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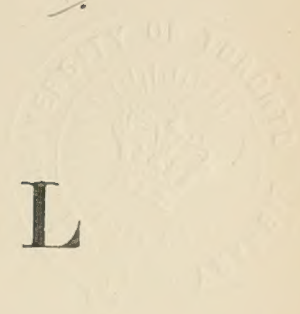
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THE

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REVIEW.



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¹ Not Δ as printed in text.

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1905.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE Association held its annual general meeting on Friday and Saturday, Jan. 6 and 7, under the hospitable roof of University College, London, and may be congratulated on a successful gathering, in which about 200 took part.

Since its inaugural meeting in the same place, just over twelve months before, reported in the *Classical Review* in February of last year, it has more than doubled its numbers, which now exceed 900. The financial statement presented by Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Mackail's successor as honorary treasurer, disclosed a fair measure of material prosperity, though it must be owned that the funds which can be provided by annual subscriptions of five shillings are none too ample for the work which such an Association might and should perform.

The two chief features of the meeting were its prevailingly educational character, which, perhaps, suggested the kindly reference which Canon Bell made to it in his speech at the dinner of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters as a 'kindred association,' and the extension of the policy which was adopted at the Oxford meeting of dealing with pressing questions by voting the appointment of Committees. Of these no less than three in addition to the one on Latin Orthography are to be constituted.

In accordance with the precedent of the Oxford meeting, the proceedings on the Friday evening meeting took the form of a social *réunion*. The members were received by the Principal of the College, Dr. T. Gregory Foster, and Professor Butcher as representing the Council of the Association. The Flaxman Gallery and

the fine College Library were open to the visitors, and in the latter were disposed some treasures from the Library and elsewhere. In the bays there were exhibits by the leading publishers of their recent Classical books. The pedagogic character to which we have adverted was not absent from the lectures which diversified the evening. Prof. P. Gardner in an interesting and practical address upon 'the use of lantern slides in classical teaching' (a subject to which, by the way, there were some disrespectful allusions on the following day), gave an account of recent improvements in this branch of lecture illustration, the most important of which was that a darkened room was no longer necessary. Among the pieces thrown upon the screen the most effective was a sheet of coins, which came out with great clearness and solidity. Mr. Gilbert Murray's discourse was on some points in teaching Greek Plays. He defended the psychological school of interpretation against the strictly logical one, and dwelt upon the necessity of always keeping in view the spoken character of ancient drama. In conclusion he proposed a novel explanation of Euripides *Med.* 213 sqq. Κορίνθιαί γυναῖκες, ἐξήλθον δόμων, by which this speech of Medea might be brought into more intelligible relations with her violent outbursts in the previous scene. Both lectures had a seasoning of epigram which the audience did not fail to appreciate.

At the business meeting on the following day, over which Sir E. Maunde Thompson presided, the Earl of Halsbury, Lord Chancellor, was elected President for the year. And the Master of the Rolls, the

outgoing President—whose services to the Association were signalised in graceful language by Dr. Gow—Sir Archibald Geikie, and Sir Edward Poynter were added to the list of Vice-Presidents, and the President of Queens' College, Cambridge, Prof. E. A. Gardner, Miss J. E. Harrison, Sir A. F. Hort, and Mr. Mackail, were elected on the Council.

The centre of attraction in the proceedings was, of course, the Presidential address, which we print elsewhere. The acclamation which followed the motion of a vote of thanks by Sir E. M. Thompson, and the observations of the speakers in the brief discussion that ensued, to which Prof. Butcher, the Rev. J. B. Lee, and Mr. J. S. Redmayne contributed, showed the interest that it had awakened.

Earlier in the morning, the Association voted on the proposal 'that the Council be requested to nominate a representative committee to consider and report on the best method of introducing a uniform pronunciation of Latin into the Universities and Schools of the country, and that it be an instruction to this Committee to confer with the Committee to be appointed for a similar purpose by the Classical Association of Scotland. That the same Committee be empowered, if they deem it advisable, to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption.' This was proposed by Prof. Butcher, who pointed out that the need of reform was no new question. The general principle had been affirmed by the Headmasters' Conference in 1871. No common action, however, had been taken. A few individuals and a very few schools had adopted the reformed pronunciation. The partial change had only accentuated the mischief. Neither at Oxford nor at Cambridge, nor within a single College, was any uniform system in vogue. Two discordant systems existed, and several inharmonious blends of the two. It was now a matter of urgent practical convenience that within these islands we should accept some standard pronunciation which should be approximately correct. But the change must be such as not to impose new and vexatious burdens on classical pupils. Hence we must distinguish in practice between the more and the less important. Three points seemed essential: (1) Quantity must never be neglected; a long syllable must always be pronounced long, not pronounced louder. The English accentual system often obscured quantity and ruined the reading of poetry.

