of Madvig, as 'non veri similius, sed aptius.' I venture to hold that the words *cum causa* are sound, and afford a satisfactory meaning. The Epicurean philosopher will face danger, not for glory, but for a sufficiently important material advantage. He will then fight 'for good reason,' or 'not without reason' (*cum causa*), in accordance with his philosophical principles. It is easy to find parallels to the employment of the words *cum causa*, e.g. *Ad Quint. Fr.* 1, 2, 2 scio te fecisse cum causa; *De Orat.* 2, 247; *Ad Herenn.* 2, 5 and 45; Varro *de re rust.* 1, 17, 4 and 3, 16, 7. Tacitus uses *causā* alone, with the same signification (*Ann.* 13, 37). Similarly *cum ratione* is employed; and equivalent phrases are *non sine causa* and *non sine ratione*.

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NOTE ON PLAUTUS, *TRUCULENTUS* 252.

SCHOELL reads this verse thus:

Qui ubi quamque nostrum prope videt hasce
aedis adgredi.

A reads *NOSTRARUM VIDET PROPE* with all the manuscripts; BCD read *hac si* which A omits altogether; A reads *AEBIS* and *ADGREDIRI*, B reads *edis*, C *aedis*, D ξ *dis*; B reads *adgredias*, CD *agredias*. The old editions, not having A, constructed a text on perfectly sound principles of text criticism, reading:—

Qui ubi quamque nostrarum videt prope hac
si aedis adgredias,—

Schoell's reading deviates from A in *nostrum* for *nostrarum*, in inverting *videt prope*, in reading *hasce* where A has nothing, and in reading *aedis*. A itself is undoubtedly at fault in omitting a word or words before *aedis*, and misspells in *aebis*. These two faults render A's reading *adgredi* liable to suspicion. It is entirely improbable that any archetypal *nostrum* would have become *nostrarum*, or any *hasce* have become *hac si* in all the manuscripts but A.

Why strain at the reading of the older editors? Priscian tells us of active forms of *adgredi* in Naevius, and in general, in

the early period, the deponents show sporadic active forms. Now if the difficulty of an active form be waived, a syntactical difficulty remains, viz. that *quamque nostrarum*, an indefinite 3rd person, is repeated in the ideal 2nd person implicit in *adgredias*. This makes the verse run something like this: 'But when he sees any of our <girls> near here (hereabouts, *prope hac*), if you (one) approach the house,' etc. For this rendering of *prope hac* I compare *prope hic* in *Rud.* 229, and *Ter. Ad.* 453; *prope hāc* differs from *prope hic* by referring to the route of approach (thus meaning something like 'on the way hard by'), rather than to mere proximity, and is proleptic for *si—adgredias*.

Fatal to the reading of Schoell is the fact that A omits any correspondent of his *hasce* while reading *adgredi*. Assuming that *hac si—adgredias* stood in the archetype, the condition of A is just what we should expect of a careful grammatical corrector who was offended by the free use of the 2nd pers. *adgredias* referring to *quamque nostrarum*; he therefore corrected to the infin. *adgredi*, and omitted [*hac*] *si* to secure syntactical correctness, his objection to *hāc* probably being that he did not understand its relation to *prope*.

In view of these points I think we must prefer the traditional reading to Schoell's, and in general be on our guard against the great triumvirate edition which seems to me not infrequently (cf. the author, *Am. Jr.*

Phil. xv. 362 sq.), to proceed not *ad fidem codicum* but *ad hypothesin sive metricam sive grammaticam editorum.*

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NOTE ON PLATO'S *THEAETETUS* 171d.

In this passage Socrates is afraid that Protagoras may convict him of some error. Evidently making use of figurative language he says of him :—

καὶ εἰ αὐτίκα ἐντεῦθεν ἀνακύψει μέχρι τοῦ αὐχένος, πολλὰ ἂν ἐμέ τε ἐλέγξας ληροῦντα ὡς τὸ εἶκός, καὶ σὲ ὁμολογοῦντα, καταδὺς ἂν οἴχοιτο ἀποτρέγων.

Steinhart conjectured that the picture presented here was that of an actor coming up and descending again by Charon's steps in the theatre. This view is also favoured by Wohlrab in the last edition of Stallbaum's Plato and is noticed without comment by Professor Campbell in his *Theaetetus*.

It seems more probable that we have here the recurrence of an intermittent metaphor that is previously found at 161c and 167b. If this is so, it represents Protagoras not as an actor, but as a *frog*. Socrates is turning back on him words which Protagoras had used before. For in 161c it is said of Protagoras: 'in the beginning of his Essay on Truth...he showed that we

honoured him like a god for his wisdom; but he happened to be not better in intellect than a [frog] tadpole.' At 167b he says in explanation of his former position: 'I call some things better than others but not more true; and wise men I am far from calling frogs.' Then, applying the figure to its author, Socrates in 171d represents him as raising his head out of the water just long enough to confute them and then diving again.

'*Ἀνακύψας* is thus used several times in *Phaedo* 109d and e of popping up out of the sea like a fish; and frogs are also mentioned in the immediate neighbourhood of this passage (109b) as if they formed a related image. The same verb is also used in the *Phaedrus* 249c of emerging from the interior sphere into the clear light of heaven. But it will be difficult to find any place in Plato where its meaning corresponds to the Müller-Steinhart translation 'aus der Erde sich erhebe'; or where Charon's steps are mentioned.

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NOTES ON HORACE.

Odes i. 3, 21—24:

Nequiquam deus abscondit
Prudens oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates *transiliunt vada*.

With *transiliunt*, which, as Ritter remarks (and Wickham after him), is expressive of *levitas et impudentia*, we may compare Horace himself, *Odes* ii. 18, 23—26:

Quid quod usque proximos
Revellis agri terminos et ultra
Limites clientium
Salis avarus?

See also Ovid *Met.* i. 134 where in speaking of the degeneration of the third age, the age of bronze, Ovid proceeds in words which seem in part reminiscent of Horace:

Vela dabant ventis, nec adhuc bene noverat
illos
Navita, quaeque diu steterant in montibus
altis,
Fluctibus ignotis *insultavere* carinae.

The comment in the Siebelis-Polle school edition is "tanzten darauf," die Gefahr verachtend.'

Odes i. 12, 11—12 :
(Orpheus) blandum et *auritas* fidibus canoris
ducere quercus.

On *auritas* Mr. Page remarks: 'Most commentators think the word unworthy of comment: it seems to me difficult.' Yet an ample commentary upon the word may be found in Horace himself at *Odes* i. 24, 13—14:

Quid si Threicio blandius Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem,

a passage, by the way, which is not cited in this connection by Orelli, Schütz, Smith, or Kiessling. Surely, if the poet may speak of the lyre 'as heard by the trees,' he may venture to describe the trees themselves as 'eared.' Hence there is no real difficulty in *auritas*. Again, we have a parallel to Horace's use of the word in the (non-Plautine) Prologue to the *Asinaria* vs. 4:

Face nunciam tu, praeco, omnem auritum
populum,
which, after I had myself noted it in my reading of that play, I found recorded by Orelli. Schütz compares Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 608, where Palaestrio before conferring with Pleusicles and Periplecomenos, takes the precaution to see that the coast is clear, remarking:

Sed specularior, ne quis aut hinc aut ab
laeva aut dextera
Nostro consilio venator adsit cum *auritis*
plagis.

This passage is a complete parallel to that in Horace as illustrating the application of the word to a non-sentient object.

On the other hand it should be noted with Kiessling that the use of *auritas* here is in keeping with the familiar personification which endowed the trees with hair (*comia*, *κόμη*) and heads (cf. *Iliad* 12, 132 *δρύες ἰψικάρηνοι*). Finally for the sake of completeness note (with Schütz) *muos auritos*, Sid. *Carm.* 16, 4 and (with Kiessling) Manil. v. 332 et sensus scopulis et silvis addidit aures.

Satires i. 1, 61—62 :
At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine
falso
'Nil satis est' inquit 'quia tanti quantum
habeas sis.'

To the references usually given on verse 62, as well as on Juvenal iii. 143, add Pliny *Epist.* i. 14, 9: Nescio an adiciam esse patri eius amplas facultates. Nam cum imaginor vos quibus quaerimus generum, silendum de facultatibus puto: cum publicos mores atque etiam leges civitatis intueor, quae vel in primis census hominum spectandos arbitrantur, ne id quidem praetereundum videtur.

Satires ii. 1, 30:

Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris. . . .

Compare Pliny *Epp.* i. 9, 5 where he says of the life at his Laurentine villa, nulla spe, nullo timore sollicitor, nullis rumoribus inquietor: *mecum tantum et cum libellis loquor*.

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NOTE ON HORACE *CARM.* II. 12, 14.

Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
Potamus uncti?

similar explanation. Munro in his note on Lucr. v. 970 has left it doubtful whether in this place he took *sic* as = *sicut erat* or = *negligerter*.

I think there are good reasons for explaining *sic* differently.

(1) If *sic* equals *sicut erat* or *negligerter* then *temere* is tautological.

(2) I submit that *sic* is used here exactly as in the following places: Plaut. *Rud.* 422 *non licet te sic placidule bellam belle tangere*. id. ib. 1261 *an sic potius placidule (sc.*

DR. WICKHAM'S note is: '*sic* = οὕτως, "as we are," *temere* = εἰκῆ, "with no preparation."' Mr. Page's note is: 'carelessly just as we are. Cf. μὰρ οὕτω and οὕτως εἰκῆ. For the use of *sic* cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 421 *sicut erat*.' Lewis and Short give a

eam). Amph. 117 *processi sic cum servili schema*. Ter. Phorm. 145 *quid rei gerit? G. sic tenuit̄r*. id. Eun. 601 *limis specto sic per flabellum clanculum*. Cic. Flacc. 66 *sic summissa voce agam*. Sen. Hipp. 394 *sic temere iactae colla perfundunt comae*. In every one of these passages (including the last, as is clear from the context) *sic* is = *hoc modo*, the *modus* being indicated by a gesture or intonation of the voice, the meaning being further and more clearly indicated by the adverb or adverbial expression which follows.

(3) *Hac* immediately preceding and the vividness of the words which follow, *Quis restinguet* etc., *Quis eliciet*, point to the use as being *δεικτικῶς*. For the realistic language cf. Ode i. 27. In Ter. Eun. 595 *cape hoc flabellum, ventulum huic sic facito*, we have a good parallel for the juxtaposition of *sic* and *hic*.

I therefore suggest that *sic temere* ought to be translated 'like this, at our ease,' or 'like this, carelessly.'

J. STANLEY.

A PHRASE OF A BOEOTIAN POET.

In *Misopogon* p. 477, l. 4 *sqq.* ed. Hertl. (= Spanh. 369 B), Julian, speaking of the price of corn, quotes a proverbial expression from a Boeotian (presumably Hesiodic) poet:

εἰ δὲ τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρουσ ἦν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος τί προσδοκᾶν ἔδει τηρικᾶντα, ἡνίκα, φησὶν ὁ Βοιωτίως ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δράγματι;

This is the reading of V(ossianus). Other MSS. have δράγματι, δράματι. The vulgate is ἐπὶ δώματι, on which Reiske has this note: ea anni tempestate quum desider-

ium est domi propter frigus, exclusis quarendi alimentis ergo excursionibus. The meaning clearly is: Hunger is a hard visitor to entertain in winter, but δώματι is not likely to have been thus corrupted. I suggest that we should restore ἐπὶ τῷ φράγματι, the original line perhaps ended in

χαλεπὸν δ' ἐπὶ φράγματι λιμός.
Limos is imagined to be prowling at the enclosure of the farmyard; φράγμα = ἔρκος αὐλῆς.

J. B. BURY.

NOTE ON SOPH. TRACH. 660.

Ὅθεν μῶλοι πανάμερος.

MR. VERRALL'S interesting treatment of this passage in the March number of the *Classical Review* suggests to me the publication of my own view of the true reading. It is so simple that I feel sure it must have been anticipated, yet I cannot find that it has been. It is to preserve πανάμερος of the

MSS., but to take it from ἡμερος not from ἡμέρα. The formation is quite right; cf. πανάθλιος and scores of other adjectives. The meaning, 'all-peaceful' after war's alarms, is far better than that given by the so-called emendation πανίμερος. No sense can be extorted from πανάμερος if derived from ἡμέρα.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

'BASSAREUS.'

I OMITTED in my note on Bassareus to quote, in addition to Apollo Smintheus and Apollo Lyceius, Apollo Parnopius at Athens to whom (Pausanias i. 24, 8) a bronze statue made by Pheidias was erected in consequence of his promise to drive away a plague of locusts (πάρνοπες). My friend Mr. J. G. Frazer out of his boundless stores of learning has pointed out to me a passage from Strabo (613) which shows the frequency of deities being named after some

pest, which injured vines and other crops. It runs thus:—

καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν παρνόπων, οὓς οἱ Οἰταῖοι κόρνοπας λέγουσι, κορνοπίωνα τιμᾶσθαι παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἡρακλῆα ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀκρίδων χάριν ἰποκτόνον δὲ παρ' Ἐρυθραίουσ—ὅτι φθαρτικὸς τῶν ἀμπελοφάγων ἰπῶν.—Ῥόδιοι δὲ ἐρυθριβίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἱερόν, τὴν ἐρυσίβην καλοῦντες ἐρυθρίβην. παρ' Αἰολεῦσι δὲ—θυσία συντελεῖται παρνοπίωνι Ἀπόλλωνι.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

HAVET'S FABLES OF PHAEDER.

Phaedri Augusti liberti Fabulae Aesopiae.
Recensuit LUDOVICUS HAVET. Paris.
1895. Fr. 7.50.

THE facsimile of the original codex of Phaedrus' (or, as M. Havet writes, Phaeder's) *Fables*, from which Pithou first published them in 1596, and which is now in the library of the Marquis de Rosambo—a facsimile beautifully executed, and most carefully edited by M. Ulysse Robert—has been before the public nearly two years. The fine character of its writing, which belongs to the tenth century, and the palaeographical interest attaching to a MS. which, since the destruction by fire of the codex of Rheims in 1774, is the only complete preserver of the undisputed remains of the fabulist (for in spite of Havet and a multitude of critics the Perottine fables are not yet proved to be by Phaedrus), the jealousy with which the MS. has been guarded by its possessors since Pithou's time, the rarity now-a-days of Berger de Xivrey's transcript of it published in 1830, the interest in Phaedrus newly roused by the recent researches of Hervieux, extending as these do to a full conspectus of the various prose versions and poetical transmutations made in the Middle Ages—all combine to make a new edition opportune if not necessary. And it is right that this should be French. We are separated by the interval of just 300 years from the date of Pithou's editio princeps: there is a seamlessness in the fact that the edition which opens the fourth century since then is by a Frenchman.

M. Havet gives a list of the critics who have published or corrected the text of the *Fables* (pp. x.—xii.). Few scholars are aware how vast a number of emendations have been propounded; Havet mentions a great many, including not a few by Bentley. He himself has added a very considerable number to the list. Most of these are based upon metrical considerations drawn from a minute study of Phaedrus' iambics. It is obvious that Havet is here following in the steps of Lucian Müller, who has laid down a more or less precise code on which Phaedrus constructed his verse. Far however from being a slavish follower, Havet calls in question many of his master's assertions. The Essay on Phaedrus' metric extends to sixty-four pages (147—211) and

is very interesting reading to any one who cares to trace the niceties of Latin metre as elicited by modern criticism, and to see how strange an approximation this point of metre has made between the simple verses of Phaedrus and the elaborately constructed senarii of the tragedian Seneca.

Large as is Havet's book (295 pages), it contains no commentary, which however may perhaps be reserved for another volume. I think there is enough in the diction, occasionally even in the explanation of the *Fables*, which would make such an additional volume welcome. We are, besides, living in a period when the subject of fables is awaking new interest; witness the monumental labours of Hervieux on Phaedrus and Avianus, my own edition of *Avianus* (1887), Rutherford's *Babrius*, and the recent discoveries of some of Babrius' *Fables* on wax tablets, a discovery which has already determined Prof. Crusius to undertake a new critical edition.

One of the most important points on which Havet departs from the MSS. and accepted opinion is as to the unity of the Prologue to Book iii. This prologue consists of sixty-three verses addressed to Eutyclus. Havet finds in them *two* separate poems, 1–32 a Prologue to Book iii., in which Eutyclus is called a man of business, too much occupied to have leisure for reading, especially *rules nenias* such as fables, and is then told he must change his habits if he wishes to enter the threshold of the Muses; Phaedrus himself had found only tardy recognition among his brother poets: how can Eutyclus expect to understand him, absorbed as he is in a thousand occupations, and never resting to read or think? Still, come what may, as Sinon says in the *Aeneid*,—Phaedrus has made up his mind to write a third book of fables and to dedicate it to Eutyclus, whether he will read it or not. These verses are followed in *P R* (the codex *Pithoeanus* and *Remensis*) without any break in the continuity by 31 verses in which the origin of fables is discussed and attributed to the servile spirit produced by despotism, which thus only could find a safe vent for indignant feeling. Phaedrus had followed in Aesop's track, widening his narrow path into a broad way, and inventing much of his own. In doing this he had incurred the active hostility of Seianus, who was at once accuser, witness,

and judge. Against a man so powerful he dares not plead guilty; he will only say generally that his purpose in writing fables is not to vilify individuals, but to exhibit human life and character. Aesop the Phrygian, Anacharsis the Scythian, had done so before him: Phaedrus is almost a Greek, the Thracian compatriot of Orpheus and Linus, who were sprung from the gods. Let envy be silent: and do *you* judge my merits with candour. In these 31 verses Havet considers we have the *Epilogue* to Book ii., the person addressed in the last two of them being *not* Eutyclus but some more learned reader. The beginning of this epilogue Havet finds in the eight verses, *Si nostrum studium ad aures pervenit tuas to Donec fortunam criminis pudeat sui*, which form the finish of the last poem in Book ii. An epilogue of thirty-nine verses (31 + 8) in all is thus secured.

I confess I am not convinced that Havet is right in this somewhat arbitrary dissection of what the MSS. give as one continuous Prologue to Book iii. It does not seem that the objections which he raises have occurred to the earlier editors, not to Pithou, Rigault, Scheffer, Gronov, Bentley, or Hare. It is, however, a theory which is interesting in itself, and may help to revive discussion on the MSS. of the *Fables*. Havet goes on to connect with it a theory of the archetype. Two leaves must have changed places, one containing the thirty-two verses of the Prologue to Book iii., and a heading, the other the thirty-one verses of the Epilogue to ii. Between both a space must be taken into the account which may be reckoned at about four verses. Then $32 + 1 (+ 1)$, $31 (+ 3) = 34$ verses in each leaf; 34 then must be the sum in the *other* leaves of our supposed archetype. This archetype Havet calls X: behind it is an earlier of thirty verses in each leaf: this is called Y: and this again goes back to a still earlier Z. Those who possess Ulysse Robert's facsimile of P will be better able to judge of this archetypal theory than I, who can only see the facsimile in libraries: but we must not forget that it rests on *many* assumptions, and that the fundamental point on which it is based, the separation of Prologue iii. into two distinct portions, is itself purely hypothetical.

It must not be supposed that questionable points like these constitute more than a small portion of Havet's volume. Its merits are of a far more solid, unassailable character. To mention some of them. The

reader will find here the very things done for him which he most looks for, and in an orderly and methodical way. It is of some importance in constituting the text of Phaedrus to have before one the earliest of the prose versions, that of Ademar, of the Anonymus Wissemburgensis, and Romulus. The task of hunting for these in the voluminous collection of Hervieux is not small. Havet gives the references to each of them with the page in Hervieux at the outset of each fable.

Secondly, the readings of all the MSS. are cited with the most minute exactitude; and where there is a doubt, as in the lost *Remensis*, the different reports are stated. In this respect the new edition is a great advance on all previous ones, not excepting that of L. Müller.

Thirdly, such corrections of the MSS. as are admitted in the text are distinguished by italics, so that the reader is at once aware whether a word or combination has the authority of MSS. to support it or not.

Fourthly, Greek parallels are cited when they help, as they often do, to clear up a doubt. The same may be said of illustrative inscriptions (see Havet on iii. 8) and of parallel uses of words, where their rarity or strangeness has induced former editors to believe them wrong, e.g. *limasset*, iii. 10, 49.

Fifthly, the large number of emendations quoted throws much light on this much-debated point, and proves satisfactorily that the best corrections are not always ascribable to the most celebrated names. For instance, Heinsius, to judge by the samples quoted, has done little or nothing for Phaedrus: Rigault a great deal: yet no one would compare Rigault as a scholar with Heinsius. On this point, it is worth while to mention as a useful mine of information the variorum edition of Valpy, which seems not to have been used by Havet.

The new editor himself contributes much of new, often of plausible, correction. But, unless I am mistaken, his study of L. Müller's edition has had upon him an effect which is only partially desirable. On the one hand, it has opened his eyes, as it cannot fail to do with all attentive students of metre, to the care, not to say precision, with which Phaedrus constructs his iambs; on the other, it seems to have led him, in his anxiety to avoid metrical pitfalls, to suspect corruption where it need not exist. Thus in the section *de interpunctione*, Havet lays down as a principle, that a full or

strong pause should not occur in the middle of a hemistich : accordingly finding in PR

Non semper ea sunt quae videntur despici
(despiciit, R as reported by Dom Vincent)
Frons prima multos.

he rejects Pithou's correction *despiciit*, hitherto universally accepted, changes *despici* to *dispici*, then imagines a lost verse ending with *despiciit*, alleging in his note on the passage 'rarissime collocatur apud Phaedrum interpunctio post semipedem nonum' (videntur: despiciit). Yet he himself cites three instances on p. 155, and there are others. Havet seems here guilty of the very thing he urges against L. Müller, the wish, namely, to convert a commonly observed principle into a rigid law. Take this other instance, which occurs almost at the beginning of the collection. MSS. give as follows :—

Cum tristem servitutem flerent Attici
Non quia crudelis ille sed quoniam grauis
Omnino insuetis onus et coepissent queri.

Havet places *Non quia...Omnino insuetis* in a parenthesis, constructing *onus* with the following words *et c. queri*, because to break up the verse into two disconnected halves by punctuating after *onus* is against the metrical laws observed by Phaedrus. The ordinary reading is *grauest*, the highly probable emendation of Tollius, and this appears to me to agree far better with *quoniam*, which is unnecessary unless it introduces a new and distinct subject like *onus*.

Olim quas uellent esse in tutela sua
Diui legerunt arbores. Quercus Ioui
Et myrtus Veneri placuit.

Havet changes *Diui* to *Dii ut*, mainly on the ground that a sudden full pause at the end of the fourth foot is against Phaedrus' usage, but also because *Diui* is not here in antithesis to *men*, as it usually is. The latter objection I feel; but the former is arbitrary; and the correction *Dii ut* seems impossible; if elided, *dei* (which Havet, p. 68, only offers as an alternative) would be preferable: but such an elision even of *dei* (plural) would be in itself suspicious. Possibly Phaedrus wrote *superi* or *Di sibi*.

In marked opposition to his scruples about the pause, is Havet's boldness in proposing two emendations in which *hiatus* is admitted. iv. 1, 1 is thus given in P

Mustela cum annis et senecta debilis.
NO. LXXXVI. VOL. X.

Havet writes

Mustela cum *anus ex senecta debilis*

introducing a very violent hiatus (of which there is no example in the *Fables*) and as a consequence altering *et* to *ex*. The second is in the Perottine collection, viii. 20, 21

enimvero eici

Ut rē in atroci Magnus stomachans imperat

where the two MSS. in which the fable is preserved give *ut in re a.*, adding *uirum* to the end of the verse before, after *eici*. Jannelli removed *uirum*; L. Müller prints *Virum ut in re a.*, suggesting in his note that *in* should perhaps be deleted. I am not convinced, spite of the harsh elision, that Jannelli is wrong in his *Ut in re atroci*: surely this is more probable than L. Müller's elided anapaest or Havet's hiating dactyl. But in no case should the Perottine fables be placed on a level with the undoubtedly genuine Phaedrus. To do so is to commit the same critical error of which Hilberg has been guilty, in ranking the *Epicedion Drusi* and the spurious *Heroides* and the *Nux* with the undoubtedly genuine works of Ovid. I may be permitted to refer to my Inaugural Lecture on Phaedrus' *Fables* (pp. 25—27) on this much disputed question. There is nothing in Havet's volume which I so much desiderate as a full discussion on this point, on which I am conscious of being in disagreement with the majority of critics. Even if a hiatus like *ut rē in* were conceded to the Perottine Fabulist, I should demur to extend such a permission to the genuine Phaedrus.

One of the most interesting sections of Havet's dissertation on Phaedrus' metric is his examination of the two points (1) whether Phaedrus ever allowed a final cretic to be preceded by a short syllable (*edidisse dicitur*), (2) whether Phaedrus admitted elision of an iambic word. It is one of L. Müller's most signal services to the criticism of our poet that he first emphasized the stringency of the former of these two rules: and since he pointed this out, no one will venture to deny its force as a generally binding rule. There are however, a certain number of exceptions to it, which Havet passes in review *seriatim*, and, after long suspension of judgment, pronounces to be all corrupt, though capable of easy correction.

Omitting four instances from the Perot-

tine fables, there are eight cases, which I quote in the order of Havet's dissertation:—

1. Tum moriens uocem hanc edidisse dicitur.
2. Hoc quoque consumpto flagitare ualidius.
3. A diuo Augusto tunc petiere iudices.
4. Numquam est fidelis cum potente societas.
5. Mures ueloces non ualeret adsequi.
6. Canis parturiens cum rogasset alteram.
7. Tu non uideris perdidisse quod petis.
8. Asellus apro cum fuisset obuius.
9. Sinuque fouit contra se ipse misericors.

Havet restores in 1 the order of Daniel's codex *edidisse* (cod. Dan. *dedisse*) *hanc uocem dicitur*: in 2 *flagitari* (also in Dan. cod.): in 3 *petierunt*, cf. the similar endings *quam petierunt naufragi, responderunt proximi*: in 4 *potenti*, with a suggestion however, that the right reading may have been *N. fidelis cum potentest societas*: in 5 *iam adsequi*, one of the prose paraphrasts giving *iam non sequebatur*: in 6 supposes a lacuna to exist, so that *alteram* really belongs to the end of a lost verse following: in 7 *perdidisse id quod petis*: in 8 *cum tulisset se o.*: in 9 *se ipse contra misericors*: Hare had already proposed *c. se ipsum m.*

How conscientiously our editor arrived at this conclusion is best stated in his own words (p. 179): 'Aliquando tamen diiudicanda res in alterutram partem erat. Itaque cum me sentirem ad credendum adduci non posse, praetereaque locum unum (6) agnoscissem esse procul dubio mutilatum, quem uix ulli prius putaueram obnoxium suspicioni, intellexi esse ex pectore exigendam, qua prius obtorpuerat animus, criticam ignauiam. Atque modo litterulas modo uoculas aut loco moui aut addidi aut leniter immutauit donec instaurata est in toto Phaedro seuerissima illa regula, quae in toto Seneca inuiolata conspicitur.'

An unbiased critic might urge that the remedies, though for the most part easy, are not so in 6, 8: and that in 1, 2 the weightier codices (PR) are *against* the spondee, *for* the iambus: to say nothing (in 1) of the inharmonious verse which the cod. Dan. seems to point to, *Tum moriens edidisse hanc uocem dicitur*. A graver objection, I think, lies in the assumption that the iambic of fable is constructed on the same inflexible laws as the iambic of Neronian tragedy.

That they should approximate (as they certainly do) is not enough to establish as a law for Phaedrus what is a law for Seneca. On the contrary it would be only natural that the refined fabulist should observe the rule generally, yet allow himself and his subject an occasional freedom of deviation. Possibly a longer study of the *Fables* may determine me to side with Havet in his thorough-going extirpation of these violations of a generally observed rule. But at present I must plead to scepticism. On the other point, the elision of iambic words, Havet's discussion will probably meet with an active hostility, involving as it does a too acrimonious attack on the great critic of Berlin, Lachmann. Lachmann laid down in his commentary on Lucretius, that an iambic word ending in a long vowel like *tōnā* is not elided before an accented syllable in all the stricter Latin poets. And we find, accordingly, that if such a word is elided, it is either before an unaccented syllable like *tona eloquio, aequā inuoluens*, or a monosyllable like *et id aut*, or elided *atque*. Such combinations as *Aere cauo ora sonat, Obruit auster aqua arna uiri, Obstupui steteruntque comae, hōrruit agmina* are objectionable. Havet says this is equally true of pyrrich words in the same situation *ēgō, mōdō, sātā, nōuā, quōquē, fōrē*, or words ending in *m*, like *domum, lacum*, which will be found elided as a rule only before monosyllables like *et, aut, ad, in, hic, hanc, huc*, or *atque* elided, or polysyllables not accented on the first syllable, and he denies that such avoidance of iambic elided words is a studied rule of the stricter Roman poets, or indeed anything more than an almost necessary consequence of the laws of metre. To which it may be replied that at any rate it was a long time before the Roman poets acted on the principle of avoiding such elisions, that Lachmann himself does not extend it to poets like Phaedrus, and that the cases in which a pyrrich is elided before an accented syllable are frequent, those in which a iambic word is so elided very rare. On this point the tragedies of Seneca are instructive. Seneca elides *suo, Ioui, manu*, before *at, hoc, hac*; *grauē, suā, sinu, specu. meae, tuae*, before words beginning with -- like *immenso: ferac, supra*, before words beginning with --- like *excitient*; *diu* before *expetitos, mea* (abl.) before *ipse*. He admits elisions of words like *prope, trabe, Ioue, date, tua, age*, and again such as *parum, diem, deum, suum*, with comparative frequency. There is in fact, a most marked

and essential *difference* between pure iambic words (*tona*) and impure (*parum*) or pyrrichs (◡◡); and this it is which Lachmann was I believe, the first to emphasize, and in doing so he appears to me to have drawn attention to a point of signal importance in Roman metric, even if some rashness has been shown by his followers in forcing some passages to fit into his rule against MSS. and probability. But in accepting the two elided iambs which Havet cites from Phaedrus *Tace, inquit* and *Veni ergo*, I quite agree with his verdict that they should be left untampered with; and Lachmann himself would not have altered them.

As a whole, however, the essay on the metre and prosody of Phaedrus is written with remarkable care, and will probably materially influence the future criticism of the *Fables*. Strange as it may seem from an editor who alters *every* case of a short syllable before a final cretic, the general tone of the discussion is one of adherence to MSS. and against unnecessary correction. For instance, Havet retains the one instance of an elision at the beginning of the first foot

Quam opprimere captans alapam sibi duxit
grauem

against L. Müller's *Quam premere*: rightly it would seem from the equally unique *Si ad vitulam spectes* of Vergil *Ecl.* iii. 48, the more frequent cases in Catullus, and the comparatively numerous specimens in Seneca's tragedies. Similarly he defends a tribrach formed like *Nec ālūd, Et āliam*, in the first syllable (of which the *Fables* give three instances), and again of the proceleusmatic (◡◡◡), also in the first syllable, of which Phaedrus' MSS. give five specimens:—

Sūpēr ētīam iactas tegere quod debet pudor.
Itā cāpūt ad nostrum furor illorum pertinet.
Quīā uīdēor acer, alligant me interdiu.
Ālii ōnērānt saxis: quidam contra miseriti.
Itāque hōdiē nec lucernam de flamma
deum.

I may again express my hope that Prof. Havet will not leave his task uncompleted, but will consummate his undertaking by a commentary as fresh and original as the present volume.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

PAULI ON THE LEMNIAN AND ETRUSCAN LANGUAGES.

Altitalische Forschungen ii. 2; *Eine vorgriechische Inschrift von Lemnos*, von Dr. CARL PAULI. Leipzig: Barth. 1894. 14 Mk.

THE work before us is by one of the two or three specialists who devote themselves to the study of Etruscan. Pauli's name and Deecke's stand in fact almost alone in this field of research, which, to use the language of an American professor, may be called 'special speciality.' It is perplexing to the layman, like myself, to note that these investigators are not in agreement. Deecke came forward in 1878 by reviewing in a rather caustic fashion Corssen's book, *Über die Sprache der Etrusker*, saying of Corssen, among other things, that he: 'durch Incorrectheit im Material, willkürliche Hypothesen, und abenteuerliche Etymologien auf den schlimmsten Abweg gerathen zu sein schiene.' Corssen laid himself open to an easy attack by interpreting six words found on a pair of dice, not as numerals, according to the most probable guess, but as a dedicatory inscription. These numerals, if such they be, do not lend themselves to

comparison with the Aryan numerals, and Corssen picked out from the almost entirely unintelligible Etruscan inscriptions a set of words he adopted for numerals. Deecke rightly objected to such methods, and insisted as Pauli now does that Etruscan must be interpreted by itself. From his original point of view Deecke has moved gradually to the belief that Etruscan is an Aryan language, and he now employs comparative etymology as a means of interpretation. Here Pauli has broken with him.

Dark and mysterious has the Etruscan question always been. Both the racial and linguistic affinities of this people are elusive. An Egyptian inscription gives the name of the Tursha in a list of their allies in the thirteenth century B.C., and this name has been associated on good archaeological evidence (Chabas, *Études de l'Antiquité historique*) with *Etrusci* || *Tusci*. There is nothing to show, however, whether this folk came from the lands north of Italy or from Asia Minor whence the ancients had a tradition that the Etruscans came. A new Egyptian connection with Etruscan was

discovered in 1891 when Krall of Vienna showed that an inscription on a mummy-cloth—brought with the mummy to Agram in 1848—was in Etruscan writing, and the language has since been shown to be Etruscan.

Two years before this however an inscription in Greek characters, but not a Greek inscription, was found on the island of Lemnos. The Etruscan specialists are substantially agreed that this 'Lemnian' language is closely akin to Etruscan. Modern discoveries thus seem, on the face of it, to have made good the traditions connecting the Etruscans with Egypt and with the neighbourhood of Asia Minor. As to the Egyptian mummy-cloth however all are agreed that the Etruscan inscription must be charged to some Italian Etruscan, engaged in trade with Egypt. Pauli undertakes to discuss the bearings of the Lemnian inscription in the volume before us.

He begins with some polemic against the methods of the 'Indogermanisten,' protesting against the interpretation by comparative etymology of a language not known to be Aryan. It is not fair, however, to charge on them reasoning in a circle (as he does on Deecke, p. 123); for all linguistic argumentation rests, first and last, on a *petitio principii*. Pauli does show quite conclusively the danger of the etymological interpretation of a not understood language. Thus we see that Bugge's interpretation of our inscription (p. 2) and Deecke's (p. 4) do not agree. As concerns Etruscan Bugge has at different periods claimed that this language was (1) an independent member of the Aryan family most like Greek and Latin, and with some special connections with Balto-Slavic; (2) much closer to the Italic languages than to Greek or any other speech; (3) a member of the same group with Armenian. Such a variety of opinions does shake one's belief in the value of the etymological interpretation for a fossil language. What Pauli thinks of this method may be shown by recalling that in 1883 he claimed a special relation with Lithuanian, all by way of joke, though this joke was taken seriously by not a few. In our volume he says (p. 12): 'Ich halte auch jetzt noch in voller Schärfe aufrecht dass ich nach dieser Methode jede beliebige etruskische Inschrift aus jeder beliebigen Sprache, die verlangt wird, mit völlig annehmbarem Sinn und unter strikter Beobachtung der Laut- und Formenbildungsgesetze zu erklären vermag.'

The chief purpose of our book is to demonstrate that 'Lemnian' is akin to Etruscan. I believe for my own part that Pauli demonstrates this kinship by a comparison of their modes of word-formation, and by the correspondence of 'Lemnian' *aviz*: [si]alχviz: with Etruscan *avils* [ce]alχls. Whether his special interpretation of the Lemnian inscription, which he reaches after a very minute comparison with Etruscan, is correct one dare not affirm, for it is guessing that gives us the meaning of the words in both languages. For certainty of interpretation we must bide our time till some good fortune gives us a long bilingual inscription in Etruscan and some known language; then only can we be sure of the flexions and the definition of Etruscan words, as Pauli himself declares (p. 243).

The second large question our author discusses is the ethnological grouping of Etruscan. The layman wonders whether so much weight is to be given to names of places and of persons as these ethnological investigations seem inclined to give; and he feels hopelessly at sea when the ethnologists differ as to the type of the Etruscan skull. To me at least Pauli's argument is in some regards evanescent to the point of disappearance, I cannot see that he proceeds in a very different way from the 'Indogermanisten' when he employs the Ligurian gloss *σιγύνας = καπήλους* 'hucksters' in a comparison with *zicu* of a bilingual inscription, 'Zicu' being possibly Etruscan for *Scrubonius*, which is, in its turn, a popular etymology for **Scrubonius* (p. 169)! It must be admitted however that Pauli ever and anon acknowledges the tenuity of some of his arguments; I cite e.g. his *résumé* of the ethnological discussion (p. 223): 'Als *sicheres* Ergebnis ist nur das anzuerkennen dass die Etrusker und die lemnischen Pelasger verwandt sind. Für die anderen der untersuchten Völker reichen zur zeit unsere wissenschaftlichen Hilfsmittel noch nicht aus zu einem wirklichen Beweise, aber die *Möglichkeit* einer Verwandtschaft hat sich doch auch bei den Karern, Lydern und Lykern, bei den Susiern, den Südkausiern, den Rättern, den Ligurern und den Iberern, wenn auch bei allen nicht mit der gleichen Wahrscheinlichkeit, ergeben.'

The last of the larger questions to which our author devotes himself is to determine the relations of the Lemnians and Etruscans to one another. Against Bugge's theory that this Lemnian inscription is the work of a sort of Etruscan Vikings, our author

maintains that it harks back to Pelasgians out of Attica, and that the Etruscans are but another branch of the same Pelasgian stock.

I add a few words suggested by Pauli's general polemic against the methods of the 'Indogermanisten,' a polemic which is, in a certain sort, 'Reclam' for his own method. He insists that kinship of languages must be recognized by similar grammatical structure, not by apparent similarities of sound, *i.e.* morphological comparison precedes etymological. He gives us (p. 149) a table comparing Etruscan and Lycian with some (modern) languages of the Caucasus. I will not object to the fact that the case-endings are here suspiciously alike for languages so far separated in time: I will but note that in his Etruscan paradigm the only case-endings are *si, s, -sa* (Gen. Dat. Loc.), and *θi || θ* (Loc.), and that these endings are almost as much like Aryan as they are like South-Caucasian. I call attention also to the author's argument (p. 139) against the Aryan character of Lycian, drawn from the loss of all final consonants: by such argumentation it is possible to disprove the Aryan character of Greek. 'Susisch' is also (p. 210) compared with Etruscan in respect of its numerals and relationship words; that *tur* 'son' and *sak* 'son' should be compared with Etruscan *θura* 'descendant' and *sex* 'daughter' is allowable enough, but nothing can be proved by comparing *hatē* || *atta* 'father' with Etruscan *atiu*, now interpreted with some regard to etymology, as it would seem, by 'mother' (Deecke, 'sister' or 'widow'). Words like *atta* are mere babbling of children, and liable to occur in Hottentot or Choctaw, and so are devoid of any value to prove kinship of languages. The same remark is applicable to 1st person pronoun forms with *m-* (p. 209).

Touching his claim of kinship between Etruscan and Lycian, Pauli has been reproached with the dissimilarity of their nouns of relationship. He instances the divergence of Lettish and Sanskrit as a parallel, and pleads geographical remoteness. To this it may be answered that Lettish diverges in this particular rather widely from its sister dialect, Lithuanian.

Our volume contains two rather extensive lapses into 'Indogermanismus,' (1) in a discussion of Phrygian epitaphs (p. 56), where our author disports himself with the evident pleasure of a practised poacher, and it must be admitted that he goes along light of foot; (2) in an examination of Deecke's claims that Lycian is an Aryan language (p. 116); but sharp-sighted as he is in his critique of Deecke's treatment, particularly of the numerals, Pauli will not remove, even with the sacrosanct phoneticians, all doubt as to the correspondences claimed by Deecke for the numerals, if the words in question prove to be really numerals as Deecke thinks. It is easy to magnify your opponent's variation from strict phonetic law, but Pauli admits about as important variation of vowels into his own interpretation of the Phrygian inscriptions.

I would repeat, in fine, that our book seems to me to demonstrate the kinship of 'Lemnian' with Etruscan almost, if not quite, conclusively; and contributes, I feel quite sure, valuable suggestions for the interpretation of the inscription. It is interesting to note in passing that some of his definitions seem even to reinforce the pleas of the 'Indogermanisten.' Not to mention *zivai* 'aetate' (: √*jiv* 'live') and *zeronaiθ* 'conditus est' (: √*χαράσσω* 'plough into furrows') we have *morinail* 'sepelivit,' based on *mor-* 'grave,' which reminds of course of *mor-s* 'death.' The Lemnians seemed, by the way, to have quite a large vocabulary for the notion 'death.' In the first inscription of fifteen words Pauli renders *ναφοθ* 'sepulcrum' and *ταρ[:]* *arzio* 'sepulcrum-est,' *zeronai* 'condidit,' *zeronaiθ* 'conditus est,' and *morinail* 'sepelivit.' The second inscription of eighteen words, which is claimed to be a corrected version of the first, adds in *tove-roma* '— Grab (!)' still another term for this idea. Thus there are, counting *mor-* as the base of *morinail*, four words here for 'sepulcrum.'

The proof-reading of the volume has left much to desire, but I content myself with asking if *römischen* (p. 183, l. 5) should not be *rätischen*.

EDWIN W. FAY.

Lexington, Va.

HARTLAND'S *LEGEND OF PERSEUS*, VOL. II.

The Legend of Perseus: by E. S. HARTLAND.
Vol. II. *The Life Token*. London: D.
Nutt. 1895. 12s. 6d.

ONE, or the one, external act common to all early religions is the act of sacrifice in some form or other. The inward sentiment, essential to any form of religion, however primitive, is a sense of dependence on supernatural power. And it is on the relation and interpretation of these two facts that all theories of the origin of natural religion must turn. In the feeling of dependence itself there is no reason why the emotion accompanying it should be exclusively the emotion of fear; nor is fear the only motive which prompts men to make gifts. But the helplessness of primitive man and the savage's undoubted terror of many supernatural influences have been held very generally to warrant the supposition that religion has its origin in fear; and this supposition in its turn has been the main support of the hypothesis that the essence of sacrifice consists in gifts prompted by fear. That hypothesis, like all hypotheses, must be brought to the test of fact; and, to maintain itself, must show at least that it is capable of accounting for all the facts which it is designed to explain.

In his *Religion of the Semites*, the late Robertson Smith demonstrated that there were certain facts for which the hypothesis failed to account. He showed that the gift-theory of sacrifice presupposes the conception of property and therefore cannot explain the sacrifice of animals, which were offered in sacrifice long before the conception of property had been evolved. He also showed that, though the introduction of the idea of property into the relations existing between gods and men affected eventually the conception of sacrifice, the original intention of animal sacrifice was communion with a supernatural and kindly power, not the propitiation of a malevolent power by means of gifts. He also argued that offerings of the worshipper's blood or hair had the same intention, viz. to renew the blood-covenant or to effect communion between the worshipper and the deity worshipped.

There remains however another kind of sacrifice, viz. that in which the worshipper does not slaughter an animal but makes an

offering of some kind or another to the gods, as Aegisthus did:

πολλὰ δ' ἀγάλματ' ἀνῆψεν, ὑφάσματά τε χρυσόν
τε.

These offerings seem plainly to be actual gifts; and even the hair-offerings, which Robertson Smith interpreted sacramentally, can largely be explained (as they have been explained by Mr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*) as consequences of the system of taboo. Thus at this stage it seemed that, if the gift-theory failed to account for the origin of animal sacrifice, still it was presupposed by all other kinds of offering; and though Robertson Smith (p. 335) had thrown out the pregnant hint, in connection with hair-offerings, that 'clothes are so far part of a man that they can serve as a vehicle of personal connection,' still offerings of rags and clothes could be explained either, like hair-offerings, by taboo, or in other ways. It is at this point that Mr. Hartland comes in with the second volume of his *Perseus*.

The savage is largely at the mercy of the association of ideas: as Mr. Andrew Lang has compactly put it, he is apt to mistake a casual connection of ideas for a causal connection of facts. For the savage, things thought of together exist together. Civilized philosophers have doubted whether the body is part of the self and not rather merely one of the world of objects around. The savage philosopher takes a more generous view of personality, and allows a much wider fringe to the conception: for him anything connected in thought with a person is part of that person, and for all practical purposes serves as well as the person himself. Thus through his footprints or the remnants of his food a man can be injured just as well as through any of his members. Now all these general propositions were more or less surmised before the appearance of Vol. ii. of the *Perseus*. The service that Mr. Hartland has rendered to science is, in the first place, that, with a learning and width of research even greater than in his first volume, he has placed these propositions upon such a sure basis of fact that subsequent research can only confirm them.

Thus Mr. Hartland has conclusively

demonstrated that not only a man's clothes but anything in any way or degree associated with him may be regarded not merely as a vehicle of personal connection but actually as part of the man himself: his personality is his personality. With this sure basis to go upon, Mr. Hartland then attacks the problem of the offerings made all over the world to sacred wells and trees. He begins by setting forth a vast collection of the facts which require explanation; and it soon becomes apparent that the gift-theory of sacrifice will only account for a relatively small number of them, viz. for those offerings which possess some value; whereas a satisfactory hypothesis 'must be equally applicable to sacred images, crosses, trees, wells, cairns and temples. It must account not merely for the pins in wells and the rags on trees, but also for the nails in trees, the pins in images, the earth or bricks hung on the sacred tree in India, the stones and twigs, flowers and coca-quids thrown upon cairns, the pellets which constellate Japanese idols, the strips of cloth and other articles which decorate Japanese temples, the pilgrims' names written on the walls of the temple of Kapilo on the banks of the Hugli, the nails fixed by the consuls in the Cella Jovis at Rome, and those driven into the galleries and floors of Protestant churches in the East of France. These are the outcome of equivalent practices, and the solution of their meaning, if a true one, must fit them all' (p. 212). Bearing in mind the savage conception of personality, viz. that it includes anything which is associated in thought with the person, however slight and transient its connection in fact, we can understand that anything which passes merely through a man's hands becomes part of the man; and that therefore benefits conferred upon it will be felt by the man. In a word, the nature or value (or want of value) of the offering is absolutely irrelevant: the one and only essential is that it shall be part of the person who through it is to be placed in permanent relation to the spirit to whom the offering is made: 'our examination of the practices of throwing pins into wells, of tying rags on

bushes and trees, of driving nails into trees or stocks, of throwing stones and sticks on cairns, and the analogous practices throughout the world, leads to the conclusion that they are to be interpreted as acts of ceremonial union with the spirit identified with well, with tree, or stock or cairn' (p. 228).

Robertson Smith exploded the gift-theory as far as animal-sacrifice is concerned. Mr. Hartland has made it for ever untenable as an explanation of the other forms of sacrifice. The sacramental theory of sacrifice is now the only one which has any claim to be considered a scientific hypothesis. But the theory that religion originates merely in fear is bound up with the gift-theory of sacrifice, and must share its fortunes. The importance therefore of Mr. Hartland's second volume to anthropology and the history of natural religion cannot easily be over-rated.

As anything that has once been connected with a man continues ever after to be part of that man, the unity of personality is compatible with its divisibility. *Per contra*, the divisibility of the clan and the individuality of its members does not prevent the savage from attributing to the clan a unity of existence as perfect and complete as that of any individual person; and the second half of this volume is occupied in demonstrating that 'the unity of the kin is a vital conception penetrating savage life to its core' (p. 442), and in deducing from it the explanation of various funeral rites and marriage ceremonies.

Perhaps it may be inquired what all this has to do with the legend of Perseus. The answer is that one incident in tales of the Perseus type is that the hero leaves behind him something by which his friends can tell whether he is alive or dead. That something is of course part of himself, on the savage theory of the self, and is called by Mr. Hartland the Life Token (External Soul). Another incident is that the death of the hero or of his adversary must be avenged by the whole of his clan—hence the need for Mr. Hartland to illustrate the solidarity of the clan.

F. B. JEVONS.

DE MIRMONT ON NAVAL CONSTRUCTION IN APOLLONIUS.

Le Navire Argo et la science nautique d'Apollonios de Rhodes, H. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT, professeur-adjoint à la faculté des lettres de Bordeaux. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie. 1895.

THIS is an elaborate dissertation of sixty pages marked by all the care and thoughtfulness which is characteristic of M. de Mirmont's writings. It is observed in a note that in my review of the same author's

translation of the *Argonautica*, about three and a half years ago, I have not criticized his interpretation of the passages referring to marine manoeuvres and seafaring matters generally. This is true enough, but it is obvious that a reviewer, in the limited space allowed him, cannot deal with everything, and it is difficult for a layman to avoid blunders amid the technicalities of marine affairs—a difficulty which is much increased when the reviewer is English, and the technical terms are in French. However on the present occasion no choice is left me, and I must do the best I can. The only general fault to be found with this dissertation is that it errs on the side of excessive minuteness and over-elaboration. There is hardly a marine phrase in the *Argonautica*—and there are a good many—that is not commented on. Thus the writer carefully notes all along the route the various places at which the Argonauts took in provisions and what these provisions consisted of. He carefully explains that in spite of various changes in the *personnel*, whether by death, or departure, or the addition of fresh heroes, the number of fifty rowers is always preserved. He chronicles every passage in the four books, amounting to about forty in number, where we read that the Argonauts used the oar. Sometimes he is ‘flogging a dead horse,’ as where he devotes a page to show that the *πρότονοι* (forestays) were fastened on each side of the fore part of the ship, and not to the prow and poop respectively, or where he takes the trouble of proving that Argo was not the first ship. No one would care to deny either of these propositions. Again he digresses on the inferiority of Ancaeus to Tiphys as a steersman, the former having been chosen by Hera who ‘ne se connaît pas en hommes comme Athéné.’

M. de Mirmont considers that one of the main objects of Apollonius in writing the *Argonautica* was to reproduce the Homeric ship. Although his work could not command a large public, yet it was only a select audience that he desired to please, and this had its compensations, for he was thus at liberty to indulge in an archaeological exactness which was not possible for popular writers, such as dramatists. Assuming this to be the case—and I am not concerned to question it—we expect to find, and do find, many technical Homeric words, but we also find many words that are not in Homer such as *σκαλμός*, *λίνον*, *λαίφος*, *κεραία*, *σέλιμα*, etc. These terms however are not inconsistent with the theory of M. de Mirmont, because

they are only later names of things that are found in Homer. But I do not see how the theory can be maintained when we find, according to M. de Mirmont, Homeric words used in a sense in which they do not occur in Homer. I am therefore led to criticize some of M. de Mirmont’s interpretations as adverse to his own theory, which I hold to be, in the main, correct. It turns out then that I am sometimes defending his theory against himself. Apollonius, we are told, was well acquainted with the sea, having at any rate been to Rhodes and back, but it must be said that the latest German criticism, as represented by Busch, Gercke, and Susemihl, denies that Apollonius ever returned to Alexandria from Rhodes. Without assenting to this, it is an opinion that has to be met. M. de Mirmont draws a somewhat amusing but quite fanciful picture of Apollonius and his friends (like some ‘Innocent Abroad’) sauntering down to the quay to examine the ships, or to ‘assist at’ a launch. On his return home Apollonius draws up a *procès-verbal* of the launch, and imagines what it must have been like in heroic times. The naval authorities used by M. de Mirmont here are the same as those used by him in the notes to his translation, viz. Cartault’s *La Trière athénienne* and Vars’ *L’Art nautique dans l’antiquité et spécialement en Grèce* (which is an adaptation of Breusing’s *Nautik der Alten*), with a decided preference for Cartault. M. de Mirmont is apparently unacquainted with Mr. Cecil Torr’s excellent little book, *Ancient Ships*,—at any rate he makes no allusion to it. However it is now time to descend to particulars and note some of the interpretations here given, chiefly of those in which I differ from the writer.

1. *δρύοχοι*. There is a dispute as to whether this word means the ribs of the ship (*ἐγκοιλια*), or the cradle or framework made for the ship while it is in course of construction, *i.e.* whether they are or are not a part of the ship itself. M. de Mirmont, following Scheffer and Cartault, prefers the latter interpretation, which has some support from old commentators, but the express statement of Procopius (*de bell. Goth.* iv. 22), quoted by Mr. Torr, *ξύμπαντα ξύλα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν ἐναρμοσθέντα—ἄπερ οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ δρύοχους καλοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ νομέας—ἐκ τοίχου μὲν ἕκαστον θατέρου ἄχρι ἐς τῆς νεὸς διήκει τὸν ἕτερον τοίχον*, is almost decisive in favour of the former. The schol. on Ap. Rh. i. 723 also maintains this view and I fail to see that there is any contradiction in his words, as M. de Mirmont asserts.

They are (Keil, p. 342, 13) δρύχους· ἐν οἷς καταπήσεται ἡ τρόπις ξύλοις, τὰτα οὕτως καλοῦσιν· Ὅμηρος (τ 574). δρύχοι οὖν τὰ ἐγκοιλία τῆς νεώς. The line in Homer, and some other passages, do not prove anything as they are consistent with either interpretation.

2. In i. 533 it is said of Heracles, ἀγχι δὲ οἱ ῥόπαλον θέτο καὶ οἱ ἔνερθεν | ποσσὶν ἵπεκλύσθη νηὸς τρόπις. M. de Mirmont takes τρόπις to mean 'carlingue' (keelson) which the Greeks apparently called δευτέρα τρόπις. There is however no reason, as far as I see, why the ordinary sense of τρόπις, viz. 'keel,' should not be suitable here, the meaning simply is that the keel was sunk deep into the water under the weight of Heracles. In the three other places where τρόπις occurs in Ap. Rh. it has its ordinary sense, and M. de Mirmont admits that Cartault does not agree with him on this point.

3. ὄλκαϊον (ὄλκῆιον). The precise meaning of this word cannot be determined. Cartault takes it to be the stern-post. M. de Mirmont, on the other hand, considers that a comparison in the fourth book (ll. 1604 sqq.) proves it to be the prow, 'Quand Triton s'attache au ὄλκαϊον pour conduire Argo dans la mer, le dieu est comparé par Apollonios à un homme qui tient un cheval par la crinière pour l'entraîner à la course: si Triton poussait le navire par derrière, la comparaison ne serait pas juste.' No doubt if ὄλκ. meant the prow the comparison would be better, but we cannot always require exactitude in a simile, much less depend upon it for the interpretation of a word. The word ὄλκαϊον cannot, in my judgment, be separated from the Homeric ἐφόλκαιον which clearly denotes something at or near the stern. If Apollonius is reproducing the Homeric ship, it is not probable that he would use an Homeric word in a totally different sense.

4. κληῖς. It has been a subject of much dispute whether this word in Homer, as a naval term, means 'thole-pin' or 'bench' for rowers. The balance of evidence is, I think, in favour of the former interpretation, see e.g. θ 37. Apollonius however uses κληῖδες only in the sense of 'benches' (having the word σκαλμός for thole-pin), so it is probable that he so understood the word in Homer.

5. The lines i. 368 sqq. ζῶσαν πᾶμπρωτον ἐστρεφεῖ ἔνδοθεν ὄπλῃ | τευάμενοι ἐκάερθεν, κ.τ.λ. are generally quoted as a *locus classicus* for ὑποζώματα by commentators on Hor. *Od.* i. 14, 6, and elsewhere. It is

almost certain however, as M. de Mirmont points out, that the rope here mentioned has no reference to ὑποζώματα. Mr. Torr has made it clear that ὑποζώματα were used on board ships of war to strengthen them, and that they formed part of the regular equipment of an Athenian trireme. Ships of war are not mentioned in Homer, nor was Argo a ship of war. Mr. Torr thinks that the obscure expression in Acts xxvii. 17, ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον, means 'that they used expedients which answered the purpose of the girding cables.' Nearly seventy years ago Wellauer wrote on Ap. Rh. *l.c.*: 'itaque dubitari vix potest, quin de alia quadam colligatione, in ipsa navi facienda, loquatur poeta, quae qualis fuerit non satis perspectum habemus,' and I am not aware that we know any more about it now. M. de Mirmont's opinion, that a rope is meant which was used in launching and in drawing the ship to land, scarcely suits the context.

6. μεσόδημη and ἱστοδόκη. The former of these words is generally (and I believe rightly) understood to mean a socket for the mast when erect in the centre bench of the ship, and the latter a receptacle at the stern for the mast when in a recumbent position. M. de Mirmont agrees with this, and it was certainly the opinion of Apollonius (i. 563, and ii. 1262—1264) as to the respective meanings of the two words. Mr. Torr, however, commenting on β 424, ἱστὸν δ' εἰλάτινον κοίλης ἔντοσθε μεσόδημης | στήσαν ἀείραντες, takes ἔντοσθε to mean *from within*, and to go with ἀείραντες, in other words he identifies μεσόδημη with ἱστοδόκη or nearly so. I cannot help thinking that he is mistaken about this, and the reference to Lucian *Am.* 6, where the word μεσοκοιλία is apparently equivalent to ἱστοδόκη, by no means proves his point.

7. From the fact that there were no spare oars on board Argo (for Heracles, having broken his oar, had to go on shore to make one from a young tree) M. de Mirmont argues 'à plus forte raison' that the νηῖον ἐκ κοτόνιο φάλαγξ set up to mark the grave of Idmon could not have been one of the φάλαγγες (rollers) used for launching the ship, but was the trunk of a wild olive, cut into the shape of a φάλαγξ, and he adds that such rollers would have been useless to them because they had not, like the Greeks before Troy, to draw their ship to land in view of a long stay. The point is a small one, but I do not think M. de Mirmont is right here—at any rate, his reasoning is unsound, for (1) it does not

follow that, because they did not take spare oars, they did not take the launching rollers with them, and (2) to attribute to the Argonauts a prophetic knowledge that they would never need the rollers again, seems to me unjustifiable and inartistic. Merkel, reading *νήγιος*, clearly refers the word *φάλαγξ* to one of the rollers they had with them, and so does the scholiast.

8. Referring to the drawing of lots for seats, M. de Mirmont remarks that this was not the heroic custom, and accounts for it by the consideration that the Argonauts were not ordinary rowers, and that therefore lot alone could distribute their places. I confess I do not see how the extraordinary character of the Argonauts could make it more necessary that their places should be assigned by lot than the places of ordinary rowers. But I am disposed to think that, although such assignment by lot is not mentioned in Homer, Apollonius would not have set it down without some authority. Virgil apparently alludes to this custom in *sortiti remos* (*Aen.* iii. 510)—as to the interpretation of which I entirely agree with Mr. Page—and so does Propertius (iv. 21, 11). If it be objected that Virgil is merely following Apollonius, I would reply that he does not follow blindly, and that he would probably not follow Apollonius in an anachronism.

9. In i. 566 we have ἐπ' ἱκρίδιον δὲ κάλωας
| ξέστησιν περόνησι διακριδὸν ἀμφιβάλοντες.

There is certainly some difficulty here, for how could these ropes (halyards) be fastened to the small decks (*ἱκρία*) at the prow or poop? Accordingly M. de Mirmont in his translation; suggested ἐπικριόφιον, 'to the yard.' He now returns to the usual reading, and follows Cartault in interpreting 'to the mast,' which he justifies by the statement of schol. (*ad loc.*) and of Eustathius that ἱκρίον = part of the mast. However that may be, Homer uses ἱκρία only in the sense of 'decks' and elsewhere Apollonius uses it only in this sense. It seems therefore in the highest degree improbable that Apollonius should also use ἱκρίον in the sense of 'mast.' They are two very different things—to use a non-Homeric word which Apollonius often does, and to use a Homeric word in a non-Homeric sense, a distinction which M. de Mirmont seems to overlook. For the present passage, I can suggest no better solution than that given by Vars, viz. that the περόναι (*cabillots*, belaying-pins) round which the ropes were fastened were attached to something of the nature of an ἱκρίον, such as a 'fife-rail' (*ratelier*). I feel it is not satisfactory, but I know no better at present.

There are several other points I should have liked to deal with, especially with the interpretation of the difficult lines i. 1276, 1277, but too much space has been already occupied.

R. C. SEATON.

HARRIS' PLATO AS A NARRATOR.

Plato as a Narrator. A Study of the Myths, by W. A. HARRIS. A Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University, Richmond, Va. Pp. 48.

LIKE many other dissertations for the doctor's degree, this is meant to be written, not to be read. The composition of this thesis, with the research involved, was eminently useful to the author, and the work displays sufficient scholarship and acquaintance with philological methods to justify the university in conferring the desired degree. But the composition is crude, and the Platonic scholar will find little to interest him. Plato's originality in this matter consists, according to the

author, not in the use of the myth, but in the 'blending of *μῦθος* and *λόγος*.' 'For philosophical narrative we are dependent upon Plato, and since Plato is the department [*sic*], the study of the myth is a study of philosophic narrative.' Platonic myths are divided into two classes, Socratic and non-Socratic,—a division which does not prove particularly fruitful. To the second of these two classes the author assigns (only) the myths of *Protagoras* 320 f., *Symposium* 189 f., and *Republic* 359 f. The myth of the *Gorgias* is called 'the simplest and apparently the most naive,'—whatever the latter adjective may mean. The writer's familiarity with the contents of the Platonic dialogues does not seem perfect; at least his words with regard to

the *Phaedo* are strangely inadequate: 'The scenery and situation of this dialogue is pathetic; the theme is courage in the face of death, and the argument turns mainly on the immortality of the soul. Socrates endeavours to show that one should necessarily be courageous, for, since the soul is immortal, there is no such thing as death.' Other passages puzzle the reader; like the following: 'In the *Republic* (iii. 414 C) we have a display of Socratic modesty. Here Socrates professes himself unable to tell an old Phoenician lie, and the humour is still further heightened by the remark of Glaucon after hearing a portion of the tale.' The best part of the

dissertation is in the last twenty pages, where the author sums up the results of his examination of the myths and comments on the rhetorical quality of Plato's narratives, with some good observations on special usages. Occasionally, as in the study of the use of tenses and of the participle, we note the marks of the writer's training under his distinguished teacher, Professor Gildersleeve. At times the writer seems to imitate his master's vivid style, but goes beyond him when he remarks upon Protagoras's 'large use of the imperfect, and the *vulgar frequency* of the historical present.'

Σ.

HAYLEY'S INTRODUCTION TO THE VERSE OF TERENCE.

An Introduction to the Verse of Terence, by H. W. HAYLEY, PH. D. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1894.

THE object of this little book of twenty-five pages is stated by the editor to be, 'not to present any new or original discoveries, but simply to state clearly and concisely the facts most important for the student of Terentian verse to know.' It begins with an account of the peculiarities of early Latin prosody as they appear in Terence. This is followed by a brief general description of the verse of Plautus and Terence, in which the versification of the two Roman poets is compared with that of the Greek Comedy, and the versification of Plautus with that of Terence. Then the metres

used by Terence are taken up in detail and illustrated by full metrical schemes, by an abundance of well-selected examples, and finally, in many cases, by lines of English poetry in the same metres. A brief description of a Latin *comoedia palliata* concludes the work.

The treatment, which is based on the best authorities, is exceedingly clear, and the book will not only be of service to those who read Terence from text-editions, but will also supplement the accounts of the metres in many of the annotated editions of the plays. The excellent typography and arrangement add not a little to the clearness of the presentation.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

FISHER'S TRANSLATION OF BOISSIER'S *PROMENADES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES*.

Rome and Pompeii: Archaeological Rambles, by GASTON BOISSIER of the French Academy, translated by D. HAVELOCK FISHER. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d.

THE honoured name of M. Gaston Boissier is likely to draw some attention to this book; and the title might seem to suggest its suitability for a school-prize. It may be worth while therefore to say in a word or

two what it is. The deficiencies of M. Boissier's *Promenades Archéologiques* as well as its merits are well known to scholars. It contains a pleasantly written account of some of the more interesting excavations visited by M. Boissier nearly twenty years ago. The book corresponded pretty well to its French title; its scrappiness makes its English title quite inappropriate. Apart from this, the translation is probably one of the most incompetent that has been published for many years. The translator does not often blunder over his French, though

'the graceful spires of Tivoli' raises a doubt; but he seldom misses a chance of blundering over his classical references. Dionysius of Halicarnassus appears always as *Denys*: Ovid wrote *Fastes*; and *Aulu-Gelle* something else, apparently a life of Augustus, though somehow the emperor and the month are mixed up inextricably. Ti. Plautius Silvanus 'accompanied Claudius in the expedition to Britain under Nero,' afterwards he governed *Maesia*. Plato is supposed to have written a 'Phaedra.' 'Euripes' is used indiscriminately as singular or plural, with equal incorrectness. Our old friend Aelian appears as 'Elienus,' and Arrian as 'Arrienos.' As for the printing, one is almost proud of restoring 'the empire had then long since been excepted by all. Time had wakened old republican rumours' to sense by conjecturing (in two lines!) 'accepted,' 'weakened' and 'rancours.' After this we are not surprised to find the enigmatical sentence (*perche ha vita!*). The foot-notes simply teem with blunders. No one who can possibly struggle through the original ought to be subjected to the pain of reading it in the form now submitted to an enduring English public.

A. S. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Vetulonia.—Among the results of recent extensive excavations may be mentioned the following objects of interest: A bronze bar or tablet terminating in the head of a woman wearing a hood. Fragments of a terracotta antefix with relief of a Gryphon. A series of stone weights with sockets for handles; 246 coins. Two similar bronze statuettes of youths holding paterae; one has been made with no left hand, and the other without a left arm, but a deformed left hand is attached to the side as if coming from under the drapery. Fragments of terracotta reliefs, perhaps from a temple, including a head of Minerva (?) of good style. Two fragments of red-figured vases from a tomb, with the upper part of a woman on each, in the style of Epiktetos. A large stone stèle with graffito design of a warrior to left, armed with helmet, axe, and shield with device of a six-point rosette; round the design an Etruscan inscription; a frog in amber; a series of rude figures and implements in bronze, of an early Etruscan type. No painted vases were found in the necropolis from which the last-named objects came, and therefore it is probably earlier than the sixth century B.C.¹

Santa Marinella, near Civita Vecchia.—The remains of a Roman villa, consisting of walls of *opus reticulatum*, have been found; it contained several good sculptures, including a statue of the youthful

Dionysos and a Pan with syrinx; a very beautiful Meleager of Scopae type; a head of Athena Parthenos; parts of an Apollo; and a relief representing the birth of Dionysos, who is being presented by Hermes to Zeus. The house appears to have been altered in the fourth century. The sculptures have been published by Petersen in the *Römische Mittheilungen* for 1895, p. 92. The place is known as Punicum in the Peutinger itinerary.²

S. Feliciano del Lago, Etruria.—A bronze handle of a patera has been found, with an interesting Etruscan inscription, dating from the third century B.C. It runs: *eca Cauthas achuias versie*; on the back, *aulc numnas turce*. *Eca* is equivalent to *hoc*; Cauthas was an important Etruscan deity, represented by Divus Catus in the *Indigitamenta*; *aulc numnas* is in Latin *Aulus Numerius*.³

Lubriano, Etruria.—A series of Etrusco-Campanian vases of black ware has been found; also three bronze mirrors, of late date, but apparently copied from good originals. They represent: (1) Herakles, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, and Iolaos, all being inscribed; (2) two warriors; (3) four figures.³

Bracciano.—A *lapis honorarius* has been found on the site of the ancient Forum Clodium, forming the pedestal of a statue, from which it has been cut away to form a mortar. The person honoured is Publius Memorialis, who is known from *C.I.L.* x. 8038a, where he appears as imperial procurator. He sold to the Vanacini in Corsica some fields about which there was a dispute. He was then governor of Sardinia and Corsica under Vespasian. He is called in this inscription *praefectus cohortis III. Cyrenicae sagittariorum* (a new title for this cohort), also *praefectus gentis Numidarum*, sc. of the indigenous barbarians (see Tissot, *Géographie*, i. p. 457 ff.).⁴

Sulmona.—A new Pelignian inscription has come to light, in Latin characters. According to Signor Pascal it reads in Latin: C? HOSPVS C? L·LEGIVS | MEDDI·X AT[TICVS? M·ATIVS·M·[LIBERTVS] SEIVS CV[BANT | HIC CONDIDI] SEPVLCRVM [SIBI S]MVL VAE [NTIAE VXORI ET] FAMVLIS ET LIBERTIS | OFOC[ELLIVS] PAQVI·[F]·AT[RANVS].⁵

Faiicchio, in the Sabine territory.—Remains of an ancient *piscina* have been excavated, consisting of a building of two parallel corridors uniting in a semicircular termination, with a row of dividing arches and vaulted roofs.⁴

Boscoreale.—The excavation of a *villa rustica* begun in 1876 has lately been completed. The part brought to light consists of the *culina*, with hearth in the centre, cistern, etc. On one side is an ingenious arrangement for communicating with the bath, with pipes and taps for regulating the supply of hot water from a copper of lead with earthenware cover.²

Rome.—Excavations have been continued in the neighbourhood of the Colosseum, and among other remains of sculpture a statue has been found, reproducing the type of the Giustiniani Hestia. Most of the tombs and inscriptions belong to the Christian period.⁵

Conca, near Velletri.—The remains of an important temple have been discovered, which was origin-

² *Ibid.* May 1895.

³ *Ibid.* July 1895.

⁴ *Ibid.* Sept. 1895.

⁵ *Ibid.* June 1895.

¹ *Notizie dei Lineci*, Aug. 1895.

ally Tuscan in plan, and belonged to the sixth century B.C. During the next two centuries its plan was gradually modified and enlarged, first to a Greek peripteral temple, then to a simple *cella*, and finally it was made dipteral. A trench had been made in the middle of the *cella* in which were deposited accumulations of votive objects, chiefly terracottas of a character showing affinity with those of southern Etruria. The architectural remains are chiefly of terracotta, and in the pediment of the earliest temple were painted statues of that material, of a fine archaic type. One of the antefixes of the peripteral building has a group of a Centaur and Nymph, the counterpart of one found at Falerii. Professor Barnabei identifies this temple with the shrine of Mater Matuta mentioned in Livy, as belonging to the ancient city of Satricum. Traces of two other temples and of walls also came to light, and the site of the necropolis has been ascertained.⁶

SICILY.

Syracuse.—Further excavations were made in 1893 in the necropolis of Fusco, of which Dr. Orsi has now issued a report. Some 360 tombs were opened, the bodies in nearly all of which had been buried, not burned; instances of *ἐγχυτρισμός* were also brought to light, several large vases containing the bones of children. The finds consisted chiefly of Proto-Corinthian vases, four stages of which are illustrated: (1) Purely geometrical patterns; small globular lekythi. (2) Geometrical patterns and friezes of animals; lekythi heart-shaped. (3) First signs of Oriental influence, and introduction of human figures. (4) Corinthian vases of distinctly Oriental type; these are comparatively rare. Among the finds may be mentioned: Fibulae, silver objects, and scarabs. Ivory tablet, apparently part of a brooch, with relief of the so-called winged Artemis *πότνια θηρῶν* with a goat. A large Corinthian *οἶπε*, with three friezes of animals. An amphoriskos with design of a ship of Dipylon type. A pyxis with frieze of animals round the top. A terracotta squatting figure of Bes with hands placed on breast. A fine Proto-Corinthian lekythos with boar-hunt and hare-hunt. A black-figured kylix in the style of Nikosthenes; on obv., Zeus, Iris, and Hermes or Zephyros winged; on rev., departure of a mounted warrior. An oinochoe of Phaleron type with human-faced bull. A well-executed owl in painted terracotta. Two archaic terracotta female figures wearing the *πόλος*, in a sitting attitude with supports behind. A globular aryballos with dolphin. A krater containing skeletons; on obv., a panel with Sphinx wearing an Egyptian head-dress; on rev., a horse of Dipylon style; probably a local product with reminiscences of the Dipylon style in the ornament of the reverse.⁷

⁶ *Athenaeum*, 7 March 1896.⁷ *Notizie dei Lincei*, April 1895.

GREECE.

Athens.—Dr. Dörpfeld, in his excavations on the Areopagus, has come upon remains of several buildings with mosaic pavements and traces of painting on the walls; an altar dedicated to Asklepios, Hygieia, and Amynos, about the beginning of our era; also pieces of sculpture and terracotta reliefs. A tomb has also been found with fragments of vases of the later Dipylon style and some wells; but no traces of the buildings or monuments referred to by Pausanias have come to light.⁸

EGYPT.

An inscription has been found at Philae with a combination of Greek, Latin, and hieroglyphics, the Greek being an inaccurate version of the Latin. It relates to Cornelius Gallus who was prefect of Egypt B.C. 30-29, and is a corroboration of Dio Cassius (liii. 23), who says that he was unable to bear his high position and set up statues everywhere, and inscriptions with exaggerated and boastful records of his performances on pylons of temples and pyramids.⁹

H. B. WALTERS.

Revue Numismatique. Part iii. 1895.

E. Babelon. 'Études sur les monnaies primitives d'Asie Mineure, iv. L'étalon milésien.'—E. Dronin. 'Onomastique arsacide; essai d'explication des noms des rois Parthes.'

Part iv. 1895.

Th. Reinach. 'Sur la valeur relative des métaux monétaires dans la Sicile grecque.'—M. Soutzo. 'Nouvelles recherches sur les origines et les rapports de quelques poids antiques.'

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin). Part 2. 1895.

E. J. Seltmann. 'Eine unbekannte Münze der Antonia und Julia.' H. Von Fritze. 'Die Münztypen von Athen im 6 Jahrhundert v. Chr.' H. Gaebler. 'Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens.'

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iii. 1895.

J. P. Six. 'Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines.'

Part iv. 1895.

F. Imhoof-Blumer. 'Griechische Münzen.'—*Review of Gneech's 'Monete Romane, manuale elementare.'*

W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xvi. 3. Whole No. 63. Oct. 1895.

Shakespeare, burlesqued by two fellow-dramatists, H. Wood. *On the old Armenian version of Plato's Apology*, F. C. Conybeare. Seeks to show that too exclusive a value has been set on the Clarkian Codex and that Vatic. 225, to which the Armenian version

is closely allied, should have more weight attached to it. *French words in Wolfram von Eschenbach*, L. Wiener. The following are reviewed; Deecke's *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* and *Erläuterungen zur Lateinischen Schulgrammatik*, by G. Lodge. The grammar is a good introduction to the larger works on Latin grammar. In treatment of cases Deecke is

a 'localist.' Roberts' *The Ancient Boeotians, their character and their culture and their reputation*, by B. L. Gildersleeve. Will do good service in rectifying crooked judgments and teaching us to appreciate the wide spread of culture among the Boeotians and their remarkable achievements in art. Thomas' *Cicero, Verrines*, by W. P. Mustard. 'His book is indispensable to the student of the Verrines, and, thanks to its copious index, valuable to all students of Cicero.' *Vocabularium Jurisprudentiae Romanae*, Fasc. I. a ab abs—accipio, by several well-known German Scholars, rev. by M. Warren. Everywhere the same thoroughness and good judgment are manifest, for which philologists and jurists alike ought to be grateful, but the work will take fifteen years to accomplish. There are Brief Mentions of the second edition of Lucian Müller's standard work, *De Re Metrica Poetarum Latinorum praeter Plautum et Terentium*, B. Kaiser's Halle dissertation, *Quaestiones de elocutione Demosthenica*, as far as regards φημί ἔρι [see Rutherford, Cl. Rev. sup. p. 6], and of the real ellipse in the expression εἰ μή διὰ.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. xix. Part 4. Oct. 1895.

La déclinaison dans les inscriptions attiques de l'Empire, J. Viteau. This art. is intended to complete for declension Meisterhans' *Grammatik des attischen Inschriften*. The xxx. are all taken from Corp. Inscript. Attic. iii. 1 and 2. *Babrius* xc. (107), E. Tournier. Proposes μὲν δὲ δέειπνον μῆδ' ἄκρων ἐπιψάσαι | χειλῶν ἀνῆς ὄων. *Collations inédites de Plaute*, P. Le Breton. Seeks to show that the marginal notes in a copy of an Aldine Plautus of 1522, in the National Library at Paris, are by Jean Passerat, Professor of Latin at the Collège Royal about 1580, and an intimate friend of Pithou. Most of this number is taken up by the *Revue des Revues*.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Ed. E. Wölfflin. Vol. ix. Part 4. 1895.

Amabo, H. Blase. Belongs to old Latin conversational language, and chiefly found in comedy. Used also by Cic. in his letters. *Est invenire*, E. Wölfflin. Arises from the Gk. εἶρω εὑρεῖν. *Infinitiv auf -iuri bei Augustin*, C. W. *Die Latinität des Benedikt von Nursia*, E. Wölfflin. *Redactio in der lex Ursonensis*, E. Wölfflin. The *d* was kept in good literature till towards the end of the fourth cent. *Inauratura. Didascalia apostolorum*, E. Wölfflin. Mentions several words in the Latin transl. which point to the vulgar Latin of the fourth cent. *Vulba, vienna, buule, rauula, ravilla*, L. Havet. On the confusion between *b* and *v* in the spelling of these words. *Das duodecimalsystem* with specimen articles on *duodecim* and *sexaginta*, E. Wölfflin. *Zwei unedirte Deklamationen des Calpurnius Flaccus*, O. Schwab. Two fragments hitherto unpublished. *Ueber die Latinität des Horaz-*

scholiasten Porphyrius, G. Landgraf. The assumption that P. lived in the first half of the fourth cent. shown to be well-founded. *Quocirca, idcirco, quapropter*, G. Landgraf. *Zur Alliteration*, E. Wölfflin. Well known to be commoner in archaic than in classical Latin. Ennius and Lucretius have twice as many alliterations as Lucan or Silius. Zum *S. C. de Bacanalibus. Convivalis* and *Convivialis*, E. Wölfflin. *Accidens—accidentia*, O. Hey. *Männliche Verbalsubstantiva mit dem Casus des Verbums*, P. Geyer. These are found in late, as well as in early, Latin. *Faluppa*, E. Lattes. Proved by the Italian *faloppa*. *Sorte ductus*, J. H. Schmalz. This phrase is found first in Cic. Rep. i. 51. In Tac. Ann. iii. 21 *Sorte ductos fusti necati* is verbally taken from Sall. frag. hist. (4, 22 M). *Accidia...accludo*, E. Wölfflin. *Ortus*=Quelle, A. Sonny. Found in Avenius. *Oratio*=Gebete, P. Geyer. This meaning, though found in Tertullian, cannot be shown in Minucius Felix, as Seiller maintains. *Accico*, E. Wölfflin. Defends the text *accibo* in Plaut. Mil. 935. *Accipiter, Aclamatio, Aclamo*, A. Funck. *Dunco-Quandone*, A. Zimmermann. *Lateinische Tiernamen aus Menschennamen*, A. Zimmermann. Supports by Latin exx. Glöde's contention that in the early ages men readily gave to animals the names of men.

MISCELLEN. *Zu den Helmstedter Glossarfragmenten*, K. Dziatzko. Some corrections and additions. *Zu Keils Juvenal-Glossen, Imaguncula. Primum pilum deducere. Paedidus. Oculis contrectare. Milia mit dem Genitiv. Praevorto and Praevortor*, W. Heraeus. *Spätlateinische Randglossen in Nonius*, W. M. Lindsay. *Stantes Missi*, M. Bréal. Interpreted to mean 'liberty to the victors.'

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 151. Part 12. 1895.

Verschollene länder des altertums, C. Krauth. Continued from Part 3 [Cl. Rev. ix. 284]. (4) The Scythian tradition of the origin of their race (Hdt. iv. 5 sqq.), and Aristeas of Proconnesus in Herodotus (iv. 13). (5) Traces of a mention of the Kuban and Tereh in Hdt. E. Mucke's *de consonarum in graeca lingua praeter Asiaticorum dialectum geminatione* (Freiberg 1895), H. Ziemer. This subject has been nowhere else so exhaustively treated. *Zu Livius*, K. J. Liebhold. In xxii. 50, 1 would insert *sors* after *morientis*. *Beitrage zur Caesar-Kritik*, J. Lange. Concluded from the last no. [Cl. Rev. see p. 77]. *Zu Ovidius metamorphosen*, W. Bannier. On iv. 765 sqq. and vi. 279 sqq. *Zu Tacitus*, Th. O. The conjecture of K. Hachtmann in no. 6 sup. [Cl. Rev. ix. 429] was published in 1882 by H. Schütz. *Zur rettung des Avianus*, F. Heidenhain. Further remarks on the *apologi Aviani* in continuation of a Strasburg program of 1894. L. Renjes' *de ratione quae inter Plini nat. hist. l. xvi. et Theophrasti libros de plantis intercedit* (Rostoch 1893), H. Stadler. *Ein unbeachtetes fragment des Theophrastes*, H. Stadler. A fragment found in Athenaeus.

A Correction to CLASSICAL REVIEW, X. p. 30, 2nd column, end of paragraph:

Instead of: 'I propose to read the last vs. *tua est; lecto*, etc.' read: I presume that the copyist had before him *TUUS EST LECTO*,

etc., which, by a palaeographic error, became *tuus est legio*—and then, by grammatical correction, *tua est legio*—.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

- Aeschylus.* Franklin (S. B.) *Traces of Epic Influence in the Tragedies of Aeschylus.* 8vo. Baltimore.
- Budge* (E. A. W.) *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, being a series of translations of the Ethiopic histories of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes and other writers.* 8vo. 644 pp. Camb. Univ. Press. 12s. 6d.
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- Allmer* (A.) et *Dissard* (P.) *Musée de Lyon: Inscriptions antiques.* Tome IV., V. 8vo. 523, 243 pp. Lyon. Each vol. 15 fr.
- Ammianus.* Novák (Rob.) *Curae Ammianae.* 8vo. iv, 92 pp. Prag, Storch. 2 Mk. 60.
- Arrianus.* Hartmann (K.) *Ueber die Taktik des Arrian.* 8vo. 20 pp. Bamberg.
- Athenagoras.* Eberhard (P. A.) *Athenagoras. Nebst einem Exkurs über das Verhältnis der beiden Apologien des hl. Justin zu einander.* 8vo. 46 pp. Augsburg.
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- Catalogus codicum graecorum, qui in bibliothecam D. Marci Venetiarum inde ab a. MDCCXI ad haec usque tempora inlati sunt, rec. et digessit C. Castellani.* Royal 8vo. viii, 166 pp. Venetiis. 12 Mk.
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- Dion Chrysostomus.* Ehemann (C.) *Die XII. Rede des Dion Chrysostomos.* 8vo. 35 pp. Kaiserslautern.
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- Halbertsma* (Tjallingi). *Adversaria critica. E schedis defuncti selegit, disposuit, ed. H. van Herwerden. Accedit epimetrum de codicibus bibliothecarum exterarum, quos descripsit aut adhibuit Halbertsma.* Royal 8vo. xxxvii, 175 pp., portrait. Leiden, Brill. 5 Mk.
- Homerus.* Baticic (Nic.) *La Nekyia ossia il libro XI. dell' Odissea, considerato dall' lato linguistico e sintattico e confrontato col resto delle poesie di Omero.* 8vo. 261 pp. Zara.
- Isocrates.* Drerup (E.) *De Isocratis orationibus judicialibus quaestiones selectae.* 8vo. 37 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 60.
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- Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie.* Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Alfr. Fleckeisen. Suppl. Vol. 22. Part 2. 8vo. III., pp. 335-772. Leipzig Teubner. 4 Mk. 40.
- Juvenal.* Lommatzsch (E.) *Quaestiones Juvenalianae. Insunt glossae Pithocanae interlineares nunc primum editae.* 8vo. 134 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 40.
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- Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae.* Ediderunt et explanaverunt Jo. de Protto, Lud. Ziehen. Fasc. I. : *Fasti sacri*, ed. Jo. de Protto. Royal 8vo. vi, 60 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 80.
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- Meltzer* (O.) *Geschichte der Karthager.* Vol. II. 8vo. xii, 611 pp. 3 maps. Berlin, Weidmann. 13 Mk.
- Mittheilungen, archaeologisch-epigraphische, aus Oesterreich-Ungarn. Herausgegeben von O. Benndorf und E. Bormann. Vol. (Year) XVIII., Part 2. 8vo. III., pp. 121-232, 29 engravings, 2 plates. Vienna, Hoelder. 7 Mk.
- Musaeus.* Ludwich (Arth.) Über die Handschriften des Epikers Musaeus. 4to. 16 pp. Königsberg. 30 Pf.
- Neue* (Fr.) *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache.* Vol. III. : *Das Verbum.* 3rd ed., by C. Wagener. Parts 7-9. 8vo. pp. 385-576. Berlin, Calvary. Each part 2 Mk.
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- Wolff* (E.) *Quae ratio intercedat inter Lysiae Epitaphium et Isocratis Panegyricum.* 8vo. 43 pp. Berlin.

The Classical Review

MAY 1896.

A THEORY OF THE *CULEX*.

IANUS PARRASIUS in his ingenious work *de rebus per epistolam quaesitis* (1567), citing the verses in which the writer of the *Culex* describes the shepherd as driving his goats into shade in order to escape the heat of the midday sun,

Ut procul aspexit luco residere uirenti,
Delia diua tuo, quo quondam uicta furore
Venit Nyctelium fugiens Cadmeis Agaue,
Infandas scelerata manus et caede cruenta :
Quae gelidis bacchata iugis requieuit in
antro
Posterius poenam nati de morte datura—

identified the grove, here introduced and described at length in vv. 121–156, with a place mentioned by Lucan vi. 355 sqq.

Atque olim Larisa potens, ubi nobile quon-
dam
Nunc super Argos arant, ueteres ubi fabula
Thebas
Monstrat Echionias, ubi quondam Pentheos
exul
Colla caputque ferens supremo tradidit igni,
Questa quod hoc solum nato rapuisset
Agaue.

Lucan, cataloguing some of the Thessalian cities, comes to Larisa, once called Argos, and in the vicinity of a traditional city Thebes, whither, according to ancient legend, Agave, fresh from the murder of her son Pentheus, carried his head and neck, and burnt them on a funeral pyre. This Thebes is sometimes explained to be the

Phthiotid Thebes which Polybius states to have been 300 stadia from Larisa. It seems more probable that it was a ruined site much nearer to Larisa; from which the name might be transferred later to the more distant Phthiotid Thebes.¹

This must be a question for geographers. But so much is clear, that a legend, which seems to be rare, connected the foundation of this Thessalian Thebes with the more famous Thebes in Boeotia through Agave, a descendant of the royal stock of Cadmus, the mother and murderess of Pentheus.

In the poem itself there are no certain indications of Thessaly.² Neither *gratissima tempe* 94 nor *procedit uesper ab Oeta* 203 can prove the locale of the incident to be Thessalian. What is more, the tradition mentioned by Lucan (if the passage is genuine, which was denied by Bentley) is not the most accredited account. Agave, according to Hyginus *Fab.* 184, *ut suae mentis compos facta est, et uidit se Liberi impulsu tantum scelus admisisse, profugit ab Thebis, atque errabunda in Illyriae fines deuenit, ad Lycothersem regem, quam Lycotherse exceptit.* Hyginus repeats this *Fab.* 240. If the end of Euripides' *Bacchae* had

¹ Meineke, however, *Anal. Alexandr.* p. 204 explains Lucan's *Echionias Thebas*, perhaps more probably, of the Thessalian Echinus which, like the Echinus of Acarmania, traced its origin to Echion.

² The Bern. schol. on Luc. iii. 189 *Encaelae uersi testantes f. C.* cannot be right in calling the *Encaelae* a Thessalian people. *Enchelia gens Thessaliae in cuius finibus Cadmus cum Harmonia uore in serpentes sunt uersi. Enchelys dicitur anguilla, unde ciuitas est appellata.*

come to us entire, we should have known where Agave went, when she was banished from Thebes. As it is, we find her separated from her parents, Cadmus and Harmonia, and these latter, not Agave, despatched to Illyria (1362, cf. 1334 *sqq.*). Apollonius *Arg.* iv. 516 *sqq.* places the tomb of Cadmus and Harmonia in the territory of the Enchelees¹ by the Illyrian river of the black deeps²

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ μελαμβαθείου ποταμοῦ,
τύμβος ἴν' Ἀρμονίης Κάδμοιο τε, πύργον ἔδει-
μαν
ἀνδράσιν Ἐγγελέεσσιν ἐφέστιοι.

Callimachus in a fragment quoted by Strabo 46

οἱ μὲν ἐπ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ πόρου σχάσαντες ἐρεμὰ
λαῶν παρὰ ξανθῆς Ἀρμονίης ὄφιοι
ἄστυρον ἐκτίσαντο, τὸ μὲν φυγάδων τις ἐνίσποι
Γραικός, ἀτὰρ κείνων γλώσσ' ὀνόμηνε Πόλας.

seems to place the tomb of Harmonia at the spot where the city of Pola was afterwards founded, *i.e.* in the country of the Istrii (Strab. 216). The historian Phylarchus stated that the tomb was near a place called Κύλικες: Athen. xi. 462 b πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυρίῳ τόπος διάβοητός ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος Κύλικες, παρ' ᾧ ἔστι τὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας μνημεῖον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν.

We see from this the shifting and uncertain character of these legends. The tomb of Cadmus and Harmonia is placed by some in the territory of the Illyrian Enchelees, by others at the Istrian Pola:

Lucan iii. 189

nomine prisco
Encheliae uersi testantes funera Cadmi

and Statius *Th.* iii. 288

indigna parumne
Pertulimus diuae Veneris quod filia longum
Reptat et Illyricas eiecat uirus in herbas?

both connect the death and transformation of the pair with Illyria, and the etymology

¹ The schol. on *Ap. R.* iv. 507 expressly places the Enchelees in Illyria, about the Ceraunian mountains.

² What this river was is uncertain. De Mirmont, p. 355 of his translation of *A. Rh.*, says it was either the Rhizon or the Drilon. Bernhardt on *Dionys. Perieg.* 390 says 'id tantum perspicitur, opinionem uariis opinionibus poetarum ac geographorum exornatam eo peruasisse, ut sepulera quae Cadmi Harmoniaeque dicerentur in uicinia Drili atque Aoi fluiurum reponerentur.'

of Encheleis (*anguilla*) makes it nearly certain that both believed that legend to be connected with this particular tribe.

Scylax, after mentioning the two Illyrian rivers Naron and Arion, places 'the stones of Cadmus and Harmonia' at the distance of half a day's voyage, and next in order the town Buthoe, then the Encheleis close to the river Rhizon. Buthoe was mentioned in a hexameter ascribed to Sophocles³ in the *Etym. M.* 207 Βουθοῖη πόλις τῆς Ἰλλυρίας Σοφοκλῆς ὀνομακλεῖ

Βουθοῖη Δρίλωνος ἐπὶ προχηθῆσιν ἐνάσθη.

Scymn. 436

ἵπὲρ δὲ Βρύγουσ' Ἐγγέλειοι λεγόμενοι
οἰκοῦσιν, ὧν ἵπῆρξε καὶ Κάδμος ποτέ.

Paus. ix. 5. *Dionys. Perieg.* 390–397, *Priscian Perieg.* 381–389, *Avien. D. O. T.* 535–550. *Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρμανία* mentions a river *Cadmus* in the Thesprotian district Cammania, later Cestrinia. The latter name, he says, was from Cestrinus, the son of Helenus: cf. *Aen.* iii.

These passages are enough to prove that the later years of Cadmus and Harmonia were associated by tradition with Illyria. Hyginus shows that Agave, according to some accounts, when driven into exile from Thebes also found a home in Illyria. We should thus be prepared to find other legends of Cadmus and Harmonia, again of their daughter Agave, her husband Echion, and her son Pentheus connected with this part of the world, Illyria and the adjoining regions Chaonia and Thesprotia.⁴

Such a legend is mentioned by Parthenius *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων* xxxii. *fin.* He is there telling a *Chaonian* story. Anthippe, loved by a noble youth, is slain by the king's son Cichyrus with a javelin intended to strike a pard (*πάρδαλις*); Cichyrus, believing he has hit the animal, finds the lover holding his hands over Anthippe's wound, and Anthippe dead. In the distraction of his grief he slips from his horse and falls down a precipice. In honour to his memory the Chaonians raise a wall

³ Hemsterhuis thought this was the grandson of the tragic poet, in one of the *Elegies* ascribed to him by Suidas (Gaisford).

⁴ Scylax *Periopl.* 28 μετὰ δ' Ἰλλυρίους Χάονες. 30 μετὰ δὲ Χαονίαν Θεσπρωτοί. 31 μετὰ δὲ Θεσπρωτίαν Κασσωπία, παρικοῦσι δὲ οὐτοὶ ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἀνακτορικὴν κόλπον. If Saumaise and Meineke are right in restoring *Steph. Byz.* Ἐχίνος πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας Ἐχίνου κτίσμα. Ῥιανός Ἐχίνου [MSS. Ἐχίων] ἔστυ, there were cities which claimed to be founded by Echion as far southward as Acarnania.

round the copse (δρυμός) where the tragic event happened, and call the city Cichyrus. Parthenius then proceeds: φασὶ δὲ τινες τὸν δρυμὸν ἐκείνον εἶναι τῆς Ἐχίονος θυγατρὸς Ἡπειροῦ, ἣν μεταναστᾶσαν ἐκ Βοιωτίας βαδίζουσα μεθ' Ἀρμονίας καὶ Κιάδμου, φερομένην τὰ Πενθέως λείψανα, ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν δρυμὸν τόνδε ταφῆναι. διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν Ἡπειρον ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομασθήναι.

In this account we have, if I am not much mistaken, the very legend which the writer of the *Culex* followed. A daughter of Echion carrying the remains of Pentheus migrates from Thebes with Cadmus and Harmonia. She dies in or near 'the copse of Cichyrus' and is there buried. Only the name of this daughter (not wife) of Echion does not agree: she was called Epeiros,¹ not Agave. I say nothing of another seeming point of difference, namely that Parthenius states Epeiros was buried in the copse, whereas in the *Culex* Agave only rested in a grotto of the copse, and was destined afterwards to pay the penalty of murdering her son. For the verse in which this is stated as usually printed rests on mere conjecture, and it is not certain what the author of the poem wrote. But even if that conjecture is accepted, it might not improperly be explained of Agave's subsequent death and burial in the place to which she had consigned the mangled remains of her son. Or, again, accepting the legend as the same in outline, we may admit difference in details. The real point to be emphasized is the arrival (in both accounts) in a plantation of trees, Parthenius' δρυμός, *lucus uirens* of the *Culex*, where it is described at great length (109-156), of a woman bearing the remains of Pentheus, and that woman so intimately associated with the house of Cadmus as to follow him and his wife in their flight from Thebes, and to be called the daughter or wife of Echion.

The locale of Parthenius' story, the town Cichyrus, earlier Ephyre, is in a neighbourhood abounding with associations of the Augustan era. It is only necessary to quote Strabo's description (324); it forms part of his account of Epirus—ἐπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὸς Λιμὴν, εἰς ἣν ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμός, ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης καὶ δεχόμενος πλείους ποταμούς, ὥστε καὶ γλυκαίνειν τὸν κόλπον. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Θιάμις πλησίον. ὑπέρεκειται δὲ τούτου μὲν τοῦ κόλπου Κίχυρος, ἣ πρότερον Ἐφύρα, πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βουθρωτὸν ἢ Φοινίκη. ἐγγὺς δὲ

τῆς Κίχυρου πολίχμιον Βουχέτιον Κασσωπαίων, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ὄν, καὶ Ἐλάτρια καὶ Πανδοσία καὶ Βατίαι ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. He then proceeds to mention the Ambracian gulf and Nicopolis, the city built on it by Augustus. In this list the names Thyamis, Buthroton, Cassopaei, are familiar to us from Cicero's letters to Atticus, and the last from Propertius (i. 17, 3); the Ambracian gulf and Nicopolis recall the decisive victory of Octavianus at Actium. At Buthroton Atticus had an estate; another on the banks of the river Thyamis. Cic. *Legg.* ii. 3 *Sed tamen huic amoenitati* (Cicero's villa by the Fibrenus), *quem ex Quinto saepe audio, Thyamis Epirotēs tuus ille nihil, opinor, concesserit.* Q. *Est ita, ut dicis: caue enim putes Attici nostri Anathio platanisque illis quicquam esse praeclarium.* *Att.* vii. 2 *In Actio Coreyrae Alexio me opipare muneratus est.* Q. *Ciceroni obsisti non potuit, quo minus Thyamim uideret.* Cassope is mentioned *Fam.* xvi. 9, 1.

There was also in this neighbourhood a traditional Troy. This is recorded at length by Vergil *Aen.* iii. 302. He states that Helenus, who after the death of Neoptolemus had married Andromache and succeeded Neoptolemus in the sovereignty of the Epirots near Buthroton, called the district Chaonia from a Trojan named Chaon and built a town called Troy. Servius on iii. 349 says that this statement was confirmed by Varro, who had personally visited the spot and found all the names recorded by Vergil; and this same authority is said to have specialized a site called Castra Troiana at the place where the Trojan fleet waited for the arrival of Aeneas. Similarly Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiqq.* i. 51 says 'the presence of the Trojans at Buthroton is indicated by a hill, which they used at that time as a camp, called Troy': and he mentions a harbour which originally bore the name of Anchises but had been transmuted in the course of time to *Onchesmus* (Anchiasmus),² cf. Seeley *Liv.* i. Steph. Byz. informs us that this Troy was in the district called *Cestria*: and this, as we have seen, was traditionally associated with Cestrinus, son of Helenus, son of Priam (Steph. B. *s.v.* Καμμανία. Paus. i. 11). In Thucydides' time the river Thyamis formed the boundary between Thesprotis and Cestrine (i. 46).

So far the topographical surroundings of

² The name of this town will recur to every reader of Cicero, *flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites*, *Att.* vii. 2.

¹ Or, as Le Grand suggested, Epeiro.

the Cichyreaean *δρυμὸς* are such as to suit a poem inscribed to Octavius. He had himself as a youth spent six months in Apollonia, at the mouth of the Aous and near the Acroceraunian mountains: this was shortly before the death of his uncle the dictator in 44 B.C. Velleius tells us (ii. 59) that he was sent there to be educated and to study: and it might naturally form part of his training to visit such places in the vicinity as legend literature or natural features had made interesting.¹

There is however a particular point connected with the town of Ephyra or Cichyrus which appears to me to make the identification of Parthenius' story with the narrative of the *Culex* almost certain. Not only was it surrounded with places or names specially belonging to the infernal world, but there was a very ancient tradition of a *νεκρομαντεῖον* or oracle of the dead in the district to which it belonged. The two points must be taken separately.

(1) Thucydides i. 46 after mentioning Ephyra as in the Thesprotian Elaeatis adds *ἔξεισι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερονσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει.* Here we have two names, both associated with the lower world—the river Acheron and the Acherusian marsh. These are both historically famous in connexion with the death of the Epirot king Alexander. The Dodonaean oracle had warned him in the words of Livy (viii. 24) *ut quam maxime procul abesset urbe Pandosia in Epiro et Acheronte anni quem ex Molosside fluentem in stagna inferna accipit Thesprotius sinus.* Alexander, fearing his end from the Epirotic Pandosia and Acheron, found it in

the similarly named Pandosia and Acheron of Lucania. Cf. Justin xii. 2. Scylax § 30 includes the harbour Elaea, the Acheron, and the Acherusian marsh in the territory of the Thesproti, in immediate juxtaposition to the Cassopaei. Pausanias (i. 17, 5) places the Acheron and Acherusian marsh near Cichyrus (*πρὸς τῇ Κιχύρῳ*), and adds a third name associated with the underworld, the Coeytus, which he calls 'a most unpleasant water' (*ὑδὼρ ἀτερπέστατον*). The two river-names he believed to have been transferred by Homer to the other world from actual inspection of their Thesprotian homonyms: the very name of the white-poplar (*ἀχερωῖς*) was given by Homer from the Thesprotian Acheron where Heracles had seen it growing.

(2) There was also in the same Thesprotian region somewhere on the banks of the Acheron a *νεκρομαντεῖον*. This we know from Herodotus, who states that Periander, tyrant of Corinth, having sent messengers to the *νεκρομαντεῖον* there to obtain advice about a deposit entrusted to him by a friend, the ghost of his wife Melissa appeared. With this oracle of the dead, perhaps some chasm in the ground from which the spirits of the dead were supposed to appear on summons, one of the legends about *Orpheus* was associated. Paus. ix. 30, 6 'Others say Orpheus' wife having died before him, he came for love of her (*δι' αὐτήν*) to the Aornos in Thesprotia, as in old times there was an oracle of the dead there: and believing that Eurydice's soul was following him, and having lost her (or, committed a mistake) in turning round, killed himself with his own hand for grief.' This *Ἄορνον τὸ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίᾳ* is probably the *locus Aornos et pestifera aëibus exalatio* of Plin. iv. 2.

I need not say how greatly these two points bear upon the *Culex*. The chief difficulty which that poem presents is to account for the disproportionately long description of the lower world, and the quaint conception of the gnat's ghost returning from thence to tell the sleeping shepherd what it had seen there. This narrative takes up no less than 165 vv. (210–375) out of a total of 414. If the legendary Agave-grove (*Cul.* 109) where the sleeping shepherd, in danger of being killed by a serpent, is roused by a gnat, which gnat he kills and then sees in a dream recounting the life of the shades in Tartarus and Elysium—if this grove, I say, was none other than the *δρυμὸς* at Cichyrus to which Echion's daughter brought the

¹ Because Appian *B.C.* iii. 9 states that the studies of Octavius at Apollonia were mainly in war, it does not follow that he did nothing else. We know that he attended Apollodorus of Pergamus as a pupil in rhetoric (Strab. 525, Suet. *Aug.* 89), having taken him to Apollonia for the purpose; and Plutarch (*Brut.* 23) says ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ διέτριβεν σχολάζων περὶ λόγους. The anecdote mentioned by Sueton. *Oct.* 94 proves that he did not disdain to show an interest in astrology; the connexion of which pretended science with his life and destiny is often emphasized by Suetonius, Manilius and others. See Gardthausen *Augustus und seine Zeit* ii. p. 22, and on Augustus' horoscope pp. 16 *sqq.* and the valuable dissertation of Weichert *de Augusti scriptis eorumque reliquiis* 1835. Dion expressly tells us Octavius was *τραῖνδ* (*ἠσκήειτο*) in Greek rhetoric (45, 2), and we may feel sure, from his interest in literature, and his own writings, that he did not neglect Greek poetry. This is indeed stated by Suetonius 89 *ne Graccarum quidem disciplinarum leviore studio tenebatur: again, eruditione etiam varia repletus est per Aerei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysii et Nicanoris contubernium.*

remains of Pentheus as recounted by Parthenius (xxxii. *fin.*), we can see how the Roman poet was led to his outline, and can even account for many of his details. The old legend of the *νεκρομαντῆων* is in his thoughts when he describes the *effigies*¹ of the gnat, sad from its recent death and its visit to Tartarus, appearing in sleep to its murderer and reproaching him with his ingratitude :

Cuius ut intrauit leuior per corpora somnus
Languidaque effuso requierunt membra
sopore,
Effigies ad eum culicis deuenit et illi
Tristis ab euentu cecinit conuicia mortis.

The old associations of the Acheron, the Acherusian marsh, the Cocytus suggest Tartarus with all its familiar horrors, Charon, Tisiphone, Cerberus, the punishments of legendary transgressors, Otus and Ephialtes, Tityos, Tantalus, Sisyphus, the Danaides, Medea; the woeful shades of Procne and Philomela, of Eteocles and Polynices; again the happier ghosts of Alcestis and Penelope; then Eurydice and Orpheus.

On this particular legend the poet dwells at unusual length (268–294), consecrating to it no less than twenty-six verses; and we can understand why he does so. One version of the Orpheus legend was specially located at the Thesprotian Aornon and its oracle, as Pausanias tells us. If the poet describes at length the tragic story of Eurydice almost regained and then lost for ever by her husband's looking back involuntarily, it is because this recovery from death and final loss had a local habitation in the near neighbourhood of the Cichyrean grove.²

Again, it seems probable that the grove pictured in the *Culex* was to some extent painted from an actual plantation of Chaonian trees. Something of the kind may account for the special introduction of two verses in themselves not very relevant, 136, 7 :

Quam comitabantur fatalia carmina quereus,
Quereus ante datae Cereris quam semina
uitae,
Illas Triptolemi mutauit sulcus aristas.

¹ Cf. Henry *Aenideae* ii. 394 (on *Aen.* iii. 148).

² It is remarkable that Pausanias mentions among the various legends of Orpheus one in which a shepherd while asleep at midday, with his body turned toward Orpheus' tomb, suddenly breaks into song, singing, whilst still asleep, verses of Orpheus (ix. 30, 10).

It is not merely that oaks are specially connected with Epirus and Dodona, but that Vergil (either himself the poet of the *Culex*, or imitated by the poet), in the well-known passage where he speaks of mankind changing acorns for wheat, specializes the acorn as *Chaonian*, *G. i. 8 Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit arista.*

We have already seen that the white-poplar grew so freely on the banks of the Acheron, that Pausanias drew from thence the etymology of its Greek name *ἀχρωρίς*. Now the writer of the *Culex* not only mentions this tree second in his description (127–130), but dwells particularly on the *whiteness* of its foliage :

Candida fundebant tentis uelamina ramis.

Again the plane-tree, which the poet places first in his list of trees :

Nam primum prona surgebant ualle
patentes
Aeriae platanus—

is the very tree which gave its charm to Atticus' villa on the banks of the Thyamis (*Legg. ii. 3*).³

Oudin (*Dissertation Critique sur le Culex*, 1729⁴) was the first who called attention to a seeming discrepancy between the *Culex* we have and the abstract of it given in the Life of Vergil ascribed to Donatus. In the poem the shepherd falls asleep by a spring (*ad fontem requieuit* 157), in the Life the serpent comes from a marsh (*proreperet a palude*). It might be said that a marsh seems implied by the words describing the gnat (183 *paruulus umoris aluminus*), or by the croaking of the frogs (151), and that it was from this that the writer of the Life drew. But, whether the poet had in his mind a spring alone, or a marsh adjoining also, it is obvious that the Cichyrean copse, in the close neighbourhood of the Acherusian marsh, would fall in with his somewhat indeterminate language. If indeed

³ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* i. p. 241, describing a gorge in the neighbourhood of the Acheron, specially mentions the holm-oak, ilex, and pine: 'On either side rise perpendicular rocks, in the midst of which are little intervals of scanty soil, bearing holly-oaks, ilices, and other shrubs, and which admit occasionally a view of the higher summits of the two mountains (Suli and Tzikurates) covered with oaks, and at the summit of all pines.' P. 243 he notices the 'fine planes' near Luro.

⁴ As this learned Jesuit's dissertation is now nearly forgotten, I may refer my readers to it more exactly. It is in *Continuation des Mémoires de Littérature et d'Histoire* vol. vii. pp. 295–323.

the writer of the *Life* had seen some early commentary on the *Culex*, in which the *δρυμὸς* by the Acheron was named as the scene of the poem, his abstract might have been based partly on this, and he might substitute the marsh for the spring from his combined recollections.

It may seem fanciful to add that the very name of the *Culex* may have been suggested by a local association. The historian Phylarchus mentioned as a name given to the Illyrian burial-place of Cadmus and Harmonia the Greek plural *Κύλικες*. The difference in meaning would not much affect the question. Nor does it seem improbable that the introduction of a *snake* as a chief actor in the little drama of the Gnat is assignable to the Cadmus-myth. Cadmus slew the serpent that guarded the waters of Dirce, and from that serpent's teeth sprung the Sparti, one of whom was Echion, the husband of Agave (ἄχως). Cadmus and Harmonia settle among the *Encheleis*, are metamorphosed into snakes¹ and lead, in snake-form, an Illyrian army into Hellas (*Bacch.* 1355-8). Another account (schol. *Pind. Pyth.* iii. 153) states that they were conveyed to Elysium in a chariot drawn by serpents.

The *Life* of Vergil ascribed to Donatus states that he wrote the *Culex* at the age of sixteen, *i.e.* in 54 B.C. If he really wrote it and at that age, he must have drawn his knowledge of the Agave-legend in vv. 110-114 from some Greek collection of stories similar to that published later by Parthenius. If, on the other hand, as Oudin and Ribbeck agree, the language of Suetonius (*Vita Lucani* p. 50 Reyfferscheid) and Statius (*S.* ii. 7, 73) makes it probable that xvi. is a mistake for xxvi., Vergil, as we are nowhere informed of his *visiting* Epirus, may have selected the time (45-44 B.C.) when young Octavius was at Apollonia to dedicate to him a poem on a subject suggested by the adjacent country, partly based, we might suppose, on materials supplied by some friend in the retinue of Octavius² who had seen Cichyrus and its *δρυμὸς* with his own eyes. The strong language *Octaviū venerande* 25, and again *Sancte puer* 26 and 37, *must*, I think, be meant for the one Octavius to whom those

epithets could alone suitably belong, the nephew of the dictator C. Iulius Caesar.

There is however, to my mind, a fulness and minuteness in the description not only of the grove (109-156) but of the surrounding country, alternately cliff and valley, abounding in forest-trees and shrubs, as well as falling spontaneously into grottos or caverns (46-98), and at all times the natural haunt of goats,³ which implies that the poet had seen it in person. We might then suppose that the author (in this case not Vergil), in attendance on Octavius at Apollonia, used the occasion to visit the legendary places near, among these the Acheron, with its marsh, and the town of Cichyrus which adjoined it. At Cichyrus he was shown a grove to which a mythological tradition attached. It had given a temporary refuge to Cadmus and Harmonia when with a female of their house, whether wife or daughter of Echion, they had fled from Thebes as exiles, carrying with them the remains of the mangled Pentheus. The legend, located as it was in the wild and picturesque scenery of the Acheron, struck his fancy: starting from it as a basis, he first sketched the grove itself with its trees, spring, cicadas, and croaking frogs; next the ground adjoining, now rock, now glen, with the goats that hung from its cliffs, snuffed the gale under its shrubs, or viewed their image reflected in its waters. Then he worked in the other associations of the place: Acheron and Cocytus suggested their homonyms in the world below; the historic oracle of the dead near the Acheron and its connexion with the tragic story of Orpheus and Eurydice determined the introduction of this story in the poem, and the appearance of the Gnat's ghost in a dream as the medium through which the picture of Tartarus and Elysium was to be presented. The Gnat itself, the only grotesque element in the poem, might be a reminiscence of the legendary *Κύλικες*, a name associated with the tomb of Cadmus and Harmonia, if this Illyrian tradition was not too special to be widely known.

On this view the *Culex* was written 45-44 B.C. when Octavius, who was born on Sept. 23 B.C. 63, was eighteen or nineteen years old. The words 'revered Octavius' and 'divine boy' would therefore be strictly correct.

³ Leake, *North. Greece* i. 243. 'The river (Acheron) in the pass is deep and rapid, and is seen at the bottom falling in many places in cascades over the rocks, though at too great a distance to be heard, and in most places inaccessible to any but the foot of a goat or a Suliot.'

¹ Nicander introduces the pair in his *Theriaca* 607 Ἴριν θ' ἦν ἔθρεψε Δρίλων καὶ Νάρονος ὄχθαι, Σιδονίου Κάδμοιο θεμελίον Ἀρμονίης τε Ἐνθα δῶα δασπλήτε νόμον στείβουσι δράκοντες.

² Appian calls him *μεϊράκιον* whilst he was at Apollonia, *B. C.* iii. 9 *Μεϊράκιον δὲ ἔτι ὢν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου, παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.*

If, however, with most critics we trace in the *Culex* no less than three imitations more or less direct of Vergil (1) the happiness of the shepherd's life, based on *G.* ii. 458-540 (2) the episode of Orpheus and Eurydice, partially modelled on *G.* iv. 453-527 (3) the description of the infernal regions with its many resemblances to *Aen.* vi., we shall find in the battle of Actium (B.C. 31) another and later period in the life of Octavianus from which the conception of the poem might date. From that time forward Actium and its new city Nicopolis became so famous as to draw visitors from every part of the world, and to give a new interest to the history and traditions of its neighbourhood. Some such visitor, familiar with the *Georgics*, perhaps (but not certainly) with the *Aeneid*,—or again some chance settler in this district of Epirus, not impossibly a Greek trained in the language and poetry of Rome,—may have planned an epyllion imitating the style and ideas of Vergil. Into this he worked two of the most famous episodes in the *Georgics*, the happiness of a country life

and the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. The local legends lent themselves to his plan, and he fixed the scene of his Vergilian epyllion in the Agave-grove on the banks of the Acheron—the same Acheron from whence Orpheus had, as tradition told, nearly regained his Eurydice. The story once written, it remained to add a look of genuineness by dedicating the poem to the man who as Octavius had been Vergil's early patron, and was now as Augustus master of the Roman world. The introduction of Octavius' name and the predominance of Vergilian *motifs* in the poem would combine with the real merits of the workmanship to give it circulation, and eventually to make it thought an actual work of Vergil's youth. As the *Georgics* seem to have been published not earlier than 29 B.C. the genesis of the poem would then be subsequent to this year; if the description of the lower world was modelled on *Aen.* vi. (which I doubt), not till after 19 B.C. in which year Vergil died.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE LATIN PASSIVE INFINITIVE IN *-IER*: *INFITIAS IRE*.

It were venturesome to add another to the existing explanations of the Latin infin. pass. in *-ier*, but I can, I believe, give increased cogency to one of them (cf. Stolz, *Lat. Gram.*² § 117).

The Roman grammarians distinctly chronicle for us such forms as *biber* for *bibere* (cf. Charisius in Keil, *Gram. L.* i. 124), and these belonged to an early period. The manuscripts of Plautus record *vider'* for *videre* (*Epid.* 62, cf. the author in *Am. Jr. Phil.* xv. 372), and *dicer'* is claimed on metrical grounds at *Merc.* 282 (cf. Sonnenschein, *Transac. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1893, 14). Now Stolz would see in *agier* a contamination of *agi* and *ager'*. I propose instead to take the *-ie-* verbs as a starting-point, and so explain *de-ripier'* (*Men.* 1006) as an abbreviated infin. to a *-ie-* stem. Thus *-ripier'* and *rapere* would belong, the first to a *-ie-* stem, the second to an *-e-* stem. It is common enough in Sanskrit for a root to have both *-ya-* and *-a-* present-systems, and this state of things appears in Latin also, at least with the verb *venio* (cf. Brix, *Trin.*⁴ 41).

The assignment of exclusive passive value

to the *-ier* forms—I say assignment because the infin. was originally either active or passive (cf. the author, *Am. Jr. Phil.* xv. 221)—was almost inevitable, because a final *-r* characterized the passive. The deponents' also lent a hand, for they were all possessed of both active and passive infin. forms, the former being finally reserved for the impv. Plautus has *egredier* (*Poen.* 742) as an infin., for *-ier'* had been abstracted long before Plautus as an infin. ending.

In the passage of certain *-ie-* stems into the fourth conjugation we have perhaps a proof of the assumed fullest form in *-iere*. Thus *venire* may be explained from **veniēre*, with contraction as in *fili* (<*filiē*?) and *audi* (<*audiē*—*audite* <*audiēte*?). The preservation of *-ier'* instead of *-ir'* would be due to a conscious adaptation of *-ier* to the value of a pass. infin. suffix at a period prior to the contraction *īē*>*ī*. Thus the original forms *rapier* and *rapī* gave rise to the type *laudarier* || *laudari*. It must be borne in mind that all analogical extensions imply consciousness on the part of the language users, and so interfere with normal phonetic development.

I have suggested (*Am. Jr. Phil.* xv. 366) that the so-called contracted forms of which *ama-sse* is typical were pre-rhotacistic presents in *-se* restrained from normal phonetic development in archaic legal formulas with *volo*, and subsequently interpreted, after the analogy of *fuisse*, as perfects. There is still another step in the analogy thus: *dixē*: *dixti* = *fuisse*: *fuisti* = *amā(s)se*: *amāsti*.

This explanation may be applied to *infittias ire* 'to deny,' regarding *infittias* as an elided form of **infittiasē* (archaic pres. infin.) in dependence upon *ire*, a construction fairly common in Plautus (Brix, *Trin.*⁴ 1015). I find it hard to believe that *infittias* is acc. plur. in a terminal sense, being, as it is, an abstract noun. The same objection holds against *suppetias ire* 'go to the help of,' and *exsequias ire* 'go to the burial of,' which last however is also explained as cognate

accus., an explanation that does not seem to me probable, for no Roman ever said, I fancy, *funus ire* 'go (to) a funeral.' Neither *venum ire* 'be sold,' nor *pessum ire* 'go down' (to sink), seem to me parallel cases: for *venum*, if not an infin. in *-om*, such as we have in Oscan-Umbrian, may mean some concrete thing like 'market,' and be modelled on *domum ire*, as *foras ire* is; while *pessum* is probably supine to *pet* 'fall.' As to *malam crucem ire* (Brix on *Capt.* 469) for the usual *in malam*, etc., this may be a comic contrast modelled on *domum* 'home' beside *in domum* 'to the house,' implying that *malam crucem* is the customary habitation of the person berated.

It seems to me worthy of note that beside *suppetias*, *infittias*, *exsequias ire* we have deponent infinitives *infittari*, etc.

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ARISTOTLE'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE ARTS OF ACQUISITION.

IN a careful paper entitled 'Aristotle's doctrine of Barter,' which appeared in the *Harvard Quarterly Journal of Economics*, April 1895, Professor Ashley has called attention to the difficulties which he and others find in a passage of Aristotle's *Politics* (Bk. i. 1258^b 27 sqq.), about the τρίτον εἶδος χρηματιστικῆς, and has endeavoured to determine what kind of classification is really intended by Aristotle. The passage is as follows:—

τρίτον δὲ εἶδος χρηματιστικῆς μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς πρώτης (ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς), ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, οἷον ἰλοτομία τε καὶ πᾶσα μεταλλευτική.

The syntax of this has been pronounced almost desperate; ὅσα is supposed to be without any regular grammatical construction; and the text has been suspected by more than one critic. Bernays *e.g.* conjectured οἷσα for ὅσα.

One must venture to think that the text is sound and the syntax correct. The construction is a familiar one in Aristotle, and the difficulties are due to slips of translation in which by some ill luck even distinguished scholars have been involved. The origin of the mistake is the translation of ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς by 'products of the soil (or

earth),' which of course leaves ὅσα without construction. The rendering is natural enough, but ought to have been questioned because of difficulties in the remainder of the sentence, which however have been overlooked. τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων would also mean products of the earth, and if the construction of these genitives is after ὅσα (ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων), there results an illogical statement, in which the species is added to the genus—'products of the soil, and products of the soil, not fruits though useful.' If the construction is (as it really is) ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων, the distinction would be between direct products of the soil, and things derived from or made from products of the soil which are not fruits. This again is hardly possible, because firstly, the examples given are not of the manufacture of raw products, but of the acquisition of them—mining (μεταλλευτική) and not *e.g.* χαλχοουργική, woodcutting (ἰλοτομία) and not *e.g.* τεκτονική. Secondly, the classification would be incomplete, because the species of product with which ἰλοτομία and μεταλλευτική are concerned, *i.e.* things which are useful but not fruits, is not named. If it be replied that it is included implicitly in the generic term ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς, because the division of this into κάρπια and ἄκαρπα is implied in the mention of commodities made from the

latter, it is odd that this should not be made clear by examples of both species of the division.

Further, if *ὄσα ἀπὸ γῆς* include useful products both edible and inedible, then since the classification recognizes articles made from the latter (*ἀπὸ τῶν κ.τ.λ.*), it ought also to recognize articles made from the former, e.g. bread from corn. In fact, whereas a fourfold division ought to have been made—(1) edible products of the soil, (2) inedible though useful products of the soil, (3) articles made from the first, (4) articles made from the second, the third species would not be mentioned at all, instead of the first two we should have the corresponding genus without indication of its division into the two species, and finally the examples would illustrate one species only of the four, and that too one which is not named in the classification which is made.

Though Aristotle is not so infallible in analysis as interpreters may sometimes think, he is not likely to have been so illogical as this; and at any rate an explanation of the text which makes the classification logical and the examples adequate will have the advantage.

Another serious difficulty is caused by the fact that *ὄσα ἀπὸ γῆς* is taken to include 'fruits.' This is quite necessary in a context which mentions products of the earth which are not fruits, supposing *ὄσα ἀπὸ γῆς* means 'products of the earth' at all.

But the form of *κτητική* or *χρηματιστική* which has to do with the fruits of the earth is *γεωργία*, and this is included in the *πρῶτον εἶδος κτητικῆς*, that *κατὰ φύσιν* and concerned with *τροφή*, from which the *τρίτον εἶδος* is expressly distinguished in the passage before us.

To get over this, it has been supposed that the *τρίτον εἶδος* does not mean the direct acquisition of the *ὄσα ἀπὸ γῆς κ.τ.λ.* from nature, but the barter of them. This is obviously untenable. For, (1) the examples, *ἰλοτομία* and *μεταλλευτική*, are not examples of exchange, but of direct acquisition from nature. (2) If Aristotle meant the *τρίτον εἶδος* to be barter, it would be easy to say so, and it is incredible that he should not; yet there is not a hint in the text to this effect. (3) Aristotle here actually distinguishes the *τρίτον εἶδος* from exchange (*μεταβλητική*, the second kind of *χρηματιστική*). It is true *μεταβλητική*, the generic term, is here used for a species, the 'unnatural' *μεταβλητική*; but then, if the *τρίτον εἶδος* distinguished from it were

itself a kind of *μεταβλητική*, it would be all the more necessary to say this expressly.

It is the syntax which really gives the key to the solution of these difficulties. *τρίτον εἶδος...ὄσα* corresponds to a regular formula for enumerating the species of a genus. A clause beginning with *ὄσοι*, *ὄσα*, etc., gives the species and is grammatically either a predicate of the *γένος* or *εἶδος*, or else in apposition to the phrase which expresses it. Consequently *ὄσα* would refer to the various species of this third kind of acquisition, that is to *industries* and not to commodities. This is entirely borne out by the examples introduced by *οἶον*, for they are examples of *industries*, *ἰλοτομία* and *μεταλλευτική*. The construction of *ἀπὸ* is that which is usual after *χρηματιστική* and similar expressions to denote the source of profit. Cf. *Pol.* 1258^a 37, *χρηματιστική ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζῳῶν*; 1258^b 1, *οὐ κατὰ φύσιν (ἢ μεταβλητικῆ χρηματιστικῆ) ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων*; 1258^b 14 *ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κούων*; *Soph. Elench.* 171^b 27–29, *ἡ γὰρ σοφιστικῆ ἐστίν...χρηματιστικῆ τις ἀπὸ σοφίας φαινομένης*.

Thus *ὄσα ἀπὸ γῆς* means 'industries depending upon earth' (lit. 'in which the profit is made from earth'), and *ὄσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, industries depending upon a particular kind of γινόμενα ἀπὸ γῆς*.

The opposition is between *γῆ* as minerals in general and *γινόμενα ἀπὸ γῆς*, things which grow from the earth. Of the latter, the *χρήσιμα* are either *κάρπιμα* ἢ *ἄκαρπα*, and of these two the last only comes here into consideration, because the first of them belongs to the industries of the *πρῶτον εἶδος*.

ὄσα ἀπὸ γῆς then represents mineral industries, and of these *μεταλλευτική* is the example: *ὄσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ* means industries in which are acquired useful things which grow from the earth but are not edible, for instance timber, and of these *ἰλοτομία* is the example.

It must be noticed that in both cases the commodities are got directly from nature.

This interpretation is in accordance with a general sense of *γῆ* found in Aristotle, and its correctness seems proved by the following passage from the *Economics* 1343^a 25, *κατὰ φύσιν δὲ γεωργικῆ προτέρα, καὶ δευτεραι ὄσα αἰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, οἶον μεταλλευτικῆ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη τοιαύτη*; where on the one hand *γεωργική* is distinguished from the industries which are *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*, and on the other hand *μεταλλευτική* is given as an example of them.

This last passage may suggest the emendation $\sigma\alpha\iota$ ἀπὸ γῆς in the *Politics*, but no change is necessary, and the neuter may stand. Cf. e.g. 1258^b 23, καὶ ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία φορηγία παράστασις· διαφέρει δὲ τούτων ἕτερα ἑτέρων τῶ τὰ μὲν ἀσφαλέστερα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλείω πορίζειν τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν, where the neuters in the last clause are not likely to be in agreement with μέρη.

The passage may therefore be rendered:—

‘A third kind of acquisition of commodities lying between the second and the first (for it has something in common with natural acquisition and with exchange) consists of those industries which depend on minerals and those which depend on inedible but useful products of the soil, for instance, woodcutting and every form of mining.’

Or, possibly, ‘a third kind of acquisition lies between these two etc., consisting of those industries etc.’

The distinction of the three kinds of acquisition (κτητική or χρηματιστική) is as follows:—

The first kind (ἐν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν μέρος τῆς οικονομικῆς 1256^b 27) is the acquisition from nature of products fit for food (ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων 1258^a 37), to which is to be added, as will be seen presently, simple barter of these things for one another, which is the good μεταβλητική. The second kind is trade in general, καπηλική (1258^a 39 etc.)=μεταβλητική in the narrower sense=χρηματιστική in the narrower sense (1256^b 40), in which Aristotle thinks men get their profit not out of nature but out of one another and so unnaturally (1258^b 1–2, οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων).

The τρίτον εἶδος is, like the first, the acquisition from nature of useful products, but the products are not edible.

The text shows plainly that this is what Aristotle intends, but doubts have arisen as to what he precisely means by saying that the τρίτον εἶδος comes between the other two and has something in common with both—τρίτον δὲ εἶδος χρηματιστικῆς μεταξύ ταύτης καὶ τῆς πρώτης, ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς. The text contains no explanation of this statement.

The affinity of the first and third kinds is clear, as in both the source of profit is the natural product. But what has the third in common with the second? The answer must be looked for in the points in which they severally differ from the first.

The characteristic of the second kind as compared with the first lies, as has been

said, in a certain unnaturalness in the profit. The gain is ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων; the meaning of which seems to be that the middlemen or tradesmen, including usurers, are conceived as getting what they get from others, without giving an equivalent for it in the shape of a commodity (χρήσιμον).

The distinction between the third kind and the first, as indicated by the words ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, is that the commodities of the third kind are not consumable, not τροφή, like those of the first kind, but such as wood and minerals. Now Aristotle may have thought that though such things were χρήσιμα they were less naturally so than articles of food, as these are the immediate support of human life while minerals and the like are not. This would be in the spirit of what he says about the connection of φύσις and τροφή: e.g. 1256^b 7, ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κτήσις (i.e. of edibles) ἐπ’ αὐτῆς φαίνεται τῆς φύσεως δεδομένη πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εἶθὺς οὕτω καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. See the rest of the passage and compare 1258^a 35, φύσεως γὰρ ἐστὶν ἔργον τροφὴν τῶ γεννηθέντι παρέχειν· παντὶ γὰρ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται τροφή τὸ λειπόμενον ἐστίν. διὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων. Compare also the epitome of these passages in *Economics* 1343^a 30, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν (ἡ γεωργική)· φύσει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἡ τροφή πᾶσιν ἐστὶν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

The inferior ‘naturalness’ therefore of the source of profit in the τρίτον εἶδος may constitute the affinity of this class to the second.

Again, the wealth which is the object of the second kind, consisting of money (πλῆθος νομίσματος 1275^b 5–40), is unnatural as contrasted with the πλοῦτος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν of the first kind (1257^b 19–20), and the commodities which form the wealth of the τρίτον εἶδος are clearly more like the unnatural wealth. To them also might be applied what is said of money in 1257^b 15 καίτοι ἄποπον τοιοῦτον εἶναι πλοῦτον οὐ εὐπορῶν λιμῶ ἀπολείται.

Further, the first kind of acquisition is more natural than the third in the sense in which the ‘natural’ is opposed to the ‘artificial’ rather than to the ‘unnatural.’

This leads to the discussion of another passage which has caused difficulty and controversy. After describing various forms of livelihood corresponding to various forms of getting food, which therefore fall to the side of natural acquisition, Aristotle says (1256^a 40) οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχεδόν

εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν, καὶ μὴ δι' ἀλλαγῆς καὶ καπηλείας κομίζονται τὴν τροφήν, νομαδικὸς γεωργικὸς ληστρικὸς ἀλιευτικὸς θηρευτικὸς.

The expression αὐτόφυτος ἐργασία is differently interpreted. Liddell and Scott make it the same as αὐτοργία. Another interpretation is "lives whose work is self-wrought" and not achieved with the help, or at the expense of others, like the life of ἀλλαγὴ καὶ καπηλεία.' Bernays translates 'diejenigen welche auf Ausbeutung von Natureerzeugnissen beruhen.' Jowett—'whose labour is personal' or 'whose industry is employed immediately on the products of Nature.' Another renders 'a direct personal effort to obtain subsistence,' and says 'Aristotle is clearly thinking of direct action on nature but the stress of the argument would seem to be on the directness.' Another suggests 'who deal personally (i.e. at first hand) with nature in their work.'

It must be contended that none of these views are tenable, and that the explanation of the phrase is quite simple.

According to the analogy of compounds with αὐτο-, e.g. αὐτόματος, αὐτοδίδακτος, the word αὐτόφυτος cannot mean anything but 'grown up of itself,' very like αὐτοφύης: see the instances under the latter word in Liddell and Scott. The opposition is between that which 'springs up of itself,' naturally that is, and that which is the result of human design and choice (προαίρεσις), the natural as opposed to the artificial: an idea prominent in the first book of the *Politics*. Cf. 1252^b 28 καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως...ἀλλὰ φυσικόν. αὐτόφυτος is only a little more precise than φύσει.

Aristotle simply means that the industries (ἐργασίαι) which he has in view spring up of themselves, from our natural want of food, and from the means which nature¹ offers to supply it; and these are contrasted with industries founded rather upon our own thinking and contrivance, which are in this sense 'artificial.' And further on Aristotle puts this quite plainly, for, speaking of the same contrast between καπηλεία and the acquisition of natural products in the way of food, he says (1257^a 3) ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν φύσει ἡ δ' οὐ φύσει αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ δι' ἐμπερίας τινὸς καὶ τέχνης γίνεται μᾶλλον, and so in the present context ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κτήσις ὑπ'

¹ The βίος ληστρικὸς may seem an obvious exception, but yet Aristotle in a context where he is speaking expressly of this kind of life as well as of the others, says that in all of them the κτήσις, which is τροφή, is ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως δεδομένη (already quoted).

αὐτῆς φαίνεται τῆς φύσεως δεδομένη πᾶσιν (1256^b 7).

From this point of view, then, the first kind of κτητική is natural and the second 'artificial'; and clearly the third kind as involving (in general) more art and contrivance than the first is so far like the second.

It remains to ask what place in the classification belongs to μεταβλητική, with which, or with a form of which, the τρίτον εἶδος has been erroneously identified by more than one writer. There are two kinds of μεταβλητική. The principal one, usually called by the generic name μεταβλητική without qualification, coincides with the second kind of κτητική. It is unnatural, as already explained, and ψεγομένη. It is sometimes called καπηλική and sometimes χρηματιστική in the narrow sense of the word as explained in 1256^b 40. It includes not only ἐμπορία, to which the^o term μεταβλητική seems the most appropriate, but also usury (τοκισμός) and μισθαρνία, which again includes employment in the mechanical arts and bodily labour for hire.

The second kind of μεταβλητική is barter of natural products (edible, as will appear) for one another without the middleman's profits. Cf. 1257^b 25, αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς αὐτὰ καταλλάττονται. It is natural (1257^a 28, ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὔτε παρὰ φύσιν κ.τ.λ.; cf. 1257^a 15, ἀρξαμένη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν) while the other is unnatural. It is necessary (cf. 1257^b 1, ἐκ τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀλλαγῆς θάτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ἐγένετο), while the other is unnecessary (1258^a 15, τῆς μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς). Compare also 1257^a 18, ὅσον γὰρ ἱκανὸν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀλλαγὴν (where one may suggest that the words ἱκανὸν and ἀναγκαῖον should be transposed) and 1257^a 23, ὧν κατὰ τὰς δεήσεις ἀναγκαῖον <ἦν> ποιῆσθαι τὰς μεταδόσεις.²

Aristotle does not say in so many words to which of the three main classes the good μεταβλητική belongs: but it seems clearly to belong in conception to the first class,

Both are φύσει: cf. τὸ κατὰ φύσιν (1257^a 15) and οὐ παρὰ φύσιν (1257^a 28), said of the good μεταβλητική, with similar expressions for the first kind of χρηματιστική (οἰκονομική) in 1257^b 19, 1257^a 4, 1258^a 37. Both are ἀναγκαῖαι. Thus they are distinguished from the second main class (μεταβλητική = καπηλική) in the same manner. The statement that the good μεταβλητική is εἰς

² In 1257^a 17, τῆς ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς probably refers not only to the good μεταβλητική but to the whole of the first kind of χρηματιστική, as it certainly does in 1258^a 40.

ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας (1257^a 30) is parallel to the description of the οἰκονομικὴ κτητικὴ as θησαυρισμὸς χρημάτων πρὸς ζωὴν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εἰς κοινωσίαν πόλεως ἢ οἰκίας.

Again the good μεταβλητικὴ is said to be no kind of χρηματιστικὴ at all—1257^a 28 ἢ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὔτε παρὰ φύσιν οὔτε χρηματιστικῆς ἐστὶν εἶδος οὐδέν. Here of course χρηματιστικὴ is used in the narrow sense in which it is the second main class of acquisition = κατηλική. Thus the good μεταβλητικὴ would fall to the first main class, for as yet Aristotle is keeping to a twofold division (διπλῆς οὐσῆς, 1258^a 39), the τρίτον εἶδος being an afterthought.

What are the commodities exchanged in the good μεταβλητικὴ? In the passage which describes it, Aristotle is probably thinking of food-products only: (1) because the examples are of this sort (οἶνος, σίτος 1257^a 27), (2) because he implies that it is distinctive of what is opposed to the bad μεταβλητικὴ to be περὶ τροφήν—1258^a 15 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τε μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς...καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας, ὅτι ἑτέρα μὲν αὐτῆς οἰκονομικὴ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ περὶ τροφήν κ.τ.λ.; and (3) because, as already said, he has not as yet thought of the inedible commodities with which the third class is concerned.

If it be asked how the simple barter of these latter for one another or for food would be classed, the answer seems to be that Aristotle has not considered the point; and this is not surprising, as the conception of the τρίτον εἶδος seems to have been developed after he had begun to write his theory down. According however to the principle of his threefold division, the μεταβλητικὴ of these commodities would have the same kind of naturalness as the μεταβλητικὴ of edibles, because the profit would not be ἀπ' ἀλλήλων: but possibly, if the question had occurred to him, Aristotle would have followed the analogy of his treatment of the direct acquisition of the inedible commodities, and considered the barter of them as not quite so natural as that of articles of food.

This unequal method of composition—development of the subject during the process of writing, not followed by adequate revision and adjustment—whatever may be the reason of it, is specially characteristic of

the *Politics*, though found in varying degrees in the other writings of Aristotle. It extends even to the structure of periods (cf. e.g. a good example in *Pol.* i. 1259^a 37—^b211) and may perhaps be the main reason for anomalies in the *Politics* which are often ascribed to the work of redactors.

A table of the classification of the Arts of Acquisition is added to illustrate the views put forward in this article.

J. COOK WILSON.

¹ It may be here noted that a lacuna has been erroneously assumed in the first part of the passage by Conring and others—

1259^a 37. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἐν μὲν δεσποτικῇ, περὶ ἧς εἰρηται πρότερον, ἐν δὲ πατρικῇ, τρίτον δὲ γαμικῇ,—καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων ὡς ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ γυναικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς τέκνων δὲ βασιλικῶς.

The lacuna is supposed to be after γαμικῇ.

After writing or dictating the clause in which the three kinds of οἰκονομικὴ are recapitulated, it seems to occur to Aristotle that, the rule in the first kind being of slaves, while the rule in both the second and third is over the free, the distinction between the two last kinds needs justification, i.e. it needs to be shown that there are really *three* kinds and not two, and so he adds what is in effect a parenthesis, καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς, &c. The sense is 'Whereas there were, as we saw, three kinds of οἰκονομικῇ, the first the management of slaves, the second that of children, the third that of a wife—[now there really *are* three] for, as we said, though the last two are alike in the fact that the rule in both is over the free, the nature of the rule is different in each case; in the one case it is a constitutional rule and the other monarchical.' The emphasis is thus upon the words οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς. One of the commentators supposes so large a gap in the text before καὶ γὰρ that the English equivalent of what he thinks lost would occupy about twenty-four lines of a column of this *Journal*. Victorius says: 'statim autem causam affert, cur distinxerit copulam patris ac liberorum a copula viri et uxoris; docet enim illa imperia diversa esse,' and so doubtless took the passage as above suggested. Yet a commentator who quotes him does not seem to see that this was his meaning, and supposes that Aristotle's object in distinguishing the rule in πατρικῇ from that in γαμικῇ was to show 'that the two latter relations represent a higher kind of rule (πολιτικὴ or βασιλικὴ) than the former [i.e. δεσποτικῇ], the result being that οἰκονομικὴ is more concerned with πατρικῇ and γαμικῇ than with δεσποτικῇ,' whereas Aristotle's object is simply to justify making three divisions of οἰκονομικὴ instead of two.

κτητική = χρηματιστική (in wide sense of the term)

(i)

ἐν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν μέρος τῆς οἰκονομικῆς 1256^b 27

θησαυρισμός χρημάτων πρὸς ζωῆν ἀναγκαῖων καὶ χρησίμων

eis κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἢ οἰκίας 1256^b 27

These χρήματα constitute ὁ ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος 1256^b 30, = ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν 1257^b 19

Called οἰκονομική 1257^b 20, 1258^a 17, 39; μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας 1258^a 28

κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ πῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων 1257^a 37 ἢ περὶ τροφῆν 1258^a 17

φύσει 1257^a 4; κατὰ φύσιν 1257^b 19

ἐπινοομένη 1258^a 40 ἀναγκαῖα 1258^a 16, 40

= οἰκειοτάτη χρηματιστικὴ 1258^b 20

(1) 1258^b 12 *sqq.*

(ἀπὸ καρπῶν) γέωργια 1258^b 17 (ψιλῆ τε καὶ πεφυτευμένη)

τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τῶν πλοῦτων ἢ πτηνῶν ἀφ' ὧσιν ἔστι τυγχάνειν βοηθείας.

προβάτων μελιτῶν

τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τῶν πλοῦτων ἢ πτηνῶν ἀφ' ὧσιν ἔστι τυγχάνειν βοηθείας.

The good or natural kind of μεταβλητικὴ

ἀπὸ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς αὐτὰ καταλαμβάνονται 1257^a 25

ἢ μὲν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὐτε παρὰ φύσιν οὐτε χρηματιστικῆς ἐστὶν εἶδος οὐδὲν 1257^a 28

ἀναγκαῖα 1257^b 1

τῆς χρηματιστικῆς διπλῆς οὐσίας 1258^a 38

(ii)

γένος ἄλλο κτητικῆς ἢν μάλιστα καλοῦσι, καὶ δίκαιον αὐτὸ καλεῖν χρηματιστικὴν (in the narrow sense) 1258^b 40

This is τὸ καρπητικόν and arises out of the natural kind of exchange through the introduction of money (νόμισμα) 1257^a 6 *sqq.*, 1257^b 2

τὸ νόμισμα στοιχεῖον καὶ πέρας τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἐστὶν 1257^b 23

(Called μεταβλητικὴ (in the narrow sense), and καρπητικὴ 1258^b 1, 21, 1258^a 39

οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλων 1258^b 1--2

οὐ φύσει, 1257^a 4

φευρομένη 1258^b 1 μὴ ἀναγκαῖα 1258^a 15

= μεταβλητικὴ χρηματιστικὴ 1258^b 21 *sqq.*

(1) ἐμπορία

(2) τοκισμός

(3) μισθονία

ναυκληρία, φορτηγία, παράστασις

τῶν βανασῶν τεχνῶν

τῶν ἀτέχνων καὶ τῶ σάματι μόνον χρῆσιμων

μὴ ἀναγκαῖα 1258^a 17

μεταβλητικὴ

(iii) (an afterthought) 1258^b 27

τρίτον δὲ εἶδος χρηματιστικῆς μεταξὺ τούτων (sc. τῆς δευτέρας) καὶ τῆς πρώτης. . . . ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς (mining industries μεταλλευτικὴ) καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινόμενων ἀκάπτων μὲν χρῆσιμων δὲ (acquisition of inedible products of the soil—c.g. ἔλαστομα).

* The βίον, named in 1256^b 1—νομαδικός, γεωργικός, λιπαστικός, ἀλευτικός, θηρωτικός—belonging to this head, as they are ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων. This may seem not to apply strictly to the λιπαστικός, though Aristotle himself describes it and the other lives all as modes of acquiring τροφή. However Aristotle has not got this classification of the βίον before him when making the classification in 1258^b 12.

-ĪS IN THE FUT. PERF. IND. AND PERF. SUBJ. IN LATIN.

THAT -īs was the original quantity of the ending of the second person singular of the perf. subj. in Latin (originally an aorist optative), and -īs that of the corresponding form of the fut. perf. ind. (originally an aorist subjunctive), is generally recognized. See Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 500 and 510; Stolz, *Lat. Formenlehre*, in Müller's *Handbuch*, II.², pp. 374 and 377; Henry, *Précis*, 5th ed., pp. 157 and 326; Bennett, *Appendix*, pp. 149 and 150. It is evident also that the fut. perf. was influenced by the analogy of the perf. subj., for we find -īs in the former as well in early Latin. See Neue, *Formenlehre*, II.², p. 510; Allen, *Remnants of Early Latin*, p. 11.

Regarding the quantity of these forms in the Classical Period there is not the same unanimity of opinion. Examples both of the fut. perf. ind. and of the perf. subj. in -īs occur in the poets of the Augustan Age, and it is the treatment of these cases by recent editors which has suggested this brief note. A number of such instances are cited by Corssen, *Aussprache* II.², p. 497, and these are increased by Neue (*l. c.*). Corssen says that -is in both forms was *syllaba anceps* in the Augustan Age, but this view does not seem to be accepted by recent writers on the subject. That the short vowel ultimately prevailed is evidently the opinion of Stolz (*l. c.*, p. 377), although in the *Hist. Lat. Gr.*, p. 36, he does not, as Allen does, mention -īs as a characteristic of archaic Latin, along with -āt, -ēt, -īt, etc.

Neue says: 'es scheint—dass ursprünglich in dem Perfectum Coniunct. ī, im Fut. exact. ī herrschend war, welcher Unterschied in der Aussprache jedoch bei der Ähnlichkeit der Bedeutung allmählig verwischt wurde. In dactylischen Versen hat die Rücksicht auf das dem Versmass angemessene unverkennbar auf die Quantität der Endung in den einzelnen Verba eingewirkt.' Lindsay, p. 500, citing Neue, says: 'In the Perfect Subjunctive endings ī, not ĩ, is correct; scansion with ĩ are due to confusion with the Fut. Perf.ĭ'; and p. 510, 'scansion like *fecerĭmus* are due to the confusion of the Future-Perfect forms with Perfect Subjunctive forms.' Henry, p. 157, also citing Neue, arrives at quite a different conclusion; he says: 'Ces quantités sont archaïques; à l'époque classique on a *viderĭs, viderĭmus* au pf. du subj. comme au fut. antér. Mais on lit encore, par exemple, *dederĭtis*, Ov. *Metam.* vi. 357.'

The treatment of these forms by makers of school grammars and by editors of the Augustan poets varies greatly, and in not a few cases it is uncertain whether the syllable is regarded as *anceps* or not. The recent editors of Horace apparently follow Corssen. At least, such an inference is justified by their treatment of the examples; for while they mention -*erunt, -it*, etc., in their lists of metrical peculiarities, and comment on them scrupulously in their notes, they pass over such cases as *dederĭs* (*Carm.* iv. 7, 20) and *occiderĭs* (iv. 7, 21) without remark. So, for example, Kiessling and Smith, whose treatment of metrical matters is especially full. The earlier editors on the other hand (*e.g.* Duenzer) comment on -īs as well. Greenough has a note on *fuerĭs* (*Ep.* i. 6, 40, a perf. subj.), 'with long ī, preserving the ancient quantity,' but none on *ardierĭs* (*Sat.* ii. 5, 101, fut. perf. ind.), where the quantity seems more noteworthy, especially in view of the statement in his *Grammar*, which is quoted below.

Of the American school grammars, Gildersleeve-Lodge and Harkness write in their paradigms -īs in both forms; while Allen and Greenough and Bennett give -is (*i.e.* -īs). Under the head of Quantity Gildersleeve-Lodge has explicitly (p. 450): 'in the Second Person Sing. Fut. Pf. Indic. and Pf. Subjv. -is (*sic*) is common.' Allen and Greenough say (p. 397): 'final -is is long sometimes in the forms in -eris (perfect subjunctive), where it was originally long,' making no mention of the fut. perf. ind. Bennett does not mention either form as an exception to the general rule that final -is is short, which, considering the plan of his book as stated in his Preface, would seem to mean that he regards -is in both forms as short, and the cases of -īs as metrical peculiarities.

A conclusion from the available material must be a matter of individual opinion, based on probability. I am inclined to regard the view of Henry as the correct one. It is at least certain that -īs of the perf. subj. belongs to the same category as the other final syllables which were long in archaic Latin, but were afterwards shortened. It is also clear that the forms of the fut. perf. ind. were confused with those of the perf. subj., and that as a consequence we frequently find -īs in the former and -is in the latter. There may well have been a

time when *-is* in both forms was *syllaba anceps*, and the point at issue is the date of that period. Considering the general shortening which took place in the final syllables of verb forms, and the fact that *-is* in both the perf. subj. and the fut. perf. ind. must frequently have been short at an early period, and perhaps taking into

account the analogy of *eris*, it seems highly probable that by the Augustan Age both forms regularly had *-is*, and that the use of *-īs* by the poets of that period is in both cases a metrical license.

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PLATO AND ST. PAUL.

MANY years ago I compared the Pharisaic thanksgiving ascribed to Plato (or to Thales or Socrates) with the catholic breadth of St. Paul. I thought I had called Light-foot's attention to the evidence some thirty years ago, but as it is not noticed in the last editions of his commentaries, I must have mistaken the will for the deed. So far as I know, no one has anticipated me even yet. The texts speak for themselves.

Plutarch life of Marius 46 § 1: Πλάτων μὲν οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷ γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, εἶτα Ἕλληνας, οὐ βάρβαρος οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνοις ἀπήντησεν ἢ γένεσις αὐτοῦ.

Lact. iii 19 § 17: non dissimile Platonis illud est, quod aiebat se gratias agere naturae: primum quod homo natus esset potius quam mutum animal, deinde quod mas potius quam femina, quod Graecus quam barbarus, postremo quod Atheniensis et quod temporibus Socratis.

Diogenes Laertius i § 33 (under Thales): Ερμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς βίοις εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε γάρ, φησί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον· εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή· τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλληνας καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.

Ep. Gal. 3 28: οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἕλληνας· οὐκ ἐνὶ δοῦλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος· οὐκ ἐν ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Ep. Col. 3 11: ὅπου οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, περιτομῇ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός.

As the tradition was known to Plutarch, we may assume that it was not unknown in the lecture-rooms of Tarsus, and may have been in the mind of the apostle, when he proclaimed a fellowship which transcends all distinctions of sex, of race, of religious privilege, of intellectual culture.

I am aware that Jews to this day thank God in their prayers who has made them men, not women; Israelites, not Gentiles; but few would now follow the late Dr. Emanuel Deutsch (*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1867, article on the Talmud) in assuming the immutability of Jewish oral tradition. Let those who are at home in Rabbinical lore tell us what is the earliest written authority for the modern prayer. It may be that it was suggested by the Gentile tradition. Of course if Gamaliel used the prayer, his pupil refers to it, not to the Platonic saying: but what right have we to make so bold an assumption?

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

P.S. Dr. Gifford kindly refers me to the Talmud, *Berakhoth*, ch. ix, Schwab's translation, p. 156. 'R. Judah taught three things that a man should say every day: "Blessed be God; 1, for not creating me a pagan; 2, nor foolish; 3, nor a woman."'

THUCYDIDES VI. 21 FIN.

γνόντας ὅτι πολὺ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν μέλλομεν πλεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ στρατευόμενοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆδε ὑπηκόοις ξύμμαχοι ἦλθετε ἐπὶ τινά, ὅθεν ῥάδιαι αἱ κομιδαὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ὧν προσέδει, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἄλλοτριαν πᾶσαν ἀπαρτί

ίοντες, ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἀγγελῶν ῥάδιον ἐλθεῖν.

By thus reading ΑΠΑΡΤΗΘΟΝΤΕΣ in lieu of ΑΠΑΡΤΗΘΟΝΤΕΣ or ΑΠΑΡΤΗΘΟΝΤΕΣ

ΤΕC and the like, we get a perfect sense, 'but that we are on the contrary, about to proceed to a country entirely occupied by others etc.' This use of ἀπαρτί may be said

hardly to have survived the generation to which Thucydides belonged, but its use in that generation is thoroughly established.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

CICERO PRO MILONE c. 33 § 90.

AN ille praetor, ille uero consul, si modo haec templa atque ipsa moenia stare eo uiuo tam diu et consulatum eius expectare potuissent, ille denique uiuus mali nihil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus [Sex. Clodio] duce, curiam incenderit ?

This is now the vulgate, since Madvig in 1831 expelled the gloss *Sex. Clodio*. Mr A. C. Clark however proposes further to expel *duce* and then to write *cui mortuo unus* instead of *qui mortuus uno*: another editor adopts the proposal, and I see in the March number of this *Review*, p. 119, that Mr S. G. Owen approves it.

Between *qui mortuus uno* and *cui mortuo unus*, so far as authority goes, there is nothing to choose. The MSS split their votes: *qui mortuo unus* H, *cui mortuus uno* E, *cum mortuus uno* T. The exchange of *qui* and *cui* is quite common; quite common too is metathesis of inflexion, not only in this simple form, Stat. silu. iii 1 18 *angusto bis seni, angusti bis seno*, Aesch. supp. 373 ἀστοῖς . . . τῶνδε, ἀστών . . . τοῖσδε, but also in stranger fashions, Ovid am. ii 5 27 *Phoebo* . . . *Dianam, Phoebum* . . . *Dianae*, Eur. Hipp. 331 αἰσχροῶν ἐσθλά, ἐσθλῶν αἰσχροῶν. The choice of reading therefore will depend on other considerations.

cui mortuo unus requires the expulsion of *duce*. Mr Clark says 'I conceive *Sex. Clodio duce* to have been a marginal note, founded upon Ascon. 34 *populus duce Sex. Clodio scriba corpus* . . . *intulit*, and ib. 55 *Sex. Clodius, quo auctore corpus* . . . *illatum fuit*.' There is nothing impossible about this; but the supposed adscript is at any rate of a much less common type than the gloss assumed by Madvig: here then the vulgate has the advantage.

But a much heavier objection to *cui mortuo unus* . . . *incenderit* is its rhetorical inferiority. If Cicero throws away his chance of this impressive figure, the dead man firing the senate-house, he is not the workman I take him for. Nay, for the sake of his argument, he cannot afford to throw it away; 'would Publius living have

done no evil when Publius dead burnt down the senate-house by the hand of Sextus?' has at least a superficial air of plausibility; but 'would Publius living have done no evil when Sextus burnt down the senate-house in honour of Publius dead?' gratuitously prompts the retort that you cannot fairly argue from what Sextus did to what Publius would have done.

But then on the other hand Mr Clark most justly impugns the sense of *uno ex suis satellitibus duce*: 'if we ask, whom the *satelles* led, the answer can only be, the ghost of Clodius.' When Publius fires the senate-house by the hand of Sextus, Sextus is not *dux*, he is *minister*; and *ministro* accordingly I suspect we should have found, had not the context suggested to Cicero a more vigorous and striking synonym: 'qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus *face*, curiam incenderit.' In Phil. ii 19 48 Antony's relation to this same P. Clodius is hit off by this same metaphor: Antony is 'eius omnium incendi-orum fax,' the match with which he kindled all his conflagrations. The error in the MSS may have begun with the absorption of *f* in the preceding *s*: this often happens, and here in E and T the same cause has stolen away the *S* of *Sex* and left only *ex*.

Since I am writing about Cicero and quoting the second Philippic, I may as well assign to its author, the emendation, now thirty years old, of a ridiculous corruption still current in some texts of that speech. In 34 87 are these words: 'iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die sed etiam in diem uiuere': these are the dire effects of a guilty conscience. *in diem uiuere* is a well-known phrase and means 'to live for the day alone,' 'to take no thought for the morrow,' as the Gospel bids us; *de die uiuere* is not a well-known phrase but is supposed to mean 'to live on what the day brings in.' Antony therefore (so intolerable is his remorse for having offered the crown to Caesar) not only lives on what the day brings in, but even takes no thought for

the morrow, in the company of the most abandoned ruffians: the ruffians, I presume, assist him in these brutish excesses. This nonsense was emended, twenty years before C. F. W. Mueller or Hauschild, by Badham; but for fear the editors of Cicero should get wind of the emendation he stowed it away, where no one would think of looking for it, in the index to a recension of Plato's Euthydemus and Laches, and for further security muffled it up in a joke. On the

last page of the book, under the promising heading 'ὑγιεινόν et εἰπεῖν οἶον confusa,' is this note:

'In Cic. Phil. ii 34 absurde legitur: non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Quam lectionem miror tamdiu τῶν κριτικῶν πονηρίᾳ bixisse.'

That is to say, Cicero wrote 'non solum de die sed etiam in diem bibere.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

NOTE ON *REPUBLIC* 597 E.

MR. MAYOR'S interpretation of the words τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλείως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πεφικώς seems to me untenable. He takes the king to be the idea of the king as contrasted with the actual king and the stage king. But all through the context Plato exhausts the powers of language in distinguishing the real object, or 'idea,' from the other products which bear the same name. If no such distinction is here marked, the reasonable inference is that *this object*, unlike the 'bed,' carried its rank in itself. It is bad interpretation, I submit, to supply the essential point of a contrast, when it can easily be shown to be expressed. And the king, taken as the royal character, the type of truth and reality from whom all degrees of inferiority are measured (see 587 B-E), carries his rank, that of perfect ἀλήθεια, in himself. The absence of additional words indicating reality is thus natural. The conjunction of royalty and truth is so harped upon in the passage cited, and the process of counting removes from these attributes taken as practically the same, becomes in it so familiar, that in the total absence of other allusions to royalty, and of any slightest indication that the ideal king as opposed to the stage king is in question, I think the force of context alone compels us to suppose that the allusion is to the king as the true or real man. The whole scheme of books 8 and 9 is built upon this idea, and therefore there is nothing surprising in its cropping up even in an isolated expression early in book 10.

The dramatic poet, it should be remem-

bered, is accused in so many words, lower down, of setting up a bad government in the soul, just as when in a city the worthless obtain power and the decent people are ruined (605 B). This is the very process described in books 8 and 9; and the fact that it was in Plato's mind when he wrote book 10 removes the only difficulty attaching to the interpretation which I have suggested, viz. that in 587 the question is not of reality in general, but of reality of pleasures. Plato distinguishes but little between pleasures and desires, and in 597 E he is already connecting the tragic poet with the morbid appetites and emotions of which a little later he brands him as the instigator. I may add, though I do not insist very strongly upon it, that the sentence runs much better when a meaning is given to 'king,' by which πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι μιμηταί, and not only the tragic poet, may be estimated. All of them alike are 'third' or more from the royal character which is one with the standard of reality.

The view taken in Jowett and Campbell's commentary recognizes the reference to the language of book 9, but applies it in another way than that which I have suggested. I cannot see any reason for departing from the scheme which Plato so definitely indicates in 587 B-E compared with 445 D and the whole structure of books 8 and 9. The king is nowhere suggested to be God; he is the complete man, by whom all other men are measured in regard to their hold upon reality.

B. BOSANQUET.

VIRGIL, *ECL.* I. 68-70.

EN umquam patrios longo post tempore finis
pauperis et tuguri congesto caespite culmen
post aliquot mea regna videns mirabor
aristas ?

Both the interpretations of v. 70 that have been offered are well objected to—with-out, however, the offer of anything better—in Conington's note *ad loc.* The traditional interpretation according to which *aristas* = *messes* = *aestates* = *annos*, would have everything in its favour, but for the feeble *aliquot*. But it seems not to have occurred to any one to correct this word. I have long thought, and still think, that the passage is to

be righted by a change—palaeographically scarcely a change—in *aliquot*. I would write and point the passage thus :

en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis
pauperis et tuguri congesto caespite culmen—
post, ah, quot mea regna videns mirabor
aristas ?

It may be added that *ah* occurs in the *Eclogues* as follows : 1, 15 ; 2, 60 ; 6, 47, 52, 77 ; 10, 47, 48, 49.

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OSCAN PRUFFED AGAIN.

PROFESSOR ALLEN'S interpretation of Oscan *pruffed* in the February number of the *Classical Review* is likely to meet with general approval. It is clear enough from the inscription *Zvet. Inscr. Ital. Infer.* no. 140 that the current translation 'probavit' is unsuitable, and there seems to be no formal difficulty in his derivation of the form from **profefed* = *prodidit* in the sense of 'posuit.'

In separating *pruffed* from **prufafum* (*prufatted*) Prof. Allen may be said to have rid us of a public nuisance. For this form has been a stumbling-block in the way of recognizing clearly what the mass of evidence points to, namely that the representation of original labial + *u* as a simple labial is not merely Latin (*probus*, *legēbant*, etc.), but also Oscan-Umbrian and so probably Italic. Cf. v. Planta, *Gram. d. osk-umbr. Dialekte*, p. 191 and my 'Osc. Umbr. Verb-System,' *Studies in Classical Philology of the University of Chicago*, vol. i. p. 172. And the only possible support for the view which attributes the double *f* of certain preterit forms to the *u* of the original *f_u* is thus removed. Moreover the actual existence of an *-ff-* preterit becomes doubtful. I have recently (*l.c.* p. 171) emphasized the fact that the normal orthography of the *t-* and *f-*

preterits is *tt*, but *f* not *ff*, the latter being found only in *aamanaffed* 'mandavit' and the difficult *staieffuf*. But if once we admit an Oscan *-ffed* = **fefed* we may assume the same in *aamanaffed*, thus returning in part to the view of Bugge, *Altit. Stud.* p. 17. The anaptyctic vowel (*manaffed* for *manffed*) makes no difficulty in view of *Anafriss*, nor is there any good reason why we should not group Lat. *mandō* with *condō* etc., assuming a transfer to the first conjugation. The only remaining example of an *ff-* preterit would then be *staieffuf*, which Bücheler has taken as a perfect active participle and which I have attempted to elucidate further as such, *l.c.* p. 185. Any one who will furnish a perfectly convincing explanation of this form (or forms, as the case may be) will be entitled to an unusual degree of gratitude.

I may take this opportunity of correcting an unfortunate misprint in the February number of the *Classical Review* which made a sentence of mine quite unintelligible. On p. 61, 1st column, 2nd paragraph, 7th line, for *Latin, v is a spirant*, read *Latin u as a spirant*. In 2nd column of same page near end, for *e : y, o : w*, read *ε : η, ο : ω*.

CARL D. BUCK.

THE ITALIC VERB *EEHIA- EHIA-*.

INASMUCH as students of the Italic dialects are at variance as to the correct explanation of the Italic verb-forms *ehiato* (Umbr.) and *eehiiana súm* (Osc.), I may be pardoned for venturing to add the following contribution to the discussion of the subject, in the hope that the explanation offered may possibly prove acceptable.

The single passage in which Umbr. *ehiato* occurs (*Tab. Ig. vii. B.*) runs thus: ¹ *Pisi panupeí fratrex fratrus Atiersier fust, erex sveso fratrecate portaita sevacne fratrom |* ² *Atiersio desenduf, písi reper fratrecata parsest erom ehiao, ponne ivengar tursiandru hertei,* | ³ *appei arfertur Atiersir poplom andersafust*; which, being interpreted according to Bücheler, *Umbrica*, 1883, pp. 117-119, means 'Quisquis quandoque magister fratribus Atiediis erit, is suo magisterio portet hostias fratrum | Atiedium duodecim, quas pro re conlegii par erit esse emissas, cum iuvencae fugentur oportet, | ubi flamen Atiedius populum lustraverit.'

Bücheler, *op. cit.* pp. 118 *sq.*, explains the meaning of the word *ehiato* in this passage as follows: 'Quia tenaciter arteque *ehiom* convinctum est cum boum persecutione, hanc ipsam quod praemunivit et antecessit id sic dictum arbitror. Exacta autem et exempta vinculis et emissa oportuit quae super forum fugarentur animalia, eaque plura ibi quam tria adfuisse cum *peracrio* genetivus A 51¹ affert suspicionem tum luculentur illud *quas tres primum ceperint*² confirmat.'

Some time after the publication of Bücheler's *Umbrica*, a cippus of tufa was discovered at Capua, bearing Oscan inscriptions on both sides, which, so far as the words can with certainty be deciphered, run thus:—

I. ... | ... | . pas f[i.]et | pústreí.
iúklei | eehiianasúm | aet.
sákrim | fakiiad kásit |
medikk. túvtik | Kapv.
adpod | fiiet.

¹ For the sake of greater clearness, the passage (*Tab. Ig. A. 51-53*) may be quoted in full. According to Bücheler's translation (*Umbrica*, pp. 114-116) it runs thus: 'Tum iuvencae ex opimis' (Umbr. *ivenga peracrio*) 'fuganto, qui virgam imperatoriam habebit et prinovati' (praenovati). 'Infra forum decurionale capiunto civitatis quisquis volet. Quas tris primum ceperint, eas in Aquilonia facito Tursae Ioviae pro populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.'

² See above, note 1.

II. ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | damsennias
| pas fiiet pústr | iúklei
[e]ehiian | medik. minive
| kersnai[i]as.

These two inscriptions have been ably discussed by Bücheler in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xliii, 1888, pp. 557-563, from which the translation of I. would appear to be: '(At the flesh distributions) which take place at the next following dedication *emittendarum* (sc. *hostiarum* or *iuvenearum*; cf. the Umbrian passage quoted above) let some one place a sacrificial portion for the purposes of the Capuan meddix tuticus, in so far as and so long as such distributions take place.'

The form [e]ehiian, occurring in II., is presumably an abbreviation of the longer form *eehiiana súm* (occurring in I.), which is obviously gen. fem. plur. of the gerundive (cf. Bücheler, *Rh. M.*, *ib.*, p. 560).

For the explanation of the meaning of this latter word Bücheler, *Rh. M.*, *l.c.*, refers us back to his explanation of Umbr. *ehiato*, quoted above from *Umbrica*, p. 118; his whole note, however, is eminently worth quoting: 'Das Sühnefest der iguvinischen Gemeinde schliesst damit, dass Sündenböcke, vielmehr *iuvencae* über den Gemeindeplatz gejagt, dann unter Theilnahme der ganzen Gemeinde eingefangen und die drei erstgefangenen geopfert werden; der atiedische Brudermeister hat dafür 12 Opferthiere zu stellen, welche im Interesse der Bruderschaft sollen werden *ehiato*, wenn die Rinder gejagt werden müssen zum Schluss des Gemeindefests, *Ig. vii. B. 2*, wie ich *Umbr. p. 118* das Wort zu deuten versucht habe, *exacta et exempta vinculis et emissa*, ἐξευμένα. Die Verwendung zum allgemeinen Besten macht die Emission thatsächlich zur Largition; spross nicht aus solchem Brauch die Redeweise *edere munus*?'

The translation of Umbr. *ehiato* and Osc. *eehiianasúm* by 'emissos, emittendarum,' seems, despite the objection raised by C. D. Buck, *Der Voc. der Osk. Spr.*, 1892, p. 47, highly probable and satisfactory. Such a meaning appears to suit the context in all three passages where the word occurs.

Not so satisfactory, however, is Bücheler's explanation of the *form* of the verb in question. In *Umbrica*, p. 119, he endeavours to explain the Umbrian form by the suggestion that '*eh-iatu* fortasse sic est ad

etu (ito) ut *fugato* ad *fugito* aut ut *ίέρω* ad *ίρω*, and in *Rh. M., ib.*, p. 560, he refers to this explanation of the Umbrian form, in explanation also of the Oscan form. This seems a most unlikely suggestion, and it is hardly surprising to find that scholars have sought some other explanation of the forms.

I venture to think that G. Bronisch, *Die Osk. i- und e- Vocale*, 1892, p. 118, and Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 47, have hit upon the true solution, by connecting the forms under discussion with the Latin verb *hiō hiāre*; an explanation which had also occurred to me quite independently.

Inasmuch, however, as Bronisch and Buck have failed to extract any meaning from the forms, as thus connected, the object of the present paper is: 'to show that Umbr. *ehiāto* Osc. *eehiianasúm*, as thus connected with Lat. *hiō hiāre*, admit of a perfectly intelligible meaning, almost identical with that given by Bücheler (*vid. supra*), and suitable to the context in each of the three passages where the verb occurs.'

Umbr. *ehiāto* Osc. *eehiianasúm*, so far as the forms are concerned, correspond to Lat. **ē-(or ex-)hiātos *ē-(or ex-)hiandarum*.¹

The meaning of the forms, thus explained, is not attempted at all by Bronisch. And Buck, in his discussion of the forms, *op. cit.*, p. 47, fails to come to any conclusion. He fails because he appears to think that the meaning of the verb in question, the original form of which he gives as **ē-hiā-om*, should (in order to suit the context) be 'to kill.' With his remark, made on this assumption, one cannot but agree: 'selbst wenn man eine causativische Bedeutung fürs umbr. und fürs osk. annehmen wollte, so gehört doch wohl etwas Phantasie dazu, ein "ausgähnen lassen" zu der Bedeutung von "ausatmen lassen, töten," das recht gut passen würde, zu bringen.'²

But is it not possible to extract another meaning (one similar to that given by Bücheler, *v. supra*) from the forms as now derived? Uses of the cognate words in Latin, Greek, and English, seem to point to a possible explanation.

For instances of Lat. *hiō* used transitively we may cite Val. Fl. 6, 706, *Subitos ex ore cruores | saucia tigris hiat* ('emits'). With the meaning 'emit (sound),' the verb occurs in Prop. 2, 31 (= 3, 29), 6 and Persius 5, 3.

¹ For the explanation of the *eē* in the Oscan form see Bronisch, *op. cit.*, p. 161, Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

² Elsewhere in his book, pp. 32, 36, 126, Buck says of Osc. *eehiianasúm* 'Bedeutung nicht sicher' or 'unsicher.'

With *hiō* in the latter meaning we may compare the similar use of the cognate Lat. *hi-sco* in Att. *ap. Non.* 120, 30; Prop. 3, 3 (= 4, 2), 4; Ovid, *Met.* 13, 231. Similarly also the use of the cognate Gk. *χαίρω* in Soph. *Aj.* 1227, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 342, Callim. *Ap.* 24.

In English we find the cognate *yawn* used of opening in order to emit (as well as of opening in order to swallow); cf. *e.g.* Shakspeare, *Much Ado*, V. iii. 19, *Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 18, *Hamlet* III. ii. 407. Compare also the lines of another old dramatist, John Marston, *Antonio and Mellicida*, The Second Part, III. i. 188 sq.:

'Now gapes the graves, and through their
yawns let loose
Imprison'd spirits to revisit earth.'

Thus then the Italic verb **ē-hiā-om*, corresponding to the Lat. **ē-(or ex-)hiā-re*, will have literally meant 'to yawn—forth,' and, when applied in the Passive to the sacrificial victims, which were to be driven forth from their enclosure, den, or cage, and pursued across the forum by the community, will have meant literally 'yawned—forth,' that is (if we may venture to paraphrase Marston's words), 'let loose through their prison's yawns.'

In this connexion reference may be made to the phraseology employed in many passages by Latin authors concerning the horses and chariots in the races; cf. *e.g.* Enn. *ap. Cic. De Divin.* 1, 48, § 107:—

'Exspectant, veluti, consul cum mittere
signum
Volt, omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras,
Quam mox emittat pictis ex faucibu'
currus.'

Compare also Lucret. 2, 263 *sqq.*; Verg. *Georg.* 1, 512; 3, 104; *Aen.* 5, 145; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 114; Tibull. 1. 4, 32; Auctor Incert. *Ad C. Herennium* 4, 3, § 4; Ovid *Heroid.* 18, 166, *Met.* 10, 652 *sq.*, *Trist.* 5, 9, 29 *sq.* and 12, 26; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 522, etc.

Lat. *hiō*, it is true, is more frequently intransitive than transitive; but no objection can be raised on this ground against the above-suggested explanation of the forms in question, for a close parallel to Lat. **ē-hiāre* 'to yawn—forth' is afforded by Lat. *ex-cantare* 'to sing—forth, to charm—forth,' for which see, *e.g.* Tab. xii. *ap. Plin.* 28, 2, 4 § 17, Hor. *Epod.* 5, 45, Prop. 3, 3 (= 4, 2), 49, Luc. 6, 686, and 9, 931.

L. HORTON-SMITH.

GILBERT'S GREEK CONSTITUTIONAL ANTIQUITIES.

The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens, by Dr. GUSTAV GILBERT, translated by E. J. BROOKS, M.A. and T. NICKLIN, M.A., with an introductory note by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895. 10s. 6d.

THE merits of Dr. Gustav Gilbert's 'Manual of Greek Constitutional Antiquities' (*Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*) have long been known to scholars. The first instalment of the work, originally published in 1881, at once took rank as a masterpiece of its kind. Admirable in method, fully competent in knowledge, and by no means devoid of original suggestions, the book quickly proved to be of high service to Hellenists, *inter alia* as a canon for the purpose of regulating and directing their studies in the political antiquities of Greece. The complete work comprises two volumes, the first dealing with the institutions of Sparta and Athens; the second (published in 1885) containing an inventory of knowledge for the other all too numerous and lesser known city-states of Hellas. From the nature of the case and from the condition of the evidences the second volume was inevitably destined to a less complete success than its precursor. In dealing with Greek states other than Sparta and Athens the scant and fragmentary evidences do not afford materials for an adequate characteristic or history, even in such notable instances as Thebes and Corinth, Elis and Corecyra, to say nothing of the infinity of Greek constitutions throughout the *diaspora*, from Mas-salia to Poseideion, from Olbia to Cyrene. In all that region we are constantly baffled by the failure of evidence, while the generalized history and system of the Greek City State, which take the place of fuller and more exact knowledge of particular city-states, are but a poor consolation to the historian a-hungering for realities. Even in regard to Sparta how much is left to be desired! Thucydides could believe that for upwards of four centuries there had been no constitutional movement or history in Sparta. Laconian secretiveness had dried up the inner sources of Laconian fame, even for the predecessors of Aristotle. Police regulations and other reserves seem to have made the description of contemporary institutions in Sparta a difficult and inconclusive task. The happier fortune, the more gener-

ous self-advertisement of Athens have enriched posterity with more copious vision and rewarded Athens with an imperishable crown. Even in the first edition of Gilbert's first volume three-quarters of the whole was devoted to Athens. Since then the constantly growing wealth of epigraphic material, and the epoch-making discovery of the lost Aristotelian tract on the *Athenian Polity*, have further aggrandized Athens, as by a new transfer to her of the common fund. Athens is become for the time more than ever the centre of Hellenic interests. In the second edition of Gilbert's first volume (1893) Athens absorbs four-fifths of the text, without reckoning the *Introduction* on 'Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*.' It is from this second edition that the translation now under review has been made. The translation was a work well worth doing, and it has been, upon the whole, well done. Barring an unfortunate negative in the third line of the Author's Preface I have observed nothing much to mislead and very little to displease a scholarly reader. The translation is indeed a good illustration of the advantage of work done by properly trained hands. The translators obviously not merely possess a good knowledge of German, but have brought all the advantages of a classical training to bear upon their work. As a result the *Handbook* is readable in its English form. The extremely business-like character of the original dispenses, indeed, with ornament, and in this respect the English version very properly follows suit: but it has the great merit of rendering the German as a rule into the English idiom. The scholarly character of the work is further guaranteed by the scrupulous fidelity with which Gilbert's notes, including all quotations and references, have been reproduced. One could have desired that the translators had adhered to the stricter purism of the German original in the transliteration of Greek words and names. A work of this kind offered a good opportunity for striking a blow against the desperate anarchy of our English practices in this particular. A correctness which was acceptable to Robert Browning in his poetic workshop should not be too pedantic for the Cambridge Senate House, or for the Oxford Schools. I venture to repeat a protest against the version of *κληρῶν* *et cog.* by 'to choose by lot.' The

words 'choice' 'choose,' were better reserved for *αἰρέσεις, αἰρεῖσθαι et cog.*, and this protest applies to rendering Gilbert's word *erloost* into 'chosen by lot' (e.g. *E.T.* p. 139), much more, into 'chosén' *simpliciter* (*ib.* p. 391). The use of these technical terms is extremely precise in the Greek and is observed by Gilbert in his German; nothing is gained for accurate knowledge by substituting in English phrases which only avoid inconsequence by being deprived of concrete significance. I had noted two or three expressions which the translators might perhaps better from the point of view of our idiom: 'military artists' may carry a false suggestion to this or that English reader, nor is it quite equivalent to the German *Kriegskuenstler* [or to the Greek *τεχνῖται τῶν πολεμικῶν*]. The description of Solon starting on his travels 'in perfect self-denial' (p. 141) has a slightly droll solemnity about it, which is not justified by the German *unternahm voller Selbstverleugnung eine laengere Reise*. A few such objections in so large a labour but accentuate our commendation. The chief secret of the translators' success is doubtless that they have been genuinely interested in the subject of the work, and the Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, who has written the *Introductory Note*, is to be congratulated, if he can count among his pupils any large number of scholars competent to undertake and perform so well such services to the cause of Hellenic studies under his inspiration.

This paper has been somewhat retarded by circumstances, and I have thought to make some amends to the distinguished author, and his English editors, by subjoining two or three notes on particular points, where the views maintained in the *Handbook* may be open to question, or revision. This course may also commend itself to readers of the *Classical Review*, few, if any, of whom can require to be told at any length that Gilbert's book, in the original or in this serviceable translation, is indispensable now to every scholar's library. I take three corn-stalks out of my sheaf, on which to practise a critical experiment: (1) Gilbert's general estimate of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία: (2) Gilbert's theory concerning the age for the enrolment of the Athenian citizen: (3) A point in regard to the constitution of the Athenian *dikasteria*, in which Gilbert argues against a result which was established by Fraenkel in 1877 to the general satisfaction of those qualified to judge. The following remarks are not to

be regarded as conveying any general censure upon Gilbert's work. I can conceive no better way of paying homage to the labours of a scholar, than by taking the trouble to discuss relatively small points in a whole, for which one has nothing but commendation and gratitude to express.

(1) *Gilbert's estimate of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία.*

It was natural enough for the author, in view of the publication of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία in 1891, to explain, as he has done in the *Introduction* to the new edition of his work, his own exact relation to the recovered authority. It must, however, be observed that, valuable as the *Introduction* may in itself be, it has a disturbing effect upon the economy of the *Handbook* as a whole. A somewhat exaggerated value has, perhaps, temporarily accrued to the text of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία owing to the circumstances of its long eclipse and late recovery. When the critique of the new authority shall have been more nearly than at present accomplished, it will not be necessary for a writer upon the Institutions of Athens to select this one source for special discussion to the exclusion of the rest. In the next edition of his *Handbook* Dr. Gilbert will, perhaps, convert the *Introduction* into a more general and critical survey of the sources at large, or else relegate the expression of his personal views upon the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία to the *Preface*, or to a foot-note. In regard to the authority of the new text Dr. Gilbert appears to me to have surrendered too easily. For all he says, the newly discovered text might be not merely a fragmentary and inaccurate transcript by various hands of a copy of a treatise ascribed, more or less uncritically, to Aristotle, but a veritable autograph from the pen of that philosopher himself! Naturally Dr. Gilbert feels inclined to bow down before such an authority, and seriously defends the more transparently rationalistic passages of domestic history, such as the accounts of Themistokles and Aristeides, the seventeen years of Areiopagite regimen after the Persian wars, the curious remark on the incompetence of the Strategi in the days before the introduction of mercenary soldiers, and so on. Dr. Gilbert regards even the account of the Drakonion constitution as 'valuable information founded on documentary evidence which we are not justified in rejecting in favour of conjectures of our own,' (p. xxxix.). It would take too long here to apologize for 'conjectures of our own,' nor are we always bound to substitute a modern for an ancient

hypothesis on rejecting the latter : but how a critical historian can treat the passages on Drakon as genuine history, or tradition, remains to me somewhat of a mystery. It may be observed, in addition, that Dr. Gilbert's *obiter dicta* on Herodotus and Thucydides in their relation to the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία are not always quite convincing. His remark (*Introduction* p. xxvii.) that 'in Herodotus' day the prevalent opinion at Athens was that the Alcmeonidai established themselves at Delphi, won over the Pythia by bribery,' etc. etc., is based on Hdt. 5, 62, 63. But, even if we ignore Schweighaeuser's plausible conjecture of Λακεδαιμόνιοι for Ἀθηναῖοι in c. 63, it does not follow that the *prevalent* opinion in Athens at any time was what is there recorded. Again, is it not a little rash to describe the *πρωτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων* in Hdt. 5, 71 as 'an invention of Herodotus' (*E.T.* p. 122 n. *eine Erfindung Herodots* in the original)? And does not the remark, that the temple-building at Delphi mentioned in Hdt. 5, 62 cannot be the same as that mentioned in Hdt. 2, 180 (*E.T.* p. 145 n.), seem to miss the point of the preposition in ἐξοικοδομησαί? The rebuilding might have been begun in the reign of Amasis even if it was not completed until the time of Kleisthenes. It is, perhaps, paying Thucydides' account of the family relations of the Peisistratidai too high a compliment to describe it as 'resting on the evidence of inscriptions' (*Introduction* p. xxxviii.), even though Thucydides quotes two inscriptions to the point and might doubtless have quoted others; and in this connexion one misses in the *Introduction* a reference to Beloch's theory that the two exiles of Peisistratos are a product of false inference and combination, the earliest effects of which appear in Herodotus—an ingenious theory which, if accepted, will furnish a good example of the substitution of 'a conjecture of our own' for 'a conclusion of Aristotle's' (cp. p. xxxviii.)—not unattended with advantage.

(2) *Gilbert's theory on the age of enrolment* (ἡ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγγραφή), or of legal majority at Athens.

This case is especially interesting for the present purpose because here, for once, Dr. Gilbert undertakes to correct an explicit statement in the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, and in the stronger part of it, to wit, the second part, which deals with Athenian institutions as they were in the writer's own day. It should be a very convincing argument to lead us in such a case to substitute 'a conjecture of our own' for 'a conclusion of

Aristotle's.' Now, what is the state of this case?

The text in question runs: ἐγγράφονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες c. 42.

These words can only mean: 'citizens are inscribed on the demotic lists when they are eighteen years of age.' The context shows that great pains were taken to prevent premature enrolment.

Yet Gilbert maintains (*E.T.* p. 197) that the words mean, not when they are 18 (*i.e.* in the 19th year of age), but 'upon the completion of the 17th year,' *i.e.* in the course of their 18th year, or in other words, before they are fully 18 years of age.

He bases this interpretation upon the case of the orator Demosthenes, in regard to whose majority we have some apparently precise information.

As, however, the Greek text quoted can only bear one clear meaning, if the case of Demosthenes proves that the orator attained his majority before he was 18 years of age, the following dilemma will arise: either the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία is in error, or the enrolment of Demosthenes was premature and illegal. Both alternatives are equally improbable. I hope to show that the case of Demosthenes is not adverse to the statement in the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, and that other evidence goes to support that statement.

The case of Demosthenes may be exhibited as follows after Gilbert (*E.T.* p. 197):—

(i.) Demosthenes was seven years old when his father died. *Dem.* 27, 4.

(ii.) Demosthenes was ten years and a few days under guardianship. *Ib.* 6.

(iii.) Demosthenes then came of age, *i.e.* was enrolled on the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον.

In regard to (i.), the words in point are: οὐμὸς πατὴρ...κατέλειπεν...ἐμὲ...ἔπτ' ἐτῶν ὄντα... Are these words to be taken as meaning *exactly seven years to a day*? That is not very likely. The words may well mean: *not yet eight years of age*. (On the analogy of Gilbert's rendering of ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες the words here in question should mean *not yet seven full years old*: which would prove too much for his argument!)

In regard to (ii.), the words are: δέκα ἔτη ἡμᾶς ἐπιτροπεύσαντες. There is nothing in the text about 'a few days' extra. These 'few days' are apparently due to an inference, in itself plausible enough. But if 'a few days' may be added to the ten years here, why not to the seven years above?

There are frequent references to the *δέκα ἔτη* throughout the speech, and oddly enough § 69 concludes, Ἐφοβον δὲ μηδ' ἦν ἔλαβε προῖκ' ἐθέλοντα ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτε εἰ δεκάτω, which strictly interpreted should mean only 'after nine years.'

In regard to (iii.), it must be observed that there is nothing in the speech, exact or definite, about the date of the orator's enrolment, or coming of age. The words in § 5, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἕως ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθέν, leave the period an open question, even if they are to be interpreted as referring to the ἐγγραφή εἰς τοὺς δημότας. But, even if the examination (δοκιμασία) is here practically identical with the registration (ἐγγραφή), the question of the exact age of Demosthenes at the time is still left open.

Another passage, however, throws light on the point. In 30, 15 Demosthenes states that he brought the action against his guardian in the Archonship of Polyzelos, in the month Skirophorion, in which month also his δοκιμασία had taken place.

In the same passage he reckons a period of 'two years' between the Skirophorion of Polyzelos and the Poseideon of Timokrates.

The list of Archons is as follows:—

Polyzelos,	Ol. 103.2 = 367-6 B.C.
Kephisodoros,	Ol. 103.3 = 366-5 B.C.
Chion,	Ol. 103.4 = 365-4 B.C.
Timokrates,	Ol. 104.1 = 364-3 B.C.

The Skirophorion of Polyzelos coincides, roughly speaking, with June 366 B.C. The Poseideon of Timokrates coincides similarly with December 364 B.C., and the 'two years' equals therefore two years and six months. On this analogy, 'ten years' might stand for ten years and six months, and 'seven years' might stand for seven years and six months, more or less: and in any case it is obvious that an exact argument for the interpretation, or refutation, of the text in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία cannot be based on the data in Demosthenes, and that, to all appearance, Demosthenes may have been fully eighteen years of age before he brought his action, or was inscribed on the roll of his Deme, and presumably was so old.

But that is not all. Gilbert appears to have overlooked in this connexion the bearing of the list of *Eponymoi* upon the problem of the ephebic majority.

It is, by the way, a curious fact that Gilbert still thinks the 42 *Eponymoi* of the Hoplites (ἐπώνυμοι τῶν ἡλικιών) identical with the Archons of a man's years of service

(*E.T.* p. 315). The true interpretation of Ἀθην. πολ. 53, 4 we owe to Mr. Kenyon, and it appeared already in his *editio princeps* of 1891. But whether the 42 *Eponymoi* were Archons, as Gilbert still thinks, or Heroes, as Kenyon then showed, the facts remain that the 42 names marked 42 years of service, and that the last year of service was the 60th year of a man's age, during which he served as a *Diaitetes*. But, if the 42nd *Eponymos* corresponds to the 60th year of a man's age, the first *Eponymos* must correspond to the 19th year of a man's age: Q. E. D.

It is, therefore, obvious now that Gilbert's interpretation of Ἀθην. πολ. 42, 1 is unacceptable; that the case of Demosthenes is not an instance against the correct interpretation; and that the correct interpretation is completely borne out by the use of the 42 *Eponymoi*. The legal age for the enrolment or registration (ἐγγραφή) was on the completion of the 18th year, *i.e.* in the course of the 19th year, precisely as stated in the passage in question.

The Ephebic training lasted two years: a citizen would not join the mass, 'be with the rest' (μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων), until he had completed his 20th year. As everybody in Athens born in one year was not born on the same day of the year, the legal regulations did not work out with precisely the same coincidence in all cases, but this point needs not to be pursued further at present. It will here suffice to have vindicated the true interpretation of the passage in question from the gloss which Gilbert has put upon it.

(3) *Gilbert's view of the composition of the grand Jury (album iudicum)*: Were there ever 6,000 *dikasts* in Athens?

On this point there is more room for dispute, and I cannot expect to carry all suffrages in favour of the view to be here propounded. The case presents a test for the critique of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, as well as an important problem in the constitutional history of Athens. If Dr. Gilbert is right, the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία has determined a controversy concerning the number and composition of what we may, perhaps, call the great, or grand, Jury at Athens, and has demonstrated a remarkable change or reform in this matter, affording a fresh contrast between the conditions of the fifth and of the fourth centuries B.C. I hope now to show good reason for disqualifying the authority of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία in this regard, and for denying the supposed contrast in this particular.

It was a received opinion twenty years ago that year by year in old Athens a great jury of 6,000 dikasts used to be impanelled by lot, out of which great panel particular juries were constituted by a further sortition as occasion demanded. This theory, however, was not two centuries old. It was devised by Valesius (Henri de Valois), and developed by Matthiae and Schoemann. It was the result of ingenious inference and combination, starting from the lines in Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 661, 2:—

ἀπὸ τούτων νῦν κατὰθες μισθὸν τοῖσι δικασταῖς
ἐνιαυτοῦ,
ἕξ χιλιάσιν, κοῦπω πλείους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
κατένασθεν...

and the complete confutation of this modern theory was among the most certain results of Max Fraenkel's brilliant monograph, *Die attischen Geschworenengerichte*, Berlin, 1877. But lo! here comes the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* back from the dead, bringing the 6,000 dikasts with it! There they are, as large as life, in chapter 24, among the 'twenty thousand men and more,' supported and paid from the public funds of Athens in the fifth century B.C.

συνέβαινεν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων καὶ τῶν τελῶν
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πλείους ἢ δισμύριους ἄνδρας
τρέφεσθαι. δικασταὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν
ἕξ ακισχίλιοι κ.τ.λ.

True, there is not a word about this figure 6,000 for the dikasts in the second part of the treatise, where the annual composition of the great panel, as well as the diurnal sortition of particular juries, is somewhat minutely displayed. True, the description of the dikastic institutions as they were in the days of Demosthenes and Aristotle, for which the second part of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* is a first-rate authority, completely vindicates Max Fraenkel's brilliant critique. But the express text above quoted is too much for Dr. Gilbert, with his generous estimate of 'Aristotle's' authority for the history of Athenian institutions. Accordingly Gilbert—while of necessity abandoning the position for the fourth century—positively retains, or, to speak more accurately, revives the exploded theory of Valesius, with the further developments of Matthiae (*de iudiciis Atheniensium*), and of Schoemann (*de sortitione iudicum apud Athenienses*), as valid for the fifth century B.C. (See *Eng. Trans.* pp. 391, 392, 394.)

There is thus set up a notable contrast between the *album iudicum* of the fifth century and that of the fourth, but it is an absolutely unnecessary and untenable contrast. Every argument against the 6,000 remains exactly where it was before the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* came to light. There is not space here to recapitulate or to enforce those arguments, I must be content to say that if they are valid against the contemporary authority of Aristophanes in the fifth century, they are valid against the fourth century writer—even assuming the complete authenticity of the given passage in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. The figures in this passage are obviously round numbers—the 500 φρουροὶ νεωρίων, the 700 ἀρχαὶ ἐνδημοὶ and so forth—and the 6,000 dikasts cannot be seriously treated as a fixed and absolute total obtained, year by year, by some method not specified or even suggested anywhere in the treatise. Nor is the figure adduced in order to elucidate the composition of the *album iudicum*, or of the special juries; it is given simply as an item in the grand total of state-paid Athenians, 'upwards of 20,000,' in all. And where can we suppose the author to have got these figures from? Where did he find the 6,000 dikasts? He found the 6,000 dikasts where Valesius found them, to wit, in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes. He found them where he himself found the 20,000 citizens—it is a mercy that he has spared us the 1,000 tributary cities!

εἰσὶν γε πόλεις χίλιαι, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν
ἀπάγουσιν
τούτων εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας βόσκειν εἴ τις προσέταξεν
ἐκάστη,
δύο μυριάδες τῶν δήμοτικῶν ἕζων ἐν πασι
λαφύοις...

Wasps 707-9.

If 'the φόροι and the σύμμαχοι' can support 20,000 Athenians, you have but to add the τέλη to support the more!

The case is fairly clear. We are in the presence of one of those inferences and combinations of which the first part of the *Ἀθην. πολ.* is full; we are not in the presence of an official document, or a genuine tradition. Some of these inferences are good, and some of them are bad, and some in either kind have been independently made by modern scholars, before the discovery of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. The *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* has appeared to verify the modern conjectures: but the apparent verification is not above criticism. Luge-

bil's theory on the position of the Polemarch at Marathon is a good case in point. Every one now accepts this theory, on the strength of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, yet the theory was fully established, for those who could estimate historic evidence, long before the recovery of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*.¹ But this other case—the apparent verification of the hypothesis of Valesius in the text of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*—only proves, when critically examined, that a bad inference made in the seventeenth century of our era had been anticipated in the

¹ On this point I venture to refer to the note in my edition of Herodotus iv., v., vi. Vol. i. p. 365.

fourth century before our era. It is a subject for regret that Dr. Gilbert has allowed himself to be overborne by the authority of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* in this matter; and I trust he will reconsider his position before the next edition of his *Handbuch* makes its appearance. The classical perfection which he has attained in the treatment of the Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens makes any lapse on his part the more distressing to those who, like the present writer, gratefully acknowledge a large debt to his labours.

REGINALD W. MACAN.

RAMSAY'S *ST. PAUL THE TRAVELLER AND THE ROMAN CITIZEN*.

St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen, by PROFESSOR RAMSAY. 1895. 10s. 6d.

THE record of St. Paul's Christian life in the Acts ranges from his conversion to his Roman imprisonment: but his active career as apostle to the Gentiles (omitting the unrecorded years at Tarsus, and his last years of which mere glimpses are given in the Pastoral Epistles) began with his arrival at Antioch and ended with his arrest at Jerusalem. Other periods of his life are rich in personal and spiritual interest: but these were the years in which he took the lead in church extension. His rapid success claims the attention of the philosophic historian as well as the Christian: within fifteen years he planted churches throughout Asiatic and European Greece which lived, and took root, and grew into a permanent kingdom of Christ. This was evidently due to certain elements in his Greek environment which rendered it possible for him to make Greek culture and Roman organization valuable handmaids of the Church. These elements may with advantage be considered in connexion with his many-sided character, and his wonderful combination in his own person of the various forces that made up the complex civilization around him. He was by birth and education at once Jew Greek and Roman before he became a Christian apostle. The union of Jew and Greek was specially important: for by opening to him the synagogues of the Dispersion it enabled him, in spite of the Jewish opposition which his doctrine

provoked, to win the ear of those godfearing Gentiles who offered the most fruitful field for conversion. His Roman citizenship also had its value, as Prof. Ramsay urges in his recent work on *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, not only as a shield from outward danger, but also in the wide outlook it gave him over the Empire, and a greater sympathy with Imperial organization than was possessed by mere provincials.

For, as the author points out, the civilization of Greece and Western Asia was Graeco-Roman. Greeks had of old studded the seaboard with colonies, which found in the ordered freedom of city life the most effectual means of commercial enterprise and of protection against oriental despotism. Greek monarchs had further developed this municipal system as the surest support of their throne against the reactionary forces of Eastern feudalism and superstition, besides adding to the cities a large Jewish population. The Caesars, inheriting a like policy from the Roman Senate, fostered the growth of commercial cities and established new colonies along the main lines of communication.

This Graeco-Roman civilization has found few more able exponents than Prof. Ramsay. By local research, by study of its geography and its monuments, by investigation of its political changes and its history, he has made himself well acquainted with the religious and social life of Asia Minor during the first two centuries. His history of *The Church in the Roman Empire* in-

volved a careful scrutiny of the latter half of the Acts—the *travel-document* as he there entitles it—which contains the record of St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles: and he there pronounced it unquestionably an original document of the first century, but cautiously reserved his opinion as to the earlier chapters, which were composed under different circumstances without personal knowledge of the facts. In his later volume he abandons this attitude of reserve, upholds the unity of the whole book, and ascribes its authorship to Luke the companion of St. Paul. This is an encouraging symptom of a healthy reaction in modern criticism against the absurdity of reducing this noble record of a living church, stamped throughout in spirit as well as style and language with the seal of unity, into a stale patchwork of old documents. This protest against scissors-and-paste theories comes with special force from an author who has rendered such good service in rehabilitating its character as contemporary history.

In fixing its date however he scarcely manifests the courage of his opinions. Though he dates all the travel-notes between 43 and 60, and the chapters which contain them consist almost wholly of travel-notes, and are instinct with their life and freshness; and though the materials of the earlier chapters were obviously within the author's reach before he left Palestine in 59; he postpones the final composition more than twenty years till the reign of Domitian. In support of this date he merely adduces one ingenious argument, which might create a presumption, if it were more convincing than it is, that the joint rule of Titus had begun in 71 before the completion of the Third Gospel. But his own account of the Flavian policy condemns the date he now suggests for the Acts. Domitian, as he has forcibly argued, inherited his policy from his father and brother; though the cruelty which drenched the Flavian amphitheatre with Christian blood was peculiarly his own. The Flavian throne rested on a popular basis, and Christians had become by the time of Nero a most unpopular class of social revolutionaries in the eyes of the Roman populace. Caesar-worship reached its climax under Domitian, but the Jewish war first accentuated the dangers of a kindred faith; and the antichristian policy of the Flavian emperors, which aimed at stamping out the name of Christ by the capital punishment of apostles and saints, cannot have been

long delayed after their triumph. That crisis reversed the face of the religious world. Jews became no longer formidable persecutors, as they are presented in the Acts, but downtrodden exiles from city and temple; Rome no longer the protector of the Church, but a jealous tyrant.

The later chapters of the biography contain little new matter; though most readers will welcome the excellent *résumé* of James Smith's exhaustive and masterly treatise on the voyage to Rome and shipwreck: and the account given of the Imperial police system for the custody of state prisoners will be new to many. Its chief interest centres in the earlier life. The sojourn at Athens gains some touches of reality from the lively picture of an ancient university and its surroundings: the topography of the Areopagus is handled with the true instinct of an archaeologist as an effective argument against the conception of a popular address from the hill. Still more valuable are the travel-notes in Asia Minor. The author's intimate acquaintance with its internal condition under the Caesars makes his remarks on that region extremely valuable. He has succeeded to the satisfaction of most dispassionate inquirers in disproving the theory of the late Bishop Lightfoot that the Galatian churches of St. Paul were planted in the cities of Northern Galatia; to which English churchmen have clung in loyal deference to his high authority, though it made it almost impossible to reconcile the Epistle with the Acts.

His description of Roman policy and Graeco-Roman civilization brings out effectively the bright side of Imperial rule. The reign of law and order established in the city centres, and along the main roads, the fairly evenhanded justice, the stern repression of violence, the road-making and vigorous police, made it a valuable ally of Christianity as a civilizing agent in the apostolic age; more than thirty years of church life elapsed before the Emperors learned to dread the spiritual power and organized unity of the Church, and sought to crush by force so formidable an antagonist to centralized despotism and social tyranny.

The picture of St. Paul's environment at Ephesus is a little disappointing to those who know *The Church in the Roman Empire*, because it omits the graphic account of the famous temple of Great Artemis, fruitful goddess-mother and nurse of life, with its throng of votaries from all lands, the exten-

sive traffic that grew up around it, and the demand for shrines in silver marble and terracotta. But the mercenary motives of the craftsmen are faithfully depicted, as well as the absence of sincere fanaticism in the opposition to St. Paul, and the friendly tone of the upper classes, represented by the Imperial commissioners of religious worship.

I cannot however endorse the author's view of the relations of the apostles with the synagogue. The statement that Peter laid it down as a necessary condition of reception into the Church that the non-Jew must approach by way of the synagogue, appears to me quite groundless. *Cornelius* was not a proselyte, as is affirmed, but a godfearing Gentile who attended the synagogue he had built and observed Jewish hours of prayer: nor was the question presented to Peter one of *Hebrew birth as a necessary condition of membership of the Church*, but of circumcision, Proselytes had been freely invited at Pentecost to join the Church (Acts ii. 10), and one of the Seven was a proselyte. The baptism of Cornelius with the Spirit was on the contrary the fundamental charter of Gentile Christians. Hitherto the apostles had regarded the uncircumcised as unclean: for Christ himself had pointedly refused with seeming harshness to admit Gentiles to the blessings of the Gospel. But now God revealed to St. Peter and the Church his new covenant with the uncircumcised.

On the other hand the chief secret of St. Paul's success lay in his power over the large body of godfearing Gentiles within the synagogue: they became his enthusiastic adherents, and formed, as his Epistles attest, the strength of the Pauline churches. The author represents St. Paul as addressing himself in Galatia to the pagan populace; but the Epistle to his Galatian converts is saturated through and through with Old Testament thoughts and language, and was clearly addressed to pupils of the synagogue. Again in Thessalonica the author rejects the authority of the great MSS. in Acts xvii. 4, in support of his view that the great sphere of St. Paul's influence was outside the synagogue. But the first distinct breach with the synagogue recorded in the Acts was at Corinth: and even there, as his First Epistle to the Corinthian church declares, his converts were learned in the Scriptures, having doubtless followed him out of the synagogue.

This volume does not claim to be a critical edition and it would be unjust to condemn

it on critical grounds: but the hasty rejection of the great MSS. whenever a difficulty confronts us, or a valuable comment has crept from the margin into a later text, calls for protest. Three instances must suffice. The reading *εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* in xii. 25 is summarily dismissed as *impossible*. Why so? it has to be coupled with *πληρώσαντες*, and its position is therefore unusual: transcribers have stumbled over it, changing *εἰς* into a barely possible *ἐξ*, and correcting that into *ἀπό*, but the context goes far to justify it. In returning from the Caesarean episode to the mission of Barnabas and Saul it is reasonable to mark the change of scene by giving prominence to Jerusalem, as the place of their ministry.—In xvi. 6 the reading of the great MSS. *Διήλθον... κωλυθέντες*, though it makes excellent sense and perfect Greek, if literally translated, is set aside in favour of the hopeless jumble of participles in the Received Text, because the author finds it difficult to reconcile it with his view of the context.—In xxviii. 16 the marginal note recording the delivery of St. Paul into the custody of the head of the detective police is a valuable fragment of antiquity, but its absence from the oldest MSS. forbids its acceptance as a genuine clause of the original text, and it is difficult to understand the suggestion that it was omitted because it *had only a mundane interest*.

In the domain of church history I am grieved to differ so widely from the author. His description of the first mission of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem contradicts apparently the original record. We are told in the Acts that the Christians of Antioch, being stirred by a prophecy of impending famine to send relief to the brethren in Judaea, sent it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul. The obvious inference is that the office of relieving the Christian poor which had been performed by the apostles, and for a time by the Seven, devolved at that time upon the elders, and that the duty of Barnabas and Saul ended with placing the contribution in their hands, just as the more important Pauline contribution was afterwards presented to James and the elders. Prof. Ramsay however sets aside the elders, and maintains that Saul—whose life, as a hated renegade, was never safe in Jerusalem—repaired thither with Barnabas and a staff of assistants, forsaking their ministry at Antioch for some months, that they might purchase and distribute food to the starving poor at Jerusalem. In support of this strange contention he urges

that the conveyance of alms could not be designated as a *διακονία*, though the mere contribution is so entitled in 2 Cor. ix. 1. The mission is also dated in the Acts by the outbreak of the Herodian persecution *at that time* (not *about*, for the Greek preposition used in xii. 1 is *κατά*): yet Prof. Ramsay makes them wait two whole years till the occurrence of actual famine about 46. His object in these suggestions is to identify the conference of Barnabas and Saul related in Gal. ii. 1-10, and there dated thirteen years after Saul's conversion, with this visit. For the persecution began within fourteen years after the Crucifixion, and the conference was well-nigh impossible at a time when Herod was marking down the leaders of the Church as victims, and they were seeking safety in flight or concealment. Prof. Ramsay indeed scouts this idea as unworthy of apostles: but their Lord had enjoined flight from persecution, and St. Paul practised it again and again, little as he feared to die.

In pursuance of the same theory he interposes ten years of misdirected and comparatively barren ministry at Tarsus between Saul's successful preaching at Damascus and the wonderful triumphs of his subsequent career; he dates the recognition of Barnabas and Saul by Peter James and John, as God's chosen apostles for the conversion of the Gentiles, before their commission from the church of Antioch, and before the vision which revealed to Saul his future mission; besides postponing that vision till eleven years after Saul's flight from Jerusalem. It is not easy to conceive a more complete dislocation of his Christian career.

His view of Gal. ii. 1-10 as relating a private understanding between the leaders rests on his interpretation of *τοῖς δοκοῦσι* in v. 2 as *the leading spirits* of the Twelve, and assumes their identity with Peter James and John, whereas I understand the Greek text of vv. 7-9 *ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον*...as emphatically contrasting the conduct of the two. But the passage is confessedly obscure, and I should hardly refer to it, were it not for the suggestion that St. Paul made a formal

submission to the subsequent council in reliance on this private understanding. This is to introduce into the apostolic government a fatal atmosphere of intrigue, which savours more of the nineteenth century than of the first.

He treats of the council as *a recognition that Jerusalem was the administrative centre of the Church*, adopting the false analogy of general councils, representative of the whole Church and armed with imperial authority. I find in the Acts no appearance of representation or authority over the Gentile churches. The church of Antioch sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to complain of an agitation raised by Jewish Christians at Antioch. These obtained from the apostles and local elders an emphatic repudiation of the unauthorized agitators, and a distinct recognition of Gentile freedom from the Law. They took back with them a letter from the elder brethren to their Gentile brethren, settling the terms on which Jewish Christians, bound by the law of Moses, might nevertheless maintain communion with Gentile brethren. I find here no trace of submission, no surrender of independence, but a treaty of brotherly alliance between two distinct sections of the Church, concluded by the Twelve and the elders on the one part, and by Barnabas and Paul on the other. Submission on the part of St. Paul would be quite inconsistent with his jealous vindication of his own apostolic authority in all his Epistles. The assertion that *his whole history shows that he recognized Jerusalem as the administrative centre of the Church* simply amazes me. Even the mother-church of Antioch passed gradually out of sight, as he pressed onward in his apostolic career, grouping his churches round new centres, cementing them together by common action, straining to add West to East. He was indeed most anxious to avoid a rupture with Jerusalem, which would have broken the unity of the Church, but I cannot conceive him looking back to a Jewish centre of Gentile Christianity.

F. RENDALL.

LEO'S *PLAUTINISCHE FORSCHUNGEN*.

Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie, von FR. LEO. (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, pp. viii. 346.) Berlin. 1895. 13 M.

PROFESSOR LEO'S *Forschungen* is the most important work on Plautus that has appeared since Ritschl's *Prolegomena*. The number of new suggestions which it offers is so great that it is impossible for a reviewer to treat the whole work in detail. Of the last five of the six chapters into which it is divided, I will only say that chaps. ii. iii. and iv., which deal with the Biography of Plautus, his Greek originals and the genuineness of the Prologues of his plays, are perhaps the most valuable part of this valuable volume and will meet with the most ready acceptance. In chap. v. the case for Prof. Leo's theory of the elision of final -s after a short vowel before an initial vowel in Plautus is stated with so strong an array of facts as to make me ashamed of my scant recognition of this theory in the *Latin Language* (ch. ii. § 137, p. 123); and the whole question of the dropping of final -s in Latin is thoroughly investigated. Chap. vi. contains the brilliant discovery that -ae of the Gen. Sg. (originally a disyllable -āi) is treated differently by early poets from -ae of the Dat. (Loc.) Sg. (originally a long diphthong -āi) in that Synaloephe of Gen. -ae is avoided.¹ But since every one who takes an interest in Plautus must get and read this book for himself, I prefer to use the space at my disposal in a fuller discussion of the chapter which has the most importance for the restoration of the text of Plautus, I mean chap. i. which deals with the history of the Plautine Text in antiquity.

It has for a long time been known that our text must have come ultimately from actors' copies; and various readings have been with more or less probability referred to the changes which would have to be made at the Plautine revival in the first century B.C., in order to make the meaning and metre intelligible to the audience. Thus

¹ Philologists owe gratitude to Prof. Leo for this interesting proof of the different course of development taken by these two case-endings, and will forgive him for his strange explanations of *Pomplio* as a Dual (p. 333) and of Gen. -āi from -ās like Ital. *crai* from *crās* (p. 321n.).

The elision of the -ae of *meae* in *Epid.* 563 *dōmi meae ecam sātūam* need cause no difficulty. *Meae* is a Locative.

the substitution in our MSS. of *purgitant* for the Plautine *purigant* in *Aul.* 753 :

nōn mi homines placēt qui quando māle fecerunt purigant,

is claimed for this period; for, it is argued, a later scribe would merely replace the obsolete *purigant* by the familiar *purgant* without troubling himself to preserve the metre (cf. *Truc.* 245 *demum oggerunt* (A) for *demus danunt* (P); *Pseud.* 432 *forsitan ea tibi* (P) for *fors fuit an istaec* (A). Further, that corruptions existed in the Plautine text as early as Varro's time is known not only from his mention in the *Lingua Latina* ix. 61, 106 of the corruption *lauari* for *lauare* in *Truc.* 323, but also from Festus' account of his explanation of *Curc.* 568, which shows that the text used by Varro had *uapula ergo* instead of *uapulare ergo*. It is then a perfectly natural supposition that in the first complete edition of the twenty-one plays, an edition from which both the fourth century Ambrosian Palimpsest (A) and the Archetype of our other MSS. (P) are derived, there were errors which were transmitted to both families of MSS. Indeed Schoell has gone so far as to argue from certain lacunae, which he professes to find in both A and P, that the common original had holes in certain pages and that each page contained a certain number of lines. It is therefore no new theory which Prof. Leo brings before us in the first chapter, where he emphasizes the significance of these corruptions common to A and P. What is new is his conjecture (I say conjecture, for the facts are too uncertain to admit of proof) that this original edition of the twenty-one plays was comparatively late, only a century or two earlier than the Ambrosian Palimpsest itself, belonging to the second century A.D., and being a product of the Archaic Revival of that period. The theory of that time, he says,—a theory which we find carried into practice in contemporary inscriptions,—that hiatus was allowable in verse, induced the editor or editors of Plautus to leave unemended such lines as exhibited hiatus; so that passages like *Poen.* 453-6 (AP):

sex immolau | āgnos nec potui tamen
propitiam Venerem facere uti | essēt mihi.
Quoniam litare nequeo abii illum ilico
iratus : uotui | exta prosicariis,

reproduce the Plautine text of the first edition, in other words, the high-water mark beyond which Plautine students of to-day can hardly expect to pass. Prof. Leo draws up a long list of lines in which hiatus is exhibited in the *A* and the *P* versions, and supposes them one and all to have stood in this form in the original edition, an edition referred by him to some period after Probus, by others to some period after Varro. The list is an alarming one; and Prof. Leo's whole theory is likely to have something of a paralysing effect on Plautine emendation, to suggest tacit acquiescence in MS. corruptions rather than a vigorous effort to get past and beyond them to the actual words of Plautus.

And yet it seems to me that the time has not yet come for such a policy of despair. The whole history of Plautine emendation has shown us that the canon of textual criticism which has led to success is that the readings common to *A* and *P* are to be accepted as the right readings, unless it can be shown that the mistake is one into which the scribe of *A* and the *P* scribe may have fallen independently. There are several considerations which should prevent us from abandoning this canon, found so useful in the past.

Prof. Leo's list of lines, similarly worded in both *A* and *P*, in which the laws of scansion, as they are known to us, are violated, is, as I have said, a long one. But it would have been a good deal longer, if the list had been compiled a few years ago, prior to Skutsch's clever discovery that the final vowel of *-que*, *-ne* was dropped in conversational Latin, and therefore in the versification of Plautus, in other words besides *atque* (*ac*), *neque* (*nec*), *viden*, &c. Skutsch made that discovery by observing that *A* and *P* agreed in presenting a large number of lines of this form:—

Poen. 419 *perque meós amores pérque Adel-
phasiúm meum* (Lamb. Senar.)

which violated our ordinary rules of scansion. But rightly judging that, where *A* and *P* agreed about a reading, that reading would probably be correct, he looked about for an explanation of the apparent irregularity, and discovered this law of Latin pronunciation. Has not Prof. Leo himself in the last chapter of this book removed from the list of 'corruptions common to *A* and *P*' all those lines in which *-ac* of the Gen. Sg. stands in hiatus, by showing that

the pronunciation of this diphthong in Plautus' age was of a kind that enabled it to stand before an initial vowel without causing hiatus? And we do not find in his list *Poen.* 388:

*húius cor, huiús studium, huius sáuium,
mastigia,*

now that Buecheler, accepting the common reading of *A* and *P*, has shown that there is no corruption, but that *cor* in the time of Plautus was a syllable long by position. We are then entitled to believe that before many years are passed Prof. Leo's list will be considerably reduced by new discoveries about Plautine pronunciation and prosody.

Even now we can diminish it by the consideration, surely a very natural one, that since the same tendencies to error were present to the ancient scribe of *A* as to the mediaeval scribes of 'Palatine' MSS., they must occasionally have fallen into the same mistake. Thus the scribe of *A* is, like all scribes, inclined to Haplography, and writes, e.g. *quemquam* for *quemquam quam* in *Most.* 608. The scribes of the 'Palatine' MSS. are inclined to the same error, and write, e.g. *uisita sit* for *uisitata sit* in *Trin.* 766. We need not then suppose *gerere* <re>*m* of *AP* in *Trin.* 773 to be a corruption that existed in the first MS. of Plautus. It may well have crept into *A* and into some *P*-archetype independently. In *Stich.* 289 *CD* have the same error as *A*, *hamum* for *hamulum*; but the fact that *B* has *hamulum* shows us that the mistake is one for which the scribe of *A* on the one hand, and the scribe of the original of *C* and *D* on the other are responsible, and which must not be foisted into the original of *AP*. And yet how many lines must be in the same case, while the needed indication is lacking! *Poen.* 388–90 with their numerous homoeoteleutons, or rather homoeoarchons, offer a regular pitfall to scribes; and as a matter of fact the scribes of *ABCD* have all gone wrong in this passage; but luckily they have gone wrong at different parts and in different ways so that the common archetype of *A* and *P* for once escapes being saddled with the responsibility for the error. Or, again, Transposition is a common fault of the scribe of *A*, as in the *Stichus* at v. 350 &c. It is also a common fault of the 'Palatine' scribes, as in the same play at vv. 117, 293, 295, &c. What wonder then that *A* and the 'Palatine' MSS. coincide in one of the instances of transposition in this play (v. 275), or in so

natural a transposition as in *Pseud.* 997, where the true reading: *propera pellegere ergo epistulam* has become in both families of MSS. *propera pellegere epistulam ergo*? The same considerations may make us pause before we assign to the original edition of Plautus every mistake that is found at once in a line of the 'Palatine' text and in the same line as quoted by Nonius. Our MSS. of Nonius, as I have tried to show in the *Philologus* of this year, are all derived from a single MS. of the eighth or ninth century, and only in Books i.—iii. have we readings of a seventh or eighth century archetype. The writer of this MS. or the writer of its parent archetype may quite conceivably have fallen on his own account into the same error as a 'Palatine' scribe, if the error is a natural one to fall into, e.g. *Asin.* 807 *puras* for *pure*. On the other hand the quotation of a line by Nonius or some other grammarian often affords the very proof we need and shows us that a corruption common to *A* with the 'Palatine' MSS. was not necessarily a corruption of the first edition of Plautus. For example, in *Mil.* 1413 *A* has *mittemus*, *BCD mittimus*; but the Priscian MSS. have *amittimus*, a fact which argues for the true reading *amittimus* having been the reading of the early Plautine text.

And is there not a further possibility with regard to the consensus in error of *A* and the 'Palatine' MSS., viz. that some early 'Palatine' archetype was provided with the record of readings of the 'Ambrosian' family? These readings, entered in the margin of this archetype or between the lines, might be allowed by subsequent copyists to oust the original 'Palatine' readings. There are many indications that the early 'Palatine' MSS. contained variants, interlinear and marginal; and while it is possible and in many cases probable that these variants existed in the common archetype of *A* and *P*, it is also possible that they were often introduced at a later period into the *P* text from *A*. Even the appearance of the same gloss in *A* and in *P* MSS. is not proof positive that this gloss had been written in the common archetype of *A* and *P*. There were stock glosses for certain words; and these stock glosses may have found their way as explanations of these words into *A* and into *P* at different times. Thus *rogo* is the stock or standard gloss of O. Lat. *oro* and has ousted the O. Lat. word in *Pers.* 321 in *P* (*quod me dudum rogasti*), but not in *A* (*quod mecum dudum orasti*); in *Mos.* 682 it has ousted

oro in *A* (*bonum aequumque rogas*), but not in *P* (*bonum aequomque oras*). Similarly with *simul* for *simitu*, *tui* for *tis*, &c. A scribe at any time might explain the old word by its modern equivalent; so that the appearance of the modern equivalent instead of the Plautine word in both the Ambrosian and the Palatine text does not warrant the conclusion that the gloss had already supplanted the archaism in the common original of *A* and *P*.

All these considerations should, I think, keep us from being overmuch alarmed by the list of apparent corruptions in the first edition of the twenty-one plays. Before we accept it, we must first assure ourselves that the corruption has not insinuated itself into the 'Palatine' text at a later date; and I think that if we make a closer investigation into the immediate archetype of our existing Palatine MSS., an archetype referred by general consensus to the eighth or ninth century, we shall find that it was surprisingly free from a large number of errors which appear in our minuscule MSS. and which get the credit of having belonged to the proto-archetype (*P*). And we must also assure ourselves that what is called a corruption is really a corruption. How many of the cases of hiatus quoted by Prof. Leo are really metrical blemishes of Plautine verse, is by no means easy to decide. The last word on hiatus has not yet been spoken; and I for my part do not see how Cicero's statement about the 'antiqui poetae,' that they 'saepe hiabant,' is to be set aside. The most recent investigations into the Saturnian Metre have increased the likelihood that prosodical hiatus was found to a very large extent in primitive Latin verse. Prof. Leo, who still clings to the old-fashioned 'quantitative' theory of the Saturnians, has ignored this fact, and prefers to set aside Cicero's statement as a mere mistake, due to his having a text of the early writers in which old forms like *med*, *ted*, *sed* appeared as *me*, *te*, *se*, &c., with consequent hiatus. But the actual instances quoted by Cicero cannot be explained away in this fashion, nor yet the statements of other grammarians about such scansions of Ennius as *militum octo*. The truth is that we have yet to learn under what circumstances prosodical hiatus was legitimate in early Latin poetry; and it is not allowable to seize upon each and every example of a hiatus in our two texts of Plautus as an instance of a corruption in the text. Both in cases of hiatus and of other apparent corruptions

common to the *A* and the *P* texts it will be a safer policy for us to accept them as genuine and try to find an explanation of them than to label them without further effort as

corruptions which existed in the first edition of the twenty-one plays.

W. M. LINDSAY.

SCHWAB'S SYNTAX OF THE GREEK COMPARATIVE.

Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison in der klassischen Litteratur, von OTTO SCHWAB. Heft 2. Würzburg, 1894. Pp. 180. 5 Mk.

IN the *Classical Review* for December, 1894, pp. 454—459, I reviewed a first instalment of this treatise. The second instalment, which forms Heft 12 of Schanz's *Beiträge*, deals with 'rising Comparison' (*steigernde Comparison*). I need not here repeat my strictures on 'adversative Comparison' save to note in general that Schwab appeals to his tenet of ἦ = ἀλλ' οὐ to explain several of the categories in this part of his essay.

Theory aside, the conclusions Schwab draws from a statistical study of the Greek comparative amply confirm what seems to be proved for the Aryan genesis of the comparative, viz. its construction with a separative case. It is gratifying therefore to quote from Schwab (p. 2): 'Nie ist ἦ ausschliesslich oder auch nur in unbedingt bevorzugtem numerischen Verhältnisse gebraucht, wo der Genitiv stehen könnte.'

Exceptions might be taken to one of the categories, where the so-called 'anomalous' comparatives κρείττων etc. are said to have maintained their *original* (i.e. 'adversative') character even in 'rising comparison.' Is it thereby implied that these comparatives are more archaic than those in -τερος? The suffix -τερο, however, has comparative force in all the Aryan languages. It would seem that it must have had it in the Aryan period. Still doubt arises because in Rig Veda -tara- is practically limited to pronoun stems.

This limitation need not, however, bring into uncertainty the identification of the comparative and agential suffixes tara and tar as suggested in the first review. Ultimately both the comparative suffixes -yan-s- and tara go back to demonstrative agglutinative groups,¹ and we can hardly

¹ This does not favour 'adversative comparison.' We can illustrate the up-growth of a denominative suffix for the comparative from a phrase like 'Compared with John (from < the standpoint of > John) James is the strong (< one >).'

doubt the kinship of the suffix of Sk. an-ya-, and Lat. al-io- with the more fully developed -ya-n-s-. For the agential suffix -tar- I refer to my 'Agglutination and Adaptation' (*Am. Jr. Phil.* xv. 409 sq., and especially 434). But though -tara- cannot be called a living comparative suffix in Rig Veda, yet, inasmuch as the suffix in -yan-s retains participial value there as in no sister language, it is by no means certain that the Greek suffix ίων should be assigned a really more archaic force than -τερο-.

Our author is liable to the charge of some rather sanguine differentiation, e.g. after saying (p. 60) that the universal use of πατρός instead of ἡ πατήρ 'wohl an das national-ethische Moment des anerkannten familiären Vererbungsprinzips und die daraus sich ableitende rhetorische Wirkung des πατρόθεν ἐπονομάζειν erinnert,' he goes on to say that ἡ is used 'sobald nicht die individuelle Persönlichkeit bezw. eine nationale oder Familien-Generation, sondern der natürliche Gattungs begriff πατήρ gemeint ist—gleichsam als ein bestätigendes argumentum ex contrario.' Now among the examples that he cites are the following out of the same sentence from Plato (*Krito*, 51 A) ἡ οὕτως εἰ σοφός, ὥστε λελθέν σε οὐ μητρός τε καὶ πατρός . . . τιμιώτερόν ἐστιν ἡ πατρίς . . .) (καὶ σέβεσθαι δεῖ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπέειπεν . . . πατρίδα χαλεπαίνουσιν ἡ πατέρα. But which of us is not liable, in our eagerness to make points, to admit rather trivial pleas in seeking to explain away what is not in accord with our theories?

The mode of presentation of the statistics does not make them available for the reviewer, but it has seemed to me in many cases that the genitive was used where no *real* demonstrative article² could stand, e.g. with reflexives, with the *comparatio proportionalis* (= 'too great for'), with proverbial comparison (μέλιτος γλυκίων), etc. As to the phrase μέλιζο λόγου etc., we are told (p. 13) that it never has the article, and no substantive in similar cases has in poetry,

² The nominalizing article with participles and infinitives and the article with abstract nouns are not really demonstrative.

barring Euripides only (for examples, v. p. 11). On the other hand, in a category where the article must stand (e.g. $\delta\delta' \alpha\upsilon \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma \sigma\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\rho\iota\nu \epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$), the prose instances with η almost equal those with the genitive (36 : 47, cf. p. 65), but even here poetry has the genitive without exception.

This state of affairs can be interpreted in favour of my suggestion in the first review that η is for $^*\eta\tau$, a separative of a demonstrative along with the separative genitive. If the original type was comparison of two members of the same class (cf. *C.R.* viii. 454), e.g. $\delta\delta\epsilon \delta \dot{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma \text{ } ^*\eta\tau$ (= $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \dot{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon \omega\kappa\iota\omega\nu \epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ 'this horse is swifter than this,' it might well be that as $\eta(\tau)$ became formal it was omitted entirely in generic comparisons, but was not quite moribund in particular comparisons. Here the objection cannot be raised that we should then expect η with the genitive in particular comparisons. If such examples existed they have

been edited out of texts (p. 126); still, taking an instance of *comparatio compendiaría* like Homer's line (Π 688):—

$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\epsilon \Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu \nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \eta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\nu$
as a type we should expect $\Delta\iota\acute{\iota} \kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu \nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota} \eta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ and $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\alpha \nu\omicron\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota \eta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$. Out of the practical equivalence of $\eta + \text{nom.}$ in the last example with the separative $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\nu$ in generic use would have sprung the disappearance of $\eta + \text{genitive}$ in particular use.

It is only with the *a priori* principles of Schwab that I have to dissent. His essay has advanced Greek grammar beyond Krüger or Curtius or Käiegi so far as the comparative is concerned. We must nevermore speak of the *genetivus comparationis* as a substitute for η and the comparative but *vice versa*, and so comparative grammar is justified by esoteric grammar.

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STOLZ ON LATIN SOUNDS AND STEMS.

(1) *Einleitung und Lautlehre*, von FR. STOLZ. Leipzig: Teubner. 1894. Pp. xii. 364. 7 M.

(2) *Stammbildungslehre*, von FR. STOLZ. Leipzig: Teubner. 1895. Pp. vi. 342. 7 M.

(These form vol. i. of a projected *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, edited by Blase, Landgraf, Schmalz, Stolz, Thüssing, Wagener, and Weinhold.)

PROFESSOR STOLZ of Innsbrück University, the author of a useful little Summary of Latin (Comparative) Philology in the Iwan Müller series, has in the first of these books devoted some 280 pages, with 80 of Introduction, to an account of the phonetic laws of Latin. Bibliography plays a great part in this volume, as it did in the Summary; and certainly the conscientious thoroughness with which Prof. Stolz has searched out, found, and taken a note of every scrap that has been written in recent years on any point of Latin phonetics deserves all praise. Still one cannot help feeling that he suffers to some extent from the defects of his qualities. A great many monographs and magazine articles are mentioned which had better be ignored, and not a few of his pages read more like an enumeration of the theories that other writers have put forward

than a connected statement of his own view. His generosity in giving recognition to a large number of very doubtful etymologies diminishes that sense of security that one ought to have in reading a work of this kind; e.g. on page 161 *aemulus* is connected with *imago*, *confutäre* with *fätuus*! Plautus and the older Latin writers have been better studied for this volume than they were for the Summary, though there is still some weakness in this quarter. Thus on p. 226 *cücülus* and on p. 253 *nicere* should not be quoted as Plautine forms. One meets too with an annoying number of false quantities, which cannot always be put down to printers' errors. We find *lücrum* on p. 161, *régimen* on p. 230, *lüculentus* on p. 237, *tégus* on p. 238, *söpor* on p. 128 (cf. p. 211), and so on. But these can easily be removed in a second edition. When that second edition appears, I hope that Prof. Stolz will show more judicial severity than he has shown in this edition, and will sternly rule out every theory that does not fully establish its claim to recognition. To take an example, which cannot give offence, my own scansion of *integram* in the Saturnian line of Naevius, although I believe it to be right, is not, in the absence of more certain evidence, worthy of the place which Prof. Stolz has given it on p. 101.

For Prof. Stolz's second section, on the

formation of Latin stems, I have nothing but praise. He has of course not exhausted the subject. It will take many years before any one can hope to do that. But he has advanced our knowledge far beyond the researches of Prof. Brugmann in this field, and his treatise is the best that we possess on this very difficult part of Latin philology. Every student of Latin should read it.

I will conclude my review with a mention of some points in which I differ from Prof. Stolz: p. 122 \bar{e} of *ceteri* cannot possibly represent I.-Eur. *ei*; p. 152 since *hoc* is the older form of *huc*, how can *huc* stand for **hoi-ce*? p. 164 *acupedius* is a doubtful form (see *Class. Rev.* v. p. 9); p. 209 that **Seturnus*

became *Saturnus* by analogy of *sator* can hardly be right; p. 213 *ei* on the S. C. de Bacchanalibus probably always represents the true diphthong: the *ei* of *inceideretis* is not then a mere graphical symbol of \bar{e} ; p. 234 what evidence is there in Velius Longus that Lucilius wrote *ar me* and not *ad me*? p. 241 *offendimentum* is a 'ghost-word' (see my *Latin Language*, p. 272); p. 321 *derbiosus* may well be a late spelling of *derviosus*, so no argument can be founded on the *b*; p. 453 the Romance languages show that the first syllable of *russus* had \bar{u} not \bar{u} .

W. M. LINDSAY.

HALBERTSMA'S *ADVERSARIA CRITICA*.

Tjallingi Halbertsmae Adversaria Critica:
E schedis defuncti selegit, disposuit, edidit
HENRICUS VAN HERWERDEN. Leidae:
Brill. 1896. 5 Mk. nett.

THE name of T. Halbertsma is not unfamiliar to Greek scholars, as it is to be found occasionally occurring in the critical notes to more than one Greek author, and it is associated with an unfinished work on the characters mentioned by Aristophanes. The present volume consists of a series of corrections of the texts of various writers in both the classical languages, selected out of the deceased scholar's papers at his son-in-law's request by Professor van Herwerden, who has also added a brief memoir of the author. From this we learn that Halbertsma after studying under Bake and Cobet at Leyden, where he took his final degree in 1855, proceeded, after teaching for a few months at a private school, to a three years' tour in France, Italy and Spain, similar in character, though by no means similar in result, to that in which Cobet laid the foundations of his famous *Variae Lectiones*. Prof. van Herwerden has published a list of the MSS. which Halbertsma studied during this period. On his return he was appointed first master and afterwards headmaster of the gymnasium at Haarlem, which latter post he retained till 1877, when he was called to the Greek chair at Groningen. He died Midsummer 1894, aged 65 years. The affection of the eyes from which we are told that he suffered during the last twenty years of his life

perhaps accounts for the small extent of his writings.

It was, says the editor, Halbertsma's intention to collect and publish his conjectures when he retired from his Professorship, and so obtained the necessary leisure. These would seem to have been very numerous, as the *selection* which are contained in these 'Adversaria' concern a great variety of authors, both Greek and Latin, including some, the correction of whose texts is ordinarily left to rigid specialists, e.g. Homer, Aristotle, and Terence. A quarter of the volume, probably the best, deals with the Greek Historians and Orators; a fifth with the Attic Tragedians; and about a quarter with Latin writers. To criticize such a book would be the task of a whole jury of specialists; and to find fault would be more than ordinarily disagreeable in the case of a work never properly prepared for publication, and printed as a labour of love by the deceased author's friends. On the other hand, since there are no palaeographical observations, and no subtle studies of Greek or Latin usage, one could only praise the book by committing oneself to the approval of particular emendations; and this even the editor is unwilling to do. He says indeed that one emendation 'pleases him amazingly,' that of *Ion* 16

τεκοῦσ' ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ' ἀπήνεγκεν βρέφος,

where Halbertsma proposed to read

τεκοῦσ' ἐν οἴκοις λάθρ' ἀπήνεγκεν βρέφος.

But that this emendation is altogether impossible it does not require a Herwerden to see.

Although then the volume shows evidence of wide and careful reading, it is not probable that future editors of classical texts will find much in it that they can adopt. Conjectures however which have no critical probability are often of some help in introducing the student, so to speak, into the workshop of the writer, and suggesting reasons why one form of expression has been preferred to another that is more obvious; and for this purpose the book may be used with profit. Halbertsma suggests that in *Oed. Tyr.* 1376

ἀλλ' ἢ τέκνων δῆτ' ὄψις ἦν ἐφίμερος
βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε

we should read ἄβλασθ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε. Few will accept the correction; but it will help

some to see the difference between the language of poetry and prose. In Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 291 the children might (without harm to either metre or syntax) have said (p. 59) χαρίσαι' ἂν σύ μοι οὖν, ὦ πάτερ, ἦν σοῦ τι δεηθῶ instead of ἐθελήσεις τι; the suggestion calls attention to the fact that the phrases used by coaxing children differ from those used by grown-up people. In the same play 999, πῶς οὖν ἐμανθῶ τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ξυνείσομαι, when we are told to read ξυγγνώσομαι, we may interpret this as a challenge to suggest a reason why the comic poet preferred an expression meaning 'how can I ever have it on my conscience?' to one meaning 'how can I ever forgive myself?' The emendations that have been quoted are illustrative of the whole volume, and our readers will be able to judge from them to what use they can put it.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LEAF AND BAYFIELD'S EDITION OF THE *ILIAD*.

The Iliad of Homer, edited by WALTER LEAF, Litt. D., and M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A. Vol. I. Books i.—xii. Pp. lxiv. +567, with 6 plates and 7 figs. in text. Fcp. 8vo. Macmillan & Co.: London. 1895. 6s.

THE text in this excellent school edition is printed in 'Macmillan' type. The notes are based on those of Dr. Leaf's edition, and of his *Companion to the Iliad*. They are frequent and concise, and seem well suited for school use. There is a short grammatical introduction and appendices on (1) Homeric armour, (2) the Homeric use of μέλλω (from Mr. Platt's article in the *Journal of Philology*, no. 41), (3) the Homeric house, and (4) the Homeric chariot.

The appendix on armour is the chief novelty and the point most open to criticism, for the views of Dr. Reichel are adopted without reserve. Mr. Bayfield goes even further and gives two illustrations of the 'Homeric warrior fully armed,' and figures to show the structure of the shield. The warrior thus presented is far from imposing, especially in plate V., where he looks supremely uncomfortable and wears a melancholy expression. Schoolboys are scarcely likely to be impressed by this

up-to-date reconstruction and will prefer the warriors of the Attic vase-painters, which it has been the custom to place before them.

It is indeed a pity that Dr. Reichel's theories are so fully accepted. To state that the Homeric heroes wore no θώρηξ, and as a consequence to reject all the passages where it is mentioned as late interpolations, is by itself doubtful wisdom in an edition of the whole text. When one remembers that Hephaestus made a θώρηξ as well as a shield, and that the description of shield more nearly corresponds with the metal work of Mycenae than anything else in Homer, we stand amazed. To suggest that the 'making of the shield' is not Homeric is almost blasphemy.

Dr. Reichel's account of Mycenaean armour as shown by the monuments is excellent, if not exhaustive, but inferences from it must be taken for what they are worth. One of the weakest points in it is the fact that he has to explain away two of the clearest pieces of evidence yet found, the famous 'warrior' vase (Schuchhardt, figs. 284-5), and the two statuettes found by Tsountas (*Ephemeris Arch.* 1891, pl. 2). The vase is undoubtedly of a later date than most Mycenaean pottery, but, as it is the chief authority of the horns on the

helmet which Reichel identifies with *φάλοι*, it cannot be repudiated. Now the vase shows on one side warriors with a short shield which is only half the size of the typical Mycenaean shield, while on the other side, though the shields are large, one of them has a handle.

The two statuettes show a warrior hurling a spear with his right hand, and holding his left arm and hand in such a way that one is almost compelled to restore a buckler held, as in classical times, by an arm-strap and handle.

From an anthropological point of view Dr. Reichel's theory of the evolution of the shield seems certainly wrong.

The most primitive form is generally held to be elaborated from a parrying stick, not from a skin worn as a cloak (cf. *Catalogue* of Lane-Fox; now Pitt-Rivers Collection). Such shields with handles in the centre are shown in Egyptian wall-paintings and are common to this day among the spear-using tribes of Africa, in fact a Soudanese spearman with round hide buckler, dressed in loin-cloth and sandals, resembles a Mycenaean warrior except for the size of his shield. A further point is that the use of the strap (*τελαμών*) by no means excludes the use of the handle. It has always been adopted when the warrior wished to use both hands. Thus, the charioteers in black-figured vase-paintings (e.g. the old Corinthian 'Amphiaras' vase at Berlin) frequently have shields hanging on their backs, just as the Turkish cavalry of the 15th century had (cf. Caorsini's woodcut of the battle with Prince Jem). The long heart-shaped shields of the Normans were also worn with a strap round the neck. For these reasons Dr. Reichel's conclusions that the big shield had no handle, only a baldrick, and that smaller shields were unknown seem to us extremely hazardous. He has been much influenced by the statement in Herodotus that the Greeks borrowed the invention of such handles (*ὄχαρα*) from the Carians, along with crests for their helmets and symbolic figures for their shields. Herodotus would no doubt have been much surprised if he could have guessed that his statements would be taken to apply to the period after the Dorian invasion. He is speaking of the age of Minos which, like Thucydides, he regards as earlier than the Trojan War. He would doubtless have

agreed with Thucydides (i. 8) in identifying the pre-historic weapons found on the islands with the Carian period, so that it is difficult to see the value of the passage in Herodotus as evidence.

Mr. Bayfield's figures showing the structure of the shield are interesting, but it is to be regretted that his experiments were made with buckram and not with raw hide. The shields of the Nubians, with high bosses formed without the aid of stays or straps, prove that hides properly treated may be easily made to take a given shape without the use of the unsightly puckers of the buckram. It is noteworthy that fiddle-shaped and figure-of-eight shields are also to be found in Africa (cf. Lane-Fox, *Catalogue*, p. 13), the shape being apparently designed to allow the insertion of a spear on the inner side.

Dr. Reichel's argument from the absence of metal greaves in the graves at Mycenae is scarcely strong enough to make us relegate *χαλκοκήμιδες* into the limbus of late interpolations. He holds that the greaves were merely gaiters to prevent the big shield bruising the shins. It seems rather strange that the one part unprotected by the shield should not have some armour. The old legend (cf. the Pembroke vase) of the death of Achilles by an arrow wound in the heel, and the fact that Paris in shooting at Diomedes selects the foot as a vulnerable spot (*Il.* xi. 276) seem to imply that higher up it was protected.

Mr. Bayfield's suggestion that the golden leg-guards or gaiter-holders found at Mycenae were *ἐπισφύρια* seems to be due to a misunderstanding of Reichel, who says (p. 76) that these leg-guards belonged to the upper part of the gaiter, holding it tight below the knee, and so imply the existence of other similar guards at the ankle below. These latter would be the *ἐπισφύρια*, but no specimens are extant.

These are a few criticisms of the appendix on the armour. Many more suggest themselves, but to enter into the vexed question of the helmet and minor points of interpretation would bring me beyond the modest limits of the review. One suggestion occurs to me—that the second volume should contain the figures from the 'warrior' vase and the statuettes referred to above, and that an appendix on Homeric dress, based on Studniczka, might be added.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

EPIGRAMMATA

GEORGIO FREDERICO WATTS DEDICATA.

1.

Εἰς Ἔρωτα βίου ἀγωγόν.

Κεῖ κάμνουσι βροτοί, τό γε συγκάμνειν ἀγαπητόν·
ὦδε φίλον τὸ φιλεῖν, ὦδ' ἔρατεινὸς Ἔρωσ.

2.

Εἰς Ἔρωτα Θάνατον παραιτούμενον.

Οὐ κακὸν ὀρφναίη, κάσις ἡματος, εἰ καλὸν ἡμαρ·
εἰ δὲ καλὸν τὸ ζῆν, οὐ κακὸς ἔστ' Ἀΐδης.

3.

Εἰς Ἔρωτα ἀλιεῖοντα.

Ἦῶθέν τ', ἀλιανθὲς Ἔρωσ, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν ἀυγαῖς
φαιδρὸς ἔτ' εἶ, στίλβων τῆν κοθ' ὀμηλικίην.

4.

Εἰς παιδίον ἀωροθάνατον.

Ἦδύ, Θεός, τὸ ψυχίδιον καὶ ἄχραντον ἐδρέψω·
ἀνθεμίδ' ὡς χαρτῶν ἐν πτυχι σῶων ἔχοις.

5.

Εἰς Ἐλπίδα.

Μαντέουσο' Ἐλπίς, θείων πυλαρὸς ὀνείρων,
φαντασίαις φοβερὰν εἶρξεν ἀπιστοσύνην.

6.

'*Sic transit.*'

Κτῆμα φίλον κέεται ζῶει θ' ὑπόγειον ὀπισθεν
θησαύρισμ' ἀνδρῶν ἢ καλοκάγαθῆ.

GEORGE C. W. WARR.

1.

*Love and Life.*¹

LOVE is ENOW ; life is not vain,
While hearts in woe of love are fain.

2.

Love and Death.

Fair is life's light, while love has breath,
And fair as night life's sister, death.

3.

Cupid fishing.

Love, the sea-born, is heavenly bright
From golden morn to azure night.

4.

Death crowning Innocence.

Souls without sin, that early slept,
As flowers within God's book are kept.

5.

Hope.

Hope's gate of horn turns doubt away
With dreams unborn till break of day.

6.

Sic transit.

As treasure stored within a grave,
The Earth doth hoard her good and brave.

GEORGE C. W. WARR.

¹ The English is reprinted, by the kind permission of the editor, from the *Academy* of Jan. 25.

NOTES ON THE *OECONOMICUS* OF XENOPHON.*(Classical Review, X. pp. 101, 144.)*

MR. H. RICHARDS in his interesting critical notes on the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon professes to have taken my edition of 1894 as his main foundation. I am not aware of the existence of such an edition; the fourth and last impression from the plates of the original stereotyped edition appeared in 1889. I regret that he did not make use of the latest edition, printed and published in October, 1895; as he would then have spared himself the trouble of animadverting upon some errors that disfigured the earlier impressions.

Thus his notes on i 18, ii 7, ii 13, 15, 17, iv 4, v 18, vi 3, vii 43 in the March number, and in the April number on viii 10 (part), xi 18 (where *Cyr.* II ii 30

furnishes a parallel), xii 14 (where nothing is said in my last edition about *εὐπετές* and the mistranslation of *παρῆ* is not perpetuated, although by an unfortunate oversight the verb is misplaced in the Greek Index), xiii 9, xv 1 (where Mr. G. E. Marindin's suggestion of *κρίσις*, which he has proposed to me as an emendation, is far and away the best hitherto given), xvii 7 (where the punctuation suggested is adopted by me)—these all require to be re-written or altogether suppressed. In the remaining criticisms, Mr. Richards exhibits his usual acuteness and sound scholarship and commands my admiration and respect.

H. A. HOLDEN.

CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM.

THE next fasciculus will contain the poets from Manilius to Valerius Flaccus, viz. Manilius, Phaedrus, Persius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus together with the *Aetna*. The chief editor will be very grateful if scholars who have made recent contributions to the

textual criticism of these authors will acquaint him with the particulars in order that nothing may be overlooked. Communications may be addressed and pamphlets forwarded to Dr. J. P. Postgate, Trinity College, Cambridge.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE THRONE OF APOLLO AT
AMYKLAÆ.

ONE of the most interesting monuments of archaic art seen and described by Pausanias was the throne built for the Lacedaemonians by Bathykles of Magnesia as part of the furniture of the precinct of Apollo at Amyklæ. Not only does the list of subjects represented in the decorations which covered its sides furnish material for the study of mythography only equalled, in that period, by the chest of Kypselus: but the throne itself seems to have been in plan so skilfully adapted to meet the special

needs of its position, as to stand in an almost unique place in the history of Greek dedicatory art.

The interest attaching to the throne has naturally caused no little time to be spent in the endeavour to reconstruct it from the somewhat fragmentary account of Pausanias. The earlier writers—Heyne,¹ de Quincy,² Welcker,³ Brunn,⁴ Pyl,⁵ Bötticher,⁶ and

¹ *Antiquar. Aufs.* i, 1—115.² *Le Jupiter Olympien*, 196 ff.³ *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. a. Kunst.* 280 ff.⁴ *N. Rhein. Mus.* v, 325 ff.⁵ *Arch. Zeit.* 1852, 43.⁶ *id.* 1853, 59.

Rühl¹—may be classed together, as agreeing in the general principle of the restoration of the throne on the analogy of the ordinary seats supplied to Greek gods in artistic representations: while in the last few years Klein,² who is followed by Murray³ and Furtwängler,⁴ have gone further afield in search of models, and imagined the Amyklaean throne to be more like those of the Persian kings.

The excavation of the precinct at Amyklæe by Tsountas⁵ has supplied some fresh material, though unfortunately not such as to show decisively the shape of the throne. Of previous restorations, Furtwängler's alone has had the aid of this material; and if, as it is intended that this essay should show, he has misunderstood the meaning of it, this fact may justify a fresh attempt to solve the old problem.

To begin—as the builders began—with Apollo himself, the reason of the whole structure: the shape of the statue is fortunately known, as well from coins as from the description of Pausanias. It was of archaic style; a bronze pillar-like figure, with helmeted head, arms, the hands holding a spear and a bow, and feet: and, according to Pausanias, was not the work of Bathykses. There is no reason to doubt this statement: unless Bathykses had been specially commissioned to copy an older type, he would certainly not have chosen this form in which to represent the god: and it would seem incredible that such an elaborately peculiar throne should have been built to suit a newly-made and inconvenient deity, when it would have been so much simpler to make a seated statue according to the ordinary principles. The whole reason of the peculiar form of the throne, whatever restoration is adopted, lies in its being a later adjunct to an old statue, whose sanctity required it to be suited to his form. The Amyklaeans wished to provide Apollo with a seat: and, as he could not sit down, the seat had to be modified to accommodate him.

The basis upon which the statue stood was known as the grave of Hyakinthos; that is, it was the centre of the local hero-worship. The spot is shown, by the excavations of Tsountas, to have been sacred from the time when Amyklæe was in Achaean hands: and the so-called grave, or

rather altar, will have been originally erected then, and subsequently used as the basis for the statue of Apollo set up by the Dorian conquerors.

The question of the shape of this basis has been bound up with that of the general form of the throne by the discoveries of Tsountas and the arguments drawn therefrom by Furtwängler. These discoveries are, briefly, as follows. In the Amyklaean precinct were discovered a number of foundation-walls, of different dates: of which the oldest were, a semicircular wall, with a radius of about eighteen feet, as far as can be judged from the plan: and, within this, another wall, about sixteen feet long, cutting off the inmost segment of the semicircle. Of later, perhaps Roman, date are a wall at right angles to the second, built from its east end: a wall built across from end to end of the semicircle: and several fragments of walls outside the semicircle, but apparently built in relation to those inside. The space between the later east wall and the semicircular one is paved.

There seems every reason to suppose that the oldest walls belong to some part of the throne: the only question is, to which part. Tsountas suggested that the semicircular wall was the foundation of the throne, and the inner wall that of the basis. But this theory has been sufficiently refuted by Furtwängler, who has pointed out the impossibility of reconciling the words of Pausanias with a semicircular throne. He thinks that the semicircular wall—or semi-elliptical, as he prefers to call it—was the foundation of an originally elliptical altar, part of which was cut off, when the throne was built round it. The objection to this is, that it leaves the inner walls unexplained, unless it is to be supposed that there was a second building inside the altar, which Pausanias does not mention; that it also does not account for the pavement inside the semicircle; and that the throne must have covered the ground where Tsountas found remains of later walls, which were evidently built in relation to the throne, and therefore while it was standing—a thing impossible if Furtwängler's restoration were correct. According to the account which will be given below, the inner walls belonged to the throne: the semicircular wall was simply an enclosing barrier: and the outer walls probably belong to some Roman chapel or other building added to the precinct.

This will be found consistent with the shape and size of the throne. Klein

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, 70.

² *Mith. Ost.* ix. 145.

³ *Hist. Greek Sculpt.* ed. 2.

⁴ *Meisterw. d. Griech. Plastik.*

⁵ *Ἐφ. Ἀρχαιολ.* 1891.

curiously argues that, because Pausanias persistently calls it a throne, earlier writers were wrong in supposing it to have been an ordinary Greek seat, and that it was a copy of a Persian throne. In emphasizing it as a real throne, Pausanias surely means that, despite the difficulties in the shape of Apollo, Bathykles had managed to give him what was just like all other thrones of the gods—Apollo had got a genuine throne, just as much as Zeus at Olympia. And the passage quoted in support of Klein's argument is really destructive of it. 'It is not possible,' says Pausanias, speaking of the throne of Zeus, 'to go under the throne, as we do under that at Amyklæ: for wall-like barriers block the way.' Now the manner of the barrier at Olympia, external to the throne, is known: and to suppose that the throne at Amyklæ consisted chiefly of three walls, like the barrier at Olympia, is entirely unsupported by Pausanias, who evidently speaks of this barrier as an adjunct not possessed by the throne at Amyklæ, and, it might fairly be argued, implies that the two thrones generally resembled each other otherwise. And it would be most natural for this shape to be chosen for the throne: it was the one most familiar to the Greeks in artistic representations of gods: it would be familiar to the Lacedæmonians, as this is the type found on the Spartan stelæ; and to Bathykles, if the 'Harpy tomb' may be taken as giving the form usual on the west coast of Asia Minor. It may be noted, in passing, that in these representations are found close parallels to the details of the Amyklæan throne chronicled by Pausanias: on the eastern side of the 'Harpy tomb' is to be seen a throne whose arm-rail is supported by a Triton, and along the bar beneath the seat is a floral decoration; on the western side another throne has a Sphinx for the support of the rail. These recall Echidna and Typhos, and the Tritons supporting the Amyklæan throne; while the floral decoration may serve as a clue to where the figures on the Amyklæan throne were placed. The throne of Zeus at Olympia, again, which was of this same shape, had the sphinx-supports for the arms, and sculptures along the bars between the legs of the throne, and on the throne. But the closest parallel is to be found on the coins of Aenos, where a similar problem to that at Amyklæ had been met. The people at Aenos had a terminal figure of Hermes, whom they wished to provide with a throne: as he

could not sit down, they put him to stand on the seat. This step could not be taken at Amyklæ, because of the basis, on which Apollo was already planted: but, though the connection between Apollo and his throne was less close than that between Hermes and his,—as is shown by the fact that the coins of Aenos have the god and his throne together, those of Amyklæ the god alone,—the parallel in other respects may be found very near. Hermes at Aenos stood on a throne of the shape described with arm-rests supported by sphinxes, and terminating in rams' heads: and the legs were apparently richly decorated. The throne from the Saboureff collection, quoted by Furtwängler, is apparently a translation of this form into terracotta.

Taking these analogies as giving the general shape of the throne, two minor problems are left—the supporters and the seat. With regard to the former, Pausanias says that the throne was supported, in front and behind, by two figures of Graces and two of Seasons: which, if the names were not simply attached to the figures by the inventive genius of guides, may perhaps point to the figures having been those of the four seasons. But Furtwängler, on the strength of an unnatural translation of the words of Pausanias, doubles the number of these supporters, and gives the throne four ordinary legs as well; and further plants Echidna and Typhos on the one side, and the Tritons on the other, as supporters of the bars between the legs. Apart from the unwarranted multiplication of female figures, this supposition puts the figures of Echidna, Typhos, and the Tritons, in positions which cannot be reconciled with the express statement of Pausanias: he begins his description of the scenes which decorated the throne from the Tritons, clearly showing that they were at the end; whereas Furtwängler would place them at intervals along the side, and suppose that Pausanias talked nonsense. He also, by the way, puts these four figures facing outwards, while all the other decoration according to his restoration looks inwards or forwards: though perhaps this exceptional treatment might be defended on the ground that, in these half-fish or half-snake forms, the most characteristic part was the tail. But the position of these is almost certain from the analogies already quoted. And when Pausanias says that the throne was upheld by four figures, what necessity is there for supposing that it was not, and that these four figures were not in place of the four legs?

With regard to the seat, the words of Pausanias are: 'The part of the throne, where the god would sit, is not in one piece, but makes several seats, with a space by each seat; and in the middle is a very wide space, wherein the statue stands.' This seems to imply an ordinary throne, with the seat left out, and round the edges of the vacant space small projections. Whether these really were seats or not, it is hard to say: perhaps they were slabs of stone, at the corners of the throne, serving the purpose of throwing the weight of the construction inwards. I confess I am not satisfied with this idea: but it seems to me more probable than any suggestions of previous restorers. The elaborate arrangement of Rühl, making a number of small seats with a winding stair leading up to each, supposes an impossibly large construction: and the semicircular cuttings suggested by de Quincy and Pyl are irreconcilable alike with the words of Pausanias and with common sense. As for Furtwängler's idea, that the several seats were arranged like the bars of a gridiron, it is hard to see how these, on which nothing could sit, could be called seats: moreover, his restoration disagrees with the description of Pausanias, which speaks of a space in the middle of where the seat should be, in which the statue stands; whereas Furtwängler fills up this space with an altar, and puts the statue to stand over it.

A considerable difficulty has been introduced into previous restorations by mistaken theories with regard to the size of the throne. For instance, Pyl and Rühl suppose the measurements of the ground-plan of the throne to have been about sixty feet square. Now, seeing that the statue was only forty-five feet high, and about seven feet in diameter, it is obvious that it would have been entirely dwarfed by a throne of this size; whereas the throne was intended to be purely an adjunct; and, moreover, if it was to be the seat of the god, it must have maintained some degree of proportion. The natural size of a throne, of the shape described, for a figure forty-five feet high, if it were to be seated, would be about twelve feet square and thirty-two feet high; but, as the statue was to stand, the measurements might be raised, and the back of the throne made to equal the height of the statue, when the seat would be about seventeen feet each way, and twenty-two feet from the ground. Now the foundation-wall discovered by Tsountas, which has been taken above to be

that which supported the back of the throne, is apparently seventeen or eighteen feet in length, to judge from his plan: which agrees perfectly with the supposed dimensions.

The material of the throne is nowhere mentioned, and on this point there has been no lack of controversy. The alternatives are stone, and wood overlaid with bronze or gold: the latter having been the general theory, while Heyne, Bötticher, and Rühl alone hold that the throne was of stone. For the present, arguments from the shape and size of the throne had better be put aside, as they generally lead from conjecture only to conjecture; and what is absolutely known be taken as a basis. Furtwängler has sufficiently shown that de Quincy and Klein were wrong in supposing that the decoration of the throne was of gold, since they based their theory on facts that are not mentioned by Pausanias and are contradicted by Theopompus—their two authorities. Bronze is more possible: but three arguments seem to make in favour of marble. In the first place, if a throne of bronze had been desired, the Lacedaemonians would not have needed to look beyond their own country for an artist; the school of Dipoenos and Skyllis was able to do any metal-work. But, when marble was to be the material, the superiority of the sculptors of Ionia and the islands was so unquestionable that the Lacedaemonians may well have asked Croesus to send them over a master, who could build them a throne of stone; in response to which Bathykles was sent, and his workmen with him. Secondly, all the remains, including some architectural fragments, found by Tsountas on the site at Amyklæ, are of marble: though the discoveries are not sufficient to make this argument of any value. And, in the third place, Pausanias expressly notes, with regard to two objects, that they were of bronze—namely the statue, and the door of the basis. The chief point of this description of material would be in the fact that the rest of the throne and its belongings was not of bronze. The only reference that makes in favour of bronze, is in one of the inscriptions found by Tsountas in the precinct, which speaks of the glitter of bronze therein; but this may mean simply the statue, which is known to have been of bronze. On the whole, it seems to be slightly more probable that the throne was of marble: and there would be no architectural difficulty, if the proportions of the throne above supposed are accepted: an architrave of seventeen

artist would not present any obstacle to an artist familiar with the temple then in building at Ephesus.

With regard to the decoration of the throne, it has been already seen that the supporters were four 'Caryatids,' about eighteen feet high, upon whose heads rested what may be termed an architrave and a frieze, which would be each about three feet wide, and represented the seat of the throne. At the back columns rose about twenty-one feet higher; and the arms of the throne were each supported by two figures—on the one side Tritons, on the other Echidna and Typhos. The throne was covered with sculptured scenes—as to the arrangement of which Pausanias says nothing, simply giving a list. The only hint he supplies is when, after going through a catalogue, he breaks off, and starts afresh with the words 'And when one goes under the throne, there are on the inside—'; from which it is evident that up to this point he has been describing scenes visible from outside; that is, it is natural to suppose, scenes on the outside of the throne. And this theory has been accepted by every one, till Furtwängler formulated an idea that the scenes were outside in the sense of being outside the seat, on to which the visitor had to climb to see them. This, of course, presupposes that there was a seat. But Pausanias does not mention the fact of his climbing up to see these sculptures. Moreover, there is no analogy for such decoration of the back of a throne: the instance, figured by Furtwängler, of a terracotta throne with crossing beams at the back and depressions between, which depressions he imagines to have been for the insertion of a sort of metopes, looking much more like an attempt to represent in terracotta an ordinary back of beams, the spaces between them being filled, as the material required, instead of left open; and it further seems out of the question that a part of the throne which would be almost entirely hidden from view by the statue should have this decoration lavished on it, while the outside of the throne, which would be visible to every one who walked round it, was left unadorned. Furtwängler's theory may be dismissed, therefore, as unsupported and unnatural: and the division, according to Pausanias, into scenes inside and outside followed. In the disposal of these, the earliest restorers supposed that there were two long rows, as it were friezes: and spent much care in arranging the scenes so as to produce a balance. But, as these theories

all proceed either on the purely gratuitous assumption that Pausanias did not describe the scenes in the order in which he saw them, and that therefore the restorer may pick out one scene here and another there at his pleasure; or on the convenient method of forgetting the principle of balance entirely when it is inconvenient; it will be sufficient to take as an example the latest and most elaborate exponent of this school—Klein. He supposes the whole series to have been based on the number seven, and arranges twenty-eight scenes outside, on the two side walls and in two tiers on the back, fourteen inside on the sides, and seven above on the back: each group of seven being composed of one long frieze at the top of the section of the throne, and three scenes down each end, treated in square fields. But, in order to get this result, it is necessary to suppose that Pausanias described in one breath scenes on different parts of the throne, and that he went from one side to another and returned to the back—an unnatural order; and, it is also necessary to treat scenes as friezes or metopes in an arbitrary manner, and balance them anyhow; thus Klein makes the 'chorus of the Phaeacians' into a metope, and balances this by the solitary figure of Atlas; or, again, crowds 'the Trojans bringing libations to Hector' into a square field. The whole arrangement is hopelessly artificial and forced. There seems no reason for questioning that the decoration was all in long friezes, without any marked division of scenes; and this may account for Pausanias separating in his description figures belonging to the same scene—as where he speaks of Atlas as though his figure stood by itself, whereas it almost certainly belongs to the scene he has just described, of the carrying off of the daughters of Atlas. The words of Pausanias, 'the decoration within, beginning from the Tritons,' imply a line of figures leading away from the end of the arm of the throne: and no hint is given of any change of direction. A line of figures upon either the architrave or the frieze, accepting the measurements given above, would stand almost three feet high; and there would be room for sixteen or seventeen figures along each side. Now, according to Pausanias, there were on the inside about forty-five figures in fourteen scenes: on the outside, about eighty-five in twenty-seven. It would appear, therefore, that on the inside there was a single line of sculptures, on the architrave, the frieze being broken up by the 'seats' projecting

from it: on the outside, a double line, on both the architrave and the frieze. There were also certain figures which Pausanias describes separately, upon the back of the throne—the Dioscuri ‘beside the finials at the top,’—under their horses, ‘sphinxes, and beasts running upwards’—and, ‘at the top of all,’ Bathykles and his fellow-workman. That is to say, on the posts of the back were sculptured, on either side, one of the Dioscuri, below him a sphinx, and below that a rampant animal; and on the top rail, a row of figures. It would not be necessary to dwell further on this point, if Furtwängler had not attempted to get a wholly impossible sense out of Pausanias; translating *πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω πέρασιν* by ‘sculptured on the upper finials’—and *θηρία ἄνω θέοντα* by ‘beasts on the top running.’ After this, it is unnecessary to linger over his theory as to their arrangement.

To discuss the scenes represented in their mythographical aspect would be foreign to the purpose of this paper. But one point should receive attention—namely, whether there were inscriptions under the figures. Klein, with whom Furtwängler agrees, argues that there must have been inscriptions: but, in the case of the throne, his only grounds are probabilities. From what other source, he asks, would Pausanias get the names of Oreios and Thourios, Megapenthes and Nikostratos? These names sound much more like local inventions than like genuine relics of earlier mythology: and Klein is obliged to allow that there need not have been names throughout—as Demodokos and the chorus of Phaeacians, for instance, must be wrongly named. It seems much more natural to suppose that there were no names, and that Pausanias supplied them from his own imagination, or, when that failed him, from the unerring invention of a guide or guardian. The words with which he prefaces his catalogue of the scenes almost imply this—‘most were not hard to recognize’; which, if there were inscriptions, would mean that he deliberately attempted to deceive his readers. Besides, inscriptions, unless out of all proportion to the figures, would have been useless at the height at which, on any theory, some of the scenes must have been placed. There is, however, one strong argument in favour of inscriptions—which applies only to the basis. Klein points out that *Βίσις* and *Θεοτάδαι* are probably misreadings on the part of Pausanias, who was unacquainted with the archaic digamma and aspirate. But, even if the sculptures on

the basis were, what the basis itself certainly was not—the work of Bathykles—the inscriptions here would be legible, and therefore there would be more reason for placing them. And these very inscriptions furnish an argument against the attribution of this work to Bathykles; since he would not have used the Laconian form of the alphabet, which puzzled Pausanias, but his native Ionian letters. The conclusion is, then, that the basis, which was not the work of Bathykles, had, but the throne, which was, had not, its figures named.

To speak, finally, of the artist. Nothing is known of Bathykles, save what Pausanias tells here—that he was of Magnesia—and a fact mentioned by Plutarch, that at Delphi there was a cup, said to be of Croesus or Bathykles; the latter pointing to a connection, reasons for supposing which have already been given. Klein connects him with the Samian artist family—on the evidence of the similarity of his name to that of Telekles; an argument which can hardly be taken seriously. There seems no other reason for setting aside the definite statement of Pausanias as to his birth-place. And, if any clue to his style is to be found, it will unquestionably be in the sculptures from the temple at Ephesus executed by his countrymen and contemporaries, if not by himself.

J. GRAFTON MILNE.

SCHULTZE ON EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst, von VICTOR SCHULTZE, Professor an d. U. Greifswald. Munich: Beck. 8vo. 1895. Pp. xii. + 382, with 120 illustrations in text. 10 Mk.

PROFESSOR SCHULTZE is well known as the author of a book on the Catacombs and of numerous papers on early Christian antiquities. He claims in his preface that the present work embodies the results of nearly twenty years' study, and no one can question his competence or authority.

The period covered ends with the building of St. Sophia at Constantinople, a natural and convenient limit for ancient history, but one which in the case of Christian art does not mark any real break in continuity.

The handbook is built on the German system which Iwan Müller's series has made familiar to us. The text is concise

and continuous with abundant notes on the authorities and the bibliography, and digressions in small type describing individual monuments.

It is divided into sections on architecture, painting (including mosaics), sculpture, the minor arts and iconography. An introduction gives a sketch of the history of the study of Christian antiquities and of the relation of Christian to Pagan art.

This arrangement according to subject matter admits of a full treatment of the development of the different arts, but has the great drawback of divorcing things so intimately allied as architecture, sculpture, and painting, and making it difficult to form a clear idea of the characteristics of any given place or of local variations from the general type. Thus we find the Catacombs treated of under each of the five different heads, and have to consult the index and look up the references if we desire to form an idea of them as a whole.

To those familiar with the monuments this is a small matter, but even serious students would be glad to have some short account of the general characteristics of Syrian, Coptic, and North African, not to speak of Byzantine, art. No doubt the limits of a handbook make this impossible.

In the section on architecture, the author is a strong upholder of the theory of the direct evolution of the basilica from the dwelling-house of classical times. He regards the Greek house with a single court as the origin of the Eastern type, where the fore-court is wanting, and the Graeco-Roman house with *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *peristylum* as the origin of the Western. He combats the traditional theory of the conversion of Roman basilicas into churches, or even the assumption that their architecture was borrowed from pagan basilicas. Yet the 'dwelling-house' theory cannot be received without reserve. If nothing else, it is extremely uncritical to take the type of the Attic house of the 5th century B.C., to place it beside the Graeco-Roman house of Pompeii, and regard them as both equally prototypes of public buildings of the fourth century A.D. Besides the hypothesis implies that the *peristylum* is an Italian addition to the Greek house.

There is the further objection that it is assumed that the *tablinum* was the scene of the sacramental ritual, that in process of time the *peristylum* ceased to be a garden, and was roofed over for the reception of the congregation, that the *atrium* was unroofed and changed its place to become a fore-court

to the *peristylum*. This seems somewhat violent.

The natural inference is that though the dwelling-house was the original meeting-place of the church and gave a distinctive form to its ritual, it was not the direct prototype of the basilica. The very name proves this. When an emperor wished to build a 'palace' rather than a 'house' for God, he was scarcely likely to take the ordinary house in the street as his model. The apse and the nave with colonnades and aisles are the marks of a large public building, are also characteristic of the basilica, and are what we should expect in a church built near or in a palace. The raised 'tribunal' and the chancel rails also suggest a basilica of the type preserved in the Domus Augustana on the Palatine and have no direct connection with the structure of a private house. Further in a palace there was not the same strict adherence to the typical plan of house; witness Diocletian's palace at Spalato, built on the model of a camp, in which the *peristylum* lies in front of the private apartments of the emperor. It seems then a safer hypothesis to look to the palaces rather than the Pompeian or Athenian house for the source of the basilica.

In the account of the domed basilica, Professor Schultze, though he quotes Swainson and Lethaby's *Santa Sophia* (1894), does not seem to have read it. He omits all mention of Jackson's *Dalmatia*, though he refers to Salona, Aquileia and Grado. Among other omissions, are Prof. Baldwin Browne's *From Schola to Cathedral*, 1886, and Headlam's *Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria* (Hell. Soc. Suppl. 1892).

In the sketch of martyrs' tombs and chapel one looks in vain for an account of the remarkable *memoria*, which lies round the walls and under the foundations of the basilica at Salona.

The section on iconography is very disappointing, though this is due more to the difficulty of treating the subject without adequate illustration. Here too the works of Mrs. Jameson and Mrs. Twining (though not scientific, and treating as a rule of later periods) might have been mentioned.

Yet with all its shortcomings the book is an admirable piece of work, when one considers the state of our knowledge and the numerous pitfalls that beset an inquirer. Prof. Schultze is eminently impartial, and we should judge that he is a Protestant—but this is only a surmise from the fact that he shows but little sympathy for

ecclesiastical matters or theology except as illustrating evolution. This will make his book all the more useful to archaeological students* and may perhaps be a welcome change even to the professed theologian.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

character of the masonry shows that this must have been the site of a large group of buildings, and it may reasonably be hoped that further research will prove the site to be that of Kynosarges.²

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Fontanellato, near Parma. Excavations here have given additional support to the theory that the prehistoric settlements of the Po valley represent the elementary plan of the early Italian and Roman cities. The settlement was divided into four large quarters, each of which again was divided into *insulæ* by cross-streets.¹

GREECE.

Athens.—The task of deciphering, by the aid of the nail-prints, the bronze inscription which once stood on the eastern architrave of the Parthenon, has been successfully accomplished by Mr. E. Andrews, of the American School. His results are as follows:—*ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀποκράτορα μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Θεοῦ Υἱὸν στρατηγούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπίστας τὸ ὄργον τοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου Τι. Κλαυδίου Νουίου τοῦ Φιλίνου ἐπὶ ἱερέας . . . τῆς . . . θυγατρὸς.*

The reference to the eighth term of Novius' generalship fixes the date at A.D. 61. It probably accompanied the erection of a statue of Nero, perhaps just in front of the Parthenon.

The British School has been undertaking excavations which may give important results for the topography of ancient Athens. The site of the suburb of Kynosarges was for a long time thought to lie on the south-eastern side of Lykabettos; but recently Dr. Dörpfeld has made it clear from the testimony of ancient authors that it lay further to the south, along the banks of the Ilissos. The Director of the School has had his attention drawn to a spot on the south bank of the river, several hundred yards below the Stadion, where the ground falls away abruptly from a small plateau, on either side of which are two prominent hills, probably those mentioned by ancient authors in connection with Kynosarges. A trench was dug through the plateau and brought to light walls of the Roman period, one of the constructions being undoubtedly a *calidarium*, which would point to the existence of a gymnasium (for which Kynosarges was famous). Fragments of Greek vases and various metal objects were excavated, also the remains of a large vase of Median type. The extent of the ruins and solid

Revue Numismatique. Part 1, 1896.

E. Babelon. 'L'éléphant d'Annibal. Deals with the small bronze coins, with *obv.* negro's head, *rev.* elephant, found in Etruria and near lake Trasimene. Babelon thinks that the elephant connects the coins with the Italian expedition of Hannibal and not (as Garrucci thought) with that of Pyrrhus. These pieces may therefore have been struck *circ.* 217 B.C. in some Etrurian town that espoused the cause of Hannibal. The animal represented may possibly be the elephant on which Hannibal rode at the battle of the Trasimene (Liv. xxii. 2). This explanation seems on several grounds to be preferable to Garrucci's, but, if correct, it furnishes one of the comparatively rare instances of the occurrence of a purely historical 'type' on ancient coins.—J. Blanchet. 'Les fonctions des triumvirs monétaires romains.' On the *tresviri aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*. Modern writers have generally supposed that the *tresviri* were first appointed when silver coinage was introduced at Rome (B.C. 269). But the first regular gold coinage of Rome belongs to B.C. 87, and there is a difficulty in ascertaining the functions of these officers who are mentioned *auro flando* at least as early as B.C. 100. Blanchet supposes that the original duty of the *tresviri* was to superintend the Treasury reserves kept in the form of cast ingots of gold and silver—'lateres argentei atque aurei primum conflati atque in aerarium conditi.' This would account for the mention of *tresviri auro flando* previous to the introduction of the gold coinage.—*Chronique*. Contains notices of several recent finds.—*Reviews*. V. Bérard's 'De l'origine des cultes arcadiens,' by Babelon; Gabrici's 'Contributo alla Storia della moneta romana' (Augustus to Domitian) by Babelon. F. Gnechci's 'Monete romane' (elementary manual), Milan, 1896.

Revue Suisse, v. 1895.

This periodical, which rarely contains papers on classical numismatics, has an article by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, 'Zur Münzkunde Kleinasien.' It deals mainly with the coins of Hierokaisareia in Lydia. A bronze coin with the type of the Persian Artemis and the inscription IEP is attributed to Hierakome (cp. Polyb. xvi. 1; xxxii. 25). In the same article Imhoof-Blumer gives a summary of some results that he has arrived at during a recent study of the coins of Lydia, etc. Thus, he points out that Mossyna and Thyessos in Lydia did not strike coins, and that a coin hitherto supposed to have been struck at Selinus in Cilicia by Iotape, queen of Commagene, is really a misread coin of Hermocapelia unconnected with Iotape.

WARWICK WROTH.

² *Academy*, 4 April.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 153. Part 1. 1896.

Der Kriethianismus und die Grundfragen der Homerischen Textkritik, A. Ludwich. A criticism of Canter's latest book 'Grundfragen der Homerikritik' (Leipzig 1895). *Zu Sophokles Aias*, O. Puschmann. In 706 proposes εἴασ' ἔρεμνδν ἔχος κ.τ.λ. *Die topographischen Angaben der Ilias und die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf Hisarlik*, H. Kluge. Considers (1) What can be learnt of a town below Troy from the Iliad and the various discoveries? (2) Walls, towers and gates, especially the Scaean gate, (3) Houses, palaces, and places, (4) Tumuli. *Nachträgliches zu Aristoteles Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, F. Blass. [Cl. Rev. ix. 473.] Points out where his readings differ from Wilcken's in *Hermes* vol. 30. *Zu Demosthenes Rede für Phormion*, C. Rüger. Critical and explanatory notes on various sections. Fick's *die griechischen Personenamen* rev. C. Angermann. A work that does great honour to German industry and German knowledge. *Zu Sophokles Electra*, Th. Plüss. Some criticisms of and additions to a number of passages treated by Vahlen in *Berliner ind. lect.* 1895. *Zu Ovidius ex Ponto*, H. Gilbert. In iv. 13, 23 punctuates as follows *maternum quaeris? laudes: de Caesare divi*. *Die Beischriften des Wolfenbüttler Propertius-codex Gud.* 224, K. Dziatzko. *Zu Livius, K. Hachtmann*. In i. 51, 3 would read *prima nocte for una nocte*, the numeral I having been wrongly taken for *una* instead of *prima*, cf. *Dion. Hal.* iv. 47. W. Soltau. Considers whether in xxvi. 7 Livy has not followed Polybius directly. Criticizes Bethé's dissertation (*ind. lect.* Rostoch. 1895) on the sources of Livy's account of Hannibal's march from Capua against Rome. *Zu Lucanus de bello civili*, L. Paul. In i. 4 proposes to read *ut for et...certatum (sit)*, so as to avoid having to take *datum, conversum, and certatum* as infinitives. *Ein mittelalterliches Liebesgedicht*, R. Helm. A short poem of twenty-one lines from the bibl. Barberina at Rome, already published in Novati's 'carmina medii aevi' (1889).

Part 2. A. von Gutschmid's *Kleinen Schriften* ed. F. Rühl, rev. W. Schmid. There are 5 vols. devoted respectively to Egyptology, and history of Greek chronography, history and literature of the Semitic peoples and old Church-history, history and literature of the non-Semitic peoples of Asia, Greek history and literature, history and literature of Rome and the middle ages. *Zur etymologie einiger griechischen götternamen*, A. Döhning. Treats of (1) Rhea and Kronos, (2) Priapos, (3) Hephaistos. *Observationes grammaticae*, L. Radermacher. On δειν—δέον, δᾶν—δῆ ἄν, εἰς—τις, ἄδειν—λέγειν, αἶψην—μέγαν αἶψην, ἐνθεν ἐλόν, εἰ καί—εἰ δῆ, ἔρειν—λέγειν, ταυτί—ταῦτα and the like, τινὲς οἱ, οὐτε, ἀλλ' οὐδέ, πρώτως, νόμος, φύσις—ὁ νόμος, ἡ φύσις. *Zu Sophokles Aias*, E. Holzner. In 510 proposes εἰ νέος | προφῆας στερηθῆς κ.τ.λ. *Nepos und Plutarchos*, W. Soltau. The debt of P. to N. has not yet been acknowledged. N. was his most important biographical authority. *Drei zeitbeziehungen in den Silven des Statius*, J. Ziehen. In iv. 3, 19 keeps the MSS *lumina...calvum*. Finds other references to time in i. 5, 60 foll. and ii. 2, 30 foll. *Kritische Kleinigkeiten*, A. Weidner. Some places in Tacitus and Horace noticed. *Die angeblichen meridiene der*

tabula Peutingeriana, K. Miller. Against Cuntz who sought to show that the author had taken certain meridians from Ptolemy. It is maintained that the attempt to find a mathematical foundation for the table is in vain.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. 51. Part 2. 1896.

Ueber die Schriftstellerei des Klaudios Galenos iii., J. Ilberg. Continued from vol. 47 (1892). The order of the composition of his pathological and therapeutic works is here considered, and a conjectural table of his writings is given from his first residence in Rome (after 163) to the time of Septimius Severus (after 193). *Die Textgeschichte des Rutilius*, C. Hosius. Contains the results of an investigation of a MS. in the library of the Duke of Sermoneta at Rome derived from the Bobiensis. *Die panathenäischen und eleusinischen iεροποιοί*, L. Ziehen. Supplements the dissertation of Schöll (1887) on the Athenian 'Festkommissionen' by information derived from the Ἀθην. πολιτεία which was not then available. *Das Verhältniss der aristotelischen zu der thukydidischen Darstellung des Tyrannenmordes*, P. Corssen. Agrees with Stahl [Cl. Rev. ix. 430] in rejecting the account of Ἀθ. πολ. that Thessalos and not Hipparchos was the lover of Harmodios, as against the usual version given by Thucydides. *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik*, ii., Th. Birt. Continued from last number. This paper is on the shortenings of trochaic words. *Die Theosophie des Aristokritos*, A. Brinkmann. In this lost work A. attempted to show an essential identity between Hellenism, Christianity, and Manichaeism. *Die Amtstracht der Vestalinnen*, H. Dragendorff. With two illustrations from statues excavated from the former. The chastity of the Vestal Virgin was compared to that of a wife not that of a virgin. She was the bride of the godhead, just as the Christian virgin, vowed to a religious life, is the bride of Christ.

MISCELEN. *Ein nominativer Ablativus Singularis im Griechischen*, F. Solmsen. Finds an abl. in the word *Φοκῶ* in an inscr. recently found at Delphi, which Homolle explains as a gen. *Das Zeugniß der delphischen Hymnen über den griechischen accent*, J. Wackernagel. *Noch einmal das vorheseische Athen*, J. M. Stahl. A reply to Dörpfeld in the last number [sup. p. 77]. *Ad Simonis Atheniensis fragmentum addendum*, E. Oder. Contains some remarks of Mr. Kenyon on a fragment of Simon contained in a Brit. Mus. MS. [sup. p. 77]. *De Phoenicis loco*, L. Radermacher. Correction of a fragment in Athenaeus 530 c. *Zu Philodem περὶ κολακείας*, M. Ihm. Some fragments in vol. i. of the second collection of the Volumina Herculaniensia pp. 74-83 emended. *Nachtrag zu 'Zwei neu aufgefundenen Schriften der graeco-syrischen Literatur'*, V. Ryssel. The Greek text of this has now been discovered [sup. p. 77]. *Die Fescenninen*, E. Hoffmann. Compares Hor. ep. 2, 1, 139 foll. and Verg. Geo. 2, 385 foll. and distrusts the account of Hor. in some particulars. *Zum Gedicht des Pseudosolinus*, F. B. Varia, C. Weyman. Notes on Acts 28, 16, Juvenus, Damasus, Prudentius, and *digna dignis* referred to by Bücheler in sup. vol. 46 as a proverbial saying.

Mnemosyne. N.S. Vol. xxiv. Part 2. 1896.

Ad Tacitum, E. B. Koster. On Ann. iii. 28, iii. 30, Hist. ii. 70, and some passages of Dial. de Or. and Agric. *Conjectanea ad Aeschylæ Oresteam*, L. A. J. Burgersdijk. With special reference to the conjectures of Wecklein, Weil, Hermann and Keck. *Observatiunculæ de jure Romano*, J. C. Naber. Continued. (1) De publica praediorum traditione, (2) de clandestina possessione recuperanda, (3) quando possessio ab justo possessore transferatur, (4) interdictis retinendæ possessionis recuperandi vim inesse. *Ad Corpus Inscriptionum Rhodiarum*, H. van Gelder. Continued from last number. *Petrovius* c. 52, J. van der Vliet. Proposes *nam modo*

fortunam suam <verebatur>, for *nam modo Fortunatam <verebatur>*. *Emendantur Scholia Græca in Aristophanis Pacem*, H. van Herwerden. *Ad Thucydidis* vii. 56, 2, J. v. L. For ὑπὸ τῶν ἔπειτα πολὺ θαυμασθήσεσθαι proposes ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεί π. θ. *Codex Apulei Dorvillianus*, J. van der Vliet. *Annotationes criticae ad Taciti Annales et Historias*, J. C. G. Boot. *Ad Sophoclis Electrae* vs. 1370 sq., J. v. L. Thinks that Soph. wrote οὐτοῖς τε < τοῖς > < καί > νειν σοφοῖς | < κ > ἄλλοισι τούτων πλείοσιν. *Quid est τὸ ὑπὲρσιον?* P. H. Damsté. Defends the old meaning (cushion) of this word against Breusing (*Die Lösung der Triere rätsels* p. 110), and against S. A. Naber (*Mnemos.* vol. 23, p. 265). [Cl. Rev. ix. 429.]

The Classical Review

JUNE 1896.

THE 'PROVOCATIO MILITIAE' AND PROVINCIAL JURISDICTION.

IN the early Republic we know that the right of criminal appeal did not extend beyond the limits of one mile from the city (Liv. 3, 20 'neque enim provocationem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum'). It is a matter of considerable importance in the development of criminal procedure at Rome to determine whether these limits were ever exceeded: whether, as the city state expanded to include Italy and then the provinces, the bounds of the 'provocatio' kept pace with this expansion, and whether the Roman citizen, in whatever part of the Roman world he found himself, could eventually make a legal claim to this right of appeal. The importance of this question is due to the fact that, in the later stages of Republican history, we are not concerned merely with a relic of popular sovereignty which was almost extinct and only resorted to when the cumbrous machinery of the 'comitia' was put in motion for judicial purposes. The 'provocatio' is the basis of the whole criminal jurisdiction at Rome, and the right of appeal at the end of the Republic is the right to be tried in certain of the standing courts (*quaestiones perpetuae*) which had replaced the popular jurisdiction of the 'comitia.' It must be remarked, however, that if the 'provocatio' was extended beyond its original limits, it certainly did not give a right to be tried in all these courts, since the jurisdiction of some of them was limited by law. Thus the 'lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis' only took cognizance of murders which had taken place in Rome and within a mile of

the city.¹ But, on the whole, the appeal is the claim of a Roman citizen to be tried before the courts of the central state, and, consequently, when we find the 'provocatio' extended to Latins during the last period of the Republic (Lex Acilia Rep. l. 78), one at least of the meanings of this extension must be that these Latins could exercise a choice of jurisdiction between Roman courts and those of their native towns.

The early writers on Roman constitutional law, at least from the time of Conradi, recognized vaguely that, at the end of the Republic, there was some guarantee of protection extended to the lives of Roman citizens against the jurisdiction of the governors of the provinces. Evidence for this fact appeared to be furnished by Cicero's diatribe against Verres for the crucifixion of a Roman citizen in Sicily. But they did not suppose any legal extension of the right of appeal, which is never mentioned by our authorities, and is indeed, as we shall see,

¹ Collatio, i. 3: 'Capite primo legis Corneliae de sicariis cavetur, ut is praetor iudexve quaestionis, cui sorte obvenerit quaestio de sicariis, ejus quod in urbe Roma propiusve mille passus factum sit, uti quaerat cum iudicibus, &c.' They are the old limits of the 'provocatio,' and must in this case have continued to the end of the Republic. That they had ceased to exist in the early Principate seems shown by the procedure connected with the trial of Piso for the murder of Germanicus. Although the imputed crime had been committed in a province, it is mentioned as a possibility that Piso should be tried before this 'quaestio' (Tac. *Ann.* 3, 12, 10). The early limitations of this kind may have been done away with by the 'lex Julia de iudiciis ordinandis' or 'iudiciorum publicorum.'

implicitly denied by Cicero. This view has, however, been taken by some recent writers,¹ and it is possible that, in spite of the apparently contradictory evidence, it may be correct. It may be of some value, however, to point out (perhaps for the first time, for I have seen no thorough discussion of the subject) how contradictory this evidence is, and to attempt to show that this theory has been too absolutely stated, and that, if held at all, it can be held only in an exceedingly modified form.

Historically, the 'provocatio' should have been extended to Italy before it was extended to the provinces. It is true that the term 'militiae' covers both, and, when the original limits were disregarded, both spheres of administration might have been included at the same time. Yet there seems to have been a pressing necessity for the 'provocatio' to be extended to Italy at a very early period of the history of Rome. The necessity was due to the existence of citizen colonies, the 'praefecturae.' Members of these colonies possessed 'communio comitorium' and therefore the 'provocatio.' How was it exercised outside the limits of the city domain? There is no evidence to show that it was ever exercised outside these limits; yet protection against the magistrate must have been granted to these Roman residents in Italy. Although there are no actual instances to guide us, the most reasonable solution of the problem seems to be that, when such a resident had committed a crime, the punishment for which would lead inevitably to the 'provocatio,' he was arrested and brought within the sphere, within which alone such an appeal could legally be made. He was then qualified to be tried in the ordinary way by a 'judicium populi.' That such must have been the procedure employed for crimes committed by Roman citizens in Italy is shown by a curious application of the principle, which dates from the second Punic war. Q. Pleminius, 'propraetor' and 'legatus' of Scipio Africanus, in the year 205 B.C. plundered the town of Locri in Southern Italy, and a complaint was lodged by Locrian envoys before the Senate. The Senate appointed a commission to investigate the matter, and the commission ('praetor et consilium') found Pleminius and his accomplices guilty ('damnaverunt') and sent them in chains to Rome. Pleminius died in prison before the

close of the 'judicium populi' which was investigating his crime (Liv. 29, 21 and 22). The use of the equivocal word 'damnaverunt,' employed to describe the judgment of the commission, has led Geib² and Mommsen³ to suppose that we have here a unique case of an appeal from the judgment of a special judicial commission. But Livy's account of the appointment of this board shows that its functions were not meant to be judicial. It was a commission appointed by the Senate to investigate and report, primarily on the responsibility of Scipio Africanus for the conduct of his lieutenant. The commission concluded its functions by arresting the parties found guilty as a result of its inquiries and sending them home for trial. There was no sentence and therefore no appeal, but the right of Pleminius to be tried before the people could only be asserted inside the ancient limits, within which alone the 'provocatio' was possible. The other explanation, besides the difficulty it involves of an appeal from a special judicial commission, would necessarily imply that the right of appeal was legally extended beyond the ancient limits in the year 205 B.C. This view has, however, never been held. The usual date to which such an extension has been assigned by those who hold that it was actually realized is almost a century later.

The evidence on which this view of a later extension rests is gathered from a passage which refers, strangely enough, to discipline in the army. It is strange, because we should have imagined that, had any exceptions been made to the universality of the appeal (and that there were exceptions even after this period is undoubted) these would certainly have been found in favour of offences against military discipline. Yet during the Jugurthine war we are told that an officer, who had been appointed praefect of one of the conquered towns of Numidia garrisoned by Roman troops, and who had deserted his post, was condemned, scourged, and executed by Metellus, 'nam is civis ex Latio erat' (Sallust, *Jug.* 69). Unfortunately the words which give the justification for this execution are susceptible of two different interpretations, which in their turn present two wholly different issues in constitutional law. 'Civis ex Latio' may conceivably be an expression modelled on other qualified uses of the word 'civis' such as 'civis sine suffragio'; for 'Latinus' here can hardly be taken as equivalent to a local designation, the term, when unqualified,

¹ E.g. Rudorff, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.* i. p. 25; Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprozess*, ii. pp. 34 and 99; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 117; Willems, *Le droit public Romain*, p. 321.

² *Criminalprozess*, p. 161.

³ *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 117.

having in Sallust's time merely a juristic and not an ethnic signification. In this case the ground for Metellus' execution of the officer would have been that he was a Latin, and the words contain an implication that a Roman citizen would have been exempt from such summary punishment. But the use of the expression 'civis ex Latio' for 'Latinus' is unparalleled, and the words are subject to a more reasonable interpretation if we remember that the designation 'civis Romanus' tended to be restricted to the inhabitants of the capital (Forcellini s. v. 'civis') and that individuals who had attained citizenship by other means than that of birth in the Roman community would naturally be designated by a qualifying epithet. 'Civis ex Latio' would in fact be the expression we should expect to find employed to describe a member of a Latin community who had acquired citizenship through holding a magistracy in his native town. Such a position would almost certainly have been attained by a man who was of sufficient importance to be the prefect of a garrisoned town and who was in the immediate retinue of Metellus (Plut. *Mar.* 8). According to this interpretation the explanatory clause implies that Latins were exempt from punishment by Roman commanders on military service, and Sallust is explaining why, though a Latin by origin, Turpilius was yet subject to the martial law of Rome. This exemption had been granted to the Latins by a law of the elder Livius Drusus (Plut. *C. Gracch.* 9), and there is no reason for regarding this law as having become extinct within fourteen or fifteen years of its enactment. Individual inquirers will no doubt form different judgments as to the respective probability of these two conclusions; but it must be admitted that the sole instance which we possess of the denial of the jurisdiction of an 'Imperator' in the field is, to say the least, an extremely doubtful one; and, if even we hold that Turpilius was a Latin, we shall perhaps find an explanation of Metellus' motives which does not necessitate the view that the 'provocatio' ever existed legally against the command of an Imperator.

In any case the sole instance which we possess refers only to martial law on a military expedition. No case is known of the jurisdiction of a provincial governor over a Roman citizen having been successfully challenged; and, before we proceed further in our inquiry into the reality of the extension of the 'provocatio' to the provinces, it will be necessary to determine

whether the term 'militiae' is a simple conception, whether the same rules necessarily held good for service in the field and for ordinary provincial jurisdiction. The best evidence on this point is gathered from the 'lex Julia de vi publica.' This law proves, as we shall see, that the conception was the same, and that any limitations on the powers of the magistrates 'militiae' affected both spheres of administration; but it also proves that special reservations might be made in favour of the one or the other. It will, therefore, be necessary to examine separately the evidences we possess for military jurisdiction on the one hand, and for ordinary criminal jurisdiction in the provinces on the other.

As regards military discipline a strong evidence that the old rigour of the Roman martial law was preserved to the end of the Republic is to be found in the principle laid down in the *De legibus* of Cicero (3, 3, 6), 'militiae ab eo, qui imperabit, provocatio ne esto.' It is one of the most curious instances of the application of *a priori* principles of criticism to evidence that, while the *Laws* of Cicero are supposed to reflect with a singular degree of accuracy the public law of Rome, this principle should almost alone be singled out as expressing a 'pious wish' of the author (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* ii. 117, n. 2).¹ All that we hear of the maintenance of military discipline at the close of the Republic (with the exception of the single doubtful instance noticed above) bears out Cicero's statement. The right of appeal, if strictly interpreted, should have abolished flogging in the army; yet the *vitis* was still used on the backs of the Roman legionaries in 134 B.C. (Liv. *Ep.* 57),² and the exceptions made by the

¹ Another unhistorical statement of Cicero's in the *De legibus* has been found by some in the words 'magistratus nec obediendum et noxium civem multa, vinculis, verberibus coerceto' (3, 3; Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprozess*, i. p. 95, note 32). But they are immediately qualified by the words which follow: 'ni par majorve potestas *populusve prohibessit*, ad quos provocatio esto.' The lex Porcia prohibited the scourging of a Roman citizen by a 'gravis poena,' but that it technically submitted the threat of such 'coercitio' to appeal is shown by the fact that the law is classed amongst those regulating the 'provocatio.' Hence Cicero's statement of the extent of the 'coercitio' of a Roman magistrate is correct from a juristic point of view.

² 'Quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit (Scipio Africanus), si Romanus esset, vitibus; si extraneus, fustibus caedit.' This distinction—whether it refers to a period before or after the supposed extension of the 'provocatio'—is characteristic of the care for the 'Roman name' which formed the safeguard of Romans in the provinces: but it is not a

'lex Julia' in favour of this punishment probably reflect the later Republican law. The language in which Plutarch describes the law of Drusus passed in favour of the Latins seems clearly to imply that flogging existed in all branches of the army at the time. The novelty of the law consisted in its giving immunity from scourging 'even on service.'¹ Drusus did actually outbid Gaius Gracchus in his grants to the Latins by conferring on them a right not possessed by Roman citizens. Instances of the capital punishment of soldiers are numerous, and fully bear out Cicero's injunction with respect to magistrates in the field, 'Capitalia vindicanto' (*De leg. l.c.*). Decimation was employed by Crassus during the servile war (Plut. *Crassus* 10), and there are frequent instances of its use during the civil wars, though these are perhaps not a safe index of its legality. But the severest kind of capital punishment recognized in the Roman army, the 'fustuarium,' is mentioned by Cicero as existing in his own day (*Phil.* 3, 6, 14) and was actually inflicted on a 'primus pilus' by Calvinus proconsul of Spain in B.C. 39 (*Vell.* 2, 78); its employment on this occasion is mentioned as unusual but not as illegal. If the so-called 'leges militares' dealt with questions of discipline,² the extension of the 'provocatio' must have been combined with many exceptions in favour of these laws.

If we turn now to the ordinary criminal jurisdiction of Roman governors in the provinces, we have indeed abundant evidence that a protest was raised against the infliction of capital punishments—especially disgraceful punishments such as crucifixion—on Roman citizens, but we have no evidence that it was illegal. Cicero's appeal in the famous passage of the *Verrines* is throughout to the injury done to the 'Roman name' in the eyes of the provincials by Verres' action; he appeals to the precedents of the 'lex Porcia' and the 'lex Sempronia,' not to any law that made Verres' act illegal. When an advocate has a law that exactly fits his case, he quotes it; when he

has not, he appeals to principles of the constitution. This is Cicero's procedure here. The force and the weakness of his legal argument can only be estimated by reading the whole passage (*in Verr.* v. 63, 163-170). The conclusion is that it is a 'facinus' to put a Roman citizen in bonds, a 'scelus' to scourge him, 'prope parricidium' to put him to death (§ 170). All this is true, but had any of these acts been illegal, Cicero would have told us so. The passage where the legal argument is closest exhibits its inherent weakness best, 'O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia legesque Semproniae! O graviter desiderata et aliquando reddita plebi Romanae tribunicia potestas!' The 'tribunicia potestas' is put on a level with the laws establishing 'provocatio.' But it is well known that the former did not extend beyond the limits of the city. Why should the latter have done so? A further evidence that Verres' action was not illegal is shown by Cicero's threat to prosecute him for 'perduellio' in a 'judicium populi' (*in Verr.* 1, 5). The threat was, perhaps, an idle one; but it shows that the offence could not have been classed either as 'perduellio' or as 'majestas' in the 'leges de majestate' or 'de vi'—in other words, that the laws establishing the criminal courts of Rome, which took cognizance of such offences, did not reckon it as a crime.

The records of criminal jurisdiction in the provinces are exceedingly scanty for the time of the Republic; yet, scanty as they are, they show us both the threat, and apparently the execution, of capital punishment on Roman citizens. Diodorus (37, 5, 2) preserves a tradition that Q. Mucius Scaevola when governor of the province of Asia (probably in 98 B.C.) pronounced capital sentences on 'publicani,'³ and he seems to imply that these sentences were carried out.⁴

³ Diod. *l.c.* κατάδικους ἐν ἅσπιν ἐποίησε τοὺς δημοσιώνας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀργυρικὰς βλάβας τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐκτίθειν ἠνάγκαζε, τὰ δὲ θανατικά τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἡξίου κρίσεως θανατικῆς.

⁴ Diod. *l.c.* § 4, καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς ὀλίγους πρότερον διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν πόλλα παρανομοῦντας παρ' ἑλλήδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικημένων ἀπάγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς κατάδικους. ἀπάγεσθαι (duci) may refer to any kind of imprisonment, but may be used in the sense in which Pliny employs 'duci' (*ad Traj.* 96, 3: 'perseverantes duci jussi'). That Diodorus understands the 'publicani' themselves and not merely the 'familia publicanorum' to have been the objects of Scaevola's sentences is shown by the word τούτων in the story which follows (§ 3): ὅτε δὴ τὸν κορυφαῖον τούτων οἰκονόμον, δίδοντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας

legal distinction. 'Fustibus' here, if read instead of 'virgis,' which has been suggested, cannot refer to the punishment known as the 'fustuarium.' For a somewhat similar distinction between the modes of corporal punishment inflicted on a Hellenic of Alexandria and on a native Egyptian, see Philo, *in Flacc.* 10; Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. p. 240.

¹ ὅπως μὴδ' ἐπὶ στρατείας ἐξῆ τιμὰ Λατίνων δάβδδοις αἰκλασθῆαι (Plut. *C. Gracch.* 9).

² 'Leges militares' are mentioned in Cic. *pro Flacco* 32, 77, and Livy 7, 41, but only as conferring rights on the soldiers.

Cicero also furnishes more direct evidence than that contained in his speeches of the possibility of the death penalty being inflicted by a provincial governor on a Roman. Writing to his brother who was 'propraetor' of Asia, and commenting on the criminal jurisdiction of the latter, he says (*ad Q. fr.* 1, 2, 5), 'ecce supra caput homo levis ac sordidus, sed tamen equestri censu Catienus.' Quintus, it appears, had already condemned his father, and writes to the son, 'illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere, ex qua tu eum ante detraxisses; te curaturum, fumo (or in furno) ut combureretur, plaudente tota provincia.' The man was apparently a Roman 'eques,' and Quintus threatens to put him to death. As he is described as 'asperior' to the father, and the provincial governor in his dealings with Roman citizens had apparently no choice between a fine and a capital punishment,¹ the death penalty had perhaps been inflicted in this case as well. M. Cicero, while commenting on the brutality of the language, does not give a hint of the illegality of the procedure threatened, although elsewhere he takes Quintus to task for legal irregularities of a far smaller kind (*ad Qu.* 1, 2, 3). Making all allowances for the exaggeration of expression, it is not altogether an unfair conclusion to draw from a passage such as this that the right of a Roman citizen to be tried at Rome on a capital charge could not yet have established itself, or at any rate that it could not have been a universal legal proviso.

If we ask finally by what law the 'provocatio' was so extended, the choice has generally been supposed to lie between the 'lex Sempronia' of C. Gracchus² and one of the 'leges Porciae.'³ Of the 'lex Sempronia' we know too little to assert whether such a conclusion is justified or not. That the law prohibiting a 'judicium' dealing with the 'caput' of a Roman citizen from being established without the consent of the people (*Cic. pro Rab.* 4, 12) may have been so widely framed as to be susceptible of the interpretation that it

limited the jurisdiction of provincial governors, is possible; that C. Gracchus meant it to be so applied, or that pro-magistrates as well as magistrates were mentioned in the sanction preserved by Plutarch,⁴ is unlikely, since his immediate object seems to have been simply to limit the power of the senate to establish 'quaestiones.' About the 'leges Porciae' we have more positive evidence. Cicero tells us that the three laws which bore this title introduced no novelty in the principle of the 'provocatio' beyond their sanction.⁵ The well-known coin of P. Porcius Laeca, with the word 'provoco' on it, first cited, I believe, in connection with the 'provocatio' by Conradi,⁶ which is regarded by Mommsen⁷ as a token of the extension of the appeal to the provinces, really proves nothing. The figures of the lictor and of the prisoner with upraised hand are as applicable to the 'provocatio' within as without the city; the fact that the 'imperator' appealed against is 'paludatus' need only show the denial of the military 'imperium' within the city, and the coin may have been struck by any member of the house which had produced three champions of freedom. Against such an extension must also be set the facts noticed above of the limited jurisdiction of certain criminal courts at Rome and the apparent absence of a legal sanction in the criminal laws for enforcing this proviso.⁸

Yet, if on this evidence we decline to admit the existence of a definite law extending the appeal to the provinces, there can be little doubt than an unwritten rule did tend to limit the competence of provincial governors. This is sufficiently explained by the character of their jurisdiction and by the position of the Romans in the provinces. The jurisdiction of the governor did not rest on *leges*. The 'quaestiones' in the

⁴ *C. Gracch.* 4: τὸν δὲ (νόμον εἰσέφερε), εἴ τις ἄρχων ἕκριστον ἐκκεκηρύχῃσι πολλῶν, κατ' αὐτοῦ δίδόντα κρίσιν τῷ δήμῳ.

⁵ *de Repub.* 2, 31: 'neque vero leges Porciae, quae tres sunt trium Porcorum, ut scitis, quidquam praeter sanctionem attulerunt novi.'

⁶ *Jus provocationis*, p. 15, cf. Wöniger, *Provocationsverfahren*, p. 302.

⁷ *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 117, n. 2. The earliest writer known to me who drew this deduction from the coin was Labowlaye, *Essai sur les lois criminelles Romaines* (Paris, 1845), p. 94. He assigns the law to Porcius Laeca, tribune 197 B.C.

⁸ It is of course possible that the law was protected by its own sanction, which would give rise to a 'judicium populi,' and it might be thought that Cicero was appealing to this in his threat to prosecute Verres before the people. But had there been a definite law with a definite sanction Cicero must have mentioned them.

πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ συμπεφωνηκότα πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους, φθάσας τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ θανάτου καταδικάσας ἀνεσταύρωσεν. Diodorus implies that the reason why Scaevola anticipated the emancipation of the man was, not that he might be able to execute capital punishment, but that he might be able to inflict the 'servile supplicium' of crucifixion.

¹ Unless relegation from the limits of the province was practised in the Republic. Imprisonment was not recognized as a punishment in Roman criminal law.

² Rudorff, *Röm. Rechtsg.* i. p. 25.

³ Mommsen, *Staatsr.* ii. p. 117.

Republic held good only for Italy, and it was by these alone that what were generally understood as 'capital' penalties (exile and interdiction) could be imposed. The 'lex Julia de vi publica,' in defining the powers of governors, contains no mention of a capital penalty other than the death penalty.¹ In the exercise of their jurisdiction over Roman citizens we should expect governors to model the exercise of their powers on the principles valid at Rome where the death penalty had disappeared. Added to this was the necessity, dwelt on by Cicero in the *Verrines*, of keeping up the dignity of the Roman name in the provinces; it is the immunity from capital punishment, above all from the death penalty in a degrading form,² that protects him amongst barbarous nations. Where this motive is not present, there the death penalty is retained, and hence the hands of the 'imperator' in the field are sometimes free while those of the 'proconsul' or 'propraetor' are tied by custom. It is, perhaps, due to the fact that the citizen is protected by law at Rome, by custom in the provinces, that, while in the one case he says 'provoco' against the decree of the magistrate, in the other he asserts his claim by the words 'civis Romanus sum' (Cic. in *Verr.* v. 166 and 169). In any case the latter words are an admirable illustration of the motive that underlay this partial extension of the appeal.

The whole subject of criminal jurisdiction 'militiae' during the Republic furnishes an admirable illustration of a profound remark of Ihering's (*Geist des Römischen Rechts*, ii. p. 280, note 444), 'Es wäre ein verdienstliches Unternehmen, anstatt wie bisher bei der Bearbeitung des römischen Staatsrechts sich durch den zweck leiten zu lassen, überall bestimmte und sichere Grundsätze zu gewinnen, umgekehrt einmal die Controversen derselben zu constatiren.' The conflict of evidence, the weak arguments of Cicero, all show a controversy. The 'provocatio' could not have been extended in the simple way supposed. Its place must have been taken by some unwritten principle. Or, if we still hold that a legal principle existed, it must have been maintained with considerable reservations both in favour of military discipline and in favour of the punishment of certain offences.

¹ Later the capital penalty of 'deportation' was introduced for the provinces, but it was, as we should expect, prohibited to governors.

Cf. Cic. *pro Rabir.* 5, 17.

Writers on criminal law, such as Geib,³ who have not held the theory of an extension of the 'provocatio' have sometimes substituted for it a power supposed to have been possessed by the tribunes of summoning to Rome, on appeal, cases from the court of the provincial governor. It is an unlikely power for the tribunes to have possessed, since there is no other evidence of their *auxilium* having extended outside the city walls; and the only passage on which the procedure rests is so incorrect in its details that little weight can be attached to it. Plutarch (*Caes.* 4) tells us that Caesar, out of gratitude to the Greeks for the assistance which they had rendered him in his impeachment of Dolabella, assisted them in the prosecution of P. Antonius for bribery before Marcus Lucullus propraetor (στρατηγού) of Macedonia. He continues καὶ τοσοῦτον ἰσχυσεν, ὥστε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους, σκηψάμενον οὐχ ἔχειν τὸ ἴσον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πρὸς Ἕλληνας. It is undoubtedly the same story as that told of C. Antonius by Q. Cicero in the letter 'de petitione consulatus' (§ 8) and by Asconius (in *orat. in tog. cand.* p. 111). These accounts show that Plutarch is mistaken, not only in the character of the trial but in the more important detail as to where it took place. Antonius was tried for *repetundae* at Rome, and with Plutarch's narrative vanishes the only evidence for a summons to Rome from the provincial governor's jurisdiction.⁴

The first positive enactment which we hear of as directly limiting the competence of provincial governors is the *lex Julia de vi publica*. The statement of the injunctions of this law which is given by Paulus (*Sent.* 5, 26, 1) and Ulpian (in *Dig.* 48, 6, 7) represents it as accepting rather than as creating the principle of the 'provocatio' to Rome (Paul, *l.c.* 'lege Julia de vi publica damnatur, qui aliqua potestate praeditus civem Romanum, antea ad populum, nunc ad imperatorem appellantem necarit necarive jusserit,' &c. Ulpian *l.c.* 'civem Romanum adversus provocationem necaverit verber-

³ *Criminalprocess*, p. 251.

⁴ Although Plutarch's narrative is wrong, his representation of the trial as having taken place in the province contains no absurdity from a legal point of view. Antonius had been only a legate in Macedonia, and had he remained in the province either in a private capacity or even as a legate, might have been impeached before the provincial governor. More usually the prosecution would have been lodged at Rome, and in this case even a legate might be summoned back to take his trial, for he was not, like a magistrate, exempt from prosecution. Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 15, 9.

averit,' &c.). So far as language goes they both seem to represent it as merely supplying a sanction for an already existing right of appeal, as bearing, in short, to the Republican legislation which extended the 'provocatio' to the provinces the same relation as the 'leges Porciae' bore to the earlier laws permitting the appeal in Rome (Liv. 10, 9; Cic. *de Rep.* 2, 31). We may notice further that the law strictly follows the analogy of the Republican 'provocatio'; it enunciates again the curious principle of Roman criminal legislation, which limits the power of magistrates not by prohibiting their right to sentence, but by prohibiting execution. That it should follow this analogy was inevitable, whether it was the consequence of an unwritten rule or a positive enactment. But the language of the jurists leaves it wholly uncertain which of the two had preceded it. The 'provocatio' of Ulpian need not refer to a time antecedent to the passing of the law, for by limiting competence the law creates the appeal. The expression of Paulus 'antea ad populum—appellantem' may refer to any time between the passing of the law and the centering of this jurisdiction in the emperor's hands, for the claim to be tried before a 'quaestio' at Rome is technically the 'provocatio ad populum' in its later form. In these words, however, we probably have a reminiscence of the early Republican appeal, which had always formed the basis of the limited jurisdiction of provincial governors; but they do not state the belief, still less the fact, that the limits of this appeal were so wide as those prescribed by the *lex Julia*. The exceptions made by the law in favour of military discipline throw considerable light on the legal practice of the Republic. Exemptions are made in favour of the 'tribuni militum' and the 'praefecti classium alarumve' with respect to the punishment of military offences. Nothing is said about the 'legatus legionis' who had in the Empire the power of life and death over the soldiers (Dio Cass. 52, 22, 3). If this clause of the law was passed by Augustus and not by Caesar, we may regard this power as specially delegated by the emperor; but the true explanation of this silence seems to be that the power of the commander of the legion to execute capital sentences was so undisputed that no exception was needed to confirm it.

After the passing of the *lex Julia* we meet for the first time with a recognition of the principle that Roman citizens should be sent to Rome for trial on a capital charge

(Plin. *ad Traj.* 96, 4 'quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos'). There they would naturally be tried before the 'quaestiones,' unless the 'provocatio,' or 'appellatio' as it was now indifferently called, was coupled with a request to be tried before one of the high courts. The case of St. Paul has been taken to show that a request for the jurisdiction of the emperor was the usual accompaniment of such an appeal, and that this practice prepared the way for the final centralization of such jurisdiction in the emperor's hands, which was reached by the time of the early classical jurists. But, arguing from the evidence alone, such a simple solution is impossible for the procedure of the early Principate, which was directed by the provisions of the 'lex Julia.' The cases in which the law was violated during this period are equal in number to the cases of its observance,¹ nor can they be explained on general principles. We do not know what justification Marius Priscus had for scourging and strangling a Roman knight in the province of Africa (Plin. *Ep.* 2, 11), but Galba's crucifixion of a tutor for poisoning his ward² could not possibly have come under the only exceptions known to have been made by the criminal laws.³ The legal theory in the early Empire seems to have broken down in some cases as completely as the quasi-legal theory of the Republic; and, as this cannot have been a consequence of the weakness of the central government, it must have been due to administrative causes of which we are ignorant.⁴ It is indeed almost impossible

¹ There are only two clear instances for the early Principate, the appeal of St. Paul and Pliny's procedure with regard to those Christians who were citizens (*ad Traj.* 96, 4). The passage sometimes quoted from Dio Cassius (64, 2) is inconclusive, as it speaks simply of an appeal to the emperor.

² Suet. *Galba*, 9: 'tutorem, quod pupillum, cui substitutus heres erat, veneno necasset, cruce affixit; implorantique leges et civem Romanum se testificant, quasi solatio et honore aliquo poenam levaturus, mutari, multoque praeter ceteros altiore et dealbatam statui crucem jussit.' The words 'imploranti leges' probably mean 'appealing for a legal trial' (i.e. a trial 'lege' and not a 'cognitio' of the governor) rather than 'calling on the laws (establishing the 'provocatio').

³ Such exceptions are found in the title of the *Digest* dealing with the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* (*Dig.* 48, 8), c.g. 'transfugas licet, ubicumque inventi fuerint, quasi hostes interficere' (§§ 3, 6), a principle which is itself sufficient to prove the maintenance of this military jurisdiction during the Republic: and in §16 a general prohibition is limited by the clause 'nisi forte tumultus aliter sedari non possit.'

⁴ There was a general prescription to governors to clear their provinces of disreputable characters (Ul-

to see real exceptions in these apparent violations of the law. They seem to show a division of competence between the central courts and those of, at least, the 'public' provinces, which appear to have the right to execute capital sentences on Roman citizens in the case of ordinary crimes. It is hardly an accident that, while the instances of the violation of the law are apparently of this latter type, the cases which illustrate it are cases of treason, or at least of disturbance of the public peace, in Caesar's provinces. Whatever view may be taken of the motive for the persecution of the Christians under Trajan, it appears certain that the crime for which they were tried was technically one of treason.¹ The distinction drawn by Mommsen² and Ramsay³ between the police supervision of the governor and regular legal trial, is only valid with reference to procedure, not with reference to the conception of crime. Whether the governor proceeds 'lege' or 'imperio' the punishment must be directed against a definite crime known to Roman law. The choice lies between 'vis publica' and 'majestas,' and as in the case of the Christians we are dealing with illicit associations, it was most probably the latter.⁴ In the case of St. Paul, the readiness of Festus to admit the 'appeal' of the prisoner does not seem to have been based mainly on the fact of his Roman citizenship—this indeed was not made the ground of the appeal,—but on the unwillingness of a subordinate official, a mere agent of the emperor (*procurator pro legato*), to pronounce on the gravity of a political charge after the appeal to his immediate superior had been made. It is difficult to estimate the standpoint from which the

eastern mind regarded the position of the Princeps, but it is difficult to believe that St. Paul's words, 'I am standing before Caesar's judgment seat where I ought to be judged—I appeal unto Caesar' could have been spoken to a proconsul of a senatorial province. Any court of the Roman world is certainly not 'Caesar's judgment seat' in the early Principate.

Where, on the other hand, we find exemption from punishment claimed by St. Paul in virtue of his Roman citizenship, it is not from punishment following condemnation but from punishment without trial.⁵ The negative and positive instances, which form our sole means of interpreting the 'lex Julia,' may perhaps show that this law was either limited from the first, or was interpreted as being limited, to the 'coercitio' consequent on summary political jurisdiction,⁶ and that the provincial courts (at least in the public provinces) did exercise a large amount of capital jurisdiction over Roman citizens in their own right.

A conclusion, such as the current view on this subject, which has seemed to be established by the grouping together of a series of apparently similar passages, may often be modified by a detailed examination of the evidence. Each procedure has its own inherent weakness; in discussing fragmentary evidence one may be too critical as well as uncritical; but the former practice is the more dangerous, for such an exercise of constructive power often tends to ignore possible differences of circumstances and conflicting evidence at the moment when the collective correspondence is observed. It has been my main business here to give the negative evidence, and a comparison of this with the positive 'data' has led me to the following conclusions:—

(i.) That there was probably no enactment extending the 'provocatio' in the later period of the Republic, but that the rules observed with respect to jurisdiction over Roman citizens were a part of

pian in *Dig.* 1, 18, 13: 'congruit bono et gravi praesidi curare—ut malis hominibus provincia careat eosque conquirat: nam et sacrilegos latrones plagarios fures conquirere debet et prout quisque deliquerit in eum animadvertere'), but this of itself could hardly have empowered governors to violate the provisions of the 'lex Julia.'

¹ It was the offence provided for by the 'lex Julia de majestate' (*Dig.* 48, 4, 1) in the clause 'quoque coetus conventusve fiat hominesve ad seditionem convocentur.'

² *Historische Zeitschrift*, xxviii. p. 398.

³ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 209.