(2) The quality of the vowels should be respected; that is, roughly speaking, they should be pronounced as in Italian. The learning of the Romance languages would thus be made all the easier. (3) The consonants c, g, and t should always be hard. The teacher while trying to attain the utmost accuracy himself, should not teach his pupils the subtleties of the subject, but insist only on a few fundamentals. The question of Greek offered one peculiar difficulty. The ancient Greek accent was a musical or pitch accent, not a stress accent. We could hardly hope to recapture the intonation. Still there was no difficulty in getting the sounds of the vowels and consonants correctly. Now that the interchange of teachers between England, Scotland, and Ireland was more frequent, the need of uniformity in the United Kingdom was one of increasing urgency. But the first condition of reform was that the Schools and the Universities should act in concert. The motion was seconded by Mr. F. M. Cornford, the Secretary of the Cambridge Classical Society, who gave the results of a recent poll of the members of that Society, which showed overwhelming majorities both for uniformity and reform. Dr. Sandys gave his own experience as Public Orator, and urged with numerous anecdotes the inconvenience of the present pronunciation. Dr. Rouse showed from actual experience that the introduction of a reformed pronunciation was a matter of no great difficulty. The only opposition to reform came from Mr. John Sargeant, whose defence of the old pronunciation in the *Journal of Education* some may remember: and he did not oppose the adoption of the resolution, which was finally carried with a single dissident.

After it was disposed of, Mr. R. L. Leighton read a short paper on the educational utility of Latin. In contrast to Mr. Leighton's quiet dialectic and subtle analysis stood the more dashing treatment of Mr. Rice Holmes, the historian of the Indian Mutiny and the campaigns of Caesar, who pressed home the value of classics for science and mathematical students and candidates for the Army and the need for reform in the teaching here, with martial directness. The Rev. A. J. Church thought that more attention should be paid to the English of translations. Mr. F. J. Terry urged that beginners should be set down to Latin which dealt with incidents of a boy's life, and Prof. Conway emphasised the importance of bringing out early the difference between poetry and prose.

In the afternoon meeting, presided over by Prof. Butcher, Prof. E. A. Gardner moved for a representative committee to consider by which methods those employed in classical teaching can be helped to keep in touch with the most recent results of discovery and investigation. Prof. Gardner's suggestions were mainly concerned with archaeology, but his motion had a general intention, and he had no difficulty in carrying it. The rest of the sitting was consumed in the consideration of two motions, which were subsequently merged in a third. Mr. Page proposed that there should be a committee to consider what part of the study of Greek and Latin is of lesser importance, in order that attention may be more concentrated on what is essential. In a speech of vigour and vehemence he tilted at the excessive pursuit of the more technical portions of classical studies, and suggested that to get time for at least some acquaintance with the best authors, accidence, syntax, and composition should be studied fully in Latin only, and, up to a certain stage, be almost wholly neglected in Greek, pushing on to actual reading. The Rev. W. C. Compton proposed a similar committee for the revision of school grammars so as to separate the indispensable from the more exceptional uses. He pleaded for rearrangement, and a grammar in which the two parts should appear on opposite pages. A number of speakers joined in the debate. The Provost of Oriel showed how grammars were lightened considerably by the omission of unattracted forms. Dr. Postgate thought that verse-making, except as an aid to the appre-

ciation of metre, should be dropped by all who had not some poetical aptitude, and urged the need of a new school Latin dictionary. Mr. Winbolt attacked the problem from the point of view of the school time-table, suggesting finally that of an allotted total of 8 hours, translation should have 4, grammar 2, history and literature 2, and Latin prose 2. Mr. R. T. Elliott thought less grammar should be taught, and especially fewer irregular verbs, and that Attic should be worshipped less. Prof. Burrows did not think a new grammar very urgently required, and put in a plea for Greek prose and for original work by teachers, and a warning against apathy. Mr. A. S. Owen protested against the view that opposite every word in the grammar should be set an English translation, and deprecated excessive simplification. The Rev. H. A. Dalton feared that soundness in Greek might be sacrificed on Mr. Page's scheme. Miss Rogers had found that girls might begin Greek at a later age than boys. The Chairman thought that there was danger of a neglect of grammar being carried too far, and put in a word for the cultivation of Latin verse. Easier and more 'literary' extracts should be given for practice in translation. The following resolution was then adopted: That the Council be requested to nominate a representative Committee to consider in what respects the present school curriculum in Latin and Greek can be lightened and the means of instruction improved, the Committee to report to the Association at the earliest possible opportunity.

CLASSICAL STUDIES.

A Presidential Address to the Classical Association of England and Wales by the EARL OF HALSBURY, Lord Chancellor, on January 7, 1905.

IN addressing my fellow-members of this Association from the Chair, which it is my pride to occupy to-day, I must disclaim any pretension to lecture or to assume the attitude of a Professor. I am simply for the moment in the Chair, and, like the person who occupies the Chair in another place, more appropriately silent than dogmatizing on the subjects that interest us all; I would rather put it that I am initiating a conversation and suggesting a topic or two than delivering a thesis. I observe my distin-

guished predecessor disclaimed on the part of this Society any pretension to improve the level of Scholarship in the University of Oxford. As the Master of the Rolls said, Oxford stood where it should stand—at the summit level of Classical attainment; but I am by no means sure that we should make the same protest when we are speaking of London as a great publishing centre. It would be both unjust and ungrateful not to recognize what the University by whose hospitality we are now

here has done. But London is too vast, too busy, too much absorbed in the daily pursuits of commercial life to be much influenced by any one University, however learned and assiduous: but that it would as a publishing centre be improved by such an influence can hardly admit of a doubt. The groves of Mars and the caves of Aeolus were the types of the Roman poet of the sort of literature which stunned and distracted the ordinary reader. I wonder what he would have said of the shilling dreadfuls which I think have blossomed forth into sixpenny, threepenny, and even penny novelettes, and which, though happily in prose, claim as works of imagination to be the multiform poems of our time. Classic culture and classic taste might render these compositions a little less noxious than they are at present, and I know not what better standard we can strive to emulate than that which this Association seeks to place before its members.

I did not have the privilege of hearing, but I have read with deep interest Mr. Mackail's address on the place of Greek and Latin in human life, and I note that he thinks 'there is much to be done in quickening the spirit and renewing the methods of Classical teaching.' There are few, if any of us, who would controvert that proposition; but we are immediately brought face to face with the question, How is that work to be done? We are agreed as to the object—we are not so clear about the means. It is an old remark that it is by mistakes we learn, and I venture to suggest that the main end will be best attained by familiarizing those whom we seek to influence with the objects of our study in such a manner as to awaken a human interest in them. When such an associated body as this is agreed in its object and when I look at the names which I see counted among its members I cannot doubt that some progress may be made in the direction which we all desire; but may I drop a hint as to the tone and temper of the discussion which such questions are likely to raise? Among many interesting things which I read in Mr. Mackail's essay there was a quotation from Lord Bowen which is, I think, most appropriate to the topic that I am endeavouring to treat with a very light hand. I mean that passage in which Lord Bowen referred to the sort of proprietary rights in Classic studies which some scholars seem to claim, and the right apparently to warn off all others from approaching that sacred ground. Only the day

before yesterday I read a letter from one whose learning and experience entitle him to be heard, conceived in a spirit, I think, of somewhat exaggerated pessimism. I do not myself think that compulsory Greek has been rendered injurious and ridiculous, and I must be allowed to doubt, notwithstanding my respect for the learning of the writer, that there is any class (I speak not, of course, of individuals) 'who deliberately omit from the course of compulsory Greek all that constitutes Scholarship or could give to Exercises a humanizing quality. All information is excluded as to who the Greeks were, their history, influence, merits, and defects.'