⁴ Ulpian in *Dig.* 47, 22, 2, 'quisquis illicitum collegium usurpaverit, ea poena tenetur, qua tenentur, qui hominibus armatis loca publica vel templa occupasse judicati sunt' (*Dig.* 48, 4, 1). That the cases tried by Pliny were technically those of 'majestas' seems also shown by his torture of the 'ancilla' (*ad Traj.* 96). Slaves could only be tortured against their masters in cases of incest, adultery, and 'majestas,' a principle that would have applied directly to the accused who were 'cives,' and might have been extended to 'peregrini.'

⁵ At Philippi: 'They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison.' At Jerusalem: 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?' These passages lend colour to Huschke's restoration of a passage in the lex Julia (Paul. *Sent.* 5, 26, 1), in which he reads 'lege Julia de vi publica damnatur, qui aliqua potestate praeditus civem Romanum—cumve nondum condemnaverit in publica vincula duci jussit' (for 'Condemnaverit inve, &c.').

⁶ This is probably the sense in which it is treated by Ulpian and Paulus, and is the only possible meaning which it can have as cited in the *Digest*.

customary law (*consuetudo*). In consequence a breach of these rules was not a specific crime, but could be punished only by the extraordinary power of the 'comitia' which knew no limits to the conception of 'perduellio.'

(ii.) That the first positive enactment, enjoining a penalty, was the 'lex Julia de vi publica.' It probably referred to extraordinary jurisdiction in political cases. Perhaps ordinary capital jurisdiction over Roman citizens was in the case of certain crimes extended to all the provinces, and the right to exercise extraordinary jurisdiction seems to have been recognized in certain cases in the 'public' provinces.

(iii.) There is no evidence for a universal appeal to Caesar, resting on a denial of the jurisdiction of all governors over Roman

citizens, although there appears to have been some such appeal in certain cases from the emperor's delegates.

Our researches into this question must be limited to the early Principate, since such a principle, if it ever existed, must have become merged in the universal criminal appeal to the emperor which subsequently grew up. We can hardly imagine that it was thought necessary to keep up this denial of jurisdiction when every criminal case could go ultimately before the High Court. It would probably have been extinct by the time of the Antonines, and the extension of citizenship to the Roman world by Caracalla was not necessary to render it meaningless.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF EARLY LATIN MINUSCULE MSS.

In part ix. (1895) of his *Paléographie des Classiques latins* M. Chatelain gives a photograph (pl. 116) of a page of the famous *Codex Puteaneus* of Livy, an uncial MS. of the fifth century, which belonged to the Abbey of Corbie, and another (pl. 117) of a page of the ninth century minuscule MS. of Livy in the Vatican (Regin. 762). The Vatican MS. is a copy, made at Tours, of the *Puteaneus* which had been borrowed from Corbie. The two photographs in M. Chatelain's collection exhibit the same passage of Livy; and M. Chatelain points out that the scribe of Tours has in some instances deviated from the orthography of his original, in writing, for example, *subplicatio* instead of SUPPLICATIO of the uncial MS. and *apsumptis* instead of AB-SUMPTIS.

Our editions of a large number of Latin authors depend on minuscule MSS. of the Carolingian period, and the spelling adopted by editors is generally that of some early MS. of this kind. Thus the two last editors of Nonius Marcellus, Prof. Lucian Mueller and Mr. Onions, follow the orthography of the Leyden MS. (Voss. Lat. Fol. 73), which is, like the Vatican Livy, a ninth century MS. of Tours. That MS. differs from others in exhibiting spellings which are recognized as the probable spellings of Nonius himself; e.g. *adpetentes* 28 M. 25, *irruere* 32, 34, *immittere* 34, 2, *subplantare* and *subponere* 36, 3, where

other MSS. have the modernized spellings, *appetentes*, *irruere*, *immittere*, *supplantare*, *supponere*. By the well-known canon of textual criticism, that mediaeval scribes may be supposed to have changed unfamiliar to familiar forms but not familiar to unfamiliar, we infer that the scribe of the Leyden MS. reproduced the orthography of his original, while the scribes of the other MSS. have changed the unfamiliar spellings *adpetentes*, etc. to the familiar forms, *appetentes*, etc.

But what becomes of this canon, if it can be shown that in a definite instance of a minuscule copy of an uncial original, the mediaeval scribe has deliberately inserted 'archaisms' like *subplicatio*, *apsumptis*, which were not found in his original? If this was a common practice of mediaeval scribes in general, or the monks of Tours in particular, the orthography of our Latin editions, which cannot at the best be said to be securely established, becomes very insecure indeed. It seemed to me, after reading this remark of M. Chatelain's, that it was absolutely necessary to determine how far this substitution of 'archaic' for 'modern' forms was carried in the Vatican Livy; and I took the opportunity of a recent visit to Rome to examine the treatment in this MS. of prepositions in compounds and of words like *apud* (*apud*), *sed* (*set*), etc. For this purpose I collated (not very minutely, but sufficiently for the pur-

pose) the early chapters of books XXII.–XXV. of the Vatican MS. (V) with the *Puteaneus* (P); and I give here a list of the spellings in question, as they are found in the two MSS.:—lib. XXII. ch. vi. § 6 *inmergunt* PV; *inpulerit* PV; *immensa* PV; 8 *inpigre* PV; 10 *inmitteretur* PV; vii. 1 *adque* P, *atque* V; 7 *adlata* PV; 8 *impleti* PV; 10 *quod* PV¹, *quot* V²; 14 *aliquod* PV¹, *aliquot* V²; viii. 4 *adfectae* PV; *adgravaret* PV; ix. 3 *effusae* PV; *adque* P, *atque* V; 4 *aliquod* PV¹, *aliquot* V²; 9 *adque* P, *atque* V; 10 *supplicationem* PV; x. 3 *attulerit* PV; 7 *adque* P, *atque* V; 8 *supplicatio* . . *supplicatum* PV; xi. 1 *quodvel* PV; XXIII. i. 2 *set* P, *sed* V; 5 *oppugnaturus* PV; 9 *aliquod* P, *aliquot* ex *aliquod* V; 10 *oppugnanda* . . *oppugnanti* PV; ii. 1 *atque* PV; 9 *adprobando* PV; iii. 4 *set* P, *sed* ex *set* V; 6 *sed* PV; 8 *supplicio* PV; 12 *appareret* PV; 13 *attinebat* PV; iv. 4 *set* P, *sed* V; *inlecebris* PV; 5 *obsequio* PV; *accessit* PV; 8 *aliquod* PV; v. 4, *imperare* PV; 5 *aliquit* PV; *imperemus* PV; 6 *suppleremus* PV; 8 *set* P, *sed* V; 12 *inmitem* PV; 14 *prolapsum* PV; vi. 3 *adsensi* PV; vii. 3 *inplucitos* PV (*n* ex corr.); *plebs* PV; *comprehensos* PV; vii. 7 *adtrahi* PV; viii. 1 *aput* PV; 3 *abstractum* PV; 6 *set* P, *sed* in ras., *ex s et ut vid.* V; 9 *adfero* PV; ix. 3 *obstrinximus* PV; *conloquio* PV; 5 *set* P, *sed* ex *set* V; 6 *adgressurus* PV; 7 *opponentem* PV; XXIV. i. 1 *quod* PV; 2 *aliquot* PV; *adsumpti* PV; 3 *effundi* PV; 5 *conloquium* PV; 6 *conloquio* PV; *apparuit* PV; *adferebant* PV; 12 *optinendam* P, *obtinendam* V; *abscessum* PV; ii. 2 *oppugnandum* PV; 3 *accessurum* PV; 7 *oppugnaret* . . *oppugnationem* . . *appareret* PV; iii. 7 *adfingunt* PV; 10 *inplorant* PV; 12 *adfirmabant* PV; *inmixti* PV; 15 *impetraverunt* PV; iv. 3 *obstitere* PV; 7 *adprobantibus* PV; v. 1 *aput*

P, *apud* V; 5 *apparatum* PV; 9 *adsumptum* PV; vi. 3 *aput* P, *apud* V; 8 *adsentationibus* PV; *accum* PV; vii. 3 *imminentes* PV; 4 *adpropinquaret* PV; 5 *aliquod* P, *aliquot* ex *aliquod* V; *succurri* PV; 10 *communii* PV; *inposuit* PV; viii. 1 *neclegentiae* P, *negl-* ex *nec-* V; *adfertis* PV; *offerret* PV; 8 *apparatu* PV; 13 *aliquod* P, *aliquot* ex *aliquod* V; 14 *supplementum* PV, *commentu* PV; 15 *optinentes* P, *obt-* V; 16 *oppugnabant* PV; 17 *inponi* PV; ix. 1 *opstreperet* P, *obstr-* V; x. 4 *optineret* PV; XXV. i. 3 *aliquot* PV; 5 *haut* P, *hard* ex *haut* V; *aliquod* P, *aliquot* ex *aliquod* V; 8 *compulsa* PV; 10 *aut* PV; ii. 1 *aliquot* PV; 3 *adpetebat* PV; 6 *obsisterent* PV; 9 *aliquod* P, *aliquot* V (*t* in ras.); *aput* P, *apud* V; iii. 4 *supplementum* PV; 10 *at* P, *ad* ex *at* V; 16 *summoverunt* PV; 18 *summoto* PV; *inruperunt* PV; iv. 8 *adfruit* PV; v. 5 *supplementum* PV; *sufficiebat* PV.

From this list it will be seen that the scribes of the minuscule copy, where they do not faithfully reproduce the spelling of their original, deviate from it in the substitution of familiar for 'archaic' forms and not *vice versa*. So that the result of the investigation is a reassuring one. The substitution of 'archaic' for 'modern' forms, which occurs in a few instances in the passage photographed by M. Chatelain, is the exception and not the rule and is probably due to mere accident. The Vatican minuscule Livy gives us no reason for believing that Carolingian scribes were in the habit of deliberately introducing 'archaic' forms into their copies; and the principle which determines the orthography in our editions of Latin authors is not impugned.

W. M. LINDSAY.

RECENT ITALIAN CATALOGUES OF GREEK MSS.

ITALIAN Bibliography has been active of late in the province of Greek MSS.; so many aids to the student, and especially the foreign student, have been produced, that a brief account of them may not be without interest to readers of the *Classical Review*.

First I may mention the single-handed enterprise of Signor Emidio Martini, Prefetto of the Braidense at Milan. Signor Martini has undertaken to catalogue all

Greek MSS. hitherto uncatalogued in Italian libraries. Towards this end he has published two parts of his first volume (*Catalogo di Manoscritti Greci esistenti nelle Biblioteche Italiane*, Milano, Hoepli), embracing (part i. 1893) the libraries of the Brera and the Chapter at Milan, Palermo, Parma, Pavia; (part ii. 1896) Brescia, Como, Cremona, Ferrara, Genoa, Mantua, the Trivulziana at Milan, the library of the Gerolamini at Naples. To many scholars

it will be news that there are Greek MSS. at Como or Pavia. The collections are not large nor, with the exception perhaps of Parma, important from a classical point of view. The principal classical MSS. are: at the Brera, Archimedes, Aphonius, in the Chapter library at Milan, Dioscorides; at Palermo, Libanius etc.; at Parma, Ptolemy, Thucydides, Apoll. Rhod., Euripides (*s. XIV.*), Alex. Aphrodis., Strabo, Iliad, Scholia to Sophocles, Etymologicum (*s. XIII.*); at Brescia, Lycophron, Sophocles; at Como, Philostratus, Scholia on Apoll. Rhod.; at Cremona, Euripides, Aristophanes (*s. XIV.-XV.*), Aristides and Libanius, Philoponus; at Ferrara, Aristophanes (4), Aeschylus, Hesiod, Theocritus (*s. XIV.*), Theocr., Pindar, Hesiod (*a. 1339*), Ptolemy, Pindar, Ar. Poetics; at Mantua, Pindar and Euripides, and Hero Alex.; in the library of Principe Trivulzi at Milan, Euclid, Galen (*s. XIV.*); at Naples (Gerolamini) Comm. in Ar. Ethica. All these MSS. are of the fifteenth or sixteenth century unless otherwise stated. Signor Martini's method is excellent; his descriptions are minute and exhaustive; indeed the only criticism I can make is that he runs rather to an excess of space. For example, the first MS. in the Queriniana at Brescia, a sixteenth century collection of Homilies and VV. SS., occupies nine pages. Before I have got through the contents I have forgotten what the MS. is, and whether I am at Brescia or at Palermo. Similarly a fifteenth century Miscellany belonging to the Gerolamini takes up pp. 397—415. A reader opening the book in the midst of such an enumeration has some difficulty in orientating himself. Closer printing, and a headline containing the name of the Library would assist materially. Signor Martini's enterprise and diligence deserve every recognition, and naturally in his two parts there are many details of theological and palaeographical value which cannot be mentioned here. Signor Martini promises immediately a catalogue of the important Roman library formerly belonging to the Filippini at S. Maria in Vallicella, now the property of the Deputazione per la Storia patria. Signor Martini knows better than any one else what remains to be done; a forestiere to whom Italy is becoming a memory can call to mind, as yet uncatalogued, libraries at Catania, Pistoia, Pesaro, Udine, Cesena (Muccioli's book has long been antiquated, and M. Albert Martin's list, *Mélanges Græcs*, p. 553, is only partial), the Corsiniana at Rome; the collections of the families

Barberini and Chigi, the Chapter archive at S. Peter's. The important library at Messina, made up from S. Salvatore and S. Placido, still awaits print; is there nothing left at Padua, and no Greek in the Capitolare at Lucca, or at S. Daniele di Friuli, no accessions to the Nazionale at Naples? And nearer at home to Signor Martini there is a great collection rich in palimpsests and treasures without number, which alone with the Vaticani greci is sealed to the distant foreigner.

The latest publications of the Vatican Library are catalogues of the Ottoboni collection (1893, by Signori Feron and Battaglini), and the Urbino MSS. (1895, by Signor Cosimo Stornaiolo). These two volumes complete the series of catalogues of the separate collections of Greek MSS. in the Vatican. They are of the utmost interest, and the enlightened policy of the authorities in thus publishing their treasures should meet with warm appreciation. They have also profited by criticism, and these two volumes are an advance in execution upon their predecessors; *e.g.* the MSS. are measured, instead of being described as 'in folio' etc. At the same time it may be doubted whether the scheme of cataloguing is entirely satisfactory; the technical description of a MS. is given in large print, the contents in small. This is the reverse of the practice of both Signor Martini and Prof. Vitelli and does not seem to justify itself. Further, the titles of the various treatises are given in the original Greek; they are thus somewhat more difficult for the eye to catch. The workmanship is uniformly careful and exhaustive, but brevity might with advantage be studied. A certain long-windedness is characteristic of the ecclesiastical savant. The public now look forward with great interest and eagerness to the cataloguing of the 'Vaticani greci' proper, by far the greatest collection of Greek MSS. in Europe still without a printed catalogue. While we expect, with prospective gratitude, this great boon, it may be allowable to suggest that the thanks of the learned world will be earned better by speed than by exhaustiveness. Why should not the lengthy bibliographical introduction be postponed to a separate volume, and an 'Inventaire sommaire,' after the manner in which M. Henri Omont has treated his still larger collection, be carried through at an early date? It has taken ten years to publish catalogues of the Palatine, Regina, Pio II., Ottoboni and Urbino collections, and these together contain 677 MSS.; the

'Vaticani greci' number between two and three thousand.

The Ottoboni library of 472 MSS. is of singularly little classical value in proportion to its size. Perhaps sixty per cent. of the MSS. are of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. There are several palaeographical treasures, but of classical MSS. hardly one older than the fifteenth century. The Urbino collection, on the other hand, of 165 volumes contains a remarkable number of first-class classical books; such are Nos. 35 Aristotle's *Organon*, written for the possessor of the Bodleian Plato, and in a very similar hand, 61 the uncial MS. of Theophrastus, 64 Hippocrates, 69 Galen, 84 Josephus, 102 Polybius, 105 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 111 Isocrates, 113 Demosthenes, 123 Aristides, 124 Dio of Prusa, 130 *Rhetores graeci*. All these books are of the ninth, tenth, or eleventh century, and among them was once, it is now well known, our oldest copy of Aristophanes, which, after unknown residences for two centuries, has found a resting-place almost within sight of the mountains of its first Italian home.

That interesting and excellent periodical, the *Studi Italiani di Filologia classica* (Firenze-Roma, Bencini) has quite lately given us a remarkable series of catalogues, produced with admirable despatch. The origination of the series, and the scheme on which the descriptions are made, may I believe be attributed to Professor Girolamo Vitelli of Florence. The execution of these catalogues is exemplary: for competence, brevity, accuracy, and happy disposition of type, they may challenge the best cataloguing of France or England. It is a pleasure to read such skilled work. The catalogues that have appeared are: Vol. i.: the accessions to the Laurenziana since Bandini's catalogue, viz. the 'Conventi soppressi' (the Badia at Fiesole and smaller religious houses), S. Marco (principally the library of Niccolò Niccoli), 'Acquisti' and 'Ashburnhamiani,' in all some 220 or 230 MSS. These have been catalogued by Signori Rostagno and Festa. The Laurenziana is thus complete, a fact that foreign scholars cannot hear with too much gratitude. The MSS. of these collections are familiar, the Badia and S. Marco in particular possessed several of our most important copies of the classics. Vol. ii.: the Casanatense at Rome, catalogued by Signor Francesco Bancalari. This library contains sixty-four Greek MSS., principally from Jesuit houses. The

classics are few; the most valuable appear to be a Hesiod, Oppian, and Theocritus of 1413 (No. 306), and Dionysius Periget., Aratus and Hesiod, s. XIII.-XIV. (No. 356). In the description of one or two MSS. the date has been omitted. *Ib.* Professor Vitelli has described the MSS. of the Riccardiana at Florence, previously known through the respectable catalogue of Lami (1756), and a very faulty 'Inventario' of 1810. The MSS. are about 120 in number, and often valuable; they are too familiar to need mention. Signor Vitelli has also been at the trouble to detect and describe such Greek MSS. as lie in the Magliabechiana and the Marucelliana. They are without exception late, and largely mathematical and scientific. Vol. iii.: a list of the Greek MSS. in Bologna by Signor A. Olivieri (Supplement by V. Puntoni, vol. iv.). They are to be found in the University, the Archiginnasio, the Spanish College, and the Archbishop's Library, are in number less than 100, and are valuable rather for their bibliographical and palaeographical materials than for their classical texts. Besides the eleventh century Euclid in the Archiginnasio, the non-ecclesiastical MSS. earlier than the fifteenth century appear to be: the *Lexicon* s. XIV. (Univ. 3560), Demosthenes s. XIV. (*ib.* 3564), Josephus s. XIV.—XV. (*ib.* 3568), Plato s. XIII.—XIV. (*ib.* 3630), Alex. Aphr., Cass. Felix., Aristot. *Problemata*, Plut. *varia*, s. XIV. (*ib.* 3635), Galen s. XIV.—XV. (*ib.* 3636), *Logica* var. s. XIV. (*ib.* 3637). From personal experience of the Bolognese MSS. I have pleasure in testifying to Signor Olivieri's singular industry and accuracy. Vol. iv.: a list of the accessions to the National Library at Turin since Pasini's catalogue by Prof. C. O. Zuretti. Thirty-two in number, they are all late. Catalogues of the Angelica at Rome, and of the Estense at Modena are, I am informed, in the press. While I congratulate Signor Vitelli and his coadjutors on their energy and talent, I may observe that the public, except such favoured persons as may receive separate reprints, suffer from these excellent catalogues being inserted in the stout volumes of the *Studi Italiani*, and I may suggest that in the descriptions of MSS. it would be more convenient in some cases if the date came nearer the beginning.

Signor Carlo Castellani, Prefetto of the Marciana at Venice, has begun a catalogue of the accessions to that great Library since Zanetti's catalogue of 1740. This excellent undertaking is most welcome. Though the

main body of these accessions, the library of the Venetian Nani, was already accessible in the printed catalogue of Mingarelli (1784), the want of a single continuous catalogue has long been felt. In this handsome volume (Ongania, 1895) Signor Castellani describes seventy-eight theological MSS. If any exception is to be taken to so laudable an undertaking, it is that Signor Castellani, like the Vatican cataloguers, is fond of his own Latin, and does not spare space. One volume and fifteen francs for seventy-eight MSS. is rather much. How many tomes will be needed for the rest? The book is adorned with a number of facsimiles. It is hard to be ungrateful for any facsimiles, but besides the fact that the execution of these is not over good, the expense of production must have been thereby considerably increased, and, with the enormous choice offered by M. Omont's publications, is there a need for more facsimiles of dated minuscule

theological MSS.? To Venice and to Rome alike I recommend the methods of Florence.

From this account it is plain with what energy Italian scholars are classifying the abundant treasures of their collections, and every foreigner must rejoice that they, who have such aptitude in Palaeography and the advantages of leisure and proximity, have taken the work in hand. Here as elsewhere, Italia farà da se. Yet the 'Wandering Scholar' from this side of the Alps has not quite laid down his pleasantest wayside occupation. M. Henri Omont, who has recently published the diaries of Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro at Udine and Paris,¹ has catalogued the MSS. in the Capitolare at Verona (*Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen*, 1891), and the present writer published in the same periodical for 1893 the results of a long July day at Perugia.

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

¹ *Journal Autobiographique du Card. Jérôme Aleandre*, Paris 1895.

PLATO, *REPUBLIC* II. 368 A AND *SYMPOSIUM* 174B.

AFTER Glauco and Adimantus have delivered their powerful pleas in favour of Injustice, Socrates remarks: οὐ κακῶς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐλεγείων ἐποίησεν ὁ Γλαῦκωνος ἑραστής, εὐδοκμήσαντας περὶ τὴν Μεγαροῦ μάχην, εἰπῶν

παῖδες Ἀρίστωνος, κλεινοῦ θεῖον γένος ἀνδρός.
(*Rep.* ii. 368 A.)

The expression ὦ παῖδες ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός has been variously interpreted; according to the latest editors, Campbell and Jowett, it was merely 'a familiar mode of address among intimate friends.' I think there are conclusive reasons for holding that ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός is Thrasymachus—a view which was entertained by Stallbaum, although he supported it by insufficient and to some extent erroneous arguments.

The phrase occurs only once again in Plato, viz. *Phileb.* 36 D, where Protarchus is addressed in the words ὦ παῖ ἐκείνου τᾶνδρός. The *Philebus* is represented by Plato as the continuation of a discussion from which Philebus has withdrawn, having bequeathed his part in it to Protarchus, who is therefore playfully called his son. That this is the sense which ὦ παῖ ἐκείνου τᾶνδρός bears in the *Philebus* may be seen from the opening

words of the dialogue, from 11 C δέχει δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νῦν διδόμενον, ὦ Πρώταρχε, λόγον; Ἀνάγκη δέχεσθαι Φίληβος γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ καλὸς ἀπείρηκεν, from 12 A, 16 B, 19 A: cf. also 15 C and 28 B. Protarchus is in fact the κληρονόμος of Philebus' λόγος (cf. *Rep.* i. 381 E) and is consequently described as his son.

In precisely the same sense Glauco and Adimantus are the 'children of Thrasymachus.' They are the διάδοχοι of his λόγος, as appears from 357 A, 358 B ἐπανανέωσομαι τὸν Θρασυμάχου λόγον, 367 A ταῦτα, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἐπι τούτων πλείω Θρασύμαχος τε καὶ ἄλλος πού τις ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀδικίας λέγοιεν ἄν, and 367 C. The substance of their arguments entirely supports the same conclusion. This image is in point of fact one of the links by means of which Plato binds the dialogue together: as Polemarchus is heir to Cephalus (331 E), so Glauco and Adimantus are heirs to Thrasymachus. The identification of ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός with Thrasymachus is, as I have said, due to Stallbaum; but Stallbaum is mistaken when he supports it by the expression παῖδες οἱ ζωγράφων (i.e. 'the disciples of painters') in *Laws* 769 B, for Glauco and Adimantus both expressly repudiate the idea that they are Thrasymachus' intellectual disciples: they are only his

argumentative heirs, as appears from 361 E and 367 A.

What then is to be made of *παῖδες Ἀρίστωνος*? Simply this. By *Ἀρίστωνος* the author of the line—whether Critias, as Schleiermacher conjectured, or some unknown versifier—of course meant Aristo the father of Glauco and Adimantus; but Plato intends a pun on *ἄριστος*, and the pun is a kindly if half-ironical compliment to his Excellency Thrasymachus, whose spiritual sons and heirs Glauco and Adimantus are.

The playful pun on *ἄριστος* and *Ἀρίστων* may be illustrated from the well-known passage in the *Symposium*, where Socrates invites Aristodemus to come as an uninvited guest and sup with Agathon: *ἔπον τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἵνα καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν διαφθείρωμεν μεταβάλλοντες, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί* (174 B). This passage is deserving of careful examination, the more so as Hug and Schanz have—so at least it seems to me—completely spoiled it by adopting Lachmann's unhappy conjecture *Ἀγάθων* (i.e. *Ἀγάθωνι*) for the *ἀγαθῶν* of the two best manuscripts.

The *παροιμία* which Socrates 'corrupts' is cited by the Scholiast in the form *αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν*, and Eupolis, according to the Scholiast and Zenobius (cited in Rettig's note) quoted it in the same form. On the other hand, there is a large body of testimony in favour of the form which Plato calls a corruption *αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν*, and Athenaeus v. 188 B declares that there were two proverbs, one with *ἀγαθῶν*, and one with *δειλῶν*. That there were from the first, or even in Plato's time, two proverbs so diametrically opposed in meaning, is, as Hug thinks, exceedingly improbable; the only question is, What was the proverb in Plato's time?

Hug decides in favour of *αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν*, and holds that Plato's 'corruption' consisted in writing *Ἀγάθων* for *ἀγαθῶν*. Puns are no doubt matters of taste, but to me it seems that puns on proper names—a feeble kind of wit at best—are nothing, if not either complimentary or the reverse. *Ἀγάθων* (as compared with *ἀγαθῶν*) is neither, but tame and trivial: certainly not the kind of jest a gentleman would make on going out to dinner. If we may be forgiven for translating *δειλῶν* as 'bad men,' let us suppose there is an English proverb

'Good men spontaneous go to good men's feasts.'

Now the man who before dining with Mr. Goodman observes

'Good men spontaneous go to Goodman's feasts'

is a poor conversationalist, and will probably be left to go spontaneous for the future. But if the proverb is

'Good men spontaneous go to *bad* men's feasts,'

then

'Good men spontaneous go to *Goodman's* feasts'

is an equally good (or bad) pun on Mr. Goodman's name, and a cordial compliment to Mr. Goodman in addition. The perpetrator of such a pleasantry will be invited by Mr. Goodman on the next occasion. But *de gustibus non est disputandum*: so I revert to the Greek. The words of Plato prove conclusively that he was thinking of the proverb *αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν*, and not of the other. He proceeds to say—I paraphrase his language—'I merely corrupt or injure the proverb; but Homer treats it with insult as well as injury (*οὐ μόνον διαφθεῖραι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑβρίσαι εἰς ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν*), for he represents Menelaus, a *μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής*, as going unbidden to sup with Agamemnon, a better man (174 B—C). That is to say: Homer *corrupts and insults* the proverb by changing it to

αὐτόματοι δειλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν:

I merely *corrupt* it by writing

αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν.

The *uncorrupted* proverb can therefore only be:

αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν.

Such, then, was the original form of the proverb. A saying of this kind readily lent itself to parody, and the parody of Plato was in itself almost certain to become a proverb, as in point of fact it did. The only certain instance prior to Plato of the form *αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴσιν* is in a fragment of Bacchylides (quoted in Athenaeus *l.c.*): *Βακχυλίδης δὲ*

περὶ Ἡρακλέους λέγων ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ
Κήρυκος οἰκόν φησιν

ἔστα δ' ἐπὶ λαΐνον οὐδόν,
τοὶ δὲ θοΐνας ἔντυον, ὠδέ τ' ἔφα·
αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν
δαΐτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρχονται δίκαιοι
φῶτες.

It will be observed that Bacchylides puts the proverb into the mouth of Heracles, who could not in the circumstances have said δειλῶν without surrendering what we

know a man surrenders last—his hope of dinner; the Scholiast on the other hand explains the origin of the *other* form of the proverb (αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴασιν) by saying that it was said *by others* of Heracles on this occasion. The parallel between Bacchylides and Plato is remarkable; the one parodies the proverb from dramatic necessity, the other for the sake of a kindly pun: and in both a dinner is the occasion—and the excuse.

J. ADAM.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTION οὐ μὴ.

ANY explanation of phrases like οὐ μὴ ληφθῶ, οὐ μὴ καταβήσκει, must take cognizance of two facts: (1) in some of the best MSS. of Aristophanes the combination is written οὐ μὴ... (*Moods and Tenses* p. 391 n.), and (2) μὴ must originally have been interrogative, not negative, since in Sanskrit the verb after *mā* is always enclitic, *i.e.* the clause was a principal one, not dependent

(‘The Greek Indirect Negative,’ published by the Philological Society, 1891).

I would therefore, following out Gildersleeve’s idea (in Goodwin as above), suggest that οὐ μὴ γένηται (or γενήσεται) represents an inversion of clauses, for μὴ γένηται (or γενήσεται); οὐ, ‘Shall it be? No.’ It is an old idea that δείδω μὴ εἶπε represents μὴ εἶπε; δείδω.

E. R. WHARTON.

ON THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF οὐ μὴ.

I SHOULD like to be allowed to say something first about οὐ μὴ in prohibitions, and then about οὐ μὴ in denials.

I. Why is it ‘*prima facie* very improbable’ (as Mr. Chambers says, *C. R.* p. 150) or ‘unphilosophical’ (as Prof. Jebb once said) or ‘absurd’ (as Prof. Goodwin calls it, *M. T.* p. 396) to explain the prohibitive construction with οὐ μὴ as interrogative? Because the other construction with οὐ μὴ (which is not prohibitive) is not interrogative. This at any rate is the main reason assigned.

But οὐ μενεῖς; means ‘Stay’ and is certainly a question. Can anything be *prima facie* more probable than that οὐ μὴ μενεῖς, which certainly means ‘Don’t stay,’ is also a question? So οὐ μενεῖς; = μένε, οὐ μὴ μενεῖς; = μὴ μένε.

If I am told that it is ‘unphilosophical’ and ‘absurd’ to give different explanations of οὐ μὴ prohibentis and οὐ μὴ negantis, I have at least as good a right to say that it is ‘unphilosophical’ and ‘absurd’ to

separate οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ‘Don’t stay’ from οὐ μενεῖς; ‘Stay.’

The identification of οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις ‘Don’t chatter’ with οὐ μὴ λαλήσης ‘You certainly won’t chatter’ would have to be admitted, if it were proved that οὐ μὴ λαλήσης itself could be used in the prohibitive sense. What is Prof. Goodwin’s evidence for this? ταῦτα οὐ μὴ ποτ’ ἐς τὴν Σκῦρον ἐκπελεύσης ἔχων, *Soph. Ph.* 381, is a *threat*, not a prohibition at all, though Prof. Goodwin (p. 396) seems to think that this distinction is hair-splitting. But he lays stress, again and again, upon *two* passages in which all MSS. give aor. subj. with οὐ μὴ in the prohibitive sense, *Nub.* 367 οὐ μὴ ληρήσης, and *Nub.* 296 οὐ μὴ σκώψης μηδὲ ποιήσης . . . ἀλλ’ εὐφήμει. ‘The subj. in -σης,’ he says (p. 105), ‘has been in many cases emended to the future against the authority of MSS.’ And (p. 106) he speaks of Daves’s rule as having ‘removed *nearly or quite all* the troublesome subjunctives that would have opposed Elmsley’s view’ (*viz.* that this pro-

hibitive construction is interrogative). Yet, as I have said, Prof. Goodwin quotes only two examples of this, and to these same two examples he returns so often, that we are reminded of armies that cross the stage and run round to begin again. Of *Nub.* 296 he says, 'Elmsley's emendation σκώψει . . ποιήσεις' (since σκώπτω has no active future) 'requires a greater change than should be made to sustain an arbitrary rule, which rests on no apparent principle.' This may be true; but if the rule is not arbitrary, and does rest upon a principle, the change is a very small one. MSS. are not to be relied upon for ληρήσης against ληρήσεις or ποιήσης against ποιήσεις; and, if ποιήσεις was incorrectly written ποιήσης, this would necessitate the further error of σκώψης for σκώψει. Prof. Goodwin also considers that five examples of οὐ μὴ with subj. of the second person in clauses of *denial* (taken in connection with the two passages of which we have spoken) 'show the impossibility of separating the two constructions.' But these five examples in no way affect the argument: since, if we admit the MS. evidence in *Nub.* 296, 367, there is no more to say; the interrogative theory is dead: but, if we reject it, we are not deterred by οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεύσης 'You will not sail away' (any more than by οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεύση 'He will not sail away') from explaining οὐ μὴ ἐκπλευσεῖ prohibitive to mean 'Will you not forbear to sail away?' or οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις 'Will you not cease prating?' Again, Prof. Goodwin thinks that *Nub.* 296, where ἀλλὰ with an imperative follows οὐ μὴ prohibentis, 'seems decisive against the interrogative theory.' Surely this is not so. On either theory, there is a natural change of construction (and not even an abrupt change, for a relative clause intervenes) from a virtual imperative to an actual imperative. οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπιθι might equally well be accounted for, as 'You won't remain but—away with you!' or as 'Won't you not-remain but—away with you!' Prof. Goodwin (p. 396) makes a difficulty, which surely is none, of the punctuation: if οὐ μὴ μενεῖς (followed by ἀλλὰ with imperative) is a question, where shall he put the question mark?

The strength of the argument for the interrogative theory consists in a number of passages which combine prohibition with command—in three ways.

A. 'Don't stay, but go.' οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπει; (e.g. *Nub.* 505).

B. 'Go, and don't talk.' οὐκ ἄπει μηδὲ λαλήσεις; (e.g. *Ai.* 75).

C. 'Don't stay, but go, and don't talk.' οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπει μηδὲ λαλήσεις; (e.g. *Bacch.* 343).

Mr. Chambers thinks that sentences of the first of these three forms are 'fatal' to the interrogative theory. Why? 'Because the futures are clearly jussives,' This begs the question. If οὐ μὴ μενεῖς means 'You certainly will not stay,' and hence 'You shall not' or 'You must not,' then of course the future is jussive. But if οὐ μὴ μενεῖς is interrogative, then ἄπει is part of the question, and the sentence means 'Won't you not-stay-but-go?'

As to B, we are told that sentences of this form are to be 'rejected,' that they are 'no examples of the οὐ μὴ construction,' that the οὐ and μὴ are not connected. Prof. Goodwin in his earlier book carried the question in such a sentence no further than the first verb, and attempted to justify μὴ with the future as a prohibition (μὴ λαλήσεις = μὴ λάλει). He has now abandoned this, and explains μὴ λαλήσεις as a second question: 'Will you not go?' (οὐ = *nonne*) followed by 'Will you talk?' (μὴ = *num*). But (1) Is there any example of a connective μηδέ = *et num*, unless with a preceding μὴ = *num*? (2) Is there any example of a rhetorical question μὴ ποιήσεις; or 'Num facies?' put for 'Don't do it?' (3) Even if both these objections could be met, is it conceivable that a rhetorical question with οὐ = *nonne* could be *coupled* in this way with a rhetorical question with μὴ = *num*, or that human speech, not to say Greek literary idiom, could tolerate 'Won't you go and will you talk?' for 'Go and don't talk?'

But again, what is to be done with sentences of the third form (C)? On *Bacch.* 343 Prof. Goodwin says, 'μηδὲ continues the original prohibition as if there had been no interruption.' Our type-sentence then will mean 'You will not stay (but will go) and not talk': *i.e.* οὐ will affect the first verb and the third, but not the second: and, whereas in οὐκ ἄπει μηδὲ λαλήσεις; Prof. Goodwin explains μὴ λαλήσεις as a second question, having nothing to do with οὐ, in οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπει μηδὲ λαλήσεις we are told that μὴ λαλήσεις is not a question but a continuation of οὐ μὴ μενεῖς.

Against all these complications we set the simple statment:—οὐ = *nonne* in every case, and in every case goes all through the sentence.

A. οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπει; 'Won't you not-stay-but-go?'

B. οὐκ ἀπεῖ μηδὲ λαλήσεις; 'Won't you go-and-not-talk?'

C. οὐ μὴ μείνεις ἀλλ' ἀπεῖ μηδὲ λαλήσεις; 'Won't you not-stay-but-go-and-not-talk?'

Mr. Chambers says 'To my ear οὐ μὴ does not even sound like the beginning of an interrogation.' *Iam ista divinatio est!* No one thinks that οὐ μὴ is interrogative. οὐ is interrogative, we say, and means *nonne*. How will it sound differently if it happens to be followed by μὴ? Whether it sounds like *non* or like *nonne* will depend on whether it is pronounced or not pronounced interrogatively.

II. I have not always found it quite easy to follow Mr. Chambers's account of οὐ μὴ in denials, but I believe this to be a faithful summary of it.

He distinguishes, carefully and rightly, between 'prohibitive' (or 'deprecativ') and 'presumptive.' 'Presumptive,' which he does not use, is Riddell's term, and is useful as an adjective covering both 'apprehension' and 'cautious assertion.'

He derives the 'presumptive' from the 'prohibitive' use, in this way:—

(1) μὴ γένηται *prohibitive* or *deprecativ*: 'let it not happen.'

(2) δέδοικα μὴ γένηται, 'I am afraid *Let it not happen,*' passing into 'I am afraid it may happen.'

(3) Under strict limitations, μὴ with subj. *presumptive*, with verb of fearing understood: 'I am afraid it may be,' passing into cautious assertion, 'I think it may be,' *nescio an sit*.

Mr. Chambers contends that (3) is post-Homeric, and does not come directly from (1), but from (1) through (2). In post-Homeric usage he claims as really prohibitive a number of the instances commonly quoted as presumptive, leaving only those where μὴ is followed by οὐ, and those where the verb is ἦ, and he accounts for these limitations by the desire to avoid confusion between 'prohibitive' and 'presumptive.' (*E.g.* μὴ σκώψῃς means 'Don't jest,' and must not therefore also mean 'I am afraid you will': μὴ γένηται means, he says, 'Let it not happen,' and must not therefore also mean 'I am afraid it will.')

Lastly, he explains οὐ μὴ γένηται as 'I am not afraid that it will happen,' with verb of fearing understood, maintaining that, because of the limitations in the use of (3),

this οὐ μὴ construction must be derived from (2)—as (3) itself is—and not from (3).

Some of the holes which Mr. Chambers picks in Prof. Goodwin's account of the matter are imaginary. He argues, as we have seen, that μὴ cannot be presumptive in οὐ μὴ γένηται because μὴ γένηται is not so used. But let it be allowed that confusion with prohibitive construction is avoided in the use of this idiom. Therefore (if it is so) μὴ γένηται with μὴ of cautious assertion is avoided; but therefore also οὐ μὴ γένηται with μὴ of cautious assertion need not be avoided. Again, Mr. Chambers thinks, if οὐ μὴ γένηται is the negative of the cautious assertion μὴ γένηται (which he says is not used), much more should we expect to find οὐ μὴ οὐ γένηται as the negative of μὴ οὐ γένηται (which is used): and he laughs at the absurdity to which he has reduced the theory. Unfortunately, this very construction, which he conjures up for the confusion of bold presumptivists, occurs (or rather its equivalent οὐ μὴ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο occurs) in Thuc. 2, 93. [The form of the conditional sentence is irregular: εἰ διενοούντο, οὐ μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθηόμεθα. 'People were saying—As to doing it secretly, even if they were intending such an attack, it is impossible that we should fail to be forewarned of it.'] Exactly like this, with πῶς for οὐ (and most instructive, because it cannot be explained as elliptical), is *Phileb.* 12 D πῶς γὰρ ἡδονὴ γε ἡδονῆ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοίωταρον ἂν εἴη; *How can it possibly not be most like?* Again, Mr. Chambers makes merry over the discovery that there is no example of οὐ μὴ ἦ corresponding to the presumptive μὴ ἦ: and this he says, 'can hardly be accidental.' But what is it, if it is not accidental? On his own δέδοικα-theory, what reason is there for the avoidance? And he has not noticed that examples are quoted by Prof. Goodwin (*M.T.* § 295) of οὐ μὴ both with ᾧ and ἦς. What principle divides between ἦς and ἦ?

But there is one weakness in Prof. Goodwin's statement of his own view, which Mr. Chambers has, I think, successfully exposed. The difficulty amounts to this:—If μὴ γένηται is a cautious assertion, and οὐ μὴ γένηται is the negative of it, *what* is it that οὐ negatives? 'It is not conceivable,' Mr. Chambers says, 'that οὐ could negative the apprehension, unless some word of apprehension is mentally supplied, or rather had actually been supplied at some stage in the development of the construction.'

My answer to this is, that οὐ does negative a word of apprehension; that it negatives, not a verb of fearing understood, and

not a statement of possibility implied in the whole phrase, but simply and solely the adverb *μή*.

I desire to show that the subj. *γένηται* is not prohibitive in origin, but an independent future-potential of the Homeric type—as in *οὐ γὰρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι* and in *τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται*;—this use of the subj. being retained in post-Homeric Greek in the idiom we are considering, and (with restrictions) in the deliberative question: and that *μή* in this construction is an adverb, which has parted with its negative meaning, and acquired the presumptive meaning ‘perhaps’ or ‘possibly’ (which it has in the Aristotelian *μήποτε*), having therefore as good a right to go with *γενήσεται* (or indeed, if usage had not restricted it, with any tense of the indicative) as with *γένηται*. If this is so, *οὐ μή γένηται* means ‘Not possibly may it happen’ (*i.e.* it certainly will not), *μή οὐ γένηται* means ‘Possibly it may not happen,’ and *οὐ μή οὐ γένηται*, a combination naturally not much in request, means ‘Not possibly may it not happen’ (*i.e.* it certainly will not fail.)

To begin with, I believe that the Homeric independent *μή* with subj., which Mr. Chambers says ‘never loses its prohibitive force,’ usually if not always in third person, and sometimes in first, is not prohibitive at all, but apprehensive or presumptive. *E.g.* the prohibitive meaning, I hold, is not suitable in *Od.* 5, 415 or in *Il.* 22, 123, where the *μή* phrase is coupled with assertion. Odysseus says: ‘I cannot land. If I try, belike (*μή*) a wave will fling me (*βάλῃ*) upon the rocks, and mine will be a luckless endeavour (*μελέῃ δέ μοι ἔσσειται ὄρμη*).’ ‘Let not a wave fling me’ would not make sense. Hector says: ‘What if I go to Achilles and sue for peace? But why do I think of it? Belike I shall go to him (*μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰών*), and he will not pity me (*ὃ δέ μ’ οὐκ ἐλεήσει*), but presently slay me.’ ‘Let me not go to him, and he will not pity me’ is impossible. Again, in *Od.* 5, 356 (to say nothing of the tense, which is present, as it is in *Od.* 15, 19 and 16, 87) the sense requires ‘Ah me, belike some god is weaving deceit for me,’ not ‘Let not some god be weaving.’ And most clearly of all *Od.* 5, 466 (*μή δαμάσῃ*) with 473 (*δεῖδω μή γένομαι*), ‘What will become of me? If I stay by the river, belike the cold will kill me: if I go up to the hill, I fear that beasts will devour me.’

As to the examples in post-Homeric Greek, in which Mr. Chambers insists upon

the prohibitive meaning, I cannot agree with him: *e.g.* *Alc.* 315 *μή διαφθείρη* seems to me exactly like the Homeric instances we have examined, and modelled upon them, ‘belike she will,’ ‘I fear she will.’ It is perhaps unnecessary to discuss here how far in prohibition aor. subj. of third person is convertible with imperative (*M.T.* § 259, 260), an assumption on which so much of Mr. Chambers’s argument is based; and one of the examples to which he assigns a prohibitive meaning is *pres.*, *μή τις οἴηται*. Certainly *μηδείς (ἑμῶν) ὑπολάβῃ* may be used for *μή ὑπολάβῃτε*: I am not sure that it goes much further. [*Od.* 22, 213 might be explained as a substitution for second person, ‘Do not listen to Mentor’: *Il.* 4, 37 probably means ‘Have your own way for fear of strife hereafter’ (‘Belike there will be strife’).]

I cannot think that Mr. Chambers’s view, that *μή* with independent subj. in Homer has never parted with its prohibitive force, will find acceptance. But I know that some scholars will still explain *μή βάλλῃ* as shortened from *δεῖδω μή βάλλῃ*, and more will say ‘Though it has lost its prohibitive force, it is prohibitive in origin.’ I will give my reasons for thinking that, whether with or without *δεῖδω*, it is not prohibitive in origin but interrogative. Whether *δεῖδω* is omitted in *μή βάλλῃ* (*Od.* 5, 466) or added (as Prof. Goodwin and Mr. Chambers hold, and as I certainly believe) in *δεῖδω μή γένομαι* (*Od.* 5, 473), all scholars are agreed that, with or without *δεῖδω*, it is the same construction. If it can be proved to be in origin interrogative, as I think it can, with *δεῖδω*, it is interrogative without.

1. It may of course be said that the use of *μή* with indic. after a verb of fearing is a later extension of the idiom, when it has forgotten its prohibitive origin. But *μή* with indic. occurs in Homer, in *Od.* 5, 300, *δεῖδω μή δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν*. This cannot mean ‘Let not the goddess have spoken all things truly’: *μή*, if prohibitive, must already have forgotten its origin. I explain it as interrogative, ‘I am afraid Did not the goddess speak all things truly?’ ‘I am afraid *whether she did not*.’ (As *φόβος εἰ πείσω* ‘I am afraid whether I shall’ = I am afraid I shall not: so ‘I am afraid *whether she did not*’ = I am afraid she did.) So *Od.* 21, 395 *πειρώμενος μή κέρα ἴπες ἔδοιεν* ‘trying whether worms^s were not eating’ if *ἔδοιεν* is past for *ἔδουσιν*, or ‘might not be eating’ if it is past for *ἔδωσιν*: a prohibitive meaning is unsuitable. So it is in *Od.* 13, 216 *μή τί μοι οἴχονται* (or *οἴχωνται*), ‘to see

whether they have not' (or 'may not have') 'gone.'

2. The construction is illustrated by the use of *μή* after *οἶδα* in *Antig.* 1253 ἀλλ' εἰσόμειθα μή τι καὶ κατάσχετον κρυφῆ καλύπτει. [Some edd. read καλύπτει. If it were with a verb of fearing, I should say that *μή καλύπτει* means 'whether she does not,' *καλύπτει* 'whether she may not hide.' But it seems to me that with *εἰσόμειθα* the *μή* clause is *consciously* interrogative, and idiom would hardly sanction *εἰσόμειθα μή καλύπτει*, though in itself such a subj. would be precisely the same as after a verb of fearing.] Prof. Jebb follows Prof. Goodwin in rejecting the simple explanation 'We shall know Does she not conceal?' and explains "'We shall know (about our fear) lest she is concealing," i.e. *whether we are right in fearing that she conceals.*' Prof. Goodwin says, 'We shall learn *the result of our anxiety* lest she is concealing.' Is it not obvious that they are both avoiding the inevitable? The reason they both give is that the clause with *μή* must express something which is *feared*: that there is no example like *εἰσόμειθα μή οἱ φίλοι ζῶσιν*: and therefore *μή* (at all costs) must mean 'lest.' But examples of the idiom in this (on my view) earliest and consciously interrogative stage of its development are scarce (Sophocles is fond of revivals, and he is here reviving the interrogative use of *μή* which underlies *δέδοικα μή ἁμαρτάνεις*): and it is surely not surprising that 'Are we right in thinking that something is not so?' should lend itself more readily (as it does here) to the expression of a misgiving than of a hope. I will not stay to discuss *Antig.* 278 ἀναξ, ἐμοί τοι, μή τι καὶ θεῖλατον τοῦργον τόδ' [scil. ἐστίν], ἢ ἐξύνοια βουλεύει πάλαι; which seems to me no less clearly interrogative.

3. An important confirmation of the interrogative explanation of *μή* after *οἶδα* in *Antig.* 1253, and therefore after verbs of fearing, may be derived from the well-known oath-construction with *μή* and indic. (of which L. and S. say naively 'οὐ would be more regular; Mr. Chambers, footnote p. 150, boldly explains *Il.* 10, 330 as prohibitive; Prof. Goodwin *M. T.* § 686 and Mr. Monro *H. G.* § 358 attempt no explanation) *Il.* 10, 329 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός...μή μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος, and *Il.* 15, 41 with pres. πηγαίνει. So Aristoph. *Av.* 195 μὰ γῆν, μὰ παγιδᾶς...μή γ' ὄνυμα κομψότερον ἤκουσά πω, with *Lys.* 917, *Eccl.* 1000. This is only, I believe, another form of the construction with *οὐ μή* (not however limited to future time): *μή* being still, at

any rate in the Homeric examples with *ἴστω*, consciously interrogative. The original interrogative meaning might be expressed by translating 'Zeus be my witness Shall another man mount that chariot?' ('By earth, by springes . . Did I ever hear a prettier notion?') Or it is, we might say, *the answer to a misgiving*: Zeus be my witness, as to whether another man shall not mount it.'

4. Again, the use of *μή οὐ* with subj., which begins in Homer, both after verbs of fearing, as *Il.* 10, 39, and in independent sentences, as *Il.* 16, 128 μή δὲ νῆας ἔλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται (when *μή* is of course continued with the second verb), makes strongly against its being prohibitive in origin, and still more strongly against Mr. Chambers's contention that with an independent subj. in Homer *μή* has not lost its prohibitive force. Does he not himself justify the (as he holds) later presumptive use *μή οὐ πείσῃς* or *μή οὐ γένηται* on the ground that it was not liable to confusion with the prohibitive use, since it could not possibly be prohibitive? And as to *δεῖδω* or *δέδοικα μή γένηται* meaning originally 'I am afraid Let it not happen,' we might fairly ask whether all that he says so strongly and clearly against the notion that a prohibition could pass into a cautious statement or statement of apprehension does not apply equally to the notion that it *did* so pass with the help of a prefixed *δεῖδω*. Surely, we might say, it must have had a great desire to become a statement of apprehension before it could so give itself away to the verb of fearing. Otherwise *δεῖδω μή κλέψῃς* is to me no more conceivable than *δεῖδω Μὴ κλέπτει*.

Lastly, let me speak of the use of *μή* = *num* in a rhetorical question, of which Prof. Jebb (on *Antig.* 1253) says, 'The use of *μή* in direct question is of course elliptical: e.g. *μή οὕτως ἔχει*; comes from *δέδοικα μή οὕτως ἔχει*.'

We find after a verb of fearing both *μή οὕτως ἔχει* and *μή οὕτως ἔχη*. As an independent statement of possibility, we find with subj. (if not exactly *μή οὕτως ἔχη*) affirmative *μή ἦ* both in Plato and Demosth., and negative *μή οὐχ οὕτως ἔχη*, *μή οὐκ ἦ*, *μή οὐ δέη*, etc. For independent statement of possibility with pres. indic., see *M. T.* § 269, where one affirmative example is quoted, *Gorg.* 512 D *μή τοῦτο εἰατέον ἐστίν*, and several with *μή οὐ*, besides the Aristotelian use of *μήποτε* = perhaps. And, even without examples, the existence of an independent presumptive *μή οὕτως ἔχει* might have

been inferred, both from *δέδοικα μὴ οὕτως ἔχει*, and from the rhetorical question, which we are considering, *μὴ οὕτως ἔχει*; 'Num res ita se habet?' For this is nothing but the statement of possibility *μὴ οὕτως ἔχει* ('Possibly this is so') repudiated by being pronounced interrogatively ('Can this be so?' 'Will any one say Possibly this is so?') exactly as the other rhetorical question *οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει*; 'Nonne res ita se habet?' is the negative statement *οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει* repudiated by being pronounced interrogatively ('Will any one say This is not so?').

Prof. Jebb's assumption that this use of *μὴ* is elliptical is founded upon the notion, which underlies so much that is said about these constructions, that *μὴ* is a conjunction, meaning 'lest.' The simple truth is, that *μὴ* is, to begin with, a 'not' which *avoids assertion*, exactly as it is in *εἰ μὴ ἔχει*, or *ὁ μὴ ἔχων*, or *μὴ ἔχειν*, or *μὴ δρᾶ*, or *μὴ δράσης*, or *οὐ μὴ δράσεις*; First comes a mental question or misgiving, *μὴ τοῦτο γένηται* or *γενήσεται*, 'Will this indeed not-happen?' 'Are we sure about its not-happening?' (quite different from *οὐ τοῦτο γενήσεται*; which *questions a denial*, as *εἰ μὴ* is different from *εἰ οὐ*, which *supposes a denial*). We have this in dependent construction, chiefly but not exclusively after verbs of fearing, in both forms, indic. and subj. There is here no restriction as to time: when the verb is indic., the tense may be past present or future. We have it also, used independently, sometimes with pres. indic., more often with subj.: and now the question is dropped, and the sentence becomes an assertion of possibility. *Μὴ* has thus acquired a new meaning: when it introduces such a statement, it means 'Possibly.' Next, this assertion of possibility may be denied by prefixing *οὐ* (*οὐ μὴ*='not possibly': with variations, which cannot be explained as elliptical, *πῶς μὴ*, *οὐδεὶς μὴ*, *οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε μὴ*, etc.) with aor. subj. (rarely pres. subj.) or indic. fut. or opt. with *ἄν* (*οὐ μὴ γένηται* or *γενήσεται* or *γένοιτο ἄν*). Or, lastly, it may be denied by becoming interrogative, not as at first when *μὴ* still meant 'not,' but with the new meaning *μὴ*='possibly' (*μὴ οὕτως ἔχει*; 'Is this possibly so?') Here idiomatic sanctions only the indic.: but the

restriction as to time has disappeared, and the verb may be, as at first, past present or future.

We have thus attempted to give a consistent explanation of five idioms, in all of which we claim for *μὴ*, though in the first and second less fully developed, the secondary presumptive meaning 'Perhaps' or 'Possibly.'

A. *μὴ* dependent (on verbs of fearing, etc.) with either subj. or indic. past present or future.

B. In oaths (after *ἴστω Ζεὺς, μὰ Δία*, etc.): indic. with no restriction as to time.

C. *μὴ* independent: statement of apprehension or possibility: subj. and (rarely) pres. indic.

D. *οὐ μὴ*, denial of possibility: aor. (rarely pres.) subj. or fut. indic. or opt. with *ἄν*.

E. *μὴ*=*num*: direct question: indic. with no restriction as to time.

It appears then that combinations of *οὐ* and *μὴ* occur in four ways:—

1. *οὐ μὴ* prohibitive = not-not.
2. *μὴ οὐ* consecutive = not-not.
3. *οὐ μὴ* denial of possibility = not-possibly.
4. *μὴ οὐ* assertion of negative possibility = possibly-not.

And it is evident that these combinations had a certain fascination for the Greek mind. This appears especially in the ingenious and unnecessary developments of the consecutive *μὴ οὐ*. It accounts also for the much greater frequency of *οὐ μὴ γένηται* and *μὴ οὐ γένηται* as compared with the affirmative statement of apprehension or possibility, *μὴ γένηται*, though this is by no means so scarce as Mr. Chambers supposes. There were other ways of saying 'It possibly may happen' more attractive than *μὴ γένηται*: but none of saying 'Possibly it may not happen' or 'It certainly will not' so attractive as those with *μὴ οὐ* and *οὐ μὴ*.
R. WHITELAW.

FURTHER NOTE ON PLATO *REP.* X. 597 E.

REP. X. 597 E, τοῦτ' ἄρα ἔσται καὶ ὁ τραγωδοποιός, εἶπερ μιμητῆς ἐστὶ, τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πεφυκώς, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι μιμηταί.

In the March number of this *Review* (p. 112) I explained these words as meaning that tragic mimicry (as exhibited in the stage-king) is at a third remove from the king and the truth (*i.e.* from the ideal king). The predicate both to ὁ τραγωδοποιός and to πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι is to be found in τοῦτ' ἄρα, which resumes the previous sentence τὸν τοῦ τρίτου ἄρα γεννήματος ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως μιμητῆν καλεῖς; and which is itself further explained, in the case of the tragic poet, by the words ἀπὸ βασιλέως. This meets the objection raised by Mr. Bosanquet in p. 193 that the true interpretation of τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως must be one which is applicable to all μιμηταί alike. His next objection is that, if Plato had meant us to understand the ideal king, he would have added some distinguishing epithet to βασιλεύς. But what more distinctive could have been added than καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας in this sentence and ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως in the last? We have only to compare 599 A τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν (*sc.* τῶν μιμητῶν)...τρίτα ἀπέχοντα τοῦ ὄντος καὶ ῥάδια ποιεῖν μὴ εἰδότε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, and D εἶπερ μὴ τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰ ἀρετῆς πέρι, εἰδώλου δημιουργός, ὃν δὴ μιμητῆν ὠρισάμεθα. I am a little surprised at this objection coming from Mr. Bosanquet, because the ideal character of the king is just as essential to his view as it is to mine. An actual Xerxes or Pausanias is even further removed from his general 'type of truth and reality from which all degrees of inferiority are measured' than from my narrower ideal, from which the degrees of inferiority of the actual and the stage-king alone are measured.

The only difficulty of the passage on my view is that the reference to the king should be brought in so abruptly. Otherwise the comparison of the stage-king (*i.e.* the tragic poet's imitation of the king), the actual king, and the ideal king, corresponds exactly to the earlier comparison of the painted bed, the actual bed, and the ideal bed. If however we may regard the king as a stock character in Greek tragedy, the phrase might have been no more puzzling to Plato's contemporaries than if one said 'the mimicry of pantomime stands at a third remove from the true clown.' That this

was actually the case, that the king *was* a stock character, appears from the passage of Demosthenes to which Prof. Campbell alludes (*F. Leg.* p. 418) ἵστε γὰρ δῆπον τοῦθ' ὅτι ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρέτὸν ἐστὶν ὡσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι. Perhaps the very phrase *τριταγωνιστής* may have suggested the thought of one who is *τρίτος* ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.

I do not think we can accept Prof. Campbell's own explanation, which seems to make ἀπὸ βασιλέως an otiose proverbial expression, until we have some proof that it was proverbial. I should be glad, however, to know what view other scholars take of the passage. I have run hastily through the eight and ninth books of the *Republic* to see whether this would make it easier to suppose with Mr. Bosanquet that Plato here meant to assert the doctrine πάντων μέτρον βασιλεύς, but it does not seem to me that the king is ever anything more than the ideal governor.

There is a striking passage in the seventh book of the *Laws* (p. 817 B) where the tragic poets are refused admission into the State on the ground that the governors themselves claim to be τραγωδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηταί κατὰ δύναμιν ὁ τι καλλίστης ἄμα καὶ ἀρίστης: πᾶσα οὖν ἡ πολιτεία ξυνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου, ὃ δὴ φάμεν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγωδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην. ποιηταί μὲν ἡμεῖς, ποιηταί δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὑμῖν ἀντίτεχνοί τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισταί τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος. This seems to me to give a truer representation of the facts than we find in the *Republic*. In the *Laws*, the tragedian and the philosophic governor are rival idealists, endeavouring to give body and form to something higher than common experience; the one does this by means of art and literature, the other by means of custom and law. In the *Republic*, on the other hand, ideality seems to be reserved for the governor; the tragic poet aims only at reproducing the actual. Perhaps we might say that, in the latter, Plato has an eye to such later developments of realism as we find in a Zola or an Ibsen, in the former to a Wertherian or Byronic idealism.

J. B. MAYOR,

NOTE.

I AM inclined to think with Dr. Mayor (*C.R.* p. 112) that in Plat. *Rep.* x. 597 E there lurks some unexplained allusion. But I cannot think the 'stage-king' a happy suggestion. May there not be a simple reference to the Oriental degrees of rank? The painter is not even, like the vizier, or the immediate heir to the throne, *δευτερος ἀπὸ βασιλέως*.

Plato's meaning is clear, that imitative art is thrice (or as we should say twice) removed from the ideal which alone is real. The difficulty arises, when (as in treating the *ἀγάλματα* of B. vi.) the illustration is applied too literally. The word may still be 'borrowed from the language of Book ix.'

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

NOTE ON LUCRETIUS V. 994-8.

At quos effugium servarat corpore adeso,
posterior tremulas super ulcera taetra
tenentes
palmas horriferas accibant vocibus Orcum,
997 doneque eos vita privarant vermina saeva
expertis opis, ignaros quid volnera
vellent.

LUCR. v. 994-8.

Vermina (997). Paulus Fest. p. 374:
vermina dicuntur dolores corporis cum
quodam minuto motu quasi a vermibus
scindatur. Hic dolor Graece *σπρόφος*
dicitur.

'...until cruel gripings had rid them of life...'

H. A. J. M. Note and Translation.

What is meant by 'quasi a vermibus scindatur' I do not understand. But surely 'gripings' (*σπρόφος*, Ar. *Thesm.* 484) are

not the consequence of being mangled by a wild beast? Does not 'vermina' point straight to a more natural meaning, illustrated by the following quotation from *At the Court of the Amîr*, by J. A. Gray, late surgeon to the Amîr of Afghanistan (Bentley, 1895) p. 181?—

'The next morning on arriving at the Hospital I found Allah Nûr only too ready to have his arm amputated. While he had been away from the Hospital, the flies in that hot climate had found access to the sore, and there were maggots squirming about in the joint. It was very horrible.'

For '*vermina*' = *vermes*, though I can offer no other authority, yet *verminosus* seems to be a support. Pliny, *N.H.* xxvi. 87, has '*putrescentia verminosa (ulcera)*' an apt parallel which I owe to the kindness of the Editor of the *Classical Review*.

H. K. ST. J. SANDERSON.

COOK'S METAPHYSICAL BASIS OF PLATO'S ETHICS.

The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics.
By A. B. Cook, Fellow of Trinity College,
Cambridge. Deighton, Bell and Co.
Crown 8vo. Pp. xvi. + 160. 6s.

THE object of this essay, as stated in the preface, is neither a systematic account of Plato's metaphysics, nor an adequate exposition of his ethics, but to clear up the connexion between the two. At the same time the writer has been led 'to reinterpret the metaphysical scheme that underlay the ethics of matured Platonism,' in order to

show the vital connexion existing between the latter and the former. Mr. Cook writes from the standpoint of one who finds himself 'in accordance with the general tendency of modern Platonic criticism'; who therefore does not admit the doctrine, 'now falling into disrepute,' that the several parts of Plato's philosophy are independent or even antagonistic. He admits no slight obligation to the work of Dr. Jackson and other recent exponents of Plato; but claims to have improved in some respects upon their interpretation by pursuing to the end 'the

principle that the Ideal world is composed of ὄντα, understanding by the word οὐσία in every case the combination of objective with subjective thought.'

The essay falls into three parts, entitled 'The Platonic Theory of Mind,' 'Higher and Lower Mentality,' and 'Metaphysical Descent and Moral Ascent': the first two whereof are each subdivided into three sections. The three sections of part i are respectively devoted to the *Parmenides*, the *Sophist*, and a passage in Aristotle's *de anima*. The discussion in § 1 turns mainly upon *Parmenides* 132 B, with the object of defining the sense in which the Idea is described as a νόημα. This word may mean (1) the object thought of, (2) the process of thought, (3) the thinking faculty. The conclusion drawn is that νόημα here bears the first signification: furthermore, although a distinction may be made between the object of thought as it is in itself and that same object as represented in the mind of the thinker, it is urged that here the distinction vanishes, because we are not on the plane of αἴσθησις but of νόησις: 'the Idea and Mind's thought of the Idea are one.' The Ideas then are 'νόηματα νοῶντα which think themselves and one another.' And the upshot of the whole investigation is this (p. 16). Plato posited 'a single really existent Mind as basis and conditioning cause of a series of really existent Minds called the Ideas,—the object of thought for any given Mind being itself or any other Mind.'

To this result the discussion of *Sophist* 248 A *sqq.* in § 2 adds that οὐσία is not only the subject and object of νόησις and so far ἀπαθής, which is the limit of the statement in *Parmenides* *l.c.*, but is also the subject and object of γνώσις, and in that capacity ποιεῖ καὶ πάσχει. A further amplification of this is derived in § 3 from an interpretation of the well-known and much disputed passage, Aristotle *de anima* I ii 404b 16-27: to wit that 'every ideal animal...evolves itself through four phases or conditions, viz. (α) the immutable being of ἡ τοῦ ἐνός ἰδέα, and (β) the mutable becoming of the same in space of one, two, and three dimensions.' Each Idea then has four planes of consciousness, νόησις, ἐπιστήμη, δόξα, and αἴσθησις; the object of such consciousness being any other idea [and presumably itself] perceived by νοῦς as ἀριθμός, by ἐπιστήμη as μήκος, by δόξα as ἐπίπεδον, by αἴσθησις as στερεόν.

Individual men then are not separate entities, but the Ideal Man perceiving itself on the plane of αἴσθησις, as a plurality of men in space of three dimensions: by δόξα,

'we rise to a higher level and portray them to ourselves by a kind of mental delineation: they still shape themselves as pluralities, but pluralities moving in two dimensions, a flat and it may be delusive picture of surrounding life' (p. 48). A higher method of individual cognition is ἐπιστήμη, which goes μοναχῶς ἐφ' ἑν—'straight to the point.' The highest stage, νόησις, transcends individual consciousness, and is reserved for the Idea itself.

The novelty in the exposition which I have thus epitomised is, if I have rightly followed Mr. Cook's statement, the conception of the primal νοῦς evolving itself into a series of intelligences called Ideas; of which Ideasmaterial particulars are the perceptions on the plane of αἴσθησις: the souls of particular animals having no existence as separate entities, since each and all are but the Idea multiplying itself on a lower level of consciousness. This doctrine, as set forth by Mr. Cook, has a pleasant symmetry; yet I find myself still preferring the old *nunpsimus*—*i.e.* that the primal νοῦς evolves itself into a series of orders of soul—stars, men, lions, trees, and the rest—and that each several Idea is the primal νοῦς so far forth as evolving itself into one of these groups of souls. Mr. Cook's theory seems to me to involve the result that the Ideas, being separate intelligences, ought as such to be materially embodied—one body to one idea, and not merely in respect of the multitudinous bodies of the multitudinous apparent intelligences which are the result of the Idea functioning on the plane of αἴσθησις: ὅσα ἀριθμῶ πολλά, ὅλην ἔχει, says Aristotle. Also a good part of the theory rests on a *locus veacatissimus* of Aristotle. Granting that Mr. Cook's interpretation of the passage is right—and his examination of it is both careful and acute—it is a sandy foundation to build on: as are all passages in Aristotle relating to the ideal ἀριθμοί. It appears μακρῶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀσφαλίστατον to interpret Plato's ontology out of his own mouth and then to make what we can of the ἀριθμοί: but to proceed from the ἀριθμοί to the Platonic ontology is ὀλισθηρὸς οἶμος.

In the first section of his second part Mr. Cook deals with Purpose and Necessity. 'Mind,' he says, 'is a Unity self-pluralised into a conclave of Minds, which are *objective*—*i.e.* really existent—Ideas. And in the second place, on pain of forfeiting its claim to real existence, Mind passes everywhere out of its own condition of permanent and immutable thought into the transitory and mutable phases of knowledge, opinion,

sensation, thereby producing *subjective*—i.e. phenomenally existent—particulars.' These two aspects of Mind are contrasted by Plato as τὰ διὰ νοῦ δεδημιουργημένα and τὰ δι' ἀνάγκης γινόμενα. It is ἀνάγκη that Mind should pass from the ταυτότης of νοῦς into the ἐπερότης of ἐπιστήμη, δόξα, αἴσθησις, and that the Ideal Minds should do likewise. But the pluralisation of Mind into the Ideas is not ἀνάγκη, but βούλησις. The latter is (p. 67) 'the *purposive* pluralisation of unitary thought'; the former 'the decadence *necessarily* attached to the movement of every real intelligence.' In fact βούλησις is equivalent to νόησις.

It may be doubted whether Mr. Cook does not but darken counsel by introducing βούλησις into his exposition. The connotations of the word are foreign to Plato's ontology; and although Mr. Cook tries (on pp. 62, 63) to guard himself against being supposed to indicate any arbitrary volition on the part of νοῦς, yet if this is to be thoroughly excluded, it is not easy to see what he gains by introducing βούλησις as a synonym of νόησις. And on p. 64 he does actually affirm that the Creator, were he κακός, could cease to will the existence of the Ideas. But that is equivalent to saying that he could do so were he non-existent. In fact throughout the whole section Mr. Cook seems to imply that although it is necessary that νοῦς should decline upon the three lower modes of consciousness, on pain of not being really existent, no such penalty attaches to a refusal of νοῦς to pluralise itself into the Ideas. Yet such an implication is subversive of the very foundations of Platonic ontology. The transference of the word βούλησις and its cognates, which Plato uses only in reference to the mythical Artificer, to a naked ontological exposition is fraught with confusion.

The second section is devoted to a discussion of the terms ταυτόν, θάτερον, ἕν, πολλά, ἄπειρα, wherein there seems nothing particularly new. But Mr. Cook is probably right in maintaining, against a statement of the present writer's, that the cosmic soul has perception of matter apart from the perceptions of finite souls.

The third section is an attempt to express the Platonic ontology in terms of theology. This I cannot but think by far the weakest and most inconclusive part of the book. Mr. Cook's theory that 'the starry ζῶα are the externalisation of the cosmic soul as distinguished from the subordinate souls' is surely one of the most extraordinary doctrines ever propounded by an interpreter

of Plato. The cosmic mind, according to this view, is materially represented, not by one cosmic body (for Mr. Cook regards a unique particular as contradiction in terms), but by the stars and planets, which are the perceptible multiplication of the one θεός θεῶν. And the unity of this 'minor mode of the supreme θεός' Mr. Cook is content to find in the fact that they are 'a physical totality.' Is it a 'physical totality' that Plato is describing in *Timaeus* 33 B-34 A? And does the οὐρανός fulfil the requirement of resembling its type κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν (31 B) in consisting of an aggregate of stars, just as an aggregate of material palm-trees represents the ideal palms? Was it necessary for Plato to insist that it is able δι' ἀρετὴν to suffice for itself as friend and companion, if it were just a plurality of intelligent and presumably sociable beings? Surely, if Plato really intended to convey such a meaning, we may as well once for all give up attempting to understand a writer who uses words with such incomparable recklessness. A particular may, as Mr. Cook says, be a localisation of an idea in space—be it so: a particular idea is localised in spots of space, the universal idea is localised in all space. There is not room left to enter further into the detail of this section; but the whole endeavour to express the Platonic philosophy as a theology adds nothing to our knowledge either of Plato's ontology or of his religion.

The concluding chapter is the most discursive, but not the least interesting part of the essay. The main thesis is that as ontology requires a descent from the higher to the lower forms of consciousness, so morality demands a perpetual straining on the part of the lower towards the higher; a tendency described in the *Theaetetus* as ὁμοίωσις θεῶ. In the region of soul this is shown as a perpetual approximation of the ἐπιστήμη, which is the highest faculty of the finite intelligence, to the ever unattainable νόησις of the supreme idea: in the region of σῶμα it appears as the tendency of the material εἰκῶν to represent as faithfully as possible the ideal παράδειγμα. In this reference Mr. Cook has a good many suggestive remarks—e.g. on disproportion between soul and body (p. 136), on metempsychosis (p. 146), and on lifeless bodies (p. 150). In especial an explanation is given of the difficult passage on respiration (*Timaeus* 78 A 79 E) which is a very decided improvement upon any that had previously been offered.

On the whole I think it may be said

without injustice to Mr. Cook that the main value of his essay lies rather in certain *obiter dicta* than in any general conclusion established by his arguments. It may be doubted whether there is so much of novelty in the work as its author believes, and still more whether that which is novel is to be indiscriminately accepted. But it is throughout the work of a keen and capable student of Plato, displaying everywhere a notable quickness of apprehension and fertility of resource, besides a

faculty of treating somewhat abstruse matters with ease and fluency. And whether we agree or disagree with Mr. Cook in respect of his theories, we certainly cannot deny him the praise due to an honest and resolute inquirer, who will never drop any Platonic problem *πρὶν ἂν πανταχῆ σκοπῶν ἀπέιπῃ*. In short he has written a book which students of Plato will find it worth their while to read.

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.

GIRI'S CATULLUS.

De locis qui sunt aut habentur corrupti in Catulli carminibus, scripsit JACOBUS GIRI. Vol. I. Augustae Taurinorum. 1894. Svo. Pp. 289. 10 Lire.

THIS is, I believe, the largest and, with the exception of Nigra's *Chroma di Berenice*, the most scrupulous and minute examination of the text of Catullus which has appeared in Italy within the course of the present century. No passage of any difficulty is left unnoticed by Prof. Giri. Those who are familiar with the critical acumen of the *Itali* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and contrast it with the dulness of the eighteenth century edition of Catullus (Volpe), will take up this new work on an old theme by a compatriot of Avancius with curiosity and interest. They will find the same zeal which marks the early scholars, but neither the same correct feeling of language and even metre, nor the same felicity in restoration of corrupt passages.

The greatest merit of the present work is that it is (to use a well-abused saying) well up to date. Most of the chief editions and many of the most recent dissertations on Catullus have been weighed and considered before Giri pronounces his own verdict on each passage as it comes before him. The style is judicial and deliberate, perhaps a little diffuse, but always in excellent Latin, and with little or no animus. The results, I think, are not so satisfactory; but how can they be? If Munro with his entire command of the field on which the criticism of the Catullian poems ranges could not command our assent, we need not be surprised that we are unready to be convinced by others.

To take some points in detail. It is an

old question, who is meant by *patrona uirgo* in i. 9. If the words are rightly transmitted, they must refer either to the Muse or Minerva. Munro boldly denies the possibility of either, and prints *Qualecumque quidem patronae ut ergo*. Giri rightly observes that Cornelius could hardly be appealed to as giving immortality, and pronounces in favour of Minerva, partly because Catullus never speaks of a single Muse but always of the plural Muses, partly because both Cornelius and every reader of Catullus' poems was sure to know that Minerva was patroness of books, and there was no danger of any other goddess presenting herself as a rival. This seems to me very inconclusive. I doubt both assertions (1) that Minerva would have been (I will not say universally, but) generally understood by the poet's readers; (2) that the Muse could not be addressed in the singular. Catullus had the example of Homer before him: both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* begin with an invocation to her, *Μῆνυ ἄειδε, θεά*. **Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον*. Homer, I suspect, would alone have outweighed with Catullus *milibus trecentis*. I see then no reason for changing my view that the Muse is meant; at least, it is not yet shown that Minerva, at that period of Roman history, was exclusively associated with books and book-writers.

iii. 16. O factum male! o miselle passer!

Here I feel in a much stronger antagonism. The hiatus *male! o* was felt to be wrong as early as Bapt. Guarini, who changed *o* to *pro*. Meleager suggested *vac*, Lachmann *io*. *Vac miselle* is so clearly pointed to (palaeographically) by the corrupt *bonus ille* of MSS. as, in my judgment, to be nearly certain, and I rejoice to see that

Prof. Postgate prints my conj. *Vae factum male! uae miselle passer!* But Giri, ignoring or setting aside the deliberate judgment of scholars like Lachmann, Haupt and Munro, seems to think we may admit hiatus not only here, but in places where no one hitherto has thought of it as a possibility, and where the MSS. lend it no support. Thus in viii. 19, where all MSS. except H give *At tu Catulle destinatus obdura*, he would write *obstinatus*. If this were possible, all the elaborate metrical training of the past century would go for nothing, and the most certain results of modern criticism would be overthrown. No less improbable is Giri's retention of the hiatus *horribilesque ultimisque* of xi. 11, though none of the emendations satisfy, and again of *Malest hercule et laboriose* of xxxviii. 2, where Catullus, he supposes, writing in a dejected mood, 'non celeriter loquitur sed lente, hic illic quibusdam quasi spatiis interiectis'; a most improbable theory.

The discussion on *sopio*, *ropio* is disappointing; it glances at many possibilities, but settles nothing. Here if anywhere we need new facts to proceed upon; those we possess, or at least are known to possess, seem insufficient to determine either the etymology or quantity of *ropio*. The length of the first syllable is the main point at issue; but Giri does not help us much to determine it. As a rare word, it may possibly lurk in some comic fragment, but nothing of the kind seems yet to have presented itself. Yet of all the suggestions made by critics lately, this of Peiper seems to me one of the cleverest; if the *o* is long, the meaning assigned to the word by Sacerdos suits the passage undeniably. We want a fuller discussion of the laws of the Sotadeus; a monograph in which all the Greek and all the possible Roman instances are collected. Much new material for such a monograph exists; I mention the interesting Greek sotadei recently published by Prof. Sayce, and discovered by him and Prof. Mahaffy in Egypt: a short notice of these and one or two corrections by me will be found in the forthcoming number of the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*. xxxix. 9 Giri inclines to return to the fifteenth century emendation of *monendum est mihi*, and to read *monendus es m.*, rejecting Conr. de Allio's palmary *monendum test m.*, on the ground that this gerundial construction was antiquated in Catullus' time. Yet he himself quotes eight instances from Lucretius, one from Vergil, one from the Priapea; and admits that it is constant in Varro's *de re*

rustica. The statistics given by Heidrich show that there are no less than thirty-five cases in this one short treatise: in the *de l. l.* there are only two. But which of the two works is the more finished? The *de re rustica*: and the fact is significant. The use was *not* obsolete, nor inelegant, though it succumbed later to the gerundial construction. In a case like this, palaeography must, I imagine, decide; and *monendum est* of MSS. does not point to *monendus es*, but to *monendum test* or possibly *monendumst te*. It may indeed be suspected that *monendus es* was avoided by Catullus as too suggestive of *monendus's*.

I proceed to the more pleasing task of calling attention to some of the points on which Giri seems to me to have made valuable or true suggestions.

iv. 24. Rejecting Munro's explanation of *nouissime*, Giri interprets the word as = *nuper*, adducing Sallust *Cat.* 33, 2, 3; *Jug.* 10, 2: 19, 7, where it certainly appears to be so used. This view is, I think, well worth considering, though I am not convinced that *nouissimo*, a conjecture which dates from the fifteenth century, is not what Catullus wrote.

ix. 4. Excellent is the defence of Faernus' *anumque* against the modern emendations, *bonamque piamque*, and Giri's summing up '*locum temptare desinamus, et quod vere emendatum est, vere emendatum ducamus.*'

On x. Giri has made two clever suggestions. In 10 he conjectures *Hic* praetoribus esse for *Nec* of MSS., and in 33, where O has *Sed talsa male et molesta uivis*, G and most others *Sed tu insula m. e. m. u.*, offers *Sed tu salsa male*, comparing Horace's *male salsus Ridens dissimulare*, *S. i.* 9, 65 where Orelli paraphrases 'prave atque intempestive iocans,' a sense which suits the passage of Catullus very exactly. The point here raised by Giri, how the two readings *talsa*, *tu insula*, can have come from the same archetype, is a very interesting one; though he declines to be led by it into tentative conjectures, it is attractive to do so; I may say that this has always appeared to me to be one of the most convincing proofs that both G and O are *not* immediately copied from the archetype. Meanwhile it is satisfactory to know that Giri, in common with K. P. Schulze, and I suppose with every one who has studied the question scientifically, repudiates that part of Bährens' hypothesis which makes all the MSS. of Catullus, except O, copies, direct or indirect, of G.

This view indeed may safely be pronounced exploded: and when I say this, I imagine it must follow as a necessary inference that the question of the inter-relation of the Catullian MSS. is not yet probed to the bottom, and that many of the subordinate codices will eventually be reinstated in their proper importance.

xi. 11. Though few will accept Giri's conclusion from the uncertainty of the conjectures proposed, that the MS. reading *horribilesque ultimosque* is to be retained, in spite of the glaring hiatus, his dissertation on the details of J. Caesar's invasion of Britain is of great value, and should be read by every future editor of the poem. I hope that he will give us more of these historical discussions in vol. ii. Especially on lxvi., where so much is doubtful, and a new conspectus of the facts as stated by the writers of antiquity might pave the way to a more satisfactory solution of the existing difficulties. Prof. Mahaffy's researches deal much with the Ptolemies: his work just published on this dynasty, from the first Ptolemy to the last, will probably be the forerunner of others on a larger scale and a less economical plan; Mr. Grenfell's *Revenue Papyrus* is sure to draw new attention to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and who can say whether the band of Oxford and Cambridge researchers in Egypt may not unearth new portions of a poet so much read by the Romans as Callimachus? or even the original *Βερονίκης πλόκαμος*? Archduke Rainer's collection is not unique: if we have recovered forty verses of the *Hecale*, we may reasonably hope for similar fragments of other epyllia, for undiscovered elegies or epigrams.

xxiv. 7. Giri's discussion of *Qui?* is new, and sufficient to defend the word against the correction *Quid?*

xxvii. 3. I have no doubt that Pleitner and Riese are right against Haupt in retaining the form *ebriosus* against *ebrius*; but whether Catullus wrote *Ebrioso acino* or *-sa -a*, or *-sa -o*, is a very perplexing question. Giri decides for the first, and this is certainly the nearest to the MS. reading. Gellius' discussion does not indeed, point that way: but Giri's doubts as to his authority are certainly justified by other cases.

xxxix. 11. The passage from Cicero's *Rosc. Am.* xvi. is important for showing

that the Umbrians had a traditional love of farming; and such a life would well agree with Catullus' epithet *parcus*. Whether Giri's suggestion that 'thrifty' implies 'spare,' the mental habit the bodily, I am not equally certain.

xli. 7. I am delighted to see that Giri gives in his adhesion to Fröhlich's *aes imaginisum*; his interpretation of the latter word practically agrees with Nettle-ship's. The remarks on *imaginisus*, *harundinosus* and other *ἀπ. λεγόμε.* in Catullus are very just: and who will not assent to his conclusion in xlvi. 2, *scabies famesque mundi*, that it is unsafe to emend *mundi* because no instance has yet been quoted of *mundus* = *orbis terrarum*, earlier than Horace and Propertius? Such reasonings are questionable always, doubly questionable when the interval between the actual but denied case and the actual but undenied instances is so small as between Catullus and Horace.

l. 2. *Multum lusimus in meis tabellis*. Giri's defence of *meis* against the proposed conjecture is simple and satisfactory.

li. 13-16. Rettig's absurd hypothesis that this sapphic strophe was written, not by Catullus, but by some one who had read Ovid's *Rem. Am.* 135 *sqq.*, is refuted on just grounds. Giri thinks this strophe followed immediately v. 12, as our MSS. give it: the connexion he finds in the feeling which the preceding strophe might naturally produce, especially if up to that time the poet had written no other poems on the subject of his love for Lesbia, that he was in for an amour which, considering the rank of Lesbia and her position as a married woman, was likely to be dangerous; and that in analyzing his feelings he found the chief cause for so strong a passion to be his slothful and indolent temperament. We might paraphrase: 'Haec (*sc.* the love-symptoms described in 1-12) sunt signa amore gestientis et exultantis: tu Catulle uide ne ex otio natus tibi sit hic amor Lesbiae, neue te, ut olim reges urbesque perdidit, perditurus sit.' This is, I believe, the best explanation of the connexion yet offered.

The above notice deals with only a small portion of this large work: but I look for the second part of it, that which deals with the more difficult poems, with interest.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

MAHAFFY'S *EMPIRE OF THE PTOLEMIES*.

The Empire of the Ptolemies. By J. P. MAHAFFY, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, &c. London: Macmillan and Co. 1895. 12s. 6d.

THE period of Greek rule in Egypt, B.C. 320-30, stands peculiarly apart. It is generally recognized that a new era—commonly called Hellenism—began with the death of Alexander, while the year 30 B.C. was that of the final consolidation of the Roman empire under one head. This period of close on three hundred years, beginning with Ptolemy son of Lagus and ending with the death of Cleopatra, forms an epoch in political history and exhibits the most favourable specimen of later Greek civilization. It forms also a separate epoch in literary history, having produced a literature, to speak only of poetry, which, though not containing any names of the first rank with the single exception of Theocritus, is important as having furnished models to the best period of Roman literature. Yet in spite of this it is not an interesting period, and even the skilful and lively treatment of Professor Mahaffy (who, if any one, could make it interesting) fails to redeem it. The Greek inhabitants were after all a colony among an alien race. Their civilization and literature was an exotic, and in less than a hundred years the native Egyptian element produced a natural reaction. The chief city, Alexandria, which, as Professor Mahaffy points out, far more represented Egypt than Paris ever represented France, was itself divided among three communities, the dominant Macedonians, the native Egyptians, and the Jews. Moreover, during this period no great religious or patriotic sentiments could display themselves—they were simply non-existent, and it is precisely these elements that make the history of a country interesting. In religion the Greeks compromised by uniting the worship of their own gods with that of the native gods, and thus brought about an acquiescence in their rule which the Persians, with their fanaticism, had never attempted to win. Many of the native temples were restored by the Macedonian monarchs. We read of great victories and defeats that lead to nothing, leaders changing sides with the utmost facility, while all the time the power of Rome quietly increases, and at length the great Republic takes all reality out of the

political struggles by interfering with a decisive voice wherever her own interests were thought to be concerned. Owing to the extensive employment of mercenary troops, wars were not carried on with bitterness, and any severity practised towards the conquered was more the result of policy than passion.

Again, the personal characters of the kings and queens are not such as to inspire enthusiasm. Their history is extremely intricate and confused, and the identity of names, especially among the women, constantly involves the reader in genealogical perplexities. We seem to have an endless procession of Berenices, Arsinoes and Cleopatras, all of them changing at will their matrimonial engagements. As Professor Mahaffy well points out, the common belief as to the degeneracy produced by the frequent intermarriage of near relations is not borne out by the history of the Ptolemies, for the last of them, the great Cleopatra, seems to have concentrated in her own person in the highest degree all the qualities for which her ancestors were famous. The sentimental interest in Cleopatra is of modern growth. To the contemporary Roman she was a powerful and malignant foe, and it is only because it was her fortune to play a conspicuous part on the stage of the world at a momentous crisis in human affairs that she is so sharply distinguished from her predecessors. All the princesses of this dynasty seem to have been of the same daring, unscrupulous, licentious disposition, absolutely without pity or remorse when any person or thing stood in the way of their ambition.

All this is well shown by Professor Mahaffy, who in the volume before us gives the first adequate account of the empire of the Ptolemies, for an empire it was, which at the most flourishing period, under Euergetes I, comprised not only Egypt but also Palestine, parts of Syria, the southern coast of Asia Minor, and several isolated spots. Professor Mahaffy has already dealt with this period more generally in his *Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, and has deserved well of the learned world by his editions of various recently-discovered papyri. He is therefore the writer from whom such a work as the present might be expected, which brings us up to date in Egyptian

history of this time. We may say at once that it is worthy of his reputation, and its value is much increased by the texts of the extant Ptolemaic inscriptions, and the representations of the cartouches and coins of various kings. Almost the only previous account in English of this period is to be found in Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, which, though a most respectable work for its time, is now quite obsolete. Professor Mahaffy naturally makes use of German authorities, such as Droysen's *History of Hellenism*, the writings of Krall and Thirge and others, and especially vol. iv. of Holm's recent *History of Greece*. For literature, of course, Susemihl's monumental work on Alexandrian Literature is often referred to. Our author may on the whole be said to hold a brief for the whole dynasty of the Ptolemies, more particularly for the later ones, and most particularly for Euergetes II. (Physcon), who seems in some respects to have been unduly depreciated. If he was very fat, at any rate he was very active. If he committed many murders he was no worse than the others, and Professor Mahaffy throws considerable doubt on certain atrocities commonly attributed to him, which remind us rather of Nero and Domitian. Thus we can hardly believe without better evidence the alleged murder of his stepson at his own marriage-feast and before the eyes of the boy's mother whom he had just espoused, or the tale that he murdered his own son Memphites and sent the body cut into pieces and packed in a box as a present to the boy's mother. The result of Professor Mahaffy's investigation is thus fairly summed up: 'If the rule of the Ptolemies was a centralised despotism, where the interests of the Crown were everything, and those of the people nothing, it must at least be admitted that there never was a more intelligent despotism, or one which understood more clearly that the interests of the one cannot be secured without consulting those of the other. If the taxes levied by the Ptolemies seem enormous, I have produced evidence to show that those exacted from Palestine by the Seleukids were apparently as exorbitant; there remains also this curious negative evidence to exculpate the Ptolemies, that in the scores of papyri treating of the local administration, among the many complaints and petitions addressed to the Crown, we have not found a single protest that the burden of taxation was intolerable, or that the State exacted its debts with cruelty and injustice.'

Professor Mahaffy tells us nearly all that is known about the Museum of Alexandria (which is not much) and its government. It seems, as he says, to have somewhat resembled the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge in its arrangements, and the State-supported members may be compared to Fellows—an analogy which, he adds, will more readily occur to an Englishman than to a foreigner. At the same time it is to be noticed that Holm does make this very comparison, and further goes on to compare the Librarian of the famous library to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, another comparison which is rather happy. We should certainly like to know more than we do of the method of the studies pursued at the Museum, what was the relation between research and instruction, what was the relation between the Chief Librarian and the Head of the Museum, whether the Librarian ever retired before death, and many other points. On these subjects we have various statements, more or less confident, by German scholars, but they are all guesswork. Until late years, and beginning with the publications of Ritschl on the Alexandrian libraries in 1838, the list of the first six librarians was usually given as Zenodotus, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Apollonius, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus. But recently German scholars have made a dead set against Apollonius, and several have also rejected Callimachus. Ritschl first introduced Callimachus from the well-known scholion in Plautus where he is called *aulicus bibliothecarius*, and certainly on *a priori* grounds it seemed tolerably safe to include him. However, in the Greek of Tzetzes (of which the Plautine schol. is a translation) Callimachus is merely spoken of as *νεανίσκος τῆς αἰλῆς*, while it is expressly said of Eratosthenes in the same document that he was librarian. Again, Suidas knows nothing of the librarianship of Callimachus, but affirms that of Apollonius. The former therefore seems to be excluded for good reason, but Apollonius is not so easily disposed of. It is true there is some chronological difficulty in the way, for unless we may assume either that Eratosthenes resigned the office some time before his death, or that the life of Callimachus was prolonged considerably into the reign of Euergetes, Apollonius must have succeeded at a very advanced age. German scholars indeed summarily reject the statement in the second life of Apollonius that he returned from Rhodes to Alexandria—a statement which is introduced by the words *τινὲς δὲ φασιν*.

Busch, Susemihl, and Holm thus repudiate Apollonius, and recently the writer (Dr. Haerberlin) in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* on the 'History of Greek Literature' 1879-1893, in a complimentary notice of Professor Mahaffy's *History of Greek Literature*, goes so far as to say, 'Apollonios Rhodios wird fälschlich als Bibliothekar in Alexandria bezeichnet: diese Meinung ist bei uns längst aufgegeben.' The real difficulty is to know how much weight is to be attached to statements contained in Suidas, and this it is in many cases impossible to ascertain. Hence the point must remain undecided for the present at any rate.

Much discussion has taken place about the date of the second marriage of Philadelphus, that with his sister Arsinoe. Its importance lies chiefly in this, that this event helps us to date Theocr. xvii., which has a reference to it. Professor Mahaffy fixes the marriage B.C. 278-277, and appeals to the stele of Pithom, which shows that it was an accomplished fact in 273. Wiedemann (in *Philologus*, vol. 47) on the same evidence puts it in 273, and there seems no reason for putting it much earlier. The allusions in Callimachus do not help us here. Much doubt is thrown on Gercke's conclusion as to the date of the death of Magas of Cyrene. The date usually given is 258, but Gercke brings it down seven years later. The objection urged against the received date is the long interval thus made between the death of Magas (before which the betrothal took place) and the marriage of his daughter Berenice to Euergetes in 247. This difficulty however is much mitigated if what may well be called the brilliant conjecture of Professor Mahaffy is correct, viz., that Egyptian crown princes as such did not marry before their accession to the throne. It is not necessary either to suppose that Berenice was in her first youth at the time of her marriage, for she must certainly have been more than six or seven when she contrived the murder of Demetrius the Fair at Cyrene which won her so much κῆδος. The words of Catullus (or rather of Callimachus), *at te ego certe | cognoram a parva virgine magnanimam*, are too general to help us here.

It appears to me that Professor Mahaffy is too sceptical of the fact of the accidental burning of the Alexandrian library, or part of it, by Caesar in B.C. 48. The statement of Seneca *quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriae arserunt* is precise, and no

doubt he had his authority. The silence of other writers, especially of Caesar himself, is no doubt matter for comment, but may easily be accounted for, at least in Caesar's case, on the ground judiciously stated by Couat (*Poésie Alexandrine*, p. 15 n.): 'Le silence de César s'explique naturellement; il rend compte des mesures de défense qu'il a dû prendre pour assurer sa position dans Alexandria, et ne se préoccupe pas des désastres qu'elles ont pu causer dans la ville.' Moreover the fact, narrated by Plutarch, that Antonius made Cleopatra a present of 200,000 volumes from the library of Pergamum is some evidence that a loss of books had occurred at Alexandria.

Professor Mahaffy's writings have now been many years before the public and his reputation is solidly established. He will, therefore, I hope, pardon my saying that in my judgment his reputation would stand still higher than it does, if he did not affect a certain carelessness of style which conveys an impression that he does not himself attach much importance to what he is writing about, and this prevents the reader from giving him all the credit that is due to his learning and research. No doubt this is far from his intention; still, it is the impression given. In the present volume I have noticed the following slips. We read of Ptolemy Soter, 'He had at least twelve children by various wives, as well as the courtesan Thais.' If we did not know better, this might be taken to mean that Thais was one of his children. Again of Phylacon, 'So also at Dakkeh, we have his inscription over the portal of the temple, which is the highest point on the Nile that any Ptolemaic cartouche has been found.' We also read of an 'indefatigable book' of 'Eastern politicians who thought Rome bankrupt, and Mithradates the winning horse,' and I do not see how *συγγενοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως* can be rightly rendered 'Peer of the Realm.' What is perhaps worst of all is the application of the word *royalty* to persons, as is twice done, 'the Egyptian royalties,' 'the present royalties—Ptolemy Philometor,' &c. This is an expression common enough in 'Society' papers and in conversation, but it belongs to slang, not to literature. These are no doubt small blemishes, and it may seem ungracious to call attention to them. I do so in no unfriendly spirit, but rather in the hope that in a second edition the slight corrections which are necessary may be made.

R. C. SEATON.

MYTHOLOGY OF ARCADIA AND LACONIA.

Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens, dargestellt von WALTER IMMERWAHR. 1. Band. Leipzig. 1891. 8vo. Pp. vi. + 288. 4 Mk.
Lakonische Kulte, dargestellt von SAM. WIDE. Leipzig. 1893. 8vo. Pp. x. + 417. 10 Mk.

THESE two treatises may be conveniently discussed together, as in some ways they make for German scholarship a new departure in the study of ancient cults, and as they each proceed on the same method. The plan of an ethnographical or geographical survey of the various personages and forms of Greek worship was originated by K. O. Müller; but it has not been applied to special localities with such minuteness as by Wide and Immerwahr.

As regards their method of arranging and dealing with the facts, it is that which Wide pursued in his dissertation published at Upsala in 1888, 'de sacris Troezeniorum etc.': the deities of the several communities are discussed in separate chapters, each of which is prefaced by a list of 'schriftquellen,' citations from ancient authors and inscriptions, together with some notice of cult-monuments and especially of coins that prove or illustrate a city-worship; then follows a commentary on the particular cults and cult-titles of the divinity. There are certain advantages attaching to this system of exposition. It may be convenient to give in a tabulated form a separate account of the religion of any Greek community where the state-ritual or popular belief was stamped with a distinct and peculiar character; and much that is peculiar and distinct may be discovered in the religious practices and beliefs of Laconia, Arcadia and still more of Attica. But, after all, it is as impossible to write a complete account of the religion of any one of the leading Greek states, apart from a general history of Greek religion, as it would be to isolate, for instance, the history of Sparta from general Greek history; for there are far more points of resemblance and identity in the ritual and ideas attached by the cities of Hellas to the leading Olympian deities than there are points of difference. A large and comprehensive work pursued on the plan of these monographs would be full of tedious repetitions. And to write a fully satisfactory monograph on the scale of Wide's and Immerwahr's demands a comprehensive and

detailed knowledge of Greek religion as a whole. Judged from this point of view, neither work has achieved any high degree of success. Both authors have shown praiseworthy diligence in the collection of the material; the citation of passages from ancient authors and of inscriptions forms the most valuable part of each work. More use might certainly have been made of archaeological material; but neither writer shows himself an expert in archaeology, and each of their works suffers accordingly in some points. As regards the exposition of the various cults, both authors deserve credit for this at least, that they have freed themselves to some extent from the prevailing German fallacy of resolving divinities into their various physical elements. It is true that Immerwahr complacently accepts the view that Artemis-Callisto of Arcadia must be the moon-goddess, because she is called 'the very beautiful one' (p. 159-160). And Wide sins much worse in this direction, when he explains the epithet of Hera Αἰγοφάγος, 'the eater of goats' (that is to say, the goddess, to whom goats were sacrificed), as if it denoted the goddess who swallows up the clouds and sends fine weather or rain as required, goats being always regarded in this style of interpretation as synonymous with clouds. Wide is here evidently under the spell of Preller's and Roscher's 'storm-cloud-aegis.' Still on the whole they have been careful to avoid a mode of interpreting ancient classical religions which outside Germany is now considered antiquated.

But except in one excellent passage in Wide's book, his discussion of the festival of Apollo Καρνείος, both these treatises fail to offer us any newer and better interpretation in place of the older.

In Immerwahr's work on the Arcadian cults, the only inquiry which is successfully pursued is the geographical one. With much boldness and ingenuity he labours at determining the local connection of worships, their affiliations and lines of propagation; and in handling these problems, he exhibits some originality and the results of a wide reading. But his book has little or nothing to offer to the anthropologist or to the student of ritual and the ideas of primitive society. All the problems presented by Arcadian religion that are of the highest interest from these points of view are passed

over altogether or very slightly handled. The salient religious fact in Arcadia was the worship of Zeus Λύκαιος; in his comment on this very mysterious cult he does good service by his polemic against the theory that the title denoted the 'Light-god' and that Zeus Λύκαιος personified the heat of the summer solstice. But his own explanation of this worship of the wolf-god is very meagre. He accepts Jahn's very doubtful dogma that the wolf symbolizes the exile; and he has nothing to say about the 'lycanthropy' in the story or about the legend that Lycaon offered his own son to the god. Professor Robertson Smith's theory might have been discussed, if the great importance of his work on *The Religion of the Semites* for the whole study of ancient religion had been properly recognized in Germany. Another very interesting Arcadian cult is that of Hera Παῖς, Τελεία and Χίρα at Stymphalus. Immerwahr ignores the significance of these strange titles, which in the first volume of my work on *The Cults of the Greek States* I have tried to explain by reference to the ritual of the *ἱερός γάμος* prevalent throughout Greece. Of still greater importance is the legend of Callisto, the bear-goddess, and the worship of Artemis Καλλίστη; a searching exploration of this Callisto-myth must strike upon a very primitive stratum of religious belief, and to discuss it we must travel beyond the limits of Arcadia and compare the Brauronian ritual and the legend of Iphigenia. But Immerwahr is silent on these matters; nor can he be excused on the plea that the limits of his subject precluded such discussions; for one who writes on Arcadian religion is fairly expected to discuss its chief and most perplexing phenomena.

It is a lesser matter that he should barely mention the significant cult at Mantinea of Zeus Κεραυνός, in which the personal god appears identified with the thunder; or that he should glose over the difficulty of reconciling the chastity of Artemis with certain lascivious features in her ritual by saying that she owed her chaste character to her later association with Apollo, a commonly accepted but most improbable theory.

Even in the strongest parts of his work, his accounts of the local diffusion of cults, there is still much that is unsatisfactory. In his chapter on Hermes, the most elaborate instance of his geographical argumentation, he puts forward the view that the worship of this god reached Mount Cyllene

and North Arcadia from Elis and Messenia. I regret that I do not find his arguments entirely convincing, though no doubt the theory is as hard to disprove as to prove. He appears here as elsewhere to assign too much importance to the genealogical tables of late mythographers; and we should remember that personal names have a power of flying about over wide areas just as popular stories have. That the Hermes-cult could not have come from the Arcadian Cyllene into Elis and Messenia he considers to be proved by the two facts that the grave of Aipyros, whom he regards as identical with Hermes himself, was shown in the territory of Pheneos, and that Cyllene had no name at all until Elatos came and gave it one (p. 89). But the last statement rests only on the authority of Pausanias, which on such a prehistoric matter is absolutely worthless. The former argument seems to rest on the truism that the place where a person is buried is usually the last place he arrived at; but nevertheless one may be buried in one's birthplace. And if Aipyros was a god, his burial becomes an important fact for anthropology which wants explanation. In other places also, for instance in his theory of the connection of the cults of Demeter *Χθονία* at Hermione and Sparta (p. 124), he is not sufficiently sceptical in dealing with his ancient authorities; we find him accepting a mere expression of personal opinion on the part of Pausanias as if it were a statement of a fact of independent value. The chief defect of the book is its want of insight into the deeper significance of cults, and its narrow range of comparison.

Much of Wide's work on Laconian cult is open to the same criticism. His exposition is clearer and he is less prone to the spinning of illusory theories; but many of his comments are very thin and meagre, and many important problems that crave discussion are ignored. He does not seem aware of the great historic importance of the armed Aphrodite in the worship of Lacedaemon, and he does not discuss at all the significance of the cult-title of Aphrodite Ourania, which is a weighty question for the student of Greek religion. His chapter on Artemis shows an insufficient study of the general character of this very primitive goddess; if he had clearly realized the prevalent Hellenic conception of her as a goddess of wild vegetation and of the animals of the wild, he would have found no difficulty in her association with the myrtle and the nut-tree, or in the identifi-

cation of the hare with Artemis Soteira at Boeae (p. 121-122). He has little to say that is of value concerning the worship of Artemis Ὀρθία, or about the legends of bloodshed associated with it, nor does he offer any explanation of the extraordinary prevalence of this cult-title throughout the Greek world. By a curious slip he interprets *καπροφάγος* as an epithet of the 'goat-eating' goddess (p. 109), as the word *κάπρος* recalls the Latin 'caper.' Of much more value is his exposition of the Laconian worship of Poseidon and Zeus. But undoubtedly the best chapter in the book is that which is devoted to Apollo. His account of the first act in the ritual of Apollo *Καρνέϊος* (p. 74-81) shows that he has not read Mannhardt in vain, and is a valuable contribution to anthropology. A disturbing element, however, in the whole chapter, as well as in other parts of the book, is his propensity to create imaginary divine personages of a pre-Olympian period out of the cult-titles of Olympian deities. Thus *Καρνέϊος* is interpreted as not really an epithet of Apollo, but as the longer name of a mysterious Minyan god *Κάρπος*; so also *Μαλεάτας*, *Οικέτας*, *Δροματεύς* are not originally Apollo's titles, though they seem to suit him very well, but personal names of

deities whom he tyrannously suppressed. If these theories are not kept in check, the polytheistic possibilities in ancient Greek religion become truly alarming. Sometimes we may be inclined to admit that the divine epithet was the name of a dispossessed deity of an older dynasty. But none of Wide's instances demand this explanation. Still less need we believe with Wide and others that Agamemnon and Orestes were old gods who were degraded by the Olympian dynasty, if the only authority for this dogma is the statement of late writers concerning Zeus-Agamemnon, and the commemoration of Orestes in the Attic *Χόες*. In fact, Wide is too prone to multiply divinities and allows too little place for hero-worship. Another error in principle that we may note in his book is his tendency to draw theories concerning the ideal affinity of two deities from the local juxtaposition of their temples: for instance, on page 92, he argues that Apollo *Μαλεάτας*, or *Μαλεάτας* the unknown god, must have been a chthonian power, because his temple was near to that of *Ge*. The student of Greek religion and myth has often to beware of mistaking what is casual for something essential.

L. R. FARNELL.

PRELLER-ROBERT'S GREEK MYTHOLOGY.

Griechische Mythologie von L. PRELLER:
Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von CARL
ROBERT. 1894. 13 Mk.

THESE two volumes, although the text and theories of Preller are reproduced in them with little or no alteration, form a valuable contribution to the advanced study of Greek cult and myth. The older editions of Preller's work, which has long been the accepted hand-book of the subject in Germany, were very deficient in the apparatus of notes and citations. Professor Robert has enriched the text with a wealth of learning poured forth in the footnotes and *Nachträge*, which every student must find, as I have found them, most serviceable in the investigation of special questions. The citations are presented in a more manageable form than in Roscher's *Lexikon*, and we rarely find in Professor Robert's annotations that tendency to accumulate irrele-

vant references which is common in German scholarship. Occasional inaccuracies occur, and the few that I have observed I may be allowed to mention here—on p. 136 n. 2, 'die Münze bei Percy Gardner' should come under n. 3: p. 151 n. 3, Pliny xxxiv. 37 appears to be wrong: p. 165 n. 3, Momms. Heortol. 393 should be 343: p. 217 n. 3, Soph. Ai. 1220 Eurip. Kycl. 293 do not seem to bear on the point: p. 223 n. 2, Plin. xxxiv. 46 should be 76: p. 302 n. 4, Aegion is a mistake for Aegira, and the same mistake occurs p. 316 n. 1: p. 333 n. 1 *ad fin.* the reference to Macrobius is irrelevant: p. 362 n. 1, Thuc. vi. 30 should be vi. 20. But on the whole the accuracy leaves little to be desired and, in spite of certain omissions, the work is thoroughly done. The indices are especially valuable and scientifically planned. As regards the whole undertaking, one may be pardoned for raising the question of its expediency.

Preller's work is wholly antiquated, being written in accordance with a theory which is beginning to be distrusted in Germany and for some years has been distrusted elsewhere—a theory of physical symbolism of which the adherents ignore or are ignorant of the modern anthropological studies of primitive ritual, social usages and folk-lore. Such a work cannot be brought up to date by attaching to it 'ab extra' a more elaborate apparatus that may meet the demands

of the modern student. A new history of Greek religion on independent lines is the chief 'desideratum' in German scholarship. Those who know and appreciate Professor Robert's great knowledge and sanity of judgment may regret that he has not found time for an original work of his own on the subject, which would be likely to be of greater value than the piety and industry he has displayed in re-editing Preller.

L. R. FARNELL.

VAN HERWERDEN'S EDITION OF THE *HELENA*.

ΕΥΡΥΠΠΙΔΟΥ ΕΛΕΝΗ. Ad novam codicum Laurentianorum factam a G. Vitellio collationem recognovit et annotavit HENRICUS VAN HERWERDEN. Lugduni-Bata-vorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. MDCCCXCV. 4 Mk. 50.

THE value of this edition of the *Helena* lies mainly in the publication of Prof. Vitelli's collations of L and G. The most important point raised in it is that of the relative value of these two MSS. and consequently of L and P; for it is generally believed that G and P are two separated parts of the same manuscript. Prof. Vitelli 'has always maintained' (pref. p. vii.) that G (and consequently P) is 'a copy of a copy of L,' and that the only use of PG is to determine which of various readings in L is that of the first hand. Now it is clear that Prof. Vitelli is in a better position than we are, even with his collations in hand, to form a judgment. It is possible though that he knows L much better than he knows P. It is lawful to conclude this from a passage in his preface to his *Osservazioni int. ad alc. luogi della Iph. in Aul.* 1877, in which he complains that he has not been allowed access to the Vatican library, whose doors nevertheless had been opened to 'miscredenti stranieri.' At all events he knows G. The question is a difficult one. The two MSS. are so much alike that they must have come from a common source. P has more careless faults—such as *αιτησάμην* for *επισάμην* *I. T.* 78—than L, but this very carelessness makes it harder to suppose that when at *I. T.* 1006 L has τὰ δὲ γυναικῶν ἀσθενή, which offends against Porson's canon, the careless scribe should in copying from L have changed *γυναικῶν* to *γυναικός*, which is P's reading. I do not believe that any mediaeval scribe would have made this correction.

I have thought that it may be of some use towards determining the question if I mention such readings in the *Helena* as make it hard to accept the conclusion that G has, as compared with L, no independent authority. There are about 160 passages in the *Helena* in which L and G have different readings. The following cases are those which seem specially to make for G's separate authority (the numbers are those of Prof. van Herwerden's edition and differ generally by one or two from the usually received ones): 78 L *ἐμαῖς* G (and L²) *ἐμέ*, 634 L *ἐκθείρας* (or *ἐθείρας*, see Supp. p. 83) G *ἐθείρας*, 675 G inserts *με^ν* before *Ἡρα*, in L there is an erasure at the place, 681 L *ἐπένευο* G *ἐπένευον*, 733 L *ἀγ'* G *ἀ* followed by an erasure in which a later hand has added *λλ'*, 740 L *ἐκπλέξαι* G *ἐκλέαι*, the gaps being filled by probably the same hand with *κ* and *ψ* respectively, 775 L *δ' ἐπτά* (van H. says *ἐπτά δ'*, but this must be a mistake) G *ἐπτά*, 840 L *κτανεί* G *κτανῶ*, 890 L *τίς εἰς* G *τίς εἰς'*, 952 L *εὐδαιμονίας* G *εὐίας*, the gap being filled by a later hand with *ανδρ*, 984 L *καταστάλοισι* with *ω* written over *ου* by the same hand, in G *ω* is also written over *ου* but by a later hand; if G copied L why did it not copy the correction?, 996 L *κρίνον* G *κρίνειν*, 1055 L EA G MEN, 1060 L *κελεύων* G *κελεύσω* (Ald. and therefore, we may conclude, Par. 2817 have *κελεύσω*), 1089 L *δύω* G *δύο* corrected, Vit. says, by the same hand to *δύω* (I mention this as a significant case, which, unless Vit. mistakes the hand, makes as much for his view as against it), 1181 L *πόνον* G *πόνου*, 1212 L *κοινῶν πλάταις*, a late hand corrected the former word to *κοινωνῶν* and suggests *ης* for *αις* G *κοινωνῶν πλάταις*, 1244 L *σθένον* corrected by the same hand to *χθονός* G *χθονός* (see above on 1089), 1381 L *ἡσκήστο* G *ἡσκησατο*, 1452 L *μεθήσετε* G *μεθήσετε*, 1482 L *στολάδες*

with $\chi\acute{\alpha}$ written over $\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ by the first hand (Wilam. says by L²) G *στοχάδες* (see on 1089): here Ald. has *στοχάδες* but the two Paris copies (of L¹) have *στολάδες*. Vict. gives both readings; this v. and v. 1060 raise the question: Did Ald. know G ?—1532 L *σοφώτατ'* with θ' written above the last letter by L² G *σοφώταθ'*, 1579 L *ὄρθρια τ'* G *ὄρθια τ'* which is nearer to *ῥόθιά τ'* (Pier-son) which is evidently the right reading, 1601 L *αἰρέται* G *αἰρέται* again nearer to the right reading *ἀρεῖται* (Elmsley).

Prof. van Herwerden's commentary, which is mainly critical, does not seem to have been written with special care. I have noted about a dozen instances where conjectures are assigned to wrong authors or where conjectures have been adopted with no intimation of the fact. At v. 936 v. H. mentions with approval a suggestion of F. W. Schmidt's to end a v. *δακρύνουσ' ἂν ἡγάπων* (for *δακρύνουσι ἂ. ἡ.*). The faulty genders at vv. 287 and 930 he corrects in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.* November 16, 1895 (the latter also at the end of the book), but he ought not then to have referred to 'die bekannte Bemerkung Porson's' but to Dawes *Misc. Crit.* p. 317). Misprints like Saley (on 344), Macknagthen (295), G. Clarke (for W. G. Clark) (444), Cantor (572), Portus (for Duport the Camb. professor) (1568) give the same impression of hasty work.

The following suggestions of the editor are, I think, worthy of adoption: 708 *ὡς ἀληθῶς* (for *οὖσ' ἀληθῶς*), 740 ff. v. H. writes *εἰ* for *κεῖ* and brackets 741 and 742 (again I give the editor's numbering of the lines), 808 *θηκῶ* for *οὖτω*, 816 (Vit.) *ἐρεῖ δὲ τίς; τίς γνώσεται δ'?* (I should much prefer *μὲν* to *δ'* here, cf. *O. T.* 571 *οὐ γὰρ μὲν ὅς εἰμι... εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖς*), 853 *γενέσθαι* for *γενέσθω*, 1360 *μέγα τοι* (the same words are repeated) *μέγα τοι* for

μέγα τοι δύνανται, 1400 *παροῦσ'* (Vit.) for *παρόνθ'*, 1543 *προσῆλθον ἀκτὰς* for *π. ἀκταῖς*, 1552 v. H. mentions a very good suggestion of his pupil Koenen's to read *πόντια κτερίσματα* for *Μενέλεω ποντίσματα* (v. H. had suggested *Μενέλεω κτερίσματα*), 1634 v. H. well compares *Ἥιρρ.* 1104 and 1106 for a masc. participle used by a single member of a chorus of women when speaking of herself, but it is doubtful whether W. G. Clark was not right in supposing that from 1631 the speeches assigned to Cho. were spoken by a male attendant.

At 323 'Badham *μαθεῖν*': Badham prints *μαθεῖν* in his margin as a suggestion, but says in his note 'mutatione nihil opus, *ἔχουσα φράσαι est ἔχουσα ἤτις σοι φράσει.*' At 749 v. H. alters *εἰσορῶν* to *εἰσορᾶν*. His reason is: 'Calchas Helenusque non dixerunt *se videre*, quia re vera non videbant, itaque infinitivus recte habet' [?] *se habet* 'non participium.' But the participle with *δηλῶ* or *δείκνυμι* often has the same force as the inf. e.g. *Andocides* 4, 14 *καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδήλωσε... τῶν ἀρχόντων... καταφρονῶν*, *Eur. Or.* 803 *ποῦ γὰρ ἂν δείξω φίλος*; and *I. A.* 406. As an instance of light-hearted emendation v. H. turns aside on v. 814 to emend *λόγω πιστῆν* in *Thuc.* iii. 40 to *λόγω πειστῆν*, inventing the word *πειστός* on the spur of the moment. No wonder many of his thousands of emendations are subsequently retracted. 1619 *ὄρμιατόνων*: 'In mg. L² *γρ. ὄρμιαν τίνων unde Ald. ὄρμιαν τείνων.*' But this does not account for Aldus's reading, for Ald. did not know L, and *Par.* 2817, which he seems to have used, has (acc. to *Matthiae*) *ὄρμιατόνων*. This last word, which G gives with no comment, is undoubtedly the right reading, though Liddell and Scott do not recognize it.

E. B. ENGLAND.

MACKAIL'S LATIN LITERATURE.

Latin Literature. By J. W. MACKAIL.
Murray: London. 1895. Pp. viii., 289.
3s. 6d.

THE importance of this history of Latin Literature is critical rather than historical. Of biographical and bibliographical facts it is merely a sketch, too slight to be called imperfect, and without pretension to originality. For example, the enumeration of Livy's failings as a historian (p. 149) might be labelled *Weissenborn via Pelham*. Upon small errors, amongst which I should place

the statements that Horace addressed an epistle to Tibullus (p. 131) and that Calpurnius Siculus wrote in Nero's reign (p. 181), it is unnecessary to dwell; they will no doubt be corrected in the new edition which the public will probably be not slow to demand. As a contribution to literary criticism, the book need not fear the comparison suggested by its dedication to the memory of the late Prof. Sellar, who was to have written the manual whose place it supplies. Sellar's critical work, though very attractive from its genial sympathy

and pleasant literary form—it breathes the *bonhomie* which we associate with a good glass of wine and a cheerful fire—is somewhat deficient in penetration, and in the latest volume—the volume to which Mr. Andrew Lang prefixed an autobiography—it showed signs of being too much influenced by the opinions of others. In both these respects the pupil has the advantage over the master.

To have given within the compass of less than three hundred pages an account of all the Latin writers of any literary importance from Naevius to Prudentius, and to have done this without producing an impression either of inadequacy or disproportion—is a feat of which the author may well be proud. That Mr. Mackail's literary judgments are in all cases unassailable, no reader can expect; but in a very large proportion his presentation is substantially just, and even where we may differ most from him, we feel that he has something to say. In his literary estimates he holds the critical balance evenly between form and substance, thought and style, though perhaps, as in the case of Horace, inclining somewhat too much to form, and, as with Ovid, sometimes overrating a little the story-telling gift. One of the especial merits of the book is its recognition of the merits of writers who are unduly neglected. The force of Manilius, an Augustan in whom perhaps hardly one in five hundred classical graduates have ever read a line, is duly honoured, and a splendid tribute is paid to the genius of Apuleius. A reviewer is perhaps unduly biased in favour of a writer who more than once brings before the public notice favourite poems and passages of his own; but all, I am sure, will thank Mr. Mackail for introducing them to Statius' 'O gentle sleep, Nature's soft nurse, how have I frightened thee!' Where so much is good, it is difficult to select, but the estimates of Phaedrus, Lucan, and Tacitus and the accounts of the *Rudens* of Plautus and the *Eclogues* of Virgil deserve a special mention.

Some of Mr. Mackail's judgments require qualification. He judges Persius with an excess of charity, and I should say that he somewhat overrates the merits of the *Thebaid*, while he does less than justice to the not often read epic of Valerius Flaccus, who, in spite of his stiffness, has a genuine poetic vein, and but few of the rhetorical faults. I doubt if the writer of the words 'Thucydideos nouum et inauditum imperitorum genus' (Cic. *Orator* 30) or his

contemporaries would have accepted the statement that Sallust was even the last of the Ciceronians; and into the composition of Velleius entered a Livian element, which Mr. Mackail has ignored. When I read (p. 202) of Quintilian's style that 'it is as clear and fluent "as Cicero's," but not so verbose,' I think of more than one passage in that author which I should be glad to have Mr. Mackail explain to me. I am afraid that he often shows a spurious limpidity which may be noticed in many excellent lecturers when they come to compose. Mr. Mackail surprises me by speaking of the *Halientica* as a genuine work of Ovid. The poet of the *Metamorphoses* assuredly never sank so low.

Mr. Mackail has not succeeded in the difficult task of estimating Martial properly. On the absence of all moral feeling from his poems (in which respect he reminds us most of his master Ovid) Mr. Mackail says well and truly, 'The "candour" noted in him by Pliny is simply that of a sheet of paper which is indifferent to what is written upon it, fair or foul.' And good, so far as it goes, is the saying 'that his clearness of observation and mastery of slight but lifelike portraiture are really of a high order.' But we should never guess from his estimate that he was dealing with a writer whose poetical power is more genuine and more original than Ovid's. Indeed the word 'poetic' occurs in it but once, and then in a sentence within inverted commas. The reason is not far to seek. Mr. Mackail is displeased with Martial because he 'gave a meaning to the word "epigram" from which it is only now beginning to recover.' For this, however, we should not blame Martial, but the economy of language. The term 'epigram' ('inscription') was originally applied to any short poem, no matter what its treatment. Taking substance and spirit into account, the epigrams of Simonides, Plato, and Meleager and those of Martial as well of the later *Anthology* cannot both be epigrams except, as Aristotle would say, 'homonymously.' The true Greek epigram perished with the artists whose free hands could mould its form to perfect symmetry. Of this epigram there is hardly an example in Latin. Propertius ii. 11 is probably one; but many scholars think it a fragment. It lives again in modern times, but under different conditions. It is no longer free, but caged; and it is called the sonnet. The limitation of epigram to a poem with a point is a convenient and, with

all deference to Mr. Mackail, will be a permanent limitation.

Mr. Mackail keeps in general clear of exaggeration, though the passage in which Lucretius is compared with Newton and Lavoisier appears open to this charge. His English as a rule is graceful and appropriate; we have not many such expressions as 'the thunderous oath of Achilles' or 'the acted drama dwindled away before the gaudier methods of the *music hall*' (my italics)—a piece of cheap realism which should have been introduced with an apology, if at all. Scattered up and down the book are fine sayings and happy characterizations. 'Language too splendid to be insincere.' Juvenal's mastery over crude

and vivid effect 'keeps the reader suspended between disgust and admiration.' I will conclude with a longer extract, the last words of his judgment of Claudian: 'Claudian is a precursor of the Renaissance in its narrower aspect; the last of the classics, he is at the same time the earliest, and one of the most distinguished, of the classicists. It might seem a mere chance whether his poetry belonged to the fourth or to the sixteenth century.' The book is one in a series of University Extension manuals. If the University Extension movement produces such manuals as this, we cannot but regret its decay.

J. P. POSTGATE.

HARBERTON'S POETS OF THE ANTHOLOGY.

Meleager, and the other Poets of Jacobs' Anthology; from Plato to Leon. Alex. together with the fragment of Hermesianax, and a selection from the Adespota; with a revised text and notes. Edited by Viscount Harberton. Pp. iv. 580. Parker and Co. 1895.

No one will contest the justice of the remark with which Lord Harberton opens his preface, that 'it would be of considerable advantage to the students of classical literature if a new edition of Jacobs' Anthology were brought out with an improved text and commentary.' The critical edition by Stadtmueller now in course of publication will, it may be hoped, when complete, supply the necessary groundwork for the text, and the way be thus cleared for an adequate commentary. Hardly any praise can be too high for the work of Jacobs in view of the conditions under which he worked; but since then our knowledge as to the material facts of that Greek or Graeco-Roman civilization under which, through many centuries, the contents of the *Anthology* came into existence, has probably increased tenfold. The growth of archaeological science in particular has completely transformed the spirit in which a large mass of these pieces must be regarded. The Epigrammata Epideictica, one of the largest and quite the most varied and fertile sections of the *Anthology*, were then necessarily regarded as a collection of academic exercises, often meaningless, and seldom bearing any relation to actual facts or objects. We now know enough to be certain that this is just what, in the main, they are

not; that normally they were, in the strict sense of the epithet under which they are classed, *illustrations*, sometimes of actual facts, objects, or occurrences, but oftener of works of art, especially pictures; being in fact the precise converse of illustrations in the sense in which the word is most generally used now, and in which the picture or drawing is the illustration of the words, not the words of the picture.

Meanwhile any attempt however partial to set this new commentary on foot is useful, not merely for its own substantive merit, but as attracting attention to the subject and stimulating further work in the same field. It must be allowed that the value of this little work lies mainly in the latter direction. With every desire to do it justice, and with the fullest sense of the editor's real interest in his subject, it is impossible to rate highly as a contribution to scholarship a book so confused in arrangement, so imperfect and fragmentary in its textual and explanatory notes, so incredibly full of misprints, and so hopeless to find one's way about in. After considerable study the present writer is still only partially able to say what the contents of the book are; and the faults of arrangement are thrown into deeper shade by the absence of any index or table of contents. Those who wish to read, or to read in, the *Anthology* will still go to the other editions, imperfect as they are; but students will find here and there among Lord Harberton's notes a good many sensible criticisms and some plausible emendations.

J. W. MACKAIL.

CONYBEARE'S EDITION OF PHILO'S *DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA*.

Philo. About the Contemplative Life, or the fourth book of the treatise concerning Virtues. Critically edited with a Defence of its Genuineness, by FRED. C. CONYBEARE, M.A. 8vo. Clarendon Press. 14s.

THE literary history of the *De Vita Contemplativa* is of peculiar interest. The treatise has given rise to the most extraordinary controversies; and the amount of misplaced ingenuity which has been devoted to attacking or defending its genuineness is almost unparalleled. In all probability we owe the preservation of all Philo's extant works to one of the most stupid mistakes which Eusebius ever made; and the theory of the spuriousness of the treatise has been widely accepted on a far less tenable hypothesis than the original blunder of Eusebius. When once Eusebius had established the theory that Philo in this treatise was describing Christian monastic institutions of the first century, monks were always ready to transcribe the works of so useful an apologist. But strange as the mistake of Eusebius may seem, the theory that we have here the work of a third century Christian apologist of monasticism, anxious to shelter himself under the great name of Philo, which he never uses, is even more surprising.

Until the appearance of Mr. Conybeare's edition there had been for some time a lull in the controversies connected with the book. He has again taken up the cudgels on behalf of its genuineness; and a new period in the struggle has been opened. Whether he has proved his case or not may be an open question, but he has certainly dealt very damaging blows to some theories about the book which have been accepted by the majority of critics with greater readiness than wisdom. In especial he has earned the gratitude of all students of Philo by the vigorous attack which he has made on the over credulous acceptance of the theory of Lucius. There is always a danger of really good critics accepting the results obtained by critical processes apparently analogous to their own, without examining with sufficient care whether the work has been equally well done. In future, if we refuse to accept the treatise as a genuine work of Philo, we shall certainly require some better reasons for doing so than Lucius has given us.

Mr. Conybeare's edition consists of an introduction, containing a description of the MSS., and a discussion of their relations to each other and to the Armenian and Latin versions, as well as to the extracts found in the history of Eusebius; and a revised text, with fairly full critical apparatus, and very full testimonia, which afford perhaps the strongest proof which Mr. Conybeare offers of the genuineness of the work. This is followed by the complete text of the Armenian version, published here for the first time, the Latin version, and the Eusebian extracts; an elaborate commentary, and a very long defence of the genuineness of the treatise.

Mr. Conybeare's most important contribution to our knowledge of the text is the evidence of the Armenian, which he gives in full in his critical notes. On the ground that a lacuna (483, 18) common to all the extant Greek MSS. and the Latin version is not found in the Armenian, Mr. Conybeare has treated this version as an independent witness; and has formed his text on the principle that any reading found in the Armenian and one Greek MS. must have been the reading of the common ancestor of the Armenian and all other extant authorities, except perhaps the Eusebian extracts. On the whole his estimate of the importance of the Armenian seems to be justified, so far as one can judge from a hurried examination of the text. In some places it alone has preserved the true reading; and the readings supported by it and only one or two Greek MSS. stand the test of internal probability. He has however perhaps not made sufficient allowance for the possibility of later mixture. But in most places he has apparently chosen the right reading. His treatment of the text of the Eusebian extracts is less satisfactory. It would have been better if his critical apparatus had been constructed on a more systematic method generally; and from the irregularity with which the reading of the Eusebian extracts are sometimes given and sometimes omitted we are led to wonder whether the readings of the Greek MSS. have been recorded with sufficient regularity. In some places it seems probable that the Armenian and the Greek MSS. have common errors from which the text of the MS. used by Eusebius must have been free. His treatment of the text of 483, 41-48 (ὅ δὲ

ἐξήγησις—κατιδοῦσα) is very unsatisfactory. His remarks on the passage are divided between the introduction, the commentary, and the section containing the complete text of the Eusebian extracts. Between the printing of the text and of the commentary Mr. Conybeare seems to have changed his mind. It would have been far more satisfactory if he had stated his opinion in one place, and without hesitation. The true text must probably be gathered from various sources. It must have run somewhat as follows: ἡ δὲ ἐξήγησις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνεται δι' ὑπονοῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις, ἅπαντα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις εὐκείναι ζῶν καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥητὰς διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἄορατον νοῦν ᾧ ἐνῆρξάτο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκεία αὐτῇ θεωρεῖν, ὡσπερ διὰ κατόπτρον τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξάστια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφαινόμενα κατιδοῦσα κ.τ.λ. Here the αὐτῇ and ἐμφαινόμενα are supported by the Eusebian text alone. The passage is also interesting for the light which it throws on the text of Eusebius. It affords one of the many instances where the Syriac translation of Eusebius (as Mr. McLean, of Christ's College, Cambridge, has kindly informed me) supports the readings of the group *GHO* against the MSS. which Heinichen unfortunately followed in his edition. Other examples might be added to show that, though Mr. Conybeare has done much for the text of the treatise, his results cannot be regarded as final.

The excursus on the authorship contains a great deal of valuable work, though the arrangement leaves something to be desired. Two of the most interesting parts of it are the section in which Mr. Conybeare tries to show that Eusebius probably used the copy of the *De Vita* which Origen had formerly possessed, and the section in which he argues with greater success that the treatise may have formed part of Philo's larger apologetic work on behalf of the Jews. The former theory is ingenious, but it is rather unfortun-

ate that a place has been given to it which suggests that it is an important part of the argument for the genuineness of the treatise. Mr. Conybeare has certainly not *proved* his point. The reconstruction of Philo's apologetic work is very plausible.

Mr. Conybeare has massed together a great many arguments, out of which it would be possible to make a very strong case for the genuineness of the *De Vita*. We cannot help thinking that a shorter statement, arranged with more regard to logical demonstration, would have been more useful. But his treatment of Lucius and Graetz, if unnecessarily rough, is certainly valuable. He has at any rate shown that they have been guilty of a great deal that is ridiculous. And he has made out a case for a reconsideration of the question of the Philonic authorship unprejudiced by the acceptance of theories which have been too readily taken on trust. It would be easy to point out a good many minor defects, his treatment of textual and palaeographical questions shows several, but Mr. Conybeare's book is the most important contribution to the study of Philo that has appeared for some time.

In conclusion it may be well to call attention to two important reviews of the book which Schürer has published in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for July 20 and November 9, 1895. The second is in part a reply to a criticism of his earlier review by Prof. Drummond in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1895. Schürer retains his former view that the treatise is not the work of Philo. As he only touches a few of the questions raised by Mr. Conybeare's book, it is to be hoped that he will some time treat the question as a whole. Dr. Wendland has also discussed the question in the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, (xxii. pp. 693-772). He defends the Philonic authorship on much the same grounds as Mr. Conybeare, but in a clearer and more systematic form.

A. E. BROOKE.

SCRIVENER'S INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament. Edited by the Rev. EDWARD MILLER. George Bell and Sons. 2 vols. 32s.

No one would deny that Mr. Miller's edition of Scrivener is a work of considerable value.

It contains a short account of nearly everything that the student of the text of the Greek Testament can require as general prolegomena, and many facts that cannot be found conveniently elsewhere. Especially is this the case with the section which deals with the Egyptian versions, where

Mr. Headlam has assisted Mr. Miller to bring up to date the statements of earlier editions, and has enabled non-specialists to form some idea of the lines which Egyptian discoveries are taking.

Yet it is indisputable that the most interesting and attractive part of the book is the attempt which is made to overthrow the conclusions of modern textualists and reinstate the traditional text.

Of course the difficulty of dealing with arguments between rival schools of textualists is that to a large extent they are engaged in trying to prove their case by negative arguments. Dr. Hort, for example, thinks that there was a revision of the text in Syria in the third century. Mr. Miller on the other hand seems to believe that Origen is responsible for the \aleph -B type of text. Dr. Hort therefore tries to show that there is no trace of the traditional text before the third century, and Mr. Miller tries to show the \aleph -B type had no established position before the time of Origen while on the other hand the traditional text was always received.

It cannot be said that Mr. Miller's edition seems more successful in its attempt to supplant Westcott and Hort's theory than its predecessors have been. And the chief reason for this is that it fails to give the impression of fairly meeting Westcott and Hort on the questions of conflation and patristic evidence. Let us take the case of conflation. The argument of Westcott and Hort is that the traditional text represents a mixture of readings which can be traced to independent sources of a date earlier than the first appearance of the mixture. This is a fundamental part of their theory and if it be true establishes the relative lateness of the traditional text. Yet against this argument only one instance is dealt with by Mr. Miller, viz. Luke xxiv. 53, and the whole question is dismissed with the remark that if the prejudice in favour of the shorter text be met by the plea that D and the Latins perpetually, B and its allies very often, seek to abridge the sacred original, it would be hard to demonstrate that the latter explanation is more improbable than the other. This is, to say the least, inadequate. It makes no mention about the superior antiquity, in the one passage commented on, of the documentary evidence for the 'separate' readings. This is all the argument which is directly offered as a reason why we should regard the testimony of 'conflation' as valueless.

Nor, again, is Mr. Miller's treatment of patristic evidence any better. Take for

example the manner in which he claims to overthrow the contention that patristic evidence is favourable to the Westcott and Hort theory. He quotes John iii. 13 and maintains that here some of the earliest patristic evidence supports the traditional text in the alleged addition 'ὁ ὄν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.' That is certainly true. But it is beside the point. The addition has the most strongly marked Western ancestry, and the Western text admittedly goes back to the days and writings of some of the earliest Fathers. In other words, Mr. Miller claims an antiquity which is not denied by any one for the large class known as Western and Syrian, but argues as though he had thus vindicated both the antiquity of distinctively Syrian readings and also the merits of Western readings if adopted by the traditional text. The second point is especially illogical, for no one is more vigorous than Mr. Miller in condemning the Western text. Yet if this same text with the same documents approving its antiquity happen to have been adopted by the later MSS. it is at once dubbed 'traditional' and accepted as correct.

It is impossible even to mention all the points of interest raised by Mr. Miller's book, but there is one question which especially demands notice. This is the treatment of the alleged 'Syrian Revision.' The attack on this theory is based on two main arguments: (1) the lack of historic evidence; (2) the relations of the Curetonian and Lewis Syriacs to the Peshitto.

As to the first point Mr. Miller has a comparatively easy task. No one pretends that the Syrian Revision is mentioned in history. But at the same time Mr. Miller is scarcely justified in arguing as if this meant that there were no facts in its favour. The phenomena which first led Westcott and Hort to frame the theory remain, and they are as solid facts as it is possible to have; and therefore to insist on the absence of 'historic' proof without attempting to explain the other facts is a line of argument which 'admits no contradiction and carries no conviction.' It is also to be regretted that the argument should be disfigured by a gross overstatement in vol. ii. p. 288, where Mr. Miller draws from the rejection by Westcott and Hort of all distinctively Syrian readings the conclusion that this is to 'make a clean sweep of all critical materials...comprising about $\frac{1}{20}$ of the whole mass, which do not correspond with his (Dr. Hort's) preconceived opinion.' It would be hard to find a more inaccurate

statement. To reject distinctively Syrian readings is in no sense to make a clean sweep of critical material. It only rejects certain readings contained in that material, and so little is the remark about preconceived opinion justifiable that the rejection is strictly based on the fact that the evidence points to a late date for the readings in question.

To turn to the question of the Curetonian and Peshitto, Mr. Miller, who is here assisted by Mr. Gwilliam, contends that the Curetonian is a corruption from the Peshitto and not an earlier version. This is maintained on the ground that the Peshitto can produce evidence of its superior antiquity, and that the readings of the Curetonian are in many places where they differ corruptions from the Peshitto. Here the way in which the argument is set forth is inadequate. It is urged that the Peshitto can claim sufficient antiquity; but all that is shown is that the use by various sects, and the (disputed) quotations of Aphraates and Ephrem bring it down to the fourth century. But this is beside the point, for all critics allow that the traditional text was formed then, and already in use, and it is a legitimate cause of complaint against the editor of this book that he should not have thought fit to point this out more clearly.

But Mr. Miller has three other reasons for his views:—

(1). The oldest Peshitto MSS. countenance the Curetonian less than the later MSS. This, says Mr. Miller, is the reverse of the phenomena which 'ought *ex hypothesi*' to be exhibited if the Curetonian be the elder version. But surely Mr. Miller has not seen the point in its true light. The phenomena are exactly paralleled by the history of the Vulgate, which in consequence of the tendency to assimilation to the Old Latin is more sharply distinguished from the Old Latin text in MSS. preserving an ancient form than in those of a later date. So that, though the phenomena in question can hardly be said to prove anything, they are rather in favour of a revision of Curetonian leading to the Peshitto than opposed to such a theory.

(2). Mr. Miller also contends that the fewness of the MSS. representing the Old

Syriac suggests that it is merely a corruption of the Peshitto, and calls attention to the drastic character of the means necessary to produce such a scarcity of MSS. The scarcity is certainly strange: but it may be fairly urged that the scarcity of MSS. of the *Diatessaron*, which we know was in general use, affords an exact parallel.

(3). Thirdly, Mr. Miller relies on the evidence of readings found in the Curetonian.

One example of the way in which this is presented must suffice:—In Mt. xii. 1–2 the Curetonian adds 'and break them in their hands' to the story of the disciples plucking corn, and omits 'on the Sabbath' from the Pharisee's question 'Why do thy disciples that which it is not lawful to do on the Sabbath?' Now, if there existed no evidence for the early date of their corruption, we might consider Mr. Miller's view as possible. But, though he has omitted to state this, as a matter of fact there is Old Latin authority (*c* and *l.* ff¹.) for both corruptions, and this at least makes it perfectly possible that the Syr.-Cur. reading is an old Western corruption, which the Peshitto rejected, while the number of undoubtedly Western corruptions in Syr.-Cur. converts this possibility into a strong probability.

Mr. Miller's arguments are therefore not strong enough to justify the view which he adopts. No doubt the traditionalists will make many more attempts to establish their position; but before they can hope to convince their opponents of error, they must produce definite proof in the shape of early patristic evidence in favour of that well defined class of readings known as 'distinctively Syrian,' which make up (it would seem) a considerable part of the text they prefer, and they must also explain why it is that on their theory late cursives have a better text than early uncials. Probably they will find the first of these tasks extremely hard, but, until it is accomplished, books like Mr. Miller's edition of Scrivener, though most valuable as a statement in full of the apparatus criticus brought up to date, must be regarded as failing to touch the ground on which Westcott and Hort's theory is generally accepted.

K. LARE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—Between the Tiber and the Aventine, near the Piazza della Bocca della Verità a fragment of marble has been found with a very interesting inscription: O. OLIVARIUS. OPVS. SCOPAE. MINORIS. It recalls the inscriptions OPVS FIDIAE, OPVS PRAXITELIS, etc., on the marble figures on the Quirinal (*C.I.L.* vi. 10038–10043), which belong to the second and third centuries of the Empire. Professor Petersen restores the inscription: *Hercules invictus cognominis volgo olivarius opus Scopae minoris*, and refers it to a statue of Hercules Olivarius which occurs in the enumeration of the *regionarii* in the fourth century and stood between the Porta Trigemina and the Velabrum. It has been suggested that *olivarius* refers to the olive-branch which the hero brought back from the Hyperboreans (*Pind. Ol.* iii. 14), but it is more natural to explain it by the proximity of the olive-market. The Scopas minor referred to appears to have lived in the first century B.C., and was a native of Paros and father of another sculptor Aristandros (*Loewy, Inscr. Gr. Bildhauer*, 287). The existence of a third Scopas has been inferred from Pliny *H. N.* xxxiv. 49, who speaks of a sculptor of that name as a contemporary of Polykleitos and Myron.¹

Nemi.—A report of the recent discoveries in the lake of Nemi has been issued, and describes many interesting finds besides that of the ship of Caligula mentioned in the *Classical Review* for February 1896, p. 76. Among these may be mentioned the upper part of a column of bronze in a wooden socket, to which is attached a lion's mask holding a ring in the mouth; it appears to represent the pillar to which a floating ship or a buoy was attached by a hawser, and to date from the first century of the Empire. Together with this were found five portions of rectangular beams with bronze ornaments attached: two wolves' heads, two lions' heads, and a fine head of Medusa, the first-named having rings in the mouths. Probably these were the terminations of the projecting beams to which the hawsers were attached by which the floating ship was moored to the shore.

¹ *Notizie dei Lincei*, December, 1895.

In the area surrounding the temple of Diana large substructures of unburnt brick have come to light, among which was a large rectangular piscina lined with *opus signinum*. On its south wall were four niches decorated with polychrome mosaics. Several sculptured heads and *ex voto* hands, feet, etc., were found. Three chambers were discovered, with a vaulted passage adjoining, in which were eight large votive marble vases, all inscribed CHIODD, *Chio Dianae donum* (or *Chio donum dedit*). Four of them are of the shape of a crater, with fluted body and three half-figures of animals attached, in the style of Etruscan fictile and metal vases of the seventh century. The other four have narrow necks, and three have subjects in relief: (1) two Gryphons attacking a deer (*bis*), (2) two Satyrs, one of whom presses a bunch of grapes against the other's forehead, so that the juice drops into a crater between them (*bis*), (3) two horses, one ridden by a boy flourishing a whip. A head from a colossal statue of Diana was found, also a statuette of a nude youth, probably a Faun of Praxitelean type, and an inscription of 122 A.D., set up by the senate and people of Aricia, recording the restoration of the sanctuary by Hadrian.²

Cellino Attanasio (Picenum).—An archaic Latin inscription has been found, which runs as follows: M.PETRVQDI(VS) C.F. .PAQDI(VS).P.[F] ARAS. CREPIDINE (M).COLV [MINASQVE. HEISECE | MAGISTRIS. DE.ALEC[. .ORVM S.F.COIR.... We have here another instance of the title Magister Vicanus in this neighbourhood; the name of the vicus is unfortunately incomplete. The sign d for si is palaeographically interesting; both names occur also in *C.I.L.* ix. 873 and x. 6742.²

Conca, the ancient Satricum.—Further excavations on the site of the temple (see Monthly Record for April) have brought to light another *favissa* or trench full of votive objects, also a Latin inscription of the first century B.C., with a dedication to Mater Matuta; this confirms the name already conjectured for the temple and city. The votive objects belong to the second and third centuries B.C., and indicate the long duration of this shrine.³

H. B. WALTERS.

² *Notizie dei Lincei*, October, November, 1895.

³ *Athenaeum*, May 9, 1896.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xvi. 4. Whole No. 64. December 1895.

On Assimilation and Adaptation in Congeneric Classes of Words, M. Bloomfield. In continuation of two previous articles, one in vol. xii. pp. 1–29 [*Cl. Rev.* v. 438], and the other in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1893. This paper is intended to illustrate by new materials. The subject is the influence of the lexical value—as distinguished from morphological structure—of words and expressions upon one another and the constructive power of this influence in shaping the broader categories of words and expressions. It is maintained that 'every word, is so far as it is

semantically expressive, may establish, by 'hazard favoritism, a union between its meaning and any of its sounds, and then send forth this sound into domains where it is at first a stranger and parasite.' The materials are arranged in four classes, (1) Words of absolute or nearly absolute identity of meaning, (2) Words belonging to the same general class which, in addition, share some specific semasiological traits that constitute them into a class within a class. (3) Words of opposite meaning. (4) Congeners in the widest sense. *The Song of Songs again*, R. Martineau. In answer to Prof. Karl Budde the writer maintains his former views upon the composition of the Song of Songs (vol. xiii. pp.

307-328), viz. that it is a Drama. Budde urges that 'the entire Semitic literature, so far as we are yet acquainted with it, does not know the drama.' But the repulsion of the Semites towards the drama has been much exaggerated. *Establishment and Extension of the Law of Thurneysen and Havet*, I. L. Horton-Smith. This Law, that Prim. Lat *ōv*- (preserving Idg. *ō*) became *āv*-, has not met with the entire approval of all philologists. This essay, of which the first part is here given, is an attempt to establish the Law and to extend it by bringing together all the evidence and examining it in detail. *The Codex Riccardianus of Pliny's Letters*, E. T. Merrill. A complete collation of the codex Riccardianus (now R. 98—formerly 37—of the Ashburnham MSS. in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence) with the text in Keil's critical edition of 1870.

NOTES. *The Gerundive once more: Oscan Anafriß*, E. W. Fay. A continuation of a former article [Vol. xv. 217 foll. Cl. Rev. viii. 474].

The Oscan *Anafriß* is the only argument that has been brought forward to prove that Aryan *nāh* became *-nf-* in Oscan or Umbrian. But no sufficient explanation of this word has yet been given, and the writer proposes to connect it with *ἀμφορεύς*. *Two Notes on Latin Negatives*, F. H. Fowler. (1) Maintains that *neuter* and *neutiquam* may be either transformates of older forms with *-c-* under the influence of the simplices or may have been formed after *qu-* became *u-*. For *neuter*, at least, the first explanation properly applies, as we have a few cases of *neuter* retained. (2) Mr. Elmer's claim [vol. xv. 304, Cl. Rev. ix. 140] that *neque* is not used as the continuing negative of volitive forms seems to have been urged too strongly.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Herwerden's *Εὐριπίδου Ἑλένη* and Jerram's *Euripides, Helena*, Robinson Ellis. Van Herwerden is admitted to be the best exponent of Cobet's views and tradition, and he justifies the assertion that much which forms part of the MS. tradition is wrong, and has descended to us from a corrupted original. Prof. Ellis contributes several valuable critical remarks of his own. *Word-formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, F. Abbott. De Mirmont's *La Mythologie et les Dieux dans les Argonautiques et dans l'Énéide*, K. F. Smith.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. xx. Part i. 1896.

Deux passages d'Eschyle, P. Girard. (1) Maintains that Pers. 527-531, placed by Weil after 851, are really spurious and were added for some later representation: (2) maintains the genuineness of Theb. 961 foll. *L'adultère de Néron et de Poppée*, P. Fabia. Prefers on the whole the version given in Tac. Ann. xiii. 45 to that in Hist. i. 13, Plutarch, Suetonius and Dion Cassius. *Nonius, L. Havet*, p. 63 M reads *furatrina* for *feratrina*. *Fragments inédits de Lydus περί δισημειῶν*, collected by C. Graux, publ. by A. Martin. From a MS. in the private library of the king of Spain at Madrid. *Le Philosophe Numénius et son prétendu traité 'de la matière'*, C. E. Ruelle. The fragment *Νουμηρίου περί Ἰλης*, in a MS. of the sixteenth century in the Escorial library, is really an extract from Plotinus contained in pp. 308-322 of the ed. princeps. *Notes sur quelques manuscrits de Patmos*, J. Bidez and L. Parmentier. On some fragments of Orr. iii. and iv. of Dion Chrysostom. This MS. Patmiacus agrees closely with the Vaticanus. *Sur deux passages de Phèdre*, L. Duvau. On i. 15, 1-2, and appendix 16, 6-7. *Babrius lxi. (75)*, E. Tourner. Reads *ὄ παραπατῶ for οἶκ ἐξαπατῶ* on metrical grounds. *La correspondance de Flavius Abinnius commandant de cavalerie*, J. Nicole. We have about sixty fragments of which thirty-six are in the Brit. Mus. and the rest in the library at Geneva. Fl. Abinnius commanded the fifth division of Roman cavalry stationed at Dionysias in the nome of Arsinoe, and the correspondence dates between A.D. 343 and 350. *Stace, Silv. i. preface l. 28, G. Lafaye*. Defends the reading of *Sangallensis, Audacter mehercles; sed tantum tamen exarmetros habet, et fortasse tu pro collega mentieris*. *Ad Callinici de vita S. Hypatii librum*, H. van Herwerden. Some emendations proposed. *Notes épigraphiques: le proconsul d'Asie Lollius Gentianus*, J. Negroponte. An inscr. discovered near the railway station of Deirmendjik about thirty kilom. from Ephesus. It enables us to date the proconsulate of L. G. as A.D. 201. *Lucilius ap. Non. 184 and 470, L. Havet*. An emendation. *Phaeder, v. 7, 26, L. Havet*. *imponere* = 'intone,' common in ecclesiastical Latin, occurs in the above line. *Lucion, Charon 15, P. Mouet*. Suggests *ἐμπολιτεύεται < ἡ ἴδονῆ > νῆ Δία καὶ τὸ μῖσος*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BOOKS.

Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, chiefly Ptolemaic, edited by B. P. Grenfell. 4to. 153 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.
Aristophanes. Plutus, edited with notes and introduction by M. T. Quinn. Crown 8vo. 110 pp. Bell. 3s. 6d.
 — the same, translated into English prose by M. T. Quinn. Crown 8vo. Bell. 1s.
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 British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the B. M. Vol. III. 'Vases of the finest Period, by C. H. Smith. Vol. IV. Vases of the latest Period, by H. B. Walters. 4to. 425 pp., 28 plates, 28 engravings, and 275 pp., 16 plates, 30 engravings. British Museum.
Burton (E. D.) Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in

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Hatch (E.) and H. A. Redpath, and others. Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal books). Part 5. Folio. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 21s.
Hicks (E.) Traces of Greek Philosophy and Roman

- Law in the New Testament. 12mo. 188 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s.
- Hodgkin* (T.) Italy and her Invaders. Second edition. Vols. III. IV. (cont. Book IV.) The Ostrogothic Invasion. Book V. The Imperial Restoration. 8vo. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 36s.
- Murray*. Handbook of travellers in Greece, including the Ionian Islands, Continental Greece, the Peloponnesus, the Islands of the Aegean, Thessaly, Albania, and Macedonia, and a detailed description of Athens, Ancient and Modern, Classical and Mediaeval. Sixth Edition. 12mo. 1112 pp., maps, and plans. Murray. 20s.
- Putnam* (G. H.) Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages. A study of the conditions of the production and distribution of Literature from the fall of the Roman Empire to the close of the seventeenth century. Vol. I. 8vo. 488 pp. Putnam's. 10s. 6d.
- Aeschylus*. Haupt (G.) Commentationes archaeologicae in Aeschylum. (Dissertationes philol. Halenses. Vol. XIII. P. 2.) 8vo. 54 pp., 3 plates. Halle, Niemeyer. 2 Mk.
- Anzeiger* (*Archaeologischer*.) Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des archaeologischen Instituts. 1896. 4to. Pt. I. (60 pp., engravings). Berlin, G. Reimer. 3 Mk.
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TYRTAEUS: A GRAECO-ROMAN TRADITION.

THE history of poetry, says Horace,¹ begins with the various lore attributed to such half-mythical personages as Orpheus and Amphion, and presents to us next the famous names of Homer and of Tyrtæus, 'whose verses made sharp for battle the souls of men'. It is implied by the context that this conjunction, though partly suggested by community of spirit between the poet of the *Iliad* and the military bard of Lacedæmon, is also justified by chronology; and in fact, if we accept the tradition which ruled in the Roman schools and still rules in modern manuals, the elegiacs and anapaests, composed by Tyrtæus for the encouragement of the Spartans in their struggle to recover Messenia, were the earliest pieces of literature, strictly historical and datable, which the Greeks possessed. According to the story presented to us in its entirety by Pausanias, and accepted in substance by all writers of the Roman age, the original subjugation of Messenia was accomplished in two episodes, a first conquest and a rebellion, separated by an interval of about one generation. The central date is B.C. 700. The activity of Tyrtæus was assigned, since he expressly describes his war as a war of recovery, not to the first of these contests but to the second, and his date therefore stood about B.C. 680. The modern speculations, which would bring it a little lower, assuming for the moment that they work on a substantial foundation, would still make no essential difference. If we place Tyrtæus at any time before 650, we put him as high as we

can with assurance put any extant Greek literature, except the primitive Epos or portions of it: and if in that age or near it his elegiacs, being what they are, were current and popular in Laconia, their importance to history in many respects is such as we cannot easily overrate. The object of this paper is to overturn this hypothesis completely, not by any speculative argument, but by direct testimony, the full, plain, and conclusive statement of the principal and only trustworthy witness who speaks to the point.

The adventures of Tyrtæus in the 'second Messenian war' of the seventh century, as admitted or partly admitted by modern historians, are the remnant of an elaborate 'house on the sands,' some time since flooded and ruined by the rain of criticism. All, I believe, are now agreed, and it is therefore needless to argue, that about these primeval conflicts between the Spartans and Messenians the ancients had no solid information, except what they might rightly or wrongly infer from the poems of Tyrtæus. To support that long romance, all omens, oracles, desperate amours, miraculous feats, and hair-breadth escapes, which is reproduced in detail by Pausanias, no authority is even pretended, except writers, the chief of them a poet, separated by four centuries from the events supposed: and if Rhianus of Crete or Myron of Priene troubled themselves about the evidence for their novels any more than Scott troubled himself about the evidence for *Ivanhoe*, they must have found that evidence in such oral

¹ *Ars Poetica* 401.

tradition as may have been propagated in Messenian cabins during the dark ages of oppression, ready to emerge and expand after the deliverance effected in the fourth century by Epaminondas. But for that deliverance, as Grote remarks, we should probably have heard little or nothing about the original resistance. The historians or quasi-historians of the third and later centuries would probably then have left the events of the 'first and second Messenian wars' in that general oblivion which seems to cover them down to the age of Aristotle. In these circumstances scientific criticism had a simple task. Aristomenes, the protagonist of the alleged Messenian insurrection, belongs to that class of popular heroes whose history is naught and their very existence not unquestionable. He may stand possibly above Tell or Vortigern, but not with William Wallace or Llewelyn, perhaps on a level with Hereward the Wake. For serious writers it is now enough to mention his name.¹

If therefore these same writers treat on a totally different footing the connexion of this same episode with the life of Tyrtaeus, if for the 'second Messenian war' they use the fragments of Tyrtaeus as confidently as Aeschylus for the battle of Salamis, they do so not because this proceeding is countenanced by Pausanias, nor out of deference to any witness who can have been influenced by the transfiguration performed upon the history of Messenia in the romances of the third century. Pausanias, and in general all the writers of later antiquity, accepted and circulated so much about primitive Messenia which no one would accept now, that we should concern ourselves little, if that were the question, with what they allege about Tyrtaeus. But in fact the poems of Tyrtaeus, and his story, complete in all essential features, can be traced, not indeed into the seventh century, but well above the level of Rhianus or Myron.² Already in the fourth century both he and his works were known and had admirers at Athens. He is cited and some points in his life are noticed by Plato in the *Laws*; he is extolled by the orator Lycurgus, who also narrates at length the circumstances in

which his elegies were composed. And more significant than all upon the question of his historical validity, Aristotle, in the *Politics*, adduces without scruple the witness of his poem entitled *Eunomia*, or *The Blessings of Order*, as to the effect of external pressure in producing a particular kind of political discontent. It is upon the strength of these names, which certainly make together as strong a body of evidence as could be desired, that historians now accept what can be learnt from or about Tyrtaeus as affording a glimpse at least of 'the second Messenian war'. Rhianus cannot have seduced Plato; Lycurgus had not read Myron; Aristotle had probably never heard, and certainly did not depend upon, any fire-side anecdotes that may have run loose in Messenia. If all three are agreed—and they are—in accepting a certain belief about Tyrtaeus, it was probably in the main well-founded. But the question remains, What was it?