Now, though I still timidly suggest exaggeration here, I do not mean to say that the jealous treatment of Greek Literature in the sense that none but the very best models shall be presented to a pupil's mind has not been too rigidly insisted on; and that there might not well be a more diffused and more free intercourse with Greek writers even if not the best specimens of Attic Greek. Few books are more amusing and more amusing to a boy than Herodotus, and assembled Greece loved him though he was provincial enough in manner and dialect. What would be said of an effort to teach a man a good English style if he was never allowed to read anything but Bolingbroke or Addison? I know it will be said that in teaching you must have regard to accurate Scholarship; and no one will undervalue accurate Scholarship; but the question is not what will be ultimately reached, but what in the order of events is the best way to attain to that accuracy. Children, if they were not allowed to speak except upon strict grammatical rules, would be a long time in learning to talk their own language; and I suppose it is the experience of most people in learning a foreign language that if they confine their reading to what would be called lessons for children their progress is slow. In truth what I have quoted before is true here—by mistakes we learn—and a wider study of the Greek of a thousand years and more, I think, would excite a more real interest and create a more numerous body of students who would read Greek writers not merely for an examination but for the enjoyment derived from the reading itself. It is astonishing sometimes when one speaks to those who have left their Classics behind them, to note how narrow has been the curriculum, how sparse and scanty has been the dip into a language which nevertheless has such abundant and copious sources of

interest. How many of such students have ever opened a book of Diodorus Siculus or Dion Cassius—or in the Greek of Plutarch, and even of Plutarch either in Greek or English anything but the Lives in Langhorne's translations, or read a single word of Athenaeus except such as are found quoted by Mr. Mitchell in some of his notes to some Plays of Aristophanes which he has edited? Now consider what a man does when he is learning French—we will say, with a real desire to read and enjoy it. He seizes every book he can get hold of and every newspaper. He makes many mistakes, he misunderstands and forgets; but if he perseveres he learns where he has been mistaken and his discovered blunder becomes a fixture in his memory. I know not how it may be now, but when I was in Oxford as an undergraduate a man might have a creditable degree and never read an oration of Demosthenes or any one of the oratores Attici. I hope I shall not make any of my hearers shudder when I even advocate the perusal of the Byzantine Historians and the Greek Fathers. One result of such studies is that the appetite grows by what it feeds on, and the general knowledge thus acquired sets at defiance the coach or the crammer or whatever he is to be called who sets himself to defeat the efforts of the examiner to test real knowledge. The Greek Romancers and Satirists—especially among the latter Lucian—form almost a literature of their own; but I am at present only concerned with the suggestion that it is not only Thucydides and the Dramatists who will give facility in and taste for reading Greek.

I have referred to Greek, but it is only because the cry against Greek has been the loudest and most insistent. The narrowness of the Latin curriculum is still what one learns from those who have ceased to take any interest in Latin Literature. Horace and Virgil—Virgil and Horace. How many have read or heard of the *Quaestiones Naturales* of Seneca? and how many but for the exertions of Mr. Rowe and Mr. Justice Ridley would have read Lucan's *Pharsalia*? I think Sir Walter Scott tells a story of a Jacobite who had effected his escape from captivity while under a charge of high treason, but was recaptured when he returned to get back a copy of Livy which it had been the delight of his life to read and which he had left behind. I fear there are not many now who would risk their life for a copy of Livy, and Sir Walter expresses his grief that his hero's

Classic tastes were not found a sufficient justification for high treason. I do not deny that what I have suggested might seem to make too little of the accurate scholarship which it has been the glory of the English Universities to attain to; but, as I have already said, it is only the order of events upon which I am insisting. Let a man learn to read Greek or Latin with facility and it will soon be with enjoyment, and if with enjoyment then with gradually advancing accuracy. All I say is, that if you wish for complete accuracy at first and teach the *nuances* of Greek Grammar before the pupil knows anything of the language, you run the risk of doing what I saw a gentleman, when discussing this subject, said had happened to himself—that he had hated Greek for the rest of his life; and after all we are not dealing with those who are to become Bentleys or Porsons, with a Professor Jebb or a Professor Butcher, but with people who, short of that standard of learning, may take a real and lively interest in Classic Literature and hand over the lamp to others in their turn.