Of the three, the fullest and most explicit statement is that of the orator. The allusions of Plato and Aristotle, though they support that statement so far as they go, and are significant when read in the light of it, contain but little information, and upon the vital point are in themselves uncertain. The account of Lycurgus, which words could hardly make plainer or more definite than it is, puts everything, if we believe him, beyond question. In reading it we should bear in mind that the speaker was in his day perhaps the very first figure in the literary world of Athens, not so much for his actual production, which is and was always reckoned imperfect, as for his political and social character, his zealous and somewhat ostentatious interest in educational matters at large. If there is any person from whom we may accept the assurance that at Athens in the latter part of the fourth century a certain piece of Athenian history was unquestioned, that person is Lycurgus, who shall now be quoted at length. He is dilating upon the beauty and praises of patriotism, which he has illustrated from Euripides; and he continues the subject as follows.³

Another authority, whom I would commend to your approbation, is Homer: a poet of whose merit your forefathers had so high an opinion, that they appointed his works by law to be recited, solely and exclusively, at the quadrennial celebration of the Panathenaea, as an advertisement to Hellas that the noblest of actions were the chosen ideal of Athens. And in this they did well. Laws in their brevity

¹ See for example Beloch. *Gr. Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 284. Those who (as Prof. Holm and Mr. Abbott) condescend to repeat the narrative of Pausanias do so under reservations effectually destructive; and in fact there is no controversy about the matter.

² The date of Myron cannot be fixed, but that he was an author of the same kind and standing as Rhianus is plain from the account and treatment of him in Pausanias.

³ Lycurgus, pp. 162-163, c. *Leocr.* §§ 102-109.

command what is right, but do not teach it: it is the poets, with their pictures of human life, who select the noblest examples, and also by reason and demonstration recommend them to men. Take for instance the patriotic exhortation which is addressed to the Trojans by Hector,

'Fight to the ships, fight on: and whoso meets
Perchance from sword or spear the fated death,
E'en let him die! To die defending Troy
Mis-seems him not; and for his wife and babes,
They are saved, and safe his homestead and his
fields,
If but the foeman's navy homeward fly.'

This, gentlemen, is the poetry to which your ancestors used to listen; and the ambition of deeds like these wrought in them such a valour, that not for their own city only, but for Hellas also, our common fatherland, they were ready to lay down their lives, as was seen when the army of Marathon gave battle to the foreigner and defeated the host of Asia, imperilling themselves to win security for the whole Greek brotherhood, and proud not of their glory but of the deeds by which it was deserved. They had made Athens the champion of Hellas and mistress over the national foe, because their manly virtue was not exercised in phrases, but exhibited to the world in act. And therefore so excellent, both as a body and as individuals, were the men by whom our city was in those days administered, that when the Lacedaemonians, who in earlier times were first in martial qualities, had a war with the Messenians, they were commanded by the oracle to take a leader from among us, and were promised victory, if they did so, over their opponents. And if to the descendants of Heracles (for such have been ever the kings of Sparta) the Delphian god preferred a leader from among us, it must be supposed that the merit of our countrymen was beyond all comparison. It is matter of common knowledge that the director, whom they received from Athens, was Tyrtaeus, with whose help they overcame their enemies, and also framed a system of discipline for their youth, a measure of prudence looking beyond the peril of the moment to the permanent advantage of the future. Tyrtaeus left to them elegies of his composition, by the hearing of which their boys are trained to manliness: and whereas of other poets they make no account, for this one they are so zealous as to have enacted that, whenever they are under arms for a campaign, all should be summoned to the king's tent, to hear the poems of Tyrtaeus; nothing, as they think, could so well prepare the men to meet a patriot's death. It is good that you should listen to some of these elegiacs, and thus learn what manner of poetry obtained the approval of Sparta.

'He nobly dies, who, foremost in the band,
Falls bravely fighting for his fatherland;
But, beggared and expelled, to utter woes
From town or happy farm the exile goes,
With all his dearest vagabond for life,
Old sire, sweet mother, babes, and wedded wife.
No loving welcome waits him in the haunt
Where need may drive him and the stress of want.
His birth to stain, his person to deface,
All vileness cleaves to him, and all disgrace.
If, then, the wanderer pines in such neglect,
And all his seed are doomed to disrespect;
Fierce for our country let us fight to death
And for our children fling away our breath.
Stand firm, young gallants, each to other true;
Let never rout or scare begin with you.
Stout be your hearts within, your courage high,
And fighting, reckon not if ye live or die.

Your elders there, whose limbs are not so light,
Betray not ye their honour by your flight.
What shame it were, upon the field to find
The wounded, age in front and youth behind!
To see the hapless senior, hoar and gray,
Gasp in the dust his noble soul away,
His hands the bleeding entrails holding in—
O sight to taint the very eyes with sin!—
His body bare! But nothing misbeseems
The lad, whose youth in him yet lovely teems:
Eyes, hearts adore him, while he draws his breath;
And, falls he vanward, fair he is in death.
So plant you each one firmly on the land
With open stride, set tooth to lip,—and stand'.

Yes, gentlemen, they are fine verses, and profitable to those who will give them attention. And the people therefore, which was in the habit of hearing this poetry, was so disposed to bravery, that they disputed the primacy with Athens, a dispute for which, it must be admitted, there was reason on both sides in high actions formerly achieved. Our ancestors had defeated that first invading army landed by the Persians upon Attica, and thus revealed the superiority of courage above wealth and of valour above numbers. The Lacedaemonians in the lines of Thermopylae, if not so fortunate, in courage surpassed all rivalry. And the bravery of both armies is therefore visibly and truly attested before Hellas by the sepulchral inscriptions, the barrow at Thermopylae bearing the lines

'Go tell to Sparta, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to her laws we lie',

while over your ancestors it is written,

'Foremost at Marathon for Hellas' right
The Athenians humbled Media's gilded might'.

Such is the passage which—the fact may appear astonishing, but it shall presently be accounted for—is constantly mentioned in histories and books of reference, as part of the evidence for the current assertion that Tyrtaeus lived and wrote two hundred years before the Persian war. Is it not surely manifest beyond all possibility of debate, if only we raise the question, that on that supposition the whole narrative and argument of Lycurgus would be nonsense? Lycurgus assumes, and calls it a 'matter of common knowledge', that Tyrtaeus flourished about a hundred years before his own time, *between the Persian war and the Peloponnesian*, and that the Messenian war, in which Tyrtaeus served the Lacedaemonians, was that of our fifth century, now dated about 464–454 B.C. The preference, he says, given by the Spartans with divine sanction to Tyrtaeus, an Athenian, over their own countrymen, was a *consequence and attestation* of the virtue displayed by Athens in the defeat and conquest of the Persians. And again, the teaching of Tyrtaeus, by restoring and elevating the Spartan character, encouraged and enabled the Spartans to dispute the pre-eminence which (according to the orator) in the times immediately follow-

ing the deliverance of Hellas had belonged without question to Athens. How can this be understood, or what can it mean, if Tyrtaeus had lived and done this work, had strengthened the Lacedaemonian arms and improved the Lacedaemonian schooling, two hundred and fifty years before Athens and Sparta contended for the hegemony, and a full century or more before that public adoption of Homer by Athens as the basis of an improved education, from which the orator (rightly, though not perhaps exactly on the right grounds) deduces, as an effect, the primacy of Athens, and the greatness displayed by his city at Marathon, at Salamis, and in the development of the Confederacy of Delos? Athens became so pre-eminent about B.C. 475, that she bestowed a teacher upon Sparta—in 680? Sparta from about B.C. 445 began to dispute that pre-eminence of Athens, by virtue of an education adopted—in 680?

The meaning of Lycurgus is so plain, and so plainly stated, that we hardly know how to suppose it to have been overlooked. But it is at any rate the fact that, in the best and most recent expositions, which I can discover, the early date of Tyrtaeus is taken as constant, without a hint that, according to one at least of the oldest witnesses adduced, that date is wrong by a trifle of two centuries. And there is a possible reason for this, which is itself not the least curious part of the case. It is not indeed possible, as I think, to read the whole passage of Lycurgus, with a mind awake to the question, 'At what date does he put Tyrtaeus?', without arriving at the right answer. But it is easy (I may perhaps say so, as I have done it several times myself) to inspect the place, or even to glance through the paragraph, under the presumption that Lycurgus adopts the common date, without perceiving that he does not. It happens that, exactly at the point upon which a student 'verifying the reference' would chiefly fix his attention, accident has prepared for a mind so preoccupied the possibility of mistake: *τοιγαροῦν*—so begin the sentences which mention Tyrtaeus—*οὕτως ἦσαν ἄνδρες σπουδαῖοι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις πολεμοῖσι πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀνέλεν ὁ θεὸς παρ' ἡμῶν ἡγέμονα λαβεῖν κ.τ.λ.* The words *ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις* are in themselves, as a relative term, open to ambiguity, and in this place may be affected by different punctuations; so that there are not only three ways of understanding them,

all consistent with the general sense of the passage, but even a fourth, which is not. Either we may read them with the verbs of the sentence, *πολεμοῦσιν* and *ἀνέλεν*, '... that when the martial Lacedaemonians had in former times a war with the Messenians, they were commanded . . . ' in that case *former*, by the context, must be relative to the date of the speech, and the point (as in *οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες*) is to contrast the ancient consideration of Athens with her enfeeblement, so bitterly felt by the orator, in his own days. Or else—which seems preferable, and even perhaps necessary to make the description *τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις* significant in itself and harmonious with the rest—we may take together *τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις*,¹ ' . . . that when the Lacedaemonians, who were in former times first in martial qualities had a war with the Messenians': in this case *former* may be relative to the times of which the orator has been speaking, and the meaning then is that, before the contest with Persia and rise of Athens, Sparta in military spirit had been unquestionably first: this, which is true, he notes in order to enhance the compliment paid to the new rival, when Sparta borrowed Tyrtaeus from Athens. Or again, while adopting this second construction, we may refer *former* to the date of the speech: in that case the contrast will be between the ancient might and present feebleness of Sparta. Between these three the choice is open and unimportant.

But again fourthly, by taking *ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις* with the verbs of the sentence, and also assuming that *former* is relative to the events narrated, it is easy, *currente oculo*, to read this particular clause as if the 'war with the Messenians' preceded the Persian wars of which Lycurgus has been speaking. Consideration will indeed show that this interpretation deprives of meaning even the sentence in which the words occur, to say nothing of the general argument. Nevertheless, if we bring to Lycurgus the presupposition about Tyrtaeus which would have been brought,

¹ As to the order of the words see Kühner *Gr. Grammar* § 464, 8. The example would fall under his class *d*, *τὸν βέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως* (Xen. *Hell.* 5, 2, 4), *ὁ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει* (Demosth. *Crown* 197), etc. Two other arrangements would have been possible (1) *τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις Λακεδαιμονίοις*, and (2) *τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνδρειοτάτοις*, but the first is cumbersome, and the second, though otherwise natural, was to be avoided from the cacophony of *τοῖς ἐν τοῖς*.

as we shall see, by Strabo, Diodorus, Pausanias, Athenaeus, Justin (supposing that any of them consulted him on the point), and which has been brought there by every modern, we may well go away with the same supposition unquestioned, and justified, as we imagine, by fresh authority. In this way, arguing perhaps presumptuously from my own repeated error, I am inclined to account for the citation of Lycurgus by Grote—and by others who must be supposed to have verified the reference—among the witnesses for the presence of Tyrtæus at the 'second Messenian war' as related by writers both ancient and modern. But be the explanation what it may, the error is, I venture to say, patent and indisputable. Lycurgus dates Tyrtæus not in the seventh century B.C., but in the fifth.

Now it would be strange indeed if important events, assigned by a man like Lycurgus, upon 'common knowledge', to the century preceding his own, were nevertheless placed at the distance of three centuries by such contemporaries and countrymen of his as Plato and Aristotle. But Aristotle agreed with him, and so, for anything that appears to the contrary, did Plato. Aristotle cites Tyrtæus apparently once, on the point that in aristocracies disturbances may arise from any cause, war being the most common, which makes in the governing body a very rich class and a very poor class. 'This also', he says, 'occurred in Lacedaemon in connexion with the Messenian war, as appears from the poem of Tyrtæus entitled *The Blessings of Order*. Some, who were reduced to distress by the war, demanded a redistribution of the land'.¹ Now would it be natural, or even intelligible, thus to refer an event to 'the Messenian war', if history, as conceived by Aristotle, had presented three 'Messenian wars', three conflicts between Sparta and Messenia, distant from his own time about 100, 300, and 350 years respectively? It would be as if an English political writer should now say 'an illustration of this may be found in the *Crusade*', leaving us to choose between the nine. But the truth appears to be that in the time of Aristotle there was no fixed and accredited history of any 'Messenian war' except one, and that was of course the war

mentioned by Lycurgus, the war of the fifth century described in outline by Thucydides. About the earlier, primeval conflicts, though there were tales very recent for the most part in notoriety,² serious students did not yet pretend to know anything definite: the 'first war' and the 'second', with their dates and episodes, were among the many events of remote antiquity about which the historians of the decadence were so much better informed than their authorities. That the words of Aristotle in themselves compel us to this view, I would not say; but reading them in connexion with what Lycurgus gives as the 'common knowledge' of his time, which was also the time of Aristotle, we cannot reasonably refuse an interpretation which not only brings the two into accord but is also most natural in itself. It may be added that, as scientific evidence, the *Eunomia* of Tyrtæus much better deserved the attention of Aristotle, if known to date from the daylight age of Cimon and Pericles, than if it had been supposed to descend from the twilight of 680 B.C.

As for Plato, his references to Tyrtæus do not import, so far as I can discover, any opinion about his date, unless indeed we choose, for the credit of Plato himself, to see such an indication in his remarking, as if it were a fact well-known and ascertained, that Tyrtæus 'was born an Athenian and became a Lacedaemonian'.³ If Tyrtæus was born in the eighth century, it is more than unlikely that any sound evidence about such biographical particulars was attainable; nor is it, I think, the habit of Plato thus to expose himself to criticism without reason. It is otherwise, if Tyrtæus belonged to the generation of Sophocles. In another place⁴ the phrase 'Homer, Tyrtæus, and the other poets', read by itself, might seem to suggest a remote antiquity: but any reader of the *Laws* will be aware that Homer and Tyrtæus are joined here for the same reason which brings them together in the passage already quoted from Lycurgus. Plato, like the orator, is comparing literature with legislation in respect of its moral and educational effect; and Tyrtæus at Sparta, as Homer at Athens, was pre-eminently the poet of the schools. It is however not improbable that the conjunction thus originated, which re-appears, as we saw, in the *Ars Poetica*, helped to countenance, though it had really

¹ *Politics* 5 (8), 6, συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον· δῆλον δὲ [καὶ τοῦτο] ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης *Εὐνομίας* κ.τ.λ. In the second clause καὶ τοῦτο is not explained by the context as it stands, since Tyrtæus has not been cited before. It has perhaps slipped in from the preceding clause, where it is explained by a reference to Lacedaemonian history shortly preceding.

² The extant allusions are with scarcely an exception later than Leuctra, and after this begin (with Isocrates) immediately.

³ *Laws* 629 A.

⁴ *Ib.* 858 E.

nothing to do with chronology, the chronological error which we shall presently trace.¹

Such is our oldest evidence, our only evidence which relatively to the matter can be called ancient, respecting the date of Tyrtaeus; and such was the opinion of Athens in the fourth century. It remains to consider, whether that opinion was right, or whether, counting heads, we should prefer the strangely different opinion which in Roman times prevailed, so far as appears, without dispute.

Now in the first place, as against anything short of a proved impossibility, the statement of Lycurgus, considering the nature of the subject and the circumstances of the speaker, ought surely to be taken as conclusive. The public speakers of Athens, even in formal orations carefully revised, were inaccurate in matters of history, and sometimes deceptive; but surely there were limits. It is not quite easy to suggest an adequate modern parallel to the folly of Lycurgus in composing and deliberately uttering his remarks about Tyrtaeus, if there was any possibility of doubt whether the Athenian poet, whom he places only two or three generations before himself, did really live then, and not (if we may borrow the phrase) in the Middle Ages. Imagine the Earl of Shaftesbury or the Earl of Halifax, at a debate in the presence of Charles the Second, reminding his audience of 'the important missions which, as Your Lordships will all be aware, were entrusted to the poet Chaucer by Queen Elizabeth', and printing it afterwards in a pamphlet! A highly accomplished Athenian of the fourth century, alleging in public assembly that another Athenian, 'as every one knows', lived and played a public part in the fifth, can scarcely be refuted, let us repeat, by anything less than the intrinsic impossibility. Where then is the intrinsic impossibility, or improbability, that the poems of Tyrtaeus, and the story told of him, referred to the Messenian war of 464 B.C.? The extant fragments consist almost entirely of commonplace, equally applicable to any war; and from the few references to person or place nothing can be gathered but that the war in question was being waged by Sparta for the recovery of Messenia. Moreover we happen

to know, and shall have occasion presently to remember, that in this respect the fragments fairly show the character of the whole poems, as possessed by the ancients. For Pausanias reports, and on this point is a competent witness, that Tyrtaeus did not mention the names even of the contemporary kings of Sparta.² About earlier history, or rather legend, we do learn a little from the fragments, among other things that the original conquest of Messenia occupied a round twenty years, and that it was achieved by 'our ancestors' ancestors'—or 'fathers' fathers', whichever word we prefer³—that is to say, 'in the old, old days'. But there is nothing whatever in the way of statement or allusion which marks the seventh century as the time of writing, or excludes the fifth. As little is there of antique note in the language, which is in the main the regular hackneyed *lingua franca* of Greek elegiac verse at all periods from Simonides downwards. Whether it could have been written in B.C. 680 may be questionable, but let that stand by; it could certainly have been written in B.C. 460.

As for the story related about Tyrtaeus, so far from requiring a date in the seventh century, it becomes intelligible and credible only when restored to its place in the fifth. Taken apart from rhetorical colour, the facts, as alleged by Lycurgus, are these. Tyrtaeus was an Athenian of some literary talent, who, having become associated with the Lacedaemonians at a time when they were distressed in war against Messenia, rose to high consideration among them through the popularity of his martial and patriotic poetry, which not only served for the moment to rouse and restore the national spirit, but also, after the victory, was adopted by Spartan authority, with his help and direction, as permanent material for an improved education. To this account, of which the latter part, relating to education, is supported by Plato, and the former part, the connexion with the Messenian war, by Aristotle, we should perhaps add, as derived, if we can trust indirect evidence, from respectable Athenian authority, later by one generation, that the Attic home of Tyrtaeus was Aphidnae.⁴ Referred to the

² 4, 15, 1.

³ Frag. 3 *πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρας*. The attempt to make out of this phrase something definite in the way of chronology is properly abandoned by Beloch, *Gr. Geschichte*, p. 285 (note).

⁴ Philochorus, with Callisthenes and others (according to Strabo). For the birthplace they are cited distinctly; what more, if anything, comes from them we cannot say, and indeed it would be unsafe to assume that Strabo cites at first hand.

¹ It is perhaps worth notice that the passage about Tyrtaeus given in the *scholia* to the *Laws* is itself, like the text, perfectly consistent with his true date. Probably this is accidental; but it is not impossible that the note, which bears no certain mark of modernity, is as old as the *Laws* or indeed—for it has no special bearing on Plato—even older.

seventh century all this is justly thought open, not only to various objections of detail, but to one comprehensive objection, that the narrators had no means of knowing it. Referred to the fifth century, it is perfectly probable and warrantable. That the Lacedaemonians then sought and received aid from Athens against the revolt of the Messenians is a fact. The Athenian troops were, in memorable circumstances, abruptly sent back; but that a certain individual Athenian emigrated, and achieved by means happily suited to the occasion what is described by Lycurgus and more soberly by Plato, is not only credible, but ought on such evidence to be without hesitation believed. In particular the educational function of Tyrtaeus, a mere absurdity if attributed to the Sparta of 670, when even in Attica there was not yet, and was not to be for another century, any 'plan of education' or so much as a school, becomes, with the date 450, significant and interesting. At that time Sparta, in regard to the cultivation of the popular intelligence, was much behind the age, and at an immense distance behind her new rival on the Piræus. Nothing is more likely than that the humiliations of the Messenian war, and specially the humiliation of having petitioned, even temporarily, for the aid of Athenian wits, awakened the Spartan government to this among their other deficiencies, and that they employed to mend it an Athenian who had shown his power of pleasing their countrymen. That the educator gave to his own works a dominant place in the curriculum is a pleasing touch of nature, and indeed in the circumstances it was probably the best thing that he could do. One thing only Lycurgus alleges to which we must demur, that Tyrtaeus was adopted by the Spartans directly in obedience to the Delphic oracle. And even this is nothing but what they themselves must have said and believed *ex post facto*. That they procured an oracle for their application to Athens is proved by the application itself: in the politics of Sparta the sanction of Apollo was common form. The result was disappointment, and also unexpected success. The Athenian general and his army gave offence and were dismissed; while an Athenian of no likelihood helped to rehabilitate Sparta by ways unforeseen. That 'Apollo' thereupon disclaimed the failure and claimed the triumph, by identifying the destined 'leader' with Tyrtaeus, and that piety subscribed, all this is matter of course.

And the true date also dissolves another mystery: why it is near the middle of the fourth century, and not before, that Tyrtaeus is brought to our notice. If his works had been extant in Lacedaemonia, and had exercised their influence there, ever since the alleged time of 'the second Messenian war', it is strange that three centuries of silence should cover documents of such peculiar interest. Specially remarkable is the neglect of Plato, who certainly wanted not interest in the antiquities either of poetry, or of education, or of Sparta. In the *Republic* and elsewhere are many places which, given the now prevailing notion about Tyrtaeus, must suggest his name to the mind. Yet we find it nowhere before the work of Plato's last years. But the fact is that, although the career of Tyrtaeus is worth curiosity, his poetry, divested of its fictitious date, is not remarkable. It is clear and spirited, correct in sentiment and diction, but wonderfully verbose and platitudinous. I speak of the elegiacs; of the anapaestic marches we have not enough to estimate, but they seem to have been essentially of the same quality. At Athens, amid the sunset of Aeschylus and the dawn of Sophocles, a reputation could no more have been made by such verses than now by correct and well-sounding heroic couplets. Hundreds could do it, if not as well, nearly as well; and indeed it is part of the tradition that in his native city Tyrtaeus was of no account. Lacedaemonia was a different field, and he hit, both as man and as writer, the Lacedaemonian taste. But this would not serve him elsewhere; it was not to Lacedaemonia that people went for literary fashions, and least of all the Athenians, who dictated them. For two generations we hear nothing of him, and probably little was said. But about that time circumstances changed somewhat in his favour; after Aegospotami the foreign communications of Sparta were of necessity somewhat enlarged; and Leuctra did much to remove the barrier between the country of his birth and the country of his adoption. At any rate he began to have readers even in Athens. To Plato, a theorist on education, the poems were interesting in their moral aspect as a school-book, but they 'bored' him nevertheless, as he reveals by one of those delightful touches of drama, which in the *Laws* are only too rare:

The Athenian. For example, let us bring before us Tyrtaeus, who was born an Athenian but adopted by the country of our friends from Lacedaemon. No one has insisted more strenuously on the importance

of martial qualities. 'I would not name, nor reckon in the list', he says, a man, though he might be ever so wealthy, though he were endowed with various advantages (of which the poet names perhaps all that there are), who did not on every occasion distinguish himself in war. May I presume that you (to *Cleinius the Cretan*) have heard these poems? Our friend has no doubt had enough of them.

The Lacedaemonian. Yes, indeed.
Cleinius. Oh, they have reached us in Crete; they were imported from Lacedaemon!¹

Few perhaps, except Plato, could have marked so neatly the special vice of tediousness in elegiacs, the tendency, produced by the form, to make every point separately, similarly, and at the same length. Ovid is notoriously liable to it. In Tyrtaeus it is so persistent (see for example even the extract selected by Lycurgus) that a volume of him would be scarcely tolerable, except as an alternative for the cane. And we may note by the way that, if the works of Tyrtaeus had been older than Archilochus, it would have been odd in Plato's Athenian to doubt whether a man of learning was acquainted with them, and ridiculous surely to doubt whether they had reached Crete. In reality it may be doubted rather whether indeed they had, though Plato, for the sake of his jest, chooses to suppose so. However, Plato read them; Aristotle read them, as he read everything, to make notes; and by some other Athenians it began to be thought, especially since Sparta was no longer the prime object of Athenian jealousy, that to have furnished their ancient rival with her favourite poet and educator, to have produced the Spartan Homer, should be counted to their city's credit. This is the sentiment played upon by Lycurgus. Also Tyrtaeus was thought good for the young, as was natural in societies which laid so much stress on military patriotism, though Plato naturally is dissatisfied with him even as a moralist, and 'examines' him very pertinently. But there is no sign (and indeed Plato goes to prove the contrary) that in the judgment of those times Tyrtaeus held any conspicuous rank. To this he was not advanced until it came to be known that his elegiacs and anapaests were nearly as old as the *Works and Days*. The manner of which remarkable discovery we will show, as briefly as possible, by way of conclusion.

It is by no means clear—and in such a case we ought certainly to give the benefit of the doubt—that the originator of the falsehood, about whose work, though lost, we happen to have uncommonly full in-

formation, meant it to be taken seriously. The form and contents of his composition were such as in themselves to absolve him from responsibility to those who, pretending to write history, chose at their peril to borrow from him.² The 'Aristomeneis', as Grote appropriately calls the poem of Rhianus, was upon the face of it a mere romance, and if the author chose to enrich it with a figure called Tyrtaeus, chronology and science had really no claim to interfere. The only 'sources', which could be of much use to him in such a composition, would be, as was said before, the popular tales of Messenia; and that his 'Tyrtaeus' came thence is at any rate probable, for the adviser of Sparta was made ridiculous both in person and character.³ If in such tales, as may be presumed, the personages of legend and history were jumbled together with that fine freedom which belongs to the genus, it was not the business of a poet to sift or to correct them. To pronounce however a sure and just sentence on Rhianus we should need the text of his poem. What concerns us now is that, with or without excuse, he did as a fact illumine his picture of the olden times with hints reflected or refracted from the real history of the fifth century. And of this, as it happens, there is evidence quite apart from the introduction of Tyrtaeus. According to Rhianus, at the time when Aristomenes lived and fought, the king of Sparta was *Leotychides*.⁴ But here, as Pausanias gravely remarks, it was impossible to follow him, inasmuch as Leotychides, the successor of Demaratus, did not reign until many generations later. In fact, as Grote bids us observe, his reign almost extended, and his life may have actually extended, to the so-called 'third' Messenian war, since he was banished about B.C. 469. It seems scarcely dubitable that this is the explanation of the phenomenon which perplexed Pausanias;⁵ and wherever

² On the materials for the 'first' and 'second' Messenian wars, see Grote, part ii. chap. vii. Apart from Tyrtaeus, the only remark to which we may demur is that the account of Diodorus was 'very probably taken from Ephorus—though this we do not know'. Ephorus undoubtedly did much mischief to genuine history, but the fictions admitted by the compilers of the Roman period are in this case so wild that no one, I think, should be accused of a part in them without positive evidence. The only 'authorities' certainly traceable are Rhianus and Myron, both of whom appear to have been simply 'novelists', and scarcely deserve to be brought into court.

³ Pausanias 4, 15, 6; 4, 16, 1.

⁴ Paus. 4, 15, 1.

⁵ Pausanias is content simply to discard this particular trait of Rhianus, and to discover another

¹ *Laws* 629 B.

or however Rhianus came by his 'contemporary king Leotyichides', there and so he naturally found his 'Tyrtaeus'. His fiction was not history, but it was innocent enough, and it should have been harmless.

Unfortunately it was with such materials as this that, in later ages, when fifth century and seventh were faded alike into objects of mere curiosity, the compilers of 'universal history' filled up the gaps in their scheme of fanciful chronology. At the present time, though it is but lately, their methods are well understood; and, bit by bit, much of their pretended restoration has been stripped from the scanty and broken masonry within. To discriminate the stages and dates of the plastering is not often possible, and is not so in the case before us. At the commencement of the Roman Empire, to which we must next descend, the epoch of Tyrtaeus was already fixed, as we see from Horace and Strabo, in accordance with Rhianus. Nor is this surprising. The tale of Rhianus seems to have been attractive; there is interest even in the bare abstract. Above all, it was a 'full' authority. Moreover, in regard to Tyrtaeus, it invested his extant poems with the fascination of a primeval document. With such a bribe, before such a tribunal as that of Diodorus, Rhianus might well have beaten Thucydides; but probably there was no contest and no adversary. The Spartans were not commonly historians; and by any one except a Spartan the 'third' Messenian war may well have been related, as it is by Thucydides, without mention of Tyrtaeus' name. A real search, no doubt, must have raised the question, and a sound criticism must have instantly decided it. The statement of Lycurgus stood where it stands now, and might probably have been reinforced by others now lost, though in those times not much, it seems, was thought of Tyrtaeus, and presumably not much said. Nor did it matter what had been said. Methodical history, seen in a glimpse between Thucydides and Aristotle, had long been lost again; among the notices of Tyrtaeus in late authors not one, I believe, cites even Lycurgus—whom indeed they might have actually read, as we have seen,

'contemporary king' on principles of his own. Others (see the spurious genealogy inserted in Herodotus 8, 31) preferred, it seems, to invent an earlier Leotyichides.

without being much the wiser. Rhianus therefore and suchlike had it their own way, with the result that a versifier, whose real part in the development of Greek poetry is about as important as that of Mason in our own, was elevated to an antiquity not venerable merely but miraculous.

For although, to clear the way, we have hitherto acquiesced in the assumption that the Spartans in the seventh century used, or might have used, marches and elegies like those of Tyrtaeus, the evidence for that assumption is nothing more, or at least better, than the error about Tyrtaeus himself. To follow this matter, with all the subsidiary misconceptions, to the bottom would take us too far; but, for myself, I should as soon believe that *The Hind and Panther* was written by Gavin Douglas, as that in Lacedaemonia, a century before Solon, popular audiences were regaled with the full-formed classic style, neither archaic, nor personal, nor provincial, developed out of the Ionic epos by that 'greater Ionia' which included Athens. It is not certain that in B.C. 680 elegiacs had been written anywhere; but, if anywhere, it was in Ionian Asia, and there, we must suppose, not in a pruned, castigated, conventional vocabulary like that of Tyrtaeus. And indeed upon this head some passing scruples do seem to have visited the scholars of the Empire, and to have produced the eccentric hypothesis reported by Suidas, that Tyrtaeus was a native of Miletus: which however, if true, would not appreciably affect their problem. But for most minds there was no problem. Tyrtaeus, as we have noted, seems to have dealt mostly in commonplace, and scarcely at all with contemporary individuals, and therefore did not trouble Pausanias with anachronisms of positive fact, such anachronisms as were likely to trouble Pausanias. That the whole thing, in phrase and fashion, was one monstrous anachronism could naturally not be suspected by men who were accustomed to relate and to read, how, three hundred years before Solon, and about one hundred years (was it?) after Homer, the *Iliad* was brought to Sparta by her first legislator and appointed for recitation—one might suppose, at the Panathenaea.

A. W. VERRALL.

GAIUS GRACCHUS AND THE SENATE: NOTE ON THE EPITOME OF THE SIXTIETH BOOK OF LIVY.

THE epitomist of Livy, after mentioning the corn-law and the agrarian law as two of the 'perniciosas leges' of the younger Gracchus, goes on to describe a third in language which is curiously explicit. He writes thus: 'tertiam, qua equestrem ordinem tunc cum senatu consentientem corrumpere, ut sexcenti ex equite in curiam sublegerentur; et quia illis temporibus trecenti tantum senatores erant, sexcenti equites trecentis senatoribus admiscerentur; id est, ut equester ordo his tantum virium in senatu haberet.'

This passage has been the subject of debate from the time of Sigonius and Manutius downwards, and it may seem audacious to make it the text of a fresh discussion. It has been found puzzling, partly because it is not confirmed by any ancient author, and partly because it is a known fact that for forty years after the death of Gracchus there was no material increase in the numbers of the senate. Some scholars have thought that the epitomist misunderstood Livy: some, that he was here confusing a reform of the senate and a reform of the *judicia*: and many¹ in recent times have set these words aside as incompatible with all we know of Gracchus' political aims,—a solution of the difficulty at once easy and arrogant. Others indeed have honestly faced the difficulty: e.g. Rein in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, and A.W. Zumpt in his work on the Roman criminal law. Mommsen dealt with the passage as long ago as 1843, and recognized that it cannot be set aside as a blunder or an invention of the epitomist. He saw in it an account of an earlier and milder plan for dealing with the burning question of the composition of the law-courts, which was afterwards superseded by the one with which we are all familiar; and this view he holds still, as may be seen in a note to vol. iii. of his *Staatsrecht*, p. 530.

My object in this paper is not to attempt a new solution; I am quite ready to accept Mommsen's as in part at least sufficient. I wish to point out why I think that historians and lecturers should consider the passage much more carefully than they are in the habit of doing, as bearing upon the original aims of Gracchus' statesmanship, and as throwing some light on the policy of later

statesmen. For a statesman is to be judged not only by what he achieves, but by what he would have achieved if he could; and it seems to me that we miss the finer vein in Gracchus if we persist in ignoring the attempt here indicated, just as we do in the younger Pitt if we think of him only as the instrument of a reactionary and war-like national feeling.

I propose then (1) to show that this passage is intrinsically credible: (2) to point out how the legislative proposal it records is one that we may naturally attribute to Gracchus: and (3) to compare this proposal with similar enactments of later legislators.

1. The text seems to be fully established. In early editions it was mutilated, to suit the preconceptions of scholars who had found difficulties in it: and even in the present century Götting proposed to read *decurias* instead of *curiam*, to make it refer to Gracchus' dealings with the law-courts. But this conjecture fails of its object unless the whole passage be altered: and the evidence of the MSS. is against any alteration. The meaning is as clear as daylight, and the epitomist seems to have taken special pains to make it so: he tells us in fact three times over that the effect of Gracchus' law was to give the equestrian body a majority of two-thirds in the senate-house. So explicit is the wording of the passage that it might almost seem to have been written to remove a misconception as to the nature of Livy's story.

We do not know who the epitomist was, nor when he wrote, nor whether he had before him Livy's work itself or an abridgment. But we do know that for the Gracchan period he did his work with some care, and had not yet wearied of it, as he seems to have done later on. Except in this particular passage, he agrees fairly well with what we know of the history from other sources; and here he has taken so much pains to make his divergence obvious, that we cannot well resist the conclusion that he is really reproducing something which he found in his original. His account conflicts here, it is true, with what we learn from Appian, Diodorus, Velleius, Tacitus, Florus, and the Pseudo-Asconius, who agree in making no mention of an increase of the senate, and tell us that Gracchus took away judicial functions from that body and gave them to the equites. But this is no good

¹ E.g. Götting, *Staatsverfassung*, p. 437, and Ihne, *History of Rome*, iv. 461.

reason for neglecting the epitomist's statement. He is here working on a part of Livy's history which was in all probability his best. We are far too apt to judge of Livy by his earlier decades, in which, from want of materials, he had frequently to draw on his own imagination or that of some predecessor: his work steadily advances in value as it proceeds, and in the period of the great wars contains an immense amount of valuable matter which even Polybius would never have thought of incorporating in his history. As he approached his own time, it is impossible that he should have gone hopelessly astray. While later writers like Appian were content to give a summary of the *results* of Gracchus' statesmanship, Livy, with abundant materials before him, must have written fully of the tribune's dealings both with senate and people, of the opposition he met with, the change in his plans, his temporary triumph, actual legislation, and sudden fall. He would be able to write as fully of Gracchus' views and measures as a historian of to-day can write of those of Pitt and Fox.

We have lost Livy, but we still have one full narrative of the Gracchi in the two lives of Plutarch, and here we come upon a statement which at once reminds us of the epitomist's. We cannot tell whether Plutarch knew Livy's account, and in any case it is not likely that he could have read Livy easily or correctly; but we may be certain that he took great pains in writing these excellent biographies, and that he used some good authority, probably a contemporary one. As his object was to describe the men and their ideas, rather than to give a historical abstract of what they accomplished, it is not surprising that he should have preserved, like the epitomist, a record which has been elsewhere lost. He tells us that Gaius passed a νόμος δικαστικός, the object of which was to transfer the δίκαι from the old senate to a mixed body of 300 senators and 300 equites. Here is at least the idea of an amalgamation of senate and equites for a particular purpose: in this essential point there is no discrepancy between him and the epitomist. True, Plutarch speaks of Gracchus as constituting new *judices* by this proposal, while the epitomist makes him constitute a new *senate*; but in my view this difference is not an essential one, and still less important is the difference in the numbers of the new body. Assuredly we have in each passage a reference to a leading idea in the statesman's mind, viz. an amalgamation for administrative purposes of

the two chief interests in the state.¹ In detail the two statements differ, but in spite of what has often been said to the contrary, they are by no means incompatible. If equites were to be added to the senate, as Livy says, the mixed body would undoubtedly have supplied the *album judicum*, which is practically what Plutarch says. Plutarch may have blundered as to the number, or he may be alluding to a second form of the proposal; but it is clear that he and the epitomist are both on the same track, and reveal to us a project of statesmanship which those who would understand the true aims of Gracchus cannot afford to neglect. Yet historians still insist on neglecting it; they seem to echo the quaint lament of Drakenborch, 'Mihi quidem Platonicis numeris obscurior lex ista, et quonam spectet non intelligo.'

2. The question 'quonam spectet' seems to me answerable without difficulty. I venture to think that this law shows us the true and natural bent of Gracchus' statesmanship in the first year at least of his tribuneship. I have long noticed that students run away with the idea that Gracchus tried to overthrow the senate and to dispense with it entirely: not being duly instructed by their authorities, ancient or modern, to distinguish between the senate as a political institution and the senate as the organ of a narrow social oligarchy. It is hardly necessary to point out that no Roman statesman worthy of the name ever thought of dispensing with the senate as a political institution; and this is abundantly plain in the case of Gracchus. Plutarch, who had already told us that it is a mistake to think of him as a mere demagogue, describes him, even at the height of his power, as still working with the senate; overcoming its obstinacy, proposing measures which were honourable to it, and persuading it, in a certain matter of which he specifies the details, to do an act of justice to provincials.² This striking passage is often neglected, but it bears the stamp of truth, and must have come from some good source. If further evidence were necessary, it can be found in Gracchus' law *de provinciis consul-*

¹ It may be objected that the motive which the epitomist attributes to Gracchus does not fall in with this view: 'qua equestrem ordinem tunc cum senatu consentientem corrumperet.' But (1) the attribution of a motive is of very different value from the statement of a fact: and (2) in any case this law would have destroyed the monopoly of power possessed by the nobility, through the agency of the equites. It is in this light that Plutarch represents Gracchus himself as regarding it.

² *Vita C. Gracchi*, ch. 6.

aribus, by which an important administrative function is still reserved to the senate as a permanency. The real object of Gracchus was of course not to dispense with the senate, but to make it a body with which a reforming statesman could work; not to overthrow the existing constitution, but to modify it in one or two vital points to suit altered circumstances and to meet the difficult problems of the time.

He must have known well enough, long before he entered upon office, that there were two great obstacles to any effective reforming legislation; and the reluctance to stand for the tribunate, of which Plutarch informs us so distinctly, may have been due to his sense of the difficulty of overcoming them. The first was the resistance of a senate which was the organ of a selfish oligarchical class, a senate which acquitted guilty proconsuls and resisted economical reform; the second was the caprice of an almost equally self-regarding *plebs urbana*. The first of these barriers Gracchus sought to break down by the law of which the epitomist has preserved for us a record; a law which would increase the numbers of the great council and widen its interests, so as to constitute it a body tolerably free from class prejudices. The second he would have overcome by his *lex de civitate*, giving the *civitas* to the Latins, and perhaps going even further in this direction; thus increasing and widening the constituent body, as he would have increased and widened the senate. Taken in this light these two laws stand in the closest relation to one another, and have practically the same object; they may have been promulgated in successive years (though that is by no means certain), but they are, if I am not mistaken, the two cardinal points in the true Gracchan statesmanship. The rest of his legislation fails to show the same statesmanlike quality; some of it at least is the work of a man disappointed, perhaps angered, whose methods become tortuous and dangerous in the face of unreasoning and successful opposition.

3. This great double project of reform, the first attempt to act upon the obvious fact that the republic had outgrown the institutions of its childhood, was at the time a failure. But it reappears, as we should expect, in the hands of the next unquestionably intelligent statesman. Whatever may have been the motives of Livius Drusus the younger, the two leading features in his pro-

posed legislation stand out clearly, and they are identical with those of Gracchus' original scheme. He proposed to enlarge the senate,¹ and to extend the *civitas*. Gracchus' later plan for curbing the oligarchical monopoly of power had produced bad results in the *repetundae* court: Drusus desired to put an end to these by reverting to the original Gracchan policy. It is not impossible that this policy may have been recommended to him by his father, the rival of Gracchus in his second tribunate; for both seem to have belonged to that intelligent section of the nobility which, like Scipio, believed profoundly in the senate as an institution, while they distrusted more or less both ultra-oligarchs and *plebs urbana*; and it may be that the elder Drusus, whose motives are possibly misrepresented, only began to oppose Gracchus when he saw the true policy abandoned for makeshifts.

After the death of Drusus and the Social War, one half of that policy was realized by the enfranchisement of Italy; the other half Sulla shortly afterwards found himself compelled by force of circumstances to adopt. The senate was enlarged, but only when it was too late to find new and wholesome material for enlarging it. Yet the last and the greatest of the successors of Gracchus once more adopted the Gracchan plan on a more extended scale; Caesar increased the senate to the number originally proposed, according to the epitomist, by Gracchus, and opened the doors of the senate-house to provincials; while at the same time he made this reform run parallel, as Gracchus had wished to do, with a fresh extension of the *civitas*.

I have only been able in this paper to present in bare outline the view I wish to enforce. But I may have said enough to satisfy some readers that if this statement of the epitomist be set aside or neglected, we are liable to misunderstand Gracchus, and to underestimate the influence which he exercised on the minds of later legislators. We see in his work nothing but a curious *mélange* of good designs and bad results, if we fail to bear in mind that in the two cardinal points of his policy he was before his time, and found himself compelled to abandon them for indifferent substitutes.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

¹ Appian *B. C.* i. 35; the new members were to be 300. In this case the epitomist only mentions an amalgamation of the orders in equal numbers as *judices*. Liv. *cpit.* 70.

EMENDATIONS OF PHILO *DE SACRIFICANTIBUS*.

THE tradition of this treatise in the Greek MSS. is very imperfect and in spite of Thomas Mangey's many brilliant conjectures (which I add in brackets) the text remains full of faults and lacunae. The following emendations are based upon the old Armenian version, printed at Venice in 1892. In this version the treatise begins only with § 5 (= Mangey's ed. vol. 2, p. 254, 45) of the Greek treatise, giving in place of the words τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον the fresh title Φίλωνος τὰ κ.τ.λ.

Mang. 255, 9... ἐπισκεπτέον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. Τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστήριόν ἐστιν ἡ εὐχάριστος τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχῆ παγεῖσα ἐκ τελείων ἀριθμῶν ἀμμήτων καὶ ἀδιαρέτων.

In the above Arm. places the full stop after ἐπισκεπτέον and reads ἀρετῶν for ἀριθμῶν.

[Mang. : quidni ἀρετῶν, ob sequentia ?]

255, 15. ὅπερ γὰρ αἰσθητὸν φῶς εἰς ὀφθαλμούς, τοῦτ' ἐπιστήμη λογισμῶ πρὸς θεωρίαν τῶν ἀσωμάτων.

After ὀφθαλμούς Arm. adds: 'ad apprehensionem corporum,' perhaps = πρὸς κατάληψιν σωμάτων; and such an addition is required to balance πρὸς θεωρ. τ. ἀσ.

255, 27, § 6. καίτοι τῶν κρεῶν ἀναλισκομένην ὑπὸ πυρὸς, ὡς εἶναι σαφεστάτην πίστιν, ὅτι οὐ τὰ ἱερέα θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν ὑπολαμβάνει τοῦ καταθύοντος, ἵνα ἡ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον ἐξ ἀρετῆς.

What underlies is of course the thought that the true sacrifice is a broken and a contrite heart; but why ἵνα ἡ κ.τ.λ. ? Read with Arm. καταθύοντος εἶναι, ἐν ἧ τὸ μόν. κ.τ.λ.

255, 33. μηδέτερον ἀξίων διαφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

'Melius προσφέρειν' wrote Mangey and the Arm. confirms his conjecture.

256, 12. Εἰ δὲ ὁ τῶν ὄλων Κτίστῆς... μεταδίδωσί σοι τῆς ἰλεω δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναπληρῶν αἰς κέχωσαι.

Here αἰς κέχωσαι is impossible. The Arm. renders 'quibus oportet te uti.' Therefore read αἰς κέχρησαι, 'the wants, in which you are needy.'

256, 20. ἰσότητός τε καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελίσθαι, ἀποβαλλόμενον τὴν αἴσιν... κακίαν.

Here Arm. adds ἄλλης before ἀρετῆς [Mang. : Forsan deest ἄλλης uel ἀπάσης] and implies προβαλλόμενον which is more in accordance with Philonean usage.

256, 31. Ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ καὶ νύκτωρ ἀδελφόν τι καὶ συγγενῆς ταῖς μεθμεριναῖς θυσίαις

ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀρεσκίαν θεοῦ, καὶ μηδένα χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν εὐχαριστίας παραλείπειν ἐπιτηδεότατον καὶ προσφύεστατον τῇ νυκτί. θυσίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν καλεῖν τὴν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου φέγγους ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις αὐγῇ.

Philo is stating his second reason for a lamp being kept burning in the sanctuary from evening till dawn. But τῇ νυκτί is awkward for it is not the χρόνος ἢ καιρός which naturally suits the night, but the burning of a lamp which does so. The Arm. has a full stop after ἐπιτηδεότατον and then continues in this sense: Et natura aptum in nocte sacrificium huius oblationis. Sacrificium enim id oportet uocare, etc. Therefore begin fresh clause and add ἡ θυσία or similar after τῇ νυκτί.

257, 23. Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν αὐτῶν ὄρων ἕκαστον ἴδρυται εὐθύς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ὅτε ἐτάχθη.

What Philo meant to say here is well expressed in Mangey's Latin rendering: Manent igitur horum singula intra praestitutos sibi ab initio, quando composita sunt, fines. But this the Greek does not say.

The Arm. has the following sense: ...fixum est quibus super statim ab initio quo tempore fiebat, quodcunque dispositum est. Probably εὐθύς and ὅτε came to be misplaced, and the latter to stand both before and after ἐποίησεν, in the latter position being changed into ὅτι. Therefore reconstruct thus: ἴδρυται, ἐφ' οἷς εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτε ἐποίησεν, ἐτάχθη.

257, 38. σύμπας ὁ κόσμος, ὃ τε ὄρατος καὶ ἀόρατος καὶ ἀσώματος, τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Read with the Arm. ὃ τε ὄρατος καὶ ὃ ἀσώματος, τὸ π. τοῦ ὄρατοῦ. [Mangey notes: οὐρανοῦ. Melius, ut uidetur, ὄρατοῦ.]

258, 4. σκιρτώντες αἰθαδῶς καὶ ἀποσχονίζοντες ε]. 'Melius ἀπαυχενίζοντες' wrote Mangey and the Arm. supports his conjecture.

258, 28, § 10. τὸ ταπεινὸν τῶν λεχθέντων ἀξιοπρονομίας. The Arm. has προνομίας προνομίας. [Mang. : scribe προνομίας.]

258, 33. Ἰκέται δὲ καὶ θεραπεύται τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀξίως ὄντες. Arm. omits ἀξίως. [Mang. : Forsan redundat ἀξίως, uel scribendum ἀληθῶς.]

258, 46. λογισάμενος ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἀμέτοχα ταῦτ' ἐστι τ' ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως· ἐπειτα δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ὀξείαν ἔχει τὴν μεταβολὴν, μαραινόμενα τρόπον τινα πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι βεβαίως· καὶ τῆς ἰκεσίας αὐτοῦ περιεχομένα.

Here the transition to καὶ τῆς ἰκεσίας is

very abrupt and the Arm. reveals a lacuna in the Greek text, for after *βεβαίως* it proceeds thus: *sed quod firmum est et immutabile et immotum bonum illud sequamur, et supplicationes eius et ministrations amplectamur.*

259, 21. *παιδευόμενοι τὰ κάλλιστα ἀνδράσι.*

Mang. renders: *doctrina imbuti quae uiros maxime deceat, but Arm. = imbuti quae optima apud diuinos homines et deo deditos.* The reference is of course to the teaching of Israel by Moses and the prophets, and the corresponding words have dropped out of the Greek MSS.

259, 44. *Αἱ δὲ ἐκ προγόνων ἀφ' αἵματος αὐται λεγομένοι συγγένειαι.*

For *αὐται* the Arm. implies *αἱ*, which we must either read or correct to *᾿ αὐ αἱ*.

260, 3. *φησὶ γὰρ 'Υιοὶ ἐστε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν (? ἰμῶν)' δηλονότι προνοίας καὶ κηδεμονίας αἰσθησόμενοι τῆς ὡς ἐκ πατρός. Ἡ δὲ ἐπιμέλεια τοσοῦτον ἰδίους τοῖς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον περ οἶμαι καὶ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύομενος, διαφέρει.*

The Arm. renders the last clause thus: *sed cura horum tanta abundantia excellet eam quae ex hominibus quantâ censeo et is qui curans est excellet.*

[This virtually confirms Mangey's conjecture: 'Forsan scribendum *ιδίας τῆς scil. ἐπιμελείας.* Mox etiam pro *ἐπιβουλεύομενος*, repone *ἐπιμελόμενος.*]

260, 10, § 12. *οὐκ ἀξίῳ τοὺς ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τραφέντας ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μυθικῶν πραγμάτων ἐκκρεμαμένους διλιγορεῖν ἀληθείας.*

Philo refers to Moses' prohibition to Jews to initiate themselves in heathen mysteries. The Arm. implies *... πολιτείᾳ ἐγγραφέντας ὀργιάζεσθαι καὶ μυθικῶν πλασμάτων ἐκκ.* [Mang.: *Omnino ὀργιάζεσθαι quod etiam uisum Doctiss. Cotelier. Monum. Eccl. Graec. ... Quidni uero μυθικῶν πλασμάτων ?]. ἐγγραφέντας alone Mangey failed to conjecture; and it is less essential to the passage, though undoubtedly the correct reading.*

260, 18. *Τί γὰρ εἰ κατὰ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ μῦσται, καὶ συμφέροντα, συγκλεισάμενοι ἑαυτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ βαθεῖ, τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας μόνους ὠφελεῖτε.*

For *ἐαυτοὺς* the Arm. renders in the sense 'during two years,' *biennales.* Therefore add *δύ' ἐνιαυτοὺς* in the Greek text, the reference being to the length of the period of initiation. The novice was granted the *ἐποπτεία* in the second year only of his admission. In the Greek text the words were lost through homoioteleuton.

260, 4, 2. *καρπῶν ἀμυθῆτων ἰδέας.*

Arm. implies *ἀμυθῆτους* [Mang. melius *ἀμυθῆτους*].

261, 1. *τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ.*

Arm. involves *ἐπωφελείας* [Mang. melius *ἐπωφελείας*].

261, 19. *τῶν νοσοῦντων τὴν ἀληθῆ νόσον, ἀνδρογύνων.*

For *ἀληθῆ* Arm. has *θῆλειαν* [Mang.: *Repone θῆλειαν*].

261, 25. *Ἐλαύνει δ' οὐ μόνον πόρνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόρνης ἐπιφερομένους μητρῶν αἰσχος, διὰ τὸ τὴν πρώτην σποράν καὶ γένεσιν αὐτοῖς κεκιβδηλεύσθαι. τόπος γὰρ οὗτος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐπιδέχεται ἀλληγορίαν, φιλοσόφου θεωρίας ὧν ἀνάπλεως. τῶν γὰρ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀνοσίων οὐχ εἰς τρόπος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ διαφέροντες.*

The context here and also the subsequent course of the argument (*e.g.* 262, 16 *καθὰ γὰρ ὧν μητέρες πόρναι, τὸν μὲν ἀληθῆ πατέρα οὐκ ἴσασιν κ.τ.λ.*) involves some reference after *κεκιβδηλεύσθαι* to the fact that a prostitute's children have no one father and that none of them know their father. Even so, he says, idolaters ignore the one true god (*ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀληθινὸν θεόν* 262, 20). The Arm. must therefore be held to have preserved the true text, for after *κεκιβδηλεύσθαι* it indicates a lacuna in the Greek which it thus fills up: *et inter se confusio est propter multitudinem eorum qui cognoverunt matres, adeo ut nequeant uerum patrem certo agnoscere et dignoscere.* In the Greek then there stood something like this: *τό τε συγκεχυσθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μητράσιν ὁμιληκότων, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ πατέρα μὴ γιννώσκων.*

261, 34. *τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην οὐσίαν ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ἀναιροῦντες, ἧτις ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα πάντων, ὅσα ποιότητες οὐσίας καθ' ἣν ἕκαστον εἰδοποιεῖται καὶ διαμετρεῖται.*

For the last word Mangey writes: *Melius, ut uidetur, περατοῦται, for ποιότης limits, but does not measure matter.* The Arm. restores the text thus: *ὅσα ποιότητες ἢ ποιότητες, καθ' ἣν κ.τ.λ.* Thus *οὐσίας* is corrupt.

261, 40. *οὗτος ἢ ἀναιροῦσα δόξα ἰδέας, πάντα συγχέει καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτέραν τῶν στοιχείων οὐσίας τὴν ἀμορφίαν, ἀπὸ σκληρῶν ἄγει.*

Mangey corrects *οὐσίας* to *οὐσίαν* and writes of *ἀπὸ σκ. ᾱ*: '*omnino mendose scribitur. Forsan haud ingenti literarum et soni discrepantia καὶ σύγχυσις εἰσηγείται.*' The Arm. however restores the true text and involves the following...*τῶν στοιχείων οὐσίαν τὴν ἀμορφίαν καὶ ἀποιότητα ἐκείνα ἄγει.*

Perhaps, as Philo uses *ἄποιος* elsewhere and not *ἀποιότης*, and also avoids hiatus, we should rather read *καὶ τὸ ἄποιον ἐκείν' ἄγει* (or *ἀνάγει*).

261, 45. *οὐ γὰρ ἦν θέμις ἀπείρου καὶ πεφυρμένης ὕλης ψαύειν τὸν ἴδιον καὶ μακάριον.*

The Arm. has *φερομένης* or *φορουμένης* for *πεφυρμένης*, either of which agrees with

Philo's diction elsewhere, and for ἰδμονα it has εὐδαίμονα [Mang. melius εὐδαίμονα].

262, 2. Ἐτεροι δὲ...προσυπερβάλλουσιν, ἅμα ταῖς ἰδέαις καὶ πρὸς ὑπαρξίν θεοῦ ἐπικαλυπτόμενοι ὡς οὐκ ὄντος, λεγομένου δὲ εἶναι χάριν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀνθρώπου. Οἱ δὲ δι' εὐλάβειαν τοῦ δοκοῦντος πάντη παρεῖναι καὶ πάντα καθορᾶν, ἄγονοι μὲν σοφίας, ἐπιτηδεύοντες δὲ τὴν μεγίστην κακιῶν ἀθεότητα, τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν, οἱ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔτεμον· εἰσηγησάμενοι πλήθος ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν...πολυαρχίας λόγων τὸν κόσμον ἀναπλήσαντες.

That the above is somehow wrong Mangey felt, when he proposed to place a full stop ἀθεότητα and then to proceed τρίτοι δὴ. Philo is distinguishing in the context several degrees of impiety. There are first those who declare the bodiless ideas to be a mere name devoid of reality. These he has characterized in the passage 261, 32 beginning οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀσωμάτων ἰδέας. The second set are those who for police reasons pretend that there is a god. These he characterizes in the passage beginning 262, 2 ἔτεροι δέ. Now these would, according to Mangey's suggested emendation, be the same as the third set (τρίτοι δὴ). But this third set are pure polytheists and not atheistical simulators of a belief in a single god.

The Arm. accordingly reveals a lacuna in the Greek MSS. after καθορᾶν, which it fills up somewhat as follows, omitting δι' before εὐλάβειαν:—Οἱ δὲ εὐλάβειαν τοῦ δοκοῦντος πάντη παρεῖναι καὶ πάντα καθορᾶν [ἀκοιμήτοις ὀμμασιν κατεσκεύασαν, τοῦ arcere ἑαυτοὺς ἀπ' ἀδικίας. Τούτους ὁ νόμος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀποκεκομμένους καλεῖ, πᾶσας τὰς γεννητικὰς τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποκόψαντας ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπολήψεις], ἄγονοι μὲν σοφίας κ.τ.λ.

What word stood for arcere in the Greek I cannot conjecture, for κωλύειν ἑαυτὸν ἀδικίας = 'to screen oneself from injustice' is hardly Philonean. Anyhow, thus restored, the passage makes good sense.

The Arm. also omits πρὸς before ὑπαρξίν, which is better. It was either carried over from προσυπερβάλλοντες or belongs to ἐπικαλυπτόμενοι. After πλήθος it also adds θεῶν, which has dropt out of the Greek MSS. ; and has λόγῳ for λόγων, both to the great improvement of the sense.

262, 22. περὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῶν ὄντων.

The Arm. implies ἀναγκαϊότατον [Mang. melius, ut uidetur, ἀναγκαϊότατον].

262, 23. ὅπερ ἢ τέλος μόνον ἢ πρῶτιστον.

Arm. omits τέλος [Mang. : dele τέλος cum desit in MSS. et omnino redundet].

262, 26. τετάρτους δὲ καὶ πέμπτους ἐλαύνει.

Arm. adds τούτους after δέ, which the Greek seems to need.

262, 35. τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ βασιλείαν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ἀνάγουσιν αὐτῶ.

The Arm. involves ἀνάπτουσιν [Mang. : Forsan ἀνάπτουσιν].

262, 39. καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα εἰκότι στοχασμῶ ἀνοσιούσθαι.

Instead of ἀνοσιούσθαι the Arm. has : prae-imaginari et in animo uoluer. Some codd. have ἀφοσιούσθαι. Therefore correct to φαντασιούσθαι. [Mang. : quidni uero ἀφεκ-άσασθαι ?]

262, 42. οὗτος ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν κατασκευάσας, καὶ τὴν χέρσου φύσιν παντὸς λόγου ἐπινοίας κρείττοσι πλωτῆν ἐργασάμενος.

For οὐρανὸν Arm. has ναῦν simply [Mang. : quidni enim a Philone scriptum ναῦν οὐριδρόμον ?].

After ἐργάσαμενος the Arm. also reveals a lacuna in the Greek MSS. which it fills up as follows: 'hominem. et uias per mare πολυσχιδεῖς ἐτ πολυίχινους usque ad portum. Qui ex urbe in urbem et cursum (ἢ οὐρίῳ δρόμῳ) ὁδὸν ἔτεμε λεώφορον, et cognita fecit ἡπειρώταις τὰ νησιῶτων; nusquam conuenissent nisi nauigium susceptum fuisset. Hocce erat operariorum et clarissimorum artificum inuentio supradictorum.'

262, 45. παιδείαν ἐπενόησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἡγαγεν.

After ἐπενόησε Arm. adds καὶ ἡῤῥησε οἱ καὶ συνηῤῥησε.

263, 7, § 15. οἱ δὲ τῶν αἰσθήσεων προστάται τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτῶν εὖ μάλα στενοποιοῦσι.

Arm. has σεμνοποιοῦσι [Mang. : omnino repono σεμνοποιοῦσι].

263, 12. αἱ τῶν σιτίων τροφαί.

After σιτίων Arm. adds καὶ ποτῶν.

263, 30. εἷς τε τὴν οἰκείων καὶ ἄλλοτριῶν καὶ φίλων διάκρισιν καὶ βλαβερῶν μὲν φυγῆν, αἶρουν δὲ ἐπωφελέων.

After φίλων Arm. adds : et inimicorum = καὶ ἐχθρῶν, which has certainly dropt out of the Greek MSS., being needed to complete the symmetry of the Greek sentence.

263, 40. οἱ μῆτε χερσὶ μῆτε ποσὶ δύνανται κατὰ τὸ βέλτιον, τὴν πρόσρησιν ἐπαληθεύειν, ἢν...θέσθαι φασι τοὺς προτέρους, ἀδύνατους ὀνομάσαντες θαυμασιώτατα. Ἡ ἀκοή δὲ χρῆμα δι' ἧς μέλη καὶ ῥυθμοὶ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπικρίνεται. Ὡδὴ γὰρ καὶ λόγος ὑγιεινὰ καὶ σωτήρια φάρμακα, κ.τ.λ.

In the above the Arm. enables us to correct ἐπαληθεύειν, which hung in the air, to ἐπαληθεύοντες; then ὀνομάσαντες to ὀνομασάντας—a correction which Mangey had foreseen.

Next the Arm. reveals several lacunae in the Greek text for it proceeds thus:... ὀνομάσαντας [simul enim cum oculorum destructione (i.e. πηρώσει) etiam corporis uirtutes non modo laqueo captae labuntur,

sed etiam destruuntur.] *θανμασιωτάτη δὲ ἡ ἀκοή δι' ἧς μέλη καὶ ῥυθμοὶ* [et compages, transitiones, harmoniae et concordiae uocum et generum et coetuum gregum] *καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπικρίνεται* [ἡ λόγων προφορικῶν παμπλήθη εἶδη, δικανικῶν, βουλευτικῶν, ἐγκωμιστικῶν; etiam eorum qui ex antiqua historia sunt, et in concionibus publicis; uel in necessariis de iis quae ad uitam spectant, de iis quae τὸν αἰῶνα (?) tangunt. Nam cum uniuerse uox nostra duplicem habeat uirtutem loquendi et canendi, duo illa aures seligunt definiunt pro commodo animae] *᾿Ωδὴ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*

The Greek text has here been considerably mutilated.

264, 3. *ἀφροσύναις καὶ ἀηδίας.*

Arm. has *ἀφρ. κ. ἀδικίας.* [Mang. : melius, forsam, *ἀδικίας.*]

264, 6, § 16. *οἱ τε τοῦ νοῦ θιασῶται καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, οἱ μὲν ἐκείνον, οἱ δὲ ταύτην θεοπλαστοῦσιν.*

Arm. has *ταύτας* for *ταύτην* [Mang. : omnino scribe *ταύτας*.]

264, 25. *᾿Οντως γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄθλιοι τὰς ψυχὰς τεθνῶσιν.*

Arm. has *ἄθει* for *ἄθλιοι*, [Mang. : Ex contextu reponendum uidetur *ἄθει*.]

In the above notes I have only noticed such variants on the part of the version as are essential to the Greek text. Neutral variants I have passed over. They abundantly confirm the opinion formed by Dr. P. Wendland of Thomas Mangey's great critical skill. Philo is an unjustly neglected writer. For example, there is left us from antiquity no finer or more pertinent and instructive criticism of the mysteries than that which this treatise contains, yet who of the many modern writers, who deal with this subject, has noticed it? For this reason, and because the Greek tradition of it is singularly imperfect, I have chosen the *de Sacrificantiis* as an example of the critical utility of an old Armenian version.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

THE TREBBIA AND LAKE TRASIMENE IN MESSRS. HOW & LEIGH'S *ROMAN HISTORY.*

THE *Roman History* recently issued by Messrs. How and Leigh seems so good that it is likely to be largely used. This very fact, however, must serve as a provocation to any one who feels that the views expressed in the book are open to criticism, more especially if those views are expressed in a portion of the work which is likely to be of peculiar interest to those for whom it is intended. The special point to which I refer is the account of Hannibal's operations in Italy from the time of the passage of the Alps to the battle of Lake Trasimene. The subject would be of much less importance did it not necessarily affect the view which must be taken of Polybius and Livy as military historians. Messrs. Leigh and How follow Polybius' account of the operations up to the time of the retreat of Scipio from the Ticinus to Placentia. After this, in dealing with the campaign in North Italy they diverge from both Polybius and Livy, and this apparently without adequate reason.

Briefly put, their view seems to be:—

(1) That Scipio's first camp after his retreat from the Ticinus was on the left or west bank of the Trebbia, *i.e.* on the opposite bank to Placentia (p. 185).

(2) That connection with the right or east bank was maintained by a bridge, possibly of boats (p. 185).

(3) That the river Trebbia flows in winter with a strong and turbulent flood (p. 185).

(4) That the second camp occupied by Scipio was on the right or east bank of the river on a spur of the Apennines (p. 183). (Quite a different view is stated, not apparently as an alternative, on p. 185.)

(5) That, consequently, the actual battle took place on the left or west bank.

These statements are so inter-dependent that it is impossible to discuss them quite separately.

If the remark about the Trebbia is intended to convey the meaning that it is during the winter season in a continuous state of strong and turbulent flood, it is incorrect. The water is frequently low during the winter. The rise and fall of so quick a stream is, of course, rapid and liable to frequent variation. Furthermore it may reasonably be concluded that before the day of the battle the stream was low and easily passable, for on that day the Romans crossed it, although swollen by a rain storm which had occurred during the previous night (Polyb. iii. 72, 4). The

existence of the bridge is, of course, a pure supposition. Neither Polybius nor Livy hint at such a thing, and yet the former mentions the fact that Scipio constructed a bridge over the Ticinus (P. iii. 60, 1), and speaks of the bridge over the Padus at Placentia (P. iii. 66, 3). But if there was a bridge, it can hardly have been one of boats. A real winter freshet on the Trebbia would have swept such a construction away incontinently. But whether there was a bridge or not, is it in the slightest degree likely that Scipio would have retired to Placentia with a view to 'his forces having a secure position to rest upon' (P. iii. 66, 9), and then have taken up a position with a river like the Trebbia between him and his *point d'appui*? At the season of the year at which the events took place a sudden rise of the river might at any time render his communication with Placentia impossible, or, even supposing the imaginary bridge were there, what would have been his position in case Hannibal defeated him in this river angle with only this one narrow line of retreat? His army must have been annihilated. And yet Messrs. How and Leigh assert that 'all strategical considerations go to prove that the first position of Scipio would be in front of the Trebbia' (*i.e.* on the left bank). Surely the exact opposite of this is the case. Even if the subsequent account of the battle and what followed were not conclusive on this point, every consideration of strategy would point to the space of land between the Trebbia and Placentia as the position of the first Roman camp. Scipio would then have had the line of the Trebbia on his front instead of his rear and would be in immediate touch with his *point d'appui*.

The authors of this history make two statements which it is impossible to reconcile with one another as to the position of the second camp of the Romans:—

(1) On p. 183 (*ad fin.*) they say that 'Scipio took up a stronger position on a spur of the Apennines, covered by the mountain torrent,' *i.e.* the Trebbia.

This is, it must be remembered, on the right or east bank according to their view. The position would be eight and a half miles, as the crow flies, from Placentia.

(2) On p. 185 they say, 'He (Scipio) then crossed the stream, and protected by it, rested his right on the fortress, his left on the Apennines.'

This is quite a different position from the first mentioned. It covers the low-lying

alluvial ground between Placentia and the position first mentioned.

The first position stated does at any rate satisfy what are evidently the main motives of this part of the history of events, Scipio's recognition of the fact that the manifest superiority of Hannibal's cavalry made it dangerous for him to remain in the plain, and his desire not to risk all in a pitched battle. The second, of course, eminently fails to satisfy these conditions, and as it is not only unsupported by the evidence of the original authorities but is in disaccord with what they do tell us of the movement, it can hardly serve any genuine historical purpose.

As far as the question is affected by the revolt of the Celts in the Roman camp (P. iii. 67, 1-7), it may be said, at any rate, that the action of these Celts would point to their being from the west rather than from the east of the Trebbia, for to the east of this stream the land would be at the time of the revolt, *i.e.* when the Romans were in camp 1, practically at the mercy of the Roman army. If this were so, then prior to this outbreak the Celts west of that river were divided in their allegiance, for some, at any rate, of them, *viz.* those in the neighbourhood of the place where Hannibal effected his crossing of the Padus, had entered into friendly relations with the Carthaginians, and it is consequently possible that Scipio's movement may have been partly instigated by his desire to overawe those Celts to the west of the Trebbia who had hitherto been neutral, if not loyal, into a continuance of this attitude. This would presume a move on his part from the east to the west side of that river. This change for the worse in the attitude of the Celts emphasized the necessity of a move to a more secure position, where cavalry could not be used, to some such position in fact as Messrs. How and Leigh indicate on p. 183. But was this position on the right or left of the Trebbia? Messrs. How and Leigh say the right or east side. They admit that Livy's account will not square with this view. They admit, too, that Polybius' account agrees in the main with Livy's. If they throw over Polybius and Livy to what authority do they appeal? Apparently it is to their own view of what would have been the best strategical course which Scipio could have adopted under the circumstances. Unfortunately strategy is controlled by circumstances, and in this case the circumstances were such as to compel Scipio to adopt a policy of masterly inactivity in a

secure position. As to Polybius' account it seems to make one or two things quite clear:—

(1) The battle was fought at some point in the course of the Trebbia where there was high ground on one side of the stream and ground on which cavalry could act on the other. There is only one part of the river course where this consideration is fulfilled and that requires the second Roman camp on the west or left side of the stream. (The detail is given in the *Journal of Philology*, July, 1895.)

(2) Messrs. How and Leigh's theory would demand that the battle took place on the left or west side of the river.

But it is clear that Polybius understood it to have taken place on the same side of the Trebbia as Placentia, for he says (P. iii. 75) that the Romans who cut their way through the Carthaginian ranks, though they saw those on their own wings hard pressed, τὸ μὲν ἐπιβοηθεῖν τοῦτοις ἢ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπίενοι παρεμβολὴν ἀπέγνωσαν, ὑφορώμενοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἰππέων, κωλυόμενοι δὲ διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν καὶ συστροφὴν τοῦ κατὰ κεφαλὴν ὄμβρον, τηροῦντες δὲ τὰς τάξεις ἀθρόοι μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς Πλακεντίαν, &c. Here we see that they did *not* go back to the camp because that would have necessitated crossing the river. But had they been on the left or west side they must have crossed the river to reach Placentia. Again, had that imaginary bridge been more than imaginary, surely we should have had some mention of it here. So far from that, we are told that these Romans maintained the order in which they had fought during their retreat, which could not have been the case had they had to cross a bridge roadway. Polybius, then, certainly thought that the battle took place on the east side of the Trebbia, and we know, at any rate, that Polybius had peculiar opportunities for ascertaining the real facts of the case. Livy admittedly takes the same view. Messrs. How and Leigh do not.

The block on which they stumble seems to be the omission on the part of the two ancient authors to account for the possibility of Sempronius' junction with Scipio. But though Polybius does not account for this in express words, yet he gives us something more than a clue to what may be the explanation, when, after describing the junction, he proceeds immediately to give an account of Hannibal's capture of Clastidium, some distance west of the Trebbia, commencing with the words κατὰ δὲ τοὺς

αὐτοὺς καιροὺς, &c. Hannibal may then have been engaged at Clastidium when Sempronius came up. Even if he were not, the latter might well have joined Scipio by avoiding the plain and keeping to the foot hills of the Apennines, and furthermore the Celts on the east of the Trebbia, whose attitude towards the Carthaginians seems to have been of a very doubtful character (P. iii. 69, 5, 6), would probably screen Sempronius' approach.

The geography of the region through which Hannibal marched from the northern plain to Faesulae is evidently not known to Polybius and Livy save in the merest outline, and the line of Hannibal's march can be little more than conjectured, and that not with anything approaching to certainty; still the coast track from Liguria to the lower Arno seems to agree most closely with the vague details we have at our disposal, especially with Livy's remark that Hannibal after the engagement with Sempronius (xxi. 59) retired to Liguria.

After seeing the region of Lake Trasimene, it seems to me impossible to doubt that Messrs. How and Leigh are right in adopting the north rather than the east site for the battlefield. It is not, however, easy to understand how it is they fail to perceive that Polybius' description of the field and of the battle is in the main favourable to the view which they take. I say 'in the main' advisedly, because Polybius' description seems to demand that the battle took place, not in the long stretch of low land between Passignano and the passage round Monte Gualandro, but in the shorter space between Tuoro and the latter place. It may be doubted, too, to say the least of it, whether even the adventurous genius of Hannibal would not have shrunk from extending an army of the size of his along an arc which measured along the chord would be four and three-quarter miles, and along the arc itself some seven or eight miles. It is also to be noted that the lake shore at the time of the battle must have been much closer to the hill of Tuoro than it is at the present day. So extended a position as that demanded by Messrs. How and Leigh's theory seems to be incredible, though the distance along the road from Monte Gualandro to Tuoro, about two miles, seems too short for a force of the size of the Roman army when in marching order; yet we gather from the last section of Livy xxii. 4 that the fighting began on the front and flanks sooner than on the rear of the Roman column, which would

seem to indicate that the troops posted by Hannibal on Monte Gualandro had to hold back in order to let the Roman army get thoroughly involved in the passage.

To those who have examined the region of the earlier exploits of Hannibal in Italy it will, I think, seem a pity that Messrs. How and Leigh have departed so largely from the ancient authorities. With regard to the Trebbia both Livy's and Polybius' topography, and consequently much of their history, is rejected. With regard to Trasimene Polybius is practically ignored. This shows a fine independent spirit on the part of the modern historians, but it may seem to some that the method, historically speaking, is open to criticism. Were the question involved in these few pages of this

long history merely one of detail with respect to certain incidents in the Hannibalic campaign, then certainly such criticism as I have attempted would be unduly prolonged, but the matter may be fairly claimed to assume a more serious aspect as disclosing the attitude which the modern authors, in one portion at least of their work, have thought it right to assume with regard to the ancient authorities. The description of the campaign in Italy subsequent to Trasimene is most interesting, and should be read by everybody who cares for that side of history, and the authors are certainly to be congratulated on their adoption of Mr. Strachan-Davidson's views with regard to Cannae.

G. B. GRUNDY.

THE PLACE OF THE *PARMENIDES* IN THE ORDER OF THE PLATONIC DIALOGUES, FURTHER CONSIDERED.

IN his interesting article on 'the place of the *Parmenides* in the order of the Platonic dialogues,' which appeared in the April number of this *Review*, and which seems in some slight measure to take its point of departure from an edition of the *Parmenides* published by me, Professor Campbell is good enough to speak of my work in terms for which I owe him thanks. At the same time the body of his article, which I did not see on its first appearance, implies that his views have received less than justice from myself among others, and that his conclusions differ considerably from mine. Perhaps I may be permitted a word or two on the subject.

(1) I certainly should be very sorry either to say now, or to have said at any time, anything unjust of a scholar to whom Platonic criticism owes so much. Prof. Campbell's arguments from language were advanced in his edition of the *Sophistes* and *Politicus*, and students who failed to consider them attentively as bearing on those dialogues would not be well advised. But he will, I hope, admit that the question is different in regard to other dialogues which he cited only by way of illustration. Thus all that his argument says about the *Parmenides* is as follows (*Soph.* and *Polit.* *Introd.* p. xxxiii.):—'there is no other dialogue which equally with these approximates to the language of the later dialogues [*Timæus*, *Critias*, *Laws*], as measured by the number of words (in proportion to the number of pages) which

the dialogue in question shares with the *Timæus*, *Critias*, or *Laws*, and with no other.....The following table exhibits approximately the numerical ratios of the several dialogues according to the number of words at once *common* and *peculiar* to each with the *Timæus*, *Critias*, and *Laws*:—
.....*Parm.*, *Hipp.-Min.* $\frac{1}{7}$The position of the *Parmenides* in this list, like that of the *Phædrus*, is partly accounted for by exceptional circumstances.' This, it will be seen, is but a passing reference: the words constituting the ratio are not quoted, and the evidence is to some extent discounted by the closing qualification. Before I could deal with the argument in detail I must first have extracted my own evidence from *Ast's Lexicon*, or some other source; a task for which, amid the difficulties under which I worked, I had not time. Prof. Campbell expresses surprise that I should have asked 'by what circumstances?': but at least I hint an answer to my own query in the same sense as he does, by saying 'clearly the subject matter would have to be considered.'

Passing to the general question of linguistic tests as evidence of date, I admit at once that they may have great value; but that value will depend very largely upon 'circumstances.' Let me take examples. I point out in my work that while one German statistician places the *Republic* in a certain position as a result of summing up, in the gross, a series of characteristic

phrases occurring in it, another by the simple expedient of taking the same material in detail, by books, places different books widely apart in Plato's lifetime. I also show, in reference to the Parmenides, that while a German statistician classes it as late because of the 'parenthetic' use of εἰπεῖν (εἶπον ἐγὼ etc.) as opposed to the narrative use—καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον—the circumstances of the usage greatly reduce the value of the test. At the opening of the dialogue Plato requires a liberal use of such phrases as 'quoth he,' 'said I.' In eleven pp. of Steph. ἔφη, φής, φάναι occur 58 times parenthetically, and εἶπον, εἰπεῖν, in one or other usage, 19 times. And φάναι is often suppressed. Clearly a parenthetic εἰπεῖν, to break the recurrence of φάναι, was a question of euphony, and is no evidence of date. With the general direction of Prof. Campbell's argument, however, I am quite in accord. If you can confidently arrange a group of writings in consecutive order, and then show that a given work has greater and greater linguistic affinities as you travel backward in the list, you establish a *prima facie* case in favour of an early date for the work in question. But I feel some disappointment on seeing the materials—now first published—from which Prof. Campbell's ratio, above referred to, was constructed. Having noted six words as common and peculiar to the Parmenides, Timaeus, Critias and Laws, he proceeds to add the Sophistes, Politicus and Philebus to the group and so obtains the following total of twelve words—ἀπειρία, διαμελετώ, ἴσον adv., ἰστίον, μέθεξις, μερίζω, μεριστός, μόνως, παμμεγέθης, παντοδαπῶς, πολίος, σύνδυο. Of this list I should be disposed to say that it is too colourless; that, with one exception, it has no item so distinctively and characteristically Platonic as to justify any decided inference. Prof. Campbell himself pronounces judgment upon it when he says 'almost any of these words might have occurred in any Attic writer without surprising the reader.' The one exceptional, symptomatic word is μέθεξις, and its effect on my mind is the reverse of that which Prof. Campbell's argument seeks to produce. It suggests a closer connection than I saw before between the Parmenides and Prof. Campbell's late group. Μέθεξις represents a theory of great importance in Plato's system, and it startles me to learn that the word occurs only in the Parmenides and Sophistes. Either I had not noted the fact, or else my note had, in the long course of my disjointed labours, got mislaid. All I

can say upon the matter at present is (1) that Prof. Campbell himself describes both dialogues as severely metaphysical, and while the word might thus naturally occur in both, it does not follow that they are closely successive dialogues, as Plato might drop, and subsequently resume, the discussion involving the term: (2) that while this particular word does not occur elsewhere, the analogous μετάρχεισις appears in the Phaedo, and the verb μετέχειν in the Phaedo and Republic—both words in the technical metaphysical sense: (3) that if, which is not imperative, the use of the term binds the two works together in time, it rather suggests an early date for both. The word μέθεξις is the bond which to Aristotle connects Plato with the Pythagoreans—τὴν δὲ μέθεξιν τοῦνομα μόνον μετέβαλεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειοι μιμήσει τὰ ὄντα φασὶν εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, Πλάτων δὲ μεθέξει, τοῦνομα μεταβαλὼν. Τὴν μέντοι γε μέθεξιν ἢ τὴν μίμησιν, ἥτις ἂν εἴη τῶν εἰδῶν, ἀφείσαν ἐν κοινῷ ζητεῖν (*Met.* i. 6). While Aristotle says here that the sense of the word was not clearly defined—and as a fact Plato in the Parmenides discusses several senses—it seems nevertheless to be a stronger term than either of its equivalents παρουσία or κοινωνία, and on that ground I feel inclined to reckon it the earliest of the three. And this is in harmony with Prof. Campbell's linguistic arguments for the date of the Parmenides.

(2) In our views of the position to be assigned to the Parmenides Prof. Campbell and I are—setting this or that type of argument aside—more nearly in accord than readers of his article would perhaps be disposed to fancy. When treating the question, in my edition of the dialogue, I use in regard to the Parmenides the words 'a distinctly early position,' 'a very early place'; but I carefully qualify them by the additions 'in the ranks of Plato's metaphysical writings,' 'among Plato's ontological speculations.' I have never considered the position of the Parmenides in reference to such works as the Laches and Euthyphro, or even the Protagoras, Gorgias and opening books of the Republic. It may be, it probably is, later than them all. My concern was to find a place for it among those works which deal with first principles, as a basis on which sounder structures in physics, ethics and politics may be built. Like all students of Plato I accept the Critias and Laws as very late; and I agree with Prof. Campbell in putting the Parmenides before the Sophistes, Politicus,

Philebus and Timaeus. (It may be well here to recall the fact which is, of course, obvious enough, that the more works you reckon as late the less late you become. If we take bulk and difficulty together, the works thus far placed later than the Parmenides may represent about half Plato's literary activity. He could well write three Euthyphros for one Sophistes.) To go on—Prof. Campbell puts the Parmenides prior to the Theaetetus, but with some hesitation; I agree, without any. To me it seems that, apart from other evidence such as Prof. Campbell adduces, the remark *Παρμενίδης δέ μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, αἰδοῖός τε μοι ἄμα δεινός τε. συμπροσέμιξα γὰρ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πάνν νεός πάνν πρεσβύτη, καὶ μοι ἐφάνη βάθος τι ἔχειν παντάσῃ γενναῖον* (Theaet. 183 E), and the corresponding ones Soph. 217 C, 237 A, 'are references, as clear as Plato's mode of authorship will permit, from those dialogues to the Parmenides as a work already given to the public (my ed. xxxiii.)' It will thus be seen that the question practically resolves itself into this—Where does the Parmenides stand with reference to the Cratylus, Meno, Phaedo, Phaedrus and Republic; Prof. Campbell would place the last two before the Parmenides because they show 'an exulting and triumphant note, a tone of smiling optimism' while the Parmenides betrays a sense of difficulties. This may be admitted; but on the other hand there is a good deal of easy confidence and jocular sense of power in various parts of the Theaetetus, Sophistes and Philebus, and in the whole structure of the Symposium. Now Prof. Campbell puts the Sophistes and Philebus late on other grounds, and scarcely touches the question of the Symposium. Would he group the last with the Phaedrus and Republic because of its exuberant character? It seems to me that as an artistic composition the Symposium is far ahead of the Phaedrus. Then again Prof. Campbell seems inclined to place the Phaedo prior to the Parmenides, which would throw it into connection with the two exultant dialogues. Now I do not say that the Phaedo is a dialogue of despair, but assuredly its hope partakes largely of resignation, and its faith enters into that which is within the veil; and this expressly on the ground of difficulties which cannot be surmounted. Even as regards the Republic I am disposed to place its exultant tone largely in the first half. Nor am I prepared to allow that Plato never was exuberant and optimistic but once. He might lose his optimism in one direction, *e.g.* in

his power of connecting the ideal sphere with ours, and retain it in another, *e.g.* in the expansion and unification of the ideal sphere itself. Or, to put it differently, one dialogue, as for instance the Parmenides, may represent the sense of difficulty experienced in reaching the ideal sphere; another, such as the Symposium, shows how exultant he and we should feel on the assumption that we have somehow got there. Prof. Campbell says that my chief reason for placing the Phaedo late 'appears to be that the singular argument in which the inseparable association of Life with Soul is illustrated by the constant conjunction of Heat with Fire, presupposes that communion of kinds, *κοινωνία τῶν γενῶν*, which is elaborately proved in the Sophistes.' I am sorry if my arguments have been obscurely stated, but this does not fairly embody any of them, so far as I can remember. When Prof. Campbell adds that I 'cannot have forgotten that Socrates in the Parmenides is doubtful whether or not to assume an *εἶδος* of *πῶρ*' he fails to observe that the very kernel of much which I advance is precisely this—that many an *εἶδος* is recognized elsewhere which is not admitted in the Parmenides.

My arguments on the position of the Parmenides among the other metaphysical dialogues take, in the main, four forms, and are not in the least mysterious.

1. As Prof. Campbell cites, with some approval, Teichmüller's argument for a change of style from narrative to dramatic, which is supposed to date from the opening of the Theaetetus; so I cite the elaborate discussion of the true discipline for the philosopher, beginning Parm. 135 C, *πρῶτὸ γὰρ, εἰπεῖν* (note the 'parenthetic' *εἰπεῖν*), *πρὶν γυμνασθῆναι, ᾧ Σώκρατες, ὀρίζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖς καλόν τε τί καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθόν καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν*, as an evidence of a change, not in literary style but, in the more important department of dialectical discussion. Hitherto Plato had discussed the ethical problems specially characteristic of the historic Socrates, and in the somewhat haphazard manner which Socrates had employed. He is now passing from ethics to metaphysics, or first principles, and he finds that something is required in addition to the Socratic method. That something is supplied by the Zenonian or Parmenidean dialectic; and this point is emphasized so strongly that the whole remaining portion of the dialogue is sometimes regarded as nothing more than a dialectical exercise. I assume that Plato is here for the first time

thrown upon his defence after having objectivized the general definitions of Socrates (Arist. *Met.* xii. 4), and is preparing for what proved to be the task of his remaining years—the defence and elaboration of his new theory.

2. I contend that in the *Parmenides*, as compared with the other metaphysical dialogues, the ideal sphere is undeveloped, is simply a mass of Socratic general definitions objectivized. *Parmenides* expressly asks the young Socrates whether, in addition to those objectivized general definitions, he accepts the existence of ideas for 'man fire water' and for 'hair mud filth'—about which the historic Socrates never inquired. In regard to the first group Socrates says he has great difficulties; from the second he recoils with horror. This I regard as showing that Plato had been compelled to face the problem of a great expansion of his ideal sphere, so as to include an *εἶδος ἐνὸς ἐκάστου*: and was preparing to take the step, but as yet hung back. Ideas for such things, and even for manufactured articles, are admitted without hesitation in the *Cratylus*, the latter books of the *Republic*, and the *Phaedo*. Inference—these are later, at least slightly, than the *Parmenides*.

3. And as the ideal sphere is not developed, neither, I hold, is it methodized. (a) The ideas have no order or precedence. At most we can say of τὸ ἐν that Plato is turning this hypothesis of *Parmenides* on all sides to see if he can make a leading idea of it. Now in the latter half of the *Republic* we have the great teleological master idea of τὸ ἀγαθόν, and in the *Sophistes* we have ὄν, στάσις, κίνησις, ταυτόν, θάτερον, as five pre-eminent ideas which take precedence. (β) In the *Parmenides* relationship between the ideas is treated as being quite unrestricted, any idea can co-relate with any other—τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν παντοδαπῶς πλεοκωμένην. Plato does not yet see where relation will lead him. But in the *Sophistes* (251–2 etc.) and also in the *Phaedo* he recognizes that, while there must be relation, it is not indiscriminate but has distinct limits. Thus in the *Phaedo* 'cold' and 'hot' will not relate (perhaps this may explain Prof. Campbell's conception of my argument, referred to above), nor 'even' and 'odd,' οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἶδη τὰ ἐναντία οὐχ ὑπομένει ἐπιόντα ἀλλήλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ. (104).

4. I point out that while in the *Parmenides* all his attempts to bring his ideas to bear upon the world of sense are made subject to the fundamental presupposition that the spheres are totally distinct, he in other works makes various attempts to

bridge over the gulf which separates the spheres. 'This would include all dialogues which discuss or accept the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις—for example the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, and *Meno*; possibly also those that speak of "divine madness," as the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*. It would include the simile of the Cave in the *Republic*, and all those attempts to construct a sort of Jacob's ladder, or graded means of descent from the higher sphere to the lower. Such attempts are to be found in the divided line of the *Republic*, the construction of ὑπόθεσις above ὑπόθεσις in the *Phaedo*, and the declaration in the *Philebus* that we must not proceed at once from the one to the unlimited, πρὶν ἂν τις τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ πάντα κατὶδῆ τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀπείρου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐνός—whatever that description may be held to mean' (my ed. xxx.). The elaboration of these arguments might cost Plato years of labour.

I have no wish to maintain that each argument here advanced is a strong one, although they seem to me as forcible as some of Prof. Campbell's linguistic clues. What I urge is that they hang together, and gain strength thereby. Prof. Campbell, no doubt, objects that 'arguments of this kind (turning on Plato's manner of stating a view) have really not much force' and prefers tests drawn from vocabulary. Now in the case which he cites as analogous—that of painting—it may be conceded for argument's sake that an expert would deal principally with brush work and other technique, and avoid the risk of seeking to trace changes in the painter's mental attitude towards his subjects. But is not the case reversed when from painting we pass to the works of a speculative thinker? For what does Prof. Campbell, like others, seek to determine the order of Plato's writings at all, except to make sure of the successive stages in his manner of stating his view?

There are, of course, other means of arriving at a conclusion, which affect separate dialogues; I will confine myself to an illustration for the *Phaedo*. The passage to which I appeal for two connected arguments is pp. 100 B—101.

(a) In the *Parmenides* the young Socrates—representing the young Plato—is described as throwing out his first adumbration of a doctrine of ideas—τόδε δέ μοι εἰπέ, οὐ νομίζεις εἶναι αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ εἶδος τι ὁμοίωτος; etc. (129). *Parmenides* is represented as being struck with the novelty and originality of the suggestion, and asks (130 B) καί μοι εἰπέ, αὐτὸς σὺ οὕτω διήρησαι ὡς λέγεις, χωρὶς μὲν εἶδη αὐτὰ ἄρτα, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ τούτων αὐ μετέχοντα; In the

Phaedo the old Socrates just before his death—corresponding to the aged Plato—is introduced speaking thus (100 B): ἀλλ', ἦ δ' ὅς, ὦδε λέγω, οὐδὲν καινόν (would the reader note that?), ἀλλ' ἄπερ αἰεὶ (and that?), καὶ ἄλλοτε (and that?), καὶ ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι λόγῳ, οὐδὲν πέπαυμαι λέγων (and that?). ἔρχομαι γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχειρῶν σοι ἐπιδείξασθαι τῆς αἰτίας τὸ εἶδος ὃ πεπραγμάτευμαι, καὶ εἴμι πάλιν (and that?), ἐπ' ἐκείνα τὰ πολυθρήλητα (and that?), καὶ ἄρχομαι ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὑποθέμενος εἶναι τι καλὸν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα. If this contrast does not speak for itself, it seems to me useless to speculate what Plato may mean in any other connection.

(b) Plato in the Parmenides, while quite alive to the difficulties of μέθεξις, yet spends much time and ingenuity in arguing for and against it in several senses. In the Phaedo we have what clearly seems to be his farewell to argument upon the question, and his announcement that his faith remains unshaken despite the fact that his arguments have been shattered. The oftener I read the passage the more satisfied I am of its valedictory character, as the review of a life's effort; and I find myself wholly out of sympathy with Prof. Campbell's remarks on it—the different modes of μέθεξις (or μετασχεσις) are treated loosely and vaguely—with the view of bringing out that the Parmenides is the later work. The passage follows on the last and is too long to quote; but I would ask readers, bearing in mind what has just been said above, to turn to it and read it carefully, more particularly the words τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαίρειν ἐῶ, ταράττομαι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀτέχως καὶ ἴσως εἰρήθως ἔχω παρ' ἐμῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλο τι ποιῶ αὐτὸ καλὸν ἢ ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ εἶτε παρουσία εἶτε κοινωνία εἶτε ὅπῃ δὴ καὶ ὅπως προσγενομένη (call it what you like, I no longer dispute on the point)· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτο δισχυρίζομαι (can there be any mistake about that?)—ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καλῷ πάντα τὰ κατὰ γίγνεται καλά. He is starting on his long journey, and he makes that confession of faith 'believing where he cannot prove'; nay, as regards proof δεδιῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκιάν. If he has any argument now it is that death alone will solve the mystery, and take him to the τόπος νοητὸς of which here he has at best an ἀνάμνησις. If this argument stood alone it might possibly be urged against it that Plato is simply, as a stroke of art, representing the dying Socrates in character. But that could not be urged in the case of argument (a), and the two are obviously parts of one picture. To my

mind it is certain that the Phaedo is a late work.

On the question of the place to be assigned to the Parmenides I am, of course, aware that my conclusions do not, and I should suppose that Prof. Campbell's would not, commend themselves to the eminently qualified and most considerate reviewer of my work in these columns, Mr. R. D. Hicks. It would be out of place for me to enter into an argument with him. I will only say on the one hand that I am not satisfied that the objections which he raises are fatal to the view that the Parmenides ranks early, and on the other that no one can enter on the question of Platonic chronology without realizing very soon 'that each has a story in a dispute and a true one too, and both are right or wrong as you will.' I should almost be tempted to offer a general grouping of the metaphysical dialogues, were I not conscious that at best its worth must be small. For one thing, our evidence is too largely circumstantial; and whatever line of inference may be pursued, we are sure to find that somewhere it betrays us. Thus Prof. Campbell and I agree that the Philebus is later than the Parmenides. But how much later? Reasoning, as I have done, from (1) μέθεξις and (2) the contents of the ideal sphere, I find my arguments pulling different ways. The hopefulfulness shown in the Philebus (14-17) on the former point, and the ridicule poured on the antinomies that arise from an abstract opposition of the two spheres, suggest a wide interval. On the other hand, some hesitation is betrayed regarding the ideas themselves—περὶ τούτων τῶν ἐνάδων ἢ πολλῇ ἀμφισβήτησις γίγνεται—which reduces the gap. Again, in drawing up lists we incline to assume that the works are strictly successive. They need not be. I could, for instance, imagine the Republic being dropped and then resumed, and the Parmenides being written during the pause. Finally the argument that because of resemblance in matter such works as the Parmenides, Sophistes, and Politicus are closely linked in time, fails to carry conviction. Plato—to continue our assumption—would hear criticisms upon the Parmenides only after its publication, and might naturally finish the Republic, with any other work already outlined, before resuming that branch of inquiry. One of the clearest indications of sequence, and even of close sequence, supplied by Plato himself is the passage in which the Timaeus seems to be affiliated to the Republic, yet nobody alleges that nothing came between.

THE MINOR WORKS OF XENOPHON.

II. THE SYMPOSIUM.

MEHLER's edition (Leyden 1850) is a work of excellent scholarship, to which Sauppe and Dindorf have not paid enough attention. The remarks of Cobet, to which I refer occasionally, are in the *Novae Lectiones*. I have had no opportunity of consulting Schenk's remarks on the *Symposium* in the third part of his *Xenophontische Studien*.

1, 7. οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σωκράτην πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλήσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνούντο συνδειπνήσειν· ὡς δὲ πάνν ἀχθόμενος φανερὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ εἴποιτο, συνηκολούθησαν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῶ οἱ μὲν γυμνασάμενοι καὶ χρισάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λουσάμενοι παρήλθον.

Who are the subject of παρήλθον? Not Socrates and his companions; for they accompanied Callias at once and had no time to prepare themselves. But, if other guests are meant, as seems clear, Xenophon must have specified them by some such words as ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῶ < καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι > οἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ., for without this addition the subject of παρήλθον must be the subject of συνηκολούθησαν. Xenophon himself is to be understood as being one of these unnamed guests, for the words in § 1, οἷς δὲ παραγενόμενος ταῦτα γινώσκω δηλώσαι βούλομαι, admit of no other interpretation than that he was actually present at this particular symposium. Whether he was, or whether the symposium ever took place, is another question.

Mehler questions the use of παρήλθον and proposes παρήσαν. The use is certainly doubtful and παρήσαν would be idiomatic, but I should prefer προσήλθον as nearer the MSS. Παρά and πρὸς are known to be sometimes confused. So perhaps in 4, 45 παρ' αὐτοῦ should be changed with Mehler to πρὸς αὐτόν.

1, 10. τά τε ὄμματα φιλοφρονεστέρως ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν φωνὴν πρῶτα ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθεριώτατον ἄγουσιν.

Read ἐλευθεριώτερον. There is no reason for the superlative, when the other words are in the comparative. Mehler's προίενται for ποιοῦνται had occurred to me independently and I believe it to be right. So in Herod. 1, 89 Bekker's προήσουσι for ποιήσουσι seems right (cf. χρήματα μὲν σφί προίεντα *ib.* 1, 24).

1, 11. The word κατάγεσθαι seems strangely used, when the professional jester knocks at the door and bids the servant say ὅστις τε

εἶη καὶ δότι κατάγεσθαι βούλοιο. Κατάγεσθαι is not used of a guest at an entertainment but of a stranger visiting a place and putting up at a particular house. In this sense it is used properly in 8, 39. Even if it were suitable here, some further specification like ἐνταῦθα or παρὰ τῷ Καλλίᾳ would have to be added. Is it a mistake for κατακείσθαι which occurs in § 14? Καλείσθαι 'to be asked in, invited' (as in Plat. *Symp.* 212 D and 213 A) or κατακλίνεσθαι is less probable.

Callias, remarking that it would be mean to grudge him shelter and giving orders for his admission, ἅμα ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπισκοπῶν τί ἐκείνῳ δόξειε τὸ σκῶμμα εἶναι. The last words ought in ordinary Greek to mean 'what he thought the joke consisted in,' and certainly the commentators have found it hard enough to say in what it did consist. If however the words are genuine, perhaps Xenophon wrote ἐπισκοπῶν < ποῖον > τι, 'what he thought of the joke,' and ποῖον fell out after the last letters of ἐπισκοπῶν. Mehler would bracket δῆλον ὅτι...εἶναι, as an adscript introduced by the δῆλον ὅτι common in such cases.

1, 14. ἐν τῷ μεταξύ seems unmeaning.

1, 15. ἦπερ for ἦ is not an Attic word, nor does it seem to occur elsewhere in Xenophon. Probably we should read ἦ.

2, 3. τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδία ἐστιώμεθα; Read probably ἐστιώμεθα.

2, 4. Οὐκοῦν νέοις μὲν ἂν εἶη ταῦτα· ἡμᾶς δὲ...τίνας ὄξειν δεήσει; something like πρέποντα seems needed with νέοις.

Ibid. ὁ μὲν Θεόγνις ἔφη 'ἐσθλῶν κ.τ.λ.'

Read ὁ μὲν Θεόγνις, ἔφη, < λέγει > 'ἐσθλῶν κ.τ.λ.' Ἐφη could hardly be used to introduce the quotation, and the context shows that we want it in the more common use. Two other answers of Socrates are just before accompanied by ἔφη.

2, 6. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλοὶ ἐφθέγγαντο.

Πολλοὶ < πολλὰ > Mehler. Perhaps ἅμα should be inserted. (In 7, 1, ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν λέγει, νῦν ἂν μάλιστα καὶ ἅμα ἄσαιμεν, Mehler inserts ἅμα before λέγειν.)

2, 8. παρεστηκὼς δέ τις τῇ ὄρχηστρίδι ἀνεδίδου τοὺς τροχοὺς μέχρι δώδεκα.

What is the force of ἀνά in ἀνεδίδου? There seems no reason to think the girl was on any kind of platform, for ἐφεστηκυῖαν just before means only 'standing close by,' *i.e.* she was in the room, not outside, waiting to

begin. Cf. *στὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρῶνι* in 1, 13. In 9, 2, *θρόνος τις ἔνδον κατετίθη*, there is no suggestion of a raised platform. Perhaps we should read *ἐνεδίδου*, 'put into her hand.' In 5, 9 *ἀνέφερον* has been corrected to *διέφερον*, but *διεδίδου* here would imply (I think) more than one recipient.

2, 9. *ἡ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χείρων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐσα τυγχάνει, γνώμης δὲ καὶ ἰσχύος δείται (προσδέεται Cobet).*

The emendation *ρόμης* for *γνώμης* should be accepted. If women are inferior in intellect as well as in bodily strength, how can they be called *οὐδὲν χείρους*? There is not much else to be inferior in, for Socrates is not thinking of character.

2, 13. Should not *ἄρ' οὖν* be *ἄρ' οὐ*?

2, 20. *εἰ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἀφιστάτης (ἀφισταίης Mehler and Cobet) ὥσπερ ἄρτους τὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἄνω.*

Ἀφισταίης ('weigh out') seems unmeaning in this connexion. As *ἀπό* and *πρός* sometimes get confused in MSS., perhaps we should read *προσισταίης* ('weigh against').

2, 25. *δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συμπόσια ταῦτά πάσχειν ἄπερ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῆ φύμενα.*

Athenaeus has *σώματα* for *συμπόσια*, and many scholars (Cobet included) have adopted it. But we may notice (1) that in working out the comparison Socrates speaks of the mind as well as the body (*καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γνώμαι σφαλοῦνται*): (2) that *ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πικνὰ ἐπιψακάζωσι* suggests a symposium: (3) that Athenaeus or a copyist might well substitute *σώματα* by inadvertence, whereas *συμπόσια* is very unlikely to have been so substituted.

2, 26. *οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παιγνιδέστερον ἀφιζόμεθα.*

Μεθύειν is clearly wrong as it stands, for Socrates does not propose to get drunk either by the gentle persuasion of small cups or by the rapid compulsion of large ones. Yet Cobet seems wrong in wishing to omit the word altogether. Schneider suggests that a verb in the future, which governed it and answered to *ἀφιζόμεθα*, has been omitted. Why not read *<πρὸς τὸ> μεθύειν*? Cf. 4, 37 *ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ πεινῆν ἀφικέσθαι*. The *ὑπὸ τοῦ* might cause the omission of the *πρὸς* τό.

3, 1. The old emendation of *ἐνφροσύνην* (a favourite Xenophontean word and often contrasted with *λύπη*) for *ἀφροδίτην*, which is both unseemly and unsuitable, seems to me certain. In 2, 24, to which Charmides is referring, *φιλοφροσύνη* is the word used, unless it is a mistake for *εὐφροσύνη*. Liddell

and Scott give no other example of *φιλοφροσύνη* in this sense.

3, 8. *Αὐτολύκω τούτῳ ἰκανή*. Read *τουτῶι* in accordance with Cobet's note on 4, 37. He seems to have overlooked this passage. One *ι* would easily fall out before another.

3, 9. It will also be in accordance with a rule of Cobet's (*N.L.* p. 420) to read *ἐπ' εὐχάριτί γε πράγματι* for *ἐπ' εὐχαρίστω*. *Εὐχάριστος* means 'grateful.'

4, 23. *Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ πρὸς σοῦ ποῖω τὸ περιεῖν Κριτόβουλον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐκπλαγέτα.*

Ποῖω can hardly be right for 'I consider,' nor is Mehler's *ποιοῦμαι* very plausible. *Ποιεῖσθαι τι μέγα, οὐκ ἀνάσχετον, συμφορὰν*, etc., all mean more than pure thinking. They have a notion of 'treating' a thing as so and so, making it so and so. Neither *ποιεῖν* nor *ποιεῖσθαι* is a mere synonym for *νομίζω*. It is not easy however to find the real word, unless it was *δοκῶ*, which occurs in the very next sentence in the same personal use (*δοκεῖς γάρ...οὕτω διατεθῆναι αὐτόν*), perhaps as an echo of this.

4, 37. *ὅμοια γάρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν ὥσπερ εἴ τις πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπίμπαιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ ἔχω ὡς μόλις αὐτὰ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς εὐρίσκω. ὅμως δὲ περίεστί μοι κ.τ.λ.*

Πολλὰ ἔχων has been much questioned and *πολλὰ πίνων*, or the omission of the words, proposed. I concur in thinking them wrong, but *οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ ἔχω* seems to me still more so. Antisthenes is contrasting his own scanty resources, which yet satisfy him, with the affluence of rich men who are never satisfied. There would be no point in making him use the word *πολλὰ* ironically, but, taken literally, it gives exactly the wrong meaning. I think *ὀλίγα*, or some similar word, must have been accidentally changed to *πολλὰ* from the occurrence of *πολλὰ* close by. On this cause of corruption compare what is said by Blass in the preface to his text of Isocrates, 'Peccant optimi codices vel maxime eo, quod oculo librarii ad proxima aberrante vel male addunt quaedam vel ad aliorum similitudinem corrumpunt,' and the instructive examples he gives from the *Urbinas* as well as from inferior MSS. See also Vahlen on Aristotle's *Poetics* 1460b 15.

4, 38. *ἔργον μέ γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνεγείραι*.

The enclitic *με* before *γε* is surely a solecism, though both Dindorf and Sauppe give it. Read either *ἔργον μ' ἐστὶ* with Heindorf or *ἔργον γέ μ' ἐστὶ*.

4, 49. Hermogenes combines devoutness towards the gods with economy: *ἐπαινώ τε*

γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δαπανῶν, ὧν τε διδῶσιν αἰεὶ αὐτῷ παρέχομαι, εὐφημῶ τε ὅσα ἂν δύνωμαι κ.τ.λ. Mehler inserts τι before παρέχομαι; but the meaning would be inadequately expressed and, whether H. gave something to the gods in sacrifice or to men in charity and kindness, it would hardly be consistent with οὐδὲν δαπανῶν. The point of the passage evidently is that his devoutness costs him nothing at all. Perhaps Xenophon wrote something like <χάρων> or <εὐχαριστίαν> παρέχομαι.

4, 63. ὥστε διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἐρώντες ἐκινουροῦμεν ἀλλήλους ζητούντες.

Mehler omits ἐρώντες. It might be better to omit ζητούντες, which seems a gloss on ἐκινουροῦμεν and is very weak when added to it.

5, 6. εἴπερ γε τοῦ ὀσφραίνεσθαι ἔνεκεν ἐποίησαν ἡμῖν ῥίνας οἱ θεοί.

Not ἐποίησαν but ἐνεποίησαν is the word required. Cf. *Mem.* 1, 4, 11 ὄσιν καὶ ἀκοῆν καὶ στόμα ἐνεποίησαν: *ib.* 6 γλῶττα... ἐνεργάσθη: *ib.* 5 ῥίνας προσετέθησαν. The *en* has been lost after the last letters of ἔνεκεν.

5, 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσον αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι σὺν Κριτοβούλῳ.

Πᾶσαι must be used humorously, for it is clear that the boy and girl, not the guests, are the judges. Cf. 4, 18–20 and the banter about kisses here (5, 9: 6, 1). Ἄνεφερον in 9 is probably to be altered with Cobet to διέφερον.

6, 9. Ἄλλ' εἴπερ γέ τοι τοῖς πᾶσι καλοῖς καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις εἰκάζω αὐτόν, ἐπινοῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ λουδορομένῳ δικαίως ἂν εἰκάξω μέ τις. Καὶ νῦν σύγε λουδορομένῳ ἔοικας, εἰ πάντ' αὐτοῦ βελτίω φῆς εἶναι. Ἄλλὰ βούλει πονηροτέροις εἰκάξω αὐτόν; Μηδὲ πονηροτέροις.

The first sentence here has given considerable trouble, and perhaps we cannot hope to get it exactly right. Βελτίω in Antisthenes' rejoinder and the πονηροτέροις following seem to show that βελτίστοις must be a mistake for βελτίσιν. If we substitute this and leave out the articles, we shall get what must have been the sense of the passage, εἴπερ γέ τοι πᾶσι καλοῖς καὶ βελτίσιν εἰκάξω αὐτόν, 'if all my comparisons are flattering.' It is hard to account for the intrusion of the articles, but the sense seems peremptorily to require their omission, that the adjectives may have a predicative force. Jacobs may have been right in suggesting τούτοις, referring to the ἄλλα πολλά before mentioned, in place of τοι τοῖς; but this would still leave the second τοῖς unexplained. Εἰκάξω should perhaps be εἰκάσω, as the εἰκασία apparently consists in words not yet uttered rather than in a fancy already conceived.

7, 4. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ εἰς ταῦτόν τῳ οἴῳ ἐπιστεῦδει· εἰ δὲ ὀρχοῖντο πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν σχήματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτες τε καὶ Ὠραι καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, κ.τ.λ.

It does not seem possible that both καὶ and μὲν should stand with ταῦτα. Omit καὶ. On the other hand with σχήματα we seem to want some qualifying word such as τοιαῦτα or τινα, perhaps σχήματ' <ἅττα>. Ἄττα is not, I think, common in Xenophon, but cf. *Hippiarch.* 8, 7 ἄλλ' ἅττα. Or should we read ἐν οἴοις for ἐν οἷς?

8, 1. Ἄρ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου...μη' ἀμνημονῆσαι;

Μὴ ἀμνημονῆσαι gives us the contrary meaning to that required, and this has been remedied by omitting μή. Perhaps we ought to read <οὐκ> εἰκός. Any awkwardness in the two negatives is removed by the distance between them. οὐκ might fall out from its likeness to the first letters of εἰκός.

8, 5. ὡς σαφὸς μέντοι σὺ, μαστροπὲ σαυτοῦ, αἰεὶ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖς· τότε μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον προφασιζόμενος οὐ διαλέγει μοι, τότε δ' ἄλλου του ἐφιέμενος.

I do not see any occasion to follow Cobet in omitting οὐ διαλέγει μοι, which he takes to be an adscript on τοιαῦτα ποιεῖς: rather it seems to me an almost necessary addition to make Antisthenes' meaning clear. But is not τοιαῦτα an error for ταῦτά, which is the expression more wanted here? ταῦτό and ταῦτά have got corrupted several times in the text of the *Symposium* and have been restored by scholars. Thus 4, 56 τοῦτο stands for ταῦτό: 8, 15 ταῦτα for ταῦτά. In 2, 22 ὅτι δ' ἡ παῖς εἰς τοῦπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχοῦς ἐμμεῖτο, ἐκείνος ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπικύπτων μμείσθαι τροχοῦς ἐπειράτο, I would read ταῦτά and omit μμείσθαι τροχοῦς. In 9, 7 ὅπως τούτων τύχαιον, words which Mehler would omit altogether, I would in any case read τῶν αὐτῶν.

8, 13. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ φιλίας συνουσία οὐδεμίᾳ ἀξιόλογος, πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· φιλεῖν γε μὴ τῶν μὲν τὸ ἦθος ἀγαμέμων ἀνάγκη ἡδεῖα καὶ ἐθελουσία καλεῖται· τῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμούντων πολλοὶ μὲν τοὺς τρόπους μέμφονται καὶ μισοῦσι τῶν ἐρωμένων κ.τ.λ.

Valekenauer and Cobet restore φιλία for φιλεῖν, no doubt rightly, but the sense of the sentence seems unsatisfactory. If one person is attracted to another by admiration of his character, by whom is this called a pleasant voluntary compulsion? Surely it cannot be meant that this is the way in which other people, the world in general, describe it. Rather it is the way in which the man himself, who yields with pleasure to the attraction and lets himself go, would

speak of it. So he is distinguished from the men next mentioned, who hate the very person that attracts them (the constantly misunderstood *odi et amo* of Catullus) and would speak of the force that draws them as the very opposite of *ἡδέια* and *ἔβελουσία*. These feelings and these expressions belong to οἱ ἐρῶντες themselves, not to indifferent spectators. Read therefore *φιλία γε μὴν < ὑπὸ > οἱ < πρὸς > τῶν μὲν τὸ ἦθος ἀγαμένων ... καλεῖται*. There is no need for *ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν*: cf. 2, 2 ἡ αὐλητρὶς μὲν... ὁ δὲ παῖς: *ιδ.* 17 τὰ σκέλη μὲν ... τοὺς ὤμους δέ.

8, 16. Mehler's *θάλλοντα* for *θάλλουσα*, an emendation which had occurred to me before I was able to consult his edition of the dialogue, seems to me clearly right and removes all difficulty, though Sauppe in his *Appendicula* of critical notes does not even mention it.

8, 17. *πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις πιστεύοι μῆτ' ἂν παρά τι ποιήσῃ μῆτ' ἂν καμῶν ἀμορφότερος γένηται μεωθῆναι ἂν τὴν φιλίαν*.

For *παρά τι ποιήσῃ*, which has no meaning, *παρακάσῃ* or *παρηβήσῃ* has been proposed; but what in the course of nature is certain to come ought not to be put as a merely possible contingency side by side with the loss of good looks through illness. In the passage that follows, describing a constant affection, we have the reference to illness repeated (*ἦν δὲ κάμη ὀπότερος οὖν, πολὺ συνεχεστέραν τὴν συνοσίαν ἔχειν*), but nothing about the time when a man is no longer young. We have however another possible contingency mentioned there, which sometimes tries affection and fidelity, *συνάχθεσθαι* δὲ ἦν *τι σφάλμα προσπίπτῃ*, and it seems not

unreasonable to think that something may have been said here too about possible misfortunes. The slightest change to give that meaning would be *ἂν παρά τι ποιήσῃ*, 'if for any reason he is in trouble,' and *ποιεῖν* is certainly confused with *ποιεῖν* elsewhere. But the expression is perhaps not a very probable one and some more considerable change may be preferable. Or again Xenophon may have written something like *παρὰ < τοὺς νόμους > τι ποιήσῃ*.

8, 35. *καὶ μετὰ ξένων κἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει* (τάξει Dobree, Cobet) *ταχθῶσι τῷ ἔραστῇ*. Read *κἂν μετὰ ξένων καὶ μὴ*. Perhaps *πόλει* is an injudicious adscript. Cf. *τῆς πρώτης τεταγμένος* Lys. 16, 15.

8, 40. *ὡς μὲν οὖν σοι ἡ πόλις τάχῃ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει, εὖ ἴσθι*.

Should not *βούλει* be *βούλοιο*? In *Oecon.* 8, 10 I have suggested the change of *βούλοιο* and *δέοιο* to *βούλει* and *δέει*.

Ibid. *ἱερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον σὺν Ἰάκχῳ ἐστράτευσαν*.

As Demeter and Persephone are meant, οἱ should be *αἱ*.

9, 5. *ὀρῶντες ὄντως καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὠραίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριάδην, οὐ σκώπτοντας δὲ ἄλλ' ἀληθινῶς τοῖς στόμασι φιλοῦντας*.

Σκώπτοντας in the sense of 'pretending,' 'playing at' kissing is certainly impossible, as *σκώπτειν* always implies something in the way of wit or humour. Mehler however shows less than his usual insight in suggesting *σκηπτομένους*, since *σκηπτομαι* connotes an excuse or pretext, and is not co-extensive with 'pretending.' I suggest *ἀπατῶντας* or *ἐξαπατῶντας*.

H. RICHARDS.

NOTE ON *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* IN THUCYDIDES, I. 40.

εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐξείναι παρ' ὀπότερους τις τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων βούλεται ἔλθειν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἐτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἢ ξυνηθήκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ'... ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένους εἰ σωφρονοῦσι πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει.

In his recent edition Mr. Forbes has argued strongly for the view that the difficult words *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* refer, not to the conduct of a state in accepting or declining a proffered alliance which conforms to the conditions laid down, but to the subsequent conduct of the state which has accepted such an alliance. Notwithstanding the persuasiveness of Mr. Forbes I think that the other view (preferred in the notes, in Jowett's

translation) which regards the words in question as an afterthought, introduced at the expense of an anomaly in the syntax, is nearer the truth; for it seems to be strongly supported by a passage in Herodotus which I am rather surprised to find is not cited in the commentaries. Themistocles, advocating that the Greeks should remain at Salamis, urges the argument (viii. 60):

ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχίσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἰ περ εὖ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. The anomaly arises from the attempt to express two conditional sentences as one, namely: (a) *εἰ αὐτοῦ μένεις οὐ σφεας ἄξεις ἐπὶ*

τὴν Πελοπόννησον, and (b) εἰ εἶδ' φρονέεις, οὐκ ἐθέλῃσεις σφεας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Π. In Thucydides we have not only an anomaly of just the same kind, but an almost identical phrase. The two ideas which properly demand two sentences and are compressed into one are: (a) if the treaty is observed, an ἄγραφος

πόλις seeking an alliance with one of the signatories will be required to conform to certain conditions; (b) the signatories, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, will receive ἄγραφοι πόλεις only under those conditions.

J. B. BURY.

ON THE MEANING OF CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THUCYDIDES VI.

IN the following notes a new explanation is offered of certain passages in the Sixth Book of Thucydides that are regarded by all editors and critics as either obscure or corrupt. The contention that I make is that in order to find the meaning of a passage, we must first construe it literally, then see what explanation arises out of the construe. If that explanation is in agreement with the context, then we may accept the text as sound. In all the passages construed, I find that the explanation satisfies this requirement. What therefore the reader has to judge of is mainly the accuracy of the bald construe appended to each passage. If he admits my construe, he will, I think, accept my explanation. Of course every one of these passages has been discussed at length by many critics abler than myself. But, instead of going over the ground again, I have preferred to go back to first principles. Of some critics, Junghahn, for example, and Müller-Strübing, I should say that the very length of their discussions has sometimes tended to intensify rather than to dispel the darkness.

For the purpose of readily contrasting the construe proposed with some view that has found powerful support, I have in most cases appended Jowett's translation.

* C. 14, 1 καὶ σύ, ᾧ πρῦτανι, ἐπισηφίζε, νομίσας, εἰ ὀρρωδέεις τὸ ἀναψηφίσαι, τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους μὴ μετὰ τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σχεῖν.

Construe: 'Thinking, if you are afraid of [the illegal act of] putting a question again to the vote, that illegal action would not be blamed where there are so many witnesses [to its innocence].'

It is generally agreed from this passage that it was illegal to reopen a discussion on a vote. Nicias here distinctly implies that the act would be παράνομον, but that the ἄδεια or permission would of course be readily granted in such a case. Hence Nicias is really proposing a vote of ἄδεια on

the ground that ἡ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως required it. τὸ λύειν τοὺς νόμους αἰτίαν ἔχει = 'law-breaking is blamed.' ['If you hesitate, remember that . . . there can be no question of breaking the law,' J.]

* C. 21, 2 μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥάδιον ἐλθεῖν.

'Not even within four months, namely the winter months, is it easy for a messenger to come.'

For the use of the gen. cf. v. 14 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ᾤοντο ὀλίγων ἐτῶν καθαρῆσειν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν. Nicias puts the distance between Sicily and Athens in the worst light by saying that in winter it may be that more than four months may elapse before the messenger can start, or, if he starts, can reach Athens. In the latter case he may have to put in for shelter at some port on the way and wait for spring. Thus οὐδέ is not, as the editors suppose, misplaced, nor is τῶν χειμερινῶν spurious. ['During the four winter months hardly even a message can be sent hither,' J.]

In * c. 23, 1 ἦν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐνθένδε μὴ ἀντίπαλον μόνον παρασκευασάμενοι, πλήν γε πρὸς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν τὸ ὀπλιτικόν κ.τ.λ., some propose to alter or to remove τὸ ὀπλιτικόν. If Nicias is made to say that it is necessary to attack the Syracusans 'with a force a match for theirs, except, of course, as regards our hoplites in comparison with their (total) fighting force,' the sentence is really nonsense. It would be absurd to suggest that Athens might be thought not to be a match for Syracuse because the Athenian infantry could not equal the whole of the Syracusan forces added together. No evidence of disparity could be deduced from such a consideration. The fact is that τὸ ὀπλιτικόν is object to παρασκευασάμενοι, and that a comma is required after αὐτῶν. The Athenians were strong in infantry, they were weak in cavalry: they could easily send a force of infantry equal to any force of infantry that Syracuse could put

into the field. But, says Nicias, though the *heavy infantry* be a match for them (except of course, he throws in, when compared with their infantry and cavalry taken together), that will not be enough. What is required is that all the forces taken from Athens should be more than a match for the enemy's whole fighting force, so as to counter-balance the obvious inferiority in cavalry. The unusual position of τὸ ὀπλιτικόν is accounted for by the prominence that has already been given to the 'hoplites' in the previous chapter. It is emphatic, and requires to be made so in the sentence.

* C. 31, 1 παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη πρώτη ἐκπλεύσασα μιᾶς πόλεως δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ πολυτελεστάτῃ δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτῃ τῶν ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο.

The sentence might have run παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη πρώτη (ἦν ἢ) ἐκπλεύσασα μιᾶς πόλεως δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ π. . . ἐγένετο. 'This was the first expedition that having sailed from a single city with a Greek force far surpassed all those that had hitherto (sailed from a single city with a Greek force) in costliness and magnificence.' Thucydides here looks forward to a time when possibly some Greek state might send out an expedition that would beat the record established by the Sicilian Expedition for costliness and magnificence. In this passage πρώτη would be illogical—the note in Jowett says it is so—were it not that πολυτελεστάτῃ δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτῃ τῶν ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον clearly means something more than πολυτελεστέρα καὶ εὐπρεπεστέρα τῶν ἐς ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. The superlative with δὴ implies a *great stride* forwards. Some expedition in the past may have been second to it, but it was *longo proximo intervallo*. Some earlier expedition from a Greek city—say the next after the Argonauts—must have established some sort of record, but it was only a little better than that which went before. Of course μιᾶς πόλεως δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ excludes such expeditions as those of the Persians.

Recent editors who retain the text place a comma before πρώτη and after Ἑλληνικῇ, and render 'being the first to sail from a single city with a Greek force'; but this is contrary to fact, unless δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ can, as Stahl supposes, mean 'with a force drawn from all parts of Greece.' ['No armament so magnificent or costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power,' J.]

C. 31, 4 ξυνέβη δὲ πρὸς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα ἔριν γενέσθαι, ᾧ τις ἕκαστος προσετάχθη, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον εἰκασθῆναι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπὶ πολέμου παρασκευῆν.

'The result was that among themselves they fell to quarrelling at their posts (as to who was best equipped for the expedition), while to the Greeks at large (through the splendour of the equipment) a display was portrayed of their (internal) power and (external) influence rather than a force equipped against an enemy.'

(1) πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔριν γενέσθαι is not merely 'there was rivalry amongst them in the matter of arms,' etc.; much less, as some suppose, 'they strove to be best at their duties.' In ii. 54 ἐγένετο ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὀνομάσθαι . . . ἀλλὰ λιμὸν is 'they disputed whether λιμός and not λοιμός was the word.' In ii. 21 κατὰ ξυστάσεις γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἐρίδι ἦσαν is 'they gathered in groups and quarrelled.' In iii. 111 ἦν πολλῇ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἶτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστιν εἶτε Πελοποννήσιος is 'they quarrelled in their ignorance.' The only other passage in which ἔρις occurs in Thuc. is c. 35 of this book, where the meaning is clearly 'disputed hotly.' So in our passage the sense must be 'as they stood waiting to embark, they disputed as to which man's equipment was the best.'

(2) ἐπίδειξις ἠκάσθῃ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας is by no means 'to the rest of the Greeks the expedition resembled a grand display.' Thucydides is describing the start of the expedition, not the effect that the news of it produced on the Greeks: he tells not what the Greeks thought on that day, but what the Athenians were doing. 'The rest of the Greeks' were not there to see what the expedition looked like. The words can mean only 'a display intended for the rest of Greece was portrayed rather than an armament directed against an enemy.' Thus (1) and (2) present two aspects of one and the same picture, the two being closely connected—the ἔρις among themselves and the ἐπίδειξις to Greece. ['While at home the Athenians were thus competing with one another in the performance of their several duties, to the rest of Hellas the expedition seemed to be a grand display of their power and greatness,' J.]

* C. 46, 2 τῷ μὲν Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑγεσταιῶν, τοῖν δὲ ἑτέροις καὶ ἀλογώτερα.

'By Nicias the news from S. was expected; to the other two it was even more unaccountable than unexpected.'

The length to which Thuc. carries ellipse has been dealt with in great detail by L. Herbst. With the comparative ellipse is especially common. Here the ellipse is to

be filled up from προσδεχομένων ἦν—οὐ μόνον ἀπροσδόκητα ἦν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλογώτερα. [‘Nicias expected that the Egestaeans would fail them; to the two others their behaviour appeared even more incomprehensible than the defection of the Rhegians,’ J.]

* C. 69, 1 ὁμως δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι σφίσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προτέρους ἐπελθεῖν καὶ διὰ τάχους ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀμύνασθαι ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα εὐθὺς ἀντεπήσαν. ‘Nevertheless, though they did not expect that the A. would make an attack on them, and that they would suddenly by compulsion defend themselves, they took up their arms,’ etc.

ἀναγκαζόμενοι is part of the predicate with ἀμύνασθαι: ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀμυνόμεθα = ‘we are forced to defend ourselves.’ οἰόμενοι governs ἀμύνασθαι, and ἂν extends to it. The editors make ἀναγκαζόμενοι govern ἀμύνασθαι—in which case, as Stahl sees, the participle ought to be *causal* to make sense. [‘They were compelled to make a hasty defence, for they never imagined that the Athenians would begin the attack. Nevertheless they took up their arms,’ J.]

* C. 82, 2 τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον μαρτύριον αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ὅτι οἱ Ἴωνες αἰεὶ ποτε πολέμιοι τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν εἰσιν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Ἴωνες ὄντες Πελοποννησίοις Δωριεῦσι, καὶ πλείουσιν οὖσι καὶ παρικοῦσιν, ἐσκεψάμεθα ὅτε τρόπον ἥκιστ’ αὐτῶν ὑπακουσόμεθα.

‘He himself has borne the strongest witness by saying that the Ionians are always enemies to the Dorians. Moreover, the case stands exactly as follows. We being Ionians to the Peloponnesians who are Dorians and superior in numbers and near neighbours, considered the best way of avoiding dependence on them.’

(1) ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως refers to what follows, not to what precedes. The *general* principle ‘Ionians *versus* Dorians’ is enough to justify Athens. But there are *special* circumstances, as he explains in the next sentence.

(2) Ἴωνες ὄντες Πελοποννησίοις go together. Πελοποννησίοις is not governed by ὑπακουσόμεθα. He has said ‘Ἴωνες ἀρεῖς πολέμιοι Δωριεῦσι’: now for πολέμιοι he substitutes Ἴωνες. ‘The Dorians regarded us as Ionians, and therefore as enemies and inferiors over whom they were to rule.’ This dative Πελοποννησίοις is ‘the person judging.’ [‘We Ionians dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Peloponnesians, etc.’ J.]

* C. 82, 3 αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ προτέρων ὄντων ἡγεμόνες καταστάντες οἰκοῦμεν.

‘We being established as leaders of the cities that were formerly under the great king’s power ourselves control them.’ τῶν . . ὄντων is neut., not masc.; οἰκοῦμεν = διοι-

κοῦμεν, as in tragedy often, and is trans., sc. αὐτά, i.e. τὰ . . πρότερον ὄντα. For the inanimate with ἐπὶ cf. iii. 62 τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν πειραμένον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ποιείσθαι: and for ἡγεμών with an inanimate cf. i. 4 τῶν Κυκλάδων ἤρξε . . τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας: ib. 25 (Κορινθίου τῆς πόλεως) ἡγεμόνας ποιείσθαι. In i. 75, it is true, we have προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστήναι, and in i. 95 ἡξίουν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι: but in the present passage the use of οἰκοῦμεν shows that the neut. is intended. [‘We then assumed the leadership of the king’s former subjects which we still retain,’ J.]

C. 87, 3 καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴθ’ ὡς δικασταὶ γεγόμενοι τῶν ἡμῖν ποιουμένων μὴθ’ ὡς σωφρονιστὰ ἀποτρέπειν πειράσθε.

‘Now do not you sit in judgment on our conduct nor try by chastisement to divert us from it,’ i.e. from our settled line of action.

The whole of the context in which this occurs refers to the conduct and habits of Athenians—what is called below their πολυπραγμοσύνη καὶ τρόπος, their ‘intermeddling, or rather character.’ Hence τῶν ἡμῖν ποιουμένων does not refer merely to the intervention in Sicily (‘our enterprise’), but to the settled course of action on which Athens had started long before. ‘If you refuse to aid us,’ says Euphemus, ‘you virtually attempt to censure the Athenian imperial policy,’ and it is far too late to do that. The speaker had started with a defence of that policy, and that defence is most ingeniously bound up with the appeal for the support of Camarina. [‘Do not sit in judgment upon our actions, or seek to school us into moderation and so divert us from our purpose,’ i.e. the purpose of interfering in Sicily, J.]

* C. 87, 4 ὅ τε οἰόμενος ἀδικήσεσθαι καὶ ὁ ἐπιβουλευὼν διὰ τὸ ἐτοίμην ὑπέιναι ἐλπίδα τῷ μὲν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπικουρίας ἀφ’ ἡμῶν, τῷ δὲ, εἰ ἤξομεν, μὴ ἀδεῖ [with Krüger for MSS. ἀδεῖς] εἶναι κινδυνεῖν, ἀμφότεροι ἀναγκάζονται ὁ μὲν ἅκων σωφρονεῖν, ὁ δ’ ἀπραγμῶνος σφίζεσθαι.

‘The man who thinks that he will suffer wrong and he who plots mischief, because they feel a lively expectation, the one of obtaining from us a return in the form of help, the other that if we come he will be in danger of not escaping unpunished, are both alike compelled, the one to restrain himself against his will, the other to accept safety without taking action.’

For ἐλπίς ἀντιτυχεῖν . . κινδυνεῖν it is enough to refer to Stahl *QG.*² p. 7. ἀντιτυχεῖν means ‘to obtain something as a return (for joining our alliance),’ and *not* ‘to obtain

redress for a wrong'; for the commission of the wrong, as the context shows, is to be prevented, not punished. *κινδυνεύειν μὴ ἄδει εἶναι* = 'to be in danger of not going unpunished.' In *ἄδει* there is an allusion to the technical meaning of *ἄδεια*, which is a prospective remission of any pains and penalties that may be incurred by violating τὸ κύριον. The argument is that even before Athens had intervened in any state, a plotter who intended a crime against his opponents would have to think whether he might not be giving occasion for Athens to intervene; and whether he would not find that Athens took the same view of the crime after its committal that she would have taken if her influence had already been established in that state before the crime was committed: she might take the view that the crime was against her, as champion of all oppressed Greeks, and that she had not consented to the crime; and hence she would exact the full penalty.

In this passage the speaker is describing the effect of Athenian *prestige*, felt even in parts of the Greek world where she had not intervened. Her *prestige* is a safeguard for the tranquillity of the Greeks. *ἀναγκάζονται* is with some humour applied to those who anticipate oppression as well as to those who intend a crime. Both sides 'are compelled' to abstain from action by this moral force. [J.'s rendering gives the general sense correctly, but he wrongly renders (1) *ἀντιτυχεῖν* 'to obtain redress'; (2) *μὴ ἄδει εἶναι κινδυνεύειν* 'he may well be alarmed for the consequences'; (3) *σώζεσθαι ἀπραγμόνως* 'a

deliverance at our hands that costs him nothing.' Euphemus means, *not* that Athens steps in, but that in consequence of her *prestige* tranquillity is obtained *without* her active interference.]

* C. 89, 6 ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε καὶ ἐγινώσκομεν οἱ φρονοῦντές τι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον, ὅσω κἂν [for MSS. καὶ] λοιδορήσαιμι.

'For the nature of democracy was known to those of us who had any insight, and I should show the superiority of my insight by the amount of abuse I might pour on it.' But, he continues, there is nothing new to say, and it would only be flogging a dead horse to abuse democracy.

Τὸ οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον supply, *not* γινώσκομι, as the editors do, but φρονοῖην. It would be, says Alcibiades, an obviously prudent thing for me here at Sparta to abuse democracy; the more I abused it, the more you would admire my φρόνησις. But all I need say is that it is an 'admitted folly.' Herbst explains the passage as intended to represent οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον (γινώσκομι), ὅσω καὶ (οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον) λοιδορήσαιμι, 'and I just so much better than others as I should have more right than others to attack it.' But surely such a brachylogy is unintelligible. Several editors think something is lost after ὅσω καί. Fr. Müller regards the text as hopeless. ['Of course, like all sensible men, we knew only too well what democracy is, and I better than any one, who have so good reason for abusing it, *i.e.* because I have been so unjustly treated by it,' J.]

E. C. MARCHANT.

NOTES ON THEOCRITUS.

XXII. 8.

νηῶν θ' αἰ δύνοντα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἐξανίοντα
ἄστρα βιαζόμεναι χαλεποῖς ἐνέκυρσαν αἰήταις.

οὐρανοῦ ἐξανίοντα must be understood as 'rising up in the sky:' but the ἐξ of the compound is then meaningless, and in conjunction with the genitive οὐρανοῦ obscure. Read οὐρανὸν ἐξανύοντα (οὐρανὸν ἐξανίοντα Hermann): cf. Eur. *Orest.* 1685 πόλον ἐξανύσας.

XXI., 59. οὐκέτι after ὄμοσα may be justified by Herondas 6, 93 ὃ δ' ὄμοσε οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν μοι. (ῶ . . σε Papyrus.)

I. 56.

αἰπολικὸν τι θέαμα, τέρας κέ τυ θυμὸν ἀτύξαι (so vulg.): θέαμα due to Heinsius: θέημα MSS. αἰπολικὸν cannot be right: we want a word complimentary to the value of the cup, not disparaging or limiting it to one class: and why 'a sight for goatherds,' when it is to be given to Thyrsis? Ahrens' αἰολιχόν is equally out of place: we do not want a diminutive.

Αἰολικόν — Aeolian — might stand if Aeolian cups were specially famous; of this there is no evidence.

Scholl. k has αἰολικόν. αἰολίζειν γὰρ τὸ ἀπατᾶν...αἰόλον τι καὶ ποίκιλον θέαμα. This

is just the sense required and seems to have been too lightly rejected. αἰολικός is not an impossible formation. Cf. πρόδρομος—προδρομικός: ἀπλοῖκός: βάρβαρος—βαρβαρικός—βαρβαρίζω etc. and there seems to be an imitation of the line in Apoll. Rhod. 1, 765

κείνους κ' εἰσορόων ἀκέοις, ψεύδοιό τε
θυμὸν,
ἐλπίμενος πικρινήν τιν' ἀπὸ σφείων ἔσακοῦσαι
βάξιν.

So here, if αἰολικὸν can be admitted, it would = deceptive; cf. Pindar's αἰόλον ψεύδοσ and χρησμῶν αἰόλον στόμα (= riddling), Lycoph. 4.

XXX. 3 sqq.

κάλω μὲν μετρίως ἀλλ' ὅποσον τῷ παιδί περιέχει
καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ κακὸν ταῖς μὲν ἔχει, ταῖς δ' οὐ.
τὰς γὰς τοῦτο χάρις· ταῖς δὲ παράλλαις γλυκὴ
μεϊδιάμα.

Most of the editors have transposed lines 4 and 5: see Ziegler *ad loc.* and Hiller p. 355 [add Haeberlin in *Philologus* 46]. Mähly gives ἀλλ' ὅποσον παῖδα περιρρέει ἄβας τοῦτο χάρις, which is attractive but does not give the right antithesis to κάλω μὲν μετρίως. Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus.* 30) suggests τῷ ποδὶ περρέχει τὰς γὰς τοῦτο χάρις, and points out a similar confusion of πόδα and παῖδα in Bion. *Ep. Adon.* 24. But surely τῷ ποδὶ is strange Greek.

Following up Buecheler's suggestion, I propose
μᾶκος μὲν μετρίω, ἀλλ' ὅποσον τῷ πεδᾷ περρέχει
τὰς γὰς, τοῦτο χάρις.

For sense cf. *Anth. Pal.* xii. 93

ὅστε καθ' ὕψος
οὐ μέγας, οὐρανίη δ' ἀμφιτέθηλε χάρις.

πεδᾷ and παῖδα are confused in Theocr. 29, 38 (πέδα vulg. παῖδα k. c. πεδὰ Hermann).

The use of τῷ πεδᾷ = 'with such height as he possesses,' would be parallel to the use of μετὰ or σὺν expressing accompanying conditions, e.g. Xen. *Symp.* 2, 15 καλὸς ὁ παῖς ὃν ὁμοῦς σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων φαίνεται.

περρέχει = ὑπερέχει, *vid.* Ahrens, *dial.* i. p. 151.

I. 105 sqq.

That there has been interpolation here is universally admitted. The only question is how much is to be rejected. If 106 and

107 are both spurious it is hard to see why they should have been inserted, even by 'a late grammarian or sophist.' If 106 is sound, the introduction of 107 from the parallel passage in 5, 46 is easily explained. But τῆνεῖ δρύες ὦδε κύπειρος cannot be right; unless we adopt the very forced interpretation that τῆνεῖ δρύες ὦδε κύπειρος is a proverbial expression = that place is better than this. This does not suit 5, 45. The common interpretation, 'hic tantum modo humilis ulva quae vix te tegat' (Paley) is not true (*vid.* Theocr. 13, 35) and is totally unsuited to the passage. Ribbeck reads τούτῃ for τῆνεῖ as in 5, 45 (*Rhein. Mus.* 17). I suggest τῆνεῖ δρύες ἔνθα κύπειρος, with omission of next line. ἔνθα would be altered to ὦδε by reminiscence of 5, 45 and line 107 inserted from the same cause. The passage from Plutarch *Quaest. Nat.* Latin version p. 1126, which Meineke quotes, points to ἔνθα as the reading found by Plutarch (*quercus atque cupirus*).

The sense of the whole passage is 'you are not invincible, Kypris, though you boast of your victory over me: you have only triumphed over shepherds and herdsmen, Anchises, Adonis, Daphnis [note emphatic βουκόλος, 105, βούταν 113, μᾶλα 109]. Go then to Anchises, and your pleasant haunts on Ida [this is the force of τῆνεῖ...κύπειρος]: Adonis too is ripe for your love, since he too feeds the sheep. Then (αἰθῆς) go to the battle-field and see whether your easy victories over us will avail you. You could not conquer Diomedes, and even Daphnis κῆν Ἀίδα κακὸν ἔσσειται ἄλγος ἔρωτι.'

αἰθῆς is not 'a second time' but 'then,' 'after that': cf. Dem. *Ol.* 1, 13. Soph. *O. T.* 1402 etc.

Fritzsch's sense in his note on 112 ὅπως στ. sc. si putas te invictam esse quia vincis pastores, but is wrong on 109: 'Sententia est "si vis pastores vexare, en tibi Anchisen et Adoniden."' The whole passage is not a plea for pity, but a bitter taunt at Kypris, and her fancied strength; and lines 105 sqq. must be taken in close connection with the defiance that has preceded.

Fritzsch's 'ipsa Venus pastoris amore victa cum sit, non est quod dea Daphnidem pastorem a se victum esse gloriatur' makes the fatal mistake of totally confusing the ideas of victory and defeat as they would appear to Kypris.

R. J. CHOLMELEY.

Manchester, May 1896.

THE MADRID MS. OF ASCONIUS [M. 81].

THE commentary of Asconius upon certain of Cicero's speeches possesses great interest, not only on account of the information which it contains, but also from the romantic circumstances attending its discovery. It was, as is well known, found at St. Gallen by Poggio in 1416 together with a portion of Valerius Flaccus, Manilius, the *Silvae* of Statius, and Quintilian. In a celebrated letter he relates how the MSS. were discovered 'in a noisome and dark dungeon, a cellar under a tower, not fit to receive a criminal condemned to death.' He copied them, as he says, '*mea manu et quidem velociter*,' in order to send them to his friends, Leonardo Aretino and Niccolo the Florentine. The original *codices* discovered by Poggio on this occasion have disappeared, and in the case of Asconius we are entirely dependent upon copies derived from the lost MS.

Modern research has established that, besides the copy of Asconius made by Poggio, two others were made by friends who were with him at the time. One of these was written by Zomini, or Sozomenus, the ecclesiastical historian, and the other by Bartolomaeo de Montepoliciano. Curiously enough the apographs made by Poggio's friends both survive, while that of Poggio is lost. It was, however, from this that most of MSS. of Asconius now in existence were copied, since its connexion with Poggio gave it commanding authority. Kiessling and Schöll, however, who in their admirable edition give the readings of the MS. of Sozomenus [S], and that of Montepoliciano [M], as well as those of several MSS. derived from the Poggian fount, show conclusively that Sozomenus was the most conscientious of the three friends, and that in a multitude of cases he gives an original reading where Poggio's fertile imagination led him to emend. Next in accuracy they place Montepoliciano, and last Poggio. This conclusion was indeed inevitable since the two Poggian MSS. which they used chiefly are not the purest members of the family.

The best of these they style Pb, a Florentine MS. which has not been interpolated from Cicero in the same way as most of its *congeners*, and is therefore nearer to the common archetype. The other, Pa, is the best of the interpolated MSS. Another MS. which they consider still better, but of which they do not give a full collation, is the

Leidensis, Pl. This they only obtained after their work was already finished. A few readings are quoted in the notes, and some others given in the Preface and Addenda, which sufficiently show it to be nearer to the parent stock than Pb. They also refer to other inferior MSS. Pc, Pg, and Pw, the *editio princeps*. I have myself looked at the British Museum MSS. which I found to possess no value. Recently I examined in the Paris library two interesting MSS. One of these, 7832, is a *gemellus* of Pb, and throws considerable light upon the history of this MS. I refer to it subsequently under the name of π. The other, 7833, a copy in cursive made by a scholar for his own use, is one of the few MSS. not derived from the recension of Poggio. The subscription at the end agrees with some slight variations with that of Montepoliciano's copy. The readings, however, so far as I was able to examine it, are those of Sozomenus, except that in some cases an obvious conjecture has been admitted.

Kiessling and Schöll also refer to a Madrid MS. in terms calculated to excite the curiosity of the reader. Knust, quoted in Pertz's *Archiv*, states that it once belonged to Poggio, but appears to have no other ground for saying so beyond the fact that it has the 'subscriptio,' '*Hoc fragmentum . . Poggiius Florentinus.*' They prudently refuse to attach importance to this *subscriptio*, since there is no proof of its genuineness. As a matter of fact it appears in a number of MSS. of Asconius, some of these being of very late date. Thilo notes that it is also found in a Vatican MS. of Valerius Flaccus, where he refuses to recognize the hand of Poggio. The 'subscriptio' then proves nothing. On the other hand they attach great importance to the fact that Valerius Flaccus forms part of the same volume, the two works having been found by Poggio at the same time: and say that, if it could be established that it really had belonged to Poggio, they would regard it as the chief or indeed the only authority for the Poggian recension. As it is, knowing nothing of its readings, they suspend judgment.

The MS. in question originally was bound up with another, M. 31, also containing two works discovered by Poggio. On the first page of this is entered 'Manilii Astronomicon. Statii Papinii Sylvae. Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem, Valerii Flacci non-

nulla.' The last two were afterwards struck out, this obviously having been done when they were bound up separately. The Manilius was examined by Professor Robinson Ellis, who published a full collation of it in the *Classical Review* for 1893, as well as an article upon it in *Hermathena* for the same year, and found it to be of great value. Knowing that I have for some time been interested in the text of Asconius, he strongly urged me to pay a visit to Madrid, and to examine the MS., which I did during the Easter Vacation. I would here mention that I had no hope of obtaining equally important results. In the case of Manilius Prof. Ellis established that the Sangallensis family, as represented by the Madrid MS., contains a number of good readings not found in the Gemblacensis. In that of Asconius we have no MSS. not derived from the Sangallensis, and the only possible result was to throw some further light upon the affinities of MSS. none of which are earlier than the fifteenth century.

I proceed at once to state the conclusion at which I arrived. The Madrid MS. [μ] is the oldest of the Poggian group. Pb, the MS. chiefly used by KS., is copied directly from it; all the Poggian MSS. can be explained from it. That it was written by Poggio himself I do not venture to assert: it is, however, highly probable that certain notes in the margin were written by him.

As to the relation between the two MSS., M. 31 and 81, I think it certain that they are not in the same hand. The Asconius and Valerius Flaccus are written in clearer and more regular characters. If there is any difference in age, which I do not assert, I should consider this MS. to be older than the other. Besides Asconius and Valerius Flaccus the MS. contains the 'Siberti chronicon.' This is written more hurriedly, and with a number of abbreviations. I should not, however, like to assert that it does not come from the scribe who wrote the rest of the volume.

In the Asconius the original text has seldom been tampered with, and any alterations are easily detected from the difference in the ink. Several superscriptions are entered by the first hand, sometimes in smaller characters, and sometimes in letters equal in size to those employed in the text. These are of some importance as showing that the writer had before him an already corrected original. A number of other hands can be recognized in the superscriptions, marginal additions, and notes. Some of these are comparatively modern, e.g. in

several places lacunae are filled up in thicker ink; others are ancient, and probably contemporary. Among the latter may be classed several conjectures, written in a cursive hand, introduced by *credo*, or *c^s*. Thus 27, 7 *in quas tria patrimonia effudisse eum Cicero significat*, for *patrim.* the first hand gives *prelia* [with S], in the margin is written in straggling characters '*credo, patrimonia.*' There are also some comments, possibly in the same hand, which are of great interest.

KS. [p. xxxvi] remark of certain notes found in the margin of Pb and several other MSS. that they would appear to have been originally written by Poggio in his MS., '*inter scribendum.*' They quote from Pb the following, 76, 10 '*cicero in quadam ad atticum epistola scribit de catiline defensione quam facere cogitabat*,' and 78, 6 '*vincis me: itaque puto non defendisse, sed tantum de defendendo cogitasse, quod per epistolam negari non potest.*' Those in Pb are of course entered by the first hand. In π , the Paris *gemellus* of Pb, the first does not occur, but the second is entered in margin by the first hand as a variant. In μ both these notes are written in the margin in the curious and rather illegible cursive to which I have already referred, being obviously notes scrawled down by the original owner of the MS. Whether or no the author of them was Poggio, according to the guess of KS., it is at least certain that their author was at one time the possessor of the MS. Several old editors, including Hotoman, finding these words in MSS. of the Pb family, adapted them by omitting *vincis me* and incorporating the rest of the remark into the text, where they remained until they were expelled by Baiter. It is somewhat remarkable that in the case of a work discovered in the fifteenth century a *scholium* from the margin should in a few years have become part of the *textus receptus*.

This single instance is sufficient to prove that Pb and π are derived from μ . It is not the only one in which marginal notes in μ reappear in this family, e.g. 27, 7 the previously quoted '*credo patrimonia*' is reproduced in the margin of π by the first hand. Of the two MSS. π would seem to represent an earlier stage in the recension than Pb: thus in 1, 17 *in summo cum dicat*, $\mu\pi$ give *in senatu summa*, Pb [and Pa] in *senatu*. I add a few more instances to illustrate further the formation of the text in Pb.

30, 6. *familiam Hyppaei et Q. Pompeii*

postulavit : In SM there is no lacuna : in μ *postulavit* ends a paragraph (*in med. lin.*), in Pb a lacuna is marked.

35, 17. *coponem*] *eoponem* SM, *eoponē* μ , *eoponere* Pb.

38, 22, *si cui non omnes eae probantur* : *eae* S, *ēe* M. *ēe* μ , *ex*, Pb, a misinterpretation of *ēe* [i.e. *eae*].

59, 8. *prohibebat* : *prohibebant* SM.

prohibebant μ , m. 1 : *per prohibebant* Pb.

It is a curious fact that in one place Pb retains an earlier reading than μ : viz. p. 5, 1.

perduellionis reo : here Pb with SM gives *perduellio* . . . , in $\mu\pi$ the lacuna is filled up, although in μ there is a small space left after *reo*, which appears to show that the writer first left a lacuna, and then afterwards filled it up.

To come next to Pa. That this is a very inferior MS. to Pb is obvious from Kiessling's notes : that it also was derived from μ appears highly probable. I quote the following.

64, 10. *una modo supererat ut* : μ with SPb. gives *una modo* ; in the margin of μ the first hand gives *mens esset ut* : Pa has *una mens esset ut modo*.

42, 5. *reddidit* ; *reddit* SM, *reddidit* μ , the *-di-* being struck out. The line through *i-* is very faint. Pa *reddit*.

75, 8. *negat* : *negabat* SPb, in μ the last *-a-* is very small and might easily be read as *i* : *negabit* Pa.

The general formula which expresses the relation of Pb and Pa to μ is, that Pb reproduces both the first and second hand in μ , whereas Pa gives the second hand only.

I give a few instances to illustrate the difference in the two recensions :

46, 7. *unum eum excuti priusquam in senatum intraret, iusserat* :

For *unum* μ gives *unum* (m. 1), π *si unum*,

Pb *unum*. After *intraret* SM μ insert *priusquam* ; in the mg. of μ the first hand adds *clodium*. Pb gives *intraret clodium priusquam*, Pa *intraret clodium*.

56, 16. *facta pactio est, ut neque arbitrium de libertate perageretur, rediret tamen ille in libertatem de quo agebatur, neque Metellus* : in this very corrupt passage μ gives *facta pactione* [*concordia* M : S] *ut neque Metellum*, and in the margin the first hand adds, *arbitrium de libertate peregerunt* . . . *sed tamen ille in libertate de quo*. The substitution of *pactione* for *concordia* appears in all the Poggian MSS. They also incorporate the marginal addition, but in π this

is prefixed by a significant *l*, viz. *facta pactione l arbitrium* . . . *peregerunt*. Pa and π omit *ut*, underlined in μ , Pb retains it.

65, 16. *nactus* :

ob non tunc μ , s.l. m. 1, *ob tunc* Pa, *ob non tunc* Pb.

66, 11. *nisi poena accessisset in divisores, extingui ambitum nullo modo posse* :

accessisse SM, *accessisse* μ , *accessisset* Pb.

extincti S, *extinct* M, *extinct* μ Pb, *extingui* Pa.

ullo S, *ullo*, μ Pb, *nullo* Pa.

ib. 13. *idque iure ut docti sumus* :

crebus S, *inrebus* M μ , in mg. μ , *vir is*, *vir is* in *rebus*, Pb. *vir is* Pa.

76, 27. *tam male de populo Romano existimare* :

malecie tr. SM, *male cie tr.* μ , in mg. ' *de re p.*'

de rep.

male cie Pb, *male de re p.* Pa.

83, 2. *qui posteaquam illo < quo > conati sunt* :

illo S, om. M, *illo* μ , *illud* Pa, *de illo* Pa.

The other important MS. of the Poggian family is Pl. I have some difficulty in dealing with this, since KS. only published some select readings. That it represents a later stage than μ in the development of this recension is however obvious. KS. mention several cases in which the first hand gives in place of the corruption found in the *Sangallensis* a correction taken from Cicero. I instance the following :—

6, 13. *sed ille designatus cos. cum* : so Pl from Cicero [Pa].

sic ille desicco si cum μ , with SM, the correction being given in μ s.l. by m. 2.

2, 7. *mehercule, ut dici audebam te*, Pl from Cicero [Pa].

he SM, and μ , in which the second hand has entered the correction.

12, 25. *o amentem Paulum* : Pl from Cicero [Pa].

so ornamentum S, *so ornamentum* μ .

13, 7. *flagravit* : Pl from Cicero.

. . . . SM μ , *flagravit* μ .

In a large number of instances Pl has the reading of the second hand in μ , or a marginal reading. I do not mention these, since it might be argued that they had been copied into μ from Pl. The following case is more decisive :—

43, 24. *familiarissimus et idem comes : et idem*, om. SM.

KS. quote as one of three unique variants from P1 its reading here,

familiaris meus et idem comes.

In μ we find

et idem

familiarissimus meus comes μ , both alterations coming from the first hand. This appears to definitely prove that μ was also the archetype of P1.

Having thus disposed of the three important MSS. Pa, Pb, and P1, I do not propose to apply the same method to the inferior ones still remaining, e.g. Pc, Pg, P ω . They contain nothing original, and merely represent successive stages in the process of degeneracy. It appears to me certain that they together with the three better MSS. are derived from the Madrid MS. I proceed to collect the results of this discussion.

In the first place, in a future critical edition of Asconius, a good deal of complexity should disappear. The multitude of Poggian MSS. may be disregarded, and their place taken by the single MS. μ . Besides this negative result we gain a certain amount of fresh evidence, since we obtain more authentic testimony to the readings of the Sangallensis from the third witness, who, if he was less careful than Sozomenus to give the exact reading of the archetype, was at any rate the best scholar, and probably the most expert palaeographer of the three friends. By a comparison of SM and μ we are able with considerable certainty to reconstitute the lost Sangallensis. There is not much to glean in the way of new readings, although I have noted a certain number. In several cases also conjectures made by subsequent scholars are already found in the margin or above the line in μ .

It will be observed that I have not attempted to identify μ with the original copy made by Poggio at St. Gallen. That it should be this is out of the question, since Poggio in making his copy wrote 'velociter' i.e. in cursive, whereas μ is written with care and in a literary hand. He would of course copy out at his leisure his rough copy, or have this done for him. That in μ we have the fair copy then made is, I think, extremely probable. Specimens of Poggio's writing appear to be rare. Thilo says that he was unable to find an autograph at Rome. I have looked in vain for it in London, Paris, and Madrid. Schmidt asserts that a Berlin MS. of the letters to Atticus was written by him, but I have not seen this. De Nohlac gives a specimen in his work on

the library of Fulvio Orsini, but does not say from what source it comes. It does not, however, seem to be the same hand as that in which μ is written. I should be inclined to guess that Poggio employed some one to make his 'fair copy' for him. This theory is supported by the fact that, as I previously remarked, superscriptions occur in μ which the scribe appears to have found in the MS. before him. On the other hand, it is only fair to remark that in some places the writer appears to be conjecturing as he goes along. I mention the following instance:—

74, 1. *tamen multum poterant* :—

tamen...tum poterat S.

tamen... (in fin. l.) multum poterant μ [*multum MP*].

This looks as if he was filling up a blank, and at first tried *plurimum*, then, finding that it would not do, wrote *multum*. It may, however, be merely a slip, or he may be reproducing a dittography already existing in Poggio's rough copy. Further knowledge of Poggio's hand is necessary before one can pronounce upon this point. The substantial conclusion arrived at by internal evidence is that in μ we have the oldest and apparently the archetype of all the Poggian family.

I also collated the portion of Valerius Flaccus, i.-iv. 317, contained in this MS. In the case of this author the problem is of a different character, since we possess other evidence for the text in addition to the copies of the Sangallensis. The great MS. is Vat. 3277, of the ninth century [V], containing all eight books. Also Carrion, the Belgian scholar, published a number of readings in his edition of 1565 from a *codex* for which he claims similar antiquity. His *fides* has, however, been suspected by many scholars. Thilo, who is followed by Baehrens, disbelieves in Carrion's MS., which he considers to show tokens of Italian ingenuity, and also declares that the *Sangallensis* itself was copied from V. The representatives of the Sangallensis which he uses are three in number: (i.) M, a Munich MS., highly corrected, (ii.) P, a Vatican MS., Ottoboni 1258, and (iii.) another MS. found in the same library, Vat. 1613, π . The only real discovery which I made is that the last of these, π , is copied directly from μ . The proof of this is simple. In π there is a large omission in bk. ii. of eighty-two lines, ll. 324-406. These occupy exactly two pages in μ , viz. 78b and 79a. It is therefore obvious that the scribe missed out two pages by mistake. The similarity between μ and P is very great. In both MSS. a second hand has made a large number of alterations,

and in μ the reading of the first hand is often difficult to read. It appeared to me, however, that in P and μ the reading of the first hand was generally or always the same, and that any alteration which had taken place was also common to both MSS. I have not yet been able to go through my collation, but, if judged by the test of omissions, it would seem that μ is the older, since it has several lines omitted in P,

whereas I found no instance of the contrary occurrence. I attach no importance to M, in which the readings of the second hand in μ are followed, and which is obviously a later MS. It is therefore highly probable that for Valerius Flaccus also we have in μ the earliest representative of the Poggian recension.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

NOTE ON ZOSIMUS, V. 46.

ἔταξε καὶ Γενέριδον τῶν ἐν Δαλματία πάντων ἡγήσθαι, ὄντα στρατηγὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων † ὅσαι Παιονίας τε † τὰς ἄνω καὶ Νωρικὸὺς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς ἐφύλαττον.

THE first corruption was nearly healed by Mendelssohn who proposed (see *ad loc.*) ἰλῶν, a word used by the author elsewhere, for ἄλλων: only we may keep ἄλλων. The second corruption is not healed either by τὰ ἄνω or by Παιονίαν τε τὴν ἄνω (an example of

the same uncritical method which substitutes ὄσοι for ὄσαι). The following words, Νωρικὸὺς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς, show that Παιονίας is a corruption for Παίονας (ep. ii. 33), of which τὰς for τοὺς was the further consequence. The restored passage runs:

ὄντα στρατηγὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰλῶν ὅσαι Παίονας τε τοὺς ἄνω καὶ Νωρικὸὺς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς ἐφύλαττον.

J. B. BURY.

PALMER'S EDITION OF CATULLUS, AND MENOZZI ON CATULLUS.

Catulli Veronensis Liber, edited by ARTHUR PALMER, Professor of Latin in the University of Dublin. Macmillan. (Par-nassus Library.) 3s. 6d. net.

De Catulli Carm. XLIX. et LXXXV. *commentationes duas scripsit* ELEUTHERIUS MENOZZI. Trani. 1895.

OF the two dissertations by Menozzi the first deals with the short poem to Cicero, *Disertissime Romuli nepotum*. Menozzi considers these lines to Cicero ironical, and the occasion which caused them as follows. Cicero had been defending Vatinius and had used the occasion to attack Calvus who was prosecuting him. In the course of his attack he had used words to this effect '*At hi pessimi poetae qui Vatiniū aggređiuntur,*' including in *pessimi poetae* Calvus and his intimate literary friend Catullus. Catullus, incensed at a charge which involved both his friend and himself, could not allow the attack to remain unanswered. The exaggerated tone of the poem from first to

last, *Disertissime...Quot sunt quotque fuere...Quotque post aliis erunt in annis—Gratias maximas—pessimus omnium poeta—optimus omnium patronus*, is intended to convey, and does convey, an unmistakable sarcasm. The recurrence of the words *pessimus omnium poeta*, *Tanto pessimus omnium poeta*, would be just what we should expect after such a provocation. Catullus has repeated Cicero's words, and dextrously turned them to his own advantage. 'You call us the worst of poets. I acknowledge myself to be the worst of poets, in the same proportion as I acknowledge you to be the best of pleaders,' meaning in Menozzi's words '*neque sum equidem poetarum omnium pessimus, ut me et Calvum praedicas, neque tu, ut putas, optimus omnium orator.*' This theory is not new, it is little more than an expansion of B. Schmidt's; but I am not aware that any one before Menozzi has suggested that the actual words *pessimi poetae* were used by Cicero in reference to Calvus and Catullus, and this on a public occasion,

when they would be more insulting and require a more directly allusive reply.

In his second dissertation Menozzi discusses xcv. *Zmyrna mei Cinnæ* etc. Retaining *Hortensius uno* in 3, he considers the lost pentameter to have contained *uersuum* and *anno*: Hortensius to be the famous orator, born 114 B.C. Hortensius would seem to have published a long and inartistic poem at the same time at which Cinna published his short but nine years elaborated *Zmyrna*; Catullus took the occasion to contrast in a severe epigram, much of which is in all probability lost, the two schools of poetry which then divided the literary world of Rome; the older school, which cared little for finish and rejoiced in long annals or chronicles put into verse, and the newer which, in imitation of the Alexandrian poets, made finish everything and delighted in short bijoux of song. Menozzi thinks the *annals* of Hortensius, to which Velleius Paterculus alludes (ii. 16, 3), may have been in verse (like those of Volusius) and may have been the work spoken of in 3. Velleius however says that Hortensius *dilucide in annalibus suis retulit* an exploit of an ancestor of his own, one Minatius Magius, during the Social War: this can hardly refer to a poem; at least *dilucide* naturally explains itself of a detailed narrative in prose, in which all the circumstances of the episode were fully described.

Professor Palmer's Catullus challenges comparison, as regards externals, with Mr. Postgate's edition; both are elegant, and pleasing to the eye. Postgate however gave us a text and app. crit. alone: Palmer adds some introductory matter, a Life of the poet, remarks on the metres and diction, a section on the MSS., an Excursus on xvii. 1-4, lxviii. 135-142, and an Index.

Some of the emendations have already appeared in *Hermathena*; but there are many that are new, though perhaps none so striking as Palmer's correction of c. 6 *Perspecta est igni tum unica amicitia*. I will mention some of the more interesting. viii. 15 *Scelestâ ne tu, with which Palmer compares Most. 3, 1, 36 ne ego sum miser, Scelestus, natus dis inimicis omnibus*. xi. 11 *Gallicum Rhenum horribilesque uultu in Usque Britannos*. xxix. 20 *Habenda Gallica ultima et Britannica? sc. praeda*. xxxviii. 2 Palmer allows, with Giri, the MS. reading to stand *Malest mi hercule et laboriose*. xlv. 8 *Hoc ut dixit, Amor manu sinistra Dextram sternuit approbationem*. xlvi. 11 *Diuersæ*

maria et uiae reportant. lvi. 7 *Protelo rigido meo cecidi* (not *rigida mea*). lxi. 151 *Quae tibi bene seruiat*. 179 *Iam bonae senibus uiris Cognitae bene feminae*. lxiii. 78 *fac ut hunc furor abigat*. lxiv. 16 *Illae aequalis uiderunt luce marinas*. 24 *uos ego saepe mero, uos carmine compellabo*. 109 *Prona cadit late, rameis quaeque obuia frangens*. 119 *Quae misera in gremio gnatam deperdita alebat*. 320 *Haec tum clarisona pellentes aethera uoce*. lxxv. 9 *Numquam ego te -potere posthac audire loquentem*, a verse which might well come from Catullus. lxxvi. 15 *anne maritum for a parentum*. 59 *Hic donum uario ne solum in lumine caeli*. lxxvii. 12 *Verum istuc populi lingua quieta tacet*. lxxviii. 60 *Per medium ludens transit iter populi*. 157 *Et qui principio nobis te tradidit auspex A quo sunt primo mi omnia nata bona*. lxxxvi. 9, 10 *Omniaque* (not *Omnia quae*) *ingratae perierunt credita menti. Quare cur tu te iam amplius exerucies?* Palmer compares Prop. i. 3, 25 *Omniaque ingrato*. lxxxvii. 6 *Vitae, heu non uerae pectus amicitiae*. This is a very interesting correction. It certainly seems impossible not to feel the force of the combination *pectus amicitiae*, and yet this ill accords with *heu heu nostrae*. Palmer's *heu non uerae* suits the words excellently. lxxxiii. 3, 4 *si nostri oblita taceret Sabua esset* 'which is a little nearer to *Sanna* or *Samia* of MSS. than *Sana*.' xcv. 3 *Milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno* is thought by Palmer to be spurious. In 7 he supplies *poetae*. cxii. Palmer writes thus *Multus homo es, Naso, nec tecum multus homo cum Descendis: Naso, multus es et pathicus*. None of the poems has received more correction from Palmer than the last, cxvi. He gives it thus:—

Saepe tibi studioso animo uerba ante
requirens
carmina uti possem uertere Battiadae,
qui te lenirem nobis, neu conarere
tela infesta mihi mittere in usque caput,
hunc uideo mihi nunc frustra sumptum esse
laborem,
Gelli, nec nostras hic ualuisse preces.
Caetra nos tela ista tua euitabimus apta:
at fixus nostris tu dabis supplicium.

I add here two suggestions of my own. vi. 12 *Nam in (ni) ista preualet nihil tacere*. Possibly in this strangely vitiated line, not *nil stupra*, but *nil uerpa*, is concealed: *uerpa* spelt backwards is a preu. How the word came to be so reversed, I would not pronounce: nor how *sta* or *ista* forms part of the corruption. *Verpa* is used by

Catullus xxviii. 12 of a debauchee *cum isto uerpa*. Elsewhere it = *mentula*. This latter would be its meaning in vi. 12.

xxix. 6-8 Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens
Perambulabit omnium cubilia
Ut albulus columbus aut ydoneus?

I have not found any critic who has suggested what, I confess, only lately occurred to me as a possibility, that *idonius* (not *idoneus*) is the comparative of the adverb *idonee*, and that the verse, with *haut* for *aut*, is only another form of the construction found twice in Horace, *Epod.* v. 59 *Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius Meae laborarint manus*, *S.* i. 5, 41 *quales neque candidiores Terra tulit, nec quis me sit deuincior alter*, *ib.* 33 *Antoni non ut magis alter amicus*.

The adverbial comparative *idonius* is not

found in any writer of authority, but it is an existing form. *Neue-Wagener* cites it from Tertullian *de Pall.* 3 and *idonior*, which Charisius i. 16 will not allow, is found notwithstanding in the *Digest*, as well as in Tertullian and S. Augustine (*Neue-Wagener* ii. p. 206). It is well known that *idoneus* is often used *amatorie* = well adapted for love, *i.e.* with bodily capabilities such as the service of Venus requires: Hor. *C.* iii. 26 1 *Vixi puellis nuper idoneus Et militavi non sine gloria*; and in itself it is exactly the right word to describe Mamurra, as successful with women.

Whether *ut* in such cases is 'that,' here *perambulauerit* 'that no white dove surpass him in fitness for the task,' or 'as' = 'in such a way as no white dove more fitly,' it is difficult to say. Wickham on *S.* i. 5 leans to the latter view: I rather incline to the former.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

DE MIRMONT ON THE MYTHOLOGY OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS AND VERGIL.

Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile, La Mythologie et les Dieux dans les Argonautiques et dans l'Énéide. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, par H. de la Ville de Mirmont, Maître de conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Paris, 1894. pp. viii. 778. 10 frs.

THE object of this thick volume is to show that the mythology of the *Aeneid* is not what it would have been had the *Argonautica* of Apollonius not existed. As a general statement this is of the nature of a truism, but M. de la Ville de Mirmont with extraordinary assiduity has carefully gone through all that occurs in both works bearing on the many points of resemblance and difference, and has produced a valuable comparative study of mythology. After we have got through the first book, which is devoted to Theogony and Cosmogony and the Hesiodic generations previous to Zeus, we find the gods arranged in pairs, Zeus—Jupiter, Hera—Juno, Athena—Minerva and so on. The conscientious minuteness with which it is all worked out rather causes the book to rank with a dictionary than as one to be read through continuously.

M. de Mirmont often calls attention to the way in which Vergil confuses deities which in early times were distinct, *e.g.* Apollo is confused with the god of healing and with the Sun-god, Lucina with Diana (in the fourth *Éclogue*), the Harpies with the Furies, while Apollonius is scrupulously exact in his mythological lore. The reason however, as he reminds us, is clear enough. It is that Vergil, in composing a national epic, treats mythology, within certain limits of course, as it suits his purpose, while mythology is of the essence of the purely literary epic of the Alexandrian writer. An 'extensive and peculiar' knowledge of mythology is (like Mr. Sam Weller's knowledge of London) a part of his apparatus, and a special 'note' of Alexandrian learning. We find it reproduced to a great extent in Ovid. I doubt however whether it is pushed by Apollonius quite to the extreme that M. de Mirmont thinks. I doubt, for instance, whether there is really meant to be any distinction between Typhaon and Typhoeus, or between Phorceos and Phoreys.

The Zeus of Apollonius holds himself aloof from the other gods in a manner far

different from the Zeus of Homer. He interferes not at all in their affairs. Zeus in Apollonius is the Ptolemy of heaven and lives in a serene atmosphere of his own. Here Vergil goes back to the Homeric type, 'le Jupiter de l'*Énéide* s'intéresse aux affaires des dieux et fait sentir à ses sujets divins une autorité qui, pour être moins brutale que dans les poèmes homériques, n'en est que plus sûre et plus ferme.' The portraits of the other gods and goddesses also are influenced by Alexandrian notions. Hera is a great city lady. She is 'romanesque et nerveuse.' Of the famous interview of Hera and Athena with Aphrodite (Apollonius always calls her Cypris or Cytherea) at the beginning of the third book we are told 'Le poète des *Argonautiques* est bien plus voisin d'Euripide et surtout de Théocrite que d'Homère. Il sait conduire un dialogue aussi bien que le tragique athénien, et il se plaît à donner un pendant aux *Syracusaines* du poète alexandrin. Au lieu de deux petites bourgeoises, tracassières et bavardes, il met en scène de vraies grandes dames de la cour des Ptolémées, telles que les Bérénice ou les Arsinoé.' Hémardinquier (in his dissertation *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticis*, Paris 1872) maintains that the Hera of Apollonius differs completely from the Juno of Vergil, in that she does no harm to any one and good to many, but M. de Mirmont shows without difficulty that, so far from this being the case, Hera protects Jason not for his own sake but in order to punish Pelias by bringing Medea over to Thessaly. So she pursues Heracles with her usual hatred and seems disposed to risk the ruin of the whole expedition by withdrawing him, rather than let him win any *κῆδος* in Colchis. At the same time it is obvious, for the economy of the poem, that Heracles had to be got rid of somehow at any price, and his disappearance is managed by the poet with much skill and grace. He is too prominent a member to take any but the first position, and then what becomes of Jason? Although Heracles waived the right of leadership all looked to him as the responsible person, and it was entirely due to his intervention that the Argonauts abandoned their luxurious life at Lemnos. In fact, just as his physical bulk depresses Argo, so does he outweigh all his companions in moral character.

M. de Mirmont is particularly strong in genealogy. He reminds us that Selene is the great-aunt of Medea and therefore hardly justified in confiding to that young

lady her own love for Endymion. But who thinks of this? Again Eros is spoken of as a great-uncle. But how can Eros be any one's great-uncle? What have great-uncles or great-aunts to do with Love? Again, it appears from Hesiod that Eurynome and Eidyia are both Oceanides. Now Eurynome is the wife of Ophion and actually two generations earlier than Zeus, whereas Eidyia is the wife of Aeetes and mother of Medea. How can such things be? M. de Mirmont reminds us however that Apollonius is careful to let us know that Eidyia is the *youngest* of the Oceanides and so the situation is saved. I rather fear that M. de Mirmont is making fun of his reader. It is hardly necessary to say that the chronology of poetical myths cannot be taken seriously. We are told that Apollonius takes care not to attribute to the heroes of the Argonautic expedition (which was one generation earlier than the Trojan War) opinions and customs which are later than Homer. This may be so generally speaking, but surely the science of augury is more advanced in Apollonius than it is represented to be in Homer. On M 239 Dr. Leaf remarks that in the Homeric age 'the art of augury is little developed and has little positive effect at any time. Signs encourage or discourage a resolution already formed, but they never determine or prevent any enterprise as they did in later times.' Now, in the third book of the *Argonautica*, it is the remonstrance of the crow that prevents Mopsos and Argos from accompanying Jason to his interview with Medea. But M. de Mirmont goes further than this. He also maintains that the non-mention of certain customs in the poem of Apollonius that are found in Homer is to be accounted for by the fact that such customs were *not* ante-Homeric and consequently were not known to the generation before Homer. Thus he quotes Bouché-Leclercq (*Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*) as saying that the celebrated *ρέκνια* of the *Odyssey* is the most ancient document that we possess on the subject, and adds himself that Apollonius, in order to preserve the archaic character of his poem, wishes to show that necromancy is not yet known. Accordingly when the shade of Sthenelos presents itself to the eyes of the Argonauts, they have not evoked it and do not profit by its presence to ask any questions. This theory however seems to be entirely gratuitous. There is no particular reason why the Argonauts should have interrogated the shade of Sthenelos.

The present volume is not easy to criticize, consisting as it does of a number of details which are indeed most useful when any particular reference is required (and there is a capital index), but they rather take away from the unity of the whole and are often not connected with any salient differences of treatment by the two poets. I will conclude this rather desultory notice with a few remarks on some interpretations given by M. de Mirmont. He speaks of the 'tristes hurlements' of the Libyan nymphs at the union of Dido and Aeneas (iv. 168), for which no doubt there is the authority of Servius. I am disposed on this point to agree with Henry, Conington, and Gossrau, that the signs, if not those of an auspicious marriage, are at any rate of a neutral character, and certainly not inauspicious. Especially the word 'ululare' (the *ὀλολογμός*) is used of joyful cries at weddings. M. de Mirmont again agrees with Servius in taking *adventante dea* (vi. 258) to refer to Proserpine, but the previous line clearly points to Hecate, the commentators all take it so, and it is imitated from Ap. Rh. iii. 1217 where Hecate is in question. It appears also rather far-fetched to say that the legend of the abode of Cronos by the Adriatic sea is indicated by Aeschylus when he calls that sea *κόλπον Πέας* (if the Adriatic is there meant). It by no means follows that Cronos was banished to that part, because the sea was named after his wife. Nor do I agree with the interpretation here given of the much discussed

line *spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver* (iv. 486), viz. that the dragon is kept by the priestess in a state of somnolence from which it is to be aroused if any impious person should attempt to snatch the fruit from the sacred branches. The unfortunate epithet *soporiferum*, the cause of all the trouble, seems to me to be rather the case of a standing epithet which happens to be singularly unsuitable to the context. There are several similar cases in Homer, e.g. ζ 26, where clothes that want washing are called *σιγαλέοντα*, and see *Classical Review* iii. 220. Finally, M. de Mirmont gives an ingenious solution of the statement of Servius on i. 23 '*Saturnia nomen quasi ad crudelitatem aptum posuit*' which in itself is true enough. But why should it be so? M. de Mirmont replies 'il faut supposer que le poète indique simplement par *Saturnia* que Junon est la fille du vieux dieu local et bienfaisant de l'Italie, et que, par suite et à ce titre, elle est la protectrice de la race italienne autochtone et l'ennemie des Troyens et de leurs alliés qui vont imposer à la vieille terre de Saturne une domination nouvelle et étrangère. Par extension, l'épithète *Saturnia* l'applique non seulement à la Junon du Latium hostile aux Troyens étrangers, mais à l'Héra d'Argos ou à la grande divinité de Carthage considérée comme ennemie d'Énée et de son peuple.' I do not know if this has been said before, but it seems worthy of consideration.

R. C. SEATON.

FACSIMILE OF THE LAURENTIAN AESCHYLUS.

L'Eschilo Laurenziano. Florence. 1896.

A word of welcome should be given to the long-desired appearance of the facsimile of the Laurentian Aeschylus, which has now been issued by Signor Biagi, the Director of the Medicean-Laurentian Library in Florence, with an introduction by Professor Enrico Rostagno, the keeper of the MSS. in that Library.

The work of photogravure has been admirably executed under the auspices of the Italian Board of Public Instruction, and Professor Rostagno has very carefully examined the calligraphy of the famous

codex, and has given a new account of the various hands employed. He has also ascertained some important facts bearing on the history of the MS. from the time when it was brought to Italy.

Italian scholars have peculiar advantages in the matter of palaeography, of which such men as Vitelli, Castellani, and Rostagno have diligently availed themselves.

An index of the contents of the 71 plates, enabling the student to refer at once to any passage, forms a most valuable addition to the work.

Merkel's attempt to represent the state of the MS. by typography, elaborate as it was,

left much to be desired; and Vitelli's collation, the most careful hitherto, published by Wecklein in 1885, could not be all included even in that elaborate edition. Various *minutiae* which Vitelli had noted, were inevitably dropped. The value of the present facsimile is therefore manifest. And any one who thinks it worth while to devote a special study to the scholia, will

find much here to interest him. He will see, for example, that Wecklein's note on *Cho.* 424, *παραιο απριξ πλησὸ τα απριξ* (fort. *παρὰ τὸ ἀπριξ καὶ πλησσειν, τὰ ἀπριξ πλησσόμενα*), is much too diffuse, and by the change of one letter (the crossing of a t) it is easy to read *παρὰ τὸ ἀπριξ: πλησσοντα ἀπριξ*.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

HOLDEN'S EDITION OF THE *OECONOMICUS*.

The 'Oeconomicus' of Xenophon. By H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. Fifth edition. Macmillan. 1895. 5s.

THE *Oeconomicus* is not only the most pleasing of Xenophon's shorter works, but its absolute merit and attractiveness are considerable. It is satisfactory therefore to find that Dr. Holden has been called upon for a fifth edition of his well-known and extremely serviceable book. He has not been content with a perfunctory revision of it, for it seems thoroughly and judiciously revised from beginning to end. The introduction is new. The critical notes have been brought up to date and, though brief in expression, err if anything from over-completeness. It is not every suggestion that deserves to be recorded. They are now placed where critical notes, more than any others, should certainly be—at the foot of the page, not banished to a few separate pages of their own which the reader has a difficulty in finding. The copious commentary has been pruned and compressed, not without addition of fresh matter. Readers of Dr. Holden's books know how careful he is to leave nothing unnoticed, to give the matter of a book all the illustration and explanation that it wants, and to supply a full grammatical commentary either in words of his own or by reference to the most authoritative grammars. All this has been done thoroughly in the present case so as to keep the book up to the level of current scholarship. Dr. Holden's industry and insight are most of all conspicuous in what he modestly calls the 'index' substituted for the 'lexicon' of his former editions. The lexicon was almost a full index, and the full index is an excellent lexicon in which the uses of a word, even the commonest (such as some lexicons foolishly pass over, as though very common

words did not repay and require study), are carefully noted and discriminated. If everyone who edits any portion of a classical author took half Dr. Holden's trouble in the preparation of a scholarly index, our dictionaries would soon be much more satisfactory than they are at present. Any student who after reading the book itself goes carefully through the lexicon-index will add largely to his knowledge of Greek.

The suggestions on the text of the *Oeconomicus* published in the March and April numbers of this *Review* will show that I think it at present very far from perfect. I regret that they were written before the publication of the present edition, though they only appeared after it, and that they contain here and there comments upon statements which Dr. Holden has withdrawn or modified. He has also recorded in his critical notes some emendations of other scholars coinciding (as I too mentioned) with mine: and if they had found their way into an English edition when I wrote I should not have thought it worth while to dwell upon them. But I do not find that on all the passages he has mentioned in a brief note (*C.R.* for May, p. 215) my remarks on the text or on his way of dealing with it are now superfluous, though it is with great respect for him that I venture upon criticism.

It is much to be wished that so excellent a Xenophontean scholar should edit more of the *opera minora* than the *Oeconomicus* and the *Hiero*. There is not one of them, even including the *Hipparchicus* and the *De Re Equestri*, that would not repay editing, and some of them call for it very distinctly. The political tracts, whether Xenophon's or not, are interesting and important: yet there has been no thorough edition with a commentary of any one of them for a long time past. The tract on *Hunting*, besides raising some curious critical questions, is fairly readable and in England ought to

be read. But above all one would wish Dr. Holden to finish off at least the Socratic works and to give us a *Symposium* with the *Apologia* for an appendix. In the meantime the *Oeconomicus*, which is perhaps better

adapted for school and university reading, has been fortunate in finding so careful and sound an editor.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

MORGAN'S EIGHT ORATIONS OF LYSIAS.

Eight Orations of Lysias. Edited by MORRIS H. MORGAN. Pp. iii.+223. 'College Series of Greek Authors.' Boston. 1895.

THIS work will commend itself to many because of the clear presentation it gives of the manners, customs, and laws involved in these speeches. Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*—under a Latin title—is judiciously cited. The text shows careful study and a wise selection where there is choice of readings. Grammatical notes are plentiful but rather elementary for college work. Some of them are open to question on the score of correctness. In vii. 12 ἐγίγνετο belongs to the imperfects of likelihood as in 14 and 32. In the same oration in 18 the note explains περὶ ὧν...περὶ ἐκείνων thus: 'rare instead of the usual περὶ ὧν alone or περὶ ἐκείνων ᾧ'; but what is rare is not the precedence of the relative clause followed by the emphatic demonstrative; the irregularity is περὶ ὧν instead of ᾧ...περὶ ἐκείνων as in Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 252 ἦν...περὶ ταύτης.

In xii. 84 βούλοιο is explained as an

optative without ἄν: but it is a protasis, not an apodosis.

In xvi. 1 τῶν βεβιωμένων is noted as a 'somewhat rare use of the partic. as subst.' The note was probably designed to call attention to the use of this verb in the passive.

The notes on the rhetoric are 'sadly to seek' and the characteristics of Lysias' style are summarized in the introduction to the book and then dismissed from further consideration. At the end of the selections, in xxxii., the comments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the speech in question are given. It seems a pity that the other speeches should not be read in the light of these illuminating comments.

In short, the student would learn from this edition that Lysias is 'rich in material for the fascinating study of the every-day manners and customs of Athenian antiquity,' but for all the rest, he might as well be reading Xenophon or any one else as Lysias, since he is not made to feel what constitutes the individual excellence of Lysias.

A. LEACH.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE JACOBSEN COLLECTION OF SCULPTURE.

La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg, fondée par Carl Jacobsen. *Les Monuments Antiques*, Choix et Texte de PAUL ARNDT. Livraison I. (Munich: 'Verlagsanstalt für Kunst und Wissenschaft.') 1896. 20 Mk.

THE name of M. Jacobsen is a familiar one to archaeologists. Those especially whose studies have led to travel in Italy and Greece cannot fail to have heard of the great

collector who has year by year been devoting a vast fortune to the acquisition of ancient sculptures, and forming in his native country of Denmark such a private collection as is probably unequalled north of the Alps—a collection in which the famous Borghese Anacreon is but one amongst many masterpieces. It will therefore be no matter of surprise that in the present publication he is offering a work which must take its place on the shelves of archaeological libraries and be studied by all whose interest lies in ancient sculpture,

The present instalment is the first of twenty-two, each of which will contain ten plates. The execution of these is due to the firm best known under the name of Bruckmann, and is uniform with that of the series of *Denkmäler* partly carried out by Brunn, and continued since his death by Arndt, who is responsible for the text which accompanies the plates. This text, to judge from the specimen before us, is modelled on such examples as that of Furtwängler to the 'Collection Sabouroff.' It contains a certain number of illustrations supplementary to the plates. It is the editor's intention to publish the sculptures in chronological order, but an exception is made in the case of the first part, which comprises, along with the text of Plates I.—X., a selection of plates illustrating the collection as a whole. Amongst the works represented a finely preserved bronze statuette of Herakles is perhaps the most remarkable. The continuous series of plates will be opened by a reproduction of the well-known 'Rayethead,' which has passed into M. Jacobsen's possession. It is scarcely necessary to say that the publication promises to be, from the scientific and artistic points of view, adequate to the subject. The only deduction to be made in estimating its importance is due to the fact that the portraits, in which the Jacobsen collection is especially rich, are excluded from the present work, since they have been incorporated with the series of ancient portraits which Arndt is publishing in a similar form as a kind of appendix to the Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkmäler*.

H. STUART JONES.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Delphi.—A bronze statue has been recently found, 5 ft. 9 in. in height, which is supposed to represent Hieron son of Deinomenes, the tyrant of Syracuse, and to have belonged to a group of figures dedicated to commemorate one of his victories in the Pythian games. The group probably resembled that seen by Pausanias at Olympia representing Hieron on a quadriga, which is said by Pausanias to have been executed by Calamis and Onatas (vi. 12, 1). This statue is almost complete, except for the left arm, and wears a diadem and long girt chiton falling in regular folds. The hair is carefully arranged with long locks falling over the ears and temples, and the eyes have been inserted in *smalto* enamel, which is perfectly preserved. The figure is bearded, and full of grace and naturalness of expression. The right hand holds part of a horse's bridle, and various fragments of feet and tails of the horses of the quadriga were also found. Near this statue were found an inscription, attributed by M. Homolle to

464 B.C., which may or may not have reference to the statue, and a bronze statuette of Apollo, eight inches in height.¹ ²

Messene.—The fountain of Arsinoe mentioned by Pausanias (iv. 31, 6) has been discovered; the eastern wall of marble with an outlet is preserved, and part of a marble conduit inside. A large part of the ancient market has also been laid bare, especially a fine building with propylea and halls. A number of inscriptions were found, some of historical importance. One gives the boundaries of the ancient Messene, and in another a *ταμίης* and *ἀντιστράτηγος* Marcus is named, who restored four *στοαί* of the Asklepieion, and *τὰς παραστάδας τὰς κατὰ τὸ Καισάρειον*. In a third an Aristaeus is mentioned who was *γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων* and *ἀγορανόμος*; he was also an ambassador to Nero from Greece.²

Mycenae.—A small but finely-worked gold figure of a bull lying down has been found; the animal has a golden chain hanging from the horns, and is evidently destined for sacrifice. A painted sandstone *stèle* and a very archaic metope from a temple, of *poros*-stone, have also been found. During the year 1895 fifteen rock-tombs were opened outside the Acropolis, containing stone and clay vessels, gold rings, mirrors, and weapons.²

Melos.—The results of the excavations undertaken by the British School this season have been made known. A house of the Roman period was laid bare containing a number of chambers, from one of which a whole row of columns was obtained; this chamber contained a very fine mosaic pavement. In the centre of the pavement is a circle, in which are fishes and marine beasts, and round it are four masks. On either side is a square of geometrical patterns, and round the whole a wreath of flowers. The mosaic also bears an inscription *μόνον μὴ ἕδωρ*. The walls of this house have been decorated in rich colours, but very little is preserved. Several important statues were found, including that of a hierophant wearing chiton and skin, of good Roman work, inscribed *Μάριον Τρόφιμον τὸν ἱεροφάντην οἱ μυσταί*; the head and left hand are missing. Another statue was dedicated to *Διόνυσος Τριετηρικός*. This building probably served for assemblies of worshippers of Dionysos, as in Athens. Among other statues may be mentioned a colossal one, perhaps of Apollo, the head and limbs missing, and four draped torsos from the place where the Aphrodite was found, one probably representing Agrippina. Some thirty inscriptions were found, mostly in the peculiar Melian alphabet. A tentative exploration resulted in the discovery of a Mycenaean site from which some interesting gold ornaments were obtained, and some Melian vases have also been discovered.² ³

Thera.—The Germans have started excavations here, and M. Santorin (*sic*) is reported to have found a statue of Aphrodite closely resembling that from Melos; unfortunately the head is lost.⁴

Crete.—Mr. Arthur Evans has recently returned from a journey in the Dictaeon region of this island, where he secured, or obtained impressions of, fifteen new examples of primitive bead-seals with pictographs, all of steatite; he attributes them to a pre-Mycenaean period. He has also found a new class of seal in green jasper and carnelian on Mycenaean sites, presenting analogies to Hittite forms, and one from

¹ *Athenaeum*, 30 May.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 6 June.

³ *Academy*, 16 May.

⁴ *Standard*, 8 June.

Praesos with a purely pictorial design in Mycenaean style of two goats browsing. From a pre-historic acropolis was obtained a much ruder seal in the form of a finger-shaped piece of steatite with three engraved characters, and another affording a link with the pre-Mycenaean class of pictographic seals; several symbols on the latter seal are quite new. A fragment of a Mycenaean *pihos* and a steatite lentoid gem of early Mycenaean period, both with graffito inscriptions, were also found. Mr. Evans made a remarkable discovery in the cave of Psychro on Mount Ida, in the form of a fragment of dark steatite with characters resembling the Mycenaean script on

the seal-stones, and derivable from pictographs. They form apparently an inscription of nine letters with two punctuations, the letters having probably syllabic values. With this object was found a broken 'table of offerings' of steatite with cup-shaped receptacles, which appears to be a relic of a pre-historic cult; it was surrounded by bronze figures of men and animals, in a style which suggests the Vaphio cups. Mr. Evans would date these finds as far back as 1300 B.C.¹

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Academy*, 13 June.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 153. Parts 3 and 4. 1896.

Die Inschriften des Wüstentempels von Redésiye, W. Schwarz. This temple was discovered by Cailliaud in 1816 but he gave only the most important inscriptions. The 58 described by Lepsius in his *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* are here criticized. *Zu Xenophons Apomnemoneumata*, F. Reuss. Defends the text $\eta\ \pi\acute{o}\nu\upsilon$ in i. 5, 1, or would prefer $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\upsilon$ to $\delta\kappa\upsilon\upsilon$ [Cl. Rev. ix. 141]. *Zu Homers Odyssee*, E. Schulze. In ϵ 344 proposes $\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon$ for $\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\upsilon$. *Über die anapästischen einzuglieder des chors der griechischen tragödie und den aufbau des Aias, des Philokletes, der Eumeniden und des Agamemnon*, C. Conrath. A criticism on the views of Oeri, Wilamowitz and Kirchhoff. *Zum altgriechischen theater*, W. Dörpfeld. A reply to Weissmann's criticism of Dörpfeld's views on the 'thymele-question' [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 77]. *Xenophons Kynegetikos*, K. Lincke. Thinks that the sons of Xenophon took part in the introduction and conclusion at least. *Die mythologischen quellen für Philodemos schrift περί εὐσεβείας*, J. Dietze. The theological source was Apollodoros' *περί θεῶν*, the mythographical Apollodoros' *bibliotheca*, and the Epicurean source Zeno or Phaedrus. *Über die publicationskosten der altischen volksbeschlüsse*, E. Drerup. *Aristoteles und Drakon*, F. Sussemihl. On the question whether there is any contradiction in *Ἀθ. πολ.* 4, 1 and the words in *Pol.* ii. 12, 1274^b 15-18 $\Delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \delta'\ \upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ [Cl. Rev. ix. 478]. *Σάραμβος* und Exaerambus, A. Fleckeisen. The *vinarius Exaerambus* in *Pl. Asin.* 436 is the Greek $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$. *Zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus*, O. E. Schmidt. A critical examination of x. 1. *Caesars zweite expedition nach Britannien*, F. Vogel. A long article treating successively of the worthless account of Dion Cassius, the trustworthiness of the letters of Cicero, the chronological foundations, the date of the crossing and return, and the difficulties encountered.

Part 5. 1896.

Zu Xenophons Hellenika und Agesilaos, G. Friedrich. Chiefly on the relation of Xenophon to Thucydides. *Zu Lysias und Lukianos*, P. R. Müller. Various critical remarks. *Das astronomische system des Herakleides von Pontos*, F. Hultsch. The information upon this system given us by Theon of Smyrna is much nearer the genuine H. than that given by the much later Chalcedius. *Zu Sextos Empiricos*, O. Höfer. In $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\theta\eta\mu.$ xi. 91 for $\epsilon\phi'\ \phi'$ $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon$ read $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon$. *Diodoros und Theopompos*, F. Reuss. Maintains against Volquard-

sen that Theopompos is one of the sources of Diodoros. *Der philosoph Agatharchides in der ersten hexade Diodors I*, E. A. Wagner. To show how greatly Diod. was indebted to Agatharchides of Knidos in these books [Cl. Rev. ix. 284]. *Die anapäste der parabasis*, F. Sussemihl. While it is admitted that the parabasis is the oldest part of the Attic comedy, and that the use of the anapaestic tetrameter came from Sicily, yet originally the parabasis had no anapaests. *Rhythmische prosa aus Aegypten*, F. Blass. Finds rhythmic prose in the 'Alexandrian erotic fragment' recently published by Mr. Grenfell. *Zu Ciceros Briefen*, W. Sternkopf. In *Div.* ii. 7, 4 would read *sed tum quasi a senatore < adulescente >, nobilissimo tamen adulescente et gratiosissimo, nunc a tr. pl. et a Curione tribuno.* *Plutarchs quellen zu den biographien der Gracchus*, W. Soltau. For the whole of later Roman history Plutarch and Appian used the same sources [Cl. Rev. sup. p. 223].

Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik. Ed. E. Wölfflin. Vol. 10. Part 1. 1896.

Der reflexive Gebrauch der Verba intransitiva, E. Wölfflin. Some of these are *recipere, derigere, vertere* and compounds, *flectere* and compounds, *applicare, corrigere* and *emendare*. The use of present participles act. in a middle sense is due to the want of a pass. pres. partic. *Der Infinitiv meminere*, E. Wölfflin. Servius knew of this infinitive but did not use it. *Beiträge zur lateinischen Glossographie*, O. B. Schlutter. *Oculis contrectare*, S. Brandt. *Incommoditas*, J. v. d. Vliet. *Uctum = navigium, ratis*, J. v. d. Vliet. *Die entwicklung der livianischen Stiles*, S. G. Stacey. A long dissertation of above 60 pages. The relations of Livy to Ennius, Vergil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Lucretius, Tibullus and Horace respectively are treated, and then some points of improvement and alteration in Livy's style in the course of his work, and finally some remarks are made on Livy's own judgments and quotations. *Lateinische Pflanzennamen im Dioskorides*, H. Stadler. *Cio und Lato*, F. Schöll. *Die Berner Fragmente des lateinischen Dioskorides*, T. E. Auracher. Here given in full. *Pone und Post*, E. Wölfflin. These words are etymologically the same. Early writers confine *pone* to place and *post* to time. Tacitus and other later writers do not observe this distinction. *Accipio*, lexicon-article, O. Hey. *Zur Lehre vom Imperativ*, E. Wölfflin. In archaic Latin the subject and object of the imper. are omitted, and the sense is left to the reader to ascertain. Words *accognoſco—accommodus*, E. Wölfflin.

MISCELLAN. *Vibenna, Vivenna*, E. Lattes. The former is the correct form. *Eversuiri*, F. Wehrich. A late form of fut. inf. pass. *Præcens* = ἡγούμενος, P. Geyer. *Zu 'amabo'*, H. Blase. This word is used in the comic writers, either by women to women, as always in Terence, or more rarely by men to women. *Sponte sua*, E. Wölfflin. This order is not

found in Cic. or Caes. but is found in the poets and later writers. *Temere ein Tribrachys*, E. Wölfflin. *Temere* occurs as a tribrach twice in Plautus, so must be considered as neut. of **temeris* not **temerus*. Among the notices of books is a very favourable one of Lindsay's *Latin Language* by A. Funck.

A NEW MS. OF CATULLUS.

I HAVE recently found in the* Vatican Library a MS. of Catullus of high importance, hidden under a false number. The true one is Ott. 1829. The MS. is clearly, at the least, next to O and G in rank, and in all probability is of the same rank—in other words, it is probably, like O and G, an independent copy of the last Verona MS. Its style would indicate the last part of the fourteenth century, or the early years of the fifteenth. It promises to be of great service, not only in confirming O and G where they agree, and giving a 'casting vote' where they disagree; but also in throwing light upon the relationships of other MSS., and upon the history of the marginal and interlinear variants in various MSS.

There have been, as in the case of G, not a few erasures and changes, but in the majority of instances the original reading can be made out with certainty.

I have for some time been engaged in collating the MS., and the results, together with a discussion of a number of points of interest, will appear in the following winter in vol. i. of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. At my request the Vatican will publish a complete facsimile, which will appear at the same time with my collation.

W. GARDNER HALE,
Director of the American School of
Classical Studies in Rome.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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- Acropolis of Athens. Wall-map. 62 × 73 centim. München, Oldenbourg. 5 Mk.
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- Aeschylus*. L'Eschilo laurenziano. Facsimile pubblicato sottogli auspici del Ministero dell' istruzione pubblica, con prefazione dell' dott. Enr. Rostagno. Oblong folio. 9 pp., 71 plates. The edition of this facsimile is restricted to 200 copies. £5 5s.
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The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1896.

ON THE TOGA PRAETEXTA OF ROMAN CHILDREN.

I HAVE searched in vain in handbooks, dictionaries, and other learned works, for any real explanation of the familiar but always interesting fact that Roman children had the privilege of wearing the *toga praetexta*,—boys until the age of puberty, girls until their marriage. It seems hardly enough to say that this form of toga was the mark of freeborn children, and was derived from Etruscan usage. I feel sure that there was originally some further meaning in the practice, and I make the following suggestions with the object of pointing out at least in what direction we may look for such a meaning.

We must first compare the various uses of the *toga praetexta*, and of other garments of a similar nature. In civil life the purple-bordered toga was worn only by *curule* magistrates, *i.e.* by those who were directly descended from the rex in state law; non-*curule* magistrates were strictly forbidden the use of it. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, i. 402 foll.) would seem to correlate this part of the magisterial insignia with the right of having lictors and fasces, and so to explain its extension to the magistrates of municipia; but the censors form an awkward exception to this rule, for they had the *toga praetexta* without the lictors and fasces. I should rather guess that the true correlation is between this toga and the right of performing public sacrifices on behalf of the state which belonged to *curules* only. It is a curious fact that even the *magistri collegiorum* wore it when engaged in religious duties, *i.e.* at the *Ludi Compita-*

licii, a very ancient worship (Cic. *in Pisonem* 3, 9, and Asconius *ad loc.*).

Next we note that all the priests of the most ancient state priesthoods wore the *toga praetexta*; a fact which seems to me strongly to confirm the conjecture that its use by magistrates had originally a religious signification. About the dress of the *Rex sacrorum* we do not seem to be informed; but the *Flamen Dialis* wore the *praetexta* always (Serv. *Aen.* viii. 552) and the other *flamines*, as well as the members of the four great priestly colleges, when they were performing religious functions, and *more especially at sacrifices* (Serv. *l.c.*, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i. 406). The *Fratres Arvales* wore it on the first two days of their great festival, and laid it aside on the third after the conclusion of the sacrificial part of their duties. It may be noted also that in the ceremony of *devotio* the victim, himself also the priest, puts on the *toga praetexta* for the sacrifice.¹ The *Vestal Virgins* did not wear the toga; but here again the connexion of the purple stripe with sacrifice is noticeable, for the *suffibulum* which they wore on their heads when sacrificing was white with a purple border (Festus 349). The *Salii* wore a *trabea* instead of a toga: this also was purple-bordered as far as we can guess from

¹ Liv. viii. 9 'Agodum (says Decius) pontifex publicus populi Romani, praeci verba quibus me pro legionibus devocam'. Pontifex cum togam praetextam sumere iussit, et velato capite, manu subter togam ad mentum exserta, super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere, &c.; Liv. x. 28 (of the younger Decius). Devotus inde eadem procaione eodemque habitu quo pater se iusserat devoveri

the authorities (Serv. *Aen.* vii. 612, Isid. *Orig.* xix. 24, 8), and the body of it was of a bright red.

On the whole then we seem to learn that the *praetexta* was what may be called a holy garment, worn by priests especially during sacrificial rites, and by magistrates who had the right of sacrificing on behalf of the state. If this be so, we are naturally inclined to look in the same direction for the meaning of the *praetexta* as worn by children. Now nothing is better attested in Roman ritual than the constant use of children as acolytes, especially at sacrifices: I need only refer to Marquardt, *Staatsverfassung* iii. 220 foll. and the references there given, to Henzen, *Acta Frat. Arv.* p. 42, and to Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (Prof. Anderson's edition), Plates XVII. and XIX. The *Carmen saeculare* of Horace has made us all familiar with the practice, and the recently found inscription containing the ritual of the *ludi* entirely bears out Horace (see line 147, for the twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls who sang the *carmen*). This usage must go back into remote antiquity, for it was the very oldest priests, the *flamines*, who had *acolytes* (*camilli* and *camillae*) specially attached to them: and the strict regulation that the children must be *patrimi* and *matrimi* *i.e.*, have both parents living, points also to an ancient form of superstition which is genuinely Italian though not unknown in Greece. These children must be *investes* (Serv. *Aen.* xi. 443), *i.e.* they have not yet gone out into the world, either by assumption of the ordinary everyday dress of business, or by marriage. They were in fact holy, and they wore continually the holy garment which their fathers only assumed when authorized by office to perform religious rites. The grown men, in other words, were mixing in the world, and always liable to some contamination: the children, like their elders under certain religious circumstances, were pure and so designated by their dress. (On this point compare Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 434.) There had certainly been a time, when all children of *ingenui* served at family *sacra*¹ attending on the father

¹ This is in fact attested by a passage in Columella (*R.R.* 12, 4), drawn as he asserts from older writers: 'ne contractentur pocula nec cibi nisi ab impube aut certe abstinentissimo a rebus venereis, quibus si fuerit operatus vel vir vel femina debere eos flumine aut perenni aqua priusquam penora contingant ablui. Propter quod his necessarium esse pueri vel virginis ministerium, per quos promantur quae usus postulaverit.' The *penus*, be it remembered, was a holy

who performed the rite: as the religion of the state outgrew that of the household, the idea of holiness and the corresponding dress survives in the state only for priests and magistrates of what I may call priestly descent, and capable of priestly functions. But it is retained also for children, not only because of the constant demand for them as ministrants, but because of their being in reality 'unspotted from the world,'—an ethical idea here gradually superimposing itself upon the original purely ceremonial conception of holiness. And as the distinction began to assert itself in the growing state between *ingenui* and non-*ingenui*, the *praetexta* also came to have the significance which is commonly attached to it,—it became a sign of free birth.

But although these two later ideas of ethical purity and free birth get the better of the older religious meaning of the children's toga, there are passages even in later Latin literature which go far to convince me that the true significance was never wholly lost to the conservative Roman mind. The *praetexta* never became a mere badge of youth, like an English boy's jacket: it always retained the ideas of sanctity and distinction. Pliny in speaking of it says that it was 'pro majestate pueritiae' (*N.H.* ix. 127). Quintilian (*Decl.* 340) wrote of it as 'illud sacrum praetextarum, quo infirmitatem pueritiae sacram facimus et venerabile.' Cp. Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 6. Or again (of all *praetextati*) 'Praetextatis nefas erat obscaeno verbo uti, ideoque praetextatum appellabant sermonem, qui nihil obscaenitatis haberet' (*Festus*, p. 245), where the word *obscaenum* may be partly literal, *i.e.* ill-omened, and partly ethical, *i.e.* impure. I may also quote Persius v. 30, 'Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,' for the sanctity conferred on its wearer by the *praetexta*,—an ethical idea easily developed out of the older religious one. The piteous cry of the boy in Horace's *Epode* will also occur to the reader, 'Per hoc inane purpurae decus precor,' and in Juvenal's famous 'Maxima debetur puero reverentia,' the same idea is inherent, though the dress is not mentioned. I think in fact that we have here an interesting example of the evolution of an ethical idea, as well as of a civil distinction, from a religious conception and practice of very great antiquity. My argument may prove to be defective, but I

place, and for access to it bodily holiness was thought necessary. This could be acquired by an adult only by the 'fiction' of washing.

venture it as giving the only explanation I know of this singular Roman usage.

In order to keep this note as short as possible, I have purposely said nothing of the *bullæ*, which was associated with the *praetexta* in the dress of children, and also in certain other cases such as that of the triumphator. The *bullæ* was certainly an amulet used to avert evil influences; and this might suggest a similar origin for the *praetexta*. But I cannot find good proof of this, unless it be in the passage of Festus quoted above; and on the whole I am at present disposed to think that the two are not derivable from exactly the same religious

germ. Nor have I said anything of the alleged Etruscan origin of these insignia; for though it may well be that the form they eventually took was Etruscan, it seems to me probable that, as in religious matters generally, what was borrowed was no more than a new and improved method of ornamentation, engrafted on an original Roman practice. The use of the purple dye, for example, may have come to Rome through Etruria, but it does not follow that the Romans themselves had not some more primitive means of expressing the holiness of their garments.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

THE MSS. OF THE FIRST EIGHT PLAYS OF PLAUTUS.

AMONG the MSS. which contain only the first eight plays of Plautus the British Museum codex (*J*) held for some time a leading place in the estimation of editors, until a closer examination showed that its few superior readings were outweighed by a large number of perversions of the text. MSS. which offer this puzzling combination of good and bad points are as a rule copies either of a text into which some readings had been introduced from a good MS. or of a 'doctored' text, a text which some mediaeval scholar had emended according to his lights. The Harleian MS. of Nonius is an example of the first class of parti-coloured MSS. Its relation to the other codices of Nonius remained a puzzle until the late Mr. Onions showed that it was nothing else than a copy of the Florence Nonius, and that the Florence MS. had up and down its pages corrections taken from a lost MS. of superior quality. But that it is the latter class to which the British Museum MS. belongs is indicated by a curious epigram at the end:—

Exemplar mendum tandem me compulit
 ipsum
 Cunctantem nimium Plautum exemplarior
 istum;
 Ne graspicus (*leg. graphicus*) mendis proprias
 idiota repertis
 Adderet, et liber hic falso patre falsior
 esset.

The miswriting *graspicus* for *graphicus*, which I would refer to the scribe's confusion of a suprascript 'daseia' or Greek

rough breathing (a common symbol for *h* in Carolingian MSS.) with the letter *s*, shows us that the epigram is not the composition of the scribe of the British Museum codex, but has been copied by him from his original.

Now an 'emended' text of this kind, on which some mediaeval scholar (like the Abbot Lupus) had expended his modicum of classical learning, would be in great request in monastery scriptoriums, either for the purpose of being copied or of being used to correct the copy of another text. The fragmentary MS. (containing *Capt.* 400–555) in the Ottobonian collection at the Vatican Library (*O*) seems to exhibit this 'emended' text, as one may see by comparing its readings with those of the British Museum MS. in the Critical Apparatus of the new Ritschl edition.¹ So did the MS used by Osbernus, the Gloucester monk, for his *Panormia*; if we may infer this from his quotation of *Curc.* 56 *pandit saltrum saviis* in the 'emended' form *pandit saltem savium*. And the Leyden MS. (*V*) has been corrected from

¹ With these changes and additions: the reading of *J* in *Capt.* 465 is *honorauerit* not 'honor-,' in v. 467 *occeperit* not '-pit'; *J* has, like *O*, in v. 413 *herum*, v. 417 *setius*, v. 418 *uostram*, v. 464 *lubens*, v. 465 *omnes* (in contracted form), v. 480 *agit hoc*, v. 483 *menstrualis*, v. 450 *Quem*, v. 481 *Ubi*, v. 484 *Sciui*: *O* has, like *J*, in v. 494 *His*, v. 510 *phylocretem*, v. 538 *imparatam* (*E* has *in*, not 'im,' followed by the same letter, *p* with contraction-stroke, as was used for the first three letters of *parata* in the previous part of the line, but the scribe has expanded the contraction symbol by writing *er* above the *p*, so as to make *imperatam*): both *J* and *O* have in v. 423 *adest* written as one word in v. 469 *maxumam*.

a text of this kind, as I have been able to assure myself by an examination of this MS.¹ The corrections to which I refer are all in a light yellow ink and can, except in the case of erasures, be easily distinguished from the original writing of the scribe and from other occasional corrections in black ink, which are probably due to the scribe himself. The light ink corrections begin with the first page of the MS. and continue till about v. 800 of the *Captivi*. If one looks at Prof. Schoell's collation² of the Leyden MS. in the preface to the *Casina*, pp. xxi. sqq., one will see how exactly these corrections (marked by him V²) in the Leyden MS. reproduce the 'emended' text which is presented to us in *J*.

The Leyden MS., like the British Museum MS., belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century. In the same century, but at the

¹ Through the kindness of the Leyden Librarian the MS. was deposited for a time at the Bodleian Library.

² I venture to differ from Prof. Schoell in regard to the Leyden reading in *Aul.* 234. It seems to me that *memordicus* of V¹ has had an apex put over the *c* by V². This is a common practice of the V²-corrector when he wishes to indicate that a long monosyllable like *me, te, se*, is to be read as a separate word, apart from the longer word with which the scribe has joined it (cf. *Capt.* 692 *tuaste* V¹, *tuasté* V²; 675 *credite* V¹, *credité* V². These are to be understood as corrections to *tuas te, credi te*). A recent corrector has added two strokes above the *u*, that is to say, has changed *mordicus* into *mordiciis*. It is true that this recent corrector sometimes retraces with his black ink the light brown ink-strokes of the V²-corrector (e.g. the *s* of *res* in *Aul.* 544 seems to be superscript by V² and rewritten by the recent corrector), but he has not in my judgment done so in this case. These strokes above the letters of *memordicus* have thus no signification that the order should be transposed to *mordicus me*. In *Aul.* 401 sq. it should be noticed that the addition *istum . . . mihi* is by V². I do not know whether the following points are worth mention: *Capt.* 1 *c marg.* (i.e. [c]aptus) V²; 9 *profugiens* V¹, *fugiens* V² (V² has put a dot under each of the three letters *pro-*); 98 *huc* V¹, *hunc* V²; 110 *a marg.* (i.e. a[du]orte) V²; 297 *scio* V¹, *scito* V²; 337 *redimator* V¹, -*tur* V²; 385 *Philocrates* *PHI.* ut V¹, *del. PHI.* V²; 432 *fidem* V¹, *file* V²; 538 *imperatam*; 577 *gnatum* V¹, *natum* V²; 605 *credius ut vid.* (whether this or *creduis* was the reading of *E* I could not decide when I examined the MS. last January); 648 *cicinnatus*; 659 *i marg.* V²; 780 *cybum*; 792 *sese* V² *ex sere ut vid.*; 795 in *hac platea, l ex a*; 812 *fecidos* (t V¹ *ut vid.*); *Aul.* 807 *anueram* V¹, *an uera* V². They are for the most part corrections of obvious misprints in Prof. Schoell's collation or relate to minor points of spelling. But one of them, the note on *Capt.* 9, gives additional evidence of the connexion of these light ink corrections in the Leyden MS. with the 'emended' text of the first eight plays. I take it that *fugiens* for *profugiens* in v. 9 was a mere clerical error in the 'emended' copy, like *inde inde* in v. 490. In *Aul.* 659 V² reads *illi solio tuo*, as *J* reads *illi socio tuo*.

end of it, was written the Milan MS. (*E*) which exhibits the unemended text and has not been, like *V*, corrected from an 'emended' version. The four MSS, *OJVE*, evidently come ultimately from one and the same Archetype, which was itself clearly a mere copy of the original of the Codex *Vetus* (*B*) and of the *Ursinianus* (*D*). Where we have the evidence of *D* as well as of *B*, that is to say in *Amph.*, *Asin.*, *Aul.*, *Capt.* 1-503, these four minor MSS. are of little use; but in the remaining portion, where the evidence of *D* is lacking, *Capt.* 504—*fin.*, *Curc.*, *Cas.*, *Cist.*, *Epid.*, they may preserve the true reading in cases where the scribe of *B* has departed from his original.

This view of the relation of *OJVE* to *B* and *D* is, I believe, generally accepted. But on the other hand I believe the relation of *B* to *D* to be as generally misapprehended. An examination of the two MSS. at the Vatican last Christmas forced me to relinquish the common theory that these MSS. in the first eight plays come from different originals. Where *B* is credited with a reading that clearly belongs to an earlier and purer stage than the reading of *D* and the other MSS., the reading is in each case due to a corrector, who has used a superior MS. that has now been lost. Thus in *Amph.* 619 *tibi*, omitted in the other MSS. has been added by this corrector in *B*. The word did not stand in the original of *B*, but was taken by the corrector from another MS. The scribe of *D* had a habit of omitting small words (e.g. *Aul.* 4 *om. est* *D*, 44 *om. ex* *D*, 98 *om. meas* *D*, 183 *om. ut* *D*) and the text of *D* is in this respect inferior to the corresponding portion of text in *B*. But all the indications point to *B* and *D* being direct copies of the self-same original, so far as regards the earlier plays of Plautus.

In a recently published pamphlet, on *The Palatine Text of Plautus*, I have tried to establish the theory that the 'codex optimus,' from which were derived these peculiar corrections in the first eight plays in *B*, was nothing but the minuscule Archetype of all our existing minuscule MSS. of Plautus; and this Archetype I have made the immediate original of the MS. of which *B* and *D* are copies. If this be so, our minuscule MS. authority for the first eight plays of Plautus may be classed in these divisions:—

- (1) readings of the minuscule Archetype, as exhibited in corrections in *B*.
- (2) readings of a copy of this Archetype, as exhibited in the text of *B* and *D*.

(3) readings of a copy of this copy, as exhibited in (1) the text of *E* and *V*, and, in a 'doctored' form, in (2) the text of *O* and *J*, and the corrections in *V*.

A passage of a hundred lines in the *Captivi*, vv. 400-500, where the evidence of all these MSS. is available, shows the relation in which they stand to one another. For instance in v. 466, where the Parasite is abusing the 'hungriffulness' of the day on which he cannot secure an attractive invitation to dinner:—

Neque jejuniosiore[m] nec magis efer-
tum fame
Vidi,

the phrase *ecfertum fame* 'chock full of hunger' appears in BD with *ecfertum*, in EV¹ *ecfrtum*, in OJV² *effractum*. That is to say, the original of BD had *ecfertum*; its copy, the Archetype of the other minuscule MSS., had the corruption *ecfrtum*, which in the 'doctored' text was changed to *effractum*. This is a typical case and a host of other instances might be put beside it.

W. M. LINDSAY.

A PARIS MS. OF THE *LETTERS TO ATTICUS*.

Paris, Lat. Nouv. Fonds, 16, 248.

THIS beautifully written MS. does not appear to have been hitherto used by critics. Even Lehmann, who in his treatise '*de Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis*' describes and gives select readings from two Paris MSS. which he collated, viz. 8536 [P] and 8538 [R], does not mention it. Recently, while looking at a number of MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, I was struck by its appearance, and made some examination of its readings, the results of which I now proceed to state.

The MS. was written in Italy, and cannot be assigned to a later period than the beginning of the fifteenth century. It appeared to me distinctly older than 8536 [P], which Lehmann calls early fifteenth. At the foot of the first page it has in large letters the signature AN. BER., presumably the name of an early, and possibly its original, possessor. It belonged at one time to Cardinal Richelieu and afterwards to the Sorbonne, from which it was recently transferred to the National Library. It was intended to be an *édition de luxe*, but was left in an unfinished state. In the later books the illuminations have not been filled in, and there are other marks of imperfection. The Greek words are regularly entered until *fol.* 106b, but after this blank spaces are left to receive them. Thus the whole of *fol.* 150b is left vacant (*Att.* ix. 3. 4) and on *ff.* 114b, 115a there is a blank of a page and a half.

The MS. consists of 258 folios, and contains, in addition to the *Letters to Atticus*, those to Brutus and Quintus, and the

spurious letter to Octavian. These are distributed as follows,

- 1-16a. *Epistolae ad D. Brutum* (ending in the middle of the page).
- 16a-49a. *Epistolae ad Quintum fratrem* (ending in the middle of the page).
- 49a-51b. *Epistola ad Octavianum*.
- 52a-258. *Epistolae ad Atticum*, i.—xvi.
16. B.

The MS. contains the passage in the first book [i. 18. 1,—19. 11] omitted in the Medicean [M], but ends with it, omitting the last four letters of the sixteenth book. The neglect with which the MS. has been treated is probably due to the latter fact, since at first sight it would appear to be an ordinary copy of M.

The first part of the MS., which I term π , viz. from *fol.* 1 to *fol.* 106b, is written by one scribe, who, however, more than once modified his style of penmanship. He begins in large square characters—then, on *fol.* 7, he changed his pen and contracting the size of his letters adopts a smaller and beautiful hand. *Foll.* 13b-44a are written in thinner ink: on 44b he returns to his second manner, which he maintains until he ends on *fol.* 106b *in fine paginae* with the words *valde probari* [*Att.* vi. 1. 8]. The rest of the MS. was written by a second hand, obviously that of a less expert calligrapher.

With the change in the hands comes a very important change in the character of the contents. After *fol.* 106b π is an ordinary apograph of M. Previously to

this it belongs to the family of MSS. independent of M, the existence of which has been demonstrated by Lehmann, which he terms Σ. He gives a list of passages (pp. 45, 46) characteristic of Σ. Upon comparing the readings of π with those of Σ in fourteen passages of book i. I found that they were without exception identical. I therefore judged it proper to make some further examination of the MS., a task rendered simple by the various test-passages given in Lehmann's admirable work.

Lehmann includes in his Σ group six MSS., ENHOPR. Of these only ORP are complete, E is really a collection of excerpts, while N and H contain the earlier books only. N ends with vii. 21. 1, H with vii. 22. 2, but Lehmann remarks that the first writer in H ends at vi. 1. 6, *i.e.* two sections before π, the rest being added by a new scribe. He regards NH as *gemelli*, and makes the interesting conjecture that they are derived from a lost *codex Pistoriensis* mentioned by Leonardo Arretino in a letter to Niccolo Niccoli, and said by him to contain only the first seven books, together with those to Brutus and Quintus [p. 145].

The Paris MS. is up to vi. 1. 8 most intimately connected with Lehmann's H. now at Piacenza [cod. Landianus 8], which he ascribes to the beginning of the fifteenth or end of the fourteenth century. Their connexion is sufficiently established by the striking variants found only in them, *e.g.*

iii. 7. 3. *nec ubi dimissurus: nec cui dimissurus* E, *nec vi dimissurus* N, *nec uidi dimissurus* πH.

iii. 15. 4. *laetere unus: latere unus* πH, *latere uiuis* N, *laceremus* P.

v. 1. 3. *sumptus* ENOP: *supradicta* πH.

It is, however, proved definitely by the curious omissions peculiar to the two MSS. Lehmann notes the existence of numerous *lacunae* in H, and quotes six cases from books ii. and iii. In all of these π is similarly defective. This test proves indubitably that π and H are derived from one common source, unless indeed one of them is copied from the other. That π should be copied from H is out of the question, since H does not contain the Greek words, which are regularly entered in π by the first hand. Also in a number of cases the readings of π appeared to me more ancient than those of H.

Lehmann gives a number of readings to

show that H is independent of M, of which twenty-one are taken from i.-vi. 1, 8.

In thirteen of these π agrees, i. 17. 7, 20. 2; ii. 1. 1 and 4, 6. 1; iii. 8. 2; iv. 3. 6, 19. 1; v. 5. 1, 9. 1, 19. 1, 21. 5 and 7. To these may be added iv. 22 *anti* π, *Antij* H, *ante* M, and ii. 12. 1, *plebium* π, *plebeium* H, *tr. plebium* M, where the readings are practically identical. There remain five cases of difference. Three of these are especially interesting, since π supplies the missing link between H and M, thus showing that Lehmann has sometimes been too hasty in claiming an independent origin for readings really due to conjecture. I do not for a moment wish to cast any doubt upon the classification of Lehmann, with which I entirely agree, but candour compels me to state the facts. The cases are:—

i. 1. 3. *et is: eius* M, *ei is* π, *et is* H.

ii. 18. 2. *hac tamen in oppressione: ac t. in o* Mπ, *hac . . .* H.

iv. 7. 1. *di irati: durati* M, *dürati* π, *dii irati* H.

The other differences are:

iv. 15. 2. *a tot tuis: so* H, *a totius* M¹, *a totis tuis* M², *a tuis* π.

iii. 14. 2. *veni: so* H with the *v.c.* of Lambinus, *i.e.* Torn., and the same MS. *teste Bosio*. M gives *ii*, π *iii*. This is a curious and interesting case. But for the evidence of the Torn., which comes from two sources, it would have been natural to consider *ueni* a development from *iii*.

Lehmann gives eleven cases in which H has interpolations as compared with other MSS. of the Σ family. In one only of these does the interpolation appear in π, viz. ii. 19, 2 *sibilare: sibi ludare* πH. This would seem to show that the tradition of π is purer than that of H. In three cases the corruption in π seems to explain that in H.

ii. 24. 4. *uitae taedet ita sunt: uita et edet ita sunt* π, an ordinary instance of faulty division, *uicta et decreta sunt* H.

i. 15. 1. *curaque <et> effice ut: curaque effic|ut* π (*curaque effice ut* M), *effice curaque ut* H.

ii. 24. 3. *noctem et nocturnam: noctem et nocturnalem* π, *nocturae et nocturnalibus* H.

It has already been mentioned that another MS. N, Laurent 49, XIV XV century, is closely connected with H. Lehmann gives a number of readings characteristic of NH [pp. 143, 4], nineteen of which are taken from the books contained

in π . In five cases only does π agree with NH, i. 17. 5, 8 ; i. 16. 6, 9 ; v. 21. 3, while in eleven it agrees with the other MSS. of the Σ group against NH, viz. i. 9. 1, 17. 10 ; ii. 1. 2, 16. 2, 21. 1 and 4 ; iii. 4, 7. 1, 12. 1, 15. 7 ; iv. 1. 2. The remaining cases are :

i. 16. 1. *quaeris ex me : quaeris ad me* N, *qu. a me* π H.

ii. 16. 2. *se leges : si leges* π , *si leges* NH.

iv. 1, 8. *vehementer te requirimus : vehementer terere* π , *vehementer terrere* H, *vehementer terrei si te requirimus* N.

A point of interest is the possible relationship of NH π to the Ambrosian excerpts E, which, as Lehmann points out, are also characterized by *lacunae*, occasionally corresponding with those in H [and π]. Thus vi. 1. 1, 2 the words *nec oikovopίαν . . . paulo secus* are omitted alike by EH π , a coincidence which can hardly be due to accident.

I was precluded by lack of time from making more than a cursory examination of the Paris MS. As, owing to other occupations, I have no hope of being able to collate

it, I judge it best to indicate its existence and commend it to the attention of some more leisured scholar. I do not predict any striking results, but it is certain that an examination of it will throw considerable light upon the family history and alliances of the Σ group. A comparison of NH π should enable us to reconstitute with some certainty the common archetype, whether this was the *codex Pistoriensis* or some other MS. The existence of these three MSS., all of them defective as well as closely allied, seems to show beyond question that there was in Italy in the fourteenth century a *decurtatus* or mutilated MS., independent of M, and honeycombed by *lacunae*. I would further suggest that other MSS. which end with M at xvi. 16 B, may deserve some further inspection in the earlier books before they are set aside as useless, since these, as is the case with π , may have been copied from a different and mutilated archetype. The criticism of the *Letters to Atticus* is so fascinating a subject and so many difficulties remain unsolved that some further examination of this and the kindred MSS. is not likely to prove unrewarded.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

NEW DATA PRESUMABLY FROM SUETONIUS' *LIFE OF LUCRETIVS*.

IN *Mnemosyne* (1895, part ii.), Dr. Woltjer discusses at considerable length the new data from Borgius' preface to a complete but still unprinted edition of Lucretius containing Pontanus' text. It has always seemed to me that these data, which a number of scholars believe were originally abridged from Suetonius, have probably passed through a number of hands, before they reached the form in which Borgius laid his hands upon them in the preface to some MS. of Lucretius. Supposing these data to be derived from Suetonius, this need not be inconsistent with the fact that they come down to us mixed up with matter from another and later source. Probably indeed Borgius's use of the word *colligere* (*J. of Phil.* 1895, p. 222) implies that he gathered his information from more sources than one. Certainly Woltjer has made it probable that the clause *matre natus diutius sterili* was derived by Borgius (or Pontanus) from his recollection of a

line of Serenus Sammonicus, who, dealing with sterility, says:—

hoc poterit magni quartus monstrare
Lucreti

i.e. the fourth book of Lucretius where the subject is treated. Very acutely Woltjer suggests that some scholar either made the emendation *partus* for *quartus* or made the change by a lapse of memory. Another critic, writing later in the *Berliner Philol. Wochens.* (20 April, 1895), says that the *editio princeps* of Serenus is reported to contain the reading *partus*. For this very clever suggestion Dr. Woltjer deserves credit. Again, as to the degree of probability that the date given by Borgius for the birth of Lucretius is derived from Suetonius rather than inferred by Borgius from Jerome's well-known data, this depends largely on the weight which Borgius' new data *as a whole* carry. On

this point scholars like Dr. J. S. Reid and Dr. Radinger differ from Dr. Woltjer.

But I believe that the criticism attributed to Cicero is one which, from its intrinsic interest, is likely to have come to us in fairly accurate form, even if it should be somewhat abridged. Woltjer takes a very different view of this, he says:—

‘Quod praeterea dicit Borgius Ciceronem monuisse Lucretium ut in translationibus servaret verecundiam, ex quibus duo potissimum loci ab eo relati esse dicuntur, *Neptuni* scilicet *lacunas* et *caeli cavernas*, id tam certe et tanta cum fiducia dicitur ut vix dubitare quis audeat. Attamen locutio quae est *Neptuni lacunas* apud Lucretium non exstat; *salsas*—*lacunas* 3, 1031, *salsis*—*lacunis* 5, 794 scriptum legitur. Ciceronem autem reprehendisse translationem *caeli cavernas* 4, 171, quis credet, cum Cicero ipse scripserit *late caeli lustrare cavernas* Arat. 252?

‘Haec jam sufficient ut demonstretur omnia quae in praefatione illa Borgiana necnon in iis, quae ego ex commentario Pomponii Laeti exscripsi, nova videantur, mera esse humanistarum commenta.’

Cicero is said to have found fault with an expression, *Neptunni lacunas*, which does not occur in Lucretius’ poem.¹ This, Dr. Woltjer seems to think, confirms his view that Cicero’s criticism is ‘the mere invention of a humanist,’ that is to say, Dr. Woltjer holds that the forger of such a statement would choose to support it by inventing words which are not to be found in Lucretius’ poem, as we have it. To me and to other scholars this seems very unlikely indeed. Of the second instance, *caeli cavernas*, he says: ‘Who could believe that Cicero could have blamed this, since he himself uses the very same phrase in his translation from Aratus?’ Alas, such

¹ As to the use of *Neptunus* for *mare*, Lucretius at ii. 652 ff. makes special allowance for this use of language, and he himself at vi. 1076 has the phrase *Neptuni fluctu*.

inconsistencies are not quite so rare as Dr. Woltjer seems to think. Moreover, so busy a man and so voluminous a writer as Cicero may very well have forgotten some of his own juvenile verses. If we turn to the passage of *De Oratore* (quoted by me in *Journal of Philology*, 1895, p. 223, note 6), we shall find Cicero blaming the expression of Ennius, *caeli fornices*, because there can be no resemblance between a globe and an arch. Dr. Woltjer might equally well maintain, that Cicero could not possibly have found fault with Ennius’ *caeli fornices*, because he himself sins in a precisely similar way in his juvenile *caeli cavernas*.

Why did Pontanus not name the source from which these new data are drawn? In the same way that the scribes who copied the lives of Horace and Lucan, prefixed to different MSS. of these authors, do not state where they found them; simply because these lives were prefixed to the MSS. which they copied and with no name attached. Yet these lives are now universally admitted to be written by Suetonius.

As to the curious matter which Dr. Woltjer found on the fly-leaf of a copy of the Verona edition, these data, if they ever originated from Suetonius, have been so monstrously garbled as to deprive them of all value. The legend as to the potion and Lucretius’ love for Astericos seems like two traditions regarding different persons jumbled together and indeed flatly contradicts Jerome. It is almost needless to say that no parallel can be drawn between data such as these, derived from such a source, and information embodied in the preface to an edition of Lucretius containing the text of a noted scholar and student of MSS. like Pontanus, a preface which was written by his secretary, (also a distinguished man of letters) and was apparently revised by Pontanus himself.

JOHN MASSON.

Dundee.

NOTE ON PLATO’S *REPUBLIC*, VII. 519 A.

τοῦτο μέντοι, ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ, τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως εἰ ἐκ παιδὸς εὐθὺς κοπτόμενον περιεκόπη τὰς τῆς γενέσεως συγγενεῖς (τὰ... συγγενῆ, most recent editions) ὥσπερ μολυβδόδας, αἱ δὲ...κάτω στρέφουσι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὀψιν κ.τ.λ.

Stallbaum (1859) translated: *Haec atque talis natura si statim a pueritia ab iis purgata ac circumcisa esset, quae ortui (humanae naturae) adherent, etc.* Jowett (first edition) translated: ‘But what if there had been a circumcision of such natures in the

days of their youth; and they had been severed from the leaden weights, as I may call them, *with which they are born into the world,*' etc.; and in the last edition of his translation he made only slight changes in this passage, reading, '*which like leaden weights were attached to them at their birth.*' Davies and Vaughan (1879) translate: 'But, I proceeded, if from earliest childhood these characters had been shorn and stripped of these leaden, *earth-born weights*'; and similarly Mr. Purves (1883): 'Had their nature been docked at first, and shorn of its *congenital infirmities,*' and 'circumcised of these leaden scales of its *nativity.*'

To criticise at length the rendering of a single clause of Plato might seem trifling, but here the authority of Stallbaum seems to have carried later interpreters away from the truth in an unusual and instructive fashion. The clause has long caused trouble. Ficinus translated (edition of 1518): *si ab hoc ingenio statim a pueritia amputentur quae sunt generationis affinia ceu plumbea pondera, etc.*; but Serranus, in the edition of Stephanus (1542): *si ab huiusmodi natura, inquam, statim ab ineunte aetate amputentur ea quae ab ortu ipso illis cognata sunt, veluti plumbea pondera, etc.* But I do not think that any

doubt of the meaning can remain after the examination of the passage in connexion with half a dozen others; Plato is simply continuing the contrast between τὸ γιγνόμενον or γένεσις and τὸ ὄν or οὐσία. Cf. 485 B ὁ ἄν...δηλοῖ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς αἰεὶ οὐσης καὶ μὴ πλανωμένης ὑπὸ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, and 508 D ὅταν μὲν, οὐ καταλάμπει ἀλήθειά τε καὶ τὸ ὄν..., ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὸ τῷ σκότῳ κεκραμένον, τὸ γιγνόμενον τε καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, 518 C τὸ ὄργανον ᾧ καταμανθάνει ἕκαστος...ἐκ τοῦ γιγνομένου περιεκτέον εἶναι, ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ὄν κ.τ.λ., 521 D τί ἂν ὄν εἴη—μάθημα ψυχῆς δὲ δὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν; 525 B σοφῶ δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπτέον εἶναι, γενέσεως ἐξανιδύντι, 526 E Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν οὐσίαν ἀναγκάζει θεόσασθαι, προσήκει, εἰ δὲ γένεσιν, οὐ προσήκει, and 534 A δόξαν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν, πᾶσιν δὲ περὶ οὐσίαν. Thus in the passage before us τὰς τῆς γενέσεως συγγενεῖς must mean *what is akin to BECOMING*, in contrast with *being*. Whether we say that the attraction to the feminine *μολυβδίδας* was in Plato's mind or due to a copyist, is immaterial. For the genitive with *συγγενεῖς*, any one may compare 403 A, 487 A, 554 D, 560 A, etc.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

FURTHER NOTE ON PLATO, *REP.* X. 597 E.

PERHAPS I may be permitted to illustrate my suggested interpretation a little further, by pointing out in what way a really important question is involved in the difference of opinion between Mr. Mayor and myself. It is my conviction that the formal theory of separate ideas ought not to be presupposed in the interpretation of Plato where it is not quite explicitly insisted on in the text. To Mr. Mayor it seems quite natural to refer a substantive *βασιλέως*, occurring without any sign of differentiation, to one peculiar grade of reality as normally distinguished by Plato into idea, thing, or imitation. To me, holding no doubt a different conception of the place of the so-called 'ideas' in Plato's mind, this reference appears inconceivably harsh and uncalled for, and I am quite unable to read the passage as Platonic Greek if I force that meaning upon it.

To my argument that *βασιλέως* occurs without any distinguishing mark (such as ὁ ἔστι κλίη, κλίης ὄντως οὐσης, ἢ ἐν τῇ φύσει οὐσα) Mr. Mayor answers by insisting on

the words *καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας* in this sentence, and parallel expressions elsewhere. I may most plainly state my point, which he does not appear to me to see, by asking whether Plato could possibly have written in the present sentence *τρίτος τις ἀπὸ κλίης κ. τῆς ἀληθείας πεφυκώς*, supposing that he had been speaking of the carpenter and not of the poet. Is it not clear that the whole emphasis of the sentence would thus be destroyed? The words *καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας* only set the standard, and when an ordinary substantive is used along with them it is bound to justify its position. This it can only do, if its reference involves a distinction between three objects bearing the same name, by some indication to which of the three it is to be referred. But on the view which still seems to me the simple and natural one, if we read the dialogue attentively and continuously, the differences of reality here implied are not between objects of the same name, but between the king as such, on the one hand, and the oligarch, democrat, or tyrant, repre-

sending the successive removes of moral degradation, on the other. When thus read, the sentence under discussion has at once its full rhetorical and logical weight in every term. We have not to ask 'what kind of a king.' The word king fills the part assigned to it at once with appropriate emphasis.

It is a strange suggestion that in denying the king in this passage to be 'ideal' in the sense required by the contrast with the other kinds of king, I admit of his being an actual Xerxes or Pausanias. I take him to be the βασιλεύς of books iv., viii., and ix., in the account of whom there is no allusion to the theory of separate ideas. All the characters there described are regarded as forming a causally connected series, and it is impossible that the king should be there regarded as an abstract idea any more than the tyrant. But he is treated as nearer to reality in a different and much profounder sense, viz. that his character, that of the good man in general (587 E, where just and unjust men are substituted for king and tyrant as a matter of course), has the note of harmony and constancy which is the criterion of reality (585 C).

From the first and second books, in which the tyrant was accepted as the type of the unjust man (344 A), and the unjust man was alleged to be pursuing a πράγμα ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον (362 A), there follows the necessity of showing that the king, who is to the good man as the tyrant to the bad man, has the

real kinship with ἀλήθεια. This is finally shown in 587 E, and from that point the connection of ἀλήθεια with the king as opposed to the tyrant is taken as obvious and necessary. As is hinted even in 336 A and explained at length in 568 A ff., the poet tends to go with the tyrant, or deteriorated moral personality. And so, I suggest, in 597 E the same connection is reiterated as generally corroborating that disparaging view of imitation which the paradoxical statement of the doctrine of separate ideas has made probable. It is to be remembered that the special ground for recurring to the question of imitation in book x, is not the doctrine of ideas, but the psychology of the soul (595 B ἐπειδὴ χωρὶς ἕκαστα διήρηται τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδη). It is thus quite natural that the language drawn from the theory of ideas should be corroborated by an appeal to the previous psychological investigation, in which a very similar terminology, that of 'removes,' had already become familiar.

I regard the statement of the doctrine of ideas in *Republic*, x, as paradoxical and exceptional, intended to bring out certain points in the criticism of imitation. I do not believe that any such doctrine formed a permanent background of Plato's thought, and consequently I feel unable to draw it into the interpretation of special passages except where Plato himself takes pains to make it clear that some such paradox is for the moment in his mind.

B. BOSANQUET.

CORRECTIONS IN THE TEXT OF THUCYDIDES VI.

C. 35, 1 ὁ δὴμος ἐν πολλῇ ἐρίδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς. οὐδ' ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν ἃ λέγει, τοῖς δ' ἐ, εἰ καὶ ἔλθοιεν, τί ἂν δράσειαν.

For ΛΕΓΕΙΤΟΙΣ read ΛΕΓΟΙΤΟΙ = λέγοιτο, οἱ. For the sequence οὐδ' ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν ἃ λέγοιτο see Goodwin, *M.T.* § 690.

C. 37, 2 μόλις ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πόλιν ἐτέραν τοσαύτην ὅσαι Συράκουσαι εἰσὶν ἔλθοιεν ἔχοντες καὶ ὄμοροι οἰκίσαντες τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶντο.

For οἰκίσαντες read οἰκίσαντες; the sense required is not 'settle in' a place previously existing, but 'found' a new settlement. With this slight change, there is no need to bracket either ἔλθοιεν or ἔχοντες ἔχοντες.

C. 64, 1 βουλόμενοι. στρατόπεδον καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν, εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνηθέντες, [καὶ del. Reiske] εἰ. ἐκβιβάσειεν.

Cf. c. 66, 1 καθ' ἡσυχίαν καθίσαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐς χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον. For δυνηθέντες[καὶ] i.e. δυνηθεντεCICAI read δυνηθεντεCICA<ΘICA>, i.e. δυνηθέντες καθίσαι, εἰ. ἐκβιβάσειεν, sc. τὸ στράτευμα. The blunder (*lipography*) is an old one, as the scholiast tries to explain the text with καὶ in it.

C. 83, 4 τὴν τε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴν εἰρήκαμεν διὰ δέος ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦκεν. καταστήσομενοι.

Stahl reads ἦκομεν, since the latter part of the sentence does not correspond to anything that Euphemus, the Athenian envoy to Camarina, has previously said.

Read τὴν τε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴν εἰρήκαμεν διὰ δέος ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἐνΘΑΔΕ<ΦΑΜΕΝ>ΔΙΑ κ.τ.λ., i.e. εἰρήκαμεν διὰ δέος ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε <φάμεν> διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦκεν. καταστήσομενοι. Thus τὴν ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴν(τὰ ἐνθάδε;

εἰρήκαμεν) (φαμέν; διὰ δέος) (διὰ τὸ αὐτό; ἔχειν) (ἴκειν.. καταστησόμενοι. There is in M a small gap after ἐνθάδε, but it is probably not due to erasure.

C. 78, 4. Read, with M only, ἄπερ <ἄν> εἰ ἐς τὴν Καμαριναίαν πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεύμενοι ἂν ἐπεκαλείσθε.

Egging, with characteristic carelessness, did not see this ἂν, but it is quite plain.

C. 82, 1 δουλείαν δὲ αὐτοῖ τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπενεγκεῖν.

Herbst, recognizing that δουλείαν ἐβούλοντο is not Greek (Böhme-Widmann's τὴν αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν of i. 141 is surely not parallel) supplies ἐνεγκεῖν from ἐπενεγκεῖν, by one of the ellipses that he admires so much in Thucydides. Believing such an ellipse to be impossible, I propose δουλείαν δὲ αὐτοῖ τε <ἐάντοῖς> κ.τ.λ., so that ἐπενεγκεῖν may belong to both clauses.

C. 86, 3 δεόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν (σωτηρίαν) μὴ προδιδόναι, νομίσαι τε τοῖσδε μὲν κ.τ.λ.

For τε Hude conjectures δε, but without admitting it into his text. As M gives νομίσαι δὲ with the utmost clearness, Egging ought to have recorded it. It is clearly better than the τε of the rest.

C. 89, 6 ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ ξύμπαντος προύστημεν, δικαιούντες ἐν ᾧ σχήματι μείστη ἢ πόλις ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἐλευθερωτάτη οὕσα καὶ ὅπερ ἐδέξατο τις, τοῦτο ξυνδιασώζειν (ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε καὶ ἐγιγνώσκομεν οἱ φρονούντες τι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον, ὅσω κἂν [Hude, for καὶ] λοιδορήσαιμι ἄλλα περὶ ὀμολογουμένης ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ἂν καινὸν λέγοιτο), καὶ τὸ μεθιστάναί αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἡμῶν πολεμίων προσκαθημένων.

In the July number of this *Review*, I

explained οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον as for οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον φρονοῖν. During Dr. Hude's recent visit to England, I had an opportunity of placing my explanation before him. He raised two objections: (1) What is the point of καὶ before ἐγιγνώσκομεν? (2) How can the verb be supplied from the participle, φρονούντες, and not from the main verb, ἐγιγνώσκομεν? I will add a third. Alcibiades claims, not that he and his party desired to abolish democracy, but that they wished to limit it in some way. They wished to preserve democracy. Now if τὸ μεθιστάναί αὐτὴν = τὸ μεθιστάναί τὴν πόλιν, as it must do according to the received text, the meaning ought to be 'to substitute an oligarchy for the democracy'—the very idea that he disclaims (δικαιούντες τὸ σχῆμα ξυνδιασώζειν). αὐτὴν ought to be δημοκρατίαν: and it can become so only by printing the passage thus:—

ἡμεῖς . . τοῦτο ξυνδιασώζειν. ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε καὶ ἐγιγνώσκομεν οἱ φρονούντες τι (καὶ αὐτὸς . . λοιδορήσαιμι), καὶ τὸ μεθιστάναί αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ.

When this slight change is made Dr. Hude's objections are no longer formidable. (1) καὶ ἐγιγνώσκομεν corresponds to καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν: 'we knew its worthlessness, and yet did not dare to change its character': (2) καὶ αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ. is an addition in parenthesis to οἱ φρονούντες τι: 'we sensible men: yes, I could prove that I am one of them.' A parenthesis often begins with καὶ in Thucydides. Lastly it becomes clear why Thucydides wrote ἐγιγνώσκομεν, and not ἐγίγνωσκον.

E. C. MARCHANT.

NOTE ON HORACE, ODES, I, 28.

THAT this ode is a monologue seems now generally agreed; but I think scholars would not have taken so long to reach this result if one point had been grasped, which I have nowhere seen stated. It is that the poem is intended for an inscription. It is an ἐπιτύμβιον for a cenotaph, and is thus to be brought into relation with the many poems of this kind (especially about persons lost at sea) to be found in the seventh book of the *Palatine Anthology* (see the introduction to Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, pp. 71 sqq.). The following list of epigrams will show the frequency of the topic in the book: by Simonides 496

(κενοὶ τάφοι) and 510; by Callimachus 271, 272; by Leonidas of Tarentum (3rd century B.C.) 652, 654. Epigram 273 is by 'Leonidas,' but whether the Tarentine or the Alexandrian, who lived under Nero, we know not. The tomb is here called ψεύστης λίθος, and the phrase δνοφερῆς κύματα πανδυσίης Ὀρίωνος may be an anticipation (or an echo) of Horace's *devexi rapidus comes Orionis Notus*. Epigram 397 is by Erycius the Thessalian (1st century B.C.) for the cenotaph of a shipwrecked mariner; 404, by Zonas of Sardis (also 1st century B.C.), is spoken by a stranger who gives the 'pulveris exigui munera' to a shipwrecked corpse;

cf. 277 by Callimachus. Epigram 495, by Alcaeus of Messene (*flor.* 200 B.C.), 497 by Damagetus (*flor.* 200 B.C.), 499 by Theaetetus (perhaps 3rd century B.C.), 500 by Asclepiades (*flor.* 290 B.C.), 539 by Perses (*flor.* 300 B.C.) are all inscriptions for cenotaphs in memory of shipwrecked persons. There are many others of doubtful date, or later than Horace. In some of these the word *κωφός* is used to express the 'dummy' monument; 392 *κωφὴν λίθακα*, 395 *κωφὸν γράμμα* (where also note the phrase *συρμὸς Ὠρίωνος*).

If we assume that there was a well-known 'tomb of Archytas' somewhere on the coast, and that the monument to the unknown mariner of Horace's ode stood near it, all follows naturally. An epitaph, it is needless to say, often takes the form of an address by the shade of the dead man, and this is sometimes the case with cenotaphs (e.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 500). 'You yonder, Archytas, were drowned and buried: I was

drowned but have not been buried: whoever finds my body, please bury it' is briefly the argument. Two things have disguised the epigraphic character of the poem: its length and its metre. As to the length, it was natural that Horace should yield to the temptation of dwelling on the personality of Archytas. As to the metre, Horace had clearly made up his mind under no circumstances to be seduced into writing elegiacs, and so avoided the metre in which an epitaph would have been most recognizable. He had selected his own function—*princeps Aevolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos*; he left to his contemporaries and juniors the working out of the problem of the Latin pentameter. It is to be noted that, where (as in *Odes*, iv. 7) he reproduces the last half of the pentameter, he shows no special predilection for what became under Ovid the stereotyped rhythm of it.

E. S. THOMPSON.

NOTE ON THEMISTIUS' PARAPHRASE OF *PHYSICS*, II. 9.

IN Themistius' Paraphrase of Aristotle's *Physics*, ii. 9 (Teubner text, p. 201), occur the words: *εἴτε δὲ τῶν φύσει τι γιγνομένων εἴτε τῶν κατὰ τέχνην λαμβάνοις, εὐρήσεις ἂν ὡς φυσικὸς ἐξετάξης, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αἴτιον περιεχόμενον ὀρισμένους γὰρ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ πρίην, ὅτι διαίρεσις τοιαύτη ξύλων, εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνεται ἢ τοῦ σιδήρου χρεία, καὶ οὕτω μὲν δύναιται [lege δυνάμει] καὶ ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ τινος, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐνεργεία. τί ἐστὶν ὄργη; ζέσις τοῦ περικαρδίου αἵματος δι' ὄρεξιν ἀντιληπτήσεως.*

The necessity of the emendation proposed will appear from the following explanatory translation: 'But whether you take a product of nature or of art, you will find, if you inquire as a physicist, the matter and the necessary cause included in the same definition [*sc.* with the form or essence]. For on defining the work or function of sawing as such or such a dividing of the parts of wood the need of the iron is at once made manifest. *And in such cases it is potentially, and as the result of an inference*

[*sc.* that the definition involves the matter and the *condicio sine qua non* or necessary cause] *but often explicitly* [in actuality]. [For example] What is anger? A ferment of the pericardial blood caused by a desire for revenge.'

A period or colon should of course be placed after *χρεία*. The Teubner text as it stands cannot be construed so as to account for the three *καί*'s, and would yield no satisfactory sense if it could. If further confirmation is needed, it is found in the words of the Commentary of Simplicius *ad loc.*: *ἐπειδὴ ἐν πολλοῖς ὀρισμοῖς ἐμπεριλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ ὕλη ποτὲ μὲν δυνάμει ἐν τῷ τοῦ εἶδους ὀρισμῷ... ποτὲ δὲ ἐνεργεία.* The thought of the passage goes back to Plato, *Cratylus*, 389. Compare the words of Simplicius: *συναφαίνεται ὅτι ἐκ σιδήρου δεῖ τοὺς ὀδόντας εἶναι*, with Plato, *Crat.* 389 C: *τὸ φύσει γὰρ ἐκάστω, ὡς εἴοικε, τρύπανον πεφυκὸς εἰς τὸν σίδηρον δεῖ ἐπίστασθαι τιθέναι.*

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NOTE ON *IL*. XVI. 99.

Π 97 αἱ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ
 Ἄπολλον,
 μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι,
 ὅσσοι ἕασι,
 μήτε τις Ἀργείων, νῶιν δ' ἐκδύμεν
 ὄλεθρον,
 ὄφρ' οἶοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.
 (La Roche, 1873. Monro, 1896.)

ἔβην : βαίην :: ἔδυν : δυίην

Similar forms with the diphthong *υι* are now read in ι 377 ἀναδυίη, σ 348 δυίη, Ω 665 δαινυίτο, σ 248 δαινυίατ' (ο), σ 238 λελυίτο (not λελυήτο, which is erroneous), and possibly Σ 473 ἀνυίτο (*v.l.* ἄνοιτο). So much for the admission of the diphthong *-υι*.

We come now to consider the contracted forms of the plur. in *-νῦμεν -νῦτε -νῦεν*.

These must undoubtedly be regarded as the recognized and predominant forms; but besides these there are the longer and uncontracted forms, which fell into disuse at a comparatively early date, but yet occasionally survived even to Macedonian times—Thuc. viii. 53, 4 φαίησαν: Hdt. iii. 61, 1 εἰδείησαν: Xen. διαβαίησαν: Dem. γνοίησαν: Plato *Phaedr.* 279 δοίησαν. This last verb we have complete in the plural—Hdt. vii. 135 δοίητε: Plato *Men.* 96 δοίημεν.

THE athetesis of these lines by Aristarchus and the earlier suspicion of them by Zenodotus (ὑπώπτευκεν) proceed from the idea that the morbid feeling exhibited in such wishes would be too extreme for Achilles, who has wider sympathies (καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς οὐ τοιοῦτος, συμπαθής δέ, Ariston.). As Dr. Leaf shows in his commentary, we are not bound to reject the lines on such grounds, and it seems equally unnecessary to condemn them on account of the verbal difficulties of l. 99. These indeed are only such as would naturally be developed by the procedure of ancient critics, whose crude notions of archaic speech are often of a singular character. There can be little doubt for instance that some of the Alexandrines cherished the belief that the nom. νῶι could take the *ν* ἐφέλευστικόν. A fine example of νῶιν arrested in the very act of displacing νῶι or νῶ may be found by the curious in © 428, *v.* scholia of Didymus and Aristonicus *ad loc.* For other instances *v.* A 767, X 216, © 377. It is only fair to say that Zenodotus seems to have been the chief offender in this particular. Again we are equally obliged to dissent from the view of Herodianus (and probably of Aristarchus, says Dr. Leaf), that ἐκδύμεν should be read here, as the infinitive, with the extraordinary ellipse of γένοιτο, 'may it be possible for us to escape etc.'

Many modern critics however commit quite as serious an error in the sphere of metre, when they assume that the *ι* of νῶι can here be lengthened by the ictus alone. Only a very imperfect appreciation of Homeric scansion combined with an overmastering passion for anomalies could possibly induce any one to accept as satisfactory

νῶι δ' ἐκδύμεν ὄλεθρον

with nothing but an iambus for the fourth foot. ἐκδύμεν is Hermann's correction of ἐκδυμεν (ἐκδίμεν L), and in point of form is unexceptionable:

There is no occasion to multiply such instances. Indeed we shall be told that they are all *grammaticorum insomnia*, and within the precincts of the unadulterated Attic this dictum of Dawes may be allowed to possess the fullest validity. No objection therefore need be taken to the emendation of Eur. *Cycl.* 132 δρώημεν ἄν and Eur. *Ion* 943 φαίημεν ἄν to συνδρώημεν ἄν (Dawes) and συμφαίημεν ἄν (Dindorf) respectively. But with the language of the Homeric poems the case is somewhat different. There is one indisputable instance of the long form, which, however much it may have made our Quintilians stare and gasp, cannot be got rid of by any correction with the least shadow of probability:—

P 733 σταίησαν, τῶν δὲ τράπετο χρώς, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη

Why should we not reinforce this solitary instance of a formation, which must have marked a primitive stage of the Greek language, by reading here, as the metre imperatively requires,

νῶ δ' ἐκδύημεν ὄλεθρον,

when by so doing we recover and preserve a rare specimen of an early and once, if I may say so, entirely unobjectionable usage?

T. L. AGAR.

NOTE ON VERGIL, *GEORGIC* II. 501—502.

‘Non ferrea jura,
Insanumque forum aut populi tabularia
vidit.’

It is obvious that a literal translation such as ‘public archives’ produces a sad anti-climax, and spoils a noble passage. *Happy and innocent the peasant’s life: he has never known the miseries of a great city; never seen the iron rigour of the law, the mad turmoil of the forum, or the public archives.* It sounds like saying, ‘Happy the rural swain who has never known London; never seen the iron rigour of its law-courts, the mad uproar of its Stock Exchange, or—the Rolls Office.’ This is surely a case where translation must give place to paraphrase; where for the word itself, so pointless in English, we must substitute the cruelties denoted by the word. Indeed, the fact that Vergil places *tabularia* last among the three evils of city-life is not more significant of the hateful sense it bore to him, than the

omission of any adjective such as he felt to be needful to lend ferocity to the two previous evils.

Yet Conington’s Prose Translation has ‘public archives’: and Mr. Mackail is content with ‘the archives of the people.’ Moreover, neither the edition of Conington, nor that of Mr. Sidgwick, offers any answer whatever to the natural, the inevitable question, ‘Why the Rolls Office?’ And I find the same curious silence in three or four other editions. Yet Forbiger had long ago given the necessary explanation in his note *ad locum*: ‘hoc est, nullum vectigal, nec portorium, nec pascua, a populo publicanus conduxit, quarum redemptionum tabulae, publica instrumenta, in tabulario servabantur.’

A translation might therefore run: ‘who has never seen the iron rigour of the law, the mad turmoil of the Forum, or the grinding injustice of the tax-farmers.’

W. RAY.

LEO’S *PLAUTUS*.

[*Plauti Comoediae*, recensuit et emendavit FRIDERICUS LEO; volumen prius (*Amph.—Merc.*), 1895. Pp. viii., 478. 18 M.; vol. alterum (*Mil.—Truc. Vid. Fragm.*), 1896. Pp. 575. 20 M. Berlin: Weidmann.]

PROF. LEO’S *Plautinische Forschungen* appeared last year along with the first volume of the critical edition of the text and was noticed in vol. x. p. 206 of this Journal. The second volume of text, which has just come from the press, completes the handsome contribution of the Göttingen Professor to the study of Plautus. Plautus students may now congratulate themselves on the possession of three excellent editions, each with characteristics of its own; first, the large edition by Ritschl’s pupils, Loewe (now dead), Goetz, and Schoell, the last volume of which appeared in 1894; then the small Teubner text by Goetz and Schoell (Leipzig, 1893-6); and now the edition of Prof. Leo. I hope that so generous provision may attract to this field of study many scholars who have hitherto been deterred by the difficulty of

the subject. It is the field which of all others is most in need of workers and where the richest harvests are to be reaped.

The chief characteristic of the new text will, I think, be acknowledged to be its close adherence to the MSS. Leo spares his readers the necessity of constant reference to the critical apparatus in order to guard themselves against accepting as Plautine what is merely ‘editors’ Plautus.’ Since Ritschl’s time the conviction has been growing stronger and stronger that it is in adherence to the MSS. that safety lies, and that in particular no reading which is supported both by the Ambrosian Palimpsest and by the other MSS. should be lightly set aside. Goetz and Schoell on the completion of their larger edition, the earlier volumes of which suffered from the want of that full knowledge of the readings of the Palimpsest which was supplied by Studemund’s *Apograph* (1889), have met the demand for a less vigorously edited text. Their small Teubner edition is little more than a reproduction of the text of the MSS. with no emendations save such as are or seem indubitably correct

and with free use of the obelus throughout the plays to denote that a line is corrupt. A text of this kind is useful for the collector of statistics of grammar, prosody, or the like; for it saves him from the danger of including in his list words or forms whose position in the text is not thoroughly established. But it cannot quite satisfy the ordinary student, who wishes to have his author's writings in a readable, as well as a reliable form. Prof. Leo's text stands midway between the two texts of Goetz and Schoell in respect of its adherence to the MSS., just as his critical apparatus has neither the fulness of the large nor the extreme compression of the small Leipzig edition. As a specimen of the three I give *Truc.* 57 with its accompanying critical note in (1) the large, (2) the small Leipzig edition, (3) Leo's:—

(1) Atque haec celamus clam ómnis summa
indústria.

haec (hec *L*) celamus *DL*. haec caelamus *CZ*. heccelumus *B*. clam omnis summa *Sch. l.s.s.* p. 60. clāmina *D*. nos clammina *BC* (nos *ex v.* 58). nos Damna *LZ*. nos damna una *Camerarius*. nos clam mira (vel summa) *Gronovius*. damna nos *Bothius*. nostra damna *Spengelius*.

(2) Atque haec celamus nós clam †mina
indústria.

celamus *vel* celumus.

(3) atque haec celamus nos clam magna
industria.

celumus *B*. clam *cf. Poen.* 1239; damna *recc.* mina, *correx*i (summa *Gronovius*), *cf. Cas.* 45 *Vidul.* 42.

The references in the last note have the object of proving that *celare clam* and *magna industria* are permissible phrases in *Plautus*. The student will find throughout Leo's critical apparatus a wealth of grammatical and explanatory comments of the kind.

It will be seen from this single specimen that the new text supplies a long-felt want. Unfortunately its practical usefulness is to some extent impaired by Leo's habit of leaving the MS. reading untouched in every case where it is the metrical blemish of Hiatus which shows the reading to be corrupt. That *Plautus* did not write the line with Hiatus Leo readily admits; but he holds that it probably appeared in this form in that recension of the second century A.D. of

which he believes both the *Ambrosian Palimpsest* and the proto-archetype of our other MSS. to be copies. This theory of the history of our manuscript tradition has (to my mind, unfortunately) induced him to leave every line of the kind in its corrupt form, with the addition of an ictus-sign to indicate the Hiatus. Had he confined this practice to lines which had the same unmetrical form in the *Palimpsest* as in the minuscule MSS., there would not be the same ground for objection. But he has pushed the theory to its farthest limits by extending the same treatment to the host of lines for which we have only the evidence of the minuscule MSS. Now the passages preserved in the *Palimpsest* constitute the smaller portion of the writings of *Plautus*. For all the rest our manuscript authority is in reality nothing more than the text of a single lost minuscule MS. of Charlemagne's time or later, the immediate archetype of our existing MSS., and even its text has not been preserved to us unaltered. A single instance will show the weak point of Leo's system. It is well known that it was the practice of Carolingian scribes, in obedience to their text-books of orthography, to change O. Lat. *illi* 'there' to *illic* and O. Lat. *illic* 'to him' to *illi*. Leo himself readily removes the scribe's correction in a line like *Capt.* 278, where the MSS. with their *illic* 'there' give the line a syllable too many:

quód genus *illi* est únum pollens átque
honoratissimum.

But in a precisely similar case, *Amph.* 263, where the *illi* 'to him' of the MSS. leaves a Hiatus in the line, he prints the line in its corrupt form, contenting himself with mentioning the emendation in the critical apparatus. Few of his readers, I fancy, will thank him for not doing as other editors do, who print:

áttat illic húc iturust. ibo ego *illic*
óbviam.

Where the corruption has to be remedied by the withdrawal of a syllable, the emendation is made by Leo and, as a rule, excellently made. But where it is the addition of a syllable that is required, to remove Hiatus, the line is allowed to stand in its corrupt form with a troublesome obelus or its equivalent. Of course, mediaeval scribes erred as frequently by omitting a syllable or letter as by inserting one, so that the number of lines with this corruption is a large one;

and Leo's practice has seriously affected his presentation of the text. It is a thousand pities that he ever adopted this plan.

In the Introduction Leo confesses frankly that he has not collated the MSS. for himself, but has used the critical apparatus of the larger Leipzig edition: *aliud est apparatus criticum comparare, aliud scriptoris opus recensere et emendare*; in Plauto utrumque facere mortalitas non concedit uni. That is a statement to which those who have given attention to Plautus cannot but assent, as they will sympathize with the complaint, which he makes a little further on, of the difficulty of ascertaining whether one's conjectural emendations of Plautine lines have not been made before by some one else. Still an editor must always pay the penalty, be it great or be it small, for not having made himself familiar with the MSS. of his author. In *Curc.* 101, for example, Leo is wrong in making B^2 an authority for *nautea*. The suprascript *t* over *nausea* in *B* is in Cameraarius' handwriting, so that *nautea* has no authority from the MSS. of Plautus; *Capt.* 433-44, 472-9, 516-23 are not 'omitted' by *O*, as Leo says, but have been cut off by the binder. In *Capt.* 516 *nemo* was probably the reading of B^1 also, and in *Aul.* 560 it seemed to me that the original reading in *B* was *obsequium* or something of the kind, so that B^1 practically agreed with the other MSS. which have *obsequium*. The critical note on *Capt.* 521 should be: Ne *BEV*, Nec *J*; on *Cist.* 668: *ais... B^1*, *ais há B^2* (with the apex-sign indicating a long vowel); on *Asin.* 19: *tu sup. scr. B* (not *BD*), and so on.

With Leo's account of the relation of the MSS. to one another I cannot altogether agree. The few readings which we have from the lost MS. of Turnebus are not sufficient to prove that it came from another archetype than *BCD*. And it is hardly right to say that the corrections in the first part of *B*, useful as they are, make our text of the first eight plays more certain than our text of the last twelve; for they may very well come from the first part of the same Archetype of the second part of which *B* (for the last twelve plays) is a direct copy. Nor should the readings of B^1 in the first eight plays have too much weight assigned to them, when a strong combination of MSS. opposes. In *Aul.* 102, for example, *est*, omitted by *D* and by the group *EJ*, was probably omitted in the archetype too, and is a gratuitous insertion in *B*; in *Aul.* 146 *factum volo* (which Leo ventures to scan as a Choriambus) of *B* should not be preferred to *facta volo* of *DEJ*; nor in

Cist. 531 *amens* of *B* to *amans* of B^2VEJ ; nor in *Asin.* 860 *ista vera* of *B* to *vera ista* of *DEJ*.

Plautine Prosody cannot yet be said to be a settled matter. In particular the exact limitations of the Law of Breves Breviantes are open to discussion. The extreme application of the Law so as to allow the shortening of each and every syllable, whether long by nature or by position, whether accented or unaccented, I must confess I do not regard as worthy of discussion, and I am glad to see that Leo is of the same opinion; and also that he recognizes the part played by accent in Plautine metre (see, for example, his note on *Bacch.* 669). His text is not disfigured by a scansion¹ like *amīca* in *Stich.* 696:

'Ámīca,' uter utrubi áccumbamus? Abi tu sane súp̄erior.

But until the few examples offered by the MSS. of scansions like *amīcítia*, *ágr̄os*, *áquās* have been either satisfactorily removed or satisfactorily established, it must remain an open question whether we should say that Plautus 'never allows,' or rather that he 'is averse to,' the shortening of an unaccented vowel that is (1) long by position, (2) preceded by a Mute and Liquid, (3) preceded by *qu* (in the case of all vowels except *o* and *u*). Leo refuses *amīcítia*, but accepts *ágr̄os*, *áquās*. I doubt all three. It is in any case the safer policy to avoid these questionable scansions in conjectural emendations (e.g. *probr̄o das* of Leo in *Rud.* 733). But I cannot share his objection to *mīlēs Aul.* 528, which in Plautus' time seem to have retained the trace of the double consonant, *mīlēs*; nor again his acceptance of *ill(a)* beside *ill(e)* (e.g. *Trin.* 809 *lepidást ill(a) causa, ut cómmemoravi, dicere*), for *illā* was the pronunciation in vogue not so very long before Plautus' time. And I greatly doubt the possibility of Ecthlipsis like *opt(u)līt Aul.* 722, *perd(i)tissimus² Aul.* 723 (first word of the line). A third Singular Perf. Ind. in *-avit* for *-avit* like *adnumeravit* in *Asin.* 501 is not justified by forms like *exīt* for *exivīt*, etc., for while the reduction of *exivīt* to *exīt* is

¹ A scansion like this I can only characterize by a line constructed after the same model: *Prósōdīam quam pérōdit Musa, inámōēnam, pérhōridam, inútilēm!*

² The next line begins with *perdidī*, which may easily have perverted the form of the Superlative. *Pessumus* has been proposed. I have also thought of *peritissimus*, from a possible *peritus* (like *subitus*) from *perco* (cf. *puppis pereunda est probe Epid.* 74).

supported by instances like *dīnus* for *dīvinus* etc., we have no parallel instance of *-āvī-* becoming *-au-* or *-ā-*; and *-vit* 3 Sg. Perf. had a long vowel in Plautus' time. Leo's theory that final *s* after a short vowel might be elided before an initial vowel in Plautus has led him astray in *Rud.* 887-8:

illic in columbum, credo, leno vortitur,
nam collus in columbari haud multo post
erit.

Here the minuscule MSS. (the evidence of the Palimpsest is wanting) read *in columbari collum*, a transposition easily explained by the *in columbum* of the line above. *Collum* is of course inadmissible, for *collus* is the only form known in early Latin and is expressly attested for this line by Priscian. But Leo retains the order of the words in the MSS., making the last syllable of *collus* elided before *haud* and supposing Plautus for the sake of the pun to have changed the normal form *columbar* (a kind of stocks, 'pigeon-hole' stocks) to *collumbar*, a very unlikely supposition. (Transposition of words which have the same order both in the Ambrosian and the minuscule MSS. is another matter. I would not change *me ita* of *Poen.* 1258 (AP) to *ita me*, as Leo has done.)

Other points that I have noted are: *Aul.* 299 the lost line probably ended in *existumat* and its loss was due to Homoeoteleuton; 406 *pt* is a Late Latin misspelling of *tt*: e.g. *attatae* of *Cas.* 468 is miswritten *aptate* in *E.* Has a similar corruption produced *optati* in this line? The line may have begun with *ptat(a)i* or *ptatae* in the Archetype, with the initial not supplied by the 'rubricator'; *Bacch.* 988* the recurrence of *ut quod jubeo facias* in vv. 990, 993 is no reason for removing the words from this line. The joke lay in the iteration of the phrase; *Capt.* 201 in the *Captivi* we find examples of *aio* (written with the 'high-backed' form of *a*) confused with *dico* (written *dio* with contraction-line above), e.g. vv. 72, 694. The *ditis* or *clitis* of the MSS. here may be from *aitis*, and the true form of the lines something of this kind:

Eiulatione haud opus est:
Multa oculis multum mira ait is;

204 is not *vinclum* the Plautine form?; *Cas.* prol. 7, 13 in this post-Plautine prologue the archaism *anticua*, *anticuam* is possible, and even in v. 23 *aēs*; *Curc.* 124 how does Leo scan this line?; 316 *ventlum* from *vento-lo* is

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as inadmissible as *circlos* from *circo-lo* in Accius 100 R. (read *circos*); *Epid.* 19 the Palatine Archetype seems to have had *utillire-sspon* followed by a lacuna, the *respondi* of *B*² being as gratuitous a conjecture as the *respondit* of *E*². There is therefore no MS. authority for bringing the Verb *respondeo* into the line; *Men.* 105 *domari* (cf. *rurant Capt.* 84) seems the most likely form of the Verb, and *domatus* would be readily changed by a mediaeval scribe to *domitus* (from *domo*, I subdue); *Men.* 1042 the peculiarities of this passage in *A* and *P* may be explained if we suppose it to have originally run like this:

etiam hic seruom se meum aiebat, quem ego
modo emisi manu,
(?) ille qui se petere modo argentum, modo
qui suom se erum,
seruom se meum esse aiebat, quem ego
modo emisi manu:
is ait se mihi, etc.,

and the omissions in *A* and *P* to have been caused by the Homoeoteleuton; *Merc.* 138 (cf. *Poen.* 540) the Archetype too of our Nonius MSS. probably had *ramites*, for this is the spelling throughout the passage in the first hand of the Leyden MS., our best guide in matters of orthography; *Mil.* 100 *matre* is easily explained as an expansion of the supposed contraction *me*. Read:

is amabat meretricem ex (written *ē* in the Archetype) Athenis Atticis;

1006 *celocla* from *celoc-lā-* should be the Plautine form, so retain *illa* after *autem*; 1060 *porclena* from *porco-* is doubtful. Why not *procul-* (cf. *Phyrgio*, *tarpezita*) with the MSS.? *Most* 926 *eam dis gratiam* (sc. habeo) is closer to the MSS. (bis *A*, de his *P*; cf. *Most.* 563 *de his* for *dis P*); *Pers.* 190 *sed ita volo te*: *curre ut* etc. (*currere A*, *curare P*); *Pers.* 265 surely Sagaristio is boasting of his 'homines domiti' in contrast to *boves domiti*. Read with *P*:

nunc amico hominibus domitis mea ex
crumina largiar (hominibibus *A*);

Most. 1172 supply *men istum?* after *istum*, 'Forgive that slave of yours. I forgive that *protégé* of yours!'; *Poen.* 690 cf. *μυσχος-ἀνδρείον καὶ γυναικείον πόριον* Hesych.; 778 there is MS. evidence for *arvio* (cf. *Phyrgio* for *Phyrgio Aul.* 508); 1290 *atritus* is a likely O. Lat. form and seems expressly attested by Paulus (*leg. atritus*: *atri*

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coloris); so read *atritior* here with *A*, not *atrior* with *P*; *Pseud.* 593 I think *māchaera* was the Plautine pronunciation; 1205-7 the reason why those lines are written also after v. 1161 (at an interval of 42 lines) in *P* is that the scribe of the Archetype, in copying the proto-Archetype (which had 21 lines on a page and 42 on a leaf), turned over a leaf too many and did not discover his mistake till he had written the first two lines of the wrong leaf; *Trin.* 888 I doubt the explanation of *vicillum* of the MSS. as a diminutive noun formed from *vic*. *Vicillum* is a common form of *vevillum* on late inscriptions (e.g. *C.I.L.* vi. 1377, c. 180 A.D.). Can *vevillum* have had in Plautus' time the sense of 'a holder,' a vessel for holding liquid?; 1130 *proprius* (from *pro* and *privus*) may have had $\frac{1}{2}$ like *illius* etc. The form *proprius* suits this line, also *Capt.* 862, *Merc.* 338; 1021 the explanation of *oculicrepidæ* by reference to *Anon. Vales.* 14, 87 *accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus ita est, ut oculi ejus creparent, is far-fetched and should not have been accepted; Truc.* 231 *nec ūmquam quisquam* (with the sentence-accent on *quisquam*) is supported by v. 240 *nec ūmquam ūlla*, but does not involve the acceptance of *necumquam*, *necullus* as Plautine forms of *numquam*, *nullus*; 583 the *aca* of *B* for *accepta* here throws light on the puzzling *iteca* of v. 51 *res perit. †iteca in aedibus lenonis (lenoniis)*. It was a contraction for *intercepta*; 615 surely the line is trochaic like other lines of this passage; 675 *osculentiam* (so the

MSS.) for *obsequentiam* is exactly the kind of word we should expect from 'Truculentus,' the Mrs. Malaprop of Latin Comedy; 680 I cannot help thinking that *parasitus* is a comical name for a bag or scrip, here a money-bag (cf. *Stich.* 231); 691 why not keep the 'rustic' Latin form *conea* with the MSS. and Probus?; 877 is there much more reason for changing *refacere* here than for changing *recharmida* in *Trin.* 977?; 906 can the *purus* of the MSS. preserve a possible O. Lat. form of *puer* (cf. *socerus Men.* 957)? *Puerus est totum diem* will mean 'a boy is eating the live-long day'; 842 why has Prof. Palmer's emendation not been accepted, *Eam dem! pol.* etc.? Of misprints I have noted: *Asin.* 579 *vinginti*: p. 139 heading BACCIHDES: *Aul.* 468 *cirum*: *Bacch.* 1145 *nostras*: *Mil.* 152 *crit. om. P* for *om. A*.

The two volumes show a veritable *embarras de richesse* in felicitous emendations of the text and elucidations of Plautus' meaning. To mention all is impossible, but it is unfair to Prof. Leo to pass them over in silence. I will content myself with specifying from the last plays the emendations in *Trin.* 406, *Rud.* 1314, 829, and the explanations of *flector Truc.* 343, *continet Stich.* 452. Nor can I omit to mention how much has been done in this edition towards the restoration of the Plautine Cantica, all through keeping more closely than previous editions to the MSS.

W. M. LINDSAY.

THE BERLIN PAPYRI.

Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung. Griechische Urkunden. Erster Band, Hefte 4-12; zweiter Band, Hefte 1-6. (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1893-1896.) Each Mk. 2.40.

THE publication of the Berlin Papyri has proceeded, if hardly with the rapidity that was promised at the time of its commencement in 1892, at any rate with commendable regularity. Since the simultaneous issue of the initial three numbers in that year, the first volume has been completed in twelve parts, the last containing copious indices, some long lists of *errata*, and a couple of

photographic plates; and of the second volume six parts have already made their appearance. In all there have now been published 551¹ papyri—but a fraction, we are told, of what remains—varying widely in character, ranging in length from a few words to several hundreds of lines, and in date from the reign of the first Caesar to far into the seventh century. The general nature of their contents is too well known to need much specification here. Official decrees and injunctions, protocols and accounts of legal proceedings, tax and census returns, tax-receipts, leases, sales,

¹ Since these lines were written three more parts have been added, carrying the total to 627. These I hope to notice on another occasion. A.S.H.

accounts of expenditure and receipts for amounts expended, petitions and letters, succeed each other in almost overwhelming profusion. Every now and then the appetite is whetted and the imagination again set wondering what treasures the sands of Egypt may yet have in store for us, by relics of such interest as, for instance, the different imperial rescripts—No. 74, of Marcus and Verus, No. 140, of Trajan, No. 267, of Septimius Severus, No. 473, of the same emperor and Caracalla; or the *libellus*, the declaration of paganism by a suspected Christian, of the year 250 (No. 287); or again the, unfortunately fragmentary, account of the proceedings of an anti-Semitic embassy from Alexandria before the emperor Claudius (No. 511)—a parallel to the famous *legatio ad Caium* so graphically described by Philo. Exhaustive monographs on these and others of the more important texts are to be found in the pages of the German periodicals. The interest of the last-mentioned embassy to Claudius has been much increased by the recent discovery at the Gizeh Museum of the continuation of the same document. The whole has been ably published and commented upon by M. Theodore Reinach (*Revue des Études Juives*, xxxi. 62). It is true that the papyri of this class are not common; but though the majority of the texts may individually seem small in comparison, collectively they contain a mine of information for the history of the internal administration of a province, and of the everyday life of a people.

In spite of some adverse criticism upon the form of their publication, the editors have consistently adhered to their original plan of confining themselves to the reproduction of the bare texts, unadorned save for the addition of a few data as to *provenance*, measurement, age, etc., of the original, and the resolution of symbols and abbreviations. To have supplemented this by, let us say, brief summaries of contents and occasional explanatory footnotes would certainly have enhanced the general value of the publication, and rendered its use considerably easier to the specialist, without adding much either to its bulk or expense. The want is the more felt as no system is observed in the distribution of the texts, which has no reference either to subject or chronology. Ultimately no doubt these deficiencies have, in the case of the first volume, been largely supplied by the admirable indices which close it. But they of course cover this volume only; and there

seems to be no immediate prospect of more. The editors would be rendering the student a great service if they could see their way to a rather more frequent issue of indices—for it is here that in its present form much of the value of their work lies. A classification of the papyri according to subject is another great *desideratum*.

The main object, of course, which has from the first been kept in view, is the rapid production of as many satisfactory texts as possible. On the success with which this end is achieved the authors are to be sincerely congratulated. In dealing with hands which are as difficult as many of these are, it is inevitable that inaccuracies and misreadings should occasionally occur. Of the errors to which even the most skilled palaeographer is liable the lists of *Berichtigungen und Nachträge* afford sufficient testimony. But that the maximum of accuracy has here been attained the reader would be led to expect from the care taken with the printed text; and the expectation is amply confirmed by a comparison with the originals. Among minor, chiefly orthographic, errors the following may be mentioned. No. 156, l. 2, the first ι in $\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ only should be included within the bracket. In l. 5 the papyrus reads $\text{H}\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ not $\text{H}\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$. $\text{H}\alpha\nu\epsilon\phi\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\mu\iota\varsigma$ not $\text{H}\alpha\nu\epsilon\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\iota\varsigma$ is the name in No. 184, ll. 21 and 22. No. 194, l. 14, the termination $\omicron\nu$ in $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ has in both words been corrected from ω . In l. 17 the scribe included $\alpha\pi\delta$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in round brackets; and in l. 26 the horizontal stroke over η has been overlooked. In No. 255 the editor has omitted several of the lection signs—the single dot over ν in $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$, ll. 4 (twice) and 5, and $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$ l. 6; and the stroke like a large soft breathing which is placed over the first letter in $\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$ and $\acute{\iota}\mu(\acute{\alpha}\varsigma)$ ll. 4, 6, and 9, and $\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota(\nu\omicron\nu)$, l. 6. The sign is sometimes met with turned in the opposite direction; e.g. over the initial ν of $\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho[\omicron\nu]$, No. 364, l. 6, and of $\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ ll. 13 and 16. In l. 19 $\delta\omicron\omega\varsigma$ seems to have been written in place of the usual $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Similarly in No. 287 read $\delta\phi\rho\acute{\nu}\acute{\iota}$ (l. 6) and $\acute{\iota}[\epsilon]\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$ (l. 12). No. 295, l. 3 $\acute{\iota}\mu\omega(\nu)$ and l. 11 $\rho\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\omega(\nu)$ should be read. In No. 303, l. 15 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\iota\nu(\delta\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\eta[\varsigma]$ $\iota\nu(\delta\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ is a curious slip. In l. 20 $\text{E}\pi\acute{\iota}\phi$ and in l. 21 $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\acute{\gamma}\lambda(\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma)$ would be more correct. Compare $\text{A}\rho\sigma\iota\nu(\acute{\omicron}\eta)$ instead of $\text{A}\rho\sigma(\acute{\iota}\omicron\eta)$, No. 387, l. 5. Similar small oversights are the omission in No. 305 of the points in $\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ (l. 1), $\text{H}\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ (l. 2), and $\text{A}\rho\sigma\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$ (l. 4), and the reading $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron(\nu)$ for $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\nu$ (l. 7). The word $\text{H}\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ is similarly

written in the original of No. 314, l. 20 ; in l. 17 of the same document the ν of $\tauούτων$ is written above the line, not omitted. The dot separating the two sigmas of the words $\piρὸς σὲ$ in No. 317, l. 5 has not been noticed. In No. 365, l. 3 read $[\delta]εσποίν(ης)$: it should also have been noted that a second hand begins at l. 9. It is interesting to find that in No. 369, l. 2 $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and not $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ is certainly written. Unless an equally clear case of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ is forthcoming, this instance seems to decide the question between the alternatives in the formula under question. $\Sigma\nu\nuπεφωνημένης$ not $\sigmaυμπεφωνημένης$ in No. 373, l. 8 is the reading of the papyrus. In No. 379, l. 18 $\gammaραφίον$ is the correct spelling. The first name in No. 408, l. 21 has been spelt $\Lambda\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ by the scribe. This list, which might be extended, will serve to show the kind of inadvertences which are most inevitable. I do not mention instances where I should disagree with the editor in his marking of doubtful letters, or his use of the square bracket. I should however like to remark in passing how much it is to be regretted that editors of papyri in general have not yet adopted any uniform system for the textual representation of partially lost or indistinct letters. The plan, now becoming common, of printing dots underneath the line as marks of uncertainty is an excellent one—there are still, however, some eminent dissentients. But it remains to be determined what constitutes uncertainty. In the frequent case, for instance, where a letter is partially obliterated, but enough of it still remains to decide, with the aid of the context, what it really was, one editor will print it without comment, another will condemn it to the dot of doubt, and a third will include it in a bracket. There should be some distinction in the treatment of such letters and those that are really dubious. Very arbitrary too is apt to be the judgment, in cases in which rubbing or fading has occurred, where the brackets are to begin, and the dots signifying visible but illegible letters to cease. The bracket of course saves trouble ; but its indiscriminate use is not fair to the conjecturer.

But it is perhaps premature to discuss such details—where too a large allowance has always to be made for the 'personal equation'—when uniformity has not yet been reached on the larger question of the form in which the text is to be presented. In the present case accents, breathings, and iota subscripts are printed in full, and abbreviations re-extended in brackets.

Others prefer to print the text exactly as it stands and to explain it by means of translations and footnotes. The latest example of this plan is the recent volume of the *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*. The objection to it is that it renders perusal needlessly difficult and unpleasant ; and the transcriber may often fail to make it clear how he really understood a passage. Against the rival method it may be urged that it is less scientific ; and that although the actually written signs may be also printed, they become obscured—and, it might be added, tend to be omitted, as I have endeavoured to make apparent above. It is, in fact, but a compromise between the opposed systems of faithful reproduction and complete modernization. It is not true that the pages of the Berlin *Griechische Urkunden* have, as M. J. Nicole, in the introduction to his recent first instalment of the Geneva papyri, claims, 'la physionomie toute moderne qui les assimile entièrement à celui de nos livres.' Who could look at the first page and maintain this assertion ? It is indeed somewhat remarkable that such an absolute concession to the 'general reader' should have found so little favour. Is it such a crime to alter the 'aspect of the texts of papyri,' or to emend their orthography ? Is it not more important to render them as attractive and readable as possible ? Signs and abbreviations, which after all, as soon as they are once explained, are of interest to the palaeographer only, could be reproduced at the bottom of the page. At all events, the mixture of modern and antique uses can hardly be termed satisfactory.

It is but seldom that revision produces corrections of an at all serious nature. The following may be instanced:—

No. 155, l. 11-13, read $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\chiόμενο | \nu \tauόκω\nu$
κα[ι]
καὶ τῆς ὑποθήκης τὸν α | ἀνὰ (*sic*).

No. 156, l. 10. The emperor's name should run $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \Sigma\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu[\sigma\epsilon\beta]ο\upsilon\varsigma$ Περτίνακος.

The latter half of l. 5 I read $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu[\rho\acute{\omega}\nu \mu]ια\varsigma [\eta]μ\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ where the editor has given $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu\dots$

No. 174, *verso* : $\chi\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\varsigma$.

No. 181, l. 16 $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ for $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}[\iota]$.

No. 189, l. 8 read $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\eta} \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\rho\iota\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon[\lambda\omicron]\nu$
τῆ μνᾶ.

In l. 4 $\delta\acute{\alpha}[\nu]η\omicron\nu$ not $\delta\acute{\alpha}[\nu]ει\omicron\nu$ was written.

No. 196, l. 19 $\tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$ for $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$.

No. 197, l. 9 $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\iota\nu \tau\omicron\nu$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\iota\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}$.

In l. 16 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\epsilon \chi\omega\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma[\dots]$ is perhaps

the true reading. In l. 10 ὄσων ἐὰν ἦμ..., in accordance with the usual formula, is certainly right.

No. 199, l. 11, I would suggest Πακῦσις for the lacuna; l. 5 of the *verso* begins with the sign for δραχμαί.

No. 275, l. 4, read ἰς (= εἰς) τὴν for ἐκ τῆς; cf. the similar phrase in No. 46, l. 7.

No. 286, ll. 3 and 4, I should prefer Αὐρίλιος and Αὐριλίφ.

No. 312, Fr. 2, l. 2, the lacuna may be filled up [μετὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ] ὅ [τοῦ] δικ[αίω] (ῦ) ἐφ' ὄσον.

l. 11 [μαρτυρῶ τῇ μισθῶσ]ε[ι] ὅς (= ὅς) πρό(κειται).

No. 317, l. 11, read χρωστέεις for χρεῶν εἰς. The verb is not uncommon in papyri of the period.

No. 339, l. 11 τετ[τ]ερα[σκαῖδεκα ?] for πεντε[καῖδεκα]. Similarly in l. 30 [τεττ]ερασ[καῖδεκα ?].

No. 379, ll. 20 ff. may be emended:—
καθ' ἣν πεποιήνται π[ε]ρ[ι] | τ[ὸ]
α (sic)

τρίτ[ον] μέρος τῆς τοῦ κλήρου ἀρ[ούρ]η[ς] μῖς τ[ῆς] | ἕπ' οὐδενὸς κρατουμένης γενέ<ι>σθω ὡς καθήκει.

No. 389, ll. 8 and 9, I read: φα[νερὰν τὴν ἔκθραν] (sic) καὶ παρανο | [μίαν...].

No. 390, l. 11, τοῦτοῖς should be added after κεφαλαίους.

No. 401, l. 15, read συνομειλῶν for συνομέων.

In l. 1 the papyrus has the contraction Χῦ.

No. 409, l. 1, Φαησίον for Φαήσιος.

l. 8, instead of μοι either μου or μαι (= μοι) should be read; for the former cf. l. 17, for the latter, No. 424, l. 12, where the scribe wrote μαι not μοι.

No. 421, ll. 4-5, read πέπρ[ακα | ἐν(?) τ]ῶ for πέντ[ε, πέπρα | κα τ]ῶ.

ll. 15 and 16, [τοῦ ἐν | εσ]τῶτος is obvious.

No. 450, l. 8, ὅτε γὰρ ἦν seems to begin the new sentence.

No. 456, *verso*, [Πρᾶσις(?) φοινί]κων δύο.

No. 459, l. 12, ?περικελλί[ο]υ. In the previous line the letters look more like τέταρτον than πέμπτον.

No. 467, l. 7, τό[τε π]ε[ρ]ὶ σ...[.]. ἐμοὶ would help to mend the lacuna.

No. 472, l. 11, τριάκοντα πέντε seems to be clearly written, though this does not square with col. ii. l. 7.

I proceed to add a few conjectures not based on a personal examination of the originals.

No. 92, l. 18, στρ(ατηγῶ) seems to be a

misreading for ἐγρ(άφη). στρ(ατηγῶ) is difficult in this position, while ἐγρ(άφη), which would be written in a very similar way, yields a natural sense. Moreover the same formula occurs in a papyrus in Mr. B. P. Grenfell's collection, and here the word ἐγράφη is written out in full.

Another papyrus belonging to Mr. Grenfell proves that Zoilus was the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς of the Heraclid μερίς in the year 162/3, thus fixing more exactly the date of No. 89. The same document shows that Συριακός is the second name of the Ἄννιος of No. 198, l. 6. To papyri from the same source I owe the restoration of Κρηνολήφ as the first name of the Quintilianus in No. 98, l. 1; and the conjecture that l. 20 of No. 352 contains the rest of the date, e.g. Ἄδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Μεχ(είρ) ᾗ.

This emendation is based on the actual document referred to in No. 352, ll. 7 ff. If it is right, the distinction made by Dr. Krebs between the third and fourth hands must be imaginary.—The name in l. 21 is probably Πτολεμαῖος.

A better preserved parallel to No. 109, relating to the ἐπίκρισις or official examination of youths prior to conscription (cf. also 'Les papyrus de Genève,' vol. I. Fasc. I. No. 18), serves to fill up many of the lacunae which disfigure the Berlin papyrus. The following suggested restorations, unless otherwise specified, refer to the commencements of the lines:—

- l. 5. [Μύσθον ἀμποτέρων]
- l. 10. *end.* ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
- l. 11. [ὁ Μύσθης ἀπεργ(αψάμην)]
- l. 12. [κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί]ς
- l. 13. [καὶ ἡ γυνή μου]
- l. 16. [καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου]
- l. 17. *end.* ἐπικρι[νόμενον ἡμῶν (or ἐξ ἀλλή- λ(ων) υἰόν]
- l. 18. [Πτολεμαῖον. οἱ δὲ]
- l. 19. [ἀπεργ(άφησαν) εἰς κ.τ.λ.]

Some obscurity still attaches to the construction of ll. 15—17. Further on, Ἀράβ[ω]ι is perhaps the name of the ἀμφοδοῦν which is clearly to be looked for at the beginning of l. 20. If the orthography of our papyrus may be relied upon, Ἀράβ[ω]ι or Ἀράβ[ω] is also to be read for Ἀράβ[ων] in No. 254 ll. 10 and 14.

There is some difficulty about the age at which youths had to be sent up for this ἐπίκρισις. In No. 109 l. 7, Dr. Wilcken (Heft 12, Berichtigungen) reads the numeral as ιγ, and this is supported by the parallel passage in the Geneva papyrus already mentioned. In the document before me, on the other hand, it is quite certainly ιδ;

while in No. 324 of the Berlin collection, where the examinees are two slaves, their ages are respectively fourteen and eleven years. If the readings in all these places are correct, the age could vary at any rate within certain limits.—Texts of these and numerous other new papyri will be published by Mr. Grenfell and myself in a short time.

A papyrus found on the site of the ancient Bacchias by Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Mr. Grenfell last winter throws some doubt on the reading *προχρείαν* in the numerous documents described in Dr. Viereck's monograph as 'Quittungen über Lieferung von Saatkorn' (*Hermes*, xxx. p. 107 ff). These are perhaps the complement of the other numerous class characterized by the formula *μεμετρήμεθα*, Nos. 188 and 336. In the one the board of *σιτολόγοι* certifies the assignment of corn of which in the other the *γεωργός* acknowledges the loan. No. 279 differs from the remaining receipts, of which Nos. 104 and 105 may be taken as specimens, in reading in the place of *προ(χρείαν)* what the editor has transcribed as *προσ | φώ(νησιν)*, and Dr. Viereck as *προσ | φω(ράν.)* This he thinks (*l.c.* p. 111) must be either a mistake for *προχρείαν*, or else read as *προσ-φωράν*. The new Bacchias papyrus has, in a similar context, quite clearly *προφω*. It is perhaps admissible, in dealing with a single instance, to postulate a clerical error. A second independent case—the papyrus in question is older than No. 279 by seventeen years—quite changes the aspect of the matter. It may be conjectured that in the Berlin document *προ | φω* is also to be read. What Dr. Krebs transcribed as *σ* may not be more than a connecting stroke. And it is difficult to see what the intended word can be if not *προφώνησιν*. The question then arises whether, in the absence of further evidence, the same word should not be substituted for *προχρείαν* in the cases in which the letters *προ* only have been written.

No. 264 is a specimen of an increasing class of papyri, referring to work done on the embankments of the canals which were and are so important to the Egyptian cultivator. Such documents appear to be always dated in *Payni*, *Epeiph*, or (more rarely) *Mesore*, the summer months when the Nile was rising or in flood. It was naturally at this period that the state of the embankments demanded most attention. New parallels from Bacchias make it clear that the name of a month—doubtless either *Πάνι* or *Επίφ*—is to be read in place of *μη* (l. 4), and remove any doubt about the reading *γ' έως*. Five days are the regular period for work of this kind. *έν όρ(ύγματι)* may be suggested for *επορ*. The meaning of the abbreviation in l. 5 remains doubtful.

A couple of papyri of similar *provenance* suggest a revision of the editor's not very happy interpretation of the two prayers for restoration to health, Nos. 229 and 230. By *τουτον μοι εξενικον* the suppliant almost certainly meant *τουτό μοι εξένεγκον*—'Accomplish this for me.' The previous line is either a question or a wish; *μεν* may be for *μήν*.

These are a few instances of the way in which new texts help to clear up difficulties and supplement deficiencies in old ones. The attitude of the first editor must often be tentative and hesitating; for his conclusions may be upset or modified by the next discovery. What is therefore now of chief importance is the rapid publication of all available materials. The supply shows at present no signs of failure. It is then too soon yet to go far in gathering up results and forming generalizations. The first duty of the present generation of papyrologists is to lose no time in making these possible. The Berlin editors here set an example which others would do well to follow.

A. S. HUNT.

GREENIDGE ON *INFAMIA*.

Infamia; its Place in Roman Public and Private Law, by A. H. J. GREENIDGE. 1894. 10s. 6d.

A MONOGRAPH of over 200 pages on a single institute of Roman law is an unusual phenomenon in English literature, and deserved earlier recognition than I have

been able to make. The subject is one which bears both on constitutional and on private law, but it is not one of law only. Judgment on conduct is none the less active and influential, because it is not always expressed by a magistrate or attended with legal or political consequences. And even where, as in Rome, the state had a special

organ—the censorship—for giving voice to the disapprobation of the community, there is scope for great variety in the subjects, the effects, and the permanence of the censure.

The most definite connexion of *infamia* with Roman private law is in the Praetor's Edict, fragments of which are found in the *Digest* (iii. titt. 1, 2). Disability to appear in court for the conduct of suits for others was the consequence of legally recognized disgrace, the disability being absolute in the cases of capital crime, of certain foul indecency, and of hiring oneself out to fight with wild beasts. But a much more numerous class were disabled from conducting suits for any but near relations and connexions: and the components of this class are mentioned in the Edict and also described as *infames*. A list of classes of persons excluded from municipal office is given in a bronze inscription at Naples which has preserved to us part of Caesar's law of about 709 A.U.C. And this list is so largely identical with the list which we have in the *Digest*, that we cannot doubt that they have a common basis in the republican law of Rome. Cicero in his speech for Cluentius discusses, no doubt with an advocate's bias, the character of the censor's mark (*nota*), and the *ignominia* thence resulting. There are further isolated instances of persons, or sometimes of classes, in some way disgraced which have to be considered. But, speaking generally, it may be said that modern discussion moves round the *Digest*, the Julian municipal law, and the censorship, especially as treated by Cicero, the questions being what was the relation of (legal) *infamia* to (censorial) *ignominia*, what were the public and definite consequences of either, and what were the conditions of their infliction.

Savigny in his own admirably clear and precise style treated this subject in his *System* vol. ii. and laid the basis for modern discussion. He held that *infamia* represented a fixed conception of the Romans, embodied in tradition and recognized as binding by the censors, who however also exercised a freer judgment over conduct in other respects: that the import of *infamia* was disability for holding public office or for exercising the suffrage; and that from this public sphere it passed into private law under the guidance of the praetor. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht* i.² p. 469) rejects this theory and holds that the word *infamis* was a general term of ordinary life, and that public opinion was variously regarded and legal importance variously given to it

by the magistrates who presided at elections and by the praetor in regulating procedure in his court. Mr. Greenidge, who is also favourably known by other writings in this *Review* and in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, agrees generally with this view of Mommsen, and has given English students a scholarly and careful exposition of the subject in all its breadth and detail. He is familiar with both German and French treatises, and probably knows more of the subject than any one else in England. There is perhaps in this book some lack of definite grip, which has led to occasional needless repetition, and makes it not always easy to ascertain or appreciate the precise position defended. But the subject itself is somewhat slippery, and few writers are as clear in their first exposition as they would be if they had the opportunity and the patience to rewrite their book. I may be allowed to add a few short criticisms on some points.

The distinction of mediate and immediate *infamia* might well have been left with the briefest explanation and not carried through the treatise. Whether *infamia* depended on a judge's sentence, or arose *ipso facto* from a notorious fact, is of course important in the particular instance, but is a matter leading to no general consequences or inferences. On the position of the censor Mr. Greenidge avows an opposition to Savigny which is hardly justified by his own statement (p. 24). Savigny would not have denied that the censors' action in the course of time helped to create the rules of action which were felt by later censors as incumbent on them. Nor do I understand Mr. Greenidge as denying that there was a distinction, both in their own view and in that of the Roman world, between the censors' action when following invariable or usual precedent, and what I may call their individual and experimental censure on new grounds. But Mr. Greenidge looks more to the growth, Savigny more to the practical position at some point in the course. As to the disproof of the permanence of the disqualification attached to *infamia* which Mr. Greenidge (p. 25, see also p. 52) sees in the case of L. Mucius mentioned by Asconius p. 112 (and two other cases quoted in this *Review* vii. p. 30), I confess to a great reluctance to rest much on fragmentary references to cases of which we have few or no particulars, though I admit that a general adherence to such a sceptical attitude would play havoc with a good deal of so-called history of Roman institutions. However this may be, I must express my agreement with Savigny on another point, where Mr.

Greenidge declines to follow him (p. 133). I can hardly believe that in contractual actions, such as *pro socio* or *mandati* or in an action on *tutela*, condemnation necessarily caused *infamia*, irrespective of fraud. The argument of Doneau, to which Savigny refers, is I think good. But if the infamatory consequence of condemnation was really absolute, then I believe there must have been some way, probably by making fraud an essential part of the issue for trial, in which mistake or slight negligence was saved from being so fatal.

What Mr. Greenidge means by quoting (p. 4 note) *facere existimatos* Gell. xiv. 7 § 8 in connexion with the meaning of *infamia* I do not understand: it appears to be entirely irrelevant. On p. 77 he suggests that *lectio senatus* meant originally the reading of the list of senators; surely far too late a use of *legere* and *lectio* (for *recitare* etc.) to be the original meaning of this old term. On p. 119 he confuses a supposed commentary by Julian on the Edict with Julian's 'redaction' of the Edict itself. On p. 120 he declines to follow Lenel and Mommsen in taking the words *hoc edicto . . . ut infames notantur* as part of Ulpian's commentary and not as part of the Edict itself. I should have thought Lenel unquestionably right. On p. 122 our author is not unnaturally perplexed by the mention of *calumnia* in Ulpian's account of the second head of the Edict, when it is found distinctly named under the third head. But the truth is we have here only an inconsequent remark of Ulpian's that condemnation in a public trial is made by a senate's decree to include *calumnia* even when committed before inferior judges. The stress is on *apud iudices pedaneos*. On p. 160 in the words 'this second list may have been wider than the first,' 'wider' is apparently a slip for 'narrower.' On p. 167 'one condemned for *repetundae*' should be 'one condemned for extortion.' There is no such nominative in this use as *repetundae*, and no crime properly so called. *Repetundarum damnatus* is a technical abridgment for *judicio pecuniarum rep. damnatus*. On p. 169 there is a somewhat strange misunderstanding of a passage of Papinian: *Existimo ergo neque jure civili testamentum valere ad quod hujusmodi testis processit neque jure praetorio quod jus civile subsequitur, ut neque hereditas adiri neque bonorum possessio dari possit*. Mr. Greenidge says 'it appears that *intestabilis* had reached the point of being understood as incapable of receiving under a testament.' This is a complete mistake. Papinian is not speaking of the disastrous

consequences to the *intestabilis* himself but to the validity or practical efficacy of any will to which such a person (*adulterii damnatus*) is a witness.

A few words upon Appendix ii. which deals with the words of the *lex Julia* disqualifying any one who *in jure abjuraverit, bonamve copiam juravit juraverit*. The clause has always puzzled me, and I regret that Mr. Greenidge has not removed my difficulties. He says *bonam copiam jurare* cannot possibly mean, what to me as to others it appears to mean, 'swore to solvency'; he translates 'who swore that they had reasonable hopes of ultimately satisfying their creditors'; and, while rejecting Huschke's connexion of the subsequent two clauses, himself connects the latter of these two clauses, disqualifying one who has made a settlement with his creditors. Perhaps we differ about the meaning of the word 'solvency.' I think persons who had property, land for instance, adequate to their debts but not at the moment convertible into cash, would generally be called solvent. And this I take to be the meaning in Varro *L.L.* vii. 105. In the *lex Julia* it is difficult to see how *bonam copiam jurare* in this, or Mr. Greenidge's not very different sense, can be a ground for inflicting disability. I am driven to the conclusion that Mommsen is wrong in supplying *bonam copiam* before *abjuraverit*. *abjurare* is nowhere used with *bonam copiam*, and is used of denying a loan in Plaut. *Curc.* 496; *Pers.* 478 *ne quis mihi in jure abjurassit*; *Rud.* 14 *qui in jure abjurant pecuniam*; *Sall. Cat.* 25 *creditum abjuraverat*: and of denying liability in *Cic. Att.* i. 8 *me sponsorem appellat: mihi autem abjurare certius est quam dependere* (this last being also a technical word). *Servius* on *Verg. Aen.* viii. 263 *abjurataeque rapinae* 'robberies denied on oath' says *abjurare est rem creditam negare perjurio*. I think therefore either *creditum* has been omitted in our law or *abjurare* has acquired this meaning of itself. (Since writing this I have seen that a similar view is taken by *Karlowa Rechtsgeschichte* ii. p. 598). But still we have scarcely got a satisfactory basis for disqualification. This may be found either by Huschke's method of connecting the following two clauses with it (rejecting Mommsen's supplement of *-ve*) or more probably by supposing *d. m.* for *dolo malo* omitted before *abjuraverit*.

The book is published by the Clarendon Press, and as might be expected is excellently printed.

MONRO'S EDITION OF TITLES OF THE *DIGEST*.

Digest xix. 2, *locati conducti*. Translated with notes by C. H. MONRO, 1891. *Digest* xlvii. 2, *de furtis*. Translated with notes by C. H. MONRO, 1893. 5s. each.

THE editions of separate titles of the *Digest* for the Cambridge University Press, which were commenced by the late Dr. Walker, have been continued by Mr. Monro. The Syndics of the Press may be congratulated on their persistence in what is probably an unprofitable undertaking, and on the much improved manner in which these two titles have been edited. Mr. Monro has brought to the task much greater knowledge of law and better scholarship than Dr. Walker did, and I think the later of his two books even shows an advance upon the former. I have read both through carefully, and though those titles were not strange to me before, I have found benefit from Mr. Monro's labour and should be very glad of the like help in other titles as well. For it must be remembered an edition of titles of the *Digest* is quite a different thing from a treatise on particular parts of Roman law. There are many of the fragments which are passed over without notice in a systematic treatise, and many difficulties in the precise language and allusions of the Roman jurists, which are ignored by modern writers and are very unsatisfactorily dealt with by the older writers. If I proceed to make comments on some passages where I disagree from Mr. Monro, it is in the hope of criticism being found both more useful than generalities and not in any way incompatible with a favourable judgment on the whole. What edition of a classical author leaves no room for objection to details?

D. LOCATI CONDUCTI, l. 1. Mr. M. thinks there is a difficulty because the consensual character of *loc. cond.* is not fully recognized in *D. xix. 5 l. 5 § 2*. *At cum do ut facias, si tale sit factum quod locari solet, puta ut tabulam pingas, pecunia data locatio erit*. Says Mr. M. 'When the money is paid there is a *locatio*. Why not before the money is paid?' He has not caught the point. Translate 'When it is money which is transferred, we have *locatio*', and the difficulty vanishes. If it was not money, but something else, the *actio locati* does not apply; we must resort to the *actio prae-scriptis verbis*.

ll. 7, 8. I have no doubt that *ei qui* (l. 8) should not be separated, and that both denote the lessee. The middleman would

have been *sibi*. Nor do I see the difficulties which Mr. M. finds. Tryphonin rightly corrects Paul's somewhat crude dictum. A lessee is liable to his underlessee for the loss the latter sustains by eviction. *Prima facie* this loss is measured by the rent payable by underlessee to lessee, but special circumstances may make the underlessee's interest in retaining the house larger than is measured by his rent. Mr. M. refers to the final sentence of l. 33. But that fragment is dealing with evictions due to *vis major* natural or political. The position is quite different when the original lessor had a bad title. Whether he let, in knowledge or in ignorance of his title's being bad, he is liable for the whole interest of the lessee (l. 9, pr.; l. 15 § 8): and the underlessee, apart from special circumstances, can get from the lessee what the latter can get from his lessor.

l. 9 § 6. Mr. Monro is perhaps too prone to draw inferences from what is said to what is not said. Here he puts cases of purchase of the property out on lease and raises questions of notice and absence of notice. But the object of this section is very simple. A contract, whether foolish or not, binds according to its terms, and subsequent events do not affect it unless they are inconsistent with its nature or with the good faith of the parties. If a lessee acquires the ownership, by gift or legacy, of property to which his lessor had really no title, there is nothing in this to disturb his enjoyment (*frui licere*); and he has been at no cost to secure it, so that he has no claim on his landlord under the contract. Why then should he not pay rent as he covenanted? Julian tells us that he can sue, not on some other ground but on his contract (*ex conducto*), for a discharge for the future, but the contract (adds Ulpian) is good for his past occupation, and for that he must still pay any rent in arrear. Rents do not of themselves shift with the ownership (*D. xix. 1 l. 13 § 11*).

l. 13 pr. Mr. M. evidently takes this as a hire of the gig. I think it is a case of *operarum conductio*. The master of the slave *locat servum vehendum*, i.e. contracts for the conveyance of his slave: the slave is killed or hurt: and the master therefore sues the carriage-owner *ex locato*.

In § 2 *vectores* is 'passengers' not 'merchants.'

§ 4. This case, of a shoemaker striking his apprentice so violently with a last on

the neck (not 'head') that his eye was knocked out, occurs in *D. ix. 2 l. 13 pr.* with only this difference that his eye is there said *perfundi*, not *effundi*. A very competent surgeon tells me the case seems to him impossible. The only explanation which occurs to me is that the shoemaker aimed at the neck or back of the head and the lad turning round received the blow in his eye. Of course this is not accordant with the language of the report.

§ 10. The reason why the contractor, who fails to complete in time, is liable only if the work is relet on the same terms, may sometimes be, as M. Monro, following the *Basilica*, suggests, in order to test the possibility of performing the contract, though if the work be construction of some sort and partly done, no such test seems possible. But I suppose the measure of the first contractor's liability is dependent in some degree on the cost of completing the work, and for this purpose the same lines must be adhered to.

l. 15 § 7. The words *supra denique damnnum seminis ad colonum pertinere declaratur* are mistranslated by Mr. M. who does not see that *supra* simply refers to § 2: 'I have said above that the loss of the seed falls on the farmer,' *i.e.* he cannot claim anything from the lessor on this account.

l. 19 § 3. Mr. M.'s translation is at best ambiguous. I should translate: 'If the owner in letting the property bargains to take in lieu of part of the rent a certain quantity of corn at a certain price, and afterwards refuses to take corn or to deduct any money from the rent, he can no doubt sue on the contract for the whole sum; but of course we consider it to be the duty of the judge that he should take into account the interest of the lessee to pay the excepted part of the rent in corn rather than in money.' As regards the following words *simili modo* etc. I am aware that Glück agrees with Mr. M. in understanding it of a converse right to force the lessor to take all in money with a certain addition. But I think it only means that in the case supposed the lessor can assert his right to pay part in corn by means of a direct action as well as by a plea.

ib. § 5, *deteriorem causam aedium facit*, 'makes the house dangerous to live in,' Monro. I should translate 'damages' or 'depreciates the house.' I do not think the *damni infecti cautio* here is used in the regular technical sense or is limited to the case of danger. It is simply a natural security for the landlord to require in case of alterations by the tenant.

l. 21. Mr. M. says he does not understand Javolen's answer. The explanation is this. The agreement was made by stipulation for a fixed rent. Payment of the purchase money is completed before the time in contemplation when the rent was fixed. Purchaser asks for a formal release from the stipulation (cf. *D. xlvi. 4 l. 8, § 3*). If he got this, he would pay nothing: but, says Javolen, the stipulation should be enforced so far as good faith requires, *i.e.* the purchaser must pay a part of the rent, proportionate to the time for which he actually occupied as tenant.

l. 22 § 2. In Appendix i. Mr. M. accounts for this apparent departure from the rule given in l. 2 § 1. The rule is given better in *D. xviii. 1 l. 20*. It is not, as suggested, because in the case of buildings the remuneration for labour and skill is a larger proportion of the whole payment than in the case of a goldsmith who makes a ring from his own gold, but because the ownership of the soil carries with it the ownership of the building. In our case the *locator* clearly contracts for a building on his own ground. When I *loco insulam aedificandam* I really *conduco* the builder's services, which, as the *Digest* adds, he *locat*.

l. 30. Mr. M. is puzzled by '*pro portione quanti dominus praediorum locasset quod eius temporis habitatores habitare non potuissent rationem duci*' and I think misled by a conjecture of Mommsen that *et* should be inserted before *quod*. I have no doubt that Alfen (one of the oldest of the *Digest* lawyers) has used here the old style of speech, which is found in laws and in Cicero and others (see my *Gram.* § 1297 and a very full account in Jordan's *Krit. Beitr.* p. 336 foll.). Thus the edict in *D. iv. 6 l. 1 fin. quod eius per leges licebit* 'so far as the laws will allow'; *xxi. 1 l. 1 § 1 quod eius praestari oportere dicatur* 'so far as it shall be said to deserve to be made good.' So here I translate 'that a calculation be made in proportion to the rent fixed by the landlord for so much of the time as the lodgers have not been able to occupy.'

l. 36. I do not see so much difficulty as Mr. M. seems to do. The rule is that a building or construction is at the risk of the contractor, until it is finished (if nothing else is said), or until approval either of the whole or of a portion, according as the agreement is *per aversionem* or *per mensuras*. But in all cases of building, etc., the loss by *vis major* falls on the *locator*. And why? Because he in all cases furnishes the site, to which the building is an accession: and *vis*

major as a natural phenomenon is a consequence, not of what the contractor does, but of what the *locator* supplies, viz. the site or situation. On completion or approval, the owner of the site takes over the building or the approved part of it: before that time it is understood to be the property, and therefore at the risk, of the contractor.

The words *onus aversum* and *aversio* are from different verbs *avertere* and *averrere*: *onus aversum* is 'cargo diverted from its proper destination,' i.e. made away with: *per aversionem* is 'at a sweep,' as opposed to taking bit by bit.

D. DE FURTIS, l. 1, § 3. Mr. Monro in his first appendix discusses well the two modes in which the definition may be translated. I do not believe in such a combination as *contractatio usus*; and think the change of *lucri faciendi gratia* into *l. faciendae gratia* so easy that I have no hesitation in preferring the second interpretation. Tribonian with all his merits was in too great a hurry to care for the small points of grammar.

l. 7 pr. Mr. M. misses the point in *origo furti*, etc., and mistranslates accordingly. A slave steals something: he is not caught until after manumission. Is it theft manifest? No, says Pomponius, because the detection was not immediate. When the theft was committed, it was the act of a slave, and as such he could not be sued. His manumission altered this; and, as he was caught with the stolen goods, he might have been a thief manifest, had this been the first act. 'But the commencement of the theft was not a commencement of theft manifest.' This is simply the application of l. 6 to a case where, owing to the change of status, it might have been thought by some that a fresh commencement was made.

l. 13. Mr. M. translates 'if it is stolen at a time when you can say, etc.' I doubt this translation, and think that, had it been intended to lay stress on the time, Paul would have used *eo tempore quo* or *posteaquam* or something of that kind. '*cum stetitisset*' is merely 'seeing that it was the debtor's fault' or 'its being the debtor's fault.' But my main objection is that at no time would the stipulator have had such an interest as would entitle him to bring an *actio furti*. His remedy is on the contract: he has no hold over, and therefore no legal interest in, the thing itself. See l. 86, where Mr. M.'s note is mistaken, as also on l. 14, § 10.

l. 14, § 5, § 7. In both these sections Mr. M. calls attention to the difficulty arising from the fact that, in the ordinary case of

theft by a stranger, the unit of calculation for damages claimed is not the amount of the debt for which the slave is pledged, but the value of the slave himself, the creditor however having to account for all excess over the debt. Yet it is clear that it is the debt which is divided in § 5, and that *totum* in § 7 is the debt also. I do not think that the solution is to be found in supposing, as Mr. M. does, that both cases refer only to thefts by the debtor. The creditor has a right to sue for the theft, only if he has an interest, and the amount of such interest would, I suppose, have to be shown in the course of the proceedings. His effective interest in ordinary cases is simply the amount of the debt, and whatever he gets by his action is liable (if there is no additional claim for expenses, etc.) to be cut down to this in account with the debtor. And when, as in this section, he is spoken of as having an action for so much, it is not the damages themselves which are regarded but that portion of them which the creditor will be able to retain. Both slaves being pledged for the whole debt, if one slave be lost, neither the defendant can object that the creditor has no interest, because there is another slave still in pledge who is worth the whole amount (else why was the other pledged?), nor can the debtor, when the account is taken, say that the creditor must restrict himself to one half the debt.