One other topic which I would approach in the same spirit of suggestion rather than of dogmatic assertion; and I would like to make the suggestion by way of parallel. Every one recognizes that if you are reading a novel the connexion of the events that the narrator suggests and the gradual development of the story create and sustain the interest of the reader; but if you dislocate and disfigure the relation of the events to each other you deprive the narrative of its chief attraction. Let me take an illustration. Suppose you are teaching the boy to read Cicero's Second Philippic—that which Juvenal described as of divine fame: the interest of the events between the murder of Caesar and Cicero's own murder by Antony is what lends to that oration its deep and even thrilling interest, and without what I will call the context of that comparatively short interval, the life of Cicero—the intrigues of Antony; Cicero's First Philippic, a tentative and even timid remonstrance against Antony—Antony's ferocious attack—and then Cicero's Second Philippic, which sealed Cicero's doom—present a picture of political intrigue and of violent conflict which a boy would be dull indeed if, when presented to him in this form, he did not learn to read with avidity and interest. And as part of what I have called the context, Cicero's Letters edited by Mr. Albert Watson, formerly Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford,

would supply materials for developing the story. I give this only as an illustration—many more might be adduced; but I cannot forbear from adding that Mr. Watson's book and the latest account published, I think, only last year of the state of Rome between Caesar and Nero might be indeed an answer to the supposed decay of Scholar-

ship among us. But I have said enough in the way of hint and suggestion—I do not profess to do more—and I will only conclude with what Horace has said:

*Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*

LATIN ORTHOGRAPHY: AN APPEAL TO SCHOLARS.

THE present marked divergencies of spelling in dictionaries and texts create a needless and very real difficulty to learners of Latin at all the early stages, and the undersigned, having been appointed by the Classical Association of England and Wales a Committee for the purpose of considering the spelling and printing of Latin texts for school and college use, are anxious to have the co-operation of all Latin scholars who are interested in the subject.

Their task, so far as the spelling of Latin words is concerned falls into two sections: to set forth, so far as known, the correct or preferable spellings in cases where there has been doubt or dispute, and to recommend these, where advisable, for general adoption in school and college texts.

In the absence of systematic works upon Latin orthography of a recent date investigators have to fall back upon separate articles and notes upon particular points in classical journals and commentaries which from the nature of the case may be easily overlooked. In addition to these sources which the Committee desire to utilise to the fullest possible extent, they believe that there must be a good deal of unpublished information which its possessors would be glad to see made available for the general good and which they are accordingly invited kindly to communicate to the Committee.

The Committee have drawn up a list of particular words exclusive of proper names which will be dealt with hereafter, the classical spelling of which seems to them to be still insufficiently determined. This list, which is printed below, contains in general only such words as do not fall under some general division of Latin orthography, for instance the assimilation or non-assimilation of prefixes in composition. And the Committee would be very grateful to any scholar who will supply them with information respecting any of the words included therein.

This information may embrace anything that falls under the following heads: (1) the spelling of the word in *good* inscriptions belonging to the classical period, (2) the spelling in good manuscripts of classical authors who use the word, (3) references to periodicals, programmes, dissertations and commentaries where the spelling of the word is treated of.

In a matter of this kind it is necessary to fix upon some epoch as a starting point, and the Committee have selected as the most convenient one for this purpose the epoch of Quintilian, in so far as the spellings of that epoch can be ascertained.

They propose, at present, to exclude from consideration the spelling of all writers later than the second century A.D. or earlier than the first century B.C. Within these limits they propose to take account of all well attested variations.

Communications relating to the words in the list or to the general subject may be addressed to Professor J. P. POSTGATE, 54 Bateman Street, Cambridge.

FIRST LIST OF LATIN WORDS OF DOUBTFUL ORTHOGRAPHY.

From this list are omitted words, the classical spelling of which is admittedly fluctuating, and words in which an alternative, though current, spelling is known to be without good authority.

Words which may be found to have been improperly omitted will be added in a supplementary list.

absinthus	bracchium
absis	bybliopola, bybliotheca
acnuā	
	caeremonia
baccar	caudex
balaena	caulis
ballista	clipeus

coniunx	glutio, gluto, glutus	rames	smaragdus
corulus	gorytus	recipero	stellio, etc.
cottidie		religio	stillicidium
cottona	hama	robigo	
crocodilus	hibrida		tesca
crumina	hirnea	sanguinolentus	trochlea
	interimo and perimo	sarracum	
de- and dis- in compounds	ligurio	scaena	uaco
		scida	ualetudo
ec- in compounds in clas- sical times	magnopere and other com- pounds of opere	scrupulum	uē- prefix
eiuro	miscellaneous	sepulcrum	uehemens
elleborus		setius	
euhoē			
exhedra	penna and derivatives		
	percontor	(Signed)	R. S. CONWAY.
fascia	periurus		A. E. HOUSMAN.
ferumen	petorritum		W. H. D. ROUSE.
filix	phaselus		J. P. POSTGATE.
formidolosus	pistris, pristin		S. E. WINBOLT.
	promunturium	January 13, 1905.	
galbanatus, galbina	protenus, etc.		