In § 7 you must allocate your debt in some proportion to the two slaves, if you are going to sue the thief on both heads; else, if you put the whole on one, you have no case on the other. But there is no reason for treating a thief with any greater consideration, because the thing stolen was in pledge. He is liable for the whole value: the distribution of the proceeds is a matter to be settled between the creditor and the debtor, whose joint rights cover the whole value of the slave. When the thief is the debtor himself, he has really stolen only that part of the slave which is equivalent to the creditor's claim; the rest is his own property. And the penal character of the action is satisfied by his being obliged to forfeit this amount, and not being allowed to set it off against his debt (h. t. l. 80, l. 88; xiii. 7, l. 22 pr.).

l. 21, § 4. The difficulty about the words '*si vere fuit*' seems to me to be solved by the assumption that the handle was only soldered to the cup. In this case, no doubt, the owner of the cup can vindicate it, handle and all, from third parties and truly call it his own as a whole. But the owner of the handle

can sue him *ad exhibendum* and thus regain his property. Paul in *D. vi. 1, l. 23, § 5* uses *dominus* of a handle in such a condition, and *vere fuit* means no more. He is owner but cannot for the time vindicate. If the handle were ferruminated, the case were different: the handle is for ever part of the cup, and even if separated does not revert to its former owner (*ib.*, cf. also *xli. 1, l. 27, § 2*).

l. 31. This law appears to have puzzled Mr. M. and yet I suppose he has referred to *D. iii. 4* though his reference is wrong. I have no doubt that *de ceteris rebus publicis* means other communities than that of a municipium; and that *societates* refers to the large public companies (cf. *D. xvii. 2, l. 59*). I see Savigny takes this view (*System* § 87, note *c*; § 88, note *b*).

l. 52, § 11. Mr. M. is not unnaturally puzzled by the decision in the case of the wheat-dealer. But I think '*nomine ejus*' does not mean 'using his name' but 'on his account'; and the wheat-dealer did not take sufficient care to ascertain this fact. This is practically the gist of the words '*non enim mihi negotium sed sibi siliginarius gessit*.' 'He was not, as it happened, acting for me but for himself,' like a banker who pays a forged cheque.

ib. § 12. Mr. M. in his comments seems not to have considered the possibility of the man who got the slave out of custody being perfectly honest in believing the slave to be his own. The fact of his giving sureties shows him probably not to be a mere thief.

l. 54, § 3. This is another of the sections in which Mr. M. shows an imperfect conception of the principle on which the *actio furti*

is granted. It is limited to cases in which the plaintiff holds the thing as owner or by consent of the owner (*l. 86*). A voluntary *negotiorum gestor* is of course liable to him with whose business he has chosen to intermeddle; and by the cession of the owner's action he may obtain compensation for what he has to pay: but it is entirely for the owner to say whether he will use the action himself or not. A mere volunteer cannot occupy property where he chooses, and have an action for theft if the property be stolen. That is the owner's right, or the right of those to whom he gives a legal and responsible position in reference to it.

There are other sections on which I have noted some disagreement with Mr. Monro's views, but I have said enough, and perhaps more than enough, for the readers of this *Journal*. May I plead that the *Digest* is one of the most important literary monuments of the world and lies at the foundation of most civilized legislation? For us now in England it is chiefly matter for antiquarian study: its students are not as numerous as are found for Homer or pre-historic monuments, but perhaps all the more on that account respect is due to those who, like Mr. Monro, honestly and capably try to make rough places smooth, and to shed light on the somewhat hurried but most precious and fruitful labours of Tribonian. He has preserved to us a building which would otherwise have perished, and, if he adapted it to the practical wants of the time, he has in so doing freed it from much that otherwise would have hindered its continued life.

H. J. ROBY.

WEDD'S EDITION OF THE ORESTES.

The Orestes of Euripides edited with Introduction, Notes, and Metrical Appendix by N. Wedd, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. The University Press. 1895. 4s. 6d.

It is to be hoped that this excellent book will be largely used. The chief of its many merits seems to me to lie in the introduction, which treats in a masterly way of the poet's attitude towards his subject, showing how in the matter of bloodguiltiness the public for which he wrote had 'become more moral than its gods,' and how the large space which the difficulties of the moral problem occupied in the poet's mind led him

to 'sacrifice art to ethics.' It concludes with some useful remarks on the 'bearing of the play on contemporary events.'

Of the explanatory notes, too, there is little but good to be said. They are a thorough and scholarly guide to the text. Perhaps too many *alternative* interpretations are given. One could almost imagine that an inexperienced learner would thereby be encouraged to think that in Greek ambiguity was a virtue.

Critical questions are only slightly touched. The metrical appendix gives Dr. J. H. H. Schmidt's schemes of the choric passages; the necessary alterations having been made where the reading adopted is not that

adopted by Dr. Schmidt. The best argument in favour of such an addition to a school-book is that if a learner takes the trouble to master the notation and terminology, he will have learnt a good deal about Greek poetic metres. On the other hand when a simple find that the elaborate scheme will only add confusion and confusion, and that other books give other texts and other arrangements of lines, he will perhaps proceed to ask his teacher some awkward questions: e.g. how it is that in v. 179 the last syllable of *δοῦρον* which ends the ϵ (the next ϵ begins with a vowel) is represented in the scheme by μ or $\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha$ (*τετράχρησι*) followed by Λ (a pause equivalent to $_$)? The only answer is: 'the other feet in which we have arranged the line have five short syllables, so we must call this one short five short, or the equivalent.'

For the rest, I will gladly take the opportunity of discussing with the author a few points in the notes on which I cannot unhesitatingly accept his views. L. 54 *λιπέσα* ... *ἐκπλαγῶν* (*πλάτῃ*) W. 'falling (with his feet)' as an alternative to Porson's 'traversing (with oars)'; better still Heath's explanation: 'explore portum—explore navigationem: so = 'reach.' 182-6 the two alternatives which in translating *στράματος*... *ἀπο* or *ἀπὸ λέχους* (*χάρην*) render the latter phrase by '(the boon) which the couch gives' or 'issuing from the couch,' seem much inferior to Porson's *ἀπὸ λέχους* 'away from the couch.' The two former give two genitives awkwardly to *χάρην*. 188 *τί δ' εἶποι* ἄλλο is Schmidt's reading: it squares with the metrical scheme, but not with any MS. reading, nor with the reading which the metrical note on p. 174 leads us to expect, which is *τί δ' ἄλλο γ' εἶποι* the reading of F. 194 HA. should come before *καλῶς δ' αἶ*. I conclude from note (1) on p. 174 (174a) that the editor did not mean here to desert the MSS. 228 for *intransitively* read *absolutely*. 362f. 'See *Hom. Od.* 4, 514 for an account of the interview.' In Homer the *πάντες* was Proteus, not Glaucus. 432 *τὸ Τροίῳ μίσος*, *Τροίῳ* is a doubtful correction of Musgrave's for the MSS. *Τροίῳς* ('bringing up against my father the hate which dates from Troy') W. transl. 'the hateful thing done at Troy.' 547 *ἔτερον ἄνομα* W. 4 'a different title'—better, 'on the other count.' The Schol. has *καθ' ἕτερον ἄνομα*. ABFe have not *δέ γ'* but *δ'*. I suspect the true reading to be *δ' ἐταῖρον ἄνομα* 'on a kindred count.' 624 *ἀμείνεν* 'used imperatively': better to take

it as dep. on *λέγω* in 622 and with Kirchh. to reject 625 which is identical with 536. The mode of death has already been mentioned by T. at 614. 860 Is it correct to talk of '*lamenting* the future' ? 882 'there is a v. l. *φῶλον*': not worth mentioning: a mere copyist's error, as the scholiast shows. The Schol. on 1023 (*λίπα τὸ δαῖ φέρειν*) shows that 1024 is a late insertion. It is a very instructive case, showing how interpolators dealt with apparently unfinished sentences. 1036 I have long thought that the right reading here was *ξίφει θύρειν χίρα*: for the expression cf. v. 1222 *ἀπιδύμιστα φασγάνω χίρας*, and H. F. 195 *ἄσοι δὲ τῶνος χίρ' ἔχουσι εὐστοχον*. 1038 It should have been mentioned that not only Klotz but a scholiast takes *τὸν Ἀγ. γόνον* to refer to Orestes: also that a schol. says that Aristophanes read *δοῦρον* for *γόνον*. 1051 Much better to reject the v. with Kirchh. than to torture *ἀμφὶ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις* into 'concerning us the wretched pair.' 1126 *πράσθην δ' ὀπαδῶν* W. 'before (killing) her attendants': better 'in the presence of her attendants.' 1129 All MSS. have *αἶ*. η which W. prints first occurs in Ald. 1172-4 'In this case *εἰὸς γὰρ αἶ...σωτηρία* forms the apodosis to *εἶ παθὲν...βασιάν*. Possibly *σωτηρία* is put by inadvertence for the last word of the preceding line: otherwise I cannot understand it. W. gets out of the difficulties of the passage by giving *εἰτιχάρην ἂν ἂν* *ironical* sense: 'I should be lucky if' i.e. 'it is impossible that.' I think the best way to take the whole passage (vv. 1172-4) is to put a full stop at the end of 1172, taking *εἰὸς* (as in 1151 *εἰὸς γὰρ αἶ σφάλλόντες ἔζομεν κλέος*) to mean 'one of the two objects' (just mentioned),—the dying nobly, and the taking vengeance on Menelaus. The two foll. vv. will then be a wish (or perhaps an aposiopesis). 1188 'For *δὲ τί* see on 62.' There is no note on *δὲ τί* in 62. 1196 Has not this verse got out of place? It comes much better after 1198. Nauck suspects it of being spurious. 1208 'With *λέχος* supply *αἰγῆς*': better *λέχος* as a usual synonym for 'wife.' 1219 Best with v. Herwerden to reject this v. It is very awkward not to take *σῖνναχος* as well as *κατ.* with *πατρός*, and this the context forbids. The line probably comes from another play. 1221 *λόγους πέρφασ' ἔσω* 'by sending a message in to us': surely it is 'calling out so as to be heard within,' 'sending your voice into the house.' 1387 *σείμων*, and not *σείμων* is the reading of all the MSS. This should have been mentioned. 1478 *πρόσποιον* 'with the handle in

front,' *i.e.* 'towards the hand, hence, ready for action': perhaps better 'with hilt advanced' *i.e.* drawn (forward) out of the sheath: hence *drawn* simply, which Suidas gives as its meaning. 1510 I doubt whether 'the natural way to take this line is to regard *Μενέλεω* as governed by *κραυγῆν ἔθηκας*.' It seems to me more natural, even if we neglect the foll. v., to take *Μενέλεω* with *βοηδρομείν*. 1520 For *ὥστε* for *ὡς* cf. also above v. 882. 1607 'μ' is omitted in some MSS.' should be 'in all the good MSS.' 1614

I don't believe in 'death' as a transl. of *σφάγιον* here: *σοὶ σφάγιον ἐκόμισ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν* 'To thee death was all I brought from Troy.' Nor can I see any reason for deserting the M. *σοὶ* for *σὲ* as W. does, following Canter. The only misprints I have noticed are on l. 6 782--6 for 982--6, on 974 *ἐν πόλει* for *ἐν πολίταις*, 1123 text? *ταῦθ'* (translated 'the same as') for *ταῦθ'*, 1628 should have a full stop at the end.

E. B. ENGLAND.

WELLMANN'S PNEUMATISCHE SCHULE.

[*Philologische Untersuchungen* herausgegeben v. KIESSLING und WILAMOWITZ-MOLLENDORFF. Vierzehntes Heft.] *Die Pneumatische Schule bis auf Archigenes; in ihrer entwicklung dargestellt* von MAX WELLMANN. 8vo. Pp. 239. Berlin: Weidmann. 1895. Preis 7 Mk.

At the time when Galen wrote his voluminous works the great impulse which medicine had received from the Hippocratic school was waning. I trust that it is not to detract in any degree from the merits of that great man to say that in his works themselves some signs of decadence are to be seen by him who reflects upon them. Next to Hippocrates himself Galen stands forth in the history of medicine as the greatest of our predecessors. But Galen's genius was too splendid! A great observer, a great experimenter, and a great and wise physician, he was also a man of enormous learning and too ingenious a philosopher. Ardent in spirit, rich in imagination, fertile in hypotheses, profuse in eloquence, Galen rounded off the undeveloped figure of truth with a splendid mantle woven of his own genius and learning; so that modest truth was hidden in embroidery. Not only so, but the embroidery was more akin to the taste of the age than to the nature of truth herself; and truth and embroidery together bulked so largely that no one dreamed of reading Galen; unless to steal from him, and the thieves stole the wrong things, the apparel and not the vital substance. So it came about that as medicine, like other knowledge, fell to pieces in the lower empire, and indeed ceased to have any productive existence, the system of Galen, based upon the Hippocratic writings, upon Aristotle,

upon his own genuine work, but artificially reared into a great and largely artificial synthesis, was well calculated, even if it had not found the shelter of the mediæval church, to dominate medical thought, as indeed it did dominate it until the time of Vesalius and Harvey.

Now what were the beliefs of medical writers at and soon after the time of Galen?

First there were the Dogmatists who stood in the following of the school of Hippocrates, and who held the doctrine of the four elements or humours—the cold, the hot, the moist, and the dry; a classification older of course than Hippocrates. 'For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce, Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring Their embryon atoms:' This school was a rational and even scientific school which professed both to observe phenomena and also to inquire into their laws, whether by dissection or other means. A second school was Methodism, which was satisfied to refer all symptoms and all disease to the variations of the 'strictum' and the 'laxum;' that is, to the restriction or laxity of the secretions and other fluids of the body. A third school was that of the Empiricists, who professed to be guided by obvious phenomena or symptoms only, and to repudiate all generalizing or inferential methods. This was of course no 'method' at all, but a denial of method. It is extremely difficult in modern language to put these tenets briefly in such a way as not to be misleading; however, so things approximately were with the Greek physicians of the empire. Now out of the Methodists arose the Pneumatists, who attributed to the *pneuma*, or a *pneuma* (for the word was used in more than one sense),

an influence in the production of diseases. Athenaeus, who was the founder of this school, recognized a fifth element, a sort of fiery vapour, which was the active agent of the body, and which flowed in the arteries and so on. I need not say that this invention of an active principle governing the admixture of atoms was not devised by this school, but was derived from Plato, Aristotle, and Erasistratus. However, the *pneuma* was neglected or actually denied by the 'methodist' physicians.

Now of these *Pneumatici*, of whom Galen gives us most information, Athenaeus of Cilicia (*ca.* A.D. 69) was the founder; Agathinos was one of his disciples, Theodorus and Magnus were others. Herodotus, towards the end of the first century, was, after Athenaeus, the most eminent member of the *Pneumatists*; the short list of them is completed by the names of Apollonius of Pergamon, Heliodorus, and last but not least, Archigenes of Apamea.

None of the works of the *Pneumatists* is extant, and we are indebted for all our knowledge of them to fragments and allusions in other writers, especially in Aretaeus, Galen, Oribasius, and Aetius. The little that is personally known of the *Pneumatists*, and these fossil remains of their works, have been admirably brought together by Herr Wellmann, who concludes his treatise with a survey (70 pp.) of the system of the school founded upon his collection. The author points out that the school taught not only clinical observation but also physiology, dietetics, pathology, and therapeutics.

The founder, Athenaeus, seems to have been one of the most attractive physicians of his time, and his works show a familiarity with those of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, especially of Chrysippus. To Agathinos his pupil Archigenes gives this excellent character—'πάντα ἀκριβῆς ὄν καὶ οὐ πιστεύων τῇ ἐκλογῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πείρας εἰς ἀσφάλειαν δεόμενος.'

Herodotus was a physician of great eminence and success in Rome towards the end of the century; and Herr Wellmann points out that the terms of Galen's reference to him are alone sufficient to distinguish him from the sceptical philosopher of the same name: although Zeller and Simon Sepp were disposed to identify the two. Apollonius of Pergamon in certain fragments warns us not to bleed carelessly, lest we let out too much of the *pneuma*; on the other hand, he warns us that too great a plethora of the vessels and viscera may prevent the *pneuma* from coursing as actively about the body as it should do. Of Archigenes we have some biography in Suidas; unfortunately it is very scanty. He, like Herodotus, though holding the distinctive tenets, and much of the language of the *Pneumatici*, nevertheless was somewhat of an eclectic.

In the second part of the treatise the 'Quellen' are fully and thoroughly set forth and compared. The only reflection I have to make, I cannot call it a criticism, is that Herr Wellmann may not always have sufficiently borne in mind the tendency of philosophical writers, as of poets, to form a current language of their own; so that similar passages may not infrequently be coincidences rather than quotations or plagiarisms in bulk. The notes to the sources, as to the rest of the book, are thorough and sufficient in number. It is impossible, at present at any rate, to give any summary of the systematic results of the third part. I have already trespassed too far, but it seemed to me that this attempt of Herr Wellmann to reconstruct an extinct and almost forgotten school of philosophy and medicine deserves ample recognition. The study is a useful one, it is well executed, and does great credit to the scholarship and to the industry of the author, who acknowledges his indebtedness to Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. The print and paper are good.

T. CLIFFORD ALBUTT.

GILES' COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

A Short Manual of Comparative Philology for Classical Students, by P. GILES, M.A. Macmillan and Co. 10s. 6d.

MR. GILES deserves the thanks of all teachers and students of Comparative Philology for his admirable 'Manual.'

Without unfairness to other books already in the field, one may say that it is the first thoroughly satisfactory work of the kind. The most certain results achieved up to the present day are stated concisely and yet in such a way as to maintain the reader's interest and to let him see as much

as possible of the reasoning by which such results are arrived at. The work is intended for classical students and presupposes little knowledge of other than the classical languages. Its scope is therefore somewhat restricted: but in the first part, which is headed 'General Principles,' an account is given of the main facts and principles of Comparative Philology intelligible to such students.

The author's method is as far as possible to proceed from the concrete to the abstract, and to introduce general principles by means of illustrations which themselves serve as preliminary exercises in the elementary facts and methods of Comparative Philology. Thus the third chapter—'How do Indo-Germanic Languages differ from other Languages?'—begins with an analysis of simple words in cognate languages into their component parts, so as to show the essential character of Indo-Germanic word-formation. The fourth chapter, after giving a short sketch of the history of Comparative Philology leading up to the controversy between Curtius and the *Junggrammatiker*, asks the question: 'Is Philology a Science?' This leads to a discussion of the vexed question of the inviolability of phonetic laws, and the widespread action of analogy in its different forms is explained and illustrated by apt examples. In the two following chapters the leading facts and principles of phonetics are presented. The first part closes with an interesting chapter in which first English (taken as the most familiar example of the Teutonic languages) is compared with Latin and Greek, and then the relation of English to other Teutonic languages is explained. In this connexion a complete yet concise account of Grimm's and Verner's Laws is given.

The main part of the book, consisting of the second and third parts is taken up with the principles of Comparative Philology as applied to Latin and Greek. The arrangement calls for little notice: Part ii. deals with the relation of Greek and Latin sounds to those of the original Indo-Germanic language, including the facts of accent and vowel gradation; Part iii. treats of the formation of noun and verb stems, inflexion, and syntax. The whole exposition is singularly clear and accurate, and for the class of students for whom the work is intended practically complete. One or two matters (e.g. the discussion of the *tenues aspiratae*) are intentionally omitted, apparently for fear of introducing controversial matter.

In the case cited this is perhaps to be regretted inasmuch as forms containing *Idg. th.* must be assumed and are in fact given in a scheme of verbal endings (see p. 360). On the whole the author by no means shrinks from telling the student that there is much *adhuc sub judice* in Comparative Philology (see the notes on Bartholomae's *Vowel Series* and Streitberg's *Theory of Lengthened Grades* pp. 192, 193), though in the large type paragraphs he confines himself as far as possible to things certain. In the account of the history of *s* in Latin we should like to have seen a summary of the conclusions of Conway's *Verner's Law in Italy*: and the subject of the treatment of the Indo-Germanic accent in Greek would have gained in completeness by a short enunciation of the five rules stated in Wheeler's *Der Griechische Nominalaccent*.

The discussion of the inviolability of phonetic laws (already referred to) seems hardly convincing. Mr. Giles' argument seems to amount to this—that if phonetic laws are not inviolable then (1) Philology is not a science and (2) 'explanation' (*scilicet* of linguistic facts) becomes 'impracticable.' But surely (1) is a *petitio principii*: and as to (2), 'explanation' is precisely what Comparative Philology has refused so far to give, e.g. of the fact that intervocalic *s* becomes *r* in Latin, but disappears in Greek. The truth seems to be that it will not be until we can 'explain' linguistic phenomena, that is, assign their cause, that we shall be entitled to speak of 'laws' governing them: till then we are only dealing with observed uniformities. In the meantime 'inviolability' like other counsels of perfection leads in practice to excellent results.

A few points seem to require correction or addition:—e.g. on p. 87 the Germanic treatment of *i* and *u* should have been stated: *ἡσθιον* is an example of a primitive *Idg.* and not of an early Greek contraction, as stated on p. 100: p. 1051 Eng. 'reek' = Germ. *Rauch* and therefore cannot = Greek *ἔρεβος*: p. 159 Greek treatment of nasal or liquid + *u* should have been stated: p. 263 it is hard to agree with the author in assigning so important a position to the 'cognate accusative' as an early type; *ὑπόσχεσιν ἦνπερ ἐπέστην* and the like must be later than *τοῦτο ἐπέστην*. The distinction between 'external' and 'internal' accusatives, which is the real foundation of double accusatives like *μηδὲν ὑγίης ἀλλήλας λέγειν* (cited on p. 265), seems to be unnoticed. On p. 312 εἶς (*sem-*) and Homeric δῶ house

(cp. *δεσπότης* stem *dem-*) should have been added as original stems in *m*. Considering the serious difficulties presented by the vowels in Latin perfects like *vidi*, *cēpi* and *sēdi*, it seems rash to suggest that these forms go back to the primitive language, as is done on p. 391. P. 420 *νέονται* is as much a future in form as *καλέω* and need not be treated as a present-future.

The book contains appendices on the Greek and Latin Alphabets, the Greek dialects and the Italic dialects. The two latter appendices give very brief sketches of the dialects dealt with and copious examples from inscriptions with a few explanatory notes. There are excellent indices of Greek and Latin words.

W. M. GELDART.

BRUCE TO HIS MEN AT BANNOCKBURN.

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has aften led,
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victory!

Now's the day, and now's the hour;
See the front o' battle lour;
See approach proud Edward's power—
Chains and slavery.

Wha will be a traitor knave?
Wha can fill a coward's grave?
Wha sae base as be a slave?
Let him turn and flee!

Wha for Scotland's king and law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw;
Freeman stand, or freeman fa',
Let him follow me!

By oppression's woes and pains!
By your sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be free!

Lay the proud usurper low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty's in every blow!—
Let us do or die!

BURNS.

ΟΥΜΩΙ ΓΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣΔΕ ΜΑΧΩΜΕΘΑ.

ἄνδρων μαχατᾶν ἔρνεα, λαγέταις
πάμπολλ' ὑπ' ἔσλοις γευσάμενοι φόνω,
στρώματα δάφουος ἕμμ' ἰαύην
ὀμμένει ἢ μέγα σέμονον εὐχος.

ἄγων ὄδ' ἄμαρ κίριον ὄρνυται
λόγχαις πεφρίκων σμέρνδος ἴδην Ἄρευσ·
δουληγίας πλάθει τύρανος
γάγγαμον ἄμμι φέρων· τὸ δ' ἔρρε

ὅττις προδώσεις γαῖαν, ὅτω τάφος
δειλῶ κέχαν' ἄκλαυτος ἀνόνημος,
ὅττις ζύγον πέρθεσθ' ἐπ' ὤμοις
μῶσαι, ἔρρε λάθου τε χάρμας.

τὸ δ' ὅς πόλῳων τῶν νομίμων ὑπερ
λαῖς πρόστατιν νόμῳν κρατέρως σπάθαν,
ζῶων τ' ἄμα θαύσκων τε θάρσῃν,
τὸ ξὺν ἔμοι πόλεμονδ' ὑμάρτη.

ὄμνημ' ὑβριστᾶν κάδεα καὶ πόνον,
ὄμνημι παιδῶν δούλιον ἀντρούφαν,
ἄδιστα γὰν δεύσει τόδ' αἶμα,
ἢν πεδ' ἐλευθερίας θάνωμεν.

αἰσχρον βιάτας πτώμα προπιπτέτω,
φθίνουσι νήλεις ὅσοι ἀρείφωτοι
φθίνουσ'· ἐλεύθερον τόδ' αἶμαρ
ἀρνύμεθ' ἢ θάνατον πρὸ πάτρας.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

NON ILLE PRO PATRIA TIMIDUS PERIRE.

SAEPE cum Valla comites dedistis
sanguinem, Scoti; duce saepe Bruto
proelia intrastis; moriamur ultro
ni superemus.

tempus advenit! datur hora Marti;
horret en armis acies, et instat
hostis Edvardus premat ut catenis
servitioque.

proditor si quis putet esse, si quis
malit ignavi reperire mortem,
turpiter si quis ferat esse servus,—
versus abito.

Scotiae qui pro duce legibusque
vindicem stringes metuendus ensem,
liber ut vivas pereasve liber,—
perge age mecum.

insolens per quae mala victor infert,
vincla natorum per acerba juro,
sanguis e venis semel hauriendus
liber abundat!

sternite in terram dominum superbum,
deperit quicumque perit tyrannus,
nos salus armat patriae, vocat nos
aut decus aut mors.

W. WALLACE.

[The above versions were sent to the Burns Centenary Committee.]

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MYKENAEAN CIVILIZATION.

HELBIG: *La Question Mycénienne* (Mém. de l'Acad. d'Inscr. xxxv.). 1896.

M. HELBIG feels acutely the manner in which 'anti-Semitic' archaeology has of recent years 'blackened' the character of the Phoenicians, and detracted from their inventive and beneficent genius; and calls upon all who read alphabetic script, or drink alcoholic liquors to combine with him in the task—'the noblest which can fall to a historian' (p. 84)—of whitewashing the sepulchres of the first missionaries of the 'roman piquant' (all praise to Our Lady of Paphos!) and the 'vin passable' which have made subsequent civilizations tolerable.

Accordingly, in this essay, he has brought together a variety of considerations to support the thesis that Mykenaeon civilization originated in Phoenicia, and was propagated by Phoenicians over the Mediterranean at a period approximately contemporary with the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty.

He does not however appear to have consulted much of the recent literature of the subject; he rests mainly upon his own interpretation of the data furnished by the compilations of MM. Perrot and Chipiez; and he seldom displays any first hand ac-

quaintance with the materials which he uses.

M. Helbig's argument is as follows:—

(1) Mykenaeon art in the Aegean is 'exotic'; it appears there already mature, and is as abruptly extinguished; it is preceded, and followed, by a barbaric rectilinear style of decoration, with which it has little or nothing in common. Therefore it must have developed elsewhere, and have been introduced from without (p. 7). How far this assumption can be reconciled with notorious facts, we shall see hereafter.

(2) Certain rare finds show that 'Mykenaeon' art was represented in Phoenicia itself.

(3) Striking analogies exist between Mykenaeon art and the art of the Keftiu, a Levantine people who brought tribute to Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, which is contemporary with the Mykenaeon Age (pp. 28 ff.).

(4) The Keftiu are the Phoenicians: therefore Keftiu art is the long-sought-for art of Phoenicia in the 'Sidonian Age' before the rise of Tyre in or about the tenth century B.C. The replacement of 'Sidonian' by Tyrian art explains the contrast between Mykenaeon art and the 'Phoenician' art of the seventh-sixth centuries.

(5) Loan-words in Greek show that many articles of luxury first became known in Greece under Semitic names: therefore

they were imported by Semitic merchants. This is logically unsound: *v.* below.

(6) The Epic, which is largely of Mykenaeon Age, and the great mass of Greek traditional history recognize 'Sidonian' importations, especially of metal-work, as superior to the native manufactures of Greece; and describe 'Sidonian' merchants in the Aegean: on the other hand, they indicate no early 'Achaean' commerce with Egypt, only occasional raids. Therefore 'Mykenaeon' art borrowed its Egyptian motives not directly but *via* 'Sidon.'

The comments which follow upon these several headings are only intended to indicate a few facts which appear to have escaped M. Helbig's notice, though no doubt he will be able to make them square with his theory.

(1) To doubt that the Keftiu are the Phoenicians, and that none but the Phoenicians are Keftiu is, according to M. Helbig, an 'entêtement sceptique.' After a careful re-examination of the able paper of MM. Maspero and Pottier, to which he refers (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* vii. p. 120 ff.), I regret that I remain 'sceptique,' though I believe not consciously 'entêté.' What I cannot explain away is the fact (1) that geographically, if not ethnologically, the Kaphtorim of Genesis x. 14 are related to Mizraim (Egypt) and the Philistines; not to Canaan, whose first-born is Sidon, and whose other descendants fill the Syrian interior: (2) that the name Kiphta lingered on till quite late times at Caesarea (Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 93), fifty miles south even of Tyre, and with Carmel between: (3) that the same name probably survived in Kephene, applied to the same neighbourhood (Lepsius, *Nub. Gramm.* p. ci.—cvii., cf. Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* p. 185).

Now this is just the part of the Syrian coast where Phoenician influence, so far as it existed at all, was throughout weakest; where Philistine (that is, immigrant) influence was throughout strongest in the pre-Tyrian centuries, and where we have, as at Tell-el-Hesi (Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 1894), the clearest traces of commerce with Cyprus, another claimant of the name Kaphtor. It is possible, of course, that the Egyptians, coming from the South, may have extended a south Palestinian tribe-name to designate the whole Syrian coast: but we know that they did distinguish other towns and districts less distinct from the country of the Keftiu than the neighbourhood of either Tyre or Sidon.

(2) M. Helbig argues rightly (pp. 5-8)

that the mature Mykenaeon style postulates a long series of development; but if he infers from this that it did not develop in the Aegean he cannot be aware of (indeed he denies, p. 7) the existence of exactly this series of development within the area in question: which has been published in outline for many years (Fouqué's *Santorin*, 1862), and recently in very great detail especially by Italian and English archaeologists in Crete.¹ (Dümmler, *Ath. Mitth.* xi.; Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art.* vi.; Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*: cf. the unpublished results of M. Tsountas in Amorgos, 1894-5, and of the British School of Archaeology in Melos, 1896). The result of this series of observations, now continuous and adequate on all the important points, is to show that Mykenaeon art is essentially indigenous to the Aegean area, and that it does not appear except at a quite late stage in the Bronze Age in Cyprus; where, if it emanated from Phoenicia, it would be reasonable to expect that it would make itself felt first. In fact, it is, as we shall shortly see, in Cyprus, not in the Aegean, that Mykenaeon art is an exotic of late arrival; while on the Syrian coast, as M. Helbig admits, Mykenaeon art has hitherto hardly made its appearance at all.

(3) M. Helbig's indifference to the evidence of the earlier stages of Mykenaeon civilization is perhaps partly accounted for by his assumption that the 'Hellenes'—whom he does not further define, but apparently identifies with the 'recipients' of Mykenaeon culture in the Aegean—emerged in Greece suddenly and at a late date, from a nomad existence in Central Europe (p. 7, 10). Here he ignores the whole of the evidence recently accumulated, which indicates fully as important a connection *via* Crete with the Cyrenaica and Libya, as has been formerly asserted between Greece and Central Europe. It is true that N. Africa is *terra incognita* even more than Phoenicia, and that a 'Libyan

¹ Here Mykenaeon art has a continuous and indigenous descent from the culture of the early Bronze Age, and passes by insensible degrees back to a point, barely removed from the end of the Neolithic Age, where it joins, through the Hissarlik type, with the Cypriote Bronze Age culture, which however pursues a very different and peculiar career. Intermediate, and by no means early stages of this development can now be dated, on Cretan evidence, to the time of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (Evans, 'Cretan Pictographs,' p. 57 ff.; *J.H.S.* xiv. 326 ff.; Myres, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xv. p. 351 ff.; Mariani, *Mon. Antichi*, 1896): and consequently the beginning of the process must far antedate any known data for Phoenician industry and commerce.

theory' of Mykenaeen culture *may* prove as baseless as the 'Karian theory' of MM. Köhler and Dümmler has proved, which was promulgated under similar circumstances. Consequently no conclusive evidence can be brought forward as yet; but at least it has not been shown for Libya as it *has* in the case of Phoenicia (*v. below*, p. 353) that an inferior and incongruous civilization existed there during the great period of Mykenaeen art. Meanwhile, everything that we do know of Libya indicates that during these centuries its wealth, civilization, and enterprise were such as to make it a dangerous, and even a rival, neighbour to Egypt: and it is at least as likely that the 'peoples of the isles of the sea,' who are represented on Egyptian monuments as allies of the Libyans, were influenced by Egyptian art *via* Libya, as by the longer and at that time far more precarious route *via* Phoenicia. This is a speculation which would take us far afield; but before the existence of similarities between Egyptian and Mykenaeen art can be accepted as proving Phoenician intermediation, it must at all events be shown that no alternative, or at least that no more direct intermediation is probable. And, in view of the Cypriote evidence which will shortly be quoted, it must be admitted that there was apparently a 'great gulf fixed' on the direct Levantine route between Phoenicia and the Aegean.

(4) If Phoenicia had really begun to establish transmarine trade in the centuries preceding 1000 B.C., it would have been reasonable to suppose that the earliest and fullest evidence would have been sought for, and found, in the deposits of that age in Cyprus; especially as Cyprus was throughout this period a main centre of the copper-industry, and certainly was in communication with Egypt, with the Syrian coast, Asia Minor, and the land route to Europe, and with the Aegean. It is therefore curious that, with the exception of a somewhat contemptuous, and certainly misleading, allusion (p. 40) to Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter's *Kypros*, M. Helbig ignores uniformly the mass of material which has been accumulated during the last fifteen years, a large number of the published accounts of which have appeared in French and German sources. If M. Helbig had been aware of the Cypriote evidence, he might have been spared the labour of compiling some part of his essay: for the Cypriote Bronze Age is copiously represented, and has been very fully examined:

it has a long and characteristic development, and, as already stated, was in regular communication with the outside world. But it borrowed nothing till a quite late date which can be assigned to Phoenician sources; and, on the other hand, exported and taught much from an early period to the whole Syrian coast, from Sinjirli to Tell el Hesi.

In fact, though it lies within sight of the Lebanon, Cyprus owes nothing to either Mykenaeen or Syrian civilization until the Eighteenth Dynasty; its affinities are with Cilicia and Cappadocia; its nearest parallel is with Hissarlik; and when Mykenaeen art does at last reach it, it does so from the west (namely from Rhodes), and in a mature, not to say decadent, stage. And it is at this stage, and not earlier, that the first embryonic appearance occurs of a totally different style of pottery; which begins to be imported into Egypt somewhat earlier than into Cyprus, which barely reaches Crete, and does not touch Peloponnese; which, along with the Mykenaeen tradition, influences Cypriote pottery profoundly from the tenth to the seventh century; and the purest, most characteristic, and most stable offshoots of which are found in Carthaginian and Sardinian deposits of the seventh—sixth centuries; at the period, that is, when we have the first contemporary, as distinct from legendary, information about Phoenician trade in the Central and Western Mediterranean.

Thus, even the one allusion which M. Helbig makes to Cyprus (p. 40) exactly refutes his own argument. He points to the similarity of Mykenaeen and early Graeco-Phoenician pottery in Cyprus as evidence that Phoenician influence lasted on there through the sub-Mykenaeen Age. But if there is one thing clear about the sub-Mykenaeen Age in Cyprus, it is that the island remained the outpost of Aegean civilization in the west; that it maintained a syllabary more nearly related to the Aegean script than either the Greek or the Phoenician; that it imported and copied works of geometrical art, and retained this Aegean tradition, as it had retained the Mykenaeen, long after Egyptizing motives had gone west *via* Naukratis, or Assyriizing motives *via* Cappadocia and Lydia; and that it does not begin again to receive suggestions from the Syrian coast until the expansion of Assyria in the eighth century, or from Egypt till the rise of Hellenic commerce under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. That is to say, that throughout the early

centuries of the presumed 'Tyrian' ascendancy, Cyprus is still passing through a style of sub-Mykenaeen decadence, analogous to, but slower than, what goes on in Rhodes, Crete, and the rest of the Aegean; but yet it is just at this period that Cyprus exported to Phoenicia the sub-Mykenaeen vases, and characteristically Cypriote flasks, which are all that M. Helbig produces as evidence of Mykenaeen manufactures in that country.

(5) M. Helbig, that is, appears, further, to under-estimate the extent to which the civilization of Phoenicia in the 'pre-Tyrian' period is known. For quite enough evidence has as a matter of fact come to light from early sites and tombs (*e.g.* in the collections of the missionary colleges in Beirut) to show that this series of 'leather-type' vases is common, if not indigenous, on the Syrian coast. Consequently these forms, common to Phoenicia and Carthage, and represented in the 'Tyrian Age' in Cyprus, may well be taken as typically Phoenician. If so, the contrast between these and the genuine Mykenaeen importations into Cyprus is most marked, and the only inference that can fairly be drawn from the evidence in question is that, so far as actual finds go, Phoenicia in the Mykenaeen Age was in a quite different circle from the Aegean, and on the whole very far behind it; that it did not influence Cyprus until the Mykenaeen Age, and, both before and after, was itself influenced by Cyprus; consequently, so far from the vases quoted by M. Helbig proving the manufacture of Mykenaeen pottery in Phoenicia, they themselves indicate importation from Cyprus, if not from further afield; and prove (if they prove anything) the barrenness and barbarism of 'pre-Tyrian' Phoenicia in comparison with the Mykenaeen area at the same period.

(6) Consequently M. Helbig's assumption that Mykenaeen pottery was made in Phoenicia (p. 14) fails to account for several points. He produces no evidence, literary or monumental, that the Phoenicians ever exported any pottery at all. Painted pottery, in particular, has been conspicuously absent from Phoenician sites hitherto. Of the two specimens of 'Mykenaeen' pottery which he is able to quote, one (Mus. Guimet. No. 10,896) is of a distinctly Cypriote fabric of late Mykenaeen stage usually associated with stilted fibulae and iron knives. The other (No. 10895) is also a late and apparently Cypriote imitation of a Mykenaeen vase, and falls into the same

category, though it is a little earlier in form. This Cypriote provenance is fully supported by a number of other instances of the importation of Cypriote fine pottery and terra-cottas into Phoenicia, and other parts of the Syrian coast, from Sinjirli to Tell-el-Hesi, not only during the sub-Mykenaeen period (tenth—eighth centuries B.C.) but throughout, and even before, the Mykenaeen Age (cf. *Cypr. Mus. Catalogue*, Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, Oxford, 1896, in the press).

Further, if Phoenicians made 'Mykenaeen' pottery in Phoenicia, they must have imported the clay for the purpose; and the nearest clay deposits from which the best Mykenaeen fabrics can be made are in Rhodes: Cyprus only produces a very inferior quality.

It is in any case very difficult to accept, as M. Helbig does, (p. 46), M. Pottier's bisection of Mykenaeen art into portable and imported, cumbrous and home-made objects; mainly on the ground that the pottery, which is eminently portable, and was actually as widely distributed as any Mykenaeen manufacture, was certainly made in the Aegean, and at a number of centres: at least if the differences of the clay and their conformity with local geological peculiarities can be accepted as an argument. That is to say, if Phoenicians traded in Mykenaeen pottery, they must have gone to Rhodes, to Crete, and to Peloponnese in order to find it. The same applies to the arguments from the 'island-stones' and the glass and porcelain work.

(7) If the earlier steatite island-stones were made in Phoenicia, where did the makers get their steatite; and how does it happen that no island-stones have been found in Cyprus (which uses Asianic cylinders in the Bronze Age and conical seals and scarabs afterwards) or in Egypt; whereas they increase in frequency and in perfection of workmanship as they approach the steatite masses of Crete (Evans, *Academy*, June 13, 1896), and whereas they have the *ἄγριμι* (a wild goat peculiar to that island and to Melos) as one of their most persistent and characteristic motives.

If, by the way, the only evidence for the 'Phoenician' origin of the island-stone from Orvieto (p. 37, fig. 24) is that the same demon-type occurs on the vase-handle from Cyprus (fig. 25 = Perrot iii. fig. 556), the instance is an unfortunate one; for the only evidence of the Phoenician origin of the vase-handle ('incontestable' according

to M. Helbig) is that it is engraved in vol. iii. instead of vol. vi. of M. Perrot's work. It is a characteristic piece of later Mykenaeen work, and to call it Phoenician is simply to beg the question.

(8) The argument from glass and porcelain is that no Greeks made glass till the Ptolemaic Age; and considered glass in the fifth century as an oriental luxury (p. 11, 12). But M. Helbig proceeds to admit that Greeks at Naukratis *did* make glass in the *seventh* century, that they learnt the art from the Egyptians, and that the latter had practised it since the Old Empire. He produces no evidence that glass was ever made in, or exported from, Phoenicia. Of course it would be foolhardy to assert, in the present state of the evidence, that Greeks made glass continuously from the Mykenaeen Age onwards, but I am not aware that any one has ever made the assertion. But that glass was made in the Aegean in the Mykenaeen Age is indicated by the occurrence at Mykenae of actual moulds, cut in Aegean steatite. That all the Mykenaeen glass was home-made is shown by the uniformity of the fabric, and by its total divergence of form and colour from anything known in Egypt or elsewhere: in Phoenicia it has not been found at all. Egyptian porcelain and glass-paste were imported during the Mykenaeen Age; but are quite rare, are clearly distinguishable from this native fabric, and are definitely Egyptian, with no traces of 'Phoenician' imitation.

The following further considerations may be raised in regard to the porcelain:—

(a) Blue is frequently used for metallic objects in Egyptian frescoes; consequently the blue objects in the Rekhmara tomb (p. 32–3), are not necessarily of porcelain.

(b) No Phoenician manufacture, distinct from the Egyptian, can be recognized before the seventh century, and M. Helbig himself admits (pp. 34, 70) that the art was borrowed by Phoenicians from Egypt at a quite uncertain date. The Corneto scarab (quoted p. 79) is a good example: but being of Thirteenth Dynasty date, it is of no chronological value; and the mere fact that an Egyptian scarab was found in an early Etruscan tomb is absolutely no evidence that a Phoenician brought it to Etruria, especially in view of the probable relations in which Etruria stood to the native states of North Africa.

(c) In Cyprus Egyptian porcelain ornaments occur in the Bronze Age, along with a distinct *native* fabric which is not repre-

sented in Phoenicia. In the sub-Mykenaeen Age they are very rare indeed; but they suddenly become common in the seventh century, and are then of definitely Naukratite fabric. No example is known with a Phoenician inscription. The same applies to the porcelain from Rhodes: it has yet to be proved that any of it is Phoenician and not Naukratite. It has not been found in Phoenicia; except very rarely, and late. The tints are all Saïte, and there is no evidence that any of it goes back before the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Glass in Cyprus begins in the Bronze Age, with very coarse variegated beads in the ninth—eighth centuries. 'Phoenician' (*i.e.* Naukratite) glass vessels do not appear till the sixth and then still very rare.

(d) In any case there is a gap of several centuries between the glass and porcelain of Mykenaeen sites, and the earliest known specimens of reputed Phoenician manufacture. The alabaster frieze with *κτανός σκευαστός* from $\frac{1}{2}$ Tiryns differs *toto caelo* from the Assyrian ivory plaques inlaid with *κτανός αἰτοφύνης* (p. 33): and the latter are fixed by their style and their Phoenician inscriptions to the seventh, or at most to the eighth, century.

(e) All M. Helbig quotes for Phoenician porcelain is a pair of statements, without datemark, (α) from Ps.-Skyllax, Περὶ πλουσίου 112, that they sold *λίθον αἰγυπτίαν* [presumably therefore *not* of their own manufacture] on the West African coast, (β) from Theophr. Περὶ λίθων § 55, given on Egyptian authority, that Phoenicians *and others* (M. Helbig omits this qualification) brought tribute of *κτανός* to Egypt; where it is definitely the raw material which is brought to be worked up in Egypt, while there is nothing in the passage to show that *κ. σκευαστός* was worked anywhere but in Egypt.

(f) Khuenaten's glass-paste and porcelain at Tell-el-Amarna was all made on the spot: and the moulds are of local clay: *contrast* the Mykenaeen moulds which are all of *stealite*.

(9) M. Helbig adduces also, as evidence of community of style between Mykenaeen and early Phoenician art, certain bronze statuettes of warriors which have been found in Phoenicia, at Mykenae and Tiryns, and recently by Mr. Evans in the east of Crete (Ashm. Mus. Oxford: unpublished). Note, to begin with, that the Phoenician specimens are from North Phoenicia, and cannot therefore be used as direct evidence for either 'Sidonian' or 'Tyrian' art: also

that M. Helbig admits that the Aegean examples come from late Mykenaeen layers. He ignores the oriental and un-Mykenaeen helmets which they wear, and the total contrast between their stiff oriental modelling and the thoroughly naturalistic Mykenaeen style of the Kampos statuette (fig. 13) and of the men on the Vaphio cups. But he rightly notices that these statuettes all had originally a shield on the left arm: that is to say, a parrying shield like that represented in Assyrian or Egyptian battle scenes, but of a type which did not reach the Aegean till the eighth—seventh centuries, and was then taken to be characteristically *Karian*, not Phoenician; though Greek traditional archaeology did not usually underestimate its indebtedness to Phoenicia. But since the Mykenaeen equipment is universally the body-shield (as Dr. Reichel has conclusively shown), M. Helbig is forced to assume that the latter was 'Sidonian,' and that the round-shield was a 'Tyrian' innovation. In that case what do these warrior-statuettes prove, if they are 'pre-Tyrian,' except that they are themselves exotic importations, both in the Aegean and in North Phoenicia? And if, as he indicates, Tyre does not come to the front till the tenth century, and the statuettes wear 'Tyrian' armour, they are of no value as evidence for the Mykenaeen art or armament of the fourteenth. The conspicuous value in fact of these statuettes is as genuine works of Phoenician—at all events Syrian-coast—art of the later Mykenaeen Age; and it is their rarity in Greece, their comparative frequency in Phoenicia, and their *dissimilarity* and inferiority to really Mykenaeen statuary, that gives them this value as evidence of what Phoenician art really was like at or before the time of the rise of Tyre. Further, the very fact that the examples of these statuettes which come from Mykenaeen sites are 'd'un style plus souple' may well indicate that they are made for exportation to a more naturalistic market; though it is questionable whether the want of rigidity in their outlines is not rather due to the careless casting which M. Helbig notices elsewhere (p. 49) as characteristic of Phoenician wholesale exports.

(10) Similarly, M. Helbig argues that the thoroughly Oriental loin-cloth of these figures is to be equated with the characteristic and peculiar girdle of the Kampos statuette,¹ and of the erect man on the

Vaphio cup (the two men tossed by the bull on the other cup, naturally have the garment deranged). But the two garments are absolutely different. The one is a rectangular cloth wrapped round the loins and confined by a belt; the other is a shaped garment passing between the legs, like the drawers worn by the men on the lion dagger, and is not represented on any Oriental monument except the seventh century silver bowl from Kurion which M. Helbig quotes (fig. 15): and we know enough about Cyprus to say that it is here, if anywhere, that we are likely to meet with a Mykenaeen survival, cf. *Cypr. Mus. Cat.* No. 5572, a male statuette of sixth century with similar woven drawers *painted*, from the Kamelargá site at Larnaka. These survivals, if they are so, are quite clearly distinct from the costume of the more usual Orientalizing statues of seventh—sixth centuries in Cyprus and Syria which regularly wear the same loin cloth as the earlier bronze warrior statuettes (*v. Ohnefalsch Richter, Kypros* Pl. xc. (marked Syria), xci. (Cyprus), cf. *id.* fig. 225, bronze bowl from Olympia).

The Homeric *μίτρη*, by the way, is surely not the girdle, but the *flexible* garment (cf. *αἰολομίτρης*) which depends from it. The girdle itself is *ζωστήρ*, perhaps also *ζῶμα*, when it supports the *μίτρη*.

(11) Exactly the same general conclusion, that Phoenicia is indebted to Mykenae, not *vice versa*, is indicated by recent evidence in the matter of the Phoenician alphabet. On the one hand, it becomes clear that the absence of 'pre-Tyrian' Phoenician inscriptions, in or out of Phoenicia, is due to the fact that throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty at all events the peoples of the Syrian coast commonly wrote the cuneiform script. On the other, the Cretan discoveries of Mr. Evans show a much nearer prototype of the Phoenician letters than any yet suggested in the Aegean pictographic system, with its evident connection with the Hittite, and its parental relation to Cypriote, to Lycian, and to some local Greek alphabets. Compare the passage of Diodoros, quoted by Mr. Evans, to the effect that, according to the Cretan tradition, the Phoenicians had adapted symbols to alphabetic writing, but had not invented them. Phoenician letters in fact begin chronologically just at the point where Cretan linear symbols go out of use; namely about the eleventh or tenth century. Is it not also worth noting that

following (as usual) M. Perrot. M. Tsountas always refers to it by the more accurate place-name *Κάμπος*: *Αβία* is the 'deme' of Lakonia in which *Κάμπος* lies.

¹ Fig. 13. = Perrot. vi. fig. 351 = *Τσούντας, Μυκῆναι*, Pl. xi. M. Helbig refers to this as from 'Abbia,'

the earliest known Phoenician inscriptions (*C.I.S.* i. pp. 22–26) were found not in Phoenicia, but in Cyprus.

(12) Consequently we are now in a position to offer an alternative explanation of the similarity between the *chef-d'œuvres* of Mykenaeen art and the offerings of the Keftiu in the Rekhmara frescoes. We have the strongest probability that the Phoenician alphabet is a modification to Semitic uses of a linear script such as that in use at Tell-el-Hesy and Gurob, and of the same family as the Cypriote syllabary: we have a strong tradition that the Philistines of South Syria were actually immigrants from the West, and allied to the 'peoples of the sea' who harry the Egyptian Delta during the centuries of the Philistine supremacy in Palestine: we have even some evidence which connects the Philistine Cherethites with Crete, and we know that Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish?) imported bronze and pottery from Cyprus under the Eighteenth Dynasty. We know that Mykenaeen manufactures were imported into Cyprus in the later Bronze Age: we know that Cyprus in the Bronze Age was at least not behind the Syrian coast in civilization. Why should not Mykenaeen metal-work, made in the Aegean from ulterior sources of gold, have been imported into the Syrian coast as articles of luxury, and so have been the most desirable presents to an Egyptian conqueror?

If so, there is no reason, beyond the present evidence of barrenness and backwardness in Phoenicia, why we should not admit that Phoenician artists copied the finest art of the fourteenth—tenth centuries, namely the Mykenaeen, just as they copied the finest art they knew in the eighth and sixth. In that case the allusions in sub-Mykenaeen epic to 'Sidonian' exports of Mykenaeen or sub-Mykenaeen style would have nothing to surprise us. Only it does not follow that they were exported, to begin with at all events, by seafaring 'Sidonians.' And this leads to a further consideration.

(13) Even assuming that Phoenicia had a great manufacturing industry and that Phoenician tribute thereof came by land to Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, it still remains to be proved that Phoenicia had any trade by sea with the further parts of the Mediterranean at that time. Loan-words are evidence of the names applied to objects of commerce at their place of origin, or at their last great place of trans-shipment or exchange: they are no evidence that the objects were imported into the

country by foreigners in whose language the loan-words occur. The existence of Arabic or Chinese loan-words in English or German is very far from proving that ginger or tea are or ever were brought to Europe and disseminated by importunate Arabs or Chinamen. Even when we talk of an East India merchant we do not mean a Bengali or a Malay; nor, when a German speaks of *Kolonialwaaren*, does he mean that the trade of Hamburg is in the hands of Swahelis or Papuans. Consequently we must wait for more direct and material evidence before we assume that *χρυσός*, *κίτωνα*, etc. were brought to Greece in Phoenician boats; or even that *Σιδόνιοι ἄνδρες* means Semites from the Syrian coast.

In fact the only really indisputable evidence, that of the vocabulary of sailing terms in Greek, points—as Beloch has pointed out—wholly the other way, and indicates that Greek seamanship was already fully established before Phoenician navigation reached the Aegean or its neighbourhood. This again is borne out by the fact that the representations of Aegean shipping, on Cretan gems¹ which go back far beyond the Eighteenth Dynasty, show no trace of borrowing from Phoenician types: but that, if anything, the Phoenician ships have borrowed from the Aegean.

(14) M. Helbig's criticism of Beloch's treatment of the Homeric evidence for 'Sidonian' commerce, though partly valid, fails to do justice to several points in the case. M. Helbig fails to prove that all Homeric Phoenicians are Sidonian, which is essential to his case; he fails to refute the argument, which he himself admits, that the mention of iron betrays sub-Mykenaeen date for a passage; and that consequently no inference can be drawn for 'pre-Tyrian' Phoenicia from the great passages in *Od.* xiv. (*σιδηρός* l. 324) and *Od.* xv. (Taphians l. 427, who are irontraders *Od.* i. 184). Further, if Homeric passages are to be admitted at all, they must be admitted as evidence on both sides; and in that case, against three passages where Phoenicians visit the Greek world (*Il.* xxiii. 744, *Od.* xiii. 272, xv. 415 ff.²) we have to set an equal number of passages in which Greeks visit Phoenicia, and carry off valuables thence: (1) *Il.* vi. 289 ff. *Paris*; (2) *Od.* iv. 615 (= xv. 115 ff.) *Mene-laos* (*Od.* iv. 581 (Egypt) is not reckoned, as it may refer to the same journey); (3) *Od.* xiv. 291 ff. *Odyseus*): besides the Taphian visit

¹ Evans, *J.H.S.* xiv. 367 ff.

² *Od.* xiv. 288 ff. is not reckoned, because the voyage was to be to Libya. l. 295.

in *Od.* xv. 427 ff. In two of these cases (*Od.* xv. 427 ff. *Il.* vi. 289 ff.) skilled slaves are carried off; in another a *chef-d'œuvre* of metal-work (*Od.* iv. 615). On the other hand, against the ἀθήπυρα of the Phoenician traders at Syria we have to set the fact that the runaway slave carries off thence three golden goblets from the ordinary dining-table of the men. Moreover, against the bare mention of two 'Sidonian' silver cups, *Il.* xxiii. 743, *Od.* iv. 615, which are all the evidence of Sidonian metal-work that there is in the epic, we have to set the elaborate description of the cup of Nestor *Il.* xi. 632 ff., the περόνη of Odysseus *Od.* xix. 226 (where M. Helbig compares a Cypriote gem, *Epos*,² p. 387), and the arms of Achilles, none of which are noted as of other than indigenous workmanship; and the frequent and familiar allusions to indigenous arts and crafts. Even the breastplate of Kinyras (*Il.* xi. 19 ff.) is not Phoenician but Cypriote; and we know enough now about Cypriote metallurgy to accept the allusion wholly, in the sub-Mykenaeen context where it occurs; while in any case it has a set-off in the breastplate of Meges (*Il.* xv. 529-31), which comes from Ephyra, a bronze-working centre of the *West*.

(15) Again, according to Justin xviii. 5 (accepted by M. Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* p. 318), Sidon was shattered by Philistines, and so the Philistine domination is to be interposed between the 'Sidonian' and the 'Tyrian.' And the 'Tyrian' certainly does not begin later than the beginnings of iron—according to M. Helbig's dating. But we have iron and ironworkers mentioned in two 'Sidonian' passages of the epic. Therefore either the 'Sidonian' name must have lasted on into the 'Tyrian' period, which M. Helbig denies; or else his dating of the periods is inaccurate, and the Sidonian age must be brought down below the tenth century. But in that case these Homeric mentions of Sidon are posterior to the great Mykenaeen period; and consequently prove nothing about the derivation of Mykenaeen art from Sidonian. It is quite conceivable, on the other hand, that having learned Mykenaeen art in the period of Aegean invasions (Eighteenth—Nineteenth Dynasty) Phoenicians—even Sidonians, either at Sidon or refugees in Tyre—may have continued to make metal-work of sub-Mykenaeen types, after the northern invaders had put a stop to Mykenaeen manufacture in Greece itself.

These are some of the difficulties which present themselves on a first reading of M.

Helbig's suggestive essay. No doubt evidence will appear before long which will decide between his theory and its predecessors. In the meanwhile, we cannot but be grateful to him for the lucid and ingenious presentation which he has given of both the strength and—if we may say so—the weakness of the view which he has chosen to adopt.

JOHN L. MYRES.

DELÔCHE ON THE WEARING OF RINGS IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Le Port des Anneaux dans l'Antiquité Romaine et dans les premiers siècles du Moyen Age, par M. DELÔCHE (Extrait des *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* T. xxxv. Partie II.). 4to. pp. 112. Paris, 1896.

M. DELÔCHE is more at home with mediaeval than Roman antiquities and would have done better had he confined himself to the second half of his subject. He has published from time to time various rings of the Merovingian and other early periods, and in his essay gives some interesting information concerning episcopal, betrothal and wedding rings.

We suspect that the account of the Roman use of rings is given as an attempt to explain the mediaeval usage. It contains little or nothing that cannot be found in a good dictionary of antiquities and is based solely on literary evidence. This is a pity, for an examination of the Roman rings in our Museums would be much more welcome than the discursive account of the *jus anulorum* which fills up some forty pages of this treatise. It may however be recommended to those who are interested in ecclesiastical archaeology.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1895.

DURING the past year 667 coins of the Greek class were acquired by the British Museum. Among the noteworthy specimens described by Mr. Wroth (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, p. 85 ff.; Pl. VII.) the following may be mentioned:—No. 5. A bronze coin, the second discovered, of Eurea in Thessaly, a town known only from coins. No. 7. A small but beautiful coin of Pheneus in Arcadia showing Hermes

seated on a basis of two steps. Probably suggested by an original in sculpture. No. 9. An electrum stater of Cyzicus (fifth century, late) type, Herakles holding club and horn. No. 11. A new silver coin of Neandria in the Troad showing a ram biting the leaves of a branch. No. 16. A bronze coin, of the first century B.C., of Hydisus, a Carian town to which no money has been previously assigned. No. 22 (Pl. VII. 15). A unique electrum stater (of Miletus?), showing two lions standing on their hind legs and each resting a forepaw on the capital of a column between them, a type recalling the Lion Gate of Mycenae and early Phrygian monuments. This coin can hardly be later than B.C. 650.

WARWICK WROTH.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Athens.—Dr. Dörpfeld, in his search for the old Enneakrounos and the old Agora, has found a number of rock-basins connected by passages, which he holds to belong to a pre-*Peisistratid* period. The complete clearance of the *Areopagus* rock is being carried out, and on the west side the foundations have been traced of a number of houses divided by narrow alleys; in one of these houses a large number of moulds for terracotta figures were found, suggesting that a *κοροπιαστής* must have lived there.¹

Corinth.—The excavations of the American School have resulted in the discovery of the theatre; it has been badly broken up, but in three places the lines of the ascending steps are plainly seen, converging to a point below. The steps are deeply worn by foot-prints. These remains are some ten or fifteen feet underground. Round the upper part of the *cavea* were fifty more or less broken archaic terracotta figures, probably *ἀναθήματα*, which suggest the proximity of a temple. One is complete, and represents a goddess of the *Aphroditic* type. East of the temple a magnificent *stoa* was discovered, which helps to throw light on the position of the agora. The theatre has long been regarded as the key to the topography of Corinth, and much may now be done to interpret the description of Pausanias.²

Mycenae.—A new beehive tomb has come to light, but is not as yet explored; it does not appear ever to have been disturbed. M. Tsountas has found a painted *stèle* with warriors of a type similar to those on the well-known vase from Mycenae.¹

Delphi.—The chief finds of late have been a marble statue of a draped woman without head or arms, of the Roman period, and four interesting inscriptions, three of the fourth and one of the second century B.C. The first relates to a bankrupt and the legal administration of his affairs; the second gives information on the manner of life of runners in the races. They were not allowed new wine, and if they transgressed, they paid a fine to the god and appeased him by libations of that wine, while the informer received half the fine. The other two were

found in the pavement of the Sacred Way, and one refers to the restoration of the temple of Apollo in the fourth century, the other gives a list of the *ξένοι* of Delphi in the second century, geographically arranged. Near the great altar of the Chians was found a bronze cow of archaic style, excellent workmanship, and good preservation; also a vulture's head which had ornamented a tripod, and a very archaic statuette. Numerous other bronze objects have been found; spear-heads, an elegant jug, an archaic ring, a ram, fragments of a lion, a small bull, a male statuette, and a two-edged axe, mostly of good workmanship and archaic. The stadium is being laid bare, and many inscriptions have been found.³

Thera.—Herr Hiller von Gaertringen has set on foot excavations with successful results. He found an ancient cave and a temple before it with numerous inscriptions of the first cent. B.C., including dedications to Hermes and Herakles set up by a gymnasiarch. To the north-east of this were remains of a very ancient temple of the *Carneian Apollo* with precinct and *pronaos*; behind it, two chambers communicating with the temple. Here were found numerous fragments of statues; three large torsos, probably of priestesses; and two inscriptions, one mentioning a priest of *Apollo Karneios* who had relations with Antiochus of Syria (267–246 B.C.). To the south-west of this was the *Nymphaeum*, as shown by existing inscriptions. In another place were found remains of an Ionic temple, and fragments of sculpture from the cella; among the reliefs are to be seen a panther and a krater, so that it was probably dedicated to *Dionysos*; furthermore the inscriptions mention a *Διδύσσος πρὸ πόλεως*. Within the temple were fragments of geometrical vases and part of a painting representing a bearded man with the body of a quadruped, also a torso and thirty-seven inscriptions. Further excavations have brought to light an inscription of A.D. 145 relating to T. Flavius Clitosthenes Claudianus; also part of a city-wall, fragments of statues, and other inscriptions of the Roman period.⁴

CRETE.

Mr. Arthur Evans has given a further account of his recent explorations. On the north coast he found almost everywhere the traces of a Mycenaean civilization. Among his chief finds in this district may be mentioned: *pithoi* with reliefs of the eighth century B.C., almost proto-Corinthian in character, one representing a Centaur brandishing a palm-tree; a Mycenaean gem with a man in a loin-cloth who has lassoed an animal with ram's horns and drags it down with the aid of a dog; a stone celt and a haematite chisel; terracotta oxen and vases found in a votive cave, and a gem with two lions and a column between, strongly recalling the gate at Mycenae; taken in conjunction with other evidence this seems to suggest the prevalence of *baetylic* worship at that period. On the south coast Mr. Evans was similarly successful; at one point he found a threshing-floor (*ἀλώνιον*) dating back to the Mycenaean period, consisting of rings of upright stones with paving in between. It appears possible that the so-called *Agora* at Mycenae, which this resembles, may have been a royal threshing-floor. [A similar conjunction of a threshing-floor with Mycenaean remains occurs at Episkopi in Cyprus.—H. B. W.] At Hierapytna he found a pictographical seal of red carnelian, and a unique painted double

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 15 Aug.

² *Academy*, 8 Aug.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 27 June.

⁴ *Ibid.* 11 July.

bowl; at Kalamafka, part of a small fluted column of grey Cretan marble, which may be restored on the lines of the half-column from the treasury of Atreus. At Legortino, a considerable Mycenaean settlement, lasting into classical times; here were bee-hive tombs containing coffers, one with a painted design on the lid of water-fowl and plants, derived from an Egyptian original.⁵

CYPRUS.

Enkomi (Salamis).—The British Museum excavations here during the present year have so far had most important results. A Mycenaean necropolis of considerable extent and wealth was discovered in March, and for some months has continued to yield valuable and interesting objects, most of which seem to be of remarkably late date. The most noteworthy are as follows: A gold finger-ring with dedication in hieroglyphs to the goddess Mut, apparently about 700 B.C. Several massive gold pins (*περόναι*) used for fastening garments on the shoulders, such as are seen on the François-vase. Two ivory carvings, a lion attacking a bull and a man slaying a Gryphon. The man has a very Oriental appearance; the expression of fear on the Gryphon's face is very fine. Layard found a similar ivory group at Nineveh, which must date between 850 and 700 B.C. The bull is of the Carian breed, with a hump; it suggests a possible confirmation of the theory that Mycenaean objects are of Carian origin. It has more style than the bulls of the Vaphio cups. One tomb was intact, and contained numerous gold articles, also a porcelain vase in the form of a female head surmounted by a cylindrical cup. It is not Egyptian, as might be expected, but distinctly of an archaic Greek type, but it has no handle, and it must be earlier than the sixth cent. B.C. In this tomb were a necklace of gold beads, a number of gold earrings, and bands of thin gold stamped with Mycenaean patterns. A lapis lazuli gem was also found, which is very remarkable, as such stones are always of late date. Several of the tombs were square, and built of squared stones jointed in the archaic manner, covered in by two large slabs, with doorway and *δρόμος*, but most of them were simply sunk in the rock.⁶

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xvi. part 1.

1. An investigation of the topography of the region of Sphacteria and Pylos (Plates I.—III.). G. B. Grundy.

He shows that Thucydides' account is historically accurate and only makes one serious topographical error, afterwards corrected.

2. Pylos and Sphacteria (Plate VIII.). R. M. Burrows.

Discusses the exact identification of these localities, showing that Thucydides' description is probably right.

3. What people produced the objects called Mycenaean? W. Ridgeway.

Gives reasons for ascribing them to a pre-Achaean and pre-Homeric people, *i.e.* the Pelasgians.

4. Archaeological research in Italy during the last eight years. F. von Duhn.

5. Pompeian paintings and their relation to Hellenic masterpieces, with special reference to recent discoveries. Talfourd Ely.

Describes paintings of Herakles strangling the snakes, Dirke and the bull, and the death of Pentheus.

6. The Megalithic temple at Buto: Herodotus ii 155. A. W. Verrall.

Herodotus' account is inaccurate, for architectural reasons.

7. On a group of early Attic lekythi (Plates IV.—VII.). R. C. Bosanquet.

Describes a group of white-ground lekythi of similar style and subject, with similar inscriptions, dating about 480–430 B.C.

8. Inscriptions from Crete. J. L. Myres.

9. Karian sites and inscriptions (Plate IX.). W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres.

An account of explorations in 1893–4.

H. B. WALTERS.

Revue Numismatique. Part 2, 1896.

E. Babelon. 'Le tyran Saturninus.' On a unique aureus, found in Egypt, bearing the name and portrait of Saturninus (IMP. C. IVL. SATVRNINVS AVG reverse, Victory). According to Vopiscus, Saturninus, who had been an able general of Aurelian, was saluted as Augustus by the people of Alexandria in the reign of Probus, A.D. 280, but retired to Syria where he allowed himself to be proclaimed. Mommsen and others have doubted the existence of Saturninus, but the present coin—the authenticity of which seems to be unquestioned—confirms Vopiscus at least in essential points. From its provenance and style, this specimen may be assigned to the mint of Alexandria, and M. Babelon suggests that Saturninus was probably proclaimed emperor in that city, and not in Syria, as Vopiscus asserts.—R. Mowat. 'Monnaies inédites ou peu connues de Carausius.' Includes a bronze coin inscribed IMP C M AV M CARAVSIVS, *i.e.* Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Mausaius Carausius.—J. A. Blanchet. 'Essais monétaires romains.' On bronze coins of Tetricus and his son, which probably served as 'patterns' for aurei.—Review of Blanchet's 'Les monnaies romaines.'

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 1, 1896.

Hermann Weber. 'On some unpublished or rare Greek coins.' With three plates. Coins in Dr. Weber's collection. Among them are two fine gold staters of Lampsacus, types, head of Hera, and head of bearded Dionysos.—G. F. Hill. 'A portrait of Perseus of Macedon.' On the well-known 'Ajax' head in the British Museum (*Guide to Græco-Roman Sculptures*, 1874, no. 139, p. 48 = Brunn's *Denkmäler*, no. 80) which the writer maintains, on the evidence of the Macedonian regal coins, is a portrait of Perseus king of Macedon (178–168 B.C.). The head and a similar head in the Louvre are photographed in Pl. IV.—Sir John Evans. 'On some rare or unpublished Roman medallions.' Suggests that some of the medallions may have been made to serve as models for the country mints.—Talfourd Ely. 'The process of coining as seen in a wall-painting at Pompeii.' On the painting found in the *Casa dei Vetti*. The striking (by Cupids) of the *flan* on the anvil; the weighing of the coin before the monetary magistrate, &c. are shown.

Part 2, 1896.

Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1895.'—Arthur J. Evans. 'Contributions to Sicilian numismatics. II.' Deals with many interesting details in the history and numismatics of Zancle, Messana, Catania, Leontini, &c.—George Macdonald. 'Notes on Combe's Catalogue of the Hunter Cabinet.' Corrections and re-attributions.

⁵ *Academy*, 4 and 18 July.

⁶ *Times*, 27 July, 1896.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Vol. xxvii., for 1895 (published 1896).

F. Imhoof-Blumer. 'Die Münzstätten Babylon zur Zeit der makedonischen Satrapen und des Seleukos Nikator.' A very useful description of the coins assignable to the Babylon mint from the time of the Satrap Mazaios (B.C. 331) to B.C. 306. Seleucid coins hitherto attributed to Larissa on the Orontes are shown (p. 16) to be either of Babylon or of Seleucia on the Tigris. A tetradrachm of Antiochus II. (B.C. 261-246) struck at Alexandria Troas (described p. 19) has the Ω form of omega in the inscription, being its earliest occurrence on coins. The Σ form of sigma, so far as the Seleucid coins are concerned, first appears on coins of Seleukos II. B.C. 246-226.—J. Raillard. 'Polemon von Pontos und Antonius Polemon von Olba.'—B. Pick. 'Die Personen- und Götternamen auf Kaiserminzen von Byzantion.' On the Imperial coins from Trajan to M. Aurelius the names are those of divinities and of various citizens regarded as *ἡρώες*. (The letters HP on the coins are to be completed HPΩOC).

The Imperial coins of Mytilene described by me in the *Classical Review* for 1894, pp. 226, 227 with portrait heads of famous citizens furnish a parallel. On the later coins of Byzantium (Sept. Severus &c.) male and female names occur in pairs. These are explained as the names of an ἀρχιερεύς and ἀρχιέρεια and of a βασιλεύς and βασίλισσα, functionaries of Byzantium.—J. W. Kubitschek. 'Ἐν Κοδρείγαις ἔροις Καλικῶν.' An inscription found on coins of Sept. Severus struck at Tarsus.—F. Kenner. 'Goldmünzen der Sammlung Bachofen von Echt in Wien.' Medallion of Gallienus, &c.—F. Kenner. 'Silbermedaillon der Sammlung G. Weifert in Belgrad.' Medallion of Valentinian.—T. Rohde. 'Ein unedirte Antoninian des Kaisers Aurelianus aus der Münzstätte Sisacia.'—B. Willner. 'Moderne Fälschungen römischer Münzen des Luigi Cigoi in Udine.' Gives a formidable list of 95 clever forgeries, chiefly of numismatic rarities of the later Roman emperors and empresses. Unfortunately, the paper is not accompanied by a photographic plate.—F. Quilling and H. Wehner. 'Das spezifische Gewicht als Eckheitskriterium römischer Messingmünzen.'

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiv. No. 48. 1896.

A contribution to the History of the Greek Anthology, Robinson Ellis. On two epigrams found on the reverse side of a page in MS. Bodl. Lat. class. d. 5, of cent. xv. *The new Sotadei discovered by Sayce and Mahaffy*, Robinson Ellis. Corrects some lines in the first of some poems published by Prof. Sayce in vol. vii. of *Revue des Études Grecques* (1894). *Horace, Odes*, iv. 8, 15-20, J. Stanley. Defends these lines against Dr. Verrall, and takes *ejus* as a subjective genitive with *incendia*. *Antigone* ll. 891-927, H. Macnaghten. Believes with Jebb and others that 904-912 are spurious, and considers that they are the work of Iophon who mistook *τοῖδ' ἄρρηται* (903) to refer to death whereas they refer to love. *New Remarks on the Ibis of Ovid*, Robinson Ellis. *The 'Great Lacuna' in the Eighth Book of Silius Italicus*, W. E. Heitland. Maintains the genuineness of ll. 144-223 which first appear in the Aldine edition (1523), on the evidence of Constantius. *Notes on Nonius*, H. Nettleship. These are notes by the late Prof. Nettleship on the work of the late Mr. J. H. Onions whose material was published last year by Mr. W. M. Lindsay. 'The whole fragment,' says Mr. F. Haverfield, 'is printed rather as illustrating its author's ideas of an edition of Nonius than as containing his finished work in detail.' *Notes on Empedocles*, A. Platt. The person alluded to in Plat. Gorg. 493 A is certainly not Empedocles. *Notes on Solon*, A. Platt. We have a much better text of Solon in the 'Ἀθην. Πολιτεία than in Aristides. All of Solon given by Aristides is probably quoted from the 'Ἀθ. Πολ. *Notes on Clement of Alexandria*, H. Jackson. *Emendationes Homericae* (ll. 1-xii.), T. L. Agar. The foll. are criticized, A 501 Δ 22, E 485, 554, H 452, Θ 213, K 530, Λ 757, M 116. *On the sources of the Text of S. Athanasius*, F. C. Conybeare. A collation of the Armenian version which is a most important aid towards the revision of the text. *On the Composition of some Greek*

Manuscripts, T. W. Allen. A description of the Ravenna Aristophanes. The text was written by one and the same scribe. 'This scribe was followed by two others, who dividing the MS. roughly between them, wrote scholia and glosses on the margins and between the lines of text; read the text, corrected, supplied, at their discretion, taking account also of the signals left for them by the first scribe.'

The American Journal of Philology. April 1896. Whole No. 65.

The Aryan God of Lightning, E. W. Fay. Substitutes lightning-myths for sun-myths, the lightning-cult having *à priori* a simpler origin than a sun-cult. *On the Alleged Confusion of Nymph-Names, with especial reference to Propertius*, i. 20 and ii. 32, 40, J. P. Postgate. Maintains that apart from passages obviously corrupt, the Greek and Latin literatures afford no evidence of any confusion in the use of the names of the different kinds of Nymphs: Dryads, Hamadryads, Naiads. In Prop. i. 20, 32 we should read *Enhydriasin*. *Notes to the Dialogus de Oratoribus based on Gudemann's Edition*, R. B. Steele. Considers some of the features of the vocabulary of the Dialogus. *Yasna* xlvi., L. H. Mills. *Pliny and Magic*, E. Riess. Finds a close resemblance between Pliny and the magical papyrus discovered in Egypt. We may even use the Roman work to elucidate the sorcerers' recipes.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Brieger's *T. Lucretii Cari de rerum natura libri scv.* The new Teubner text. B's recension, like Munro's, is a continuation of the principles laid down by Lachmann. Lindsay's *The Sabinian Metre*. The merit lies in the method, but the solution has not yet been reached. Merrill's *Catullus*. The first complete Catullus edited by an American scholar, and a welcome addition to the 'College Series of Latin Authors.' In text the editor is, on the whole, conservative. Wissowa's *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, and Stolz's *His-*

torische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. In spite of incompleteness and want of proper arrangement the latter 'presents a collection of facts and references among which almost any one will be sure to find enough that is new to repay him for his trouble.'

Briefly mentioned are Macan's *Herodotus* iv.-vi. and Kaibels' *Galen's Protrepticus*.

Mnemosyne. N. S. Vol. 24. Part 3. 1896.

Observatiunculæ de iure Romano, continued, J. C. Naber. Deals with *De consuetum librorum auctoritate* and *De finali controversia*. *Ad Corpus Inscriptionum Rhodiarum*, continued, H. van Gelder. *Infinitivi in—iuri*, J. van der Vliet. Gives some examples from Apuleius. In Suet. de vir. illustr. (ed. Keiffersch.) p. 134, § 106* the word *plures* has fallen out after *scriberent*. *Ad Vitruvium*, v. 8, 1, K. Dumon. The phrase *in cornibus hemicyclii* is equivalent to *intra cornua hemicyclii*. *Temptatur Cornelius Nepos in Attico* 10, 4, J. C. G. B. After *incideret* the words *in itinere* seem to have fallen out. *Studia Aristophanica*, H. van Herwerden. A number of emendations and interpretations. *Studia Lucretiana*, continued, J. Woltjer. On i. 526-537, 540-563, 871-874, 881-887, 998-1001, ii. 184-190, and 931-943. *Ad Aristophanis Ranas*, continued, J. van Leeuwen. Mostly with reference to Rutherford's ed. of the Scholia, of which he says 'multa inveni feliciter correctæ, sagaciter suppleta, apte ordinata.'

Revue de Philologie. Vol. xx. Part 2. April 1896.

QV dans liquidus, liquor, liquens, aqua, L. Havet. Lucretius and Laevius treat *qu* as *tr* or *pl*, other poets treat it as *l* or *p*. In Aen. ix. 679 we should with Servius read *Liquetia* for *liquentia*. *Note sur deux inscriptions d'Athènes et de Priène*, P. Foucart. Two chronological notes. *Un nouveau sculpteur de Pergame*, K. D. Mylonas. The name of Menas of Pergamus appears as a sculptor from an inser. recently brought to Constantinople from Magnesia. *Notes sur la Poétique d'Aristote*. M. Dufour. *Plautus Amphitruo* 26, L. Havet. Would read *Comediaci dum huius argumentum cloquor*. *Notes épigraphiques*, B. Haussoullier. *Corpus inser. Latin.* V. 1939 (concordia), L. Havet. Reads *Non fueras*,

non es, nescis, non pertinet ad te. *Les deux premiers Ptolémées et la confédération des Cyclades*, J. Delamarre. The complete publication and translation of an inser. discovered in 1893 on a small island near Amorgos. The date is at the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus and it is very valuable for the history of this confederation. *Notes sur quelques manuscrits de Patmos*, continued, J. Bidez and L. Parmentier. Deals with the text of Evagrius and Socrates.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 51. Part 3. 1896.

Die drei Brände des Tempels zu Delphi, H. Pomtow. The three burnings were 548-7 B. C., about 346 B. C. and 84 B. C. The old opinion that the temple built after the first burning lasted more than 700 years depends on the testimony of Pausanias. *Zu Ciceros Rede pro Flacco*, F. Schoell. Some elucidations and corrections to the earlier part which is fragmentary. *Die jetzige Gestalt der Grammatik des Charisius*, L. Jeep. As it is now known that Diomedes knew and used Charisius it becomes worth while to examine the grammatical treatise that has come down to us under the name of Charisius. *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos*, A. Brinkmann. *Das Wahlgesetz des Aristides*, E. Fabricius. The words of Plut. Arist. c. 22 *κοινή είναι την πολιτείαν και τους άρχοντας εξ' Αθηναίων πάντων αίρείσθαι* are not only not confirmed by 'Ath. Pol. but are inconsistent with it.

MISCELLAN. *Varia*, L. Radermacher. On some passages of Aelian. *Ueber Galens Schrift περί λεπτονοούσης διατήσης*, K. Kalbfleisch. *Zu Catull und Petron*, Th. Birt. On Catull, 57, 6-10, which illustrates two passages in Petronius. *Petronius und Lucianus*, O. Hirschfeld. A passage in c. 20 of *πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν* evidently refers to Petronius. *Ad Petroni saturas* (53), J. Gilbert. Suggests *reliqua enim talia acromata* for *reliqua animalia acr.* *Tessera hospitalis*, M. Ihm. Rams' heads in bronze with inser. were used for *tesserae* perhaps because the ram was the animal by whose sacrifice the agreement was confirmed. *Das Consulatsjahr des Tacitus*, O. Hirschfeld. The old opinion that the year was 97 A. D. is correct. *Die Tyrier in dem zweiten Römisch-Karthagischen Vertrag*, O. Hirschfeld. For *Τυρίων* in Polyb. iii. 24' H. would read *κυρίων* or else consider that Polyb. has made a mistake.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BOOKS.

- Apollonius of Perga. *Treatise on Conic Sections*. Edited in modern notation, with introduction by T. L. Heath. 8vo. 424 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 15s.
- Aristophanes*. The *Plutus*, with notes in Greek based on the Scholia, ed. by Frank W. Nicholson. Square 12mo. iv, 123 pp. Boston, Ginn. 90 cts.
- *Ranae*, ed. F. G. Plaistowe. Introduction, Text, Notes. Crown 8vo. Clive. (Univ. Tutorial Series.) 3s. 6d.
- *Ranae*. Translation. Test papers. Crown 8vo. Clive. (Univ. Tutorial Series.) 2s. 6d.
- *The Birds*, in English rhyme, translated by J. S. Rogers. 12mo. Houlston. 1s. 6d. net.

- Aristoteles*. Carroll (M.) Aristotle's [Poetics. C. XXV, in the Light of the Homeric Scholia. Baltimore. 8vo. 66 pp.
- Benoeck* (E. F. M.) Antimachus of Colophon and the position of women in Greek poetry. Crown 8vo. 264 pp. Sonnenschein. 6s.
- Broughton* (Mrs. V. D.) Handbook to the Antiquities of Athens. Illustrated by S. C. Arbutnot and L. Nicole. Crown 8vo. 120 pp. Simpkin. 5s.
- Burnet* (J.) Greek Rudiments. Crown 8vo. 388 pp. Longmans. 5s.
- Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*. Ed. by a committee representing the departments of Greek, Latin, Archaeology, and Comparative Philology. Vol. I. 8vo. 249 pp. Chicago.

- Coleridge* (E. P.) *Res Romanae*: aids to history, geography, literature, etc. of ancient Rome. Crown 8vo. 166 pp. Bell. 2s. 6d.
- Euripides*. The Tragedies. In English verse, by A. S. Way. (3 vols.) Vol. II. Crown 8vo. 470 pp. Macmillan. 6s. net.
- Farnell* (L. R.) The Cults of the Greek States. (In 3 vols) Vols. I., II. 8vo. 786 pp. Frowde. £1 12s. net.
- Homer*. Opera et reliquiae rec. D. B. Monro. Crown 8vo. 1040 pp. Frowde. 10s. 6d. net.
- The Odyssey, done into English verse. Crown 8vo. 458 pp. Longmans. 6s.
- Mahaffy* (J. P.) A survey of Greek civilization. Crown 8vo. 337 pp. Meadville, Pa. \$1.
- Plantus*. The Pseudolus, edited with introduction by H. W. Anden. 12mo. 180 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 3s.
- Ritchie* (F.) Easy Greek grammar papers. 12mo. 114 pp. Longmans. 1s. 6d.
- Robertson* (G. S.) *Utrum Aristophanes an Thucydides veriora de vita ac moribus Atheniensium praeceperit, Oratio Latina*. Chancellor's Prize Essay, 1896. 8vo. 34 pp. Simpkin. 1s. 6d.
- Sandys* (J. E.) First Greek Reader and Writer. With Greek and English vocabularies. Royal 16mo. 235 pp. Sonnenschein. 2s. 6d.
- Suetonius*. Divus Augustus, edited, with historical introduction, by E. S. Shuckburgh. 8vo. 216 pp. Cambridge Univ. Press. 10s.
- Tacitus*. The Annals, edited with introduction and notes by H. Furneaux. Vol. I. (Book 1—6.) Second Edition. 8vo. 670 pp. Frowde. 18s.
- Tarbell* (F. B.) History of Greek Art. Crown 8vo. 295 pp. Meadville, Pa. \$1.
- Terentius*. Adelphi, edited by W. F. Masom. Crown 8vo. Clive. (Univ. Tutorial Series.) 3s. 6d.
- Vergil*. Morris (Will.) The *Enids* of Virgil, done into English verse. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 382 pp. Longmans. 6s.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

- Aeschylus*. Orestie, griechisch und deutsch von U. von Wilamovitz-Moellendorf. Part II. Das Opfer am Grabe. 8vo. 268 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 7 Mk.
- Aristophanes*. Steurer (H.) De Aristophanis carminibus lyricis. 8vo. 54 pp. Strassburg. 1 Mk. 20.
- Aristoteles*. Bericht über Aristoteles und die ältesten Akademiker und Peripatetiker, für 1894, von F. Susemihl. 8vo. 48 pp. Berlin, Calvary. 1 Mk. 80.
- (Aus 'Jahresbericht über die Fortschr. der class. Altertumsw.')
- Bericht über die in den Jahren 1892—1895 erschienene Literatur zu Aristoteles' *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. Von V. von Schoeffer. 8vo. 84 pp. Berlin, Calvary. 3 Mk. 60.
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A DISCUSSION OF CATULLUS LXII., 39—58.

THE purpose of this paper is to show that in vss. 45 and 56 *dum...dum* are correlatives and must be interpreted literally as "the while...the while," that is, as equal to *quam diu...tam diu*. This explanation is by no means new, since it was advocated by no less an authority than Quintilian. It has been adopted in recent times by Riese (1884), Baehrens (1885), Schmalz (1890), and Hale (1894). It is rejected, however, by Ellis (1889), Merrill (1893), and Simpson (1894, reprint of edition of 1879).¹ These three editors agree in denying that the *dum*-clauses are correlative, and in holding that both are dependent on *est*, to be supplied with *sic*. In the fact that I believe this view to be both flat and erroneous is to be found the justification for my paper. Further, though the view I advocate is not new, I think I may say that the particular line of argument used in its support is novel, as well as sound.

There has been some uncertainty as to the text in the two verses named. In 45, according to Prof. Ellis, most MSS. give *tum cara*, whereas in 56 only one shows *tum*. On the other hand we have the positive testimony of Quintilian, ix. 3. 16. The chapter is entitled *De figuris verborum*, and treats of variations from the normal in the use of words. In § 14 Quint. remarks that many *figuræ* spring from a love of antiquity: *Alia commendatio vetustatis, cuius amator unice Vergilius fuit*. Several illustrative passages are then cited from Vergil, and

finally in § 16 we read: *Pleni talibus antiqui: . . . Catullus in Epithalamio Dum innupta² manet, dum cara suis est, cum prius dum significet quoad, sequens usque eo*. At the present time editors are practically agreed in reading *dum . . . dum* in both verses. Thus, even Professors Ellis and Merrill accept Quintilian's testimony as to the text, though they refuse to admit his interpretation. The former's note runs: "He (Quint.) explains the line 'as long as she remains unwed, so long is she dear to her kinsmen.' . . . It is not necessary to interpret Catullus so harshly. *Sic* may contain the predicate *optata est*, implied in the protasis of the simile, 'so is the virgin desirable while she remains unprofaned, while she is dear to her kinsmen.'" On this view something will be said presently. Prof. Merrill, after a brief reference to Quintilian's view, writes: "But comparison with v. 56 indicates that Quintilian misunderstood the meaning of Catullus as much as did the less learned emendators of V and T, who changed the second *dum* to *tum*. The two *dum*-clauses are not correlative, but coördinate, both modifying *sic virgo* (*sc. est*), while *sic* is emphatic, referring to v. 42. Thus v. 45 corresponds alone to vv. 39-42, while vv. 46-47 correspond to vv. 43-44." Now I believe that Prof. Merrill has rightly

² No importance can be attached to the fact that Quint. gives *innupta* here, for he was doubtless quoting from memory. See Baehrens ad loc. For similar slips by others, *e.g.*, Aristotle, see Jebb on Soph. *Antig.* 220, and Humphrey's note on same verse in his appendix.

¹ Munro's *Elucidations* I have not been able to see.
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divided the stanza into its balancing parts, but I shall try to show presently that his method of interpretation does not naturally lead to the results which he sets forth. I call especial attention to the sentence beginning 'But comparison with v. 56,' because it embodies a method of interpreting our passage which, it seems to me, is wholly erroneous.¹ To my mind, the sense of v. 56 must be determined from that of v. 45. To interpret 45 from 56 is to me an inversion of the proper process. This declaration leads naturally to the statement of my main point, which is, that more account must be taken of the *form* of the poem than has been done by any of the recent editors. Ellis, Riese and Baehrens all call attention to the amoebean character of the poem, but none of them makes full use of this point in its criticism and interpretation.

It is well known that the law of Amoebean poetry is that the utterances of the second speaker shall correspond in form and contents to those of the leader. See Conington's introductions to the third, seventh and eighth Eclogues of Vergil, and Mr. Page's prefatory note to Horace, *Carmina* iii. 9. I need hardly remind the reader how finely this law is obeyed by Horace. In Eclogue iii. the dialogue covers 48 verses, each competitor delivering twelve strains of two verses each; in Eclogue vii. we have again 48 verses, divided into twelve strains of four verses each. How far did Catullus obey this rule in the poem before us? The hymn falls into three parts. Vss. 1-18 are introductory; 20-59 form the *carmen amoebaeum* proper; 60-66 constitute a sort of epilogue, spoken either by the youths or by the poet himself. In the introduction there was evidently no striving after symmetry of form. Vss. 1-4, spoken by the *pueri*, are imperfectly balanced by 7 and 8, uttered by the *puellae*. The *pueri* require eight verses (11-18) to make the statements which the *puellae* set forth in two (8 and 9). Turning to the second part (20-59), or *carmen amoebaeum* proper, we note that it consisted, as it came from the poet's hand, of three pairs of stanzas.² The second of these is mutilated

¹ Prof. Ellis makes what I conceive to be essentially the same mistake, for in speaking of the text in 45 he says (p. 248, footnote): 'More decisive (sc. than MSS. evidence or Quintilian's statement) is the parallel verse 56 . . . as K. P. Schulze observes: for here *dum inculta* is given by all MSS except Thuan.' I hold it an error to attempt to extract from v. 56 any evidence as to the text or meaning of 45.

² Riese (p. 132) conjectures, though without supplying proof, that the first strophe and antistrophe contained six verses each, the second eight each, and the third ten each.

beyond recovery; only the six verses, 32-37, remain. We may therefore throw this portion entirely out of the discussion. The first strophe and antistrophe (20-31) contain each, besides the refrain, five verses, with no trace of incompleteness; it seems likely, also, that the third pair of stanzas (39-58) contained each ten verses,³ besides the refrain. We may conjecture, therefore, with great probability, though we cannot clearly prove that in the matter of form this *carmen amoebaeum* fulfilled the first law of such compositions.

Leaving now the question of form and glancing at the language, we note at once very striking resemblances. In vv. 20-25 the girls say 'How cruel thou art, Hesperus, to tear the maiden from her mother.' The lads reply 'How kind thou art, Hesperus, to give the maiden to her lover.' Cf. here again what Mr. Page has said in his preface to Hor. C. iii. 9. Each of these utterances consists of three sentences: a question in one v., a relative clause in three vv., and a second question in the concluding v. The final questions, *Quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe* and *Quid datur a divis felici optatus hora* are clearly cases of amoebean "tit for tat." In our passage (39-58) we have in the strophe (39-47) practically a single sentence, composed of two clauses correlated by *ut* and *sic*. Each of these falls into two parts, with adversative asyndeton at the joints, i. e., at vv. 43 and 46. In the antistrophe (49-58) we have the same arrangement, except that at v. 54 the conjunction is expressed. This evident resemblance in the language, on which I need not dwell at greater length, strengthens the hypothesis accepted above that in external form there was originally complete correspondence between the parts of this amoebean song.⁴

I have dwelt at such length upon the amoebean character of the poem because on that my special line of argument depends. The points of this argument are: (1) We have here a fair specimen of the *carmen amoebaeum*; (2) the law of such *carmina* is that the leader sets the pace, so to speak, to which the other must conform; (3) that here the girls lead; and hence (4) their utterances should in each case be perfectly clear and intelligible, when taken by themselves. To put the matter concretely, it became the duty of the lads at v. 49 to reply to the statements just made by the

³ See Riese and Baehrens on v. 41.

⁴ On the structure of this poem see further Carl Ziwsa, *Die Eurhythmische Technik des Catullus*, II. Theil, pp. 11, 12. (Wien, 1883).

girls. They must do this in ten verses, and the form of their deliverance must be as like as possible to that of the girls. It is self-evident that to fulfill this task acceptably, indeed, to accomplish it at all, it was necessary for them to understand in every detail what the girls had said. Hence, in reading the poem, we must put ourselves in the position of the lads by interpreting vv. 39-47 wholly by themselves, and then we must apply the same line of interpretation to 49-58. In other words we must take a course the very opposite of that followed by Ellis and Merrill.

The next step in our discussion will be an analysis of vv. 39-47. In 39-44 the theme is the *flos*. Of this two things are said: (a) that under certain circumstances it is dear to the *pueri et puellae*, and (b) that under certain other circumstances it loses its charm for them. We may paraphrase thus: *Dum flos intactus est, carus est pueris et puellis; sed cum tactus est, non carus est, etc.* When we read *sic* in 45 we naturally expect from our knowledge both of grammar and poetic workmanship, that the correlating clause will itself be broken into two parts, corresponding exactly to those of the *ut*-clause. These we can find without trouble, since *dum intacta (virgo) manet = dum flos intactus est* of our paraphrase, and *dum cara suis est*, if taken as Quint. interprets it, is a complete correlative to *carus est (flos) pueris et puellis*.¹ To continue, v. 46, which = *sed cum virgo tacta est*, corresponds exactly to 43, which = *sed cum flos tactus est*, and v. 47 = *virgo non cara est pueris et puellis*, is correlative to 44, which = *flos non carus est pueris et puellis*. If we interpret this stanza by itself, as I have urged, we shall inevitably, I think, arrange the several parts in this way. By so doing we get a stanza in whose art there is not a single flaw. Catullus matches two things said of the flower by two things said of the girl, and the flow of the thought, the rhythm of the language, and the balance of the structure are perfect.

Contrast the results thus secured with those obtained by Ellis and Merrill. The former says, "*sic* may well contain the predicate *optata est* implied in the protasis of the simile, 'so is the maiden desirable while she remains unprofaned, while she is dear to her kinsmen.'" This I believe to be faulty

both in grammar and in sense. (1) The protasis of the simile contains not merely *optata est*, but *non optata est* also. If, then, we supply *est* at all after *sic*, we must take as its predicate the *whole contents* of the protasis, not a part, as Ellis has done. (2) As regards the sense, To whom, I ask, is the maiden desirable? To *suae*, 'her kinsfolk'? Is it not a very flat truism to say that a girl is dear to her kinsfolk as long as she is dear to them? Or are we to say that she is dear to her lover or husband, so long as she is dear to her kinsfolk? Can we not conceive of a girl as desirable in the lover's eyes quite apart from her relation, whatever it may be, to her kin? Both views are absurd. And yet, if we follow Ellis, we must supply after the words 'so is the maiden desirable,' either 'to her kin' or 'to her lover,' for together her kin and her lover represent to her the whole world, as divided into two classes, the one including all within the circle of her family, the other all the rest of the world.

In what has been said of Prof. Ellis' view has been shown the error, I think, of Merrill's view, that *est* alone is to be supplied with *sic*. In that event, as already urged, the predicate to *est* would naturally be the whole contents of the protasis of the simile, as contained in 39-44. Thus v. 45 will correspond, not, as Merrill would have us believe, to 39-42 alone, but to all the vv. 39-44. Verses 46 and 47 would then be wholly unnecessary and therefore weak, and the complete artistic balance which we obtained before would be wholly destroyed.

Precisely the same interpretation must be applied to vv. 49-58. There is not the slightest trouble in doing this, even at v. 56, for the difficulty which editors have felt there is, I think, entirely of their own creation. The lads say two things about the *vitis*, which takes the place of the *flos* of the preceding stanza. We may paraphrase again: *dum vitis intacta est, non cara est; sed cum tacta est, cara est*. This is balanced by *dum virgo intacta est, non cara est; sed cum tacta est, cara est*. How shall we render v. 56? Simply thus: 'So the maiden, the while she remains *intacta*, the while she grows old uncared for,' a sentiment wholly in keeping with the genuine Roman ideas on the subject of marriage.²

¹ I regard *suis* in 45 as merely a variation for *pueris et puellis* virtually contained in 42, 44, and 47. Both expressions merely = 'acquaintances,' the flower and the girl being dear, or not, as the case may be, to those who are aware of their existence.

² Prof. F. D. Allen has suggested to me what is, so far as I know, wholly novel, namely, that a strong proof of the correctness of the view held in this paper is the very v. 56 which has caused most editors so much trouble. I confess that this view appeals to me with some force when I take into account the practical impossibility of gathering any predicate at

It remains to consider whether *dum...dum* can bear the meaning assigned them in this paper. On this point we have, first of all, Quintilian's testimony, as cited above. The flow of §§ 14-16 of the chapter would seem to indicate that Quint. regarded the use as an archaism, a very natural view, and one which receives confirmation from Plaut. *Truc.* 232 (cited by all editors of Catull.), as emended to read *Dum habeat, dum amet*. Lambinus was the first to alter the *tum amet* of the MSS., but the conjecture has been 'accepted or repeated by Hand, C. F. W. Müller, Fleckeisen, Haupt, Schwabe, Schöll, and Key, L.D. s.v.' (Ellis, p. 248, footnote.) To this list may be added Haupt (*Opusc.* ii. p. 473), Baehrens and Riese in their editions, Hale (*Anticipatory Subjunctive*, pp. 68, 69), all to *sic virgo* in v. 56 from the protasis of this simile, yet I am very far from admitting that it affects in any particular the correctness of my main argument, as based on the amoebian character of our passage.

and Schmalz in Müller's *Handbuch*, ii. p. 509. See further the critical note in the Goetz-Loewe-Schöll edition of the *Truculentus*. I have not had access to Richardson's treatise on *dum*. Good discussions are those by Haupt, Schmalz, and Hale, as cited above. The construction may be illustrated by certain uses of the Greek: see especially Haupt, *Opusc.* ii. pp. 471-473, and Ellis on v. 45. It may be added finally that both Riese and Baehrens cite Verg. *Eclog.* viii. 42 *Ut vidi, ut perii*, both referring to Savelsberg, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvi. (1871), p. 135, the latter adding Corssen, *De pronunt.* ii.² p. 856. But see Conington on the passage. Riese also cites by way of illustration *Il.* xiv. 294 *ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὡς μιν ἔρωσ πικινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν*, and Theocr. iii. 42 *ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη*, but the appositeness of such citations is questionable.

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MARTIANUS CAPELLA.

THIS author forms so important a link between the old world and the new, that a critical edition with an adequate commentary, noting sources and imitators throughout, would be a great boon to classical as well as mediaeval scholars. Kopp's notes are distinguished by infinite industry, but lack exact scholarship. Eysenhardt's edition, published thirty years ago in the Teubner series, is handy and has a useful index. His conjectures are not often happy.

Thus in the speech of Iuppiter in praise of bride and bridegroom (§ 92 p. 25 l. 23-25)

nam nostra ille fides sermo benignitas
ac uerus genius fida recursio
interpresque meae mentis honos sacer,

Eysenhardt substitutes for the last two words *ὁ νοῦς acer*, referring to p. 37 l. 20, where *νοῦς* occurs: he might have cited p. 104 l. 8, where we find *sacer νοῦς*. It is the extreme of prudery to reject *honos*, abstract for concrete, in a context teeming with examples of the figure. Within a few lines (i 110 117) Juvenal has *sacro honori* and *summus honos*. Nor is our African author to be saddled with the strange use of the article, or the false quantity in *acer*, without convincing evidence. Martianus, I grant, shortens *omega* (§ 327 p. 98 l. 9 in a pentameter *et scholicum praestrui axiōma*) and the final vowel in *frustrā* (§ 92 p. 25

l. 25, so Prudentius) and perhaps the *a* in *mortalibus* (in § 125 l. 5 6, the Adonic verses *tuque caducis | mortalibusque*, the latter verse may be a gloss on the former; cf. in Thalia's song § 126 p. 37 l. 16 *reserent caducis astrā*). All the more reason that we should not add to his guilt by random guesses, where the ms. reading offends neither against prosody nor sense.

Thanks to Kopp's index many of his author's words have found a place in the lexicons; but the references are (as is the case with two other Africans, Apuleius and Arnobius) very inconsistent, sometimes to Kopp's paragraphs, sometimes to the pages of the boy Grotius. Under *animator* Lewis and Short cite 'Capitolin. i p. 13.' Forcellini has 'Martian. Capell.' Hundreds of similar blunders might have been avoided, if editors of the handy compendiums, which to the great injury of learning have ousted Gesner, Scheller, Forcellini from the desks of our students, had possessed a tolerable acquaintance with literary history, or had condescended to keep an eye on Forcellini as they corrected their proofs. Whoever passed 'Capitolin. i p. 13' for the press can never have seen either Capitolinus or Martianus. If we examine the references to Tertullian in Lewis and Short, we find many like evidences of helpless ignorance.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 13.)

XI.

In addition to the simple terminations of the future subjunctive in *σω* and of the optative in *σῆν*, which I have already discussed, the language had at its command the reduplicated forms *σέω* (*σέσω*) and *σεῖν*, *σεια* (*σεσῆν*, *σεια*). For the loss of *σ* in *σέω* there is no direct evidence; but as phonetic laws show that no other spirant than *σ* can have disappeared in *σεῖν* and *σεια*, analogy entitles us to assume that *σέω* stands for *σέσω*. There is but one absolutely certain example in Attic of this formation, *φενξοῦμαι*. The evidence for its existence is given by Mr. R. J. Walker in the *Classical Review*, vol. viii. p. 17-21. But in those dialects which had not created a firm distinction of meaning between the forms of the *σ* subjunctive with a short and a long vowel, the reduplication (*σεσ*) afforded a convenient means of emphasizing the specially future use of the mood. This usage once established was the parent of the so-called Doric future. The Attic futures in *ῶ* are of a different formation, which has not as yet been satisfactorily explained.

In the case of the optative it is easy to show how the necessity arose for the employment of the reduplicated suffix or some other substitute for the original ending. The termination *ην*, which Greek inherited as the appropriate suffix for forming the singular and the third person plural of the optative from unthematic stems, was greatly restricted in use by the operation of phonetic laws. If we put aside later and purely analogical forms such as *φιλόην*, the termination *ην* could not exist after a vowel, as the *ι* would disappear. Neither could it be placed after a double consonant ending in *σ*. Curtius and J. Schmidt have shown that after *ξ*, *ψ*, and *σσ* the spirant *ι* is not vocalized but disappears, so that an original *γραφῆην* or *λυσῆην* (for *λυσσῆην*) would pass into *γράφην* or *λύσην* and be rendered useless as an optative. There is an interesting case of the working of this law in the dialect of Heraclea. That dialect changes the *ε* of the Doric future into *ι* before *ο* and *ω*, so that *βαλέοντι* becomes *βαλίοντι*; but this *ι* is treated as a semi-vowel and cannot exist after a double consonant. Therefore *ἐξέοντι*, *κωλυσσεόντι* become not *ἐξίοντι*, *κωλυσιόντι*, but *ἐξόντι* and *κωλυσόντι*. The explanation of this fact is not difficult.

As Wackernagel has shown (*K.Z.* vol. xxv. p. 268), *σι* after a vowel becomes a palatal sibilant of such a kind that it transforms the preceding vowel into an *ι* diphthong and the *σ* thus made intervocalic disappears. This explains why no diaeresis is possible in such forms as *εῖην* for *έσῆην*, and *σταῖην* for *στασῆην*, while the previous existence of the *σ* preserves the *ι*. The double consonants *ξ*, *ψ*, and *σσ* were not capable of this palatal affection, and the *ι* had to disappear.

As a result of these limitations the suffix *ην* is only to be found after an original single *σ* preceded by a vowel, that is, once after a radical *σ*, in *εῖην* (*εσῆην*), and everywhere after the modal *σ* attached to a vowel stem, as in *σταῖην* for *στασῆην*, and *εἰδέην* for *εἰδεσῆην*. The normal *σ* optative of *εἶμι* is *εῖην* for *ισῆην*, which, written as *εῖην*, is found four times in Homer. So ambiguous a form could not continue to exist, and the language with the aid of the reduplicated *σεσῆην* produced in its place the inconvenient *ιείην* for *ισεσῆην* (*Iliad* xix. 209). But the termination was so cumbersome, that this form is never repeated.

The suffix *σῆην* being, as I have shown, impossible after a consonant, and *σεῖν* (*σεσῆην*) being put aside as overweighing the termination, the language chose to use after stems ending in a consonant a lighter form of *σεῖν*, viz. *σεια* for *σεια*, restricted, like *σῆην* and *σεσῆην*, to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons singular and to the 3rd person plural. The connexion of this *σεια* with *σεῖν* has been often discussed, especially with reference to the final *α*. The following explanation, I believe, meets the difficulty. On the one hand we have in the optative the strong suffix *ην* weakened in the dual and the first two persons of the plural into *ι*, and on the other we have the weak feminine *ι*, which is found in so many languages, strengthened in Greek into *ια*. If we combine the two couples, we get a series of three: (1) *ην*, (2) *ια*, (3) *ι*. The intermediate *ια* is not a weak suffix but a lighter form of the strong suffix *ην*, and as such must in the earlier language have borne the accent. This results not only from the consideration that its use in the optative was confined to the persons to which under other circumstances *ην* was applicable, but from the phonetic effect of the nominal suffix *ια* in shortening the root

syllable. Compare *πρόφρων πρόφρασσα, ἑών ἕασσα, ἰών ἱασσα*, and contrast the working of this suffix in the Homeric *γαῖα* for *γαῖα*, with that of *ā* in the original *γᾶFā*, the parent of the Herodotean *γῆ* and the Attic *γῆ*, *εὐγῆως* for *εὐγῆος*, etc.

If we assume then that *σεια* was a lighter form of *σειη*, but disregard the accent on the final *a*, as necessarily disappearing in historical Greek, the original inflection of this sigmatic optative must have been *πραξείαν, πραξείας, πραξεία, πραξείτον, πραξείτην, πραξείμιεν, πραξείατε, πραξείαν*.

The 1st person singular has entirely disappeared, a circumstance which militates strongly against the natural view that it was originally *πράξεια*, for if that form had ever existed it would probably have been kept alive by the identity of its termination with that of the 1st person singular of the indicative, as *πραχθείην* was preserved by *ἐπράχθην*. But against *πράξειαν* there were two forces at work. The first was the general movement against unthematic forms constructed from stems ending in a short vowel, which though it has destroyed them in every case, has yet left traces of their former existence. Thus *ἔσκεδασα* implies a previous *ἔσκεδαν*, and *ἔθανον* must be a transformation of *ἔθανεν*. The second force was the preference of the language for a primary ending in the 1st person singular of the optative, as shown in *πράττοιμι*. Under the combined attack of these influences *πραξείαν* had to give way to *πράξαιμι*. But from the vowels of the substitute it is clear that the change did not take place until *a* had been recognized as the characteristic letter of the indicative *σ* aorist, and until *πράξειας* was on the way to be felt as possessing this characteristic. When the change was at last made, *πράξειας* and the 3rd person plural, *πράξειαν*, asserted themselves, at least to the Attic ear, as having the same terminations as the aorist indicative and were enabled to form in the same manner a third person singular in *ε*.

This feeling that the characteristic *a* was necessary in the *σ* optative inevitably led to the destruction of *πραξείτον*, etc., forms which Choeroboscos assures us existed in the early language, though no traces of them are found in any author. The recognition of *σεια* as a normal suffix of the optative affords an easy explanation of the desiderative participles in *σειών*. *Πραξείων* is simply the participle of (*πραξείαν*), *πράξειας, πράξειε*, taking the termination of the present as the

durative meaning of the form requires. The language was not averse to a connexion between an indicative in *a* and a participle in *ων*, as is shown by *ἦα, ἑών*, and *ἦια, ἰών*. If we accept this account of the desiderative *πραξείων*, it becomes clear why the formation in Homer and older Attic is restricted to the participle.

The main interest of the optative suffix *ια*, the existence of which I believe I have established, lies in its importance for Latin philology. The present subjunctive in Latin is plainly optative and potential in meaning, and when used independently corresponds to the Greek optative. All the forms on the construction of which philologists are agreed are plainly optatives in origin (e.g. *sim*, etc.). Now with the aid of the accented suffix *ια* there is no difficulty in constructing *dicām* as an optative. First by attaching *ια* to the thematic stem we get *dicoῖαμ*, which by Wharton's law passes into *dicaiam*; and then after the necessary loss of the *i* and subsequent contraction we arrive at *dicām*. The prehistoric inflection on this view was *dicām, dicās, dicāt, dicoimur, dicoitis, dicant. Dicoimus and dicoitis* of course disappeared.

It follows from this view that we ought to analyse *stem* into *staiem* with the same strong termination that exists in *siem* and *σταῖην* (*στασιην*). The Oscan and Umbrian dialects supply evidence of this view of the formation of the present subjunctive in Latin. The terminations of the 3rd persons singular and plural in both dialects demonstrate that we are dealing with a secondary tense like the Greek optative, and not a primary tense like the Greek subjunctive. This point was taken long ago, and is made clear in the grammars of these dialects. As regards the forms themselves, the Oscan present subjunctive is identical with the Latin, *deicad* with *dicat* and *deicans* with *dicant*, the *d* and *ns* being the dialectic indication of a secondary ending. The next instance seems to me conclusive. The present subjunctive *deivaid*, which stands for *deivaid* (cf. Planta, p. 90) corresponds exactly to *staiet* (from *staiem*), the immediate parent of *stet*. The Umbrian present subjunctive of the first conjugation is obviously formed with the suffix *ια*, e.g. *kuraia* = Latin *curet*. But no argument can be founded on these forms till a satisfactory account is given of the retention of *i*. I will treat of this question more fully when the time comes to discuss the Latin subjunctive as a whole.

FRED. W. WALKER.

PYLOS AND SPHAKTERIA.

IN the number of the *Journal* of the Hellenic Society, April 1896 (published September 1896), are two papers on Pylos and Sphakteria, one by Mr. Burrows and one by myself. The arrangements for publishing mine in the *Journal* were made before Mr. Burrow's paper was offered to the Editors, and the latter very courteously asked me whether I had any objection to a second paper on the same subject appearing in the same number with my own. As it seemed to me that the point to be aimed at was historical truth and not the successful advocacy of individual views on the subject, I had no objection whatever to the course suggested, but I stipulated that Mr. Burrows should not see what I had written, and of course that I should not see his paper. An opportunity of comparing our ideas was, however, afforded us in a discussion which followed the reading of a paper on the subject by me at a meeting of the Society last spring, when Mr. Burrows criticised some of the views I had expressed. I confess that I did not feel that the discussion was wholly satisfactory. It was, perhaps, inevitable that Mr. Burrows, in criticising a somewhat rapidly read paper, should have misapprehended in certain important respects what I had actually said, and I see now that I also was mistaken as to the line he adopted on several points of interest and importance. I need hardly say that I have looked forward to the publication of his paper with the greatest interest. It would have been little short of a miracle had our views on so difficult and complicated a subject corresponded in all respects, but I am glad to find that on the two main points, as well as on several minor but important ones, we are emphatically in agreement. At the same time I think that it may be of use to those who are interested in the subject if I speak briefly of the points of difference which exist in the views we have expressed. I will put the matter as briefly as possible, and take the questions in the order in which I find them in Mr. Burrows' paper.

The pages referred to are those of Mr. Burrows' article in the *Hellenic Journal*.

1. *The identity of Pylos and Sphakteria* (pp. 56, 58).

We are both agreed that Palaeokastro = Pylos and Sphagia = Sphakteria, and that the alternative identification given in Arnold's note cannot be supported.

2. *The παλαιὸν ἔργον mentioned by Thucydides*, iv. 31, 2 (pp. 58, 59).

There can be no doubt as to its position on the summit peak at the north end of Sphagia. On this point we could hardly fail to be in agreement. I am not so certain as Mr. Burrows as to the existent traces of it, and I did not see the piece of wall 3 ft. 6 in. high to which Mr. Burrows refers. The stratification of the limestone on Sphagia, which is much of it vertical or nearly so, is deceptive, and has to be treated with extreme caution. The summit hill was so excellent a point for purposes of survey that I was at work there three or four times, and ascended it from both north and south and also from the east along the short ridge. I looked for traces of the work, and though I saw nothing which could to my mind be identified with certainty with such traces, yet I think that Mr. Burrows' evidence, supporting that of Dr. Schliemann, appears to be fairly convincing on this point.

3. *The path taken by the Messenian captain and his band*.

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Burrows has, in dealing with this part of his subject, attempted to prove too much. Modern topography can do much for the elucidation of that which is obscure in ancient history, but it is possible to carry it too far, and in this case I think Mr. Burrows has erred. We are apparently agreed that the Messenians made their way into the hollow on the east side of the summit. Mr. Burrows thinks they made their way up a gully. If I remember that gully aright it is more of the nature of what Alpine climbers call, I believe, a 'chimney,' than of the kind of thing which we associate with the word gully. Climbable it would be no doubt to an unimpeded and experienced mountaineer, but as the path taken by the Messenians it is improbable. There is the further improbability of its being in the same condition at the present day, after the wear and tear of 2,000 years, as at the time at which the event took place. Moreover Mr. Burrows admits that to arrive at the bottom of it the Messenian band must have re-embarked (p. 61 *ad fin.*). How is it that Thucydides in his detailed account of the exploit not only does not mention this point, but expressly says that the Messenian captain and his band ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὁρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρέικον τοῦ κρημνώδους

τῆς νήσου προσβαίνων, καὶ ἢ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχυρῶς πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσαν, &c. ? They certainly could not have got down the cliff to the bottom, nor could they have started from the Panagia and made their way along the water side. I think myself that the only possible explanation of the course taken is that they got into the hollow from the south end of it, starting from some point on the cliffs well away behind the line of assailants, and making their way along the cliff just below its topmost edge, where it is not perpendicular, but where their path would be hidden from the Spartan force on Mount St. Elias, and thence within the ring of defenders. I certainly do not think that we can determine more than this.

4. *The fortifications of Pylos (Palaeo-Kastro).*

Before discussing Mr. Burrows' determination of the position of the Athenian fortifications on Pylos, I must point out that one or two assertions which he makes are contrary to the evidence which is obtainable at the present day.

A. *The south-east corner of Pylos (p. 64).*

He says that the east cliff lasts to within 100 yards of the Sikia channel on the south, and therefore that this 100 yards must have required artificial defence. In the first place this cliff is 60 feet high within 50 yards of the Sikia, and 90 feet high within a hundred, and it abuts on the channel itself in a very steep-ended buttress. If my measurements be disputed, let me refer to the pictures which accompany Mr. Burrows' paper. They do exaggerate in favour of my assertion, but they give a fairly accurate picture of the actual contour of that end of the cliff. But, furthermore, as I had occasion to notice in taking measurements for the contouring, the south portion of the east cliff gives evidence of having been washed by deep water at a much more recent period than the north end, and also the state of the sand-bar shows that the last open outlet of the lagoon was at the end right under that cliff. If this be so a land force could not have attacked this south end of the cliff even had it been, militarily speaking, climbable, which it is not.

B. *The north part of the east cliff (p. 64).*

Mr. Burrows says that this cliff lasts to within a 'few hundred' yards of the Voithio Kilia on the north. Referring to measurements I find that within 180 yards of the Voithio Kilia this cliff is 90 feet high, the greater part of which is perpendicular. Then comes a gap of 100 yards or more, where there is no cliff, but a steep slope on to the

sand hills by the Voithio Kilia, and then over the Voithio Kilia itself is a cliff not more than 30 feet high, but absolutely perpendicular. From the mountaineer's point of view the cliff is not unscalable, but for practical military purposes it is so, and the notorious incompetence of the Lacedaemonians in the assault of strongly defended positions emphasises the impracticability in the case under consideration. Did Demosthenes choose the east cliff as his line of defence from the land side, he had practically to provide for the defence of the break in the cliffs, and for little more.

C. *The defence on the land side.*

In accordance with the view Mr. Burrows has taken of the east cliff he would place the northern defence on the line of the cliff which stands high on the north slope of Pylos, continued to the sea on the west by a line of wall whose remains, he says, still exist. There is a wall there. It will be found marked by a black line on my general map (Plate III.). Mr. Burrows, in consideration of its position and style of building, identifies it with apparent confidence with the actual wall built by the Athenian defenders of Pylos. I do not know what this may seem to others who are acquainted with the history of this site, but to me, at least, this identification seems like topography gone wild. The wall is, as Mr. Burrows describes it, more or less rough in construction, and, I think, without mortar. Let us consider for one moment what that wall would have had to survive in order to exist at the present time. There would be first of all the Messenian Pylos which Pausanias describes, which must have lain partly to the north of the wall, for the cave of Nestor is described as being within the city. The inhabitants of that city must have been sorely tempted to use existing structures as a convenient quarry, especially when those structures could have been of no other value to them. If they resisted the temptation they must have been persons of unusual self-denial. We will suppose they were, and that the wall survived. The peak was almost certainly occupied by a castle in the time of the Frankish dominion, of which castle certain portions of the existing remains are remnants. Still the wall survives, and the promontory passes eventually into the possession of the Venetians, who no doubt made the fortification into the form of which we now see the ruins. There were stormy times in south-west Greece in those days: continual attacks by and fighting with the Turks, and from old Venetian records and

maps we know that the place was besieged many times and at last taken by assault. Through all this the wall still survives. Can this be credible? Suppose it be pronounced so: still another possibility suggests itself. May not such a wall have been built by some of the later occupants of the site? Having the rough unhewn stone scattered about the neighbouring ground, what other kind of wall than the one described would any one have built who had taken into his head to use that material as he found it, were he Messenian, Frank, or Greek? We have thus two improbabilities both tending the same way. I cannot see that the sum of them makes one probability. There are certain well known distinctions between the characteristics of structures in Greece dating from certain different periods, but the distinctions are drawn from characteristics of a very much more marked kind than any which this piece of wall presents.

There are two brief considerations which I would add before leaving the question:—

(1) Thucydides' account would certainly lead us to believe that the whole of the well defined piece of ground known as Koryphasion was occupied by the Athenians.

(2) This wall to which Mr. Burrows refers is on a very steep slope, running down it, a position of manifest weakness in defence in the days of short range missiles; since an attacking party, especially if in overwhelmingly superior numbers, could while keeping the defenders of the upper part of the wall engaged, enfilade from the higher ground the defenders of the lower part of such a wall.

D. *The lagoon.*

Mr. Burrows agrees with me on the general question of the existence of this piece of water in some form or other at the time at which the events took place. After discussing several alternatives he seems to come to the conclusion that the lagoon was an integral portion of the harbour, and that the sand-bar separating it from the bay did not exist (p. 70). On this point I think he has failed to take into consideration the nature of the physical forces at work. This theory would seem to demand that the lagoon formation on this bay had either not begun or was in its very inception 400 years before Christ. The improbability of this is apparent on the face of it, and when we further consider the comparative smallness of the lagoon-forming forces in this particular region and the necessarily slow process of their work, we are compelled to reject the theory. We have not here, as

in other places in Greece, a large area of land which was evidently lagoon aforesaid. The plain of Lykos has a distinct slope of 1° (no inconsiderable fall), to the north shore of the present lagoon; and therefore in any assumption that the present lagoon was in its inception at any particular time, we have to assume that the process of formation was also in its inception in this neighbourhood at that time, a practically impossible assumption under the circumstances in consideration.

E. *The breadth of the southern entrance of the bay.*

On this point we are practically in agreement.

F. *The blocking of the channels.*

Mr. Burrows' theory as to the nature of Thucydides' mistake is ingenious, but it is an hypothesis founded on an hypothesis, and therefore cannot be discussed. At the same time I do not see how he can make the theory square with his belief that Thucydides had visited the region.

G. *The length of Sphacteria.*

Mr. Burrows would ascribe Thucydides' mistake to a textual corruption. I think the topographical explanation is more probable as being founded on the intrinsic evidence of Thucydides' own account.

H. *Had Thucydides ever personally examined the region?*

Mr. Burrows thinks he had, and would apparently ascribe his mistakes as to the breadth of the channel and the length of the island to errors of observation. For my own part I think that a careful consideration of the topographical information given points rather to its having been derived from inquiry than from personal experience, and this would accord with the strikingly obvious method employed by Thucydides in getting information with regard to the siege of Plataea. He had certainly never examined that site, though it lay within a day's journey of Athens. I think, too, that many of those who study Thucydides' history will agree with me that he does not in his works present himself to us as the kind of man who would be likely to make mistakes of such magnitude after personal examination of the theatre of events.

I have tried to be fair in this statement of differences, I hope I have succeeded in being so. I think such differences are inseparable from the difference of the methods, observation in the one instance, survey in the other, employed by Mr. Burrows and myself. I am afraid that the magnitude of the errors to which my own unaided

observation is liable, as proved by the hard facts of actual measurement, has made me somewhat prejudiced in favour of the use of instruments. But in any case it has been very instructive to me to read Mr.

Burrows' valuable paper, and I cannot but welcome it as a real contribution to what is to me a subject of great interest.

G. B. GRUNDY.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES'S *ALCESTIS*.

Vv. 282-289.

ἐγὼ σὲ πρῆσβείουσα κἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
ψυχῆς καταστήσασα φῶς τόδ' εἰσοράν
θνήσκω, παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ σέθεν
ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχέιν Θεσσαλῶν ὃν ἤθελον
καὶ δῶμα ναίειν ὄλβιον τυραννίδι
οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῆν ἀποσπασθεῖσα σοῦ
ἐν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν οὐδ' ἐφεισάμην,
ἦβης ἔχουσα δῶρ', ἐν οἷς ἑτερπύμην.

The difficulty in this passage begins with v. 285. It will not do to supply, with Monk, παρόν μοι from v. 284, or, with Hermann, to make ἀλλ' connect only the infinitives. Lenting's οὐκ for οὐκ in v. 287 and Kirchhoff's οὐδ' in the same place do not satisfy; nor has M. Weil helped the passage by writing in v. 284 θνήσκω παρόν δὲ κτέ. In order satisfactorily to treat this difficult passage we must begin with v. 284. (Perhaps I should have said that the difficulty, though not the obvious one, begins here.) It is certainly far more natural to take ὑπὲρ σέθεν with θνήσκω than with θανεῖν: that every reader of the verse must feel. But if we read in that way, we shall begin a new construction with ἀλλ'. The one word that interferes with ἀλλ' ἄνδρα κτέ. as a new sentence is the infinitive ζῆν in v. 287; and here, I believe, we have found the ἔλκος. Substitute for ζῆν the participle ζῶσ' (cf. v. 695 ζῆς παρελθὼν and Xen. *Anab.* 2. 6, 29 ζῶν αἰκισθεῖς) and all is right.

θνήσκω, παρόν μοι μὴ θανεῖν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν.
ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχέιν Θεσσαλῶν ὃν ἤθελον
καὶ δῶμα ναίειν ὄλβιον τυραννίδι
οὐκ ἠθέλησα ζῶσ' ἀποσπασθεῖσά σου
ἐν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖσιν κτέ.

Vv. 291 sq.

καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς καθθανεῖν ἦκον βίου,
καλῶς δὲ σῶσαι παῖδα κεῖκλεῶς θανεῖν.

V. 292 is objectionable in its traditional form by reason of the repetitious θανεῖν. This is best got rid of by accepting Wake-

field's φθῖνειν (cf. Wecklein's emendation in v. 25). But there is another word that seems quite as clearly wrong, and that is κεῖκλεῶς. Read the adjective for the adverb —κεῖκλεεῖς.

Vv. 320-322.

δεῖ γὰρ θανεῖν με· καὶ τόδ' οὐκ ἐς αὔριον
οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μνηδὸς ἔρχεται κακόν,
ἀλλ' αὐτίκ' ἐν τοῖς μηκέτ' οὔσι λέξομαι.

Though I cannot feel with Mr. Hayley (*Amer. Journal of Philology*, xvi. i. p. 103) that v. 321 is right as it stands, I am becoming less and less disposed to regard it as a probable or possible interpolation. The simplest treatment of this crux criticorum seems to be the changing of a single letter so as to read

οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μὴν ἐσέρχεται κακόν,

This had been suggested also by Johann Kvíčala (*Studien zu Euripides*, ii. p. 11), although (with a perverseness sadly characteristic of this scholar) he proposes as "das wahrscheinlichste"

οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μέλλον ἔρχεται κακόν

For the μὴν in this position in the verse may be compared M. Weil's excellent restoration of v. 487 (ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπειπεῖν μὴν πόνουσι οἷόν τ' ἐμοί) and his note thereon.

[Since this note was written, I have received, through the courtesy of the author, Mr. Hayley's *Varia Critica* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. vii.), at the close of which he resumes the discussion of this passage. From this it appears that he is now disposed to regard μνηδὸς as unsound. For it he suggests νηλὸς.]

Vv. 360-362.

κατῆλθον ἄν, καὶ μ' οὐθ' ὁ Πλούτωνος κύων
οὐθ' οὐπὶ κόπῃ ψυχοπομπὸς ἄν γέρω
ἔσχεν, πρὶν ἐς φῶς σὸν καταστήσαι βίον.

The word γέρων in v. 361 is due to the acuteness of Cobet (*Var. Lectt.*² p. 581). It is accepted, as I am glad to see, by M. Weil (whose excellent edition of the *Alcestis*, I may add, did not come into my hands until the printing of my own text was so far advanced that I was unable to adopt several admirable corrections of his). Cobet in the same place suggested that βίον in v. 362 was a gloss on φῶς that had ousted the original final word of the verse. This word, he suggested, was δέμας. The same conjecture was made by Nauck. Not satisfied with this I have kept the vulgate. M. Weil had done the same. I am inclined, however, to believe that Cobet's account of the origin of βίον is right. The key to the emendation of v. 362 appears to be given by *I. T.* 981 sq. καὶ σὲ πολυκκόπῳ σκάφει | στείλας Μυκήναις ἐγκαταστήσω πάλιν. Read in the *Alcestis*

πρὶν ἐς φῶς σ' ἐγκαταστήσαι <πάλιν>.

Vv. 1118-1120.

ΑΔ. καὶ δὴ προτείνω. HP. Γοργόν' ὡς κατατομῶν.
ἔχεις; ΑΔ. ἔχω. HP. ναί, σῶζε νῦν καὶ τὸν Διὸς
φίσεις πότε' εἶναι παῖδα γενναίων ξένων.

To M. Weil is due the admirable division of v. 1118 that I have here followed; but the same scholar is not equally successful in his treatment of v. 1119, where he would read ΑΔ. ἔχω νῦν. HP. σῶζε νῦν, καὶ κτέ. It seems unnecessary to change the traditional ναί. Why should νῦν have given way to it? Monk seems to have been right in giving ναί to Admetus. Hermann pithily says: "Recto ναί Monkius Herculi dedit: male autem scripsit νῦν" [for νῦν]. A careful study of the passage seems furthermore to demand that we read the words after σῶζε as they are printed in Hermann's Monk's *Alcestis* (Leipsic 1824) and are reproduced above. The νῦν and πότε' are contrasted: 'keep now and you will say some time' etc.

V. 1131.

ΑΔ. θέγω, προσείπω ζῶσαν ὡς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν;

The ὡς is certainly awkward. Paley construed it with ζῶσαν, "i.e. not as a mere φάσμα νεπτέρων." But the following words are awkwardly definite. I have suggested an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction with both ζῶσαν and δάμαρτ' ἐμήν. But this is awkward. M. Weil in his critical note to v. 1129 quotes

Mekler's εἰσορῶ ξυνόρον for εἰσορῶ δάμαρτ' ἐμήν and in his explanatory note on the same verse asks: "Le poète aurait-il répété ces mots au vers 1131?" The doubt is a fair one; but the difficulty in v. 1131 should prompt us to emend there rather than in v. 1122, the close of which seems quite natural as a repetition of that of v. 1126 (ὄραϊς δάμαρτα σήν). *Med.* 1350 (ἔξω προσειπεῖν ζῶντας) points to a separation of ὡς from ζῶσαν (so too does the position of ὡς), and *Alc.* 1124 may perhaps supply what we need. We may compare too *Soph. El.* 1452 ἦ καὶ θανάοντ' ἠγγειλαν ὡς ἐτητύμως; Certainly the reading θέγω, προσείπω ζῶσαν ὡς <ἐτητύμως>; might easily have been corrupted to the traditional form by the gloss δάμαρτ' ἐμήν added to ἐτητύμως.

V. 1134.

ἔχω σ' ἀέλπτως, οὔποτ' ὄψεσθαι δοκῶν;

(best read as a question in view of Heracles's answer) should perhaps be corrected by writing οὐκέτ' for οὔποτ'. The same correction was suggested—not improbably—by Musgrave in v. 876.

V. 1143 seems to need a slight correction.

Thus:

τί γάρ ποθ' ᾧδ' ἀναυδος ἔστηκεν γυνή;

The importance of the readings of Codex Parisinus 2713 (a) in several passages of the *Alcestis* needs to be emphasized. Kirchhoff's judgment of this MS. was certainly unfair.

Vv. 433-4.

ἀξιά δέ μοι
τιμῶν. ἐπεὶ τέθηκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, λίαν.

The reading of a punctuated thus gives excellent sense and emphasis. (I may add that a spells τέθηκεν.) Kvčičala (*Studien zu Eur.* ii. p. 12) saw the value of a's λίαν but thought it in the wrong place. His suggested emendation (ἀξιά δέ μοι | τιμῶν (oder nach S τιμῆς) λίαν, ἐπεὶ τέθηκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ) is, of course, valueless. Nauck's ἐπὶ τέτληκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θανεῖν, which I, rather rashly, adopted, is better than Usener's ἐπεὶ γ' ἔθησεκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ μόνη, which M. Weil accepts.

In v. 546 it is perhaps unnecessary to call attention to a's τῶδε, which (in the form τῶδε) has won general acceptance, except in proof of the independent value of a,

In v. 811. a's reading

ἦ κάρτα μέντοι καὶ λίαν θυραῖος ἦν

(for the verification of which I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Henri Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale) has been undervalued or disregarded since Kirchhoff's great edition. It is supported by ὀθνεῖον in v. 810 and, more clearly, by θυραίων in 814. (I still maintain the integrity of the traditional arrangement of vv. 809–815.) A misunderstanding of the irony of v. 811 with a's reading might well have led to οἰκέος. θυραῖος (which appears only in a of the MSS. recognized by Prinz but is found also in inferior MSS.) was printed by Lascaris and accepted by Matthiae and Hermann, though persistently rejected by Monk. Paley accepted it in his first edition but changed to οἰκέος in his second. Mr. Way in his translation accepts θυραῖος ("O yea, an alien she—o'ermuch an alien!"). Mr. Verrall (*Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 52 note) says: "The reading λίαν θυραῖος is clearly right: λίαν οἰκέος, the facile but pointless variant, is merely an unintelligent gloss."

A higher estimate of the value of a's

readings may well lead us to accept v. 1055 in the form

ἦ τῆς θανούσης θάλαμον εἰσβήσας τρέφω;

In v. 1140 δαιμόνων τῶι κυρίῳ should probably be accepted with Matthiae, Hermann, Kvicala (*Studien zu Eur.* ii. p. 38), Weil and Verrall (*Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 68 note). The variant is a guess like οἰκέος in v. 811. Kvicala interprets rightly "der entscheidende δαίμων"—"jener, mit dem es eben Herakles aufnehmen musste."

Other readings in the *Alcestis* that appear to be rightly supported by a (not to mention the obvious αὐτῆ in v. 37 and πάσῃ of v. 1154) are the following:

V. 45.

χθονὸς κάτω.

V. 1049.

γυνὴ νέα (on account of the νέα γάρ of v. 1050).

V. 1117.

τόλμα· πρότεινε χεῖρα καὶ τίγε ξένης.

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NOTES ON REICHEL'S *HOMERISCHE WAFFEN*.

THE work of Dr. Reichel, *Ueber Homerische Waffen*, appears to me quite the most striking and important contribution to Homeric science that has appeared for a long time. It was reviewed by Dr. Leaf in the *Classical Review* in just terms of praise, and it is no intention of mine to diminish in aught the credit due to the author. But there are a few points on which I should like to have a more definite pronouncement of opinion.

First and foremost what is the relation of Homeric armour to the Mycenaean discoveries? That the latter have thrown a flood of light upon the former is indisputable, but are we to take it that this is evidence for a European as opposed to an Asiatic origin for the poems? Dr. Reichel indeed seems determined to observe strict silence upon this point, but Dr. Leaf's review might certainly lead one to suppose that he at any rate considers that the armour *does* afford evidence of this kind. Perhaps I am too much prejudiced in favour of Ionia; anyhow I do not see the force

of the evidence. A certain armour is found at Mycenae, the same is Homeric; it by no means follows that any part of Homer is Mycenaean. The emigrants to Ionia presumably took the old fashion of armour with them; in fact Reichel refers several times to the description of the old shield in Herodotus, i. 171, and Herodotus knew nothing of Mycenae. More than this, the very best description of the shield in question is to be found in Tyrtæus, not Homer.

μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὦμους
ἀσπίδος εἰρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος.
δεξιτέρῃ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
κινεῖτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς.

See Tyrtæus, xi. 23, and compare the whole passage, especially 35, for the γυμνήτες sheltering behind the shields. It is a perfect confirmation of Reichel and might have been written to illustrate him. The θώρηξ however appears in xii. 26. If the θώρηξ came in about 700 B.C. (Reichel,

p. 102) Tyrtæus would of course know of it, but he speaks in xi as if the ἀσπίς were the only defence. Among the conservative Spartans (Reichel, p. 59) the θώραξ no doubt had to wait a long time for adoption.

But not only is there manifestly no cogency in any argument for a European Homer that can be drawn from the armour; on the contrary there is some evidence that the Homeric armour is *not* exactly identical with Mycenaean. If Reichel is right the only Homeric shield is the enormous thing which approximates to a figure 8. But the Mycenaean has another form quite commonly; smaller and four-cornered. Why is there no mention of this in Homer? Because it had dropped out of use in his time, and therefore he is post-Mycenaean. Such is the natural conclusion to draw, and yet I do not wish to draw it, for arguments of this kind are utterly inconclusive. In fact it is easy to argue that Homer is earlier than the latest Mycenaean art, for in the latest we find the small shield, horses ridden in war, and painted walls. All these things are un-Homeric. But it by no means follows that Homer therefore sang before the fall of Mycenae. The Ionians may have been reached by these last developments later; they may have migrated in fact a long time before the downfall of the capital of the ancient civilisation. Again the poets may have consciously archaised, as we know they did in some points.

In short the armour proves nothing either one way or the other. It was not only Mycenaean but also post-Mycenaean, and therefore so far as it is concerned the earliest strata of the *Iliad* may be either Mycenaean or post-Mycenaean.

(We seem to meet the great shield again in Solon, v. 5 :

ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτεροῖσιν,

'I stood covering both my shoulders with my strong shield.' Supply ὄμοισιν and compare μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν for an abbreviated phrase of the same kind with regard to the shield.)

(2) If there is one thing certain in modern criticism of the *Iliad*, it is the late date of K. It is a very extraordinary thing therefore to find that K. agrees with the *Odyssey* in knowing nothing of the breast-plate (Reichel, p. 86), just as it agrees with it linguistically, and that it is the sole positive authority for leathern helmets, which according to Reichel are the

most ancient (p. 117). It seems that these two peculiarities of K must be due to accident, and this is a warning to be very careful in drawing any inferences about date from such details as these. It does seem however a necessary inference that the metal breast-plate was not in common use when K was composed, and therefore that K existed already before or about 700 B.C. (Reichel, p. 102). This agrees pretty nearly with the opinion of Professor Wilamowitz. 'In dieser Zeit,' (beginning of seventh century), says Reichel, 'muss die Ilias im ganzen in der uns geläufigen Form abgeschlossen oder so gut wie abgeschlossen gewesen sein.' Nothing but interpolations can be allowed for any later, no rehandling of the main lines of the poem.

Why then was the metal breast-plate not introduced into the *Odyssey* by interpolation, as it has been in the *Iliad*? The answer is ready to hand: because the *Odyssey* was so much less popular. That there is abundance of interpolations here also in the shape of single lines and short scraps cannot be denied; but if they had been as numerous as they are in the *Iliad* the chances are great that we should have had a θώραξ thrust in somewhere, for as Reichel observes there are many passages where we should expect it mentioned.

A very important conclusion that follows from Reichel's observations is that the *Odyssey* also was already complete by about 700, and may have been so a long time before. (Of course I do not include the lay of Demodocus or the second νέκνια or what follows ψ 296). It may be hoped that this will be the *coup de grâce* to the ridiculously late date assigned by Kirchhoff to the poem.

When Reichel says: 'Wenn, als die Verwandten der Freier gegen Odysseus ausziehen, gesagt wird

ω 467 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔσσαντο περὶ χροὶ νόροπα χαλκόν,

so wird diese Stelle schon dadurch, dass sie in der Odyssee steht, von Missdeutung gewahrt,' I find myself at issue with him. The line does not occur in the *Odyssey*, according to the definition of Aristarchus, at all. And though I have no interest in bringing even the spurious tail of it down to any late date, yet it is at least conceivable that the phrase here may imply breast-plates. If so however, they may be also implied at Ξ 383 where the same verse is found again. More probably the poet of ω

repeated the line without any particular reflexion as to its meaning.

It seems that the funeral games in Ψ are later than 700 B.C. For there we have a description of the $\theta\omega\rho\eta\acute{\xi}$ of Asteropaeus (who did not wear one apparently in Φ when he was killed) which Achilles gives to Eumelus. (Reichel, p. 97). This passage can hardly have been interpolated in the games after they had been composed; it is of a piece with the rest. The language of the whole account of the games, and the fact that they are themselves to be dated to all appearance later than the rest of Ψ and Ω , which again are themselves post-Odyssean, fit in with this circumstance admirably; the presumption is that the games are to be placed after 700, if we may take that as approximately the date of the introduction of the $\theta\omega\rho\eta\acute{\xi}$.

(3) I will raise a question to which I can propound no answer. The shield, it seems, was regarded as the sole defensive armour a warrior could trust to, and this was why he had no breast-plate. Why then did he wear a $\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\eta$? And why is it so very seldom mentioned? And why is it called a $\epsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\omega\nu$, η ϵ Φοι $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ $\xi\rho\upsilon\tau\omicron$?

(4) The extraordinary account of the breast-plate of Agamemnon reminds me of the 'seven-headed Naga' of oriental worship. It is described in fact as coming from Cyprus, a site of Oriental civilization. The poet had, I think, clearly seen somewhere one of those curious representations of the seven-headed snake-god, where three heads on each side rise up round the central cobra's hood. See Tod's *Antiquities of Rajast'han*, vol. ii p. 718, for a very fine illustration of it; Ferguson also has pictures of three, five, and seven-headed Nagas in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

A 26, 27 gives an absolutely correct picture of it; $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omicron\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\delta\rho\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ϵ Φεκάτερθ' , η ἴρισι ΦεΦοικότες , $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon$ Κρονίων $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon$ ϵ ἑστῆριξε $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$. (This is another passage excellently explained by Reichel, p. 92 note.) The same figure re-appears in the Persian Homer, in the legend of Zakhāk, who however has only one serpent on each side of his neck, growing out of his shoulders, but they make up for number in other qualities, being alive and requiring to be fed with the brains of men. $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu$, $\zeta\omega\omicron\iota$.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ON SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE PLATONIC MUSICAL MODES.

In Mr. H. Stuart Jones's recent discussion of this subject (*Cl. Rev.* viii. 448-454) occurs the remark 'Is it not clear that in Plat. *Rep.* 398 E the words $\text{ιαστῖ—καὶ λυδιστῖ, αἴτινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται}$ are equivalent to $\text{χαλαραῖαστῖ καὶ χαλαραλυδιστῖ?}$ ' A careful study of the whole passage will confirm, I think, this view, which is also held by Westphal (*Griechische Harmonik*, p. 198) and von Jan (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch* for 1867, p. 816). Even if we read αἴτινες , there can be little doubt that Mr. Jones is right; but αἴτινες is in itself so obnoxious that Mr. H. Richards has proposed the excision of the whole phrase $\text{αἴτινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται}$. It has not, so far as I am aware, been hitherto pointed out that the correct reading is that of the first hand in Paris A, viz. αῦ τινες . This agrees also with the first hand in Venetus II, as I learn from Castellani's collation, which Professor Campbell has kindly allowed me to use. A trace of the same reading probably remains in the καῖτοι αῦ τινες , of ν , a manuscript which alone preserves the right reading in more

than one passage of the *Republic*. A and II are admitted by all to be the two best MSS. of the *Republic*, so that the authority of αῦ τινες is in reality greater as well as older than that of αἴτινες . The Greek expresses in the most idiomatic way the English sentence, 'there are also certain varieties of Lydian and Ionian which are called slack.'

On the general question, there does not seem to be in recent English discussions on the subject (Monro's *Modes of Greek Music*, and the literature which it occasioned in *Cl. Rev.* *l.c.* and ix. 79-81) any reference to the article of von Jan's already cited, if we except Susemihl and Hicks' *Politics* of Aristotle, p. 627. Von Jan's article is the most careful, scholarly, and elaborate attempt which has yet been made to frame a theory strictly in accordance with the language of Plato, and although some of his speculations are probably mistaken, the principle of his interpretation has certainly not been overthrown by Westphal (*Harmonik*, pp. 209-215). In one particular, von Jan's theory approximates to Monro's, for he

regards the *χαλαραῖαστί* and *χαλαραλυδιστί* as differing from the *συντονοῖαστί* (Pratinas, *Frag.* 5, according to Westphal's and Susemihl's interpretation), and *συντονολυδιστί* solely in pitch; but he still holds that the four varieties Lydian, Ionian, Dorian and Phrygian were 'modes' in the strict sense of the term, *i.e.* differed in the order of their intervals. See the summary of the article in Susemihl and Hicks. In his somewhat violent attack upon von Jan, Westphal presses the kind of argument which has been urged against Monro, that Plato and Aristotle speak of the *συντονολυδιστί* and *συντονοῖαστί* as different 'harmonies' from the *χαλαραλυδιστί* and *χαλαραῖαστί*, and that he could not have done so, unless they differed in the order of their intervals. But it may be doubted whether this is true of Plato. He says that *συντονολυδιστί* is a *θρηνώδης ἄρμονία*, and *χαλαραλυδιστί* a *μαλακὴ ἄρμονία*, but we may quite well suppose that each of them is called a *ἄρμονία* not *quia σύντονος* and *χαλαρά*, but *quia λυδιστί*. They are the same *ἄρμονία*, only high-pitched in the one case, and low-pitched in the other. The case is much the same with Aristotle: see *Politics*, viii. 5, 1340^a 40 ff. Wherever he speaks of *ἀνειμένα* and *σύντονοι ἄρμονίαι*, he is (according to the editors) dealing with *χαλαραλυδιστί*, *χαλαραῖαστί*, and *συντονολυδιστί*, *συντονοῖαστί* respectively; and these are rightly called *ἄρμονίαι* as being varieties of *λυδιστί* and *ιαστί*.

If the principle of von Jan's interpretation is correct, Plato apparently recognises four leading or simple modes, *viz.* Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Ionian (each of the last two having two varieties), and one composite, the Mixolydian. The name Mixolydian hardly allows us to identify it with *συντονοῖαστί*, as Gevaert does, but rather points to a fusion of two distinct modes, one of which was the Lydian. Von Jan (*l.c.* p. 823) is probably right in sup-

posing that *καὶ τοιαῦταί τινες* in Plato includes the *συντονοῖαστί* among others.

The existence of four simple or primary modes, from which all the others were derived, appears to me to furnish a ready explanation of the much disputed passage in 400 A, *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τρι' ἄττα ἐστὶν εἶδη ἐξ ὧν αἱ βάσεις πλέκονται, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πᾶσαι ἄρμονίαι, τεθραμένως ἀν εἴπομι.* The *τρία εἶδη* are rightly explained by Arist. Quint. i. 34, Meib. *as τὸ ἴσον, τὸ ἡμιόλιον, and τὸ διπλάσιον*; but what are the *τέτταρα εἶδη ὅθεν αἱ πᾶσαι ἄρμονίαι*? The following explanations among others have been offered: 1° the intervals of the fourth, fifth, octave, and double octave (Ast): 2° the four notes of the tetrachord (Stallbaum, Jowett and Campbell, the latter apparently with hesitation) 3° 'the four ratios which give the primary musical intervals—*viz.* the ratios 2 : 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 3 and 9 : 8 which give the octave, fifth, fourth and tone' (Monro *l.c.* p. 106 n.) 4° the four *ἄρμονίαι*, *Φρυγιστί*, *Λυδιστί*, *Δωριστί*, *Λοκριστί* (Westphal, *Rhythmik*, p. 238). Plato's language appears to me to be carefully guarded. He does not say *ὡσπερ τῶν φθόγγων τέτταρα*, but *ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις* 'as, in notes, there are four *εἶδη*.' The *εἶδη* need not therefore be intervals or notes, nor is it clear, how four *kinds of notes* are needed to produce all the *ἄρμονίαι*; two intervals, those of the tone and semitone, or at most three, the octave (to furnish the limits), tone, and semitone, are enough. What then are the *εἶδη*? Why not the four primary *ἄρμονίαι* already mentioned, *Φρυγιστί*, *Λυδιστί*, *Δωριστί* and (not *Λοκριστί*, as Westphal conjectured, but) *Ἰαστί*? The same explanation is given by Prantl in note 116 to his translation of the *Republic*. Westphal's introduction of *Λοκριστί* is a mere conjecture, for nothing has been said of a Locrian *ἄρμονία*.

J. ADAM.

ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THUCYDIDES VI.

IN welcoming with delight Mr. Marchant's notes on the sixth book of Thucydides in the July number of this Review, as a foretaste of his promised edition, I shall have every one with me; fewer probably will share my satisfaction in finding that they are notes elucidating the meaning of the MSS. text, and not more or less ingenious

attempts to substitute something else. We have had and continue to have such a mass of *Adversaria*, that comments of this kind are delightful to read. Mr. Marchant is gradually asserting his independence of Dr. Rutherford and is now 'nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri.' Having first imbibed a thorough distrust of the MSS, he

has now learnt the lesson, which Herbst, almost alone among the scholars of the day, attempts to impress on a generation which stops its ears, viz. that it is not critical acumen but perverse ingenuity to alter the text of Thucydides, until you have convinced yourself that it will not construe into sense, and that by careful analysis of the author's thoughts and language one can sometimes make good sense, where others have failed.

The first clear result of Mr. Marchant's notes, is that in no single one of the passages in question is any textual alteration necessary. I may say, that Mr. Marchant's views are to me convincing in some of the passages e.g. 21, 2; 46, 2; in others e.g. 87, 3; 87, 4 what he says is interesting but unconvincing, for the renderings adopted make good sense but cannot be said to be preferable to those quoted from Jowett. In a few of the passages I should like to traverse his view.

(1) 89, 6. The difficulty of this passage is well-known. If with Mr. Marchant to οὐδενὸς ἂν χείρον one supplies φρονοῖν, this is, literally translated. 'I should be more sensible than anybody else, in proportion as I might abuse democracy.' What this comes to is that Alcibiades means 'By abusing democracy I should be more sensible than you my hearers.' οὐδενὸς ἂν χείρον φρονοῖν means 'I should *be* more sensible,' not 'I should *show* the superiority of my insight,' for which one would require φαινομένην φρονῶν or something of the sort. For Alcibiades it would be a very natural thing to say, 'You would perhaps think me a more sensible person, if I abused it: but really it is unnecessary, for I quite agree with you;' but this seems hardly to be got out of the words. Herbst's explanation is much worse. He supplies ὅσω οὐδενὸς ἂν χείρον λοιδορήσαιμι, and translates 'in proportion as I should have more right to abuse it,' but οὐδενὸς ἂν χείρον λοιδορήσαιμι means 'I should abuse it better than any one else.' I.e. 'The more I should surpass others in the abuse of democracy, the better I should understand it.' Even for Alcibiades it is rather a startling thing to say that the stronger the language one uses about an institution, the better one understands it. Assuming the text to be sound, it seems to me, that one can only fall back upon Jowett's rendering, which certainly does not force the meaning of words as much as the two above mentioned. May I parenthetically express a belief, that if Mr. Marchant had made more use of the com-

mentary in Jowett's edition, as explaining and justifying the renderings of the text, he would probably have contented himself with saying elsewhere of Jowett's version that 'the meaning is invariably brought out,' without adding 'sometimes at the expense of the Greek?' The late master of Balliol, just because his primary object in the translation was to express the sense with as much force and point as possible, added in the commentary full explanations as to how he took the words, if ever the translation left room for a possible doubt. The note on this passage shows that he was translating οὐδενὸς ἂν χείρον (γυγνώσκουμι) ὅσω καὶ (μᾶλλον ἂν) λοιδορήσαιμι. The parallels adduced justify the omission of μᾶλλον. 'I should understand what it means better than anybody, in proportion as I should denounce it (or 'complain of it,') more,' i.e. than others who are not so nearly affected. It is easy to supply mentally to λοιδορήσαιμι 'as having suffered from it myself:' hence the comment of the scholiast ὅσω καὶ μέγιστα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἡδίκημαι, which certainly does not compel us to suppose a lacuna. The word λοιδορεῖν is not common in Thucydides. Setting aside λοιδορία in ii. 84, 2 (noisy abuse by way of complaint, when one vessel fouled another), we only get it in two other passages. In viii. 86, 5 it is in the milder sense 'rebuke' (Madvig's λοιδοριῶν is no improvement), and in iii. 62, 1 the Plataeans, say the Thebans, λοιδοροῦσιν ἡμᾶς for our Medism, a change which is not denied, the form of government then existing at Thebes being pleaded as an excuse. Plataea certainly suffered from the Thebans joining the Persian side. If therefore A λοιδορεῖ a person or a thing more than B, the presumption is that B is not personally affected in the same way as A. Jowett's translation 'of course like all sensible men we know only too well what democracy is, and I better than anyone, who have so good a reason for abusing it' brings out this interpretation of the Greek with force.

(2) 69, 1. That the passage will construe in Mr. Marchant's way, is obvious, but the order of the words makes it preferable in my opinion to take καὶ as coupling οὐκ οἰόμενοι and ἀναγκαζόμενοι. On that assumption why should not both participles be concessive? 'Though they did not expect the Athenians to begin the attack, and though they had to defend themselves on the spur of the moment instead of having leisure to prepare, nevertheless they took up their arms etc.'

(3) 23, 1. In this passage Nicias is not

comparing the forces of Athens with those of Syracuse only but those of seven Sicilian cities, taking the gloomiest possible view. Certainly the Athenians 'could easily send a force of infantry equal to any force that Syracuse could put into the field,' but equally certainly she could not match the hoplite force of the confederated Sicilian cities. Nicias of course is practically saying, 'Unless you are prepared to do what is impossible, the expedition will be a failure.' Therefore, while admitting the possibility of Mr. Marchant's construe, I do not feel inclined to 'accept his explanation,' but prefer Jowett's rendering, in which τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν is qualified by τὸ ὀπλιτικόν adjectival, on the ground that it suits better the gloomy

tone of Nicias' speech. 'We must have a force to match theirs (*i.e.* of all branches of the service) and indeed stronger all round, though of course we cannot hope to vie with them in their total strength of hoplites,' and the implication is, still less in cavalry and light-armed troops, which was so obvious that it did not require stating.

87, 3. In favour of the translation of τῶν ἡμῖν ποιουμένων as 'our enterprise,' 'what we are doing,' rather than 'our general conduct,' compare iii. 7, 2, ἦν δ' οὐδέεις κόσμος τῶν ποιουμένων, and viii. 69, 2, ἦν τις ἐπιστῆται τοῖς ποιουμένοις.

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MISCELLANEA.

SOPH. *Antig.* 673.

αὕτη πόλεις τ' ὄλλουσιν, ἣδ' ἀναστάτους
οἴκους τίθησιν.

WHEN I wrote my note 'on a Virgilian idiom' (*Journal of Philology*, No. 47) and defended the above reading, it had not occurred to me that the tolerably common construction of οὔτε followed by οὐ is essentially the same; see e.g. *Antig.* 249, *O.C.* 972. There is indeed some difference, for οὔτε—οὐ does not represent οὔτε—καί, whereas αὕτη πόλεις τ' ὄλλουσιν, ἣδ' does represent αὕτη πόλεις τ' ὄλλουσι καί. But the repetition of οὐ without any particle to correspond to τε is obviously very similar to the 'Virgilian idiom.' However when I rashly suggested that there might be only one example of the idiom extant in Greek, I was certainly mistaken. There is another in this very play, look at *Antig.* 296: τοῦτο καὶ πόλεις πορθεῖ, τόδ' ἄνδρας ξεανίστησιν δόμων. Is it not plain that this means καὶ πορθεῖ καὶ ξεανίστησιν, 'both ruins and drives out'? Of course you can construe καὶ by *even* or *also*; so you can *et* in Virgil's 'Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,' but when once the other way is pointed out it is difficult to believe that any one will not prefer it.

And this passage is particularly instructive because it is so exactly parallel to 673, the very words being all but identical. The special interest consists in the fact that as αὕτη is followed by ἣδε instead of αὕτη at 673, so τοῦτο at 296 is followed by τόδε, not by another τοῦτο.

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A precisely similar idiom occurs in the twenty-second Orphic hymn: μήτηρ μὲν Κύπριδος, μήτηρ νεφέων ἐρεβενῶν. And compare viii. 4.

Can any one throw me any light on this question? In English we often say 'I' meaning 'anybody you like.' In Greek this is excessively rare, but it is to be found. Demosthenes says in the third *Philippic*, § 17: ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθεῖην...οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, and in § 18, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; in the latter of the two passages however it is not quite clear whether ἐγὼ means 'anybody' or only Demosthenes—I think 'anybody,' but cannot be quite sure.

In lecturing on this speech some time ago I was struck by the ἐγὼ and ἐμοί, which seemed to me strange. Is it a rule that when the first person is so used in Greek the pronoun must be put in? Unluckily such a usage is so rare that it is not yet possible to lay down a positive law about it. Thinking the orators more likely to employ it than anybody else, I have read the whole of Antipho, Andocides, Lysias, Isaeus, Dinarchus, Lycurgus, as much Isocrates as I could stand, and a good deal of Demosthenes, and have not met with a single fresh instance of it. Mr. Wyse however refers me to the *Respublica Athen.* included in Xenophon's works, where we have in cap. I. § 11, τὸν ἐμὸν δούλον—ὁ ἐμὸς δούλος—ἂν δὲ δεδίη ὁ σὸς δούλος ἐμέ, and in cap. II. § 11, καὶ δὴ νῆές μοι εἰσι, § 12 καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ταῦτα ἔχω. Unfortunately, in these places the

pronouns could not be omitted without destroying the sense, so that they do not much help us; still here again the pronouns are put in.

That we should not have expected any pronoun as a rule is I think clear. I asked separately two of the most distinguished scholars living whether in such a case they would or would not add ἐγώ; each of them at once answered in the negative. Another however, Dr. Jackson, explained it for me in about ten seconds; 'ἐγώ,' said he, 'means *anybody, myself for example.*' What is perhaps a little strange about it is that ἐγώ here does not mark contrast between myself and some one else, but exactly the opposite; it insists on the similarity of myself and other people. Yet it must surely be to a certain extent emphatic, and in English one could not lay any emphasis on the 'I' in such a sentence.

Euripides, *Andromache*.

551.

οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔοικέ μοι
σχολῆς τόδ' ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀνηβητηρίαν
ῥώμην μ' ἐπαίνῳ λαμβάνειν εἴπερ ποτέ.

Surely Euripides wrote ῥώμην με καὶ νῦν.
(μ' however is only in two MSS).

602.

Ἐλένην ἐρέσθαι χρῆν τάδ'.
Qu. *χρή?*

1145.

ἐν εὐδία δέ πως
ἔστη φαεινοῖς δεσπότης στίλβων ὄπλοις.

I have always thought πως miserably weak even for Euripides, but had not seriously considered it till one of my pupils translated it in examination 'as in a calm (after a storm).' This suggests immediately what I think Euripides said, ἐν εὐδία δ' ὅπως.

1231.

Πηλεῦ, χάριν σῶν τῶν πάρος νυμφευμάτων.

Is σῶν τῶν Greek at all? Read σοί, which might easily be changed to σῶν by a scribe who saw the τῶν coming after. τῶν σῶν Matthiae, which does not account for the corruption and makes an intolerably bad line.

Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*.

II. 15. οἶμαι δ' ἂν καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐλθόντος σου καὶ μὴ ὄντος παρ' ἐμοί, εἰ ἄλλοσε ἡγησάμην ὁπόθεν σοι εἴη λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἐμέμφου μοι, καὶ

εἰ ὕδωρ παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτοῦντί σοι αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχων ἄλλοσε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡγαγον, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτό μοι ἐμέμφου.

The construction of αἰτοῦντί σοι has naturally attracted attention. The simplest way out of the difficulty is to read ἡγησάμην again for ἡγαγον. It may be impossible to account scientifically for the corruption, but every one knows that utterly irrational corruptions do occur in writing out anything.

VIII. 2. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τάξας σοι παρέδωκα ὅπου χρῆ ἕκαστα κείσθαι, ὅπως εἰδῆς ὅπου τε δεῖ τιθέναι καὶ ὁπόθεν λαμβάνειν.

If Xenophon did not write εἰδείης may I be condemned to lecture on the *Oeconomicus* a third time.

XII. 1. οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι πρὶν παντάπασιν ἢ ἀγορὰ λυθῆ.

πρὶν ἂν λυθῆ Dindorf. πρὶν λυθείη seems to me better in every way.

XII. 17. καὶ τόδε μοι παρατραπόμενος τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῶν παιδευομένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δήλωσον περὶ τοῦ παιδεύεσθαι, εἰ οἶόν τε ἐστὶν ἀμελῆ αὐτὸν ὄντα ἄλλους ποιεῖν ἐπιμελεῖς.

For παιδεύεσθαι I think Xenophon wrote παιδεύοντος. I could perhaps digest παιδεύειν but not the passive.

XIX. 9. Πότερα δὲ ὄλον τὸ κλήμα ὀρθὸν τίθεισ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἡγῆ μᾶλλον ἂν ῥιζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ καὶ πλάγιόν τι ὑπὸ τῇ ὑποβεβλημένη γῆ θέις ἂν ὥστε κείσθαι ὥσπερ γάμμα ὕπτιον;

Οὔτω νῆ Δία; πλείονες γὰρ ἂν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κατὰ τῆς γῆς εἴεν.

The meaning of the last words can only be: 'the suckers would be more numerous under the earth (than above it)' But that is not the question. We want: 'the suckers under the earth would be more numerous (if the κλήμα is bent than if it is upright).' Read therefore οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ κατὰ τῆς γῆς.

In VII. 21 is a curious idiom which I do not remember to have seen noticed anywhere. στεγνῶν δὲ δέεται καὶ ἡ τῶν νεογνῶν τέκνων παιδοτροφία, στεγνῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ σιτοποιαὶ δέονται. That is to say that καὶ—καὶ are used as if 'both—and' with other connecting particles and a repetition of the emphatic words. The same is found in Thucydides I. 126 *ad fin.* ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης. And hence we may defend the opening lines of Theocritus:

ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἄ πίτυς αἴπολε τήνα
ἄ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεταί, ἀδὺ δὲ καὶ τὴ
συρίσδες,

where καλὰ has been ingeniously and prettily (but I think wrongly) suggested for καὶ ἄ.

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NOTE ON HORACE, *OD.* I. 7.

THE thought expressed in verses 1-14 is different from that given in the succeeding stanzas. This abrupt change of subject led some of the ancient critics to think that this poem consisted of two independent odes, joined by an error of the copyists. Kiessling (*Hor. Oden und Epoden*, p. 53), however, is right when he says that the words 'seu te fulgentia signis castra tenent seu densa tenebit Tiburis umbra tui' form a bridge connecting the one part of the ode with the other. But the relation of these two parts given by him seems to me not congruent with the laws of logic. In explaining the argument of the poem he connects the first part with the second by a causal particle: 'Moegen die Einen Asiens gefeierte Städte preisen oder des Apollo heilige Stätten: andere in endloser Dichtung die Stadt der Pallas, jener nur auf Junos Preis bedacht Argos und Mykenae feiern: mir hat nichts in der Fremde, weder Lakedaemon noch Larissa, solchen Eindruck gemacht, wie der heimischen Albunea Grotte und des Anio Rauschen (1-14. *Drum*, wie der regnerische Notus ja auch zur Abwechslung öfters die Wolken verscheucht, so beherzige auch Du, Plankus, die Lehre, dass man des Lebens Plagen im Weine begraben müsse, sei es im Waffenglanz des Lagers, sei es künftig in deinem Tibur (15-21). Hat ja auch Teucer, als er eben heimgekehrt vor dem Zorn des Vaters wieder in die Ferne ziehen musste, mit seinen Genossen den Schmerz im Weine zu bannen gewusst (21-32).' But I cannot see how the fact, that Tibur is the dearest place in the world to Horace, can be a *causa bibendi* to Plancus. Besides Kiessling himself confesses that he does not know what

the story of Teucer, who is held up to Plancus as an example, has to do with the situation of the latter.

All these difficulties are obviated by assuming that the poet means to place the words 'seu te fulgentia signis castra tenent seu densa tenebit Tiburis umbra tui' in a sharp contrast to the thought of the preceding stanzas: Tibur, he meant to say, is to me the dearest place in the world. But whether you are in the field of battle or in your shady Tibur, wine must drown the troubles of your life.

The situation is presumably this. Plancus is in the army. We can see that from the change of 'tenent' and 'tenebit.' The cause of his melancholy becomes clear from the comparison of him with Teucer. Plancus has probably gone away from his Tibur with the same reluctance as Teucer departed from his lately regained home. If this Plancus, as Kiessling supposes, was Munatius Plancus, the former legate of Caesar and follower of Antonius, he was an elderly man, who had passed a stormy life and might well have preferred to spend his old age in the rural repose of his Tibur. But unknown circumstances, perhaps the will of the emperor, lead him again to take arms unwillingly. Horace tries to console his discontented friend, and this is the meaning of his words: I can readily appreciate your sorrow. For me, too, there is no place in the world so precious as Tibur. But in Tibur, as well as in the army, wine must banish the cares of your life. Teucer being in a similar situation has set us the example.

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NOTE ON STRABO, IX. 1. 16 (p. 396).

So frequently do modern writers state that Polemo (apud Strab. p. 396) gave the number of the Athenian demes in his time as one hundred and seventy-four, that I was surprised the other day to find that we have no right whatever to father any such statement on Polemo. Only to mention a few of the places where this error occurs, I may refer to Grote's *History*, ch. 31, Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s.v. Demus, Sandys on *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, ch. 21, § 4, and Kenyon

ad loc. while Prof. Case, in his *Materials for the History of the Athenian Democracy*, actually quotes as follows: Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιηγητής... Ἐλευσινά τε εἰπὼν κ.τ.λ.! Though the error does not occur in e.g. Stein on Herodotus, v. 69, and doubtless many other authorities, it seems worth while to point out what Strabo actually does say. 'On the rock is the Hieron of Athena, i.e. the ancient sanctuary of the Polias containing the ever-burning lamp, and the Parthenon built by

Ictinus, in which is the ivory work of Phidias, the Athena. But (I will be brief) for if I once begin to describe such a multitude of famous and well-known objects of interest as Athens has to show, I shall be prolix and not adhere to the principle of my work. For I recollect what Hegesias says... 'Hegesias is, I suppose, the Magnesian mentioned p. 648, who lived early in the third century (Müller-Donaldson, iii. 53). The quotation from him is mutilated at the end, but the point of it is that he mentions only one interesting object on the acropolis, the marks of Poseidon's trident, only two or three buildings in the city, and outside Athens only Eleusis: it ends in a rhetorical flourish about Attica being the favoured land (or something of the sort) of gods and heroes, which is substituted for any detailed description of the wonders of the land. οὗτος μὲν οὖν (Hegesias) ἐνὸς ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖων (the trident-marks), Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιηγητῆς τέτταρα βιβλία συνέγραψε περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐν ἀκροπόλει, while Polemo filled four books with his description of the votive offerings on the acropolis. Strabo goes on τὸ δ' ἀνάλογον συμβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως μερῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας. Ἐλευσινὰ τε εἰπὼν, ἕνα τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα δήμων πρὸς δὲ καὶ τεττάρων ὡς φασιν, οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόμακεν. Müller translates: 'Eandem vero rationem etiam de reliquis urbis partibus deque agro eius Hegesias sequitur, quumque Eleusinem dixerit unum ex pagis centum septuaginta et praeter hos etiam quattuor, ut dicitur, reliquorum nullum nominavit. Groskurnd seems to take the passage in the same way 'ähnliches Verfahren beobachtet er auch bei dem übrigen Theile der Stadt und des Landes: denn nachdem er Eleusis als einen der hundert und siebenzig Landgaue (ausserdem noch vier nach Andern) erwähnt hat, nennt er weiter keinen der übrigen'; though he leaves it a little ambiguous, he certainly means, like Müller, to take Hegesias as the nominative to ὀνόμακεν. I

submit that this is the only way in which the context allows us to take the sentence. It is only by the way that the discursive and rhetorical method of Hegesias is contrasted with the voluminous work of Polemo, and the person with whom Strabo is concerned, just at the moment when he is about to skip over Athens with a few lines and feels it necessary to apologize for this apparent neglect, is of course Hegesias. The theme was too great for details, thought Hegesias, οὐ δύναμαι καθ' ἕκαστον εἰπεῖν, and Strabo finds this sentiment a convenient one to quote, when—for reasons which we will not here discuss—he is passing over the intellectual capital of the world with so brief a mention. Who then is the authority for the one hundred and seventy-four demes? If Hegesias, according to the translations given above, the statement is considerably earlier than if it had emanated from Polemo. But I appeal to the unprejudiced reader of Strabo whether he would not rather translate thus: 'and while Hegesias spoke of Eleusis, one of one hundred and seventy demes and four besides, as the number is commonly given, he has named none of the rest.' Of course it can be taken as above 'he spoke of Eleusis as one...', but, as the context shows, Hegesias had no object in laying stress on the exact number of the demes, nor was it likely that so rhetorical a writer would indulge much in statistics; it is Strabo, who by the example of Hegesias justifies his own brevity, for Hegesias, though he might have mentioned one hundred and seventy-four demes, only mentioned one. ὡς φασιν is therefore perfectly vague, and we can only say of the number, that it was one current in Strabo's time. It has been suggested to me, that the subject of φασίν might be Hegesias and Polemo, but this seems to me very unlikely, if I understand rightly the drift of the passage.

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FOUR CONJECTURES ON THE REPUBLIC.

IN *Republic*, iii. 396 E, where Plato is describing the style of λέξις which the good man will adopt, occur these words: οὐκοῦν διηγήσει χρήσεται οἷα ἡμεῖς ὀλίγον πρότερον διήλομεν περὶ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἔπη, καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῦ ἡ λέξις μετέχουσα μὲν ἀμφοτέρων, μιμήσεώς τε καὶ τῆς ἁλλῆς διηγήσεως, σμικρόν δέ

τι μέρος ἐν πολλῷ λόγῳ τῆς μιμήσεως; The words τῆς ἁλλῆς διηγήσεως mean either (1) 'the rest of διήγησις' or (2) 'διήγησις besides.' If (1) is meant, Plato states that the good man's style will partake in (a) imitation (b) simple διήγησις (c) the mixed style. See 392 D ἀρ' οὖν οὐχὶ ἦτοι ἀπλῆ

διηγῆσει ἢ διὰ μίμησως γινομένη ἢ δι' ἀμφοτέρων περαίνουσιν; Such a statement is cumbersome and unnecessary; for if the good man's style partakes in (a) and (b), it is necessarily (c). If by τῆς ἄλλης διηγῆσως Plato means (2) 'διήγησις besides,' it is still very awkward not to define what kind of διήγησις he means. Read τῆς ἀπλῆς διηγῆσως, and all is plain. The good man, says Plato, will use the kind of style which we described in connexion with the verses of Homer above (392 E-394 A). Now the style of Homer, Plato expressly said, is partly μίμησις, and partly ἀπλῆ διήγησις (393 C, 394 B). Therefore, he repeats, the good man's style will partake both of μίμησις and ἀπλῆ διήγησις. The common confusion of ἀπλῆ and ἄλλη is illustrated by Bast, *Comment. Pal.* p. 730.

In *Republic*, iii. 407 B, Plato is animadverting on νοσοτροφία, which is, so he tells us, a hindrance to the prosecution of virtue. Glaucō agrees: ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἢ δ' ὅς, ὄχεδὸν γέ τι πάντων μάλιστα ἢ γε περαιτέρω γυμναστικῆς ἢ περιττῆ αὐτῆ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ σώματος (sc. ἐμποδίζει τὸ ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν). In this sentence the double nominative is displeasing; and there is a further difficulty in περαιτέρω γυμναστικῆς. The editors explain these words to mean 'going beyond the limits of gymnastic,' cf. *Gorg.* 484 C, περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος. But in point of fact it is not the desertion of γυμναστική, but the pursuit of γυμναστική in excess, which involves νοσοτροφία. This is clear, I think, from 406 A ff. Herodicus combined γυμναστική, i.e. the regimen of diet, life, etc., with ἰατρική, and introduced all the mischief, by making the δίαίτα of invalids even more subject to self-denying ordinances than that of athletes in training. Compare 406 D-E. We have, I think, no right to take γυμναστικῆς in περαιτέρω γυμναστικῆς as 'legitimate training,' which is practically what the editors do. Read γυμναστικ<ή>, ἢς for γυμναστικῆς and translate 'the exaggerated discipline, which is responsible for this excessive care of the body.' ἢς sc. ἐστὶν like the Latin 'cuius est nimia haec cura corporis.'

The third passage which I now discuss is in iii. 414 D, ἦσαν δὲ τότε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὸ γῆς ἐντὸς πλαττόμενοι καὶ τρεφόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ἄλλη σκευὴ δημιουργομένη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παντελῶς ἐξειργασμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτοὺς μίτηρ οὔσα ἀνῆκε, καὶ ἔνν δει ὡς περὶ μητρὸς καὶ τροφῆς τῆς χώρας ἐν ἢ εἰσὶ βουλευέσθαι, κ.τ.λ. If the text is sound, the double καί printed in spaced type must be taken (with Jowett and Campbell) as 'marking the correspondence of the two

clauses.' Precise parallels are however very difficult to find. Thuc. iv. 8, 9, to which Schneider refers in his *Addimenta*, p. 27, is certainly not parallel, as Classen's explanation clearly shows. Ast expunges the second καί, while Hermann replaces it by ὡς. I think the corruption lies in ἐπειδὴ. Read δημιουργομένη ἔτι. ἢ δὲ δὲ κ.τ.λ. and for ἦδη—καί, which is common in telling a story, compare *Symp.* 220 C, ἢ δὲ ἦν μεσημβρία, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἠσθάνοντο. This correction appears to me also to obviate the difficulty, if such it is, which Hartman (*Notae Criticae ad Pl. de Rep. libros*, p. 100) feels about δημιουργομένη, 'quod post πλαττόμενοι abundat,' since it permits δημιουργομένη ἔτι 'still in course of manufacture' to be taken as merely a descriptive adjunct. π for τ and εἰ for η are among the commonest of errors.

The difficulties of iv. 421 B are well known: εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς μὲν φύλακας ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιοῦμεν ἥκιστα κακοῖργους τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνο λέγων γεωργούς τινὰς καὶ ὡς περ ἐν πανηγύρει ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πόλει ἐστιάτορας εὐδαίμονας, ἄλλο ἂν τι ἢ πόλιν λέγοι. The sentence has been practically rewritten by Madvig and others, whose emendations are duly chronicled by Hartman. Unless I am mistaken, the text is sound, except in the one word γεωργούς. The meaning, roughly speaking, is: if we are making true guardians, and the author of the other proposal is making something different, he cannot, like us, be speaking of a city. Compare 422 E, εὐδαίμων εἶ—ὅτι οἶε ἀξίον εἶναι ἄλλην τιὰ προσεπειῖν πὸ λιν ἢ τὴν τοιαύτην οἷαν ἡμεῖς κατεσκευάζομεν. It is obvious that the point of this rejoinder depends on the contrast between what we propose, and what is proposed by our rival. But 'farmers' does not furnish a proper antithesis to 'true guardians,' even if we assume that Plato is thinking of iii. 417 B and iv. 419 A. Mr. Richards suggests ἄργους and (with hesitation) κακοῖργους. I once thought of θεωροῦς to suit ἐν πανηγύρει, but now prefer to change a single letter and write λεωργούς for γεωργούς. The contrast is with ἥκιστα κακοῖργους. Λεωργός occurs in the Memorabilia if not in Plato; and so expressive a word seems to me very apposite here. There is no harsh transition from it to the ἐστιάτορας εὐδαίμονας, for εὐδαίμονας is bitterly scornful: such 'happy feasters' prey upon the city and are scoundrels of the worst kind. They are the πόλεως ἀμολγοί described by Cratinus (*Meineke Fr. Com. Gr.* ii. 1, p. 140), by Solon (ap. *Arist. Pol. Ath.* c. 12 ad fin.) and by Plato himself in *Theaet.* 174 D,

συβώτην ἢ ποιμένα ἢ τινα βουκόλον—πολυβδάλοντα: compare also Book i. 343 A, which suggests that ὁ δ' ἐκείνο λέγων is Thrasy-machus; nor, indeed, is the objection of Adimantus anything but the dying echo of Thrasy-machus' idea that the ruler is like a shepherd who feeds his sheep for his own

profit. They are those false rulers described by Milton who

“for their bellies' sake
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold;”

they care nothing for their flock, but only for the “shearers' feast.” J. ADAM.

MACAN'S *HERODOTUS*.

Herodotus, the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books.

With Introduction, Notes, Appendices, Indices, Maps, by R. W. MACAN. Vol. I. Introduction, Text with Notes, pp. i—cxxx, 1—396; Vol. II. Appendices, Indices, Maps, pp. 1—341. Macmillan and Co., London and New York. 1895. 32s.

IN these two volumes Mr. Macan has furnished a noteworthy contribution to the study of Herodotus, and has produced a book which will be found indispensable to the student of earlier Greek history. For the text of Herodotus much has been done of recent years, and the question of the dialect if not finally solved, seems at least to be on a fair way towards solution. But there is another and a not less important side to the work. For a long period of Greek history Herodotus must remain our chief authority. Hence it is a matter of the utmost moment to investigate as far as possible the historical method of Herodotus, to trace the probable sources of his materials, to mark the various disturbing and distorting influences to which those materials have been exposed, with a view to determining how far the statements of the ‘Father of History’ can be used by the critical historian of to-day. Such are the problems to the solution of which Mr. Macan has applied himself, and we imagine that few will dissent from the general principles laid down by him, however much disagreement there may be in the application of them. The exposition of these principles occupies a great part of the introduction. Nowhere have we met with so full and so clear a statement of the case. In passing by it may be noted that the editor argues ingeniously from the symmetry of the work that the History is complete as it stands. There are some very sensible remarks on the travels of Herodotus, so far as they concern the three middle books.

The principles set forth in the Introduction are applied in the notes, in which will

be found many a shrewd observation on the probable sources of the narrative and the influences that have moulded the story. If the perchance and peradventure abound here, that is inherent in the nature of the case. Sometimes the editor seems to go too far. Thus in iv. 184. 12 it is surely better with Kallenberg to omit τὴν λίμνην than to make Herodotus contradict himself within a few sentences. The notes also contain a wealth of illustrations of the text drawn from ancient and from modern sources.

A number of the larger historical problems involved in these three books are treated in a series of appendices. In these many fresh points are urged which will have to be reckoned with by the Greek historian. The best is perhaps that on the battle of Marathon, where the whole material is passed in exhaustive review and a theory is formulated which at least has the merit of being intelligible and in fair accordance with tradition. We may refer also to the discussion on the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* which raises more questions than it settles, and to that on the chronology of the feud between Athens and Aegina. The least satisfactory is the disquisition on the Scythians.

Unfortunately there are some things in the book that call for mention of another sort. What reader is supposed to be in need of such information as that *διαπάσας* comes from the *διαπάσσω*, or that *γένεσθαι* governs the genitive case, or that Peithagoras must not be confounded with Pythagoras? Any one who needs instruction on such elementary points will want much more information than he will not find here. On vi. 61. 6, it is remarked that *ποιεύμενος* is the middle, but what voice except the middle could have been used here? In v. 108 it seems to be supposed that *νησοὶ* and *τῆσι νησοῖ* could refer to separate fleets and that *νῆες* might be applied to transports. In v. 93 *ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο* is treated as a possible variant of *ἐπεμαρτύροντο*, which was suggested by

Reiske and has been adopted by several editors. In v. 33. 19 what has the quotation to do with the text? There are a good many other things of the same kind. In v. 25 note 1 *tyiya* is an error for *tyaiy*. In the Index *μηχανοῦσθαι* appears as the infinitive of *ἐμμηχανῶντο*.

In the text of Herodotus it is fortunately not often the case that the variants affect the general sense, and no one could have found fault with the editor if he had simply appended his commentary to one of the common texts. The present text professes to be taken 'not without corrections' from Stein's smaller text. How far the corrections go we have not examined, but since they were undertaken at all they might with advantage have been carried further. Why, for instance, does the editor write *Φειδιππίδης* when he always speaks of the man as *Philippides*? The guiding principle in the selection of various readings and conjectural emendations is not apparent. Many of the

best are passed by, while others of little or no value appear. As to the editor's own conjectures they are rather of the rough and ready order; does he seriously imagine that Herodotus would have written as he suggests v. 69. 7?

The question of the dialect is with perfect justice left undiscussed. Where it is incidentally touched upon, the problem is hardly fairly stated. It is not merely the MSS. of Herodotus *versus* the Ionic inscriptions, but the MSS. of Herodotus *versus* the poetical remains of Ionia. But there is no need to pursue the subject here.

After all these are more or less superficial blemishes which do not interfere with the solid value of the book, however much they may annoy the classical scholar who reads it. We trust that Mr. Macan will soon give us also an equally thorough discussion of the Great Persian War.

J. STRACHAN.

MONRO'S *HOMER*.

Homeri Opera et Reliquiae. Recensuit D. B. MONRO, M.A. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano. MDCCCXCVI. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS convenient and handsome volume with its red and gilded edges contains, printed on little more than a thousand pages of India-paper of fine, perhaps even excessively fine, quality, the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the Homeric *Hymns*, the so-called *Epigrams*, then the metrical fragments of the lost epics of the Epic Cycle, culled from Athenæus and others, with the outlines of their arguments in the prose of Proclus, and lastly the parody of the Battle of the Frogs and Mice, that curious specimen of the mock-heroic, attributed to Pigres, the brother of Queen Artemisia of Halicarnassus. The inclusion of this last is perhaps the one point in the scheme of the book, to which exception might be taken. The piece is as little connected with Homer or the earlier age of epic poetry as the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius or a play of Aeschylus; consequently its appearance here may fairly be said to mark the extremity of gracious concession to a discredited, and perhaps never generally accepted, popular tradition.

The editor in his article on Homer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* long ago expressed

an opinion to the effect that the exclusion of the *Epigrams* and *Hymns* from modern editions of the Homeric poems was an inconvenient purism, inasmuch as these appear to be 'the original documents, to which the narrative of Homer's life was afterwards adjusted.' The present work may therefore be regarded as the long-delayed realization of this opinion. The convenience referred to is certainly enhanced by the addition of the collectanea of the Epic Cycle.

With regard to the text, here adopted, of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* little need be said. The *Iliad*, as Mr. Monro informs us in his brief preface, is a reproduction of his own school-edition, while that of the *Odyssey* differs little from that of Dr. Merry in his well-known work. Such differences as there are arise from the occasional adoption of readings derived from the *apparatus criticus* of A. Ludwich (Lipsiae, 1889-91). The treatment of the text is therefore in the main eminently conservative, though by no means reactionary. The editor expressly disclaims any attempt to restore the earlier forms of the language, that is, to give us the latest results of modern criticism. 'Pristinam Graecae linguae formam aucupari noluimus.' Still he has not been absolutely unrelenting in this resolve. It has not operated so far as to prevent *ἦος* and *τῆος* appearing con-

sistently in place of the traditional εῖως (εἶος) and τείως (τείος).

In the treatment of the monosyllabic τείως and εῖως there is not quite the same consistent uniformity. In κ 348 ἀμφέπολοι δ' ἄρα τῆος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι πένοντο the old established τείως μὲν has been extinguished, as also in π 370, and probably no one would have grieved, if a similar change had been made in ο 231 and ω 162, where τείως μὲν is still allowed to flourish. Again in ρ 358 instead of εῖως ὁ τ' we find ῆος but in τ 530 and P 727 εῖως μὲν remains in undisturbed possession of the field.

It is somewhat surprising and a little disappointing that while in the two great epics κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα *et sim.* everywhere appear instead of the κέδν' εἰδυῖα of MSS. the same change has not been made in the *Hymns*, e.g. *Hym. Dem.* 195, *Aph.* 44 and *passim*. If it be intended that such forms should serve as an indication of the late date of the whole work, this object might equally well be secured by placing the later form in the foot-note without allowing it to disfigure the text itself. Moreover the weight of such evidence is enormously exaggerated, when these forms are silently removed from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and only left to prejudice our judgment of the *Hymns*.

However these are slight blemishes, and some may even think that they are not rightly so named.

The main interest of the volume for Homeric students lies in that portion, which contains the *Hymns*. We have here without much doubt the best text of these interesting relics hitherto produced in this country, not excepting even the magnificent posthumous edition by Prof. A. Goodwin, which in the main Mr. Monro has admittedly followed. He has, however, availed himself of the most recent work that has been done in the way of restoring the text from its numerous corruptions. We meet with conjectural emendations sometimes admitted into the text, sometimes, though less frequently, only mentioned in a foot-note. Along with the names of the earlier scholars Martin, Barnes, Ruhnken, and Voss, those of Hermann, Gemoll, Allen, Tyrrell, and Postgate may be found. A few of the emended and uncertain passages will now be referred to, and solutions occasionally suggested.

HYM. DEM.

55. τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων may safely be corrected τίς θεός, as οὐρανίων is certainly nom. sing.

99. Porson's φρέιατι Παρθενίῳ is quite worthy of mention and indeed of acceptance.

226-7. Mr. Monro places a colon after κελύεις, and reads θρέψω, κοῦ μιν. The comma should probably be kept with θρεψέμεν, οὔ μιν following. The fut. infin. occurs after ὑπέδεκτο in l. 444. The corruption may be due in the first instance to the copyist's eye passing from ΕΜΕΝ to ΟΜΙΝ. The vulgate is merely a clumsy attempt to reconstitute the resulting ΟΡΕΠΤΟΜΙΝ.

268. ἦ τε μέγιστον ἀθανάτοις θνητοῖς τ' ὄνειρα καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται.

This is worse than the retention of the unmetrical θνητοῖσιν ὄνειρα, which is at least Greek. The corruption is probably due to the intrusion of τέτυκται. The original would require no verb, but the later Greeks would not acquiesce in this, as many interpolations witness. I suggest:—

ἀθανάτοις θνητοῖσιν τ' ὄνειρα καὶ πολλὰ χάρμα.

Possibly with Stoll ἀθανάτων θνητοῖσιν.

478. σεμνά, τά τ' οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξίμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι οὔτ' ἀχέειν.

Read παρεξίμεν, not with the sense of *negligere* (Ruhnken), but of 'to divulge,' 'publish,' and οὔτε κοεῖν, an old word not found in Homer, but suitably combined with πυθέσθαι *in parte accipientis*.

HYM. APOLL.

53. In spite of the multiplicity of conjectures, none satisfactory, the true reading is not far to seek. It is given in S the Vatican MS.

ἄλλως δ' οὔ τις σείῳ ποθ' ἄψεται, οὔδέ σε λήσει.

'But otherwise no one will ever have dealings with thee, and thou shalt know it to be so—thou shalt not forget thy isolation.' Cf. Ψ 326, λ 126, Ω 563.

It is not a little remarkable that the itacism of λίσσει should have been so misleading.

125. χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο. Read χέρο' ἐπορέξατο. This elision is a fruitful source of corruption.

181. I could have wished Mr. Monro had

given us *περικλύστοιο ἀνάσσεις*. He follows the Moscow MS. in editing *περικλύστου* for the *περικλύστης* of the rest. The

Brussels MS. Γ has *περικλυστης*, a very fair indication of the truth. The step here required is really no greater than that taken in l. 255 where the MSS. tradition is unhesitatingly disregarded, ἢ δ' ἐσιδοῦσα, in favour of ἢ δὲ ἰδοῦσα.

299. Mr. Monro happily suggests *τυκτοῖσιν* for the traditional *κτιστοῖσιν*.

402. *ἐπεφράσατο νοῆσαι*. Is not the true reading *ἐπεφράσατ' οὔτε νόησε*? Cf. note on *Hym. Dem.* 227.

487-8. We might read without much violence and with considerable advantage:—

ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον καθέμεν λῦσαι τε βοείας,
νῆα δ' ἔπειτα θοῆν ἂν' ἐπ' ἠπείρου ἐρύσασθε,

i.e. *ἀναερύσασθε*, cf. l. 506 *θοῆν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἐρύσαντο*. The similarity of *ἂν'* to the termination of *θοῆν* may have facilitated its loss. The hiatus *pace* Spitzner is not tolerable.

HYM. HERM.

48. Mr. Monro contributes *κατὰ νῶτα* as a suggestion towards the amelioration of this passage and would leave *διὰ ῥινοῖο* unchanged.

103. *ἄκμηνοι* (Monro) seems far better suited to the sense than *ἀκμηῆτες* (Ilgen).

116. *τόφρα δ' ὑποβρυχίας*. Ludwig's *ὑποβρύχους* is without the slightest authority, though generally admitted into the text. The corrupt tradition may with greater probability be derived from *τόφρα βεβρυχίας*.

168. *ἄλιστοι*. Nearly all the MSS. have *ἄπαστοι*. B has *ἄπ στοι* which may be completed *ἄπυστοι* 'unheard of.' Hermes has no mind *agitare inglorius aevom*. He intends to be *κύδιμος*.

224. Assuming *ἐλπομαι εἶναι* to be the original we are compelled by the sense, apart entirely from any question of the digamma, to accept Schneidewin's *Κένταυρον λασιᾶ-χενα*.

315. ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωνῆν
οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἐλάζυτο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν.

Perhaps *φωνῆν* may be left undisturbed (v. Mr. Monro's note) and *οὐκ ἀδίκως* read *οὐ χάδεν* (*ἐχάδ'*), *ὤς*, cf. Δ 24 Ἥρη δ' οὐκ ἐχάδε στήθος χόλον.

461. *ἠγεμονεύσω ἠγεμόν' ἔσσω*, cf. κ 361 *ἔς β' ἀσάμυνθον ἔσασα*. See also Cobet *Misc. Critica*. p. 385, on Ξ 209 *ἀνέσαιμι*. The sense would be 'I will stablish thee etc.'

HYM. APHR.

134. οἳ τοι ὁμόθεν γεγᾶσιν. Both usage and metre demand οἳ τ' ἐξ ὁμόθεν γεγᾶσιν. τ' = τοι.

151. ἐς λέχος εὔστρωτον, ὅθι περ πάρος
ἔσκεν ἄνακτι
χλαίνησιν μαλακῆς ἐστρωμένον

Μ εὔστρωτον in spite of the impracticability of ὅθι. The true reading can hardly have been other than:—

ἐς λέχος ἠύστρωτον, ὃ περ πάρος ἔσκε ἄνακτι
χλαίνησιν μαλακῆς ἐστρωμένον

194. οὐ γάρ τοί τι δέος παθέειν κακὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε,

A simple transposition of *δέος* and *κακὸν* gives a satisfactory line:—

οὐ γάρ τοί τι κακὸν παθέειν δέος ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε.

for which confirmation, if required, may be found in ε 347

οὐδέ τί τοι παθέειν δέος οὐδ' ἀπολέσθαι.

Hermann and Franke rashly substitute an imaginary *δέιος* for *τι δέος*.

252. I cannot think that Martin's *στόμα χείσεται* for the corrupt *στοναχίσεται* of the MSS., though adopted by most editors, Wolf, Hermann, Baumeister, Abel, Monro, gives an adequate meaning. *Matthiae's στόμα τλήσεται*, satisfactory in sense, is intolerable in metre. In neither respect is *Buttmann's ἀχήσεται* commendable. I offer *στόμα ἦσεται*. The later Greeks were not familiar with this form of the future of *ἦδομαι*, for which they used *ἦσθήσομαι*; but in the epic period we have a witness for it in *ἦσατο*, which is read without question in ι 353.

With the meaning 'my lips will no more delight to mention' no fault can be found, and we may compare the description of the anticipated behaviour of the goddess, ll. 48-9.

257. *νύμφαι μιν θρέψουσιν*. Perhaps *νύμφαι εὐ θρέψουσιν*.

266. *καλαὶ τηλεθάουσαι, ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῦσιν*. Mr. Monro places a period at the end of this line, after which *ἑστᾶσ' ἠλίβατοι* comes in very abruptly. The effect is not altogether pleasing. But what are we to say of Gemoll's emendation, thoughtlessly followed in Goodwin's text? We find in Gemoll's edition, with a fine disregard of metre,

καλὰ τηλεθάουσαι ἐν δ' οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν

with ἐν δ' Gemoll, ἐν MSS. at the foot of the page. Except indeed for the foot-note and his commentary we might charitably assume he intended to edit, ἐν οὔρεσι δ' ὑψηλοῖσι, which would serve his purpose well enough, and seems worthy of adoption, with perhaps Schneider's ἡλιβάτοις in 267.

284. For φασίν τοι we might read φάς μιν τευ with a comma only after κελεύω (283), cf. I 35 φὰς ἔμεν ἀπτόλεμον Γ 44 φάντες ἀριστήα. This is nearer to the ductus litterarum than Matthiae's φάσθαι.

HYM. DION.

55. διε κάτωρ. That an elision here existed suggests itself from the δι' ἐκάτωρ of M. Perhaps δι' ἀκάτωρ, cf. ἄκατος, ἀκάτιον, ἀκάτη. Lat. actuaria.

xxviii. 10. ἵπ' ὀβρίμης Γλαυκώπιδος is not to be turned into ἵπὸ βρίμης with Ilgen. It is merely the strict grammarian's correction of ἵπ' ὀβριμοσ Γλαυκώπιδος.

Even if the later Greeks could accept ὀβριμος as an adj. of two terminations only, they could by no means retain the gen. in -οο.

xxix. 4. τιμήν should probably be τίμιον, cf. *Hym. Herm.* 528.

xxxiii. 16. ναύταις σήματα καλά, πόνου σφισιν οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες—

For σφισιν Mr. Monro suggests σβέσιν, mentioning other conjectures κρίσιν, λύσιν, σχέσιν. It seems not improbable that

καλ' ἀπονόσφι περ

is the original expression, 'fair prognostications for sailors far away.' If the α of ἀπονόσφι were once misappropriated to καλά, the development of πόνου σφισιν is just what might be expected.

There is no call to prolong this paper with emendations of the *Batrachomyomachia*. Its literary value is small, and it is so marred with corruptions as to be hardly entertaining. Moreover all attempts at correction labour under the disadvantage of being in general too good for their surroundings, for example Ludwich's ἔδακον δ' ἔο (48).

Let me conclude by saying, that Mr. Monro's volume will be appreciated not only by scholars but by all book-lovers, et quantum est hominum venustiorum. At their hands it well deserves a hearty welcome.

T. L. AGAR.

ELMER'S PHORMIO.

P. Terenti Phormio. With Notes and Introductions (based in part upon the second edition of Karl Dziatzko). By H. C. ELMER, Ph.D. Boston: Leach, Shewell and Sanborn, 1895. Pp. xlix + 182. \$1.00.

THIS is an adaptation, with additions, of the well-known edition of the *Phormio* by Prof. Dziatzko of Göttingen. The merits of the German original are well known, and need not be emphasized here. The introduction, in particular, is invaluable to students of Terence, and they have reason to be thankful that it has at last been made accessible in English. The character of Elmer's introduction is, in general, much the same as that of its model, and shows the same excellences. The text of the edition is printed in clear, large type, and furnished with stage-directions. It may be questioned, however, whether these are wholly an advantage, as

they cut up the text and make the scansion more difficult for the beginner. In many places Elmer has preferred a different reading to that adopted by Dziatzko. These changes are chiefly in the direction of a closer adherence to the MSS. (and to A in particular). In a number of cases they seem to be distinct improvements: in others they appear much less satisfactory. In the *didascalía* Elmer reads ATILIVS (HATILIVS Dziatzko, and so A in the *didascalíae* of the Eunuchus and Adelphoe). He points out that in A an initial H is often wrongly employed. But his statement (p. 155) that there is no real evidence that Hatilius was ever a recognized form seems too strong; cf. C. I. L., X. 8067, 11, *L. Hatilius Felix*. In the *periocha* l. 7 he retains *eam visam Antipho*, defending the hiatus by similar instances from Plautus. This may be right: a grammarian like G. Sulpicius Apollinaris may have tolerated such a line, though

Terence himself would never have done so. But of Elmer's Plautine examples three (Capt. 24, 93, 31) are somewhat doubtful, as it is possible that Plautus wrote *Valeis* etc. (cf. FAAEIOI). In 86 Elmer reads *reducere* with Priscian, Donatus and the MSS. (except D). In 215 he reads with A *sed hic quis est senex*, while Dziatzko and many others prefer *sed quis hic est senex*. He retains 243 and 328, both of which Dziatzko brackets. In 423 he reads *iam ducendi aetas* with L. In 500 he brackets *me* as an interpolation. In 501 he retains *veris* (*verbis* Dz.), which is clearly right, as it is more forcible than *verbis* and is supported by all the MSS. For the substantive use, cf. *par pari* v. 212, etc. In 502 he retains *neque*, and explain *alia sollicitudine* as meaning 'some other (i.e. lighter) trouble' (so also Donatus). But Phaedria would certainly prefer that his misfortune should come at a time when Antipho was entirely free from troubles of his own, not when he was engrossed (*occupatus*) by some other trouble. Read *atque* (so Dz.) and the thought gains greatly both in force and clearness. In 598 he reads *ad forum* with the MSS. This may be right: but if so, it is the only passage where Terence uses *ad forum* in this sense. In v. 902 Elmer retains and defends (p. 164) the difficult shortening *verēbāmini*, which cannot be paralleled at all in Terence, and but rarely in Plautus. It is hard to believe that Terence ever wrote the line as it stands in A, especially as the Calliopian MSS. show variants. In 913 Elmer reads with A *eam nunc* (*nunc viduam* Dz. with the inferior MSS.), suggesting that *viduam* is a gloss on *eam nunc*. In v. 949 he retains *sententia*, understanding it to mean 'decision,' 'determination'; so that *puerili sententia* nearly = *inconstantia*. But surely one would expect 'childish lack of decision' rather than 'childish decision,' and *puerilis sententia* would scarcely be understood in the sense in which Prof. Elmer takes it without an explanatory note.

The notes of the edition are well adapted to their purpose and attain the 'happy medium' between too great conciseness and excessive length. I have noted here and there a few statements which seem doubtful or inaccurate. In the note on v. 5 *oratione* is rendered 'portrayal of character': does the word really bear this meaning? In the note on v. 170 we read: 'the present subjunctive is often used in the early writers where the English would use a contrary-to-fact construction. It was probably felt,

however, rather as a "less vivid future" condition than as the exact equivalent of the imperfect.' Is it not more probable that this use of the present subjunctive is a survival from a time when the *form* of the 'less vivid future' condition had not yet been differentiated from that of the 'condition contrary to fact in present time' than that the condition was felt as a 'less vivid future'? So in Homeric Greek a 'present unfulfilled condition' is regularly expressed by the present optative with *εἰ*, and its apodosis by the present optative with *κῆ* or *ἄν*: but this by no means proves that it was actually felt as a 'less vivid future condition.' In the note on v. 179 Elmer mentions *Cliniā*, Heaut. 406, as a certain case of long final *a* in the vocative. This is, I think, right; Dziatzko says 'Heaut. 406 steht nach *Cliniā* eine Interpunktion,' but the brief pause is not enough to satisfactorily account for the quantity. On 379 Elmer says of Cicero: 'Later he calls a man *subrusticus* for doing this (Or. 48, 161).' It is not a man but the custom of neglecting final *s* that Cicero calls *subrusticum*. 464, 'eccum: i.e. ecce eum.' The other derivation from *ecce* + **hum* deserves at least a mention. '644, *talentum magnum*: referring to the Attic silver talent worth about \$1100.' The Attic silver talent was worth much less (see Goodwin on the 'Value of the Attic Talent,' *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1885). In his note on v. 768 Prof. Elmer adopts Sandford's ingenious explanation of the words *ita fugias, ne praeter casam*. I think, however, the old explanation of Donatus (the first one) is simpler. The figure is that of a person running to his hut for refuge; if he in his blind fear rushes past the hut instead of turning into it, his pursuer will be between him and his place of refuge and he will be worse off than before. It may be, however, that, as has been suggested, there is a reference to a game of tag in which *casam* was a name given to the 'goal.' At all events, I should understand after *ne* a second *fugias*.

The notes are followed by a brief critical appendix, and this by an excellent bibliography of the literature dealing with Terence that has appeared since 1884. The book is well printed: I have noted a few slips, *clausula* p. xxxv., *πρόσωπον*, p. 78. In spite of some defects it is decidedly the best edition of the play now accessible in English.

H. W. HAYLEY.

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HOMER'S HYMN TO DEMETER.

L'Inno Omerico a Demetra con apparato critico scelto e un' introduzione. Da VITTO-
RIO PUNTONI. Livorno: Raffaello Giusti.
1896. 5 lire.

SINCE Ignarra, who published his emendations in 1784, this is, so far as I am aware, the first Italian contribution to the study of the Homeric *Hymns*. Professor Puntoni of Bologna, whose name is well known in connection with more than one department of philology, gives us a book of 165 pages at the low price of five lire, containing pp. v—viii a bibliography, 1—124 an introduction on the composition of the hymn, 125—165 a text with apparatus. The accuracy and laboriousness of his method, and the amount of useful information collected in a small space, render the edition in a high degree handy and serviceable.

I cannot however consider the book entirely satisfactory, and this in spite of its many obvious merits. The text and apparatus are, one may say without injustice, very slightly original. The personal contribution of Signor Puntoni is to be looked for in the introduction. The object of this section is to prove that the difficulties and 'incoherenze' observable in the poem are not to be accounted for by ordinary processes of transmission, but have their source in the circumstances under which the hymn was put together. This thesis is worked out at length and with great abundance of dialectical resource. Now there are, I hope, few scholars in this country, and their number is, I believe, decreasing abroad, who hold that it is possible by any process of pure literary and aesthetic criticism to ascertain an earlier state of a document which has been handed down for many hundreds of years in the form in which we have it; or in other words, that discrepancies or difficulties which are apparent to our judgment and taste are likely to coincide with or be due to deliberate operations upon the continuity of a text. The results of this method applied to Homeric criticism at large should suffice to persuade a candid observer of the uselessness of such ploughing the sand. Of all the literary criticism applied to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from Wolf onwards, what percentage of solid result remains? Except for the narrow corporation of polemicists, none; we are even now waiting on papyrus to give us the first data towards the history of the

prae-Alexandrian text. It is therefore melancholy to see Italian philology, in one of its earliest attempts upon an important classic, taking over from German method its least valuable element. The argumentation that in its natural vehicle possesses a certain hazy impressiveness, reveals in the lucidity of a Latin tongue its essential thinness and arbitrariness—not a fact at bottom, every proposition reversible. It is time that philology in its old age ceased this barren effort and banished the Higher Literary Criticism, interesting occupation as it may be, to the land of *ἄνου πόκαι*.

Accordingly I do not reproduce Signor Puntoni's list of inconsistencies, nor the portions into which, in obedience to them, he divides the poem. It is enough to notice how the industrious Wegener devoted as late as 1876 twenty-seven pages of the *Philologus* to the same purpose, producing, need one say, results entirely unlike. Signor Puntoni's text and apparatus form a more useful and lasting piece of work. The text is conservative, and free from the brackets and paragraphs that make the current edition of Hesiod, for instance, unreadable. Gratitude is due to the editor for at least not sacrificing his reader to his theories. Beneath are collected with great fulness the MS. readings and the conjectures of critics since Rubnken. Bibliography, which seems a characteristic of the Italian school of philology, is displayed here on a really great scale. Full justice is done to the early editors and critics. *Hermathena* however seems unknown at Bologna, else in Professor Tyrrell's brilliant review (xx. 1894) the editor would have found more matter than in all his shaft-sinkings in Mitscherlich and Co.; he has also neglected, with more justice, some notes by the present writer in the *Academy*, Sept. 1894, and the *Classical Review* for 1895. It is perhaps captious to ask if this bibliographical fulness be not overdone. The least happy thoughts of unfortunate critics are exhumed and held up to light; most emenders count on a proportion of their *palmares* being let sleep in the cold shade of learned periodicals. Moreover, if each edition of a classic is to gather up the whole work done before it, to what size will these 'snowballs' grow? This is abuse of method.

It remains to notice the editor's contributions on particular lines. I shall be the briefer in doing so that I hope before long

to refer to them again when I print some notes of my own upon this *Hymn*.

The commentary throughout is disfigured by the unimportant detail of the words to which Eugen Abel in his edition was pleased to prefix a digamma. 10. P. alone of editors retains the MS. *τότε*, very plausibly. 12. P. prints Ruhnken's *κηώδει δ' ὀδμή* for *κῶδης τ' ὀδμή*. Tyrrell's *κῶζ' ἤδιστ' ὀδμή* alone explains the corruption. The lines *καὶ ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε* (53) and *σοὶ δ' ὄκα λέγω νημερτέα πάντα* (58) baffle this editor, as they have baffled his predecessors; in fact, they form the starting-point for his partition of the *Hymn*. But in a document that exists only in one copy are verbal difficulties reasonably to be ascribed to anything deeper than clerical transmission? 64. P. accepts with justice Ludwich's *θεὰν σύ περ* for *θείας ὑπερ* of M. 87. For *μεταναίεται* (unmetrical) P. makes his almost only conjecture, *μεταναιεταίει*; it was suggested by his *a priori* theory, and though inoffensive, hardly improves upon the usually accepted *μεταναιεταίει*. 137 sq. The editor prints what certainly cannot be construed *ἐμὲ δ' ἀτ' οἰκτεῖρατε κοῦραι | προφρονέουσ φίλα τέκνα τέων πρὸς δώμαθ' ἴκωμαι | ἀνέρος ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἵνα σφίσιν ἐργάζωμαι*. Either a mark to indicate that the passage is given up or a remedy is called for. 203. P. keeps *τρέψατο*, rejecting Voss's *ἐτρέψατο*, but the MS. reading introduces a caesura after the third foot. I am glad to see a lacuna after 211; this will also be found in the Oxford text lately published. Similarly with excellent judgment the editor restores the MS. *θρέψω' κοῦμιν κτλ* in 227. The abruptness is by no means intolerable;

on the other hand, it may be questioned whether the asyndeton of 237, *οὐτ' οὖν σίτον ἔδων οὐ θησάμενος· Δημήτηρ | χρίσκ' ἀμβροσίη*, be supportable. Hermann's lacuna and supplement, *γάλα μητρός*, is a mild medicine. Neither 269 *ἀθανάτοις θνητοῖσι τ' ὄνειαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται*, nor 284 *φωνὴν ἐσάκουσαν ἔλεινῆν* are metrical; in the former case Prof. Tyrrell brilliantly suggested *ὄνειαρ κάρμα τέτυκται*, but *χάρμα* is well established, and Ilgen's *ὄνειαρ* seems probable by analogy with other forms. 328. *ἄς κεν ἔλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλέσθαι* is hardly tolerable; as above, either an obelus or a conjecture is indispensable. 344, 345 are very justly obelised. 364. P. keeps *ἰούσα* to support his theories; but *ἔουσα* is called for by the passage, and is a change so common in Homeric MS. as to be almost mechanical. The Higher Criticism should not need such weak supports. Tolerable justice is done to Mr. Goodwin's supplements of the torn leaf 387 sq., though Signor Puntoni's rage, appeased hitherto with rending a palpable document, becomes at this point, where it meets emptiness, acute. 403. The usual lacuna before *καὶ τίνι σ' ἐξαπάτησε δόλω* can hardly be dispensed with. 428. I am glad to see *ὄσπερ κρόκον* at last in the text, and *ἀχέειν* in 479.

I should be sorry to undervalue so thorough, painstaking and scientific a book; but much of philological science is falsely so called, and if the study is to maintain its place as a reasonable and profitable pursuit, neither unwearied *καὶ*-counting nor the chimera of restoration must elude the canons of common-sense.

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

DE-MARCHI ON ROMAN RELIGION.

Il Culto privato di Roma antica. I. La religione nella vita domestica. Da ATTILIO DE-MARCHI, Professore. Milano, Hoepli. 1896. 8 lire.

WE have nothing in English that answers to this useful volume, and a translation of it would unquestionably be a boon to any one bent upon making a thorough investigation of Roman institutions. It is of course in the ordered domestic life of the Romans, and especially in its religious aspect, that we must look for the roots of the ideas and character of the people: it is here that a scientific study of Roman antiquities should begin. Odds and ends of Italian folklore,

hazardous interpretations of quaint survivals in ritual, speculations about the origin and meaning of this or that deity,—these may be interesting and even fascinating for the investigator, but they yield little or no result for a student of Roman history. On the other hand, whoever would study the power of 'religio' in building up the Roman state and empire through the agency of the peculiar character of the people, must begin his work with the religion of the Roman family. On this subject at least we are by no means ill-informed, and the available material has been admirably put together in Marquardt's *Staatsverfassung*. In his treatment of the

subject de-Marchi is content to follow Marquardt pretty closely: his object being, not to start a new theory or to dispute the statements of others, but to write a comprehensive account of what is at present fairly well ascertained. After a few pages on the relation of *sacra privata* to *sacra publica*, he proceeds to the domestic deities, —Lares, Penates, Vesta, and the Genius of the household. Next he treats of the forms and instruments of domestic worship: here are two interesting sections, one on the *lararia* and other sacred places of the house, the other on the 'family priesthoods,' including the part played as acolytes by the boys and girls, which beyond doubt had great influence on the formation of Roman character. In the third chapter the great moments of life are dealt with,—marriage, birth, death, and funeral rites, and also festivals, auspices, purifications, etc. Lastly in ch. 4 a very large collection is brought together from the volumes of *Corpus Inscriptionum* to illustrate the private practice of making and fulfilling *vota*, and of dedicating objects to the gods.

Every attempt is made throughout the volume to bring it up to date in respect of recent archaeological research. The excavations of the last two or three years, e.g. at Narce near Falerii, at Nemi, and at the convent of St. Bernard, are all turned to

account. It is time that we in England should recognize more fully the growing excellence of Italian work of this kind, the admirable organization of archaeological research by the Italian government, and the advantage to Italian scholars of being continually within reach not only of collections but of the excavations themselves. No English student of Roman antiquities can afford any longer to work without a knowledge of the Italian language.

This is a book of facts and not of theories, and calls rather for a brief and hearty recommendation than for lengthy criticism. Every now and then however the author finds room in a note for a new view on some disputed point, and in such cases he is usually worth listening to. On p. 148, for example, where he briefly discusses the old crux of the chronological relation of *confarreatio*, *coemptio*, and *usus*, he throws out the suggestion that the two former are 'due momenti diversi del medesimo atto, equivalente quella alla parte sacra e direi quasi della Chiesa di Stato, questa alla parte civile privata.' *Coemptio* is in fact the civil part of the ceremony, of which the religious portion was withheld from the later plebeian society. The suggestion is at least worth consideration.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

GRANGER'S WORSHIP OF THE ROMANS.

The Worship of the Romans, viewed in relation to the Roman Temperament. By FRANK GRANGER, D. Lit., Professor in University College, Nottingham, Methuen & Co. 6s.

THE title of this book is a little illusory. It contains no systematic account of the Roman worship, and after reading it twice I am obliged to confess that I have not learnt much from it about the Roman character. The author has evidently been greatly interested in the great works on religion and folklore, such as those of Robertson Smith, J. G. Frazer, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Mannhardt; and he has endeavoured to apply their results to the study of Roman religious antiquities. I trust I am giving him no discouragement when I say that this latter part of his work is as yet very incomplete, and that he writes with a confidence much too easy and lighthearted

about matters which may lead even the most careful scholars into quagmires. He has not yet, in fact, fully developed a conscience in the investigation of Roman antiquity. He has not learnt from the writers just mentioned that in this region of knowledge it is almost useless, sometimes positively harmful, to put out work which is not the fruit of laborious and often most uninteresting research. The mistranslation of a single sentence of Latin, or the omission of some detail in the study of a Roman usage, may lead to consequences of the greatest importance for a theory, and what is worse, may lead any number of other students astray. No more difficult or dangerous subject is known to me than the religious ideas and worship of the Romans.

Let me give one illustration—though it would be easy to produce many—of this

serious shortcoming. On p. 60 we read: 'Servius says that the ancient custom was to bury the dead in the house. Until the XII. Tables, the Romans were at any rate buried in the courtyard of the house, and down to late times, children who died before the fortieth day were laid in a niche in the wall, covered by a projecting roof or eaves.' Where did Mr. Granger find evidence for the first of these astonishing statements? He gives no reference, and of course the fragment of the Tables which he has in his mind simply says that dead persons were not to be buried or burnt within the city. The evidence of Roman and Italian archaeology is overwhelming on this question: if there is one thing of which we may be certain, it is that even in the most remote periods the dead were deposited in cemeteries outside the cities. Recent excavations have proved that the most primitive hill-communities in the near neighbourhood of Rome, which probably had come to an end even before the traditional date of Rome's foundation, had already given up the savage custom of burial in or close to the house. If Mr. Granger had not at hand the last volume of the *Monumenti Antichi*, he might at least have satisfied himself on this point by referring to Marquardt's excellent account of Roman burial customs. But this is not all. For the second of his statements, about the burial of babes under forty days old, he refers us to Lewis and Short's *Lexicon s.v. suggerundarium*. There is but one citation to be found there, and that one is from Fulgentius, a writer of the sixth century A.D., famous for his habit of inventing quotations where he could not find them to his hand. And even Fulgentius does not say what Mr. Granger does—that the children were deposited in niches in the

house-wall—nor as yet can I find any other evidence for the assertion.

From statements such as this I am forced to draw the conclusion that Mr. Granger is not to be trusted as an authority on Roman antiquities. I must add, that whenever he touches on a really difficult subject, such as the Lupericalia, or Hercules, or the Indigitamenta, his want of a better equipment produces a feeling of discomfort in the mind of a reader who has once become acquainted with the difficulties they present. Mr. Granger writes with a light heart of them, and has suggestions and parallels to draw in each case: but these seldom carry weight, for they are not the result of a thorough and independent examination, such as we find in Robertson Smith's admirable *Religion of the Semites*.

Still, when all is said, the book is clever, interesting, and sometimes suggestive. If the student of Roman antiquity will carefully test it at all doubtful points, and take nothing in it for granted, he may incidentally learn a great deal. And if its writer will devote a few years to a patient study of Roman religious ideas and practice, his wide reading in folklore and mythology, and his obvious brightness of mind and interest in his subject will no doubt enable him to produce something which shall be really worthy to survive. New facts and new theories are now constantly contributing to throw light upon the religious life of the Greeks and Romans: folklore and archaeology are alike helping us forward. But the first and most essential step for any one who would contribute to the process, is to make himself thoroughly acquainted with all that Greeks or Romans have themselves to tell us.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels.

By the late DEAN BURGON and the Rev. E. MILLER. Published by George Bell and Sons. 10s. 6d. net.

In this volume Mr. Miller has used his own and Dean Burgon's researches to support the view that the traditional text of the New Testament is the oldest and best.

It must be recognized that the logical

basis of the book is a belief that a true statement of the doctrine of inspiration would support the traditional text to the exclusion of all others, but this fact is not obtruded; and even those who do not agree with the authors either in their doctrinal or critical position, are bound to admit that a sincere attempt is made to answer critical questions by critical methods.

The authors point out that the oldest

evidence which we possess for the text is not the direct evidence of the MSS. but the indirect evidence of Patristic quotations. They therefore begin with an examination of the text of the early Fathers and endeavour to show that it supports the traditional view. We are given a full analysis of the Pre-Chrysostomic writers and the results which Mr. Miller has reached. But as considerations of space prevented the quotations being given in full, we are reduced for purposes of criticism to thirty passages which Mr. Miller has selected as representative and given with a full statement of the Patristic evidence on either side in each case. But the followers of Drs. Westcott and Hort fail to be convinced by this part of the book, because the selected passages are with few exceptions representative of the traditional text only in so far as that text embodies a western element, and all critics are prepared to admit that the western text was habitually used by a majority of the Pre-Chrysostomic Fathers. There are probably not more than three passages in Mr. Miller's list which are 'distinctively Syrian' and it is noticeable that in these cases the Patristic evidence is markedly weak. For instance, in Mt. xxviii. 2 the traditional text as supported by the mass of late MSS. against \aleph BD latt Origen reads $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ after $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\acute{\omega}\lambda\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\iota\theta\omicron\nu$, but all the Patristic evidence which Mr. Miller can adduce in favour of this addition is that of Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa, with the support of the Gospel of Nicodemus, Acta Philippi, Apocryphal Acta Apostolorum, and perhaps Acta Pilati and the gospel of St. Peter.

Surely this is insufficient to set aside the probability that the later MSS. owe their reading to harmonizing with the parallel passage in St. Mark?

It is also noticeable that Mr. Miller seems to have taken a wide view of the extent of the field in which it is possible to find Patristic evidence for the text of the canonical gospels, and is also somewhat prone to set down passages as quotations from one source which might be referred equally well to another. For instance, it is doubtful, at least, whether it is legitimate to quote the gospel of St. Peter and the other extra-canonical writings mentioned above as evidence for the text of St. Matthew, although we may recognize the testimony so far as it concerns the historicity of the events narrated.

And it is scarcely wise to quote as authorities for one canonical gospel rather

than another, or perhaps for any canonical gospel at all, books like the $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta$ of which it is impossible at present to say with certainty from what source they are quoting.

It is also probably true that Mr. Miller has occasionally allowed himself to forget that the text of his authorities themselves is often corrupt. For he quotes the epistle of St. Barnabas in support of the addition $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\lambda\alpha\nu$ in Mt. ix. 13 though this is not found in either Lightfoot's or Gebhardt and Harnack's editions of St. Barnabas, but only in Migne and other unrevised texts. This is perhaps due to the fact that textual criticisms of the New Testament and of the Fathers are so closely connected that the view taken of one must influence the opinion formed of the other. Similarly the other tendencies noted in Mr. Miller's treatment of Patristic evidence are probably due to an ultraconservative position with regard to the synoptic and kindred questions. Although the higher criticism of documents postulates a fairly correct text, yet inasmuch as the higher criticism is logically anterior to textual criticism, it necessarily follows that the results of the two react on each other. Mr. Miller reduces written documents preceding the canonical gospels, if one may judge from the remarks he has let fall in this book, to the smallest possible number and significance. Most other critics are inclined to believe that the first and second century church possessed documents not now extant which perhaps formed the basis of the canonical gospels. The result is that they are inclined to class some of the curious phenomena of the earliest Patristic quotations as bearing on the problems of higher criticism, while Mr. Miller presses them into the service of the textualist.

In view of these facts we cannot accept Mr. Miller's statement that judging from Patristic evidence the traditional text was predominant in Pre-Chrysostomic times, and it is somewhat strange to read 'Let any one who disputes this conclusion make out for the western text...a case which can equal that which has now been placed before the reader' seeing that it is the western text and no other which Mr. Miller's evidence supports.

After dealing with the evidence of the Fathers Mr. Miller proceeds to discuss the Syriac and Latin versions. It is perhaps unnecessary to say more of his treatment of the former than that he still maintains the position which is taken up in his edition of Scrivener's Introduction. That is, he considers the Peshitto to be the oldest

version in Syriac and regards the Curetonian and Sinaitic as corruptions of it. Such a view can be dealt with at first hand only by Syriac scholars, but the evidence of experts seems to be against Mr. Miller.

The treatment of the Latin versions is more important. Mr. Miller sets forth a most interesting analysis of the testimony of the various codices, both as regards readings and renderings, in order to show that there are many Latin versions and not one only. There is considerable weight in his argument: multiplicity of rendering *primâ facie* suggests multiplicity of versions, but on the other hand he has perhaps not allowed sufficiently for the effect of mixture and for the probability that scribes who knew Greek would be apt to emend the rendering of difficult places. Possibly Mr. Miller has not done more than emphasize the distinction between the African and European Latin, using the words in a textual and not necessarily geographical sense.

Mr. Miller goes on to elaborate a theory:—The 'Itala' of Augustine was the oldest and best version, the other versions were those used in the less cultured and critical parts of the empire, and judging the Itala from St. Augustine's use of it, it supported the traditional text rather than the Neologian. The last part of the argument is indisputable, but a flood of light has been thrown on the first clauses by Mr. Burkitt's monograph on 'The Itala and old Latin' which shows reason for believing that the 'Itala' of Augustine is the Vulgate. Nothing could be more damaging to Mr. Miller's position. His argument in reply to those who say that the traditional text is a recension has always been that there is no proof of it. Yet in the present case we find him selecting the Itala as the oldest Latin version and pointing to it as supporting the traditional text, whereas, if Mr. Burkitt be right, the Itala is after all a recension, the date and authorship of which is well known. This is of course not demonstrative proof against Mr. Miller's position, but it is certainly damaging.

Mr. Miller sets forth a complete theory of the history of the text in opposition to the well known one of Westcott and Hort, which must be noticed. He admits a certain type of Alexandrian corruption and another of Syrio-Low-Latin and considers that these together with the traditional text were worked over by Origen and his school at

Caesarea, with the result that they produced the type of text preserved in \mathfrak{NB} .

Mr. Miller supports this theory by an attempt to show, (1) that \mathfrak{NB} are connected with the Library at Caesarea, (2) that a sceptical spirit can be traced in \mathfrak{NB} . As to (1). It is scarcely proved that \mathfrak{NB} come from Caesarea, but reason is certainly shown for believing that Origen and Pamphilus used MSS. of a similar character. This is deducible from the colophon in \mathfrak{N} at the end of the book of Esther to the effect that the MS. was compared with a copy corrected by Pamphilus and found similar to it. But it must be remembered that this only shows that Pamphilus and Origen used MSS. of this type not that they manufactured them, and that it is universally acknowledged that \mathfrak{N} has a composite text, consisting of Western and Alexandrian as well as 'Neutral' elements. So then, all that follows from Mr. Miller's argument is that if we grant its conclusiveness we have in the critical school of Caesarea an historic cause for the compositeness of the text of \mathfrak{N} . It still remains for him to show that the non-Western, non-Alexandrian, non-Neutral part of the traditional text was one of the elements thus compounded.

(2) Mr. Miller's second point cannot be received favourably. It introduces some of the most difficult points of dogma into a purely critical question, and to say that 'omission is in itself sceptical,' which is the logical basis of this section, is as much a begging of the question as it would be to say that doctrinal additions are signs of little faith in the sufficiency of Scripture.

Mr. Miller promises us another volume dealing with 'causes of corruption.' This is sure to be an interesting book, but is it vain to hope that Mr. Miller will some-day publish the exact text which he considers 'Traditional'? At present clear criticism is difficult because we do not know accurately what is the text which Mr. Miller supports. Judging from some of the samples, one is almost inclined to think that the 'Traditional' text may prove to be a modified Western text, and this of course would raise the difficult question of why the Western text is to be regarded as a corruption, seeing that it can be traced back in the earliest quotations which we possess.

K. LAKE.

VAN CLEEF'S INDEX TO ANTIPHON.

Index Antiphonticus, composuit FRANK LOUIS VAN CLEEF, PH.D. Published for Cornell University. Boston, U.S.A., 1895. Pp. vi. + 173.

THIS excellent volume is No. V. of the Cornell Studies in Classical Philology. It is not, in the strict sense, a lexicon, for, except in rare cases, it contains no definitions. To take the place of these, each word is cited with its context, as in Dobson's edition of the *Oratores Attici* (London, 1828, I. pp. 151-178), so that the syntactic relation of every word is shown at a glance. The omission of unimportant words in the context is indicated by asterisks, or, when more than five consecutive words are omitted, by lines. The citations are given with unusual care, but it may be pointed out that ἀγανακτεῖν in iv. β 1 (*vid. s. h. v.*) does not depend on ἤθελον, as one might at first sight suppose from Dr. Van Cleef's citation, but on δοκῶ, and further, it represents a potential optative, so that ἄν should have been quoted with it. It is correctly given under ἄν, at page 10. Again, it is not quite accurate to enter ἄν πράξειν under ἄν iii. B (p. 10), where cases of ἄν with the infinitive representing an optative are recorded.

The forms of words and the parts of verbs are entered in their order as usually observed in grammars and dictionaries, but we note that ἀπείρημαι and προείρημαι form lemmas by themselves, and are not referred to under ἀπαγορεύω and προαγορεύω, although ἀπῆλθεν, εἰσῆλθεν, and ὑπῆλθεν are found under ἀπέρχομαι, εἰσέρχομαι, and ὑπέρχομαι respectively, forms which do not occur. There is also some inconsistency in making a lemma of διόμνυμαι, not διόμνυμι (which does not occur), whereas τέθνηκα is entered under θνήσκω, a form which is of course always replaced by ἀποθνήσκω.

A few definitions are given wherever it is necessary to distinguish different senses in which a word is used, as, for example, under ἀνήρ, βουλεύω, εἰκός, μῆν. At the end of each article a figure in parenthesis indicates the number of times the word in question occurs in Antiphon. A few corrections of these

figures are found in the *Addenda*, which is creditably small. Another great convenience in the study of the orator's vocabulary is the statement, under each simple verb, of the compound forms in which it occurs.

The compiler has adhered so closely to the text of Blass's second edition (Teubner, 1881), that MS. variants and editorial conjectures have perhaps not been recorded as completely and consistently as one might wish. In the case of ἦδρον, μεσεγγυάω, οἰκτεῖρω, Μυτιληναῖος, we have, to be sure, notices of the MSS. spelling εἶδρον, μετεγγυάω, οἰκτεῖρω, Μυτιλήνη, etc., but under μιμνήσκω and ἀναμνήσκω, Ἡρώδης, and σφάζω, no notice of the fact that the codices consistently omit iota subscript. Under σφάττω, Jernstedt's contention that σφάζω is the only possible form in the first five orations is disregarded. There should also be noticed, under Ἄμυνίαις, Jernstedt's proposal of Ἄμεινίαις; and under Διπόλεια, Scheibe's emendation, of ἐν Διπολείοις for ἐν τῇ πόλει (vi. 39), based on Harpocration.

Some misprints must inevitably occur in a work involving such labour. A few are here noted: for Ἄμπέλινος (lemma), read Ἄμπελίνος; s. βιάζομαι, for βιαζόμενος read βιαζόμενος; for ἀναβοέω (lemma), read ἀναβοούω; s. ἀποκρίνομαι, for ἀποκρμένον read ἀποκρνομένου; for εἰκάζω (lemma), read εἰκάζω; s. ἐρωτάω, for ἐρωτώντων read ἐρωτώντων; s. ἰδοῦ, read ἰδοῦ (*bis*); s. κόσμος, for ἐπέλιτε, read ἐπέλιτε; s. ἀλιτήριος (*sic*), read ἀλιτήριος throughout the article; s. ὁμορόφιος, read ὁμωρόφιος (*bis*); s. σχετλιάζω, correct σκετλιάζει. A few other errors in accents and breathings occur.

Praise is due to the work for its thoroughness, clearness, and neatness of arrangement. The author purposes to issue similar indices which, in the case of the orators especially, will doubtless be of great service. There are good indices to the complete orators in Baiter and Sauppe's and in C. Müller's editions, but these contain chiefly only the proper names, of which there are hardly above fifty in Antiphon. No index we know of is as complete and serviceable as the present one.

CHARLES BURTON GULICK.

RIBBECK'S VIRGIL.

P. Vergili Maronis opera apparatus critico in artius contracto iterum recensuit OTTO RIBBECK. (Teubner.) 1894—1895. 8vo. Pp. 941. M. 22 40.

THE first edition of Ribbeck's *Virgil* was published between the years 1854 and 1860, at a momentous period in the history of Latin scholarship. Ritschl's *Plautus* and Lachmann's *Lucretius* preceded it by a little, Mommsen's *History of Rome* was its contemporary, Madvig's *Livy* followed soon after, his *De Finibus* had appeared a little before it. It was an age of new things in learning as in politics and the revolutions of February and March were not more sweeping than the changes wrought by these scholars. To Ribbeck, in particular, we owe an entirely new, an infinitely more accurate presentation of Virgil's poems. There were *fortes ante Agamemnona*, Heinsius, Heyne, Wagner, and others, but the text of Virgil before 1854 was in a condition which now perhaps is hardly appreciated. Traces of it may be detected in the first volume of Conington's commentary, issued in 1858 and compiled to some extent under the influence of the older views—*e.g.* that MSS. should be counted, not classified—but most of our modern editions are based upon Ribbeck's work and seldom even allude to the unliterary and sometimes even illiterate copies of Virgil which passed muster before 1850. Ribbeck unfortunately was not content with his own work. When he had laid the foundations for the textual criticism of Virgil and had made it possible for the world to read and enjoy something

like the real Virgil, he went on to spoil the result by theories and conjectures which seriously detracted from the worth of his text, and at the present day his name is connected by most people with a number of bad emendations rather than with a gigantic improvement in the text of Virgil. Such then was Ribbeck's first great edition: now it has done a large part of its work and has indeed been long out of print. The new edition is suited to the new state of things. The first edition, with its copious critical commentary and its elaborate Prolegomena, was suited to inaugurate the new era: the book before me has no Prolegomena nor even a list of manuscripts, and its critical commentary has been pruned of everything not absolutely necessary to fix the text of the poet. What is given, is of course brought up to date. The Medicean codex is quoted from the collation of Hoffmann: such new readings or 'testimonia' as have been discovered since 1860 and are worth quoting are quoted, and many similar improvements have been made. The text is also altered, I think, for the better. Many doubtful conjectures have disappeared, though there still remain many to which a conservative and cautious critic must object. The doctrines of strophes in the Eclogues and of transpositions in the poems generally are also still adhered to, but the latter is applied more sparingly. The total result is a very valuable book, a text which is certainly improved, and a critical commentary which is full, concise, and accurate, and which is also improved.

F. HAVERFIELD.

THE BATTLES OF THE TREBIA AND LAKE TRASIMENE.—A REPLY TO MR. GRUNDY.

MR. GRUNDY, whose careful study of several of the principal Greek and Roman battle-fields lends weight to his criticism, has attacked the view we have taken of these two battles, and especially of the battle on the Trebia. It is not our intention to offer a detailed defence. The question has been too often thrashed out already. But Mr. Grundy has charged us with displaying a fine independence and assuming a disrespectful attitude to the

ancient authorities. We are accused of an unjustifiable assault on two respectable historians, and the sin apparently is not only flagrant, but original. Yet if we sin we sin in good company.

With regard to the Trebia, Professor Mommsen in his latest and definitive edition (*English Trans.* vol. ii. p. 272 note) considers the view assailed by Mr. Grundy, 'indisputable' and declares that 'the erroneousness of the view of Livy,' which Mr. Grundy

follows, 'has lately been repeatedly pointed out.' Dr. Neumann in his full and competent history of the Punic wars, deliberately rejects the view supported by Mr. Grundy though in some respects modifying the account given by Mommsen. Mr. W. T. Arnold, who would naturally maintain his grandfather's version, can only quote Ihne in support, and admits that Mommsen's is the 'current view.' He shows that there are difficulties in either theory, and that phrases like Mommsen's 'indisputable' (or Mr. Grundy's 'quite clear') are out of place. As he justly says, 'Polybius omits the essential point' and 'we are left to study the map and to weigh all the circumstances before we can come to a *probable* conclusion.' What need to pile up more names?

The reader of Mr. Grundy's article would scarcely believe that we have nowhere expressed a *decided opinion*. No doubt there can be found an implied preference for the current view, as agreeing better with our conception of the strategy of the whole campaign, but after a careful study at first hand both of the ancient authorities and of the best modern criticisms, we determined to record the two versions without concealing the difficulties of either alternative (cf. p. 185).

We still hold that, in view of the careless topography of the ancients, and of the inevitable inaccuracy of all, even the most recent, military history, such problems must remain insoluble. But we are obliged to Mr. Grundy for a useful correction. He has pointed out an error in the description of Scipio's second position due to the loose use of a military term.

With regard to the Trasimene we are too

much in agreement to dispute about details: in the one point at issue we again follow excellent authority, nor are we at all sure that Mr. Grundy's innovation is made convincing by his arguments. The questions raised by our critic can of course be adequately dealt with only by a trained scholar who is also an experienced soldier. Mr. Grundy by his local investigations has done good service to Roman history. His valuable study on the topography of the Trebia (*Journal of Philology*, vol. 24) may possibly turn the balance of probability, in a case where certainty is not attainable. Of his criticism we have only this complaint to make: he has, we think, exaggerated the extent of our departure from the ancient authorities, whose unanimity he has unduly emphasised, and apparently he has not fully considered those contradictions and deficiencies in the sources of ancient history which have led modern critics to reconstructions compared with which Mommsen's treatment of the Trebia is conservative. Thus he makes our agreement about this battle with the ablest modern historians a ground for charging us substantially with an attitude of wilful innovation, and an unsound critical method. For this the only proof given is our treatment of two minor points of military detail, disputable in themselves, and still a matter of controversy between experts.

In conclusion we have to thank Mr. Grundy heartily for his generous praise of our work as a whole, and our treatment of the remainder of the Hannibalic war in particular.

W. W. HOW.

H. D. LEIGH.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

DITTENBERGER AND PURGOLD'S *OLYMPIA*.

Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung. Textband V.: *Die Inschriften*, bearbeitet von W. DITTENBERGER and K. PURGOLD. Berlin 1896. 50 M.

THE monumental record of the excavations undertaken by the German Government at Olympia is gradually approaching completion. The present year has also seen the

publication of the second volume, containing an account of the architectural remains; and now all that remains to be published is vol. i., containing a general history of Olympia and the fate of the monuments, and a detailed account of the excavations, and vol. iii., part 2, completing the description of the sculpture and terra-cottas.

A work of this kind seems to be almost beyond criticism, in view of the fact that no expense is spared in its production and that the services of the most eminent scholars in each branch of the subject have been en-

listed, and it is no exaggeration to say that in the volume under consideration the high standard of Professor Treu's work on the sculpture, of Professor Furtwängler's on the bronzes, and of Dr. Dörpfeld and his coadjutors on the architecture, has been fully maintained. In some respects this must necessarily be the least attractive volume of the series, and it is of course essentially a book for the scholar rather than the ordinary reader; but at the same time no series of inscriptions from any Greek site can have a wider or more varied interest, both historical and artistic, than those of Olympia. For among them are to be found not only documents of great historical interest, but many signatures of artists known and unknown, and many which either refer to works of art still existing or excavated on the site, or help to throw light on the statements of Pausanias and other classical writers. And we must not lose sight of the fact that in many cases palaeographical evidence of great value is to be obtained from them, the number of archaic inscriptions in various dialects found at Olympia having been remarkably large.

This volume contains about 950 inscriptions, including not only those found during the actual progress of the excavations, but many that had been found by travellers in past years or had otherwise come accidentally to light, such as the two bronze dedicatory helmets in the British Museum or the bronze tablet with the treaty between the Elaeans and the Heraeans, all of which have been for many years in that institution.

Nos. 1-57 include all the documents of a political nature, 1-43 those inscribed on bronze tablets, 44-57 those on stone; 58-141 give lists of religious officials, and 142-243 inscriptions relating to victors in the games. Next come the dedicatory inscriptions, 244-292, and these are followed by a long list of inscriptions on honorary monuments, 293-609; most of these date from Roman times. The next section contains the inscriptions from the exedra of Herodes Atticus; these are followed by one of the most interesting sections of all, the artists' signatures (629-648). The remainder is occupied with architectural inscriptions (649-691), explanatory inscriptions (692-810), *i.e.* such as have reference to the nature of the object inscribed or the purpose to which it was put, as for instance the stone thrown by Bybon (No. 717); and finally we have two sepulchral inscriptions, 811, 812, and a series of fragments of doubtful significance, 813-912. To this list of Greek

inscriptions is added a small number in Latin, 913-929, and the total of 950 is made up by 31 additional inscriptions included in a 'Nachtrag.' Yet another 'Nachtrag' deals with a series of Greek weights classified in groups.

Among all these inscriptions there are probably very few that are now published for the first time, for not only were the greater number published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* during the course of the excavations, but many had either been previously discovered and published, or have had attention called to them since the excavations owing to their palaeographical or historical importance. At the same time we do not wish to imply that these facts in any way lessen the value of the work under consideration; we are rather the more grateful that the results of all previous work on these inscriptions are now rendered easily accessible by the labours of Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold. The advantage of this is obvious when we see to what extent the bibliography of such inscriptions as Nos. 9, 249, 250, 252, 259, has reached. And in addition we have in not a few cases further light thrown on their interpretation or new and important readings suggested. To take one instance, the reading of the British Museum bronze tablet (No. 9) may now be regarded as finally settled, and the most satisfactory interpretation adopted; hitherto the opinion on most of the doubtful points had been fairly divided.

Another case in which a reading appears to have been finally adopted is the Bybon inscription (No. 717), although the rendering *ὑπερεβάλετο ὁ Φόλα* appears to us to be still open to criticism. The name Pholas is not otherwise known, but that of course is not in itself an insuperable objection. It is certainly a more satisfactory reading than the old *τὸ οὐφόρα* (= ὁ ἐφόρα) which seems to us clumsy and forced. We are rather disposed to suggest *τὸ ὁ φόρει*, 'that which he carried,' which appears to be admitted by the traces of the letters on the stone, but the facsimile does not allow of obtaining absolute certainty on this point. The new reading *ὑπερκεφάλῃ μ' ὑπερεβ.* is certainly ingenious, if somewhat bold. The authors are strongly in favour of the Elean origin of this inscription.

Many ingenious restorations of names have been made by the help of Pausanias, as for instance No. 267, where the remaining letters of the dedicator's name...*μιος Φοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ*, suggested a reference to Paus. v. 26: *τὸν γὰρ δὴ Μίκυθον...οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν...*

καὶ Ἑλληνίδας αὐτῷ πόλεις Ἑγγίον τε καὶ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν· οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέᾳ φησὶν αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.; and the name can now be with certainty restored Μίκυθος ὁ Χοῖρου Πηγῆνος καὶ Μεσσήνιος, κ.τ.λ. Instances might no doubt be multiplied.

Among the inscriptions of special historical interest to which we may call attention are: No. 47, p. 94, a considerable part of which is now published for the first time. It contains a decision of the people of Megalopolis and Sparta about some territory on the upper Eurotas, which, originally Arcadian, had been held by the Spartans for a long time, till Philip the son of Amyntas recovered it in the fourth century B.C. No. 52, p. 103, entitled Κρίσις περὶ χώρας Μεσσηνίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, is of similar purport, but here the Milesians are the arbitrators. Here again is a question of land taken from the Spartans by Philip and restored to Messene. The circumstances are recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 43). No. 54, p. 111, gives a decree of the Eleans in favour of honouring the pancratiast Ti. Claudius Rufus of Smyrna. The date is about A. D. 120. It is a noticeable fact that though an athlete of considerable reputation he had not in this particular instance gained a victory.

More interesting however and more palaeographically important are the inscriptions relating to victors in the games. No. 153 is a well-known instance, referring to an athlete whose name is lost, but who must have been very successful, as he won three times at Olympia in the pankration, three times at Delphi, seven at the Isthmus, and seven at Nemea in boxing. It was naturally supposed that Pausanias would have made reference to so distinguished an athlete, and he does in fact mention two who answer to this description. Treu referred it to Theagenes of Thasos (Paus. vi., 11, 2), but Foucart has shown that there are insuperable objections to him, not the least that the alphabet of the inscription is not Thasian, and points with greater probability to Dorieus of Rhodes (Paus. vi. 7, 4). The dates of his Olympian victories were B.C. 432, 428, 424. In the discussion of the Euthymos inscription (No. 144) we regret to see no notice taken of Dr. Waldstein's interesting papers in the *Hellenic Journal* (i. p. 168; ii. p. 332), in which he ingeniously traces a connection between the Choiseul-Gouffier 'Apollo' (or pugilist) in the British Museum and this statue of the boxer Euthymos by Pythagoras of Rhegion.

In No. 250, the bronze helmet dedicated

by the Argives in the British Museum, the third letter is certainly not Φ, but the curve of the D has been continued beyond the vertical stroke so as nearly to form a complete circle; to represent this by a Φ is misleading, though it is true that the inscription is not meant to be given in facsimile. But the Δ of Διφι and the P of Κορινθόθεν are correctly reproduced.

No. 259 is one of the most important and interesting inscriptions found at Olympia. As is well known, it is on the triangular base which once supported the Nike of Paionios, and now remains *in situ* near the temple of Zeus. The much disputed words ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων are discussed at great length by the authors, who give an unhesitating opinion that they refer to a general offering for victories over all their enemies, not only of the Messenians who had settled in Naupaktos (Μεσσηνίων οἱ Ναύπακτόν ποτε λαβόντες, Paus. v. 26, 1) but of the two peoples in common, Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι. It is clear then that the words refer to no special victory. According to this view, which was first advanced by Schubart, the Nike was erected just after the Peace of Nikias. The authors are certainly right in referring τὰ κρωτήρια in the second inscription to the architectural ornaments on the top of the pediment, and not to the pedimental sculptures. They prefer however to leave it an open question whether Pausanias misunderstood the inscription, or was right in attributing to Paionios the sculptures of the East pediment. The well-known Praxiteles inscription (266) has been somewhat unfortunately separated from the two others (630 and 631) which have been proved by Prof. Furtwängler to belong to it; it would have been much better for purposes of reference to have kept them together, though it would of course have violated the system of classification observed by the authors (*v. supra*).

The volume is on the whole beautifully printed and the fac-similes both good and useful, but we may perhaps be permitted to enter a protest against the long *s*'s, the use of which is much to be deprecated as imparting an unnecessary appearance of archaism to the book, besides the worrying effect that it has on the reader. Another point to which reference must be made is that the manner in which the condition of the stone is reproduced by shading in many of the fac-similes, gives them an almost grotesque appearance; some indeed might be taken for magnified portions of the moon's surface or plans of glaciers in an

Alpine hand-book (see especially No. 147-148), while No. 637 suggests more than anything else a procession of letters traversing an arctic ice-floe!

But it is ungrateful to carp at slight defects of this kind, and they may well be ignored in view of the sound scholarship and careful workmanship which have made this volume by no means the least valuable of the great series of publications on Olympia. We beg to offer our heartiest congratulations to the authors and to the German Government, for bringing the great work in so worthy a manner one step nearer its completion.

H. B. WALTERS.

GARDNER'S *HANDBOOK OF GREEK SCULPTURE.*

A Handbook of Greek Sculpture. By E. A. GARDNER. Part I. 5s.

THE chief difficulty of writing a small handbook of the history of Greek sculpture is of course that of selecting from the ever-growing mass of material monuments and too often immaterial theories. It may be said at the outset that Prof. Ernest Gardner, in the first volume of his new manual, has come very near to perfection in this matter. The little book, which covers practically the same period as Collignon's first volume, contains a surprising amount of information, presented with lucidity and in the good English which has up till now been conspicuously absent in books of the sort. Of that information there is but little that can be dispensed with by those who wish for a good outline of the development of sculpture up to the time of Pheidias. An author's temptation to give his pet theories or subjects an unduly prominent place must be great; but, while those acquainted with Mr. Gardner's previous writings will occasionally recognise an old friend, they will find him as a rule relegated to a modest position. The technical processes of sculpture in marble rightly occupy a prominent position in the introduction; but the author's theories as to the relation of Pheidias to Hegias, and as to the statement of Pliny that Myron was *numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior*, which were stated in the *Classical Review* for 1894 (pp. 69, 70), appear in small type. The only instance in which he can with any ground be accused of erring in this respect

is his description of the paintings of Panaenus at Olympia, which might conceivably have been omitted in a work on sculpture where space is limited. The selection of illustrations is on the whole extremely judicious. An elementary handbook should of course contain illustrations of all the most important monuments, whether otherwise easily accessible or not. Each reader will wish, according to his taste, that this or that had been included; but there will surely be few who will not miss the lions from the gate at Mycenae, the Heracles from the Aegina pediment, the Tübingen hoplitodromos, the relief of the athlete carrying a discus, and the head and shoulders of Athena from the early Athenian pediment. One of these might have replaced the statue from Eleutherna; but to tell the truth there is hardly anything else that one would wish to forego. A word should be said in praise of the execution of the illustrations, which, though they are ordinary process-blocks, are as a rule eminently satisfactory. To this rule the few coins and gems illustrated form an almost inevitable exception.

So much for the method. To come to the matter of the book, all praise must be given to the introduction, especially as far as it relates to the technique of sculpture. There is no similar treatment of this subject in any other English work. The question of the colouring of marble statues is excellently treated. That in the case of the nude parts the colouring was driven into the stone by heat, so as not to form an opaque coat and obscure the transparency of the stone, is certain. But if so driven in, one would expect it to be more permanent than when merely laid on the surface. Mr. Gardner does not mention the fact that it is rarer to find colouring on these nude parts than on the hair, dress, &c. The tints used for flesh were of course subtler, and therefore more liable to disappear; but the chief reason is that the nude parts were more highly polished, and the rougher surfaces retained the colour more easily. This high polish also explains the good preservation of the nude as compared with the other surfaces. As the former were not covered with a coat of paint, the colouring can hardly have acted as a protection, although their better preservation has by some been attributed to such a cause.

Space forbids more than the mere mention of a few of the points which suggest themselves in the body of the work. In

connection with his remarks on p. 55, Mr. Gardner will be glad to know that a heraldic scheme of two lions with a column between them, closely resembling the scheme of the Mycenae gate, occurs on an electrum stater, almost certainly of Lydian origin and of the seventh century B.C. The coin is now in the National Collection. The statement (p. 98) that Dipoenus and Seyllis made a life-size statue of *emerald*—surely a precious work!—should be revised. The λίθος σμάραγδος in question must be some kind of green stone—other than emerald. On p. 111 the combination of profile with front- (or rather under-) face treatment in the so-called ‘Harpies’ of the Xanthian tomb should have been noticed, as a similar combination is noticed in the case of the Selinus metopes. It is hardly fanciful to suppose with Collignon that the curious spreading of the dress at the feet of the statue dedicated by Cheramyces to Hera (p. 113) is a reminiscence of the spreading of the roots of a tree. This is a small enough point, but would, if noted, have served to fix in the student’s memory the origin of such cylindrical forms from tree-worship. The discussion of the Aegina pediments is excellent; but the effect on the character of the figures of the fact that the Aeginetans were mainly workers in bronze is not sufficiently emphasized. The Tübingen hoplitodromos is not mentioned among the works of the Aeginetan school; but, as already indicated, it is surely important enough to demand illustration. The explanation of the column under the right hand of the Athena Parthenos as represented in the Varvakeion statuette (p. 256), viz. that it is not original, but was placed there as a result of a break-down in the internal balance of weight, is plausible; but still so early a reproduction as that on the fourth-century coin of Nagidus (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, Pl. Y xxii) shows a tree supporting the hand. The suggested break-down must therefore have occurred very early, since in a relief there was no necessity to introduce such a support.

The second volume will bring the history down to the period of Graeco-Roman sculpture. If it is as sound in method and as well written as the first, the manual will easily supersede all other elementary English books on the subject. Messrs. Macmillan could hardly have made a better start with their new series of Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities.

G. F. HILL.

KNOKE ON ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

- Die römischen Moorbrücken in Deutschland*, von PROF. DR. F. KNOKE. (Berlin: Gärtner.) Pp. 136, 8vo. M. 5.
Das Varuslager im Habichtswalde, von PROF. DR. F. KNOKE. (Berlin: Gärtner.) Pp. 20, Imp. 8vo. M. 4.

MR. KNOKE, headmaster of a school at Osnabrück, is well-known as an enthusiastic student of the Roman antiquities of his neighbourhood. In his *Kriegszüge des Germanicus* he essayed the difficult task of tracing the routes followed by Germanicus in his two German campaigns as described by Tacitus in the *Annals*. The two pamphlets before me deal with similar but smaller problems. In the first, Dr. Knoke discusses the *pontes longi* crossed by Caecina (*Ann.* i. 63): he collects instances of ancient wooden causeways which have been discovered in the great mosses of north-western Germany and identifies the *pontes longi* with one of these causeways, which crossed the ‘Great Moss’ near Diepholz, a little north of Osnabrück and a little north also of Barenau, where Mommsen puts the scene of the defeat of Varus. In the second pamphlet, he argues that he has discovered the last camp of the Varian army in a wood between Osnabrück and Münster. I do not think that either conclusion can be accepted as proven. The north-west of Germany contains a great many ancient roads and its mosses have yielded many traces of *pontes longi*. Dr. Knoke’s enumeration of these causeways is a valuable piece of local research and his illustrations are very interesting, but we have at present no reason for considering them to be Roman, nor does Dr. Knoke in reality advance any such reason: there is, in fact, nothing about them to indicate any special date or origin. The vague pictorial language of Tacitus certainly does not seem to me to prove that the causeways near Diepholz must lie on the line of Caecina’s march. I have the same objections to bring against Dr. Knoke’s location of the ‘Varuslager.’ He has found a large earthwork, one or two details of which bear a certain resemblance to Roman work; but no single Roman object has been found on the site, and the general shape of the earthwork is not in the least like that of an ordinary Roman encampment. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that the ease for the earthwork is not only not proven, but that the balance of evidence adduced by Dr. Knoke is

against it. The whole problem of the topography of the routes of Varus and Germanicus is one of singular difficulty, owing to the lack of trustworthy evidence. What is wanted at present is not theory, but the collection of facts. Here, as elsewhere, Mommsen has shown the way by basing his account of the defeat of Varus on actual finds of coins made at Barenau. In the preface to his paper on the problem, he appeals to local archaeologists to collect more facts and especially to pay attention to finds of coins. Unfortunately the local archaeologists have not to any great extent responded to the appeal. The evidence of ancient roads put together by Dr. Dünzelmann (*C.R.* vii. 424), Dr. Knoke and others, is a step in the right direction, but it must be followed by many other steps before definite results can be attained. The mere fact that an old road crosses a moss which the Romans *may* have crossed or that an earthwork (with no specially Roman characteristics) exists on a spot where the Romans *may* once have been encamped, does not prove that the road or the earthwork are inevitably Roman, and, to speak plainly, it ought not to be necessary to say this.

F. H.

GUIDE TO SPALATO AND SALONA.

Guida di Spalato e Salona, dai PROF. DR. L. JELIĆ, MONS. DIR. FR. BULIĆ, e PROF. S. RUTAR. Svo. pp. vii. and 280, with 4 Maps and 21 Illustrations. Zara, 1894. 7 M.

CROATIAN archaeologists labour under the disadvantage of having to appeal to the world at large in either German or Italian, preferably the latter. Consequently little is heard of their achievements except indirectly through such works as Mr. Jackson's *Dalmatia*. Even the first Congress of Christian Archaeologists held at Spalato in 1894 failed to attract attention, as it should have done. This guide published in Croatian and translated into Italian is the best account yet given of what is to be seen at Spalato and of what is known about the neighbourhood. There the visitor can see monuments of successive periods, from the foundation of the Greek colonies in the sixth century B.C. down to the end of the Middle Ages. The Palace of Diocletian is known to the world, but the unique Baptistery and the wonderful Christian cemetery and Basilica at Salona have not yet received their due.

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These are all described with accurate brevity in the guide, and plans, up to date, are given which supersede anything hitherto published. An archaeological map of the neighbourhood shows the Greek, Roman and mediaeval sites round the Bay of Spalato. Illustrations of the chief buildings, some of which have already done duty in the volume on Dalmatia, in the late Crown Prince Rudolf's work, and phototypes of interesting objects are added.

The book is specially written for the use of archaeologists but contains a list of hotels, excursions, etc., which make it valuable even to the ordinary traveller.

It bears witness on every page to the indefatigable energy and enthusiasm of the editors, who have had to work with inadequate means and almost single-handed. It should be purchased by every archaeological society as an instance of what can be achieved by a few earnest men, who desire to make the past glories known to the world.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

GUIDE TO THE FORUM AT ROME.

Foro Romano (Escursioni Archéologiche in Roma, Parte 1), da ORAZIO MARUCCHI, with 1 Plan and 2 Illustrations. Svo. pp. 186. Rome, 1895.

SIGNOR MARUCCHI's lectures are well known to residents in Rome, and his present work is the beginning of a series of cheap hand-books based on them. Subsequent volumes will deal with the Palatine, the Catacombs and the Obelisks.

The volume on the Forum is a useful addition to the larger guide-books. It contains a useful account of the various theories of the topography and the slow steps by which the accepted identifications have been arrived at. Most of the authorities and many of the inscriptions are quoted at length, so that the book will be useful even to professed scholars.

Its shortcomings are to be found in the amazing inaccuracy of the Greek quotations, the frequency of repetitions and want of cross-references and finally the absence of an index.

It is well arranged for use on the spot and those who take it with them to the Forum will find that it will aid much in the understanding of points omitted by the guide-books. Such was our experience.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

F F

GUIDE TO THE COLLECTION OF
VASES AT MUNICH.

Führer durch die Vasen-sammlung König Ludwigs I. in der alten Pinakothek zu München, von A. FURTWÄNGLER. 12mo. pp. 52. Leipzig, 1896. 50 Pf.

PROFESSOR FURTWÄNGLER has begun his work at Munich by re-arranging the collection of vases. As all who have worked in the collection know, they were formerly arranged purely for decorative effect. Some stood on high pedestals, others on marble tables, fenced off by wire netting, with the

result that some were almost invisible and could only be seen when the porter had pushed a walking-stick through the grating and pulled them forwards. Now all is changed and the vases stand in their chronological order. The new guide gives a short sketch of the history of vase-painting and brief notices of the more important vases. It is intended for popular use, but will interest such students as are waiting for the detailed catalogue which the Professor has in hand. Jahn's old catalogue may still be used, as his numbers are given in the guide.

W. C. F. ANDERSON.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Hermathena. No. 22. 1896.

A Stele from Aswan in the British Museum, J. P. Mahaffy. The full text as far as it can be deciphered of this cippus found in 1886 and now in the Brit. Mus., given with explanations. The date is 115 B.C. *De Variis Formis Evangelii Lucani*, F. Blass. Continued from the previous vol. Maintains, as far as St. Luke is concerned, 'esse codicem D recensionis cujusdam peculiaris testem in multis satis sincerum, sinceriorem certe quam ullus est inter italiae codices, in quibus saepe ejusdem recensionis lectiones inveniuntur.' *Notes on Propertius*, J. B. Bury. A few critical notes. *The Epistle to Diognetus and its Possible Authorship*, J. Quarry. It is certain that Justin Martyr was not the author. Lightfoot conjectured Pantaenus. It is here suggested that it was Hippolytus, chiefly from a comparison with the *Philosophumena*. *Nugae Procopianae*, J. B. Bury. Some notes on Book i. of the Gothic War with reference to Comparettis' new edition. *Sophoclea*, R. Y. Tyrrell. Some critical notes on all the plays, among which we may mention *Tr.* 145 where Prof. Tyrrell would read *χάρις ἴν' οὐ τήκει νιν οὐ θάλλος θεοῦ*, and in *Aj.* 869 rather boldly *κοῦτις ἐπίσταται μέτρα ματῶν νόπος* making a dochmiac of what is now a senarius. He also supports Hermann's conjecture *πέρυξ* 'a sacrificial knife,' for *πέριξ* in *Antig.* 1301. *Marcus Brutus as Caesarian*, L. C. Purser. Accounts thus for B. joining the conspiracy. 'Sympathy with republican sympathies where his own interest was not concerned, having these sympathies quickened by Porcia, stimulated by Cassius, and excited by various anonymous appeals that he should, like his ancestors, save his country, the stiff and ungracious student who was educated beyond his powers in all sorts of fantastic Greek notions about the virtue of tyrannicides, was driven into the position of nominal leader of the plot.' *Notes on Longinus περὶ ὑψους*, R. Ellis. *The Royalty of Pergamum*, J. P. Mahaffy. From inscriptions found at Pergamum we conclude that Eumenes was a 'powerful benefactor standing outside the Constitution. The title of king was not assumed by the dynasty till Attalus I. had conquered the Galatians, but Eumenes already has a yearly feast in his honour, and sacrifices are on that day made to him as to a

hero.' Also the genuineness of the Will of Attalus III. is established, but it was deliberately misconstrued by the Romans. He bequeathed to them only his private goods. The city itself could not be included among these. *Four notes on Lucilius*, A. Palmer, also a Note on *Suet. Claud.* 8, in which he proposes *succi* for *socci*, which last is scarcely intelligible.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 153. Part 6. 1896.

Ueber den Zusammenhang der ältesten griechischen geschichtschreibung mit der epischen dichtung, J. M. Stahl. The connexion between historical writing and the Epic was severed in the writing of Thucydides. He should rather be called the father of history than Herodotus. *Nochmals Sophokles Electra 1005-1008*, J. Oeri. *Zur alexandrinischen litteraturgeschichte*, F. Susemihl. A criticism upon the view of Wilamowitz on the lives of Theocritus and Aratus. *Ursprung und anfänge des Kleomenischen Krieges*, R. Schubert. This was brought on by the growth of the Achaean league which threatened Sparta, and by the efforts of Cleomenes to make himself sole master of the Peloponnese. Cleomenes led the way to the annihilation of the Spartan state. *Ueber lateinische von verwandtschaftsbeziehungen herrührende praenomina*, A. Zimmermann. Examples are found in the names *Aulus*, *Opiter*, *Atta*, *Appius*, *Titus*, and *Annius*. *Zu Cicero De Legibus*, E. Hoffmann. *Zur handschriftlichen überlieferung der briefe Ciceros an Atticus*, L. Holzappel. Against O. E. Schmidt's view that these letters were originally separated into two equal parts. *Claudianea*, E. Arens. Some critical notes.

Part 7. *Zu Aischylos Agamemnon und Homeros*, Th. Plüss. An answer to Wilamowitz's criticism of the writer's edition of Enger's *Agamemnon*, *Zu Euripides Helene 1171-1176*, O. Hartlieb. *Sokrates und Xenophon*, K. Lincke. We must examine the composition of the first book of the *Memorabilia* to see which of the two conceptions of the teaching and person of Socrates deserves the preference, or whether they are consistent with one another. *Theokritos und die bukolische poesie*, R. Helm. A common-sense reply to Reitzensteins's theory that

the bucolic poetry of Theocritus is nothing but religious mysticism. If this were so Th. must be struck out of the list of poets who are not concerned with riddles. *Zeus Βάλλος*, O. Höfer. Identifies Zeus Βάλλος of an inscr. from Bithynia with Dionysos Βάλλιος. *Nachlese zur frage nach den quellen Ciceros in ersten buch der Tusculanen.* L. Reinhard. The writer attributes §§ 19-22 and § 41 to Dicaearchus, §§ 39-52 (except § 41) to Posidonius, §§ 73-81, ? and the rest to Cicero himself. *Zu Catullus*, *carm.* 36,

H. Blümner. Directed against the new hypothesis that by *pessimus poeta* Catullus means himself and not Volusius. In l. 9 *pessima* agrees with *scripta* understood, not with *puella* [see *Class. Rev.* ix. 305]. *Zu Tibullus.* Continued from the last vol. An investigation of the pseudo-Tibullian *panegyricus Messallae.* *Das schluchtfeld im Teutoburger walde.* A. Wilms. Objections to the alleged discovery of the site by Stoltzenberg-Luttmersen.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN BOOKS.

- Allcroft* (A. H.) *The making of Athens: History of Greece, 495-431 B.C.* Post 8vo. 222 pp. Clive. 4s. 6d.
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- Demosthenes, Select Private Orations, Part II.,* by J. E. Sandys and F. A. Paley, 3rd edition, revised. Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d.
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- Bibliotheca philologica.* 1895. General Index. 8vo. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and R. 1 M.
- 1896. Part I. 8vo. Same publishers. 1 M. 40.
- Caëtani-Loratelli* (Gräfin Dr. Ersilia) *Antike Denkmäler und Gebräuche. Aus dem Italienischen von Clara Schöner.* 8vo. 108 pp. Leipzig, Freund. 2 M.
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- Gerhard* (Ed.) Etruskische Spiegel. Vol. V. By A. Klugmann and G. Korte. Part 14. 4to. Pp. 173-180. 10 plates. Berlin, G. Reimer. 9 M.
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- Hesiodos, ins Deutsche übertragen, mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen von R. Peppmüller. 8vo. xi, 296 pp. 2 plates. Halle, Waisenhaus. 6 M.
- Homerus*. L' Iliade commentata da V. de Crescenzo. Libro I. 12mo. viii, 88 pp. Turin, Loescher. 1 lira 20.
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- Rossi (Jo.) De carminibus quae tertio Tibulli libro continentur. 8vo. 20 pp. Patavii.
- Urkunden (Aegyptische) aus den kgl. Museen zu Berlin, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung. Griechische Urkunden. Vol. II., parts 7 and 8. Royal 4to. Pp. 193-256. Berlin, Weidmann. Each part 2 Mk. 40.
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NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, ON THE MAGICAL PAPYRI.

Now, when, as it seems, the remnants of ancient superstition are, at last, about to be critically edited, I think it the right moment to contribute to their study a number of notes, which,—now for a considerable time,—have accumulated among my papers. The texts which I use are: (1) Parthey, *Zwei griech. Zauberpapyri*, Berl. Akad. Abh. 1865 (B. 1, B. 2); (2) Dieterich, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. xvi. (V); Abraxas, Leipzig 1891 (W); (3) Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpapyrus*, Wien. Denkschr. xxxvi.: *Neue griech. Zauberpapyrus*, *ibid.* xlii. (We. i. We. ii.).

V, i. 33. A certain number of birds shall be strangled μέχρις οὐ ἕκαστον τῶν ζώων ἀποπνιγῆ <καὶ τὸ ἀἶμα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀ<ὐ>τὸν ἔλθῃ>; thus Leemans and Dieterich, whose reference to We. i. Par 40 is useless, as there the cock is to be butchered. We must read: <καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα. For the sacrifice is offered to a wax doll representing Eros. To this the breath of the victims shall give life and breath. We must picture to ourselves the animals as strangled right before the face of the image (cp. 32, 33: ἀναπνίξεις ἅμα προσφέρων τῷ Ἐρωτι), so that their breath reaches it. Thus the last breath of a dying man was taken up by his next of kin with their mouths in order to continue the existence of his spirit; Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, i. 433; E. Rohde, *Psyche* 22, 1.

V, iii. 27 ff. might well be added to Mr. H. C. Trumbull's long list of threshold-sacrifices in his new book (*The Threshold-*

Covenant). But what is ὄν ὄρνιθος ἀρσενικοῦ? Certainly, no monstrous curiosity, but simply an egg which would hatch a male chicken (ὄρνις here used for fowl, as so often). It was a current belief among the ancients that long, pointed eggs contained male birds (Columella, viii. 5, 11; cp. Aristotle, π. ζω. γεν. iii. 27).

V, 4, 3. ὄνειρομ π...αι Pap. πέμψαι Leemans, πέμπτε Dieterich. But πέμψαι is sufficient; for the meaning of the passage is: write on a tablet the following charm and the dream which you want to send and put this into the mouth of a cat.

V, v. 1 read καὶ τὰ κρέα σου instead of κράτέα: he will give thy flesh to the dogs.

V, 5, 11, 12. χρημάτισον, εἰ περὶ τοῦδε, περὶ πάντων (?) πονθάνω. Knoll (*Philol.* liv. 560), wants to read εἰ<πὲ> περὶ τοῦδε a.s.f. But it is better to add another εἰ before περὶ πάντων.

V, 8, 6 f. πρὸς ἁρμονίαν τῶν ἐπτὰ φθόγγων ἐχόντων φωνὰς πρὸς τὰ κῆ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης, and identically recurring W. xvii. 30 (Abraxas 196, 2). Dieterich apparently has no explanation to offer. Yet, as far as I know, these two quotations give the earliest, if not the only mention in a Greek author of the 'stations of the moon' the nakshatras, which play so prominent a part in Indian astrology.

V, 9, 4. Before θεὲ μέγιστε a lacuna must be assumed to exist, as otherwise the charmsong would begin too abruptly. The words θεὲ μέγιστε ὅς ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν have been used to fill this blank.

Par. 286 ff. (We. 51). This incantation, which would have deserved a place in Heim's *Incantamenta magica*, seems to have been metrical. Thus we read 287 the rest of a senarius: *χειρὶ πενταδακτύλῳ* and a complete verse, slightly corrupted still exists 290: *οὐκέτι βερέχεται ποτ' ἐν βίῳ πάλιν* (*π ω πο τε* Pap.).

Par. 296 ff. (We. i. 52). It is interesting to notice that a similar group to the one described here was used by the Egyptians as a seal to brand sacrificial animals; see Plut. *Is. et. Osir.* 31.

Par. 475 ff. (We. i. 56) read: *Ἰλαθὶ μοι Πρόνοια καὶ Τύχη τάδε γράφοντι (γραφεντι Pap.) τὰ πατροπαράδοτα (πρατὰ παράδοτα We.) μυστήρια.*

Par. 484 (We. i. 57). *Μίθρας ἐκέλευσέν μοι μεταδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρχαγγέλου αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐγὼ μόνος ΑΙΗΤΗΣ οὐρανὸν βαίνω.* In these letters either *μύστης* or *μνητής* is hidden. *Μύστης*, at the first glance, would seem more probable, on account of the *μόνος*. But 477 *μόνω* δὲ τέκνω ἀξίω μνεῖσθαι (Dieterich *Abr.* 163, 4) and 732-3 *ἐὰν δὲ θέλης καὶ σὺν μύστη χρήσασθαι* make *μνητής* preferable. I do not think it necessary to insert *εἰς* before *οὐρανόν*.

Par. 530 (We. i. 58) read: *ἔστιν μοι θνητὸν γεγῶτα συνα<ν>ιέναι ταῖς χρυσοειδέσιν μαρμαρυγαῖς.* For the magician himself becomes a star 574: *εἰμὶ σύμπλανος ἐμὴν ἀστήρ.*

Par. 633 ff. (We. i. 60) read *στραφήσονται ἐπίσε αἱ ἀκτίνες· ἔσι δε <δ δ> (εσειδε Pap.) αὐτῶν μέσον· ὅταν οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσης, ὄψει θεόν.*

The verses 662 to 705 have been well explained by Dieterich (*Abr.* 105) as referring to the god Mithras. But I must object to his referring the *μόσχον ὄμων χρύσειον, ὃς ἔστιν ἄρκτος ἢ κινούσα οὐρανόν* 699 ff. to the same group of ideas. For the hindleg of the ox is from remotest antiquity the Egyptian constellation of what we call the Wain: cp. Lepsius' *Chronologie der alten Aegypten*.

Par. 745 (We. i. 63): for *αὐτονῶ φθόγγῳ* read *ἀτόνω* 'in a low voice.'

The verses 835 ff. (We. i. 65) give an astrological piece, which here is entirely out of place. It is, however, very important, as it proves that these magical papyri are only somebody's inconsiderate attempt to gather a number of stray charms into a larger collection (cp. Dieterich, *Jahrb. Suppl.* xvi. 758). In this way our little fragment, apparently once a part of an elaborate horoscope, came to be embodied in the Parisian papyrus, albeit it possesses

no magical meaning whatever. But Wessely was utterly wrong in affixing to it the title 'Stufenjahre' or climacteric years. A comparison with Vettius Valens, an astrologer of the second century A.D., soon to be edited, shows the real meaning of the fragment. The sixth chapter in the sixth book of his *ἀνθολογία* treats *περὶ τῆς εἰς δέκα ἔτη μῆνας ἐννέα διαιρέσεως ἐμπράκτων τε καὶ ἀπράκτων χρόνων.* That is, a distribution of the life among the planets according to a fixed interval of ten years and nine months, during which period the ruling planet was the *ἀφέτης* or principal factor in determining its events. About this Saumaise wrote at some length in his 'anni climacterici.' Wessely's misnomer is due to a superficial perusal of this book.

Par. 1065 ff. (We. i. 71): *τῆς αὐγῆς ἀπόλυσις· χωχωχ Ω ωχωχωχ* (it is an anagram) *ιερά αὐγῆ ἵνα καὶ ἡ αὐγῆ ἀπέλθῃ. χῶρει ἱερά αὐγῆ, χῶρει καλὸν καὶ ἱερὸν φῶς τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ.* The proper order of these words was: *τῆς αὐγῆς ἀπόλυσις, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἱερά αὐγῆ ἀπέλθῃ.* (καὶ because the *ἀπόλυσις* of the god himself had been given 1035 ff.) *χ-χ, χῶρει* and so forth. The words *ιερά αὐγῆ* after the Ephesian gramma must be struck out, as wrongly repeated.

Par. 1079 (*ibid*) we have in *ἀνειδωλόπληκτον* an interesting proof of the tenacity with which superstitious beliefs again and again creep forth. For hitting 'πλήγειν' is the most dreaded action of sprites: cp. Aristoph. *Birds* 1492. From this very inclination the *ἡρώες* = souls had, at a later time, even been named *πλήκται*: Rohde, *Psyche* 225, 4. Cp. also Brit. Mus. 120, 240 (We. ii. 27).

In the hymn to the Moon (2242 ff.), which has been partly restored by Wessely (We. i. 31) one complete senarius can be added after his verse 25: *ὀκίτι, λοφαίη, φασγάνων θυμάντρια* (2267). Among the disiecta membra from here to 2285, where Wessely's restoration again begins, a number of Greek words can be found by slight emendations. 2270 for *σκοπη* read *σκοταίη* or *σκοτειή*; 2271 for *νομή* read *νομαίη*; 2273 *ἰνδαλίμη* is adjective formed from *ἰνδάλλομαι*; *ibid.* *διχθιρα* apparently is *δέχθειρα* = *δέκτερα* cp. *δέκτρια* from *δεκτήρ*: Archilochos 19 Bgk.⁴; 2275 *μιτρη* is *μητρείη*. 2276 *εἶδα* is *Ἰδαία*; *ibid.* *λυκω στηλητι* probably *Λυκοπολιτι*. Another complete senarius occurs 2279: *ἀκτίνας* (belonging to <κε> *καλλισμένη*?) ἢ *σώτειρα Παγγαίη* (!) *Κυτώ.* The following line, also, may perhaps be restored thus: *Κλωθαίη, πανδώτειρα* (Hymn. Orph. 10, 16; 26, 2 Abel), *δολιχῆ, κύδιμε.*

Par. 2604 (We. i. 109) *συριστί ηγαρον*

κονβυθου πνουσαν. These Ephesia grammata are good Greek: ὄγκον βυθού πνέουσα(ν) and together with τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων (2602) they form one complete verse of the διαβολή, which has only been obscured by the inserted abracadabra.

One verse and part of another can be added to the Hecate hymn 2714 ff. (We. i. 114). 2775 we have to read Ἴω πασι κράτεια καὶ Ἴω πᾶσι μεδέουσα, Ἴω παντροφέουσα. For Ἴω as a name of Hecate or rather Selene cp. Malalas in Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* 401/2 note†: οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μυστικῶς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἀπόκρυφον Ἴω λέγουσιν ἕως ἄρτι; and to παντροφέουσα see the numerous beliefs about growth and decreescence of all things in sympathy with the waning or filling moon: Roscher, *Selene*, 64 ff. 184 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa i. 39.

Par. 3096 (We. i. 122). Among the ingredients of a sacrifice occurs σιλούρου καρδιά. Wessely as well as Dieterich (Abraxas 79) change this into αἰλούρου. However, a sacred fish σιλουρος was found in the Nile (Wiedemann, notes on Herodotus ii. p. 176). It was believed to be connected with the dog-star and with thunder storms; cp. Pliny *H.N.* 9, 58: fluviatilium silurus caniculae exortu sideratur et alias semper fulgure sopitur.

Par. 3119 ff. (We. i. 123). It is well known that great power was attributed to a certain order of words and letters. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the ἀπόλυσις contained in these verses is formed by exactly the same letters, but in inverted order, by means of which 3103 ff. the god had been conjured.

Par. 3173 (We. i. 124). Certain reeds must be cut πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς, μετὰ δυσμᾶς . . of the sun himself? We must add σ ε λ ῆ ν η ς; this word was all the more likely to drop out after a C as it almost always in these papyri is only indicated by the sign (C.

Brit. Mus. 46 (We. i. 132 ff.). This papyrus throws an interesting light on the tradition of the sorcerers' handbooks. With verse 176 a 'rhyme' begins abruptly, in which Hermes is implored to reveal a thief. After this, in 185, there comes another spell, to be said over bread and cheese; these, as we hear in 300, are to be kneaded together, and to be given to the people suspected of the theft. But the confusion is not yet at an end. In 200 the ποιήσις, i.e. the preparations accompanying the magical action, begins, only to be interrupted, however, in 206 after the words ἐπίθεε < ἐς > βωμὸν γήινον, in the very middle of the sentence. Here, in 206, begins the

preparation of a Ἐρμοῦ δακτύλιος, in no way connected with the previous charm. This is brought to an end in 296, and now our manuscript goes on, as if absolutely nothing had intervened, with . . νον (i.e. γήινον ἐπίθεε ζμύρναν κ.τ.λ. That is to say: the verses 297 and following are the direct continuation of the charm 176-205. This strange confusion is difficult to explain, unless we assume that the compiler of our manuscript left out three columns of his archetype, consisting of thirty lines each, but found out his mistake after he had copied another three columns, and then simply copied the forgotten part, without giving the slightest warning of his mistake to the reader. How very improbable such an explanation is, is apparent. To me it seems that the confusion is older by at least one generation, if not by more. The confused order within the charm itself points to a more rational solution, viz., that the original was compiled from loose scraps, without much regard to their connection, and that the Ἐρμοῦ δακτύλιος found its way into the very centre of the 'theft-charm' simply because in this, too, Hermes was invoked.

B. M. 46, 469/70 (We. i. 138). The demon Ἰδαῖος δάκτυλος, whom Wessely has thought to find here, must give way to the less interesting, but more intelligible words ἴδιον δάκτυλον. The passage will thus read: εἶρας αὐτὸν (the previously described jasper ring) εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς σου χειρὸς δάκτυλον εἰς βλέποντα (that is, facing the palm). The ring-finger is the ἴδιος δάκτυλος for wearing a ring. A number of reasons for this relation, from the 'Aegyptiorum sapientia' are given by Macrobius vi. 13, 8 ff.

Pap. Mimant 2391 (We. i. 147), vs. 258 read: δεῦρό μοι, κύριε, ὁ < τὸ φ > ὡς ἀνάγων (ω < πρ > ὠσανα < γ > ὠν We.).

B. M. 121, 309^a ff. (We. ii. 39) read: ἐξαίρων τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐ μ π ε ρ ι λ α μ β ἄ ν ο ν (ἐμπερεια . . νον We.); cp. 375 τὴν σελήνην ἐμπεριλαμβάνων.

Ibid. 332 (We. ii. 31) τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδρυμένον; read γῆς.

Ibid. 388 (We. ii. 33), in a charm, destined to work insomnia < κε . . > νεῖτω, read < ἄ γ ρ υ π > νεῖτω.

The Ephesia grammata 393 ff. contain a number of good Greek epithets of Aphrodite, who is here invoked (396 ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅγια ὀνόματα τῆς Κυπρίδος). 393 καμωπι: in this probably Κανωπι < τι > is hidden. We might think of Καμήφι, Stob. *Floril.* i. 41, s. 44, p. 288 Mein. But he was a male being. About Kanopus and its orgies see Wiede-

mann on Herod. ii. p. 90 f. 394 ραδοχ: probably ῥοδόχαιρι; ibidem ἔρατευν read ἔρατεινῆ. 395 εισω probably Ἰσίη cp. 500, then Βουβᾶστι, ποθῶπι, and in the same line φαφιετι perhaps Παφίη τε.

B. M. 121, 679 (We. ii. 43) ἐὰν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος λύχνος τεταρτηγῶν ὅτι εἰλημπται. Read πτάρρη. Compare on this omen Anthol. Pal. vi. 333: ἤδη, φίλε λύχνε, τρὶς ἔπτρες; Ovid, *Heroid.* 19, 251: sternuit et lumen.

Plenty of good Greek words again are hidden in the Ephesia grammata B. M. 121, 948 ff. (We. ii. 51), a love charm, by the help of Aphrodite-Selene. 950 ειλρωτι read ἱλαρωπι. ηροδία: ἡ Ῥοδία? 954: βαυβοφοβειος: Βαυβὼ-φόβειος (or φοβερός?).

B. M. 121, 986 (We. ii. 52). ὑπόκειται τὸ ζῳδιον 987 ν (stands probably for ω=ιον, the well-known later form of -ιον terminations. Repetitions of the last part of words at the beginning of the next line are frequent in the papyri) θαυμαστον τοῦ ξξ ὁ ἔχει ἐν τοῖς πεδίλοις. The sign no doubt is meant as Ἐρμοῦ and is the oldest example known to me of the modern and mediaeval symbol of the planet, the herald staff.

B. M. 122, 56, 57 (We. ii. 56): ἐπίγραφε τὸν τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ. τόν no doubt is a mistake for τὸ ὄν<ομα>.

B. M. 122, 48, 49 (We. ii. 56): τὸ δὲ δεύτερο<ν> ὄνομα ἔχον ἀριθμὸν εἰ (εἰ MS.) τῶν κυριεύοντων τοῦ κόσμου τῆ<ν> ψῆφον ἔχοντα τξὲ πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ. εἰ seems to be certain; the lords of the world are the five planets. On the other hand, it seems not improbable that after τοῦ κόσμου a line is missing, although this assumption is by no means necessary. The fifteen letters answering to the ιε ἡμέραι τῆς ἀνατολῆς τῆς σελήνης seem to me to refer to the number of days during which the moon is waxing, roughly speaking fifteen. But the expression ἀνατολή for this period certainly is very singular. A similar use of ἀνατολή, however, occurs in B 1, 235-6: πῖε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ἡμέρα ξ νῆστης, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς οὔσης τῆς σελήνης, and B 2, 80: χρῶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς.

Pap. R(ainer) 1, 34 ff. (We. ii. 66, 67). ὀρκίζω ὅσα ἔστιν πνεύματα ἢ κλαίοντα ἢ γελωνία φοβερά ἢ ποιοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον δυσόνειρον ἢ ἔκθαμβον ἢ ἀμαυρίαν ποιοῦντα ἢ ἀλλοιωσύνην φρενῶν ἢ ὑποκλοπὴν καὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ καὶ δίχα ὕπνου. As a whole, Wessely's emendations of these lines are correct. It is only in the γελωνία, where misapplied

knowledge has led him astray. He proposes to read Γελώνια and thinks these sprites are beings after the fashion of Gello, Empusa, and Mormo. Of course, everybody sees that the contrast κλαίοντα πνεύματα imperiously demands γελῶντα. But I want to call the attention of the reader to the fact, that these lines give us a remarkable insight into the tenacity and vividness of popular belief. For every one of the features here ascribed to the πνεύματα exists in modern folklore as well. The whole circle of ideas, in which we find ourselves, has, for the field of Teutonic folk-lore, been treated by Laistner in his admirable *Rätsel der Sphinx*, while on the basis of a 'Hellenistic' relief O. Crusius (the *Philologus* L 102 ff.) has traced part of these ideas through Greek religion. The πνεύματα κλαίοντα remind one of the numerous German legends about souls which cry and whimper for salvation (e.g. Grimm, *Sagen* no. 224); the πνεύματα γελῶντα φοβερά—this word I take to be adverbial accusative—of the 'höhnisches Lachen' of the 'Kobold' (Grimm, *ibid.* no 46, 72, 74, 76, 122), and probably also of the strange sounds which caused 'Panic terror.' They make man δυσόνειρον, i.e. ὀνειρώττοντα: see Crusius cited above; or ἔκθαμβον, attonitum; this needs no examples. Or they cause blindness; thus Epizelos was blinded in the battle of Marathon, because he had seen a spectre, Herod. vi. 117; (E. Rohde, *Psyche* 171, 1). They cause furthermore mania; this, too, is too well-known to need any illustrations, except a reference to the booklet *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου*. But what is meant by (ποιοῦντα) ὑποκλοπὴν καὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ καὶ δίχα ὕπνου? The word ὑποκλοπή is not found in Stephanus, but surely means 'stealthily theft.' Of what? One might think of the 'succubus et incubus' tales. This, however, would have been expressed, if I am right, by δυσόνειρος. May we not think of the theft of babies and the substitution of 'change-lings.' The belief exists in modern Greek superstition, where these unhappy beings are called 'children of the Neraids' (Schmidt, *Volkleben* 118). That the fairies like to surprise recently confined women during their sleep is general belief. But they appear, also, under many disguises at other times. For this subtle and unexpected change the expression ὑποκλοπή seems to be very happily coined.

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ARISTIDES AT SALAMIS.

§ 1. BETWEEN the invasion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes and the invasion by Xerxes an important change had taken place at Athens in the military organization. At Marathon the supreme command was still vested in the Polemarch; but in the year 487-6 B.C. the method of lot was introduced for appointing the nine archons, and this innovation necessarily involved the displacement of the Polemarch from the chief command, as that post could obviously not be safely vested in a man chosen by the chances of the lottery. The control of the army was transferred, not to a new Commander-in-chief, but to the body of the Ten Stratêgoi, who had hitherto been merely the commanders of the contingents of the ten Cleisthenic tribes. It has been thought that the first idea was that the chief command should rotate among the ten generals, each enjoying it for a day, and that a recollection of this temporary and eminently unpractical arrangement has survived in the well-known anachronistic representation which Herodotus gives of the state of things existing at Marathon. But if such an arrangement was ever actually adopted—for instance in the Aeginetan war¹—it had been luckily condemned and abolished before the great crisis of 480. In that year we find the supreme command entrusted to one man, who is thus in the position of ἡγεμῶν στρατηγός. In the earlier part of the civil year 480-79, throughout the campaign of Artemisium and Salamis, Themistocles holds this position; in the later part of the civil year—from the spring of 479 forward—Themistocles has given way to Xanthippus. In the land-campaign of Plataea and in the sea-campaign of Mycale we find Aristides general of the hoplites and Xanthippus general of the triremes.² Thus when the land forces and the sea forces were operating independently, as in B.C. 479, there were two supreme commanders; but where the land forces were acting in subordination to the fleet, as in B.C. 480, there was one supreme commander. This was the arrangement dictated by common sense.

§ 2. We learn from the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία

¹ It is ingeniously conjectured by Mr. Macan (*Herodotus* 2, p. 145, n. 9) that the circumstance that the Athenian fleet arrived *one day* too late on the occasion of the conspiracy of Nicodromus may have been due to the existence of this absurd system in 487 B.C.

² See Herodotus vii. 197; viii. 131; ix. 28 and 114.

that there was an ἐπιχειροτομία of the Stratêgoi κατὰ τὴν πρυτανείαν ἐκάστην εἰ δοκοῦσιν καλῶς ἄρχειν· κἄν τινα ἀποχειροτονήσωσιν κρίνουσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, κἄν μὲν ἀλφ' τιμῶσιν ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι, ἂν δ' ἀποφύγῃ πάλιν ἄρχει (c. 61). If this practice already prevailed in 480 B.C., the question arises whether Themistocles, after his splendid services at Salamis, had to submit to the indignity of such a deposition. In such a matter the expression of Diodorus (or Ephorus) carries no weight, and the statement that δεξαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰς δωρεὰς ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέστησεν στρατηγίας (Diod. xi. 27) is vitiated by the cause assigned for the act of the people. But it should in any case be pointed out that it is not necessary to assume a formal deposition. The change in the supreme command of the fleet can be fully explained by a difference in views between Themistocles and the other leaders of the confederate army. It is recorded that Themistocles advocated operations in the Hellespont (Herodotus viii. 109), and those are doubtless right who (like Busolt, *G. G.* ii². 717) connect his surrender of the command (why not a formally voluntary surrender?) with his peculiar views as to the general conduct of the campaign.

§ 3. In any case the supreme command in the warfare of 479 B.C. was vested in the two ostracized statesmen Xanthippus and Aristides. When the Persian danger threatened, a decree of amnesty was passed³ permitting ostracized persons, as well as other exiles (with certain exceptions), to return to their country; and the motive of this measure must have been (as Plutarch suggests) the fear that powerful citizens in banishment might medize and do serious hurt to Athens. One expects that Xanthippus and Aristides would have returned as soon as they could, if they intended to return at all. That Xanthippus returned some weeks at least before the battle of Salamis was fought is assumed by the anecdote which Plutarch tells about his dog (*Themist.* 10). But the return of Aristides is described by Herodotus as having occurred in very sensational circumstances on the eve of the battle of Salamis. The syndrion of the Greek generals was sitting; the debate 'either continued all night or was adjourned to an

³ Ἀθ. πολ. 23. Compare Stahl, *Rhein. Museum*, 46, 253 sqq.

hour before daybreak on the following morning, when an incident, interesting, as well as important, gave to it a new turn. The ostracized Aristeidês arrived at Salamis from Aegina. Since the revocation of his sentence—a revocation proposed by Themistoklês himself—he had had no opportunity of revisiting Athens, and he now for the first time rejoined his countrymen in their exile at Salamis; not uninformed of the discussions raging, and of the impatience of the Peloponnesians to retire to the Isthmus. He was the first to bring the news that such retirement had become impracticable from the position of the Persian fleet, which his own vessel in coming from Aegina had only eluded under favour of night. He caused Themistoklês to be invited out from the assembled synod of chiefs, and after a generous exordium wherein he expressed his hope that their rivalry would for the future be only a competition in doing good to their common country, apprised him that the new movement of the Persians excluded all hope of now reaching the Isthmus, and rendered further debate useless. Themistocles desired Aristeidês to go himself into the synod and communicate the news; for if it came from the lips of Themistoklês, the Peloponnesians would treat it as a fabrication. Thus Grote narrates, after Herodotus, the extremely dramatic meeting of the two rivals. We must indeed modify the statement of the revocation of the sentence of Aristides—which Grote does not derive from Herodotus—so far as, in accordance with the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (and Plutarch, *Arist.* 8), to speak rather of the revocation of the sentences of all ostracized persons.

This incident is one of those excellent stories of Herodotus, in reading which one cannot forbear entertaining the suspicion that they are incidents which ought to have occurred if real life were only artistic, but which, since real life is nothing if not inartistic, never did. One wonders why Aristides did not return before. The lateness of his return can only be explained by the assumption of some distant place of exile, like Sicily, and if he had gone to Sicily we should probably have heard of it. But it certainly was a very remarkable coincidence that the earliest opportunity of return for him was on the eve of Salamis, an opportunity which enabled him to have a dramatic meeting with his rival and achieve a sensational appearance before the Synedrion. It should be observed that Grote's words 'he had had no opportunity of revisiting Athens' do not express

a direct statement of Herodotus but only a natural, if not necessary, inference from the story. And we should have no alternative but (with or without mental reserves) to accept the story, as one of those rare cases in which history has trespassed on the domain of fiction and created an artistic situation by means of an improbable coincidence, if it were not for a fact in the subsequent narrative which supplies an objective justification of our suspicions.

§ 4. We must go back to the moment at which the Greek fleet, having received the tidings of the disaster of Thermopylae, arrived in the Saronic gulf. The Athenians had to take hasty measures for their own safety, since the confederate army of the Peloponnesians was at the Isthmus and the invasion of Attica was imminent. Herodotus (8, 41) says that a public proclamation (*κήρυγμα*) was made to the effect: *Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας*. The *Constitution of the Athenians* (23) supplements this brief statement by the perfectly credible notice (repeated by Plutarch) that the Areopagus assisted the citizens when leaving Attica for places of refuge by a distribution of eight drachmae a head. But it adds the improbable suggestion that the *Stratêgoi* were unequal to the occasion and that the council of the Areopagus took in hand the organization of the general embarkation. Plutarch (and his source is supposed to be an *Atthis*) speaks of a psephism proposed by Themistocles: *τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηναίων μεδουσίῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σῶζειν ἕκαστον ὡς δυνατόν* (*Themist.* 10).

The statements of Herodotus and Plutarch are of course quite compatible. The Ecclesia passed a psephism, in consequence of which a public proclamation was made. And the last clause in Plutarch's description of the contents of the psephisma is identical in sense with the effect of the proclamation. Herodotus however says nothing of the clause *τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις*. It is important to consider the full bearing of this clause. The transportation of households and property to various places of refuge—Salamis, Aegina, Troezen—is quite clear; but can it really have been that all the able-bodied men served on shipboard? This is evidently what Plutarch meant, and is illustrated by the story of Cimon dedicating his bridle on the Acropolis (*Cimon* 5). Modern historians have not questioned the statement. 'By the most strenuous efforts,' says Grote, 'these few important days were

made to suffice for removing the whole population of Attica—those of military competence to the fleet at Salamis¹—the rest to some place of refuge—together with as much property as the case admitted.'

But it is extremely difficult to take the statement literally. The Athenian triremes were already manned; and it is impossible to suppose that the fixed number of men (two hundred) in any trireme could have been seriously increased, with advantage, or without detriment, to the efficiency of the vessel in a naval action. But allowing that a certain number of recruits might have supplemented losses sustained at Artemisium and even increased by a small addition the regular crew of each trireme, it can hardly be questioned that the number of those who 'went on board the triremes' for the first time at Salamis, was a minority of οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντες. We may say with certainty that the land army—for though Athens had thrown her main strength into the navy she still had a land force, that which afterwards fought at Plataea—did not, as a whole, embark. This conclusion is confirmed by another consideration. A part of the refugees carried their households to Salamis, and this circumstance implies that some measures beyond the proximity of the fleet, which might be obliged to leave its position in the Salaminian bay or might be defeated, were taken for the defence of that island. And as a matter of fact we find, in the account of the battle, that there were hoplites posted on Salamis (Herodotus 8. 95), to whom I will presently return. We may therefore conclude that, although some men may have been taken from the army for naval service, yet the hoplite force as a whole was not broken up. It is not difficult to account for the phrase in Plutarch, without disputing that his authority genuinely intended to give the purport of an actual decree. The decree probably said in so many words that the whole population was to embark, in order to be removed to the various places of refuge. There is every reason to suppose that the fleet was used for the purpose of removal. This general embarkation, combined with the fact that the army played little more than the part of a spectator at Salamis and was quite in subordination to the fleet, created the idea that all able bodied Athenians fought on shipboard at Salamis.

¹ These words are in themselves ambiguous, not necessarily meaning service on shipboard; but this is accidental, for Grote had told the story of Cimon and gives no hint that he does not adopt the usual view.

It is an idea however that we do not find in Herodotus.

§ 5. If I may be allowed to turn aside for an instant from my immediate purpose, the question may be asked whether, as we have found hoplites in Salamis, all the hoplites (apart from any who did take service in the navy) were posted there. An affirmative answer would have to be given, if it were certain that Athens had been utterly and absolutely abandoned. But this seems to me very far from certain, and on the contrary it may, I think, be maintained that a small part of the Athenian army was left at Athens. To show this, the story of Herodotus must be examined.

The Persians, we are told (8, 51) when they arrived in the city, found it deserted, save for a few people, the Tamiae of the Temple of Athena, and some poor men, on the acropolis. These few men gave the Persians much trouble and held out ἐπὶ χρόνον συγχρόν—an expression which from other notes of time has been reckoned to represent about a fortnight.² If a few πένητες ἄνθρωποι could defy the forces of Xerxes so long, the Athenian generals might well be asked whether they were wise in abandoning such a strong position as their citadel. Defended by a properly organized garrison, might it not have successfully withstood all attempts of the Persians to take it, until it was relieved through a naval victory?

Herodotus himself gives us the means of criticizing his story, and without design discloses the truth. We are surprised to read that, when the Greeks at Salamis heard of the capture of the Acropolis, they fell into great consternation; ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὥστε ἐνιοὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κρυθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρήγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία ἡείροντο ὡς ἀποθροσόμενοι. But if the Acropolis was abandoned and left without any defence, save that of a few poor or eccentric people who chose to remain with the Tamiae of the Temple, it is clear that its capture must have seemed a foregone conclusion. The utter consternation of the Greeks is inconsistent with the narrative which represents the citadel as left without deliberate defence. The inference is that the Athenian generals placed a garrison in the Acropolis, and that the tale told by Herodotus is only a tale.

And it is a tale of which the origin can be analyzed. It is an example of history reconstructed on oracles, which were themselves constructed on history.

² Busolt 2, 694.

Herodotus relates (7, 140, 141) that the Athenians sent to consult the Delphic oracle. The answer—bidding them flee to the ends of the earth and ending with the verse

ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν—

was so disheartening that they asked a second time, in the posture of suppliants, and received the following oracle:—

οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι

λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.
σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αἶτις ἔπος ἔρεω, ἀδάμαντι
πελάσσας

τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος
οὔρος

5 ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος Ζαθεοῖο,
τείχος Τριτογενεὶ ξύλινον διδοὶ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς
μοῖνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τό σε τέκνα τ'
ὀνήσει.

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν
ἰόντα

πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἤσυχος, ἀλλ'
ἐπαχωρεῖν

10 νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντίος
ἔσση.

ὦ θεῆ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα
γυναικῶν

ἣ που σκιδναμέννης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

It has been long recognized that the last two lines were composed *ex eventu* (cp. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Kydathen*, p. 97); but we must apply the same principle to vv. 8-10, the words *ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση* containing a manifest allusion to Plataea. On the other hand there is no reason for doubting that the Athenians consulted the oracle,—after the disaster of Thermopylae, of course, and not before the beginning of the war, as is suggested by the place (before the Isthmian congress) in which the episode is introduced by Herodotus, though after his manner he gives no express chronological indication.

We may accept, without difficulty, the first seven lines as the actual utterance of the Delphic oracle shortly before the battle of Salamis. But we must read them as intended by the Delphic priesthood to be capable of the interpretation which Themistocles gave. We must place ourselves in the position of the Athenian government. The wise policy, on which they resolved, of moving the whole population of Attica was a policy of which the execution was obviously attended by great difficulties and likely to meet with considerable and possibly obstinate resistance from a large part of the people.

In such a case, there was one step which a prudent government could not neglect, namely, to enlist the support of the Delphic oracle and strengthen their policy by an appeal to the authority of the god. The oracle which Herodotus records, shorn of its later additions, is, to all appearances, the result of an understanding between the Athenian government and Delphi. The priesthood, of course, in their usual method safeguarded the god by using an ambiguous phrase—*τείχος ξύλινον*—, which, in case the policy recommended by the Athenian government proved disastrous, admitted of other interpretations, for instance that of 'some of the older men' who thought that the Acropolis was meant (c. 142). But the oracle loses its significance so long as it is not recognized that it is the answer of Apollo to Themistocles and the Athenian government seeking Delphic support for a particular policy.

The strength of the Acropolis—the event proves how strong it was—almost forbade the idea of abandoning it without an attempt to defend it. And the ambiguity of the oracle was an additional reason. For the most convincing answer to those who referred the oracle to the Acropolis was 'But in any case we are taking measures to defend it.' In this way both of the rival interpretations would be satisfied. Afterwards, when the Acropolis had failed *ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν* and when the policy of the government had been strikingly approved by fortune, the history of the events was recomposed with regard to what was now recognized universally as the true meaning of the oracle. The unsuccessful defence of the Acropolis was represented as the act of a few poor insignificant people and not a deliberate and organized military resistance.

§ 6. Respecting, then, the disposition of the Greek army at the time of Salamis, it emerges from this discussion, that, while a few hoplites were probably transferred for naval service, a distinct detachment was deputed to garrison the Acropolis, and the remainder, by far the greater part, was posted in Salamis. There were ten *Stratēgoi*, some of whom, along with the chief *Stratēgos* Themistocles, commanded the ships, but some—at least one—must have been in command of the hoplites on the island of Salamis. It was their—or his—business, on the day of the battle, to act according to the fortunes of the fleet, and take defensive or offensive measures according to the exigency of the case. As it turned out,

offensive action was called for, and such action on the part of the hoplites is duly recorded by Herodotus. They crossed over from the shore of Salamis to Psyttaleia and slaughtered all the Persians who were on the islet. But we are astonished to read that the hoplites act not under the direction of a *stratēgos* but under the command of a private person, the ostracized Aristides, who had returned from banishment only the night before.

There is a manifest difficulty in reconciling this incident with the dramatic episode of the first appearance of Aristides on the eve of Salamis. One could readily understand a private person of influence and energy gathering a number of volunteers for some patriotic service at a critical moment, but one cannot easily conceive a private person usurping the functions of the *Stratēgos* over a portion of the army.

The simple solution is that *Aristides was himself one of the Stratēgoi*. Herodotus did not apprehend this, and, although he nowhere says expressly that Aristides returned from exile on the eve of Salamis, his account of the interview between Aristides and Themistocles most readily lends itself to such a reading. All the facts are true—the fact that Aristides brought the news that the Greeks were surrounded, and the fact that he managed the affair of Psyttaleia. But the suppression of the fact that he was *Stratēgos* has made it possible to represent him as reappearing for the first time at the *Synedrion* of the generals on the eve of Salamis.

§ 7. But if Aristides was *Stratēgos*, how came it that he crossed over from Aegina (ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη) on the night before the battle? We have here an illustration of the disconnected nature of the sources from which Herodotus drew his material. If Aristides was a *Stratēgos* his absence at this crisis must have been for the purpose of some public service. Now Herodotus records that a trireme had returned from Aegina, before the battle began (viii. 83 καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ’

Αἰγίνης τριήρης)—the trireme which had been dispatched to bring the Aeacids (c. 64). The obvious conclusion is that this was the ship in which Aristides crossed over from Aegina, and that he had been deputed to take charge of the mission to bring the Aeacids.

§ 8. It is to be observed that this hypothesis does not contradict any statement of Herodotus. That historian nowhere says that the *diabasis* of Aristides from Aegina was his first return to his country. Nor is the fundamental importance of the dialogue between Themistocles and Aristides abolished, although its dramatic effect is weakened. The significance of that dialogue still remains, assuming, however, the shape of a hearty cooperation between two *Stratēgoi* at the *Synedrion* in which both—Aristides as well as Themistocles—were entitled to take part. It may be added that the hypothesis is confirmed by the political wisdom of reconciling the ostracized statesmen on their return by entrusting to them at once posts of importance. We may guess¹ that Xanthippus too was one of the ten *Stratēgoi* in the autumn of 480 B.C., and that when in the spring of the following year he acted as chief admiral in place of Themistocles, he was not elected as a new *Stratēgos* but was raised from a subordinate to the chief place in that portion of the Strategic board which was concerned with the fleet. In any case Aristides retained his *Stratēgia* throughout the campaign of the following year, and, as the land army was then acting independently of the fleet, he played a part of greater prominence than he was allowed to play at Salamis.

¹ The anecdote of his dog, left behind on the Attic coast and drowned in an attempt to swim across to Salamis, suggests that Xanthippus was remembered in connection with the removal of the Attic population before the battle, and raises the presumption that he took part in organizing that removal, and therefore that he held a public office, which may have been that of *stratēgos*.

J. B. BURY.

THE CORINTHIAN CONSTITUTION AFTER THE FALL OF THE CYPSELIDES.

THE constitution of Corinth established after the expulsion of the tyrants is thus described by Nicolaus Damascenus (Müller, *F.H.G.* fr. 60): αὐτὸς δὲ (sc. ὁ δῆμος) παραχρήμα πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο τοιάνδε· μίαν

μὲν ὀκτάδα προβούλων ἐποίησεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἀνδρῶν θ’.

This passage has given scholars a great deal of trouble. And, indeed, the number of members of the βουλὴ indicated in the

text is evidently wrong. But the thought itself will be clear as soon as we cease to hold the prejudicial opinion that ὀκτὰς can mean only the number 8. That is the common use, to be sure. But Nicolaus was not so good a writer that he might not have sometimes departed from the pure style. Ἐβδομᾶς is not always a period of seven days, it may also be the seventh part of this period. Why might not Nicolaus, being an Hellenistic writer, have used ὀκτὰς in a similar way? Ὀκτὰς is, I believe, in this connection the eighth part of a whole *i.e.* one of the eight φυλαί, into which the citizens of Corinth were divided. The meaning is this: the populace made one of the eight φυλαὶ the φυλὴ προβούλων, *i.e.* the council of the πρόβουλοι had to be taken from this φυλή. From the other seven φυλαὶ the βουλή was chosen.

What was the character of this constitution, what the power of these two bodies? Aristotle will help us to answer these questions. Pol. 11299b (Susemihl) he says: ἀλλ' ὅπου ἄμφω αἰτῶν αἱ ἀρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βουλευτῆς δημοτικόν, ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος ὀλιγαρχικόν, *i.e.* 'If the πρόβουλοι and the βουλή exist side by side in the same state, the πρόβουλοι have authority over the βουλή; for the βουλή is a democratic, the πρόβουλοι an oligarchic power.'

Another passage of the same writer (1298b) is this: ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἢ προαιρείσθαι (*sc.* συμφέρει) τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ἢ κατασκευάσαντας ἀρχέον οἶον ἐν ἐνιαῖς πολιτείαις ἐστὶν οὗς καλοῦσι προβούλους ἢ νομοφύλακας [καὶ] περὶ τούτων χρηματίζειν περὶ ὧν ἂν οὔτοι προβουλευσῶσιν (οὗτω γὰρ μεθέξει ὁ δῆμος τοῦ βουλευέσθαι καὶ λένω οὐδὲν δυνήσεται τῶν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν), ἔτι ἢ ταυτὰ ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἢ μηδὲν ἐναντίον τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις, ἢ τῆς συμβουλῆς μὲν μεταδιδόναι πᾶσιν, βουλευέσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας, καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις γινόμενον δεῖ ποιεῖν [τὸ πλήθος], ἀποψηφίζόμενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον [εἶναι] δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸ πλήθος, καταψηφίζόμενον δὲ μὴ κύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπαναγέσθαι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας [ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνεστραμμένως ποιοῦσιν, οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγοι ἀποψηφισάμενοι μὲν κύριοι, καταψηφισάμενοι δὲ οὐ κύριοι, ἀλλ' ἐπανάγεται εἰς τοὺς πλείους αἰεῖ]. The text is evidently corrupt. But by dropping καὶ before περὶ τούτων χρηματίζειν Susemihl has not remedied the fault. The opposite to προαιρείσθαι τινὰς is clearly expressed by ἢ τῆς συμβουλῆς μὲν μεταδιδόναι πᾶσιν. From this it follows that the ἢ standing before κατασκευάσαντας has no place here. By dropping it instead of καὶ before περὶ

τούτων χρηματίζειν the whole period will be divided into two almost equal members. Treating the question how a pure oligarchy could be improved by means of an admixture of democratic institutions Aristotle indicates two methods. The one is to commit the final decision of public matters to a select part of the common people, but to restrict the supremacy of this body by the oligarchic power of the πρόβουλοι; the other, to make the whole body of citizens participants in public deliberations, but to give them only the right of counselling. The latter method has nothing to do with our subject, but the first undoubtedly concerns the constitution of which we are now treating. The βουλή mentioned by Nicolaus and the select body of commons that according to Aristotle has to rule public affairs and to be ruled itself by the council of the πρόβουλοι are manifestly the same. When Aristotle says that the first method recommended by him is really used in some states, I have no doubt that he has the Corinthian state in mind as one of them.

Therefore the constitution of Corinth is presumably this. The whole of the citizens are divided into eight φυλαί, one of which contains the nobility, the rest the common people. It is not impossible that this division instead of that into the three old Doric tribes took place at the time of the new organization of the state. Public affairs are ruled by two bodies, one of which is taken from the nobles, the other from the people. The one, named πρόβουλοι, has the right of the first deliberation in any public matter; the other named βουλή, the final decision of the propositions introduced by the council of nobles. The rights of the βουλή, having some appearance of sovereignty, are limited in two ways. No bill refused by the πρόβουλοι can be discussed by the βουλή and if the βουλή resolves differently from the πρόβουλοι, its resolution can be annulled by the latter. Therefore the supremacy of the commons, restricted in the two most important ways, is mere show. If they possess any real right at all, it is only that of vetoing laws; for it seems probable that the measures of the πρόβουλοι, if rejected by the βουλή, could not have the force of laws.

So the power of the nobles, without slipping out of their hands, rests upon a broader basis, a fact to which is undoubtedly due the well-known strength and permanence of the Corinthian constitution.

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GREEK METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHRYGIA.

THE following inscriptions are edited from epigraphic copies given me by Prof. W. M. Ramsay, to whom my best thanks are due for help and advice.

I.

Found at Utch-Eyuk, in the country of the Praipenisais (Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.* pp. 144 f.)

- Αὐρ. Μένανδρος Πρόκλου
 κέ Ἀππης τέκνω φίλτατῳ Πρόκλω
 κέ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες κέ τὰ τέκ[να
 αὐτῶν Τρόφιμος κέ Μέναν[δρ]ος
 5 κέ Κύριλλα κέ Δόμνα νύμφη
 μνήμης χάριν Τατιανῆς [θ]υγάτηρ.
 φαιδρότατον βωμὸν στήσαι σημάτορα τύμ-
 βου,
 εὔτ' ἂν ἴδωρ τε ρέει κέ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη,
 κέ ποτ[α]μο[ι] ναίουσιν, ἀνα[β]ρύζῃ δέ
 θά[λασ]σα.
 10 αὐτῷ τῷδε μένω πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύν[β]ῳ.
 ἀγγέλλω παριού[σ] ὄτι Πρόκλος ὧδε τέ-
 θ[απτ]αι.
 πᾶσι ποθητὸν ἔοντα κέ ἐν βιότῳ πανάριστον
 οἰκείων ἔλιπον φάος, αἴψα δέ μοι[τ]ρα
 καρπαλίμως ἐ[δ]άμασσε κέ αἴσα λυγρ[ῆ]
 ἐ[π]όρουσε
 15 αὐτὸς δ' Ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαίναν
 κτείνε με τὸν μέλεον Τενβρογγ[ί]ου παρὰ
 ρεῖθραζ

1. Αὐρ. is Αὐρήλιος, a common *praenomen* in the third century. 2. Ἀππης is a noticeable form of female name. 5. νύμφη cf. Τενβρογγίου (l. 16). 6. Τατ. θυγ. is evidently a designation of Δόμνα νύμφη, misplaced by engraver. 7. στήσαι may be taken either as inf. for imper., or as imper. aor. mid. -ον of βωμὸν is repeated by engraver's error on stone, as is also -τω of πολυκλαύτῳ (l. 10). 8. εὔτ' ἂν is followed irregularly by indicatives and subjunctives. 13. There is a foot too few, read perh. [ε]ἰκ[ο]σι καὶ δὲ ἔτ[ε]ρ. W.M.R. The κ would itself represent εἰκοσι. οἰκείων is hardly likely. 14. λυγρῆ has the *v* short. In this word it is almost invariably long. l. 2 of Inscr. iii. is another exception. 15. Stone has ἐν χεῖρεσσι, one syllable too many. Alter as above, or to ἐν χερσὶ. 16. The river Tembrogius (modern *Porsuk Su*) is mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* vi. cap. 1):—'Sagaris fluvius ex inclutis: oritur in Phrygia, accipit vastos amnes, inter quos Tembrogium et Gallum.' It is called Tem-

bris on coins (cf. Waddington, *Voyage Numismatique en Asie-Mineure*, p. 28 ff.; Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.* 144, 178). It is the 'Tymbris' of Livy (xxxviii. 18). Another form *Thybris* occurs: v. Nicetas Chon., p. 89, and Cinnamus, p. 81, 191.

All the names of persons in this inser., except Πρόκλος, appear in an inser. found at Kotiaion (C.I.G. 3827r, Le Bas-Wadd. 821). This must be more than a curious coincidence, and surely proves relationship.

There seem to have been models in currency for epigrams such as the present. Line 15 is *Il. M.* 27. καρπαλίμως and ρεῖθρα are Homeric words and in Homeric position, though the latter is usually ρέεθρα: φαιδρὸς, ποθητὸς, and πανάριστος are, however, un-Homeric. Words like Τενβρογγίου are foisted in to suit the occasion, and have the uncouth appearance of new stones in an old building. The special interest of this epigram, however, lies in ll. 8-11. Their intimate relation to four lines in the 'Homeric' epigram *Eis Mίδην* (last edited in Mr. D. B. Monro's *Homers* pp. 999-1000), is all the more interesting from the fact that this stone was found near the tomb of Midas. The differences in text must be noted:—ἐς τ' ἂν for εὔτ' ἂν, πλήθωσιν for ναίουσιν, ἀνακλύζῃ for ἀναβρύζῃ, and μένουσα for μένω (due to χαλκῆ παρθένος in l. 1). Moreover l. 3 of the Homeric version is omitted here. Another version, quoted probably from memory, is to be found in Plato, *Phaedr.* 264 D, where ll. 3-4 of the epigram are omitted, and in which the following differences may be mentioned:—ἄφρ' ἂν for ἔστ' ἂν, νάη for ρέη (cf. ναίουσιν of l. 9) and, πολυκλαύτου ἐπὶ τύμβου for πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ.

II.

Found at Dokimion.

† νωνμῆν φορέοντα, ἀτερπέα χῶρον ἔοντα,
 γουν[ὸν κ]εκηῶτα, [ἐ]οῖς κτεάτεσσιν ἐγ(ε)ῖρας,
 Εὐνομίος κόσμησε, Σατορνεῖ[νοι]ο γενέθλη,
 εἰσορό[ων] μετὰ πάντα πέλειν καὶ τοῖδ' ἄλε-
 [ωρῆ]ν.

1. νωνμία is cited by Liddell and Scott only from Hesychius. ἀτερπέα χῶρον is from *Od.* λ 94. 3. Eunomios, son of Saturninus, is probably identical with the Eunomios of C.I.G. 9267 (Le Bas-Wadd. 1714), who re-

stores the tomb of an ancestor, an ancient bishop of Dokimion. 4. is difficult.

III.

Found at Utch-Kuyu.

ένέα καλ]δεκετῆ Τάταν έν τῶδ[ε τῶ] τύνβω
 θῆκα γονεὺς ὁ λυγρός καὶ ἡ μήτηρ βαρυπενθής.
 πέντε δὲ μῆνας ἀνδρὶ συνοικήσασαν νέαν νέω
 ἔφθασε μοῖρα.
 τοΥΓ ΝΙΟΙ . . . ομων θάνατον
 αὐ

1. Τάταν spondaic: cf. Τᾶϊᾶνός C.I.G. 6274, and the form Τατῆς, C.I.G. 4321b, 4341e. The name is the same as Tottes (cf. Tattaion = Tottaion, Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.*, 18, 437, 439), and the original meaning is evidently 'father.' The ending of this line is weak. 2. λῦγρός, cf. Inscr. i. l. 14, note. 3. ἔφθασε μοῖρα is evidently the ending of this line, ἀνδρὶ σ. ν. νέω being an unmetrical insertion. 4. ΝΙΟΙ part of οὐράνιος?

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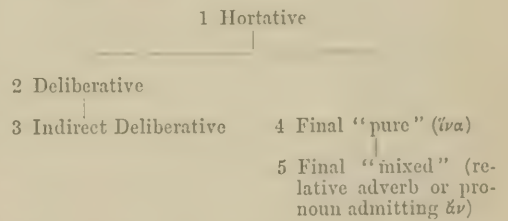
(To be continued).

OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES AFTER οὐκ ἔστιν AND ITS KIN.

IN the last volume (VII.) of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* the first place (pp. 1—12) is occupied by an article by Professor William W. Goodwin entitled *On the Extent of the Deliberative Construction in Relative Clauses in Greek*. This paper reviews in part the discussion started by Mr. Arthur Sidgwick in the *Classical Review* of April, 1891, and also sets forth Mr. Goodwin's latest view of the matter. I have been prompted to write what follows by the fact that Mr. Goodwin takes no notice of a theory broached by me in *Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek* which appeared in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1895 (vol. XXVI., *Proceedings of the Special Session*, 1894, pp. 1.—li.) but credits me with a view of the subject of the discussion that I have expressly abandoned. It is with a certain hesitation and regret that I thus express my disagreement on an important matter of Greek syntax with one to whom I—like so many others—owe the first impulse to the study of Greek syntax; but I venture to do so at once in justice to myself and with a desire to contribute to the ascertainment of truth in regard to the debated construction. I begin with a brief discussion of certain of Mr. Goodwin's statements.