THE USE AND ORIGIN OF APOSTROPHE IN HOMER.

THE use of apostrophe as a feature of style in Homer does not seem to have met with much notice and, so far as I am aware, has received as yet no adequate explanation. Geddes (*Problem of the Homeric Poems*, p. 36, n. 14) gives a list of the passages where apostrophe occurs and notes that Melanippus is the only Trojan honoured by the poet's personal address. Mure (*Lit. of Greece*, ii. 61) classes the usage among the 'elegant expedients' used by the poet 'to give a dramatic turn to the text.' But the 'expedient,' whether 'elegant' or not, must have had an origin.

Apostrophe of a particular hero occurs in all 19 times in the *Iliad* and 15 times in the *Odyssey*: the latter instances are all in the case of Eumaeus, the 'divine swine-herd'; those in the *Iliad* are distributed as follows: Patroklos 8, Menelaos 7, Phoebus 2, Achilles 1, and Melanippus 1. Had the importance of the person or the poet's interest in him (*v.* the Scholia quoted below) been the determining factor, the proportions would have been different. A classification according to the nature of the context yields some interesting results.

A. Apostrophe of a particular hero is found

(a) *At an important crisis* (i) for the hero apostrophized.

Δ 127 (Menelaos is wounded) οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο.

II 104 (Menelaos proposes to answer Hektor's challenge) ἔνθα κέ τοι, Μ., φάνη βίότιο τελευτή.

II 787 (Patroklos meets Apollo) ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βίότιο τελευτή.

II 812 (Euphorbos attacks Patroklos) ὅς τοι πρῶτος ἐφῆκε βέλος, Πατρόκλεες ἰππεύ [for II 843 see below (c)];

(ii) for some one else, N 603 (Peisandros attacks Menelaos, driven by fate) σοί, Μενέλαε, δαμῆναι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι :

P 702 οἶδ' ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ἤθελε θνῆς | τειρομένους ἐτάροισιν ἄμνέμεν.

(b) *At the conclusion of a simile.*

Δ 146. ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνή φοίνικι μιγήν (141) . . . τοῖοί τοι, Μειέλαε, μιάνην αἵματι μηροί.

O 365 Phoebus fills the trench and destroys the wall ρεῖα μάλ', ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον πάϊς ἄγχι θαλάσσης κ.τ.λ . . . ὡς ῥά σν, ἦτε Φοῖβε, πολὺν κάματον καὶ οἶζν | σύγχεας Ἀργείων.

O 582 Antilochos rushes upon Melanippus κύνον ὡς, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ νεβρῶ | βλημένῳ ἀτίξῃ (579) . . . ὡς ἐπὶ σοι, Μελάνιππε, θόρ' Ἀντίλοχος μενεχάρμης.

II 584 Patroklos rushes ἱρηκί εἰκίως (582) . . . ὡς ἰθὺς Λυκίων, Πατρόκλεες ἱπποκείυθε, | ἔσσω.

II 754 Patroklos goes towards the body of Koberiones οἶμα λέοντος ἔχων (752)

. . . . ὡς ἐπὶ Κεβριόνη, Πατρόκλεες,
ἄλσο μεμαώς.

P 679 ὡς τ' αἰετός, ὃν βὰ τέ φασιν κ.τ.λ. (674)
ὡς τότε σοι, Μενέλαε διοτρέφες, ὅσσε
φαιεῶν | πάντοσε δινείσθην.

Ψ 600 τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς | ἰάνθη ὡς εἴ τε περὶ
σταχύεσσιν ἐέρση (598) . . . ὡς ἄρα
σοι, Μενέλαε, μετὰ φρέσι θυμὸς ἰάνθη.

(c) In a formula of address (some of these might also come under (a)).