At p. 1 Professor Goodwin speaks of the clauses in question as seeming 'to lie in the borderland between indirect deliberative questions and final relative clauses.' Now both the indirect deliberative question and the final relative clause are 'subjunctive' developments of the primitive 'hortative.' Thus the 'hortative' ἴωμεν *let's go*—I use the

colloquial form to distinguish the exhortation from the appeal—becomes, when treated as an interrogation, ἴωμεν; *shall we go?* in which the question is put (and this is to be emphasised) to the subject of the verbal form minus ἐγώ, the action being at the same time conceived as to be performed by the entire subject, ἡμεῖς. This interrogative ἴωμεν; may, of course, be subordinated (indirect deliberative question). The 'final' clause, whether of the ἴνα type or of the relative pronominal type, subordinates, or makes a 'subjunctive' properly so-called, of ἴωμεν *let's go*. The pedigree of the divergent uses of the same verbal form may be indicated thus:—



Mr. Goodwin's 'borderland' lies between 3 and 5 and is, as appears in his subsequent discussion, a territory of analogy—whether true or false is beside the question.

I have been at pains thus plainly to set forth the genealogy of these uses because some of the disagreement among those that have engaged in the discussion I conceive to be due to the disregarding or ignoring of the steps in the development of the several uses of what we call collectively the subjunctive. That I have been guilty of the

fault of which I venture to accuse others I have elsewhere (*Transactions* 1895, *loc. cit.*) admitted; and I here again concede that in claiming that I was in error in seeking to derive the form of clause in question from the relative clause of purpose Mr. Hale is entirely in the right—, and that too although I do not admit the truth of all that Mr. Hale has said in his ‘*Extended*’ and ‘*Remote*’ *Deliberatives in Greek* in refutation of my former position. But it is not my intention to deal now (if ever; for we differ, *e.g.*, *toto caelo* in our understanding of the primitive force of the subjunctive) with Mr. Hale’s arguments. It is, after all, of little moment in the case at issue to discuss the legitimacy of the steps by which the falsity of a position that one has taken up has been shown, if one but admit the falsity. But to return to Mr. Goodwin’s paper.

At p. 2 Mr. Goodwin gives as types of the construction in question the following :

ἔχειν ἐφ’ οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν,
Isocr. iv. 44.

οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ’ ὅτω ἀπαλλαγῶ,
Aesch. *Prom.* 470.

οὐδένα εἶχον, ὅστις ἐπιστολὰς πέμψειε,
Eur. *I.T.* 588.

I may be pardoned if I anticipate the statement of my own theory so far as to call attention to the fact that Mr. Goodwin gives here only clauses dependent upon a form of ἔχειν and none that depend upon a form of εἶναι; for it is at this point that we part company.

At p. 3 Mr. Goodwin says: ‘It is generally admitted—that the same deliberative interrogative may follow οὐκ ἔχω in the sense of ἀπορῶ, as in οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι εἶπω, *I have nothing to say*; where, however, the English translation is misleading, the literal meaning being *I have not* (i.e. *I am at a loss*) *what I shall say*. That ὅ τι is really interrogative here is plain from cases like οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω, *I have nothing to say*, Dem. ix. 45; οὐκ ἔχω τί φῶ, Aesch. *Cho.* 91 and οὐκ ἔχω ἐπὶ τίνα μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ, Eur. *Alc.* 120; and this appears in the Latin *non habeo quid* (or *quod*) *dicam*.’ Here I cannot but think that he falls into error. Although Mr. Hale seems more than inclined (*Transactions Am. Philol. Assoc.* 1893, p. 161 sq.) to call me to task for assuming that the ambiguity of ἔχειν (*have, know, be able*—the last meaning playing no part in the present discussion) and of ὅστις (ὄς + τις, and also—according to Greek feeling, I am more than inclined to

think—ὄς + τις; = τις; in indirect questions) has been ignored, I can not but think that what I wrote then (*Class. Rev.* 1892, p. 94) was fairly justified. Does not the fact that the simple interrogative does not (certainly) appear in any of the examples of the construction in question, whereas the compound ὄστις or the simple ὄς is used in the debated construction (though also in the indirect interrogative clause), shew that the Greeks distinguished, to a certain and very considerable extent, between the meanings *have* and *know* in ἔχειν? Mr. Goodwin’s translation of οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι εἶπω, when οὐκ ἔχω = ἀπορῶ, should not, I must believe, be ‘*I have nothing to say*’ but *I have no knowledge what I am to say*. The same remark applies to οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. For a similar reason it appears wrong to state the Latin form as if *quod* were a mere variant of *quid*.

Mr. Goodwin is hardly fair to himself when he speaks of his ‘uninstructed mind’ (p. 3). The seemingly spontaneous feeling of a mind fit for and trained to the consideration of niceties of expression may be nearer right than the δεύτεραι φροντίδες. I am sorry that Mr. Goodwin regrets my ‘bringing up in judgment against him’ his note of 1863; but then he has brought up in judgment against me opinions that I have expressly modified (*Transactions*, 1895, *loc. cit.*).

I should anticipate too much of my own theory (only a restatement, after all), were I to take up the affirmative forms ἔχειν ἐφ’ οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν etc. at this point. Their explanation follows from, or better, goes hand in hand with that of the negative form.

The example from Plato’s *Ion* (discussed pp. 3 and 4) proves what the forms of expression used in the debated construction prove elsewhere, viz. that the Greeks did not hold the relative and the interrogative sharply asunder at all stages of their development. It does not prove that the two expressions are to be explained as steps in one and the same course of development. Secondary contamination does not prove primary community of source.

I need hardly say in respect of the second paragraph on p. 4 that I deny Mr. Goodwin’s major premiss that ὅ τι δῶ in the passage in the *Anabasis* is an interrogative clause.

The paragraph beginning ‘We have thus come’ (p. 4) seems to bring some distant hope of a nearer agreement; for Mr. Goodwin here appeals to the force of the independent interrogative ἔλαθμεν; as the in-

terrogative of the independent hortative ἔλωμεν.

At p. 6 Mr. Goodwin at length gives what it could be wished that he had given earlier, examples of the debated construction dependent upon a form of εἶναι (Eur. *Orest.* 722 etc.). Curiously, as it seems to me, he treats this formula as a development of the ἔχειν formula, not *vice versa*.

At the same page Mr. Goodwin concludes his discussion of the subjunctive *per se* by giving his formal approval to the term 'extended deliberative.' Inasmuch as his subsequent treatment of the optative is directly dependent on his treatment of the subjunctive, I may be permitted to set forth here what I venture to believe to be the true explanation of the construction under discussion,—an explanation at which I have already more than hinted (*Transactions* 1895, *loc. cit.* p. li. top).¹ This brings us back at once to genealogy.

It seems but fair to take as the primitive use of the subjunctive (using the term in its commonly accepted wide sense) that which

¹ I venture to add here in the form of a foot-note remarks on one or two points in Professor Goodwin's treatment of the optative in his paper.

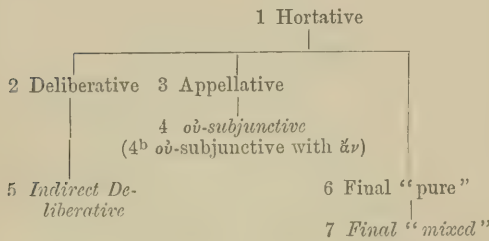
In *Class. Rev.* 1893, p. 451, I have offered an explanation based on analogy—and which I still believe to be correct—of the opt. in Soph. *Trach.* 903.—In *Ar. Ran.* 97 why should λάκοι not be treated like πέμψει in Eur. *I.T.* 588? The one verb 'expresses purpose' just as 'clearly'—or *unclearly*—as the other. The φθέγγεται in the next verse is not unnatural. We pass from a *should* (for a *shall*) utter to a more independent *will* utter. Thus the optative would be due to attraction or assimilation.—Inasmuch as μέλλοι βοηθήσειν (p. 9) = βοηθήσοι, it were better treated simply as a μέλλει βοηθήσειν that has turned optative by assimilation, just as a βοηθήσει might.—After what Mr. Goodwin says about 'a distinct conditional force' in the example just alluded to I will not venture to discuss the reference to my own attitude of mind that he makes in the footnote on p. 10. Our points of view are too widely separate.—It need hardly be said that in discussing Soph. *Phil.* 270-282 I believe Mr. Jebb to have gone too far back when he says that the dependent optatives here represent direct questions (τίς ἀρέσῃ; and τίς συλλάβηται;) In my view they should rather be treated as optative mutations of οὔτις ἀρέσῃ and οὔτις συλλάβηται in analytic form.—With Mr. Goodwin's remark (p. 11) that 'the difference between ὄρων οὐδένα ὄστις ἀρέσῃ and ἔχων οὐδένα ὄστις ἀρέσῃ is surely not generic;' etc. (to the end of the sentence) I am in complete accord.—Is not Mr. Goodwin's remark (p. 12) that 'the aorist optative in Dem. vi. 8 seems to come from a tendency to use an optative after the preceding optative and an objection to using the futuro' somewhat (*mea quidem opinione*, in principle) at variance with what he says in the first paragraph of the footnote to p. 10?—I may be pardoned if I add that I have (or rather, had) 'considered carefully Gildersleeve's wise and acute remarks' (see footnote p. 10) and that I too regard his formula ἔπος ἔν = ἦν πως as 'a powerful solvent.'

is simplest and which has best stood the test of time in independent use, viz. the 'hortative.' Ἴωμεν *let's go* and μὴ Ἴωμεν *let's not go* with their corresponding interrogative use (the 'deliberative') form, as is generally admitted, the basis of many (at least) of the dependent uses of the subjunctive, or, as may well be said, the basis of the 'subjunctive.' But there is another independent use of the verbal type which Ἴωμεν represents besides the 'hortative' and the 'deliberative,—a use which corresponds to our English *shall*-future. The negative in this case is οὐ not μὴ and the first example is at *Il. A.* 262. This usage may be explained as derived from the 'hortative': but there is apparently an intermediate step. In the hortative the subject of the verbal form includes the person or persons addressed by the speaker. So too, when the 'hortative' is used in the singular in communion with one's self. But both the 'hortative' and the 'deliberative' may become, not unnaturally, an 'appellative,' the person or persons addressed being conceived as entirely apart from and external to the subject of the verbal form.

The answer to the 'hortative' is expressed in terms of the 'hortative'; that is to say, either it is a mere echo, if the will of the persons addressed coincide with that of the speaker; or it is the contradictory of the form used by the speaker, if the will of those to whom he addresses himself be adverse. In the case of the 'appellative,' however, the answer is expressed in terms of the imperative. But besides the answer to the appeal we have to consider what I have elsewhere called a 'reflex,' *i.e.* the verbal expression of the impression that the result of the appeal leaves upon the mind of the appellant. At the place just referred to (*Transactions*, 1895, p. li), after characterizing the subjunctive in general as 'the mood of trammelled effort'—a term of which, it may be added, I believe Mr. Hale approves, I have said: 'the reflex of trammelled effort might well be an expression of resignation—naturally negative. This may explain *Il.* 1, 262.' [Of course, the positive 'reflex,' equally possible, would express what one is to do under the authority or control of persons or circumstances.] 'Should we resort here to the familiar Greek device of emphasizing the negation by making it a separate sentence, we should expand this passage to οὐ γάρ πως—οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὅπως ἴδωμαι. We shall thus have traced to its origin a form of expression that has given much trouble.' This

view of the construction in question I still hold, although I use the term appeal to cover the interrogative form as well as that used in the illustration that I have employed in the passage just quoted. This 'οὐ-subjunctive,' to give it its conventional name, may take ἄν like the 'οὐ-optative.' (How far this use of the particle with the 'οὐ-subjunctive' may have affected, if at all, the subjunctive in 'relative final clauses' is a question that no man can answer. A certain amount of contamination is, of course, possible.)

I would now draw up another pedigree, thus:—



The theory that I have abandoned would derive the subjunctive in the clause dependent on οὐκ ἔστιν (οὐκ ἔστι μοι, οὐκ ἔχω: for so I would evolve the common form of the introductory sentence) from 7; the theory of Mr. Hale accepted by Mr. Goodwin would derive it from 5; the theory held here and in the *Transactions* for 1895, would derive it from 4. I may add, without in any way abandoning my position, that the persistence in Attic Greek of this derivative of 4 at the expense of the derivative of 4^b (with ἄν) may be explained by the formal influence of 5 upon 4.

Though Mr. Goodwin has not in the paper that I have just examined treated the optative without ἄν in relative clauses dependent upon οὐκ ἔστιν and οὐκ ἔχω in the present, I may add that it follows as a corollary from the theory just set forth in respect of the subjunctive that this remarkable optative in Attic Greek is a survival of the οὐ-optative. The noteworthy sequence marks it as archaic and archaistic.

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THE DATIVE SINGULAR OF THE FIFTH DECLENSION IN LATIN.

WE are accustomed to regard the genitive and dative singular of the fifth declension as similar in form, e.g. *faciēi, fidēi*, and to compare them in this respect with the gen. and dat. sing. of the first declension. And we have the authority of Priscian for so doing. Priscian, writing in the sixth century A.D., says (i. p. 366 H.): *genetivus et dativus ejus declinationis sunt similes; fiunt enim extrema s nominativi abjecta et assumpta i: ut 'hic dies,' 'hujus diei,' 'huic diei'; 'haec facies,' 'hujus faciei,' 'huic faciei.'* Et servat quidem productionem nominativi, si i habeat paenultimam, ut 'acies, aciēi,' 'rabies, rabieī'; sin autem consonantem habeat ante -es, corripitur e tam in genetivo quam in dativo, ut 'haec fides, fidēi,' 'res, rei,' 'spes, spēi,' 'plebes, plebēi.'

Now there is every likelihood that the Latin fifth declension followed the lines of the first. To a Roman of, let us say the third century B.C., the fifth declension was apparently a mere duplicate of the first, with *ē* instead of *ā* as its characteristic vowel. *Diēi* was a genitive of the type of *filiāi, familiāi*, while the bye-form *dies* gen. followed a first declension variety like

famiāis; diērum answered to *filiārum, diēbus* to *filiābus*, etc. From the beginning of Roman literature there is a tendency, which gathers additional force in each successive generation, to set *ē*-forms side by side with *ā*-forms. To Plautus' *segnities* (cf. *segnitia*), *vastities* (cf. *vastitia*), etc., Terence adds *mollities*, Lucretius *notities*, *spurcities*, and so on. (For details see Neue's *Formenlehre*.) Often the fifth declension forms oust the others from use, as, for example, the *effigia* of Plautus is superseded by the *ē*-form *effigies* in classical Latin.

It is precisely this close relation between the first and fifth declension which throws suspicion on a dative like *faciēi* or *fidēi*. For it seems certain that forms like *filiāi, aulāi* were peculiar to the genitive and were never extended to the dative. Priscian, it is true, speaks of disyllabic *-ai* as a dative as well as a genitive ending, in contrast to diphthongal *-ai* of the nom., voc. plural (i. p. 291, 17 H.): *nominativus et vocativus pluralis primae declensionis similis est genetivo et dativo singulari. Nam in -ae diphthongum profertur, ut 'hi' et 'o poetae'; sed in his non potest divisio fieri, sicut in illis. But this statement of his can hardly be correct.*

The evidence of the extant literature is all in favour of the disyllabic ending *-āi* being exclusively a genitive, and never under any circumstances a dative ending. And comparative philology, though it has not yet been able to determine with certainty the origin of this curious genitive suffix *-āi*, can nevertheless mark off with exactness the dative termination from the genitive. The dative ending was originally *-āi*, a long diphthong (Gk. *-ā*), which in certain positions in the sentence became *-ā*, a form used for a time in early Latin but afterwards dropped, and in others *-āi*, that is to say the ordinary diphthong *-ai*, which in the classical period became *-ae*. The genitive ending *-āi*, passed (presumably through *-āi*) into the diphthong *-āi* about the time of Plautus, which, like the similar dative ending, became in classical Latin *-ae*. The identity of the gen. and dat. terminations in the classical period is the inevitable result of the phonetic laws of the language. Both reach the same goal, but their starting-point is not the same. In the third century B.C. and earlier genitive *-āi* was quite remote from dative *-āi*.

The fifth declension, we have seen, followed the pattern of the first. We should expect then to find a disyllabic *-ēi*, which through the working of Latin phonetic laws would become *-ēi*, and in rapid utterance even *-ēi* (class. *-i*) in the genitive, but a diphthongal *-ēi* which would become either *ē* or *-ēi* (class. Lat. *-i*) in the dative. That is precisely what we do find in the earliest writer whose works have been preserved in sufficient extent to enable us to determine his habit of speech. Plautus uses *dīēi*, *rēi* (occasionally *rēi*, or with the form of rapid utterance, *rēi*) for the genitive; but makes the dative of *dies* invariably disyllabic, of *res* invariably monosyllabic. His treatment of the *Ē*-stems thus corresponds exactly to his treatment of the *Ā*-stems. *Rēi* (*rēi*) is with him a genitive, never a dative; precisely as *magnāi* is a genitive, never a dative form: e.g. *Mil.* 103:

magnāi rēi publicāi grātia.

(For details I refer the reader to Seyffert *Studia Plautina* p. 26.)¹ Terence, too, employs no other than a monosyllabic ending for the dative of the fifth declension. The dative of *fides*, for example, is in his plays a

¹ Through an unfortunate confusion in the correction of the proofs this fact has been wrongly stated in my *Latin Language*, p. 386, ch. vi. § 25. For 'the same as that of the genitive' read 'the same as that of *Ā*-stems.'

disyllabic word, variously printed by editors as *fidē* and *fidēi*, never trisyllabic. Ennius, Lucilius, and the Republican dramatists, so far as the extant fragments of their writings enable us to judge, followed the same usage.² Laevius (ap. Prisc. i. p. 242 H.) has *quēi*.

When we come to the poets of the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire, we find great dearth of evidence. The dative singular of a fifth declension word is seldom used. Catullus offers no example of one. But Lucretius, if the MSS. be correct, twice uses the abnormal form *rēi* as dat. of *res*³: i. 687

neque sunt igni simulata neque ulli
Praeterea *rēi* quae corpora mittere possit
Sensibus.

ii. 235

At contra nulli de nulla parte neque ullo
Tempore inane potest vacuum subsistere
rēi.

Horace's *rēi* in *C.* iii. 24, 64:

curtae nescioquid semper abest *rēi*,

is most naturally taken as a dative, though some editors make it a genitive. His *fide* on the other hand is absolutely free from doubt in *S.* i. 3, 95:

prodiderit commissa fide.

We do not get satisfactory evidence of

² Neue (*Formenlehre*² i. p. 378) quotes *fidēi* dat. from Ennius (ap. Non. p. 112 M.). But the manuscripts' reading (see Onions' edition) *reliquae fidei* points to an archetype with *relique fidei*, scanned *rēlique fidēi*, and gives no authority for a trisyllabic *fidēi*. His *rēi* dat. in Ter. *Ad.* i. 2, 15 (95) has even less justification. All the MSS. agree in presenting the line in this, the indubitably correct form:

rēi dāre operam, ruri ēsse pareum ac sōbrium.

In the face of all this evidence we can hardly scan the line of Caecilius (*Com.* 25 R.) as: *nil ego spēi credo: ómnis res spissās facit*. Ribbeck scans: *nihl ego spēi credo*. The variation however of the MSS. (of Nonius) between *n. rei ego c.* (H²GZ²B) and *n. c. spēi c.* (H²LP²VZ²) may point to:

nil spēi ego credo: ómnis res spissās facit.

The testimony of 'Publ. Syrus' *Append.* 327: *numquam satist spēi inprobae quicquid datur*, is of course of little value.

³ I do not think that any stress should be laid on the fact that *res* was an I.-Eur. *ēy*-stem with dat. sing. *rēy-ai*. For there is every indication that all Latin Fifth Decl. words, whatsoever may have been their I.-Eur. origin, formed their dat. sing. in one and the same way.

disyllabic *-ei* till we come to Manilius and Seneca,¹ e.g. Manil. iii. 107 :

fideique tenet parentia vincla.

v. 699 :

Nocte sub extrema permittunt jura diei.

Seneca *Thy.* 520; obsides fidei accipe. Hos innocentes, frater. *Thy.* 764: et datas fidei manus. *Phaedr.* 136 neve te dirae spei Praebe obsequentem. The prose authors cannot be used in evidence for the disyllabic form of ending. For the older use of the diphthong *ei* was not wholly replaced by the classical spelling \bar{e} till the beginning of the Empire (e.g. *queis* dat. plur.), so that *fidei*, *diei*, *rei* in Cicero, Caesar, etc., may represent a pronunciation *fidē*, *dīē*, *rē*, as well as *fidē*, *dīē*, *rē*.² Nor, indeed, can the evidence of our MSS. be wholly accepted even for the spelling *fidei*, *diei*, *rei* against *fide*, *die*, *re*. We know from Aulus Gellius (second century A.D.) how persistently the scribes of the Empire effaced from their copies the antique forms of their originals; and in one chapter of the *Noctes Atticae* (ix. 14) he mentions two actual examples of the modernising of fifth declension forms (§ 2 corruptos autem quosdam libros repperi, in quibus 'faciei' scriptum est, illo, quod ante scriptum erat, oblitterato, and again § 3). Even if a genuine ancient form like *fide*, *die*, *re* did manage to survive the transcription of the Empire, it ran the greatest possible risk of being removed by Carolingian monk-copyists, who in obedience to their text-books of orthography would give every fifth declension dative the ending *-ei*, and would regard a form like *fide*, *die*, *re* in their original as a barbarous misspelling of the same stamp as *paretem* for *parietem*, *quetus* for *quietus*, etc. On the other hand the occasional dative \bar{e} -forms in our MSS. of Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, etc., e.g. *republicae* Cic. *Phil.* ix. 1, 2; ix. 3, 6; xi. 9, 21 (for a fuller list see *Neue Formenl.*² pp. 378-9), deserve to be regarded as survivals of a genuine ancient spelling which was

either frequently or universally employed by these authors themselves.³

More weight attaches to a single statement of Aulus Gellius than to any number of instances that can be quoted from ancient or mediaeval MSS. of spellings like *fidei*, *diei*. This grammarian, who belonged to the second century A.D., discusses in a chapter of his *Noctes Atticae* (ix. 14) the difficulties of the fifth declension, and expressly tells us that the best writers made the dative *facie*, not *faciei* (presumably *faciē*): in casu autem dandi, qui purissime locuti sunt, non 'faciei,' uti nunc dicitur, sed 'facie' dixerunt. This is testimony that cannot be set aside; and it makes the case for *die*, *facie*, *fide* very strong indeed. It is somewhat startling to find how little evidence there is for the familiar forms of our grammars, *faciē*, *fidē*, until Silver Age Latin. In the early literature the dative termination is unmistakeably monosyllabic; and this monosyllabic form, whether \bar{e} (class. Lat. \bar{e}) or \bar{e} , is the only form that is correct according to the phonetic law; for it is the legitimate development of an original \bar{e} . At some time or other the incorrect form, disyllabic *-ei*, was introduced through false analogy, through analogy apparently of the genitive case. But at what precise time did this spurious form become current? To answer this question is no easy matter; and yet it depends on the answer, whether *faciē*, *fidē* are to remain in our grammars as the classical Latin forms. I wish that scholars who have made a special study of the text of Lucretius would let us know exactly how much weight they think ought to be attached to the reading of the MSS. in those isolated examples of disyllabic *-ei* in Republican Latin. Even if the reading is above suspicion, it is doubtful how far an imitator of the antique like Lucretius can be taken as an authority for the mode of speech that

³ Julius Caesar in the second book of his *De Analogia* declared *die*, *specie*, etc., to be the true genitive forms. We should therefore expect to find these forms in his writings. But the MSS. offer persistently the 'modern' *ei*-forms, though we have *acie* *Bell. Gall.* ii. 23, 1 (for fuller details see Neue, p. 379). This fifth decl. genitive in \bar{e} , the existence of which is beyond doubt, seems at first sight to break the natural sequence (1) \bar{e} i, (2) \bar{e} i, (3) \bar{e} i, (4) \bar{e} i. But I think that the true explanation of it is that after the fourth stage had been reached (in the course of the second century B.C.), forms like *progeniē*, *speciē* fell under suspicion of being second declension genitives and were reformed on the analogy of the other cases so as to end in \bar{e} , the characteristic vowel of the fifth declension, *progeniē*, *speciē*. The evidence for a dative in \bar{e} seems stronger than that for a genitive in \bar{e} in the early literature, e.g. Plautus,

¹ Seneca, be it noted, was the first to scan *cui* as a disyllable, *cui*.

² So too in an inscription like the *Epist. Praet. ad Tiburtes* of c. 100 B.C. (*C.I.L.* i. 201): neque id uobis neque rei poplicae uostrae otile esse facere, the *ei* of *rei* may express the same sound as the *ei* of *uobis*. FIDE (dat.) on an old inscription of Picenum (*C.I.L.* i. 170) is equally ambiguous, for at this early time E often represents the diphthong *ei*. Cf. SALVTE for *Salutei*, class. *Saluti*, on an inscription of the same period and locality (i. 179).

was current in his own day. His *rēi* may quite conceivably be a spurious archaism, like his *supera* for *supra* (cf. SVPRAD on the Sen. Consult. de Bacchanalibus of 186 B.C.)

What has hitherto kept the place of dat. *dīēi*, *fidēi* in our Latin grammars free from question has been the belief that the gen. and dat. of the fifth declension were identical forms derived from the same origin; so that

every instance of a disyllabic genitive *-ei* in Latin poetry was taken as evidence for the dative as well as for the genitive. That belief we see to be utterly erroneous, and its rejection involves the rejection of nearly all the evidence for a disyllabic *-ei* in the dative of the fifth declension in classical Latin.

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NOTES.

PLAUTUS, *Amphitruo*, 343 (Goetz-Schoell):

ME. Servosne <es>an liber? So. Ut quomque animo conlubitumst meo.

ME. Ain vero? So. Aio enim vero. ME. Verbero. So. Mentiris nunc.

The last two words in this passage are evidently the most important of all. Prof. Palmer thinks that Sosia speaks thus 'because Mercury had said *verbero* (scoundrel), which Sosia pretends to understand as the present indicative.' I have never been able to accept this explanation. Mercury, surprised by Sosia's pert answer, *Ut . . . meo*, ejaculates, *Ain vero?* 'What's that you say?' the tone giving his utterance a force like 'Can I have heard aright?' Sosia, punning, pretends to take Mercury's question literally as meaning 'Do you speak the truth?' and hence answers by saying 'Why, yes, of course I do.' Mercury, disgusted by the pun, cries *Verbero* 'Wretch,' to which Sosia replies, 'That's a lie you're uttering now.' He is not a *Verbero*, but Sosia and a *servus*.

Two points call for notice. (1) *Ain vero?* For the force given above to these words see Langen, *Beitr. zur Krit. u. Erklär. des Pl.*, p. 119: '*ain, ain tu, ain vero, ain tandem* stehen entweder als Unterbrechung der Rede eines Andern beim Beginne der Gegenrede oder als blosser Unterbrechung zum Ausdruck der Verwunderung, Ueberraschung über das, was ein Anderer gesagt hat, im Ganzen bei Plautus mindestens fünfundzwanzigmal Mal . . .' That it was perfectly possible, however, for Sosia to interpret them literally, without doing the least violence to the language, as meaning 'Are you telling me the truth?' can be seen (a) from such a passage as Pl. *Epid.* 699 where *Ain tu? lubuit?* is answered by *Aio, vel da pignus, ni east filia*, and (b) from the

fact that not infrequently in Plautus *vero* = 'truthfully,' 'truly.' See Brix-Niemeyer on *Captivi*, 567.

(2) If we had *Mentiris tu nunc* in the text instead of the simple *mentiris nunc*, every one would, I think, admit at once that the interpretation advanced in this note would be inevitable. I do not believe, however, that it is really invalidated by the absence of *tu*. I would reason thus. The primary contrast in the passage is not between the persons: hence we have neither *ego* with *aio enim vero* nor *tu* with *mentiris nunc*. The real antithesis is rather between the actions, between *aio* and *mentiris*.¹ This opposition has been emphasized by placing the verbs first in their respective clauses. Further, the actor could without difficulty make this contrast clear. Finally, since *mentiris* carries its own subject with it, the emphasis placed upon it brings out sufficiently the secondary contrast between the persons.

Plautus, *Captivi*, 769 ff.

Maxumas opimitates opiparasque offers mihi:

Laudem, lucrum, ludum, iocum, festivitatem, ferias,

Pompam, penum, potationes, saturitatem, gaudium.

The note on *pompam* in the Brix-Niemeyer edition runs as follows: '*pompam*, vgl. Plaut. fragm. Baccar. *quoinus haec ventri portatur pompam?*'² von einem massenhaften Marktein-

¹ I have tried to bring this out by translating above 'That's a lie you're uttering now!'

² This is the only passage cited by Lewis and Short for this meaning of *pompam*, but the reference is wrongly given as Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 12. Correct to iii. 16. 1, (Eysenhardt). The same error is made by Friedlaender in his note on Petronius 60, to be cited presently. Brix-Niemeyer, though they had this place in mind, do not give the exact reference.

kauf für die Küche, der beim Nachhause-tragen das Bild eines Prozessionsaufzuges bot. Stich. 683 *agite, ite foras: ferte pompam.* Hallidie says rather vaguely: 'In the Latin dramatists it (pompa) is used of provisions and other requisites for a banquet.' One cannot help regretting that no citations are given in support of this statement. If we may trust Ribbeck's indices, the word does not occur at all in the fragments of the tragic or the comic writers. I feel sure that it does not occur, at least in this sense, in Terence. Gray makes no comment on Stichus, l. 1.

Note that in the Baccaria, as in the Captivi, *pompa* is used in this peculiar sense by a parasite. In the Stichus the speaker is a slave. We may, perhaps, conclude that this use is in its origin colloquial and plebeian.

I have noted another good parallel in Petronius, 60: *Iam illic (= in mensa) repositorium cum placentis aliquot erat positum, quod medium Priapus a pistore factus tenebat, gremioque satis amplo omnis generis poma et uvas sustinebat more vulgato. Avidius ad pompam manus porreximus.* Friedländer cites Martial x. 31. 3, 4

*Nec bene cenasti: nullus tibi quattuor emptus
Librarum cenae pompa caputque fuit,*

and xii. 62, 9

*Cernis ut Ausonio similis tibi pompa macello
Pendeat et quantus luxurietur honos?*

Only one of the three passages in Plautus, that from the Baccaria, is cited by him, but, as noted above, the reference is wrongly given.

Plautus, *Trinummus*, 533-537 (Brix-Niemeyer):

*Neque umquam quisquamst, quoius ille ager
fuit,
Quin pessume ei res vorterit. Quorum fuit,
Alii exolatam abierunt, alii emortui,
Alii se suspendere. Em, nunc hic quoius est
Ut ad incitast redactus.*

With the description of the ill luck attending the owner of this field compare what Aulus Gellius iii. 9 says of the *equus Seianus*. Especially interesting is § 3 *eundem equum tali fuisse fato sive fortuna ferunt, ut quisque haberet eum possideretque, ut is cum omni domo, familia fortunis*

que omnibus suis ad interneconem deperiret. In §§ 4 and 5 follows a list of the calamities that befell the successive owners of the horse, and in § 6 we read: *Hinc proverbium de hominibus calamitosis ortum dicique solitum: Ille homo habet equum Seianum.*

In § 7 Gellius quotes another proverbial expression for an unfortunate possession, *aurum Tolosanum*, adding: *Nam cum oppidum Tolosanum in terra Gallica Quintus Caepio consul diripisset multumque auri in eius oppidi templis fuisset, quisquis ex ea direptione aurum attigit misero cruciabilique exitu periit.*

Terence, *Phormio*, 140 ff.:

GE. *Ad precatorem adeam credo, qui mihi
Sic oret: 'nunc amitte quaeso hunc;
ceterum
Posthac si quicquam, nil precor.' Tan-
tum modo
Non addit: 'ubi ego hinc abiero, vel
occidito.'*

Add to Dziatzko's note a reference to Plaut. *Epid.* 687 (Goetz-Schoell), which contains an allusion to the *precatore*. Cf. also Petronius, 49: *Nondum efflaverat omnia, cum repositorium cum sue ingenti mensam occupavit. . . deinde magis magisque Trimalchio intuens eum, 'Quid? quid?' inquit, 'porcus hic non est exinteratus? Voca, voca cocum in medium.' Cum constitisset ad mensam cocus tristis et diceret se oblitum esse exinterare, 'Quid? oblitus?' Trimalchio exclamat, 'putes illum piper et cuminum non coniecisse. Despolia.' Non fit mora: despoliatur cocus atque inter duos tortores maestus consistit. *Deprecari tamen omnes coeperunt et dicere: 'solet fieri; rogamus, mittas; postea si fecerit, nemo nostrum pro illo rogabit.'**

Horace, *Satires*, i. 1. 49:

*vel dic quid referat intra
naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an
mille aret?*

So far as I have noted, Kiessling alone of recent editors comments on the function of *vel*. His statement is: '*vel* verknüpft nicht *dic*, sondern die Frage *quid referat*, als einen neuen Versuch die Unvernunft des ewigen Zusammenhäufens darzuthun, mit *non tuus capiet venter plus ac meus*' in v. 45. This statement seems to me in part erroneous. Does not *vel* rather join the question *quid referat* to the question already put in v. 44: *quid habet pulchri constructus acervus? In*

this way we make *vel* connect the two attempts thus far made 'die Unvernunft des ewigen Zusammenhäufens darzuthun.' It is hardly necessary to quote examples in support of the connection of questions by adversative conjunctions. A simple reference to passages like Verg. Aen. i. 369 Sed vos qui tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris, Quove tenetis inter, or Livy i. l. 7 percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, and Weissenborn's note, will suffice.

Horace, *Satires*, i. i. 68 ff. :

Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina—quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur: *congestis undique saccis*
Indormis inhians, et tamquam parcere sacris
Cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.

Of recent editors some—Palmer, Wickham, Greenough—are silent about the words italicized in the foregoing passage, others—Schütz, Kiessling, Orelli-Mewes (editio maior), Kirkland—agree in taking *undique* as = 'from every side.' Schütz writes on v. 71: 'Der Geizhals schläft auf seinen *undique* (*per fas et nefas*) zusammengerafften Geldsäcken mit aufgesperrtem Munde, d. h. gierig nach mehr, wie der durstige Tantalus nach Wasser; selbst im Schläfe verlässt ihn die Begierde nicht.' Cf. Kiessling: 'Nicht die *sacci* sind *undique congesti*, sondern das in ihnen enthaltene Geld; aber *saccis* ist um des Wortspiels mit dem folgenden an derselben Versstelle *sacris* gewählt;' Orelli-Mewes: '*congestis undique* "quos omni quaestus genere parasti;" Kirkland, 'gathered together from every side; *i.e.* by every means of gain.'

I prefer to take *undique* here as = 'on every side.' If we so interpret, we shall not need to take *saccis* as put by metonymy for the contents of the bags rather than the bags themselves, and we shall, I think, get a closer parallel between the miser's situation and that of Tantalus. The miser, falling asleep, with mouth agape, in the midst of the money bags piled high on every side of him might well remind one of Tantalus with mouth open trying to catch the abounding waters that touch his very lips. If I may use the phrase, the miser is in the midst of a flood of money bags, even as Tantalus is in the midst of the flood of waters. Note too that with this view *congestis* at once receives additional point as suggesting the same idea of abundance in the miser's case that *flumina*, v. 69, does in the case of Tantalus. We have a second pair of related pictures in the balancing words *captat* and *inhians*: see Kiessling ad loc. The one by implication pictures Tantalus' open mouth as he seeks to drink, the other by direct statement brings vividly to the mind the figure of the miser greedily gaping over his gold.

Horace, *Satires*, i. 5. 50:

Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa

For a good commentary on *plenissima villa* cf. Cicero, *Cato Maior*, § 56: Semper enim boni assidue domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam horum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellat.

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LATIN BARBA AND ITS INITIAL B.

"How is Lat. *barba* 'beard,' for which we should expect **farba*" from Idg. **bhardhā*?¹ ("O.H.G. *bart*, O. Bulg. *brada*) to be explained? All the attempted explanations known to us are unsatisfactory."

So wrote Professor Karl Brugmann in 1886 (*Grundriss*, vol. i. § 338 Rem.), and still in 1896 the question awaits an answer.

Professor F. Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*², 1890, § 55,

¹ See Brugmann, *Grundr.* vol. i., §§ 338, 370; and Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*², 1890, § 55, p. 295.

p. 295, and, more recently again, Mr. W. M. Lindsay, *The Lat. Lang.*, 1894, ch. iv. § 104, p. 283, have sought to explain the initial *b* of *barba* as due to assimilation. But were that so, why have not *faber*² and *fiber*³ likewise become **babber* and **biber*?

Before I venture to offer what I believe

² Containing *f* from Idg. *dh*, see Brugmann *op. cit.* i. § 379; and Stolz. *l.c.*

³ Containing *f* from Idg. *bh*, see Brugmann *op. cit.* i. § 341.

to be a hitherto unsuggested solution of this difficult problem, it will be of use to consider the evidence at hand relative to the date of the initial *b* of *barba* :—

That an eminently early date must necessarily be assigned for the supersession of the initial *f* of Lat. **farba* by *b* is proved by the Latin name *Barbatus* found twice on the inscriptions on the tombs of the Scipios :— (1) on that of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus the consul of 298 B.C. (*C.I.L.* i. 30, an inscription which according to Ritschl “dates not later than 520 U.C.,” 234 B.C.), and (2) on that of Barbatus’ son, L. Cornelius Scipio, the consul of 259 B.C. (*C.I.L.* i. 32, which, according to Ritschl, was “probably written about 500 U.C.” 254 B.C.).¹

Having thus shown the antiquity of the initial *b* of Lat. *barba* (for which **farba* was to have been expected as coming from Idg. **bhardhā*), I may venture to offer my own explanation. I would suggest that Lat. *barba* owed its initial *b* to the influence of Celtic,² influence which may be dated either 390 B.C., the year of the invasion and occupation of Rome by the Celts under Brennus,³ or indeed at any time in the first half of the fourth century B.C., during which the Gauls (as the Romans called them⁴) or Celts (as they called themselves⁴) “often returned to Latium” (Mommsen, *The History of the Roman Republic*, abr. ed., 1891, ch. ix. pp. 80, 81).⁵

¹ Of the Latin proper-names formed on *barba* (e.g. *Barba*, *Barbo*, *Barbatus*, *Barbula*, *Ahenobarbus*) *Barbatus* is, I think, the only one occurring on inscriptions so early as the ‘Inscriptiones vetustissimae bello Hannibalicæ quæ videntur anteriores’ (= *C.I.L.* i. Pars Prior), and therefore the only one which is of use in the present enquiry.

² For *b* was the regular representative of Idg. *bh* in Prim. Celtic; compare e.g. O.Ir. *bri* gen. *breg* ‘mountain,’ Gall. *brigi-* (in *Brigiani*, *Arc-brigium*); Skr. *bṛh-ant-* ‘great, high,’ Armen. *barjr* ‘high,’ root-form **bhrǵh-* (see Brugmann, *op. cit.* vol. i. § 341).

³ ‘Brennus,’ or, to be strictly correct, ‘The Brennus’ (*Brennus* merely signifying ‘king’ or ‘chief’).

⁴ See F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language* (new edition 1882), vol. i. Lect. v., p. 225 note.

⁵ If not too fanciful, an argument in favour of the earlier date, 390 B.C. may be drawn from the familiar legend that it was to the *stroking of the beard of M. Papirius* by one of the invading Celts and the consequent retaliation wherewith the latter sought

The Celts themselves are known to have borrowed the Latin word for ‘gold,’ namely *aurum*⁶ (whence Irish *ór*, Cymr. *awr*, Camb. *our*, *eur*). Hence it is not an extravagant presumption that they in their turn may have left on Latin some traces (however slight) of their own language.

It well deserves mention here that there is good ground for believing Lat. *gladius* ‘sword’ to have been in reality a loan-word from Celtic⁷: Welsh *cledd* *cleddyf* ‘sword’ (cf. e.g. St. Matthew xxvi. 52, *Dychwel dy gleddyf i’ wle: canys pawl a’r a gymmerant gleddyf, “Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword”*); Gael. and Ir. *claidheamh* ‘sword’ (seen also in *claidheamhmòr* ‘a great sword, broadsword,’ more recognisable in the anglicised spellings *claymore* *glaymore*).⁸

On the evidence at our disposal (meagre though it is admitted to be) I venture to believe that we may be right in regarding the initial *b* of Lat. *barba* (beside the correct Lat. **farba*) as one of the traces of Celtic influence on Latin.⁹

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to avenge the insult, that the general slaughter of the aged Roman senators who had refused to leave their ancestral halls was due (see T. Arnold *History of Rome*⁶, vol. i. ch. xxiv. pp. 543–545).

⁶ Latin *aurum* was borrowed by the Celts from Latin [after the date of ‘rhotacism,’ concerning which see the second of ‘Two Papers on the Oscan Word *Anasaket*’ (London: D. Nutt, nearly ready) § 7, note] at “the time of the great Celtic movement southwards . . . which introduced the black day of Allia (390 B.C.) into the Roman Calendar.” See O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*², Engl. ed. 1890, Part iii. ch. iv. p. 177.

⁷ This possibility has already been noticed by King and Cookson, *Sounds and Inflections in Greek and Latin*, 1888, p. 126).

⁸ The word *gladius* occurs in the *Annales* of Ennius (239—169 B.C.), while the diminutive *Gladiolus* (*ἐργχειπίδιον*) is found as the title of a comedy of Livius Andronicus (flor. 240 B.C.). It is thus obvious that the word (if a loan-word) must have been borrowed at a fairly early date.

⁹ At what date was the word *barbarus* borrowed by Latin from Greek? (For the fact of its having been so borrowed see Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*² § 42, p. 233). Was it borrowed so early as the first half of the fourth century B.C.? And, if so, could the transition of Lat. **farba* to *barba* under the influence of Celtic possibly have been aided by the common use of the word *barbarus* among the Romans as an appellation of the Celts?

NOTES ON VIRGIL, *GEORG.* II. 501-2.

THE explanation of *populi tabularia* quoted by Mr. Ray from Forbiger in the October number of the *Classical Review* rests on a more respectable authority than Forbiger's, being taken verbally by Forbiger from Heyne's commentary. But Mr. Ray does not seem to have noticed that it bears a different sense from that which he attaches to it, and that the sense which he attaches to it does not suit the drift of the passage. 'Happy is the peasant,' Mr. Ray explains the phrase, 'who has not seen the grinding injustice of the tax-farmers.' It is obvious to remark that this was precisely what the peasant did see, and the inhabitant of Rome did not. But Heyne's explanation is something quite different: 'Happy is the peasant who has not dealt in public contracts.' His simple and natural life is contrasted with that of the financier, as, in the words which immediately precede, it was contrasted with that of the lawyer and politician.

This explanation gives Virgil's phrase a rational and appropriate meaning. But whether the words will bear it is a different question. These contracts of the *publicani* were only one sub-division of the mass of public records preserved in the Roman Record Office attached to the Temple of Saturn, and not even the most important sub-division. One of the two notes on the phrase in the Servian commentary is in the following apt and accurate words: 'negotia publica et rationes populi, quae in tabulis scribuntur, unde tabularia dicta.' So far as the phrase expresses an abstract idea it can hardly be restricted to any more special meaning.

But what is important to grasp—as the *Georgics* are a poem and not a treatise on political economy—is not so much the abstract idea in Virgil's mind as its imaginative embodiment. The mere use of the word *vidit* rather than *novit* indicates that urban life rises inevitably before the poet's mind

in a concrete shape. This imaginative instinct, which must needs think in visible forms, acts in the moulding of Virgil's sentence with accumulating force. The first touch of concrete form is given by the epithet, *ferrea*, attached to the abstract word *iura*. In the next member of the sentence the process goes a step further, and political life is now presented under the visible and tangible symbol of the Roman Forum, the central spot of its action. But at this point the imagination has gathered so much momentum that it will not stop. 'The mad forum,' the flat paved space filled with its seething crowd, is actually present to Virgil's inner eyes; and as part of the same picture, the vast mass of the great Record Office across its upper end, a silent background to the shouting orators and surging mob below.

I follow Mr. Ray in using the word Record Office. But that particular *tabularium* was more than this. For a proper English parallel we must conceive of the Treasury and the Record Office in one building occupying the site of the National Gallery; with Westminster Abbey close behind and above them, the Houses of Parliament and the Law Courts sitting in the Royal College of Physicians or St. Martin's Church, and the general elections for the whole country, speeches and all, going on in Trafalgar Square.

There could hardly be a more complete instance of the organic imagination caught, if one may say so, at work. Curiously enough Ovid, so often an unconscious commentator on Virgil's methods, unites the first and last steps of the Virgilian climax, in a line describing the House of the Fates (*Metam.* xv. 810), *solido rerum tabularia ferro*. The contrast could not be more neatly put between the creative and the mechanical imagination.

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NOTE ON HOMER HYMN DEM. 268.

WHEN I see the most brilliant of our younger Homeric scholars proposing *ἀθανάτους θνητοῖσι τ' ὄνειρα καὶ πολλὸν χάριμα*, another of the established reputation of Prof. Tyrrell suggesting *ὄνειρα κάρμα τέτυκται*, and

finally Mr. Allen raising no objection to the latter on metrical grounds,¹ I cannot refrain from pointing out that a syllable naturally short cannot be lengthened at the

¹ *Classical Review* for last month, pp. 388, 393.

end of the fourth foot by position,¹ unless it forms a monosyllabic word. There are no doubt a few exceptions in Homer but so few and so doubtful that they afford no support for importing another. Thus in the phrase βωῶπις or βωῶπι πορνία Ἡρη the ι is certainly long and we should perhaps accent βωῶπις πορνία. At Φ 126 we should read, I now think, μελαίνη φρή(ι) υπαίξει.

¹ Unless of course the consonant or consonants lengthening it are part of the same word.

The rule was observed throughout the whole course of Greek epic verse. Indeed in the late highly polished school of hexameter writers it is still more stringent, for they decline to lengthen even a monosyllable *in thesi* at this part of the verse, at any rate generally speaking.

I believe that the only two exceptions to the Homeric rule in the Hymns are xxxii. 6 and xxxiv. 18, a precious pair of lines.

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE NEW EDITION OF BUSOLT'S *GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTE*.

G. BUSOLT: *Griechische Geschichte*, Band ii. *Die ältere attische Geschichte und die Perserkriege*. Zweite vermehrte u. völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. 1895. Large 8vo. pp. xviii. 814. 13 Mk.

The second edition of Professor Busolt's chief work is all, and more than all, it professes to be, an enlarged and thoroughly revised version of the first (1885-1888). It is virtually a new and in every way a bigger book. It is also a better book, an observation not necessarily consequent on the preceding. The improvement arises not so much from any change in the author's method, as from the notable additions to our resources which have been made during the last ten years, since the first and second 'Parts,' which have now grown into the first and second 'Volumes' of this *History*, saw the light. From two different quarters Greek history has received large endowments, by the Mykenaeen renaissance—it must still for convenience be called Mykenaeen—and by the discovery of the Aris-totelian *Polity of Athens*. These original additions have naturally been attended by a huge and rapid output of treatises and articles, a formidable increment in the bibliography of our subject. It is enough to make less capable or more distracted students well nigh despair to see with what apparent ease Professor Busolt not merely utilises the additions to our original sources, but also digests the masses of accumulating exegesis, down to the last German monograph, before going to press. His exemplary diligence in this respect would make his work indispensable to all students of Greek history, quite apart from the value of his own contribution to the discussion raised by the new material, and by the literature

arising out of it. This growth of materials has led the author not merely to enlarge his volumes, but to re-distribute his chapters and paragraphs, and, indeed, to renumber and to rename them. The effect here is all for the better, and fully bears out the author's prefatory claim to exhibit a more thorough-going analysis of the original sources, and a more convenient synthesis of results than in the first edition. Yet, here I venture to suggest *argumenti causa* that the new first chapter (*Die mykenische epoche* i. 2 3-126), useful and interesting as it is in itself, somewhat disturbs the symmetry and even the method observable in the *Handbuch* as a whole. This chapter is in the first place an inventory and description of the material remains of the so-called Mykenaeen period. It is in the second place a survey of the geographical distribution of those remains, and a discussion of the antecedents and origin of the Mykenaeen culture, with results probably not all acceptable, even now, to our leading archaeologists. It is not, and indeed it could not be, a history of the Mykenaeen period; the time is not yet come for that. This first chapter is preceded by three pages on the sources and recent bibliography (*Quellen und Literatur*): but the description of the archaeological evidences is here the description of the real *Quellen*, the most authentic, the most primitive. The second chapter deals with the origin of the historical complex of Greek states (*Die Entstehung der geschichtlichen Staatenwelt*): but the 'Mykenaeen' states are becoming more real than some of their successors: they had their constitutions, their cults, their economy, their politics, as well as their arts, and arms, all which can hardly be relegated permanently to the 'praehistoric' limbo. In truth, Busolt's

present arrangement can be but transitional. We may hope to see in the third, or in the fourth edition of the same work from the same learned pen, a further stage reached in the thorough-going analysis of evidences, and in the convenient synthesis of results. Meanwhile the book in its present form may safely be taken to exhibit more fully and fairly than any similar work the position of the whole argument down to the date of its publication (1893): and we can trust the indefatigable author, when the time comes for a retraction of the problems discussed in his first and second chapters, to place his readers once again fully abreast of the ever-growing argument.

The large amount of space devoted in the first volume to the Mykenaeen question, and the discovery meanwhile of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* entailed the transfer of *Early Attic history* to the second volume, with which indeed we are here more directly concerned: nor merely the transfer, but a wholesale reconsideration, only some few degrees less far-reaching and novel than the results of that Mykenaeen renaissance before recorded. In dealing with the new text, a source, or at least a 'channel,' (to borrow a distinction from v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff), of a class with which a scholarly historian is of course well qualified to deal, Professor Busolt naturally moves with even more authority than among the ruins and relics of Mykenai. We have all tried our hands, with more or less success, on the text, or on the contents, of the recovered treatise: and for a while the English contribution to the new debate was both prompt and ample. It must now be confessed that with the works of Kaibel and of Blass, of Wilamowitz and of Busolt before us—to name only the more considerable representatives—Germany is leaving us behind. It was bound to be so. What chance has a lecturer in Oxford—or, for aught I know, in Dublin or in Cambridge—of getting an audience together, out of our 'Mods.' ridden, 'Greats' ridden, Tripos ridden, Civil Service haunted first-classes, to stand such a course of deliberate and exemplary analysis, as we see deposited in *Aristoteles und Athen*, even assuming the genius and learning among us to essay it? There may be better times in store for those now condemned, or permitted, 'to bow themselves in the house of Rimmon'—our examinations-idol—but meanwhile his votaries are fain for the most part to serve this false god with dainties condensed from the works of those German prophets. But to return:—it is no matter for regret that

Professor Busolt had printed the first two hundred pages of his second volume before the appearance of *Aristoteles und Athen*, and has only been able to use that brilliant and suggestive work for the history from Drakon onwards, and, for that, only after having worked out his own results. We have thus in the volume before us, and especially in the forty pages devoted to the discussion of the new authority on its own merits, a more independent, or perhaps a less polemical, appreciation of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* than is possible to any one now, at least until he has accepted, or refuted, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Thus it will count for something with those, who may not be able to form an independent judgment, that Busolt, like v. Wilamowitz, regards the *Polity* as Aristotle's. It would save a deal of trouble, no doubt, even in the matter of mere citation, to be convinced that we might quote the treatise as Aristotle's, *sans phrase*. But even the ingenious manner in which v. Wilamowitz dovetails the composition of the *Politics*—or of the various courses of lectures which that work may represent—into the composition of the *Polity*, is rather suggestive than convincing. Perhaps those who doubt the strict Aristotelian authorship of the *Polity* may have been expecting too much from the historical excursions of the father of Logic: but 'very Aristotle' will still seem to many an hypothesis unnecessary to explain any of the data, and well-nigh irreconcilable with some of them. Apart from the traditional ascription of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (plus 157 similar tracts) to Aristotle, would any scholar have identified the author of the Br. Mus. Papyrus cxxxi. with the author of the *Politics*? Well, yes, perhaps the brilliant writer of *Aristoteles und Athen*, who has convinced himself, and Professor Busolt too, that the author of the oligarchic party-pamphlet, which we all recognize among the sources of the *Polity*, was Theramenes, son of Hagnon, of Steiria, and none other. This identification adds not merely a fresh fame to Theramenes, but a new name to the list of Greek authors: for, it was not previously proved that Theramenes had published anything, no, not even his own speeches (*A. u. A. i.* 167). But it was, we are now told, from this lost and forgotten work of Theramenes that Aristotle derived, at the eleventh hour, after writing the well-known passage in the *Politics* on Drakon (2, 12, 1274b), that later account of the Drakontic Constitution, which formed one of the surprises of the new-found *Ἀθηναίων*

πολιτεία. Busolt may have done well in cancelling his acceptance of the hypothesis that Kritias indited the said brochure: but the tempting ascription to Theramenes is unprovable. If an authentic work by Theramenes had just come into 'Aristotle's' hands, and he was borrowing largely from it things new and old, it is a little unfortunate that no reference, however remote, to the literary activity of Theramenes occurs in the text. The praise of him by name in association with Nikias and Thukydides [son of Melesias] makes nothing for his authority as a writer, but rather the reverse, especially as it occurs in a context, for which Theramenes cannot have been 'Aristotle's' authority. It is one thing to suppose that the writer of the *Polity* had a more or less authentic report of a speech, or of speeches, of Theramenes in 404 B.C., or in 412-1 B.C., and used them in writing his accounts of the Revolution of the Four Hundred and of the Régime of the Thirty; it is another thing to name Theramenes as author of a never-cited tract, in which the Drakontic Constitution was set out, with much more to the same effect. But even if the description of the Drakontic Constitution in 'Ath. πολ. 4 were demonstrably traced to the pen of Theramenes, that would leave its historical character as dubious, nay, as discreditable, as ever. Busolt has not been beguiled into accepting von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's verdict on the historical value of this passage, and Busolt's opinion on this matter is the more valuable, as he was originally prepared to reconstruct the constitutional history of Athens, upon the supposition that the Drakontic Constitution was a distinct and authentic stage in the order of events. The argument of *Aristoteles und Athen* helps to vindicate the passage as a genuine part of the original text, and plausibly nominates an ultimate authority for this novel and inconsequent chapter in Athenian history; but it has done very little (in my opinion) to render the passage acceptable as a real addition to our knowledge of the state of Præ-Solonian Athens, and for this conclusion it is pleasant to be able to cite the authority of Busolt's second thoughts.¹

¹ To avoid misunderstanding, it may be well to note that the sceptic is not bound to deny the restriction of the franchise, in Drakon's time, to the citizens who carried arms, and themselves provided the arms they carried (οἱ τὰ ὄπλα παρεχόμενοι). But the crucial question is whether Drakon was the author of a new Constitution, and of a new Constitution which is fairly described in 'Ath. πολ. 4. Is the authority or the argument of the *Polity* enough to carry that conclusion? I trow not.

Concerning still more primitive times and institutions, and their treatment by Busolt, and other German authorities, I can but allow myself here one general remark. Undoubtedly something may be recovered in regard to the character of 'ancient law,' from texts and inscriptions of the fourth and subsequent centuries, and a historian is bound in the first instance to make the most of the direct evidences, so far as they go. It seems, however, a shortcoming that recent investigation in Germany ignores, or even deliberately rejects, the assistance of analogies furnished by the comparative and anthropological methods to Hellenic *origines*. The primitive, or relatively primitive, condition of society, of government, of domestic and religious institutions within the area of later Hellenism will never be fully understood, without recourse to anthropology. We have the best precedent for the position, for there is hardly a method employed by anthropology to-day which is not potentially used by Thucydides in his immortal poem, on the beginnings of Greek history. From this point of view an English reader may be struck by the amount in Busolt's section on the *Beginnings of the Athenian State* (§ 15), which is valid or verifiable only for post-Eukleidean Athens. Aristotle, in the *Politics*, fell into the mistake of supposing that the analysis of the domestic institutions of Athens in the fourth century supplied the clue to the historic origin of the city-state. He formulated the parent idea which Sir Henry Maine, twenty-two centuries later, represented as 'The Patriarchal theory.' The name may be a mis-nomer, but we cannot get rid of it now, the rather, as it has provoked the not less objectionable term 'matriarchate,' to describe that condition of society, in which kinship is traced through females chiefly or exclusively, and institutions conform, in a greater or less degree, to this uncivilised precedent. For German Hellenists I will not say the works of McLennan, but the works of their own savant, A. H. Post, apparently do not exist. (Those writers are both gathered to their fathers, and can be named without fear or favour). To take one instance; the importance of the *Avunculate*, or mother's brother's right, in early Hellenic, or apparently Hellenic, society, is hardly to be explained save by analogies, of which anthropologists can supply any number. Some curious points in Athenian law, e.g. the legality, under certain circumstances, of marriage between children of one father, may be in part explicable as survivals of

'matriarchal' rights. Again, no one acquainted with the literature of this subject is likely to acquiesce (with Busolt, p. 114) in the interpretation of *δρογάλακρες* (Milk-brothers?) as originally 'the descendants of a common *Father*.' We shall never get to the bottom of the problems touching the nature and origin of tribes and phratries, or understand the revolution, or evolution, which passed over society in Attica and elsewhere, in the beginnings of history, by the mere analysis and description of society as it was in the fourth, or even in the fifth and sixth centuries, within the strictly Hellenic city-states.

It is not possible here to discuss the mass of details upon which issue might be taken with the learned author of this large yet closely packed volume, but I may note a few of the points specially interesting to myself. (1) Busolt rejects Beloch's suggestion that the stories of the two expulsions of Peisistratos are duplicates in disguise; but I do not find his refutation (p. 320) quite conclusive. On this point v. Wilamowitz agrees with Busolt: but v. Wilamowitz himself detects a *doublette* in the Herodotean stories of the Atheno-Aiginetan wars, and it is doubtful if the greater chronological consistency of the Peisistratid tradition, can rescue the stories in detail. (2) Busolt (pp. 167, 583) retains the view that at Athens in 490 B.C. the supreme command circulated day by day within the strategic college. I have elsewhere (I trust) made it more probable that at Marathon the Strategi were still Colonels of the phyleic regiments, and the 'War-Lord' still in supreme command. (3) Busolt (p. 528), accepts the story of the conduct of Miltiades at the Danube, the incredibility of which Thirlwall long ago pointed out, and the origin of which I have elsewhere tried to explain. (4) Busolt retains his former chronology for the Ionian revolt, by which the siege of Miletus is made out to have lasted three years: objections and alternatives to this chronology I have urged elsewhere at sufficient length.

It is natural that in undertaking to digest not merely all the ancient authorities but nearly all the immense literature of the present day upon our subject, Professor Busolt should now and then make himself responsible for discrepant utterances. Thus (on p. 650) the anecdote about Themistokles and the increase of the Athenian fleet told in the 'Αθ. πολ. is dismissed as 'highly improbable in itself, and a contradiction of the older sources,' while on the next page an element of truth is conceded to it. If

Prof. Busolt had happened to recall, in this connexion, the statement of Herodotus concerning Kleinias son of Alkibiades and his own trireme (Hdt. 8, 17), he might have found the contradiction less absolute, and the element of truth somewhat more probable. In dealing with the stories of the Persian wars, which form the second theme of this volume, the author could not exhibit such an advance on the previous edition of his work as in the earlier chapters, for there has been little fresh evidence to consider. His duty has been of necessity confined to a report on the ever growing bibliography, and a revision of his own previous positions in view of more recent discussions. It is to be regretted that the author cannot have seen Mr. G. B. Grundy's map of the battle field of Plataea, with accompanying paper, published by the R. G. S. in 1894, as that sound bit of work has completely antiquated previous surveys. Among recent studies H. Delbrück's brilliant monograph appears to have exercised some influence on Busolt's treatment of the Persian wars, and he has gone the length of accepting the *Visions-hypothese* as the true explanation of the celebrated Shield-episode at Marathon: but he reacts freely, as might be expected, against the exaggerated scepticism of H. Welzhofer, who is a veritable *advocatus diaboli* in regard to the canonisation of Herodotus.

This second edition does not reach the point at which the first edition ended: the history of the *Pentekontaetia* is relegated to the third volume, for which probably we shall not now have long to wait. Whether that third volume will carry us down to the end of the fourth century remains to be seen: but those who know the *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte* (1880), and remember that Dr. Georg Busolt made his début with a substantial monograph on 'The Second Athenian League' (1874), are looking forward with the liveliest interest to the remaining volumes of this *History*. On the scale now ruling the work the third volume, which was originally intended to reach the battle of Chaironeia, can scarcely go lower than the archonship of Eukleides: but it may be hoped that a fourth and final volume will appear before a new edition of the earlier volumes is demanded. This hope may look rather like a left-handed compliment, but it is expressed in the interests of the author and of his subject. The later volumes will fill a gap left by the abrupt close of Duncker's great *History*. Busolt's work is dedicated to Duncker, that is now

to his memory. It is becoming the fashion in some quarters to dismiss Duncker as the modern Ephoros, who bedizened the native simplicity of the historic Muse with his rationalism and his rhetoric: but whatever may have been the value of the Egyptian and Oriental portions of his work, in regard to which Duncker could not himself control the native sources, his contribution to the discussion of the problems of Greek history is not to be despised, and its sudden cesser with the second year of the Peloponnesian war was a real misfortune. That misfortune Busolt's forthcoming volumes will more than compensate, but the loss will not be in every respect covered. Busolt's work

is a monument of learning, and of scientific exposition: he has deliberately sacrificed upon that altar the charms of literary art. His work is conscientiously devoid of rhetorical merit, and it is no mere pastime to read it from cover to cover. Very full tables of contents facilitate the use of the volumes as books of reference, but I note with eager approval the author's pledge that his work shall not close without a copious index (*einen ausführlichen Register*). This promise constitutes an additional reason to wish the distinguished author well and quickly through the remainder of his laborious task.

REGINALD W. MACAN.

BLAYDES' *ADVERSARIA*. PART II.

Adversaria in Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, scripsit et collegit F. H. M. BLAYDES, LL.D. Pars II. secundum ed. Kockianiam. Halle, 1896. Pp. 360. M. 7.

DR. KOCK'S edition of the *Fragments of Attic Comedy* has given the study of them a new stimulus; to be welcomed, not only because they are interesting in themselves, but because of their influence upon the later Greek literature—and, of course, upon the Roman. I am not thinking only of mere centos, Epistles of Alciphron and Aristænetus; but Lucian, for instance, the romance-writers, sophists, moralists, epigrammatists—Comedy was for these what Homer was for the tragedians. Comedy—especially the middle and the new—was the abundant spring that supplied them with themes and types and phrases.

This may be illustrated by a new example. In a tirade against women [Lucian] *Amor.* 42 ii. 443 (a sophistic σύγκρισις): τίς οὖν ὁ μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην παρασκευὴν βίος; εἰθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἕξοδοι, καὶ πᾶς θεὸς ἐπιτρέβων τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, ὧν ἐνίων οἱ κακοδαίμονες ἄνδρες οὐδὲ αὐτὰ ἴσασιν τὰ ἰνόματα—Κωλιάδας,¹ εἰ τύχοι, καὶ Γενετυλλίδας, ἣ τὴν Φρυγίαν² δαίμονα καὶ τὸν ὄυσέρωτα κομμὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμένι. τελεταὶ δὲ ἀπόρρητοι καὶ χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ὑποπτα μυστήρια καὶ—τί γὰρ δεῖ περιπέλειν;—διαφθορὰ ψυχῆς. Sommerbrodt, the latest editor, places an asterisk against πᾶς θεὸς and remarks 'π. θεατῆς ΩΓ Harl. Obscura haec neque ullo modo adhuc

illustrata. Hoc solum constat interiisse haud pauca ante ὧν ἐνίων.' There is no omission, nor should the meaning be in doubt. The complaint is of the luxury of women and their addiction to orgiastic forms of worship (Ar. *Lys.* 387—396); the γυνὴ φιλέξοδος makes every imaginable obscure divinity (Scholl. on *Lys.* 1 and 389) an excuse for going abroad. The phrase is from Menand. 601 (quoted by Strabo 297):

ἐπιτρέβουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ
μάλιστα τοὺς γήμαντας· αἰεὶ γὰρ τινα
ἄγειν ἑορτὴν ἔστ' ἀνάγκη.

and (as I have indicated) more from the same source is probably embedded in the passage. The *shepherd* is Attys (Theocr. xx. 40) or Adonis (iii. 46, xx. 35), to whom the MS. κῶμον is inapplicable: I have therefore emended it. (Cf. Lucian i. 233, iii. 646 of Attys: of the *Adonia*, iii. 454, Ar. *Lys.* 396, Dioscor. *A.P.* v. 53, Plut. *Alcib.* 18, *Nic.* 13, Bion i. 81.)

English scholars, since the days of Porson and Elmsley and Dobree, seem to have done little in this region—Dr. Blaydes records conjectures by Prof. Ellis, Prof. Palmer, a few of my own—but every student of pure literature should be familiar with these remains and with what can be gathered from the Roman adaptations of Plautus and Terence.

Like all Dr. Blaydes' work, this volume might with advantage have been many times less in bulk, so full is it of repetition and unprofitable remarks. Readings, conjectures, comments, are needlessly tran-

¹ Ar. *Lys.* 2, *Nub.* 52 Blaydes.

² Pollux iii 11, Diog. Laert. vi. 1, 1.

scribed from Kock, often without any criticism. But from Dr. Blaydes we must take what we get; and if we do not now get much of real importance, it must be remembered that he had already had his say in a volume (published in 1890) of *Adversaria* on Meineke's edition. His long and devoted study of Aristophanes has given him familiarity with the diction of Comedy; shown here chiefly in collections of similar forms, as pp. 25, 51 on *περιόντας*, 52 *ἀγύνακος*, 67 *σιπύη*, 79 *γαστρίστερος*, 142 *ἐγχελεύδιον*. It has not, however, given him a sure hand: p. 351 in a fragment from Synes. p. 728... *πλείν ἢ παλαστή...σοφώτερος* 'Qu. πλείονι παλαστής' B. Crates 15 *ἀλλ' ἀντίθεσ τοι ἐγὼ γάρ...* 'Qu. *ἀλλ' ἀντιθετέ*'. B. This is a dialectical formula: Plat. *Gorg.* 461 E *ἀλλ' ἀντίθεσ τοι*. Eur. *Heracl.* 153 *φέρ' ἀντίθεσ γάρ* and similarly *Or.* 554, Dem. 385, 13. Alexis iii. 7 *Φίλασ Ἀφροδίτης*. 'Miseris genitivum sic formatum.' This *Φίλα* was a celebrated person: another, mentioned by Philetæus. 9, 5, was a famous hetaira; as was *Λύκα*, mentioned by Timocles 25, 2, Amphis 23, 4 *Λύκα*, where B. says 'Qu. *Λυκίδι*.' A long list of feminine name-forms in *ā* is given by Cobet *V.L.* 202. Alexis 270, 5 A. *Διὸς σωτήρος*; B. *οὐκ ἄλλον μὲν οὖν*. 'Qu. *θεοῦ, αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω*. Particulæ μὲν οὖν (imo) correctioni inserviunt.' That is one effect, but it is only one of the general sense, an emphatic 'indeed': e.g. Plat. *Theæt.* 189 E Σ. *οὐκ ἀνάγκη...*; Θ. *ἀνάγκη μὲν οὖν*. It is constantly used in assent after *πάνν, παντάσσι, κομίδῃ*. Another unfortunate lapse is on Heniochus 4, 3 (ii. 432) '*προσλεαληκέναι*]' *προσλεαληκέναι* scribendum foret, si a *προσλαλέν* deductum esset. Sed corrigendum proculdubio *προσλεακέναι*. Dr. Blaydes holds very unsound views upon the use of the article: Crates 27, 2 *ἐπὶ κοχωνῶν τὰς τρίχας καθειμέναι*. 'Omitti nequit articulus ante *κοχωνῶν*.' Autocrates I, 4 *κἀνακρούουσαι χεροῖν*. 'Qu. *καὶ κροτούσαι τῶν χεροῖν*. Postulatur enim articulus.' Alexis 270, 3 *ἦν γάρ...παλαίον, ὄτα συντεθλασμένον*. 'ὄτα sine articulo posuisse poetam miratur Kock. Nempe eandem ob causam quod ὦ ante *Εὐριπίδῃ* et *Αἰσχύλῃ* omittebant, durioris crasis evitandæ causa.' That does not account for Plat. *Protag.* 342 C *ὄτα τε κατάγωνται*. The reason is, these are established combinations of words, grown almost into one: the compounds they represent exist, *ὄτοθλαδίας, ὄτοκάταξις*. The remark on Pherocr. 145, 6 '*ἀνήρ*'. Mendosum, nam requiritur articulus' is an oversight, for it is plainly the predicate as in v. 17. He strangely mis-

apprehends, too, the use of *ὄδε* and *οὗτος* without the article: Telecleid. 35 *τίς ἦδε κραυγή*; 'Articulum desidero.' Diphil. 46, 3 *τόνδ' ἴδεν ἀστόν*. 'τοῖδ' δὲ *ναστόν* sagaciter Heringa. Sed articulum *τόν* desidero. Leg. *τοῖδ' τε ναστόν*' (a characteristic inconsistency!). Now, the article is usually absent with *ὄδι, οὗτοςί*, because they are *deictic*; and when *ὄδε* and *οὗτος* are used in a *deictic* sense, the article is not required. Sometimes the absence of article indicates imitation of tragic *σεμνότης*: as Menand. 610 *νῦν δ' ἔρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε*: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 478. Antiphan. 176, 2 *δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξελεθῆν ποτ' ἐκ τῆσδε στέγης* is Porson's correction of *ἐκ τῆσ στέγης*: 'Sine articulo addito! Qu. *ἐκ τῆσ οἰκίας*' is Dr. Blaydes' comment, though Kock notes 'tragicam gravitatem adfectari recte monuit Meineke.' In Ar. 268, therefore, *ἀνοιγέτω τις δώματ'*, I do not agree with B. in thinking Dobree's *ἀνοιγέ τις τὰ δώματ'* probable. Kock rightly remarks 'sine articulo *τραγικώτερον* sonat,' and that Tragedy is imitated the use of the word *δώματα* is enough to show. In Epicrates 6 *ὄσῳπα* is tragic: cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 56, fr. 155, Herodas i. 33. The cook, as usual, is using grandiloquent language. Comedy is full of such burlesque, to which critics are not always sufficiently alive. The flavour is lost unless we appreciate the heightening of diction. But there is no such burlesque in Aristophan 13, 9 (ii. 281) *φθειρας δὲ καὶ τρίβωνα τὴν τ' ἄλουσιάν οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειε* where B. proposes '*τρίβωνας* (vel *τριβών')* ἦδ' *ἄλουσιάν*. Offendit enim singularis *τρίβωνα*'. On the other hand, in Anaxilas 18, 7 the forms indicate, as I had¹ pointed out, that '*Ἐφεσῆμα γράμματα καλά* is a quotation. Kock (to whose illustrations add Diogenian. iv. 78, Schreiber *Atlas*, fig. xii. 2) suggests *κανά* on the ground that *κᾶλά* is 'apud Atticos incredibile,' as though '*Ἐφεσῆμα* were an Attic form, and Dr. Blaydes *κρυπτά* or *γραπτά* (p. 146), or *γραμμᾶτί* ἄττα (p. 335).

It is plain we cannot take Dr. Blaydes for a safe guide; nor does he appear anxious that we should, with such temerity are his guesses made: e.g. *πλείον' ἀγαθὰ κτήσομαι* for *κτῆσομαι τοῖχον ἄρας* Philem. 116, 4, *τὸ φατίζόμενον* for *τὰ τῶν κακῶν* in Alexis 266, 1 *μὴ ὤρασι μετὰ τῶν κακῶν ἴκοιτο, παφλάζει* for *βαῦζει* Cratin. 6, 1, *πενόμεθα* for *ἀλύομεν* Alexis 116, 3, *πέμπονσι* or *φέρουσι* for *κᾶουσί τε τὰ πολυτελῆ ταῦτα δέπνα* in Lucian *Charon* 22 (*adesp.* 128). In these last three cases no alteration is required at all. But Dr. Blaydes is

¹ *Journal of Philology* 16, p. 280.

somewhat easily puzzled; as by Cratin. 274 *the κύρβεις of Solon and Draco* οἰσι νῦν φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχυς, where he conjectures (p. 282) 'ἀλοῦσιν aut aliquid simile.' They are used for firewood: cf. the oracle in Hdt. viii. 96 Stein. 'Plat. 196 ἀνακογ-χυλιαστὸν] lege ἀνακογχυλίασασθ' aut ἀνακογ-χυλιασμόν (Anglice, a gargle). Vulgatam non intelligo.' φάρμακον is understood, as with the synonymous ἀναγαργάλικτον, ἀνα-γαργάριστον, and χριστόν, πιστόν, etc. Blomf. P.V. 488. The suggestions that commend themselves are of a soberer quality, as Ar. 135 ἐγὼ δ' ἀπολοπιζέω γε for τε. Antiph. 47, 6 ἢδύ τι <τὸ> κοινόν ἐστιν (where for οὐδ' χωρὶς read οὐκ ἔρεις?). Amphis 11 interrogation at end of v. 2. Amphis 28 εἰς [τὴν] ἐσπέραν. Philem. 246, 8 εἰ γὰρ <ὁ> δίκαιος κάσεβῆς ἔξουσ' ἴσον for κάσεβῆς ἔξουσιν ἐν.

Still, his remarks have often the value of calling attention to doubtful passages, a few of which I notice where I have something to contribute.

In Cratin. 364 should be read *πισσοκοκίας ἀρήν* (a form attested by Pollux vii. 184, Phryn. Bekk. An. 7. 12, Eust. 49. 28, 799. 32): cf. Hesych. Κωνήσαι: ...πισσοκοκία γὰρ ἢ νῦν πίσσα ἢ χρίουσι τὰ παρίσθημα τῶν προβάτων.

Pherecr. 10, 4 ὥστε τὴν κόμην ὑπηχεῖν θιγγανουσῶν τὰς μύλας: περιαιγουσῶν Kock, σίτ' ἄλουσῶν ταῖς μύλαις B. Read θρυγα-νωσῶν τὰς μύλας 'scraping': see Dr. Blaydes' collection on Ar. Eccl. 34, with which cf. Thesm. 481.

Pherecr. 70, 3 ὦ καταράτ<οτ> ἐνέχεας;

Eupolis 259 ἐγὼ δέ γε στίξω σε βελόναισιν τρισίν: 'quid tamen tria illa stigmata sibi velint nescio.' K. 'Sc. tribus litteris ΔΙΠ' B. But this is not favoured by Plut. Artox. 14 προσέταξε διαπεῖραι τρισὶ βελόναϊς τὴν γλωτταν (cf. Dion Cass. xlvii. 1 of Fulvia ταῖς βελόναϊς αἰς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐχρήτο κατεκέντησε Cicero's tongue).

Ar. 350 κεραμενομένοι[s] κοτύλα[ι]ς με-γαλα[ι]ς B.; κεραυνόμενοι or -αις seems more likely.

Ar. 596 (Ath. 444d) ἡδὺς γε πίνειν οἶνος Ἀφροδίτης γάλα, being always so printed, does not appear to me to have been understood. Kock says 'οἶνος ἡδὺς πιεῖν prae-dicatum est,' implying that 'A. γ. is the subject. I think there should be a comma at οἶνος (ῶνος? as Eur. Cycl. 555): 'Excellent wine! milk of Aphrodite!' an hyperbole (not like the metaphor ἀσπίς Ἄρεως φιάλη quoted by Aristotle, which B. compares). Cf. Romans Grees p. 36 Lambros εἶπες ἐκεῖνην τὴν βαφήν...τῆς Ἀφροδίτης αἵμα. Of the same class are Διὸς ἐγκέφαλος (Ephipp. 18, 7

Kock), *the Pope's eye, Liebfraumilch, Lagrima Cristi.*

Plat. 69, 5 τῇ παιδὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐχρῆν ἤδη προχειρίσαι με is nearer the MS. προ-χειροῦς εἶναι than Meineke's προχειρίσασθαι. B. approves Cobet's τὴν παῖδα τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐχρῆν ἔχειν πάλαι προχειροῦς.

Plat. 169

καὶ τοσοῦτον εὐερίας ἀπολέλανχ' Ὑπέρβολος ὥστ' ἀθλιωτάτος ἐστι (ἀθλιωτάτη Suid.).

B. finds nothing to substitute; ἀλεώτατος seems likely.

Callias 1 (i. 693) κέρδος αἰσχύνης ἄμεινον ἔλκε μοιχόν ἐς μοιχόν is rightly explained by Leutsch (quoted by K.), and may be illustrated by Dem. 1367. 3-13. Cobet's ἐκ μοιχοῦ is mistaken.

Antiph. 277

ἂν μὲν πριάμενος ἄρα πέπερί τις φέρη.

Eubul. 82, 7

ἄμα δὲ λαβοῦσ' ἠφάνικε πηλίκον τινα οἷσθε μέγεθος ἀρσιάν; μέγαν πάνν' καὶ ξηρόν ἐποίησ' εὐθέως τὸν κάνθαρον.

May the word be ἀρσιάν? Cf. Hesych. <Ἀρύσεις καὶ> Ἀρύστεις: τὰς ἀπνευστὶ πόσεις. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀρυστήρας καὶ Ἀρυστίχους ἐκάλουν. Soph. fr. 697.

In Alexis 172 the typical bombastic cook is boring his hearer with details of the art (a scene like that of ¹Sosipater iii. 314, Nicomachus iii. 386). 'We shall have,' he explains, v. 13

ἐν ποτηρίῳ
γλυκύν—τὸ τοιοῦτον γὰρ αἰεὶ πως μέρος
ἐπιπαίξεται—κεφαλὴ δὲ δείπνου γίνεται

whereupon the impatient listener interrupts, ἀνθρώπ', ἐπιπαίξει μόνον ἀπαλλάγηθί μου. 'Leg. ἀνθρωπε, παῖζε' says B. No: it is a contemptuous quotation of the word ἐπιπαίξεται, just as in v. 7 on the remark ἔρια μὲν ποιήσομεν—the hearer exclaims ἀνθρωπε, ποίει λευκὰ καὶ βλέπ' εἰς <δόδον>. It is exactly like Aesch. Theb. 1035 XO. τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγῶν κακά. AN. τράχυνε...Ar. Eq. 469 A...χαλκεύεται. XO. εὐ γ' εὐ γε, χάλκευ' ἀντὶ τῶν κολλωμένων.

Diphil. 32, 6 εἶν ἀπολαύει τοῦτον ἤδη τὸν βίον, where B. accepts Kock's ἀποβάλλειν, I do not doubt that τοῦ βίου should be read.

Menand. 173, 4 ἰκανόν ἐστι τῷ βιωῖ for κοινόν, which B. is right, I think, in calling 'vitiosum.'

Menand. 304 εἶτα τὴν πονηρίαν | ἀτυφίαν νομίσαντες ἔξουσιν ποτὲ | πέρας; (or τότε after πονηρίαν).

I withdraw my¹ suggestion (which B. quotes) on Menand. 310 ἀεὶ νομίζονθ' [v. l. νομίζεθ'] οἱ πένητες τῶν θεῶν, interpreting it now by Hom. ζ 207 = ξ 57 πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε. Cf. ε 448. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1132 Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἰκέται τε καὶ ξεῖνοι.

Menand. 402, 1 εἰς ἀμφοτέρα νῦν (which is, of course, right) is read in the *Thesaur.* s.v. ἀμφοτέρας.

Menand. 472, 7 τρόπος τὸ πᾶθον.

Menand. 607 I assign to the Μεσσηνία, because the practices described here by Plutarch are exactly those attributed to Ψύλλος by Marc. Arg. *A. P.* vii. 403, and Ψύλλος is recorded by Suid. and Phot. as a proper name in the Μεσσηνία.

Menand. 687 (= Trag. adesp. 507 Nauck) read ὦ δέσποτ', ἀλλ' ἔξεστι...for ἀναξ ἔστι ('Qu. εὖ ἴσθ' B.). Plat. *Euthyphr.* 3 C ὦ φίλε Εὐθύφρον, ἀλλὰ . . . Pind. *O.* vi. 22.

In Menand. 711 μηδέποτε πειρῶ στρεβλὸν ὀρθῶσαι κλάδον, | οὐκ ἦν ἐνεγκεῖν ὅπου φύσις βιάζεται Jacobi conjectured φύσιν δ' ἐνεγκεῖν οὐ φ. β. B. suggests οὐκ ἔστι κάμπτεται οὐκ οὐ κάμψ' ὅπου. Perhaps σ υ κ ἦ ν δ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἦ φ. β. The similar fragment, adesp. 182 οὔτε στρεβλὸν ὀρθοῦται ξύλον οὔτε γεράνδρον μετατεθὲν μοσχεύεται may be simply altered to γεράνδρον τ' οὐ (one of Dr. Blaydes' suggestions), since οὔτε...τ' οὐ is a correct consecution.

Macho 2, 9 a cook says, speaking of the *plat* in metaphors from music,

ὥσπερ λύραν ἐπίτευ' ἔως ἂν ἀρμόσῃ
εἶθ', ὅπῳται ἦδη πάντα συμφωνεῖν δοκῆ[ς],
εἴσαγε διὰ πασῶν Νικολάδας Μυκόνιος.

Dr. Blaydes is, I think, upon the right track with ψάλλε or κροῦε. Perhaps κραγέ or παῖε. The last two words may mean 'like N. '; or, as I suspect, it is the name of the triumphant song he is to strike up. Dr. Blaydes' suggestions are καὶ κάλει τοὺς Μυκόνιους or ἵνα πάρωσ' οἱ Μυκόνιοι.

¹ *Journal of Philology* 46, p. 274.

Strato 1, 4 read πεπορισμένος γὰρ ἔστι for πᾶρεστι.

In a papyrus fragment, adesp. 104, the speaker is testifying how he has received light and salvation from a philosopher. 'Before,' he says,

5 ΠΑΓΓΗΚΤΟ τὸ καλὸν, τὰγαθόν, τὸ σεμνὸν
<ἦν>,
τὸ κακὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν τι μου πάλαι σκοτός
περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν...

'but now,' he goes on,

11 ἀναβεβίωκα περιπατῶ, λαλῶ, φρονῶ,
ΤΗΝ (ξῶ?) τηλικούτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦλιον
νῦν τοῦτον εὖρον...

(so I conjecture) 'such a sun of illumination have I found in him.' In v. 6 (cf. Philem. 71, Apollod. Caryst. 5, 5, Amphis 6) B. suggests ἄγνωτα. Since the letters ΓΗΚ are said to be doubtful, the truth may be ΠἈΝΤἈΥΤΟ; πᾶν ταυτὸ...ἦν 'they were all one.'

Clem. Alex. p. 842 quotes adesp. 341 ἂν μῦς διορίξῃ βωμὸν ὄντα πῆλινον | κᾶν, μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἔχων, διατράγγῃ θύλακον, you take it for an omen.' B. remarks 'τοιχον recte Naber. Mures enim τοιχωρύχους perfodere parietes, aras autem non ex luto aut argilla facere morem fuisse, neque, si ita mos fuisset, causam fuisse cur eas arroderent.' There is no reason to presume that an altar was never made of clay. One of clay is supposed here, because they could hardly tackle one of stone. It is several times recorded as an actual portent that mice had gnawed gold in temples: Liv. xxvii. 23. Plut. *Marcell.* 28, *Syll.* 7; a gold crown Liv. xxx. 2. Cf. *A. P.* ix. 310.

In Liban. iv. 836 (adesp. 1549) read ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγένον for ἐξ ὅτου παρεγένον, and make the same correction in Liban. *Epist.* 762 for ἐξ ὅσου περ.

Among the various fragments of verse which he adds at the end of his book, Dr. Blaydes does not claim that much is new, and most of them I have seen before; but Dr. Kaibel may find them of service for his promised edition.

WALTER HEADLAM.

MUELLER'S *DE RE METRICA*.

Luciani Mueileri *De re metrica libri septem*.

Editio altera. Petropoli et Lipsiae. 1894.

M. 14.

PROFESSOR LUCIAN MUELLER'S new edition of the *De re metrica* is in every way worthy of

his reputation. The first edition of this valuable work was rather inadequately equipped with indices, a deficiency which has now been supplied. The old edition, besides a table of contents, contained two

indices: I. a list of authors quoted, with the editions to which the references were made; II. a miscellaneous index of words and authors emended or illustrated. The new edition has three indices: I. a full summary of the contents of the book with running references to the pages; II. an enlarged general index; III. a list of authors quoted with the editions used. At the end is a table of contents. A further improvement has been made in the body of the work by the omission of a large number of the writer's own conjectural emendations, which are now to be found in his published editions, notably of Ennius, Lucilius, Phaedrus, and Nonius. The whole text has been much altered and rewritten; the type is finer and bolder than that of the first edition; statements of a general nature are now printed in spaced type.

A peculiar interest is lent to the book by the preface in which the veteran Latinist introduces his revised labours to the world. There is charm in the pathetic pleasure with which he who has done so much for the Roman poets contemplates the accomplishment of his task. "Qui cum totus subiaceret oculis nostris nitidissime typis expressus et emendatissime, sicut ducem quandam ueterem ferunt post captam hostium urbem, non potui temperare a lacrimis, partim gaudio rei perpetratae, partim recordatione malorum, quae per hos triginta annos, grande aetatis humanae spatium, acciderunt uel antiquitatis studiis uel nobis, qui eorum, si non magna, certe aliqua pars fuimus."

On the continent generally, as in England, the utilitarian requirements of the age threaten the supremacy of classical studies. This fact Professor Müller eloquently deplores. The illiterate masses, he says, are everywhere straining after more political power; and the growth of an unreasoning democracy means the downfall of classical education, and with it of art and culture, of elegance and grace. Again the ever-growing poverty of students forces them to turn their brains at once into money; thus knowledge ceases to be pursued for its own sake, and the classics are displaced by physical science and modern languages, which attract by the immediate bribes they have to offer. Further, in Germany the increasing study of mediaeval writers, the outcome of Teutonic patriotism, diverts attention from the classics. Against this condition of education Professor Müller protests, as his manner is, with no uncertain note. He argues that now, if ever, the severity of a classical training is needed to refine and purify the

degraded public taste. It is only the absence of classical feeling which renders possible the existence of a realistic school of writers of the Zola type. Homer, Sophocles, Cicero, and Horace are the best antidotes to their tawdry blandishments. 'An, si rectiore staretur iudicio, Zola et Sudermannus plurimique, qui secuntur eos, tantum potuere assequi famae ac laudis? quid? theatra, quae olim plurimum contulerunt ad excolenda ingenia et exornanda, quibus iam solent perstrepere fabulis?' (p. vi.). Again, he pleads for the incomparable superiority of the classics over the moderns as a curriculum; and emphasises the inferiority of mediaeval writers to those same classics. Who, he asks, could seriously set the Niebelungenlied or Tale of Gudrun against the Iliad and Odyssey, or Parsifal against the Aeneid? English lovers of antiquity will read this preface with sympathetic delight.

The classical training being the necessary basis of a liberal education, Professor Müller goes on to show that for the proper appreciation of the undying poets of paganism a thorough mastery of their metre is necessary; for form is to the poet as important as matter, and form is the great fosterer of clear thought and appropriate language. This constitutes the justification of his elaborate treatise.

I cannot leave the preface without protesting against its acerbity of tone. Professor Müller is an avowed enemy of the followers of Lachmann and Ritschl, but he need not have paraded his hostility afresh, especially as in the body of the work he has omitted much of the vituperation which appeared in the first edition; for example, the attack on Vahlen and Ribbeck, pp. 80-81 of the first edition. It is pleasing to turn from his acrimonious language to the feeling tribute which he pays to Count Tolstoi's services to the cause of education in Russia (pp. viii-ix).

The scope of the book remains essentially unchanged. The metres of Plautus and Terence are not treated, partly because many questions with regard to them are of so controversial and obscure a character as to defy satisfactory settlement, and partly because their metres are of a different type from those of the followers of Ennius, who reproduced the Greek prosody. The poets treated are of two classes, the classical and the Christian; they are enumerated in detail, Terentianus and Boetius being regarded as standing midway between the two. The book opens with a survey of the systematic

study of metres, which began with the sophists, who, after the decline of Greece, taught the various mixed races, who though speaking Greek required instruction in metres which they no longer understood instinctively. The quantities of syllables, it is shown, were regularly taught in Roman schools from the fourth century B.C. onwards. An interesting passage of new matter, pp. 8-10, emphasises the influence of the *collegia poetarum* and of public recitations on the study of metre. Müller now abandons (ed. 2 p. 12 = ed. 1 p. 14) his former contention that there were two classes of Roman metrists, the better, whose works have perished except a few fragments, and the worse, of late date, who though lacking in merit, have survived on account of their popular character. He now considers that all the ancient metrists worked on the same lines; that they all originated when Greek and Roman literature were still flourishing; and that all their work was trivial and un-critical, containing more of falsehood than of truth.

The work consists of seven books. Book I. *De studiis poetarum Latinorum metricis*, reviews the Roman poets in metrical relation to their Greek originals. Book II. *De pedum obseruantia*, discusses the different feet employed, and closes with a series of emendations of Seneca's tragedies and Silius Italicus. Book III. *De caesura*, treats of caesura and accent. Book IV. *De uocalibus inter se concurrentibus*, discusses hiatus and elision. Book V. *De ui consonarum coeuntium et de productis uel correptis finalibus*, contains the laws of quantity. This book has been largely rewritten, and here the author's studies of Ennius and Nonius have given him a wider grasp. Thus on p. 401 = 327 ed. 1, after quotations from Ennius of lines where final syllables in *ar, or, us* are lengthened, occurs the following addition: 'eximendum putauit illud quod legitur apud Nonium pg. 120 s.l. Hora :

Quirine pater, ueneror Horamque Quirini.
nam ibi cum non Iuentas dea significetur,
ut uult Nonius, sed coniuX Romuli inter
deas recepta, cuius nomen corripitur ab
Ouidio Metam. xiv. 851, qui haud dubie
Ennii secutus est exemplum :

mutat Horamque uocat, quae nunc dea
iuncta Quirinost,
scribendum potius :

teque, Quirine pater, ueneror bene Horam-
que Quirini

uel

teque, Quirine pater, bene Horamque
Quirini.'

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This passage is a fair specimen of Müller's method, which ignores too much the views of others. Baehrens' reading of the line (*Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, p. 70).

teque, Quirine pater, ueneror, Hora, teque,
Quirini,

is at least as ingenious as either of Müller's proposals; but Baehrens is not a favourite with the St. Petersburg professor. Book VI. *De mutatis alioqui quantitibus syllabarum et de uerborum tmesi et enclisi*, treats of changes of quantity, tmesis enclisis and proclisis. Book VII.¹ *Observationes Grammaticae*, deals with poetic grammatical peculiarities of form. The new edition closes, like the former, with four special treatises, of which the three last are materially the same, while the fourth has been entirely remodelled, and is entitled now no longer *De Lucilii Varronisque et Phaedri iambis ac trochaeis Italicis*, but *De uersibus dactylicorum Italicis*.

In conclusion, the work has been greatly improved and augmented; but its usefulness is somewhat interfered with by a fault to which I have already referred; the author's egotism leads him to neglect opinions differing from his own, and very little reference is made to other writers. Thus in bibliography the treatise remains singularly weak, a rare thing with German writers. I give one instance: the account of the galliambic metre (pp. 174-176) is more satisfactory than that in the first edition (pp. 159-160); but the dogmatic assertion 'Catullus nunquam admisit ionicum a minori' ought not to have been made without some reservation, as many competent judges think otherwise. I agree with Lachmann in holding it certain that Catullus did admit the ionic a minori foot in lines 54 and 75 of the *Attis*; and it is quite possible that he did so in line 18. The note in my edition might have abated Müller's confidence, but perhaps he has not seen it, as he shows hardly any acquaintance with English scholarship. The work of Munro on Lucretius, Catullus, and the *Aetna*, of Ellis on Catullus, Manilius and Avianus, of Postgate on Propertius, and of myself on Ovid meet with no recognition from him. The only English book he seems to know is Ellis's *Orientius*, which was published in Austria. But in spite of its shortcomings the book is a remarkable contribution to Latin scholarship; the author's industry, learning and lucidity deserve the highest praise.

S. G. OWEN.

¹ There is a mistake in the table of contents, p. 650, 'Liber septimus' has been omitted. Also on p. 181 *Persas* is a misprint for *Parthos*.

DITTRICH'S *AETIA* OF CALLIMACHUS.

Callimachi Actiorum Librum I., prolegomenis, testimoniis, adnotatione critica, auctoribus imitatoribus instruxit EUGENIUS DITTRICH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1896. 2 Mk.

THIS dissertation on the first book of the *Aëtia* of the poet Callimachus forms part of the twenty-third supplemental volume to Fleck-eisen's *Jahrbücher*, and extends to fifty-two pages. It includes a copious index nominum, which greatly adds to its value.

Dr. Dittrich has spared no trouble to obtain the *sources* of the fragments, out of which he reconstructs the first book of the *Aëtia*, in the most correct form. I mean that he has, wherever possible, procured new collations of the best MSS. of the various authors, Ammonius, Choeroboscus, the Etymologicon Magnum and four other lexica, Galen, Stephanus Byzantius, &c., in which the *Aëtia* are cited. See the list on pp. 204-5.

The plan of the treatise is as follows. First, the main discussion, in which the fragments expressly assigned to Bk. I. are arranged in something like probable order, and other fragments, quoted as by Callimachus, but not attributed to the *Aëtia*, are added as finding a place naturally in the series. In this section Schneider's *Callimachea* is naturally the ground-work; as naturally, the conclusions of Schneider are accepted with many reservations. Every one who has followed the literature of Callimachus knows how far below the level of Schneider's *Nicandrea* is this his latest work, indispensable as it notwithstanding is, partly from the vast grammatical erudition which distinguished Schneider among contemporary philologists, partly from the diligence with which he has recorded the opinions of other scholars, not only great names like Bentley, Blomfield, Näke, Gaisford, Meineke, Bergk, but men who like Hecker, Bachmann, Dilthey, &c., have made a special study of Alexandrian literature. Next to Schneider, Dr. Dittrich gives much weight to the opinions of Hecker, whose masterly work on

the Greek Anthology is not so well known in England as it deserves to be.

The Dissertation (p. 167-200) is followed by an *Argumentum Lib. I. Actiorum* in which Dittrich draws out in sequence what he imagines to have been the plan of the poem. He considers it to have contained nine Elegies, the connecting thread in all of which was the story of Io's wanderings. Interwoven with this were other favourite stories of Greek mythology, e.g. Coroebus, Linus, the death of Ajax son of Oileus, the Oenotzopae, the legends connected with the building of Troy (pp. 201-204). Then the chief MSS. containing the fragments, and an epigram, first printed by Hagen, which gives a catalogue of the works of Callimachus, where I find a verse very interesting to students of Ovid's *Ibis*—

σκώπτω δ' ἐπ' ἀραῖς Ἴβιν Ἀπολλώνιον,

on which epigram Reitzenstein has written in *Hermes* xxvi. p. 308 sqq.

The actual fragments of *Aëtia* I, with the authors who cite them, the readings of the best MSS., and the conjectures of scholars, are contained on pp. 206-214.

I have found this work interesting all through, and though often disinclined to argue from particular fragments to conclusions as bold and decided as Dr. Dittrich's (some are so short that *no* argument can be drawn from them), am very grateful for this new excursion into a somewhat neglected field. In the treatment of his subject our author has worked in not a little Latin poetry, especially Ovid. I could wish that the *Ibis* scholia were better than they are; but even they have found a recognition, though a somewhat dubious one, in this treatise; and it is probable that if Egyptian researches recover any portion of the *Aëtia*, we shall come across many old friends, familiar to us from the *Ibis* and the *Metamorphoses*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

WACKERNAGEL'S *ALTINDISCHE GRAMMATIK*.

J. WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik*. I. Lautlehre, Pp. lxxix., 343. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Göttingen, 1896. 8 Mk. 60.

SANSKRIT, which was for a time the spoiled child of the Indo-Germanic family, has of recent years for a variety of reasons fallen somewhat into neglect, and, while the majority of the sister languages have met with full treatment from the comparative standpoint, in the case of Sanskrit either the interest or the courage has been lacking for such an undertaking. This gap is now in the course of being most admirably filled by Professor Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, the first volume of which has now been issued, and which promises to be one of the most important works in the field of Indo-Germanic philology that has appeared for a long time. In fact the width of knowledge, sobriety of judgment and clearness of exposition displayed in it make it a model of its kind.

The introduction furnishes an excellent sketch of the history of the language, in which are pointed out the various influences that have helped to mould the literary speech. The possibility of the influence of the popular dialects is always kept in view, and is applied, for instance, most ingeniously to the explanation of *kuru* by the earlier *kryu* (p. xviii). The main part of the present volume deals with the development of the Indian sounds from the Indo-Germanic. The fulness of the references here makes this a veritable treasure-house of information on various points of Indo-Germanic phonology. If we were disposed to quarrel with Professor Wackernagel, it would be rather for giving too much than too little. Surely it would have been kinder to the memory of the scholars of the past to have allowed many of their suggestions to rest quietly in their graves.

It is impossible here to deal at length with the many problems suggested by the book. It may be of interest to indicate Professor Wackernagel's attitude to some of the questions of the day. With Brugmann and others he holds that in certain cases Skr. *ā* corresponds to Idg. *o*; an interesting example is *vāt-pitāras*: *ἀπάρτες* (p. 15). For the reduced form of the long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, he suggests (p. 18) as Idg. the Greek vocalism, *a*, and a second *e*, *o*. The long sonant liquids and nasals, against which Schmidt recently delivered so effective a polemic, still appear, but they are strictly confined to the so called *udatta* roots, where, in the absence of any certain knowledge of the Idg. sounds which became in Skr. *ṛ* &c., they may perhaps have a certain value as algebraical symbols; they are not used as a sort of *deus ex machina* to explain any awkward case of vocalism. The changes *gh* > *gdh* etc. are given as Indo-Germanic (p. 131). Here some mention ought surely to have been made of the other view, for that the change was Idg. is at least far from certain, see now *Kz.* xxxiv. pp. 461 sq. Streitberg's explanation of the 'dehnstufe' is rejected (p. 68).

One or two small points may be noticed. In the explanation of *āganma* there seems to be a contradiction between § 8 a and § 175 b. In § 127 b a of the I sg. perf. act. is derived from *a* or *m*. Unless the Irish form is to be separated from the Aryan and the Greek, the latter alternative is impossible. p. 129 does not *ka* in *āpāka*, *abhīka*, *paçā* etc. come from the stem *ōg*, cf. Schmidt, Plur. pp. 388 sq.?

We trust that Professor Wackernagel may soon give us the rest of his Grammar. The volume on morphology should be very interesting, for there is evidence in the present volume that the writer by no means agrees with some of the theories now in vogue.

J. STRACHAN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

FURTWÄNGLER'S *INTERMEZZI*
AND *STATUENKOPIEN*.

Intermezzi: *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien* von A. FURTWÄNGLER, mit 4 Tafeln und 25 Abbildungen im Texte. (Leipzig and Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient. 1896. Price 12 Mrks.)

Ueber Statuenkopien im Alterthum von

ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER, Erster Theil; mit 12 Tafeln und mehreren Textbildern. (Aus den Abhandlungen der K. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaft. Bd. xx. Munich. 1896. Price 8 Mrks.)

So full of new material—and, needless to say, of new theory—are the five essays recently published by Professor Furtwängler

under the somewhat fanciful title of *Intermezzi* that they seem to call for a summary or analysis rather than a critical review. The book opens with the publication of the superb bronze head of Apollo belonging to the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth. It is pleasant to note in this case, that if the honour of publication falls to a foreigner, the greater honour of discovery belongs to an Englishman. Michaelis had apparently not seen the bronze when preparing his *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* and is content to mention it on the authority of Mr. Sidney Colvin as of 'late, somewhat heavy workmanship' (*op. cit.* p. 277). It was thus reserved for Professor Strong, the present librarian at Chatsworth, to divine in this head the creation of a Greek sculptor of the early years of the fifth century B.C. He was confirmed in his belief by Professor Furtwängler, to whom he courteously entrusted the publication of the bronze, thus paying a graceful tribute to the great scholar who has so assiduously called attention to the treasures contained in the private collections of England.

Furtwängler recognizes in the Chatsworth head an entirely new type—or more accurately, new characterization, of Apollo—less dreamy and melancholy than the Pheidian, less loftily conceived than the Myronian, but far surpassing in freshness and spiritual distinction the rustic heaviness of the Apollo of the western pediment at Olympia. So far critics will be unanimous. Less satisfactory, however, is Furtwängler's attempted attribution of the head to Pythagoras of Rhegion, for if we turn to our author's own earlier surmises with regard to that artist (*Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik*, p. 347 = Engl. ed. p. 171) we find that the athletic types which he grouped together with 'Pythagoras' as provisional label, are characterized by features directly opposed to those of the Chatsworth head. In discussing, for instance, the Perinthos head, which, together with the head of a boxer in the Louvre, he now especially selects for comparison with the head at Chatsworth, Furtwängler well defined 'the lifeless, perfectly horizontal line' of the mouth, the 'angular lids which produce a wholly unnatural effect, as though they possessed no power of movement.' Now the most salient feature about the Chatsworth head is the full, curving mouth, which the compression of the lips alone redeems from the reproach of sensuality; furthermore, the lids, though archaic in

treatment, betray the artist's search for life-likeness and correct articulation (this is especially clear from the profile view on Pl. II.). In the face of such positive and far-reaching divergence the stylistic affinities detected by Furtwängler in the shape of the crown, or the modelling of the brows, seem fanciful and even arbitrary. It would of course be absurd to limit a great artist to one type of head or to suppose that he would conceive a god on the same lines as an athlete, but when the attribution of the one type is itself only a hypothesis, we may hesitate before allowing it to draw in to the same artist on the ground of small superficial resemblances, a second radically different type.

It is certainly true that 'a significant artistic personality is concealed behind our Apollo.' A like vigour and terseness of execution can be found within the same period only among the figures of the Eastern pediment of the temple at Aegina. The Apollo with his hard-shut yet vibrant lips strikingly recalls the 'Herakles' of the pediment. One might almost fancy Onatas—if indeed Onatas be the master of the Aeginetan pediments—creating in later years for his celebrated Apollo at Pergamon (Paus. viii. 42, 7) a type like that of the Chatsworth head, in looking at which Furtwängler himself was reminded of the epithet *βούπαις* applied by a poet of the Anthology (ix., 238) to the statue of Onatas. But in the dearth of evidence, such speculations must for the present remain entirely idle. We may feel confident that 'the Master of the Chatsworth Apollo' strongly impressed his time, was imitated and copied; his true personality will reveal itself all the quicker if we do not prematurely try to make him fill a special gap in the history of the Greek sculptors.

The second essay reopens the time-honoured question of the central group of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Furtwängler has gradually come to believe that the centre of the pediment was held by the dominating figure of the goddess, and he finds abundant reason for supposing that the torso Medici at Paris may actually be this figure. If he himself could once have looked upon this torso as only a marble copy from a bronze original of the Pheidian period this was owing to the stupid height at which the torso was then exhibited. From the days of Ingres, who caused it to be brought from the Villa Medici to the Beaux-Arts, up to our own, the torso has been almost unanimously connected with

the name of Pheidias. Now that it is accessible to close inspection it turns out to be nothing less than an original, closely related to the Parthenon marbles in conception, technique, and treatment of drapery. The torso Medici was certainly originally made for Athens, the marble—like that of the Parthenon—being Pentelic, and the figure having been copied on more than one Athenian votive-relief. Further, from the movement of shoulders, neck, and arms it was evidently a pedimental figure, and if head and helmet be restored in proportion to the torso a height is obtained precisely fitting the centre of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. Certainly these would be strong reasons for attributing the Athena Medici to the pediment did not Bruno Sauer's drawings of the floor of the pediment (*Ath. Mittheil.* xvi. 1891, p. 59 ff; *Antike Denkmäler* i. pl. 58) seem at first entirely to preclude the notion. It will be remembered that owing to the presence of a long elevation or ridge ('*Randbank*') in the centre of the pediment Dr. Sauer had decided against a single central figure and reverted to the hypothesis of R. von Schneider, according to which two figures of equal importance, Zeus and Athena, disposed much as on the Madrid puteal, occupied the middle of the pediment. The central ridge was then explained by Sauer as marking the line of the footstool of Zeus, while of the two converging broad iron bars, whose clear traces may be seen on the central block (13) of the pediment, the northernmost was considered to have supported the heavy figure of Athena, the southernmost, together with the bar immediately behind it, the still heavier Zeus. These results were for a time accepted without reserve by Professor Furtwängler himself (*Meisterwerke* p. 243 = Engl. ed. p. 463). In face, however, of his growing conviction that the centre can only be satisfactorily filled by the figure of Athena, he now proposes to solve the technical question otherwise than Dr. Sauer: the central ridge or *randbank* by no means necessarily precludes a central figure; its object was rather, he thinks, to equilibrate a heavy, massive figure supported on *both* the broad iron converging bars. The necessity for the *randbank* is explained on the supposition that the bars though sunk into the floor of the pediment, yet rose somewhat above it. Thus the presence of a central figure can be thoroughly reconciled with the traces on the floor of the pediment. There is, however, one grave objection—brought forward by our author with his wonted

candour—to identifying this figure as the Athena Medici. The plinth of the torso shows distinct traces of having been fastened by means of dowels. But the drawings of Sauer reveal no corresponding holes in the floor of the east pediment. This difficulty Furtwängler attempts to surmount by the suggestion—thrown out for the rest with exceeding reserve—that some Roman despoiler had torn the figure from the Parthenon and borne it off to Rome to decorate some temple pediment, when the dowelling was first found necessary. The dowelling marks have at any rate the advantage of proving that the figure belonged to a pediment, while the theory of Roman spoliation would explain the presence of the torso in Rome; it really be from the Parthenon it would be difficult to understand how it got to Rome in more recent times. A fine drawing illustrates Furtwängler's present notion of the general effect of the pediment; by filling the centre with the figure of the goddess, he has assuredly imparted to the whole a unity and strength lacking in all previous restorations. The whole theory, however, is only put forward tentatively—it will be interesting to watch what alternative suggestions are offered as to the original purport of a pedimental figure made like the Medici torso of Athenian marble, copied on Athenian votive reliefs, and closely agreeing in style and proportion with the figures of the Parthenon.

A curious discovery has enabled Furtwängler to solve definitely the date and purport of the well-known frieze in Munich representing the 'Marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite.' During a recent visit to the Louvre he found a further portion of this frieze—a relief of similar height, material, and dimensions, which like its companion at Munich was once in the Palazzo Santa Croce. The Paris relief shows a Roman general performing, amid his retinue and with the assistance of a priest, the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia* (the animals are quaintly represented in the inverse of the order suggested by the word and common on other monuments). The name of the general, who was also presumably the donor of the whole monument decorated by the frieze, is not far to seek. Long ago Urlichs had shown that the Munich frieze must have belonged to the temple of Neptune in *Circo Flaminio* whose site was close to that occupied in modern times by the Palazzo Santa Croce. It is evident, therefore, that the sacrificing general can be

none other than Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus who, in the years 35–32 B.C. on the expiration of his governorship of Bithynia built—or perhaps only restored,¹ the temple of Neptune, the god who is celebrated on the Munich portion of the frieze. Thus the newly recovered fragment fixes the date of the whole, and it becomes possible to discard the once popular view that the Munich frieze was to the art of Skopas what the frieze of the Parthenon was to Pheidias art. The frieze which he has thus completed Furtwängler attributes to an altar in front of the temple: this hypothesis, moreover, can alone account for the little pilasters which bound the sacrificial scene, and reappear in identical form on the Munich frieze, where they mark off the central scene in a length precisely equal to the scene of sacrifice. If we follow Furtwängler in assigning the Paris relief and the longer Munich scene respectively to the back and front of an altar, while the two shorter Munich slabs each adorned one of the sides, we not only understand the pilasters which are so worked as to display a return face, but obtain an altar according admirably with the extant ruins of the temple.

In the last essay Furtwängler tries to discover what event the Roman *tropaeum* at Adam-Klissi in the Dobruška was intended to commemorate. He refuses to follow Benndorf² in referring the scenes sculptured along the metopes and battlements to some exploit in Trajan's second Dacian campaign: the large inscription *Marti Ultori...Traianus* etc., though found among the ruins, has nothing whatsoever to do with the *tropaeum*; Benndorf's theory necessitates a perverse and untenable explanation of those reliefs on the Trajan column celebrating the Emperor's journey to Dacia and his arrival³; most important of all, the barbarians represented at Adam-Klissi are of a type totally different from the Dacian; they wear narrow trousers, are generally naked from the waist up, their beards are long and their hair is combed into a knot at the side after the fashion recorded by Tacitus (*Germ.* 38) as characteristic of the German tribes. The clue to the real purport of the monument is its geographical position: as the *tropaeum Augusti* (La Turbie) on the spurs of the

Maritime Alps above Monaco, marked the conquest of the Alpine region by Augustus, as the *Tropaeum in Pyrenaeo* erected by Pompey after the Sertorian wars marked the boundary of the newly-conquered region, as Drusus and Germanicus marked the limits of their conquests by *tropaea* upon the Elbe and the Weser, so the *tropaeum* at Adam-Klissi must have been erected at a time when the Danube became the new frontier of the Empire, i.e. in the *Augustan period*. The lands on the right shore of the Danube were conquered by Marcus Licinius Crassus in 29–28 B.C., when the wild German tribe of the Bastarnae and the hostile peoples of Northern Thrace were once and for all expelled from the region. Furtwängler believes, accordingly, that the *tropaeum* of Adam-Klissi commemorates this campaign, and that the sculptures of the metopes represent for the greater part scenes from the deadly battle in the forest when the troops of Crassus fell upon the unsuspecting Bastarnae and annihilated them, Crassus slaying with his own hand their King Deldon (Dio Cassius xxxviii. 10). Thus the Germanic type of the barbarians of Adam-Klissi receives a satisfactory explanation, while history gains for the German wars of Rome as impressive a monumental witness as the Trajan column is to the Dacian wars or the column of Marcus Aurelius to the Marcomannic campaigns.

The book closes with an excursus upon the too notorious 'Tiara of Saitaphernes.' At greater length than was possible in the article published in *Cosmopolis*,⁴ the author shows whence the forger borrowed the motives of the tiara, without discrimination of style or date: how, when left entirely to his own resources, he fell into ridiculous traps: against all Greek precedent he provided his Scythians with archaeologically accurate Scythian cauldrons; he placed a Nike above the King in the hunting-scene, forgetting that no Greek ever looked 'upon the slaying of a wild beast as a fact worthy to be crowned by Nike'; worst of all he gave to the wind-gods that hover above the pyre of Patroklos the form of children, though the wind-god as *putto* is a conception entirely foreign to antiquity. Lastly Professor Furtwängler repeats his assertion that the inscription on the tiara is clumsily adapted (*in ängstlichen unsicheren Zügen*) from the celebrated inscription in honour of Protagenes (*C.I.G.* 2058) the rich citizen who

¹ See on this point Ulrichs' *Griechische Statuen im Republikanischen Rom*, p. 19, an important little 'Programm' which has escaped Furtwängler's notice; also my note on Plin. xxxv. 26 in *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, p. 197.

² Benndorf, Niemann, and Tocilescu, *das Monument von Adam Klissi*, Vienna, 1895.

³ Cf. Petersen in *Röm. Mitth.* xi. 1896, p. 104 ff.

⁴ August 1896. This first article was answered by M. Héron de Villefosse in *Cosmopolis* for September, and by Theodore Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for the same month.

helped to replenish the city's empty coffers when Olbia was sorely pressed for costly gifts—*δῶρα*—by the barbarous King Saitaphernes. 'It is absurd to suppose that the wild, nomadic king who wanted gold, solid gold, was to be appeased by a Greek honorary inscription, by illustrations to Homer, and by little pictures on thin gold foil. . . . But the forger with insufficient historical knowledge conceived the notion of fabricating one of the 'presents' mentioned in the Protogenes inscription, and of thus satisfying the popular craving for tangible witness to the truth of literary tradition. Many a 'relic' has ere now owed its existence to the same craving.'

A mere outsider may be allowed to feel surprise at the wealth of learning and of argument expended upon this ugly tiara as much by those who impugn as by those who champion its genuineness.

The reprint *Statuenkopien* should have a special interest for English archaeologists, as giving a detailed and richly illustrated description of a number of Greek statues at Ince Blundell Hall, Woburn Abbey, and Cambridge. Especially noteworthy are the superb Zeus and Theseus from Ince (plates I.-III.). A statue in the Villa Pamfili (pl. X.) is brought into connexion with the 'Mother of the Gods' of Agorakritos. The important introductory pages contain a first attempt towards distinguishing between various classes of copies. During the first or creative period of Greek art we only find 'studio copies,' school adaptations, derived or kindred conceptions, free imitations on coins, gems or vases. Copying proper begins in Pergamon, and coincides with the rise of the systematic study of art-history; yet accurate copying with help of the cast and of pointing was, so to speak, the invention of Pasiteles of Naples whose *quinque volumina nobilium operum in toto orbe* Furtwängler represents as a sort of descriptive catalogue of all the extant works best worth copying. The significant result of this first article is to show that we now know of a sufficient number of signed copies to enable us to bring some order among the unsigned ones also.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

Munich.

MEMPHIS AND MYCENAE.

Memphis and Mycenae; an examination of Egyptian Chronology and its application to the early History of Greece, by CECIL TORR, M.A. *Damnabitque oculos. Ovid.*

Cambridge University Press. 1896. 8vo. pp. xii. 74, and a folding table. 5s.

THE current statement 'that the Mycenaean age in Greece can definitely be fixed at 1500 B.C. or thereabouts, on the strength of evidence from Egyptian sources,' really consists of 'a pair of propositions; one being that the Mycenaean age in Greece was contemporary with the reigns of certain Kings of Dynasty XVIII. in Egypt; the other being that these kings were reigning there at some such date as 1500 B.C.' (p. i.) Mr. Torr denies both of these propositions; the first on the ground that the evidence is insufficient; the second on the ground that astronomical calculations are inapplicable to Egyptian chronology, and that the only safe reckoning is to construct from existing documents a chronology of minimum intervals from the Persian conquest of 525 B.C.

On the first of these, it is unfortunate that Mr. Torr has confined himself to a negative argument, and has reserved the whole of the positive conclusions which he claims to draw from purely Greek evidence (pp. i. and 65). And further, whatever the value of his statements may be on these, or upon the Egyptian chronology and kindred subjects which he discusses in the earlier chapters, his account of the archaeological evidence is frequently inaccurate and misleading in fact, and inconclusive in argument.

For example, in discussing the mass of rubbish at Tell-el-Amarna (p. 65) where Mykenaeen vases were found mixed with XVIIIth Dynasty rings and scarabs, Mr. Torr asserts that 'in order to maintain the notion that these Mykenaeen fragments are contemporary with those kings of Dynasty XVIII., one must suppose that when the people broke a vase of coarse Egyptian ware, they left the fragments lying about promiscuously; but when they broke a vase of delicate Mykenaeen ware, or even of Phoenician glass,¹ they carried the fragments out of the city and threw them away upon this piece of ground outside. And this does not seem likely.'

This is a misstatement of the case. This 'piece of ground outside'—some three furlongs, in fact, from the town—is a mass of rubbish some hundreds of feet in diameter, and, as Mr. Torr admits, averaging a foot in thickness. It consisted, as its discoverer expressly states, mainly of pot-

¹ Mr. Torr ignores Prof. Petrie's practically conclusive argument that this glass was made at Tell-el-Amarna.

tery,—some 20,000,000 sherds, by a rough estimate of its cubic content; and this enormous mass included no types characteristic of any Dynasty but the XVIIIth, and most of those which are peculiar to it.

Now it was 'scattered throughout the whole area' of this enormous mass of rubbish (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna* p. 15) that the 1329 pieces of Aegean pottery, and 'some dozens of objects with the names of the royal family' were found. The fact (p. 65) that pottery with XVIIIth Dynasty inscriptions was not found on this site is counterbalanced by the fact that these equally valid date-marks were so found. Mr. Torr as elsewhere insists on the negative, but refuses to admit the positive evidence.

Consequently, as Prof. Petrie says, 'Here we have not to consider isolated objects about which any such questions (of misplacement) can arise, nor a small deposit which might be casually disturbed, nor a locality which has ever been reoccupied: but we have to deal with thousands of tons of waste heaps, with pieces of hundreds of vases, and about a hundred absolutely dated objects with cartouches.'¹

He further considers it clear, from the dateable objects found in the rubbish heap, and quoted by Mr. Torr, 'that the mounds belong to a very little longer time than the reign of Akhenaten'² (Chu-en-Aten): and that there is no reason to suspect any admixture of later objects, either native or imported. In face of this definite statement, Mr. Torr insists that 'there was nothing whatever to indicate that the Mykenaeen and Phoenician fragments were thrown away there at the same date with the broken rings and scarabs,' (p. 65). But he produces no evidence either that the place was inhabited at all at any other date than the short period in the XVIIIth Dynasty which Prof. Petrie assigns to it: or that Prof. Petrie's method of dating by the style of the native pottery is unsound: or that there was any trace of subsequent additions to the rubbish-site, other than the Mykenaeen and 'Phoenician' fragments; he gives no explanation how the latter became distributed through the whole mass of rubbish: and in any case he fails to show that the Mykenaeen fragments, if they were not contemporary with the rubbish, were not already there before it was deposited.

¹ *Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 17. [It should, be observed that Mr. Torr has discussed Mr. Petrie's account in earlier numbers of this review (vol. vi. pp. 127 sq., and vol. viii. pp. 320 sq.).—G. E. M.]

² *Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 16.

Another misstatement of the same kind, but two-fold, follows in the next paragraph, where Mr. Torr makes the unsupported assertion that the foreign pottery found by Prof. Petrie in the rubbish heaps outside Kahun 'is mainly of the types that come to light at Naukratis and other places occupied by Greeks between 700 and 500' (p. 66) without a hint that this has been even questioned. In the first place, only four of the published fragments (*Illahun*, Pl. I. 4. 6. 10. 12.) could be mistaken by anybody for any known fabric of Naukratite pottery. In the second place, their discoverer, who was also one of the original excavators of Naukratis, distinctly states (*Illahun*, p. 10) that they are neither Naukratite nor of any later style known to him. This conclusion is based on differences alike of the clay, the glaze, the paint, the forms of the vases, and the scheme of ornament. In the third place, the very fragments which are least unlike Naukratite ware have been lately recognised, by identity alike of clay, glaze, paint, form, and ornament, as a local Cretan fabric.³ This Cretan pottery is found in undisturbed Cretan tombs which contain scarabs of Egyptian fabrics which are characteristic of the XIIth Dynasty and no other.⁴ Here, as in the case of the XVIIIth Dynasty scarabs of Mykenae and Ialysos, Mr. Torr ought to show why the ancient Cretan connoisseurs specialised in scarabs of the Twelfth Dynasty, and how they were enabled to reject late forgeries, and secure only specimens of the genuine fabric and materials; or if he refuses to accept these scarabs as of XIIth Dynasty style, he ought to give grounds for his opinion, instead of tacitly assuming that they are of some later date.

From this unsupported assertion that the Kahun pottery is Naukratite, Mr. Torr infers 'the futility of arguing that things must date from the same period, if they happen to be discovered in the same deposit.' (p. 66). If his premise is false, we must await further evidence before accepting his conclusion; yet it is this conclusion which underlies the whole of his argument in this chapter, and this is the only evidence which he brings to support it.

But let us take this conclusion, and apply it to the argument as stated by Mr. Torr.

³ Myres, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* N.S. xv. (1895) 273: cf. Mariani, *Mon. Ant.* vi. (1896) Pl. viii. 5.

⁴ Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, 1895, Appendix; cf. p. 57 = *J.H.S.* xiv. p. 327. I have seen the scarabs independently, and entirely agree with Mr. Evans' conclusion.

(1) If 'things which are discovered in the same deposit' are not necessarily of the same date, what becomes of Mr. Torr's argument from the contents of the same vault in the Apis sepulchres (p. 10), or from a collocation of mummies (p. 25)?

(2) If two sets of objects are not of the same age, one set must of course be older than the other; but it is a further question which is the older. Now Mr. Torr admits, rightly or wrongly, that the Rekh-ma-Ra tomb represents objects of 'Mykenaeen' workmanship already in the time of Thothmes III. (Men-cheper-Ra). It is therefore open to any one to argue, as against Mr. Torr at all events, that at Tell-el-Amarna the Mykenaeen potsherds are the prior ingredient in the rubbish heap, and not the scarabs of Thothmes III. and later kings; and in any case Mr. Torr's argument brings us no nearer to a decision whether scarabs of Dynasty XVIII. have been dropped on a Mykenaeen site, or Mykenaeen fragments on one of Dynasty XVIII.

(3) The same is the case with the deposit at Kahun, until Mr. Torr has established his identification of Naukratite pottery therein. The deposit must date 'at latest' from a period before the decline of the town¹; but Mr. Torr has still to show that the Aegean ingredient of it is not altogether earlier, for Prof. Petrie says that 'this Aegean pottery was found in *and under* these rubbish-heaps.'²

(4) Similarly Mr. Torr has still to show that the coffin of Pinetchem's grandson was not buried in an old tomb, and that part of the former equipment was not left lying there, or even used again for the new occupant. This is an occurrence which can be amply illustrated in Egypt, in Cyprus, and in fact, everywhere where chamber-burial was in vogue.

In discussing the XVIIIth Dynasty scarabs, &c., found at Mykenae and Ialysos, Mr. Torr displays no knowledge of any mode of dating Egyptian objects except by their inscriptions. He admits the criterion of style in a department of Mykenaeen archaeology where he can claim that it suits his theory (p. 69). Where it goes contrary, he ignores this class of evidence altogether. Thus he treats the scarab from Kamiros inscribed Chufu, as of the same value as those from

Ialysos inscribed Amenhotep III. and Thii, whereas the one is a XXVIth Dynasty forgery of a common type,³ and the others are of regular XVIIIth Dynasty fabric, and of a series of which forged scarabs are apparently unknown. Mr. Torr seems to assume that a scarab is forged unless it can be demonstrated to be genuine. With our present knowledge of styles and fabrics the opposite assumption is at least equally tenable. Even Mr. Torr probably does not presume all Roman bronze coins to be forgeries of the age of Gallienus, in spite of the fact that such forgeries are recognised and common. And there is no more difficulty in detecting a XXVIth Dynasty scarab, in spite of an early inscription, than in detecting those coins of Gallienus.

In any cases, however, in which the fabric is not decisive against a late date of manufacture, the evidence of a single scarab is of course very weak indeed. But when scarabs of several kings are found together, the probabilities, if the scarabs were mere ornaments or heirlooms, would be so greatly against the occurrence together of scarabs of consecutive or nearly consecutive reigns, that when these do occur together, they may be regarded as very probably fixing the date of the group in the place where it occurs.⁴

Now the evidence of the scarabs on Mykenaeen sites is very much strengthened by the fact that both at Mykenae and at Ialysos all the imported porcelain objects of recognisable fabrics are of XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty styles.⁵ The probability is thus proportionately strengthened that they were all imported within the period to which they belong in Egypt. Before Mr. Torr can secure his own position, he will have to bring evidence not merely that they are *not* of XVIIIth Dynasty fabric, but that they *are* of some recognised fabric which better suits his theory.

The hypothesis of heirlooms, like Mr. Torr's rejection of the argument from grouping, cuts both ways. Which is the more probable heirloom, a rare foreign vase, or a perishable article of everyday use like a wooden kohl-tube (p. 63-4) even if the latter bears a royal cartouche? The latter, by the way, shows no sign of long use: and royal cartouches were too common on household articles to confer any special value.

¹ *Illahun*, p. 9. 'From their position no later people would have accumulated these heaps...The external rubbish-heaps must belong to a time when the town was full. And their contents agree to that early date.'

² [For Mr. Torr's comments see *Class. Rev.* vi. p. 130.]

³ Cf. Men-ka-Ra in a Ptolemaic or Roman tomb at Amathus (*Brit. Mus.* 172) and the ubiquitous "Naukratite" forgeries of Men-kheper-Ra (Thothmes III.).

⁴ *E.g.* Neb-mat-Ra and Neb-kheferu-Ra at Gurob (Torr, p. 63), and the numerous Eighteenth Dynasty scarabs and rings at Tell-el-Amarna (Torr pp. 64-65).

⁵ *J.H.S.* xii. p. 273 ff.

He also thinks¹ that the occurrence of XVIIIth Dynasty scarabs at Ialysos, and the popularity of 'Memnon' in later Greece, are explained by the foreign origin of Queen Thii. But, in syllogistic form, 'some foreigners are not Greeks.' Queen Thii came from N. Syria, perhaps even from beyond the Euphrates. The popularity of Maria Theresa dollars in Abyssinia is not explained by a marriage alliance between Austria and Spain.

In a short Appendix Mr. Torr reprints from the *Academy*, for the benefit of Mr. H. S. Washington (p. x), a refutation of M. Fouqué's theory that the eruption of Thera, which buried a prehistoric settlement, might be placed as early as, or earlier than, 2000 B.C. Volcanoes are capricious creatures, and if there is method in their madness, no one has yet detected it. But after correcting M. Fouqué's history, Mr. Torr himself falls into a geological error.

(1) Mr. Washington, with whose conclusions Mr. Torr says that he agrees, shows clearly on geological grounds that the whole of the pumice had been laid down and consolidated before the present cliff-face was formed (v. Washington, *Am. Journ. Arch.* ix. p. 512). In many places the deposit is deeply eroded, and covered with rolled gravel; and none of the recorded eruptions have been severe enough, or near enough to the cliff-face, to cut it back appreciably. Moreover the story of droughts in Hdt. iv. 147 accords with the present state of the island, thickly covered as it is by this series of pumice-beds, which absorb all surface water.

(2) If the mediaeval eruptions covered the island thickly with pumice, this ought to be represented *above* the rolled gravel and shingle-beds which overlie the older pumice-beds. But neither Mr. Torr, nor Mr. Washington, nor M. Fouqué notice this vital point, even in describing the viii century buildings; and as a matter of fact such mediaeval pumice-beds cannot be identified. Theophanes probably exaggerated the eruption of 726 A.D., and Mr. Torr certainly exaggerates the amount of pumice which has fallen in Thera since the viii century B.C. When he claims a large part of the existing pumice as mediaeval, it is a fair question, which and what thickness of the existing beds does he mean, and on what geological evidence does he rely?

(3) In any case, the viii century buildings are above the consolidated pumice, and

the prehistoric settlement is below all the pumice there is, for it stands directly on the lava. Now there is no evidence of an eruption between the Hellenic colonisation of Thera and 196 B.C., and on Mr. Torr's principles we must not assume one. Therefore the great eruption, or eruptions (for soil was formed and grass grew in an interval between the pumice-showers), probably took place before the Hellenic settlement, and certainly before the foundation of the viii century buildings. All this agrees with the Hellenic tradition (*a*) that the island was called Στρογγυλή and Καλλίστη when 'colonised by Kadmos,' whereas in its present state it is neither 'round' like its namesake Stromboli, nor 'very beautiful'; (*b*) that, at a date roughly reckoned in generations to the middle of the second millennium, this colony perished utterly, and the island lay desolate; (*c*) that the Hellenic colonisation came later, and that the island was then called Θήρα, which suits its present condition admirably. The clear inference from all this is that the great eruption was traditionally known to have preceded the Hellenic settlement, *i.e.* took place by genealogical reckoning in the ix or x century 'at latest,' since which time the island has altered very little.

We turn now to Mr. Torr's revision of the Egyptian dates, and note in the first place that the two parts of his argument hang closely together. He wants minimum dates in Egyptian chronology, because he wants to reduce the interval between the Mykenaeon and the Hellenic civilisations. As long as intermediate stages were unknown between the best Mykenaeon and the earliest Hellenic art, this *horror vacui* was not without excuse. But, fortunately, recent discoveries in the Aegean, in Crete, and in Cyprus, have indicated clearly a long series of intermediate stages of civilisation, and the problem now is rather how to find room for the whole series within the chronological limits, than how to draw together the two edges of an apparent gap.

And it is here that Mr. Torr's results are of positive value. 'A statement is current,' as he would say,² that the golden cups from Vaphio represent the goldsmith's art of the vii century. Mr. Torr's argument shows that Pinethem, in whose grandson's tomb a solitary and belated Mykenaeon vase was found, 'came to the throne in 876 *at latest*.' He brings no good evidence to show that, if it does not belong to the tomb, it is not earlier; and all the other examples which

¹ Unless (p. 69) 'this region' and 'that region' in the same sentence refer to the same country; which would be very queer English.

² *Times*, Jan. 6, 1896; *Academy*, Jan. 11, 1896.

he quotes are very much earlier. So we may hope to hear no more of that theory at all events. In any case, the discovery of a very *late*-Mykenaeen style, in Cyprus for example, proves no more (but also no less) about dates at Mykenae or Ialysos than the discovery of very *early* objects at Kahun.

On the other hand, though he refuses to date any extant Mykenaeen object at all so early, he admits that Mykenaeen objects are represented in the tomb of Rekh-ma-Ra, in the time of Men-khefer-Ra (Thothmes III.) (p. 67); in which case, it is difficult to see what is gained by disputing the date of this or that vase, when all the extant specimens are of later dates than Thothmes III.

The current chronology of Egypt is based on the assumption that the Egyptians used a calendar year of 365 days and no leap year: so that the natural year of approximately $365\frac{1}{4}$ days completed a cycle of retardation in 1461 calendar years, carrying with it the natural seasons, the rising of the Nile, and the heliacal risings of the stars; together with all feasts which were regulated thereby. From this it follows that if the calendar dates of the same phenomenon or feast are known for two different calendar years, the interval between those years can be directly calculated from the discrepancy.

Mr. Torr argues (1) that in any case the real duration of the 'Sothic cycle' ending 139 A.D. (as used by Censorinus) would not have been 1461 years but 1457; (2) that it would have begun and ended on different dates in different parts of Egypt; (3) that it was invented by Hellenistic astronomers at Alexandria (p. 57); (4) that it is not presupposed or recognized by certain Rameside calendars which he quotes (p. 59).

With regard to points (1) and (2) Mr. Torr may set his mind at rest; for if he will consult any of the principal contributions to Egyptian chronology from Biot downwards—of whom he quotes not one throughout the chapter—he will see that these elementary astronomical facts have not been ignored in the calculation of the current chronology. The fact that Alexandrian chronologists used imperfect data does not affect the validity of the method, or the general coherence of their results. *E.g.* Theon of Alexandria puts an 'era of Menophres' in 1322 B.C. Menophres, of whom Mr. Torr knows nothing (p. 65), may well be Men-peh-Ra (Ramesses I.) whose reign is dated 1328–1326 by downward reckoning from Mahler's date for Thothmes III. (cf. Petrie, *Hist. Eg.* II. 33).

Meanwhile, Mr. Torr says (p. 57) that

some Egyptian calendars were calculated for a year of 360 days (*e.g.* Papyros Ebers); and others for an astronomical year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days; but he ignores a large number of facts which show that ordinary Egyptian reckoning recognised a cycle of some sort, and give consistent results only when combined on the hypothesis that this cycle was that of 1461 years, afterwards calculated by Alexandrian astronomers. For example Herodotus (II. 4) contrasts the ordinary Greek year of 360 days, by which the natural seasons shifted appreciably from year to year and were redressed by intercalation, with the Egyptian year current in his time, where five days, intercalated annually, kept the seasons redressed from year to year. This passage proves the use of a calendar year of 365 days in the fifth century. That is all that is required to warrant the application of the Sothic reckoning to Egyptian chronology. Mr. Torr may be right or wrong in saying that the cycle of 1461 years was not calculated or applied to historical purposes till the Ptolemaic age: but that does not affect the question whether either Censorinus or Mahler is justified in reckoning dates by the aid of it.

But the use of a year of 365 days in Egypt can be traced much further back than the fifth century. A series of XVIIIth Dynasty documents shows that the date of the Sothic festival was systematically altered by seven days every thirty years and that this change was celebrated by a greater feast, the *Sed*-festival. In a series of twelve consecutive *Sed*-festivals, only three are unrepresented by extant inscriptions, and one of these falls in the 'heretic' reign of Akhenaten: and of the remainder five expressly note the month and day of the festival. Now these regularly recurring dates will not work out on any hypothesis but that of a year of 365 days; and as the *Sed*-festivals recur in inscriptions of other reigns at considerable intervals, the presumption is that the year of 365 days was normal. It is true that Ramessu II. started a new series of *Sed*-festivals every third year from his thirtieth onwards; but that he did not interfere with the astronomical *Sed*-festival is shown by the El Kab inscription of his forty-first year.

And yet again, an inscription of the IVth Dynasty gives a calendar of twelve months of thirty days, with five intercalary days at the end of the year, which is exactly the system described by Herodotus. This disposes of the account of the five days given

in the Book of the Sothis (*Synec.* p. 123), and justifies the calculation of dates by astronomical methods under the Old Kingdom: where an inscription, which dates the Nile-flood, and corresponds to 3350 B.C., gives a date of 3410 B.C. for the beginning of Dynasty VI., as against 3503 by dead-reckoning from the lists.¹

Mr. Torr's alternative chronology is constructed from a number of official or semi-official documents, which give a continuous genealogy upwards from the accession of Psammetichos in 664 B.C. to the third year of Rameses Heq-mat-Ra (p. 34). This genealogy, if the generations, fifteen in number, were given the Greek conventional length of thirty years, would give 1117 B.C. for the accession of Heq-mat-Ra which is not far from that given by astronomical reckoning. But Mr. Torr goes further than this. His object is to produce a chronology of minimum intervals, and he succeeds in reducing the accession of Heq-mat-Ra from 1117 B.C. to 942 B.C. 'at latest' by the following ingenious methods.

(1) No king is reckoned to have reigned longer than the last year of which a dated document is known to Mr. Torr. This is as though he were to revise Ptolemaic chronology by cutting down the reigns to the year recorded on the latest known coin in each case.

(2) If a king seems to have reigned unreasonably long, he may be assumed to have reigned *de jure* and not *de facto*, like Charles II. who reckoned from 1649, though not 'recognised at Westminster' till 1660. Thus Mr. Torr proposes to annihilate the twenty-three years of User-mat-Ra Takelet (p. vii.) with the conjecture that he reigned *de facto* for a few months, and told lies about the rest; on the ground that 'No king of Egypt would have reigned for all those years without making himself conspicuous upon the monuments.' Let us hope that Mr. Torr's exertions may save him at all events from that condemnation.

(3) If generations mount up provokingly fast, three or four successive occupants of a hereditary office may be assumed to have been brothers (p. 9): in spite of the fact that they all bear the title of 'Royal Son.'

(4) Similarity of name is good evidence of identity of person: e.g. (p. 24) Auapuat, royal son of Rameses, is identified on weak evidence with Auput, son of Hetch-kheper-Ra Sheshenk: (p. 13) two Nemarts and (p. 14) two Usarkens are identified. Edward II. and Edward III. are not identi-

¹ Petrie, *Hist. Eg.* i. 253.

cal, though each had a father Edward, and each held the title of Prince of Wales.

Moreover, if Skemiophris (p. 48) can represent Sebek-em-sas; (p. 29) Psusennes, Paseb-chanu; and Sivi, Sabako; it is a little hypercritical to refuse Aquaiusha for 'Αχαιφοι, as Mr. Torr does, ignoring the fact that this is only one of a long list of equally close transliterations, and that the cogency of such a list is cumulative.

(5) Personal names go in alternate generations in many Egyptian families; but in a work which professes to take nothing for granted, the frequent use made of this canon to piece fragmentary genealogies together needs explanation.

It is a corollary from this and the last-named proposition, that a man is his own grandfather unless there is documentary evidence to the contrary: a genealogical canon which we recommend to Mr. Torr's serious consideration. This might be applied to reduce even his minimum by one-half.

(6) The unknown name of a brother may be recovered from the masculine form of the name of a woman whom it is convenient that he should have had as sister and as wife (p. 7). This also needs justification.

(7) The Apis was not an occasional prodigy, but the succession of Apis bulls was continuous, so that the death of one Apis necessarily coincided with the birth of the next. In which case, we should expect an explanation (1) how the new Apis was brought to birth so conveniently, (2) why its birth was ever chronicled at all, if the date was fixed by the death of its predecessor, e.g. (p. 10) the Apis dating of Sheskonk and Bocchoris.

(8) If no Apis died in a king's reign, he was not 'recognised at Memphis'—such is fame! Consequently he must have reigned somewhere else, and someone else, in whose reign an Apis died, must have been king at Memphis meanwhile; consequently all kings who failed to survive an Apis form 'parallel dynasties' with those who succeeded in doing so.

If the negative evidence is quite complete for whole Dynasties, a probability is established, but no more: in any case the argument is negative; and is there any evidence that no Apis bulls are buried elsewhere?

The net result of this minimum chronology is to reduce the interval from Psammetichos (XXVI. 1) to Ahmes (XVIII. 1) from 923 years to 607, and the accession of the latter from 1587 B.C. to 1271 'at latest.'

Above this point Dynasties XIII.—XVII. are extinguished utterly—because, presumably, they did not ‘make themselves conspicuous’ to Mr. Torr;—for Sequenen-Ra and Apepi, who did, are admitted on sufferance—so that Amenemhat (Mat-cheru-Ra) of Dynasty XII. is placed in the generation immediately above Ahmes of Dynasty XVIII.

Unfortunately the genealogy, which is the valuable part of the essay, is not carried continuously beyond 939-40¹ ‘at latest’; but it is in this section that the main reductions which affect the Mykenaeen question are made. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the fifteen generations in question are compressed into 275 years. It is true that six of them are in the female line, but the average length of a generation, from birth to birth—eighteen years and four months—is surely a ‘minimum interval.’ The Jewish kings have an average of exactly twenty years, which is very much higher. Moreover, if Mr. Torr’s assumption, that family names went in alternate generations, is sufficiently well founded for his purposes, it proves also that fully half of the children in this list were not eldest sons; which of course lowers the birth-to-birth average of parental ages. Now as an average presumes that some are over, and some are under the average, the physical limit is very nearly reached in the latter cases.

So much for the theoretical aspect of Mr. Torr’s chronology. It has this commonplace practical difficulty which will much delay its adoption, that every new discovery will shift the whole series above it: for there are no fixed points except at the bottom. However, we now know the worst: any change henceforward must be in an upward direction, and we wish Mr. Torr, as discoveries proceed, a complete and a rapid recantation.

JOHN L. MYRES.

¹ The third year of Heq-mat-Ra, p. 34.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Este.—An interesting discovery has been made here in the shape of a well or shaft for the drainage of a house. The mouth of it was closed by a slab of stone, above which were regular layers of earth, slabs of mortar, small stones, and more mortar. It was used for collecting water in rainy seasons, so as to keep the moisture from other parts of the building. The shaft is built of eight courses of stone, and was found full of slabs of stone inside, together with tiles, all artificially arranged so as to allow the water to

run through. Two similar arrangements have hitherto been found in Italy.¹

Bologna.—Some inscriptions found during recent excavations have now been published; none are of very much interest except a *cippus* of L. Statorius Bathyllus, with a head of Medusa in the tympanon and a rosette on either side. Below the inscription are a pair of compasses and a plumb line, indicating that Bathyllus was an architect. [For similar subjects, see Blümner, *Technologie*, ii. p. 236, and *Durm, Baukunst*, p. 361.] Another *cippus* of Q. Valerius Restitutus has a relief representing an *aurifex brattiaris* (cf. Jahn in *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch.* 1861, pl. 7, Fig. 2=Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 312).¹

Arezzo.—Five tombs covered with tiles, containing fragmentary vases, have been found in the bed of the river, showing that its course must have been originally different. At a distance of one mile from the city Etruscan remains have been found, consisting of a tomb with cinerary urn, an inscription, and fragments of Campano-Etruscan ware of the second century B.C. The urn is inscribed *Velia Velui*; the tomb is covered with a slab of sandstone on which is inscribed *V·Caiui·C·Rucu·Ceinal*. Another urn was found with the inscription *Larhi·Ti·Aneina*. All these are the names of various Aretine families.¹

Corneto-Tarquini.—A find has been made of archaic Greek vases and others of local fabric; also bronze fibulae and other remains. Among the vases was an aryballos in the form of a helmeted head, well executed, in the Rhodian style; the helmet has a hook in front, probably the *φάλος*, as is seen on the Clazomenae sarcophagi.¹

Rome.—An interesting *cippus* has come to light on the Via Latina, with an acrostic inscription which runs as follows:

Moribus hic simplex situs est Titus Aelius Faustus,
Annis in lucem duo de triginta moratus,
Cui dederant pinguem populis praebere liquorem
Antoninus item Commodus simul induperantes.
Rara viro vita et species rarissima; fama
Invida, sed rapuit semper fortuna probatos.
Ut signum invenias quod erat dum vita maneret
Selige literulas primas e versibus octo.

This Macarius was the son of a freedman of Antoninus Pius, and from A.D. 176-180 superintended the public distribution of *mustum* or of oil (see line 3).¹

Sala Consilina, Lucania.—Some archaic tombs have been investigated, containing fragments of Corinthian ware, and some black-figured vases; a hydria of the common archaic Italian type, and other bronze vessels, the finest of which is an oinochoe, the handle of which is formed by the figure of a nude man leaning back, a common Etruscan type.¹

Carifc, Apulia.—Two vases have been found here, containing a treasure of 13 silver and 103 bronze coins, 17 of the latter being cast, the rest stamped. The cast coins are all Roman fractions of the *as*; among the others are coins of Neapolis, Arpi, Heraclea, Thurii, and Aquilonia.¹

Reggio.—A bath has been discovered, of considerable size, with frigidarium, hypocaust, mosaic pavements, and curved marble seats (*scholae*); also a conduit of terracotta, beneath a mosaic staircase. A marble slab was found representing a gabled edifice, with a jug and patera in the tympanon, and remains of an inscription ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΚ·ΚΑΙ | ΑΡ·ΧΩΝ·ΕΚΤΩΝ | ΙΔΙΩΝ . . . | . . .

¹ *Notizie dei Lincei*, April-June 1896.

ΥΙΟΣ·ΦΗ | . . ΥΤΑ. Kaibel (nos. 617, 618) gives similar inscriptions found here.¹

Terranova (Gela).—An interesting archaic Greek inscription has been found here, the oldest as yet known from Sicily. It is *Βουσιτροφήδων*, and runs:

ΠΑΣΙΔΑΦΟΤΟ | ΕΞΕΤΑΡΚΑΜΑΣ |

ΠΟΙΕ Πασιαδ'Φου τὸ σᾶμα· Κράτης ἐποίησεν. By comparison with the Geloan inscription at Olympia (Roehl, *I.G.A.* 512a) we may date this not later than the end of the sixth century B.C.¹

GREECE.

Patras.—In the quarter of the town known as Psila Alonia a very fine mosaic of Roman date has come to light. The portion at present above ground is about 10 × 20 ft., and is enclosed by a border, but it appears to extend still further on one side. On the part already cleared are two subjects: (1) a group of nude athletes after the conclusion of the games; some wear laurel-wreaths and hold branches of wild olive; others hold shields or the *diskos*; and one is scraping himself with a strigil. (2) A figure dressed in purple accompanies a group of dancers on the lute; women in short dresses play the flute and stringed instruments. The colours are very vivid, but the part containing the musical scenes is not well preserved.²

Thessaly.—Two bee-hive tombs have come to light on the south slopes of Mt. Ossa, built of stone, with *δρόμοι*. Very little was found in them except pottery, which is rather of a prehistoric than Mycenaean character, the shapes recalling the fabrics of the Cyclades, but the decoration is later, chiefly geometrical painted patterns.

At Karditza a very interesting archaic inscription has been found, on a bronze tablet. It is eleven lines in length, and it is to the effect that on the motion of Etylos the Sthetoniy gave Sotairos of Corinth and his family protection and indemnity and proclaimed him a benefactor, for rescuing the silver and gold of Orestes, son of Pherecrates, which was nearly lost on the way to Delphi.³

Thera.—Herr Hiller von Gaertringen has brought his excavations to an end. He has identified the city on the slopes of Mesa Vouno with the ancient Thera, while Oea has been recognised in the remains on the sea-shore near the modern town. An ancient

necropolis has also been explored between Mesa Vouno and Agios Elias, containing tombs of the archaic period, very rich in pottery and terracotta statuettes. Some vases of the Thera type were found, and are among the best specimens of the kind; others are of Peloponnesian, Boeotian, and Cretan character [query: Mycenaean?], showing the high development of Aegean trade at that date. The number of inscriptions found in Thera has now been brought up to 650.⁴

ASIA MINOR.

Valley of Upper Euphrates.—In 1894 this region was explored by Messrs. Hogarth and Yorke, with the object of discovering traces of the system of defences organised by the Romans on the eastern frontier of the Empire. They travelled from Mersina by Samsat (Samosata) and Erzinjian to Trebizond. The road from Mersina to Samsat is fairly well known, but one or two new inscriptions turned up, one at Missis (Mopsuestia) being a milestone of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian; four more were found at Samsat. The rest of the way to Erzinjian was quite unknown, and important geographical results have been obtained. Between Erzinjian and Trebizond the identification of Sadagh with Satala has been finally settled by the discovery of inscriptions at that place relating to the fifteenth legion (Apollinaris), which was known to have been quartered at Satala.

As regards the Roman roads and defences the chief results are as follows: the Peutinger route from Melitene (the centre of the system in this district) has been shown to go a different way from the Antonine Itinerary, over the existing Roman bridge at Kiakhta; but what line it took over the Taurus is impossible to ascertain. On the road from Melitene to Satala the position of Dascusa and Dagusia has been distinguished and fixed with some probability, and other small points have been cleared up. Hardly any milestones exist in this region, and between Samosata and Satala there are only five with names of Emperors. The remains of defensive works are also very slight, probably owing to the fact that they were not much needed. In the first and second centuries of the Empire, Armenia was practically a Roman province, and consequently the frontier did not require to be protected against it.⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Notizei dei Lincio*, April–June 1896.

² *Athenaeum*, Oct. 10.

³ *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1896, pt. 2.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, Nov. 7.

⁵ *Geographical Journal*, Oct.–Nov. 1896.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. xx. Part 3. July, 1896.

Néron et les Rhodiens, P. Fabia. On the date of Nero's speech for the Rhodians we must follow Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 58) who makes it 53 A.D., and not Suetonius (*Nero* 7) who puts it in 51. An inscription recently discovered and published by M. Hiller de Gärtringen informs us that in the first year of Nero's reign a Rhodian embassy came to him in consequence of a letter received by them, the contents of which we do not know. *Quelques passages de Phèdre*, L. Havet. Reads in iv. 20 [iv. 18. 3] *sinuque se ipse fovit contra misericors*: defends *afluens* of codd. in v. 1, 10 [12]; in v. 5, thinks a line has

dropped out between ll. 18 and 19. *Fragments de l'Épître prior des Clémentines recueillis sur les feuilles de garde d'un Parisinus: principales variantes*, C. E. Ruelle. *Sur les vers 602–627 du 6e livre de l'Énéide*, A. Cartault. Against the proposal of L. Havet to place ll. 616–620 after 601. *Plaut. Trin.* 540, L. Havet. Suggests *sacerrime* for *accerrime* of codd. *Corrections proposées dans Aristide Quintilien, sur la Musique*, C. E. Ruelle.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xvii. 2. Whole No. 66, July, 1896.

On the Western Text of the Acts as Evidenced by Chrysostom, F. C. Conybeare. This text is best

given, though not in its entirety, in the Codex Bezae. It is here maintained that there once existed a *Greek* text of the type called Western, which was more comprehensive and older than the Bezan, and that this now lost text was the basis of an early commentary to which, in some form or other of it, both Chrysostom and Ephrem had access, so as to use it in their respective commentaries on the Acts. *Establishment and Extension of the Law of Thurneysen and Havet*, ii. L. Horton-Smith. Summarizes his results thus: In the course of the third cent. B.C. among the upper classes (but not before the beginning of the second cent. B.C. among the lower classes), in consequence of very open pronunciation of δ before υ , (1) Prim. Lat. $\delta\upsilon$ - became $\delta\upsilon$ -; (2) Prim. Lat. $\delta\upsilon$ - became $\delta\upsilon$ -; and (3) the Prim. Lat. diphthong ou became the diphthong au on its way to the later \bar{u} δ . *The Classical Element in Brown- ing's Poetry*, W. C. Lawton. *A Physiological Criticism of the Liquid and Nasal Sonant Theory*, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. Concludes as follows: The reduction of a syllable consisting of an explosive + short vowel + nasal results in a decrease of the vowel quantity by one-half of its original value approximately. If the vowel is suppressed the initial consonant is lost also. The liquids, especially l , are more difficult to investigate; as their development in reduced syllables, however, corresponds to that of the nasals, this fact alone is sufficient to invalidate the liquid sonant theory also. The only book on Classical Philology which is noticed is Van Bleeck's *Index Antiphonteus* by W. H. Kirk.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik. Vol. 153. Part 8. 1896.

Die dreiseitige basis der Messenier und Naupaktier zu Delphi, H. Pomtow. This is the parallel monument to the Olympic Messenian Naupactian memorial. The writer gives a description of the five larger blocks and the dedicatory inscr., and then, comparing it with the Olympic memorial, attempts a reconstruction. *Zu Ciceros briefen an Atticus*, L. Polster. In v. 4, 4, reads *dumtaxat* for *dum acta* et [see Cl. Rev. ix. 429]. *Die älteste münze Athens*, G. Gilbert. Before Solon's time Attica had a coinage of the Aeginetan standard. Solon introduced the Euboic, and made a two-drachma-piece the chief Attic coin. Hippias replaced this by a four-drachma-piece. *Zu den namen der Kureten*, O. Höfer. As the names of two of the Carian Curetes, $\Lambda\delta\beta\alpha\alpha\theta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Pi\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$, are connected with titles of Zeus, so the third, $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ or $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\alpha\lambda\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$, has lately been connected with an inscr. found at Mastaura to Zeus $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\alpha\lambda\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$. *Zu Andokides mysterienrede*, F. Schöll. Remarks on the text. *Zum dolphischen Labyrinthstein*, H. Pomtow. From the form of the letters we can with great probability assign the archonship of Κάρπος herein named to the first decade of the 4th cent. B.C. *Zu Tacitus*, L. Polster. In *Ann.* i. 64 suggests *inter uia* for *inter undas* [see Cl. Rev. ix. 429]. *Zu biographie des Lucretius*, R. Fritzsche.

Chiefly on Giris' excellent book 'il suicidio di Lucrezio' (Palermo, 1895). We have not enough materials to come to a definite conclusion [see Cl. Rev. ix. 188, 240]. *Zu Tacitus Agricola*, W. Pfitzner. Maintains that in c. 24 an expedition to Ireland is referred to [see Cl. Rev. ix. 310]. *Zu Ciceros reden*, K. Busche. Critical remarks on several speeches. *Zur geschichte des feldzugs Hannibals gegen Scipio* (202 vor ch.). K. Lehmann. Supports his previous contention that the great battle between Hannibal and Scipio was fought not near Zama but near Naraggara in Numidia.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. 51. Part 4. 1896.

Zur Handschriftenkunde und Geschichte der Philologie iv. R. Foerster. Upon the commentary of Cyriacus of Ancona to Strabo. *De Propertii poelae testamento*, Th. Brit. A detailed commentary on Prop. ii. 13. *De Francorum Gallorumque origine Trojana*, Th. Brit. Defends the MS. in Prop. ii. 13, 48. *Galicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus* [see Cl. Rev. ix. 443], comp. Qu. Sm. vii. 611. *Neu aufgefundenen graeco-syrische Philosophensprüche über die Seele*, V. Ryssel. The same MS. from the convent on Mt. Sinai from which comes the treatise 'on the soul' [see Cl. Rev. sup. p. 77], contains also a series of 'sayings of philosophers' which belong to that collection of sentences which we already know from Sachau's *Inedita Syriaca*. German translations of these sayings from both collections are here given. *Eccurse zu Virgil*, O. Crusius. (1) Origin and composition of the 8th Eclogue. (2) On the 4th Eclogue, especially on ll. 60-63 [see Cl. Rev. vii. 199]. Upon the much-vexed question of the *puer* Gibbon is quoted as saying (ch. xx.). 'The different claims of an older and younger son of Pollio, of Julia, of Drusus, of Marcellus are found to be *incompossible* with chronology, history and the good sense of Virgil.' Gibbon says 'incompatible,' but no doubt he would be pleased to have his English corrected in a German periodical. *Delphische Beilagen*, H. Pomtow. (1) The years of the tyranny of Peisistratos in connexion with Ἀθηναίων πολικεῖα . (2) The date of Pind. Pyth. vii. *Textkritisches zu Ciceros Briefen*, J. Ziehen. *Ueber den Cynegeticus des Xenophon* I., L. Radermacher. Discusses the authorship [see Cl. Rev. sup. p. 313].

MISCELLAN. *Zu Ariston von Chios*, H. Weber. *Zur Epigraphik von Thyatira*, E. Ziebarth. A criticism on M. Cleres' *De rebus Thyatirenorum commentatio epigraphica* (Paris, 1893). *Die Heptanomis seit Hadrian*, W. Schwarz. All inscriptions in which mention is made of seven Nomes and of the Arsinoite are later than the foundation of Antinopolis, i.e. later than Hadrian. *Zu Statius Silven*, A. Riese. In iv. 3, 19, suggests *clavum* for *calvum* [see Cl. Rev. sup. p. 223]. *Zu Augustins Confessiones*, M. Ihm. In viii. 2, 3 reads *inspirabat populo Osirin*. *De inscriptionibus quibusdam christianis*, F. B. On the inscriptions found by P. Orsi in the catacombs at Syracuse, of dates 383-452.

MR. AGAR'S REVIEW OF THE OXFORD HOMER.

MR. AGAR, in the interesting review published in the last number, makes a series of criticisms and suggestions on the Homeric Hymns, and in doing so connects my name with a good deal that is not properly due to me. Let me call his attention to the words of the Preface: 'Hymnos Homericos post novam recensionem Alfredi Goodwin denuo

correxerit T. W. Allen, necnon breves notulas subjecit.' I have of course a general editorial responsibility for the book, but the text of the Hymns and the critical notes which accompany it are the work of Mr. Allen.

D. B. MONRO.

Oriel College, Oxford, Nov. 18.

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