Π 20 Achilles asks Patroklos why he weeps τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη, Πατρόκλεε ἱππεύ.

Π 744 Patroklos has wounded Kebriones mortally τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφη, Πατρ. ἱπ.

Π 843 Patroklos mortally wounded addresses Hektor τὸν δ' ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφη, Πατρ. ἱπ.

The formula τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη Εὐμαίε συβώτα, occurs with slight variations ξ 55, 165, 360, 442, 507: ο 325 (μέγ' ὀχθήσας): π 60, 135, 464: ρ 272, 311, 380, 512 (τήν), 579 (τήν) and χ 194 (ἐπικερτομέων): these are the only instances of this figure in the *Odyssey*.

(d) The person addressed is asked for information.

Π 692 ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ἴστατον
ἐξενάριξας, | Πατρόκλει, ὅτε δὴ σε θεοὶ
θανάτονδε κάλεσσαν;

(e) Two instances in Y do not seem to come definitely under any of the above heads: 1, 2 ὡς οἱ μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσσι θωρήσσοντο | ἀμφὶ σε, Πηλῆος νιέ, μάχης ἀκόρητον Ἀχαιοί, where a reference to the conclusion of T strongly favours the supposition that these lines did not originally stand immediately after T 424, and that, were the original context preserved, they would come under (b); cf. I 1, with the concluding lines of Θ, 555 ff.: and Y 152 (the gods sit to watch the fight) ἀμφὶ σε, ἦε Φοῖβε, καὶ Ἄρρη πτολίπορθον.

To these may be added, for the sake of comparison, two further divisions.

B. Under this head come the passages where no particular hero is apostrophized but a request for information or assistance is addressed (a) to the Muse or Muses A 1, 8, B 484 sq., 761, Λ 218 sq., Ξ 508, Π 112, etc., (b) to some person or persons not specified E 703, Θ 273, Λ 299, etc.: with these compare A (d) *supra*.

C. The hearer is addressed: P 220, 392: Δ 223 ἐνθ' οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέ-

νονα δῖον, 429 οὐδέ κε φαίης κ.τ.λ. (where a simile has preceded in 422-426, cf. A (d)): E 85 Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοιῖς ποτέροισι μετείη (cf. Ξ 58) O 697, P 366, γ 124.

B and C are not intended to be exhaustive lists of these usages, as I am mainly concerned with the *ἀποστροφή ἀπὸ προσώπου εἰς πρόσωπον* of A.

So much for the use of apostrophe. Can we gain any information about its origin?

The instances cited under B and C do not seem to require any very special explanation. That an ἀοιδός should address the Muses or his audience, whether the practice of doing so be early or late, is no more to be wondered at than that he should pray or recite. But that in a narrative poem dealing with a bygone age he should address one of the heroes of his lay as if he were present is not obviously natural, and the explanation of the use if it is to be found anywhere may be looked for from a close scrutiny of the earliest instances.

If we turn to the Scholia for information we are quickly disappointed. Schol. B Y 2 enumerates the ἡρωϊκὰ πρόσωπα honoured with this form of address: in his note to Δ 127 the same scholiast distinguishes four kinds of apostrophe of which this is ἀπὸ προσώπου εἰς πρόσωπον. He says further προσπέπονθε δὲ Μενελάω ὁ ποιητής: διὸ συνεχέστερον αὐτῷ διαλέγεται, ὡς Πατρόκλω καὶ Εὐμαίω. The Scholia to other passages (e.g. Δ 146, Π 787, H 104) make a similar remark. But we find no attempt at an explanation of why this particular method of showing his 'sympathy' was adopted by the poet. Nor does the analysis we have given throw any light on the origin, however it may define the use, of the figure.

Let us now see how many of the instances under A may be assigned with probability to the earlier strata of the poems. We may at once dismiss the examples from the *Odyssey* and those from Δ, H, Y, and Ψ, the latter four books being by almost common consent regarded as later additions. There remain those from N, O, Π, and P, containing thirteen out of the eighteen instances in the *Iliad*, Π by itself having eight.

With regard to N, Niese (*Homeric Poesie* 94 f.) following Lachmann and Bergk regards the entire book as late: Robert (*Studien zur Ilias*, 108 ff.), while rejecting the book as a whole, rescues from the wreckage of his analysis some *disiecta membra* of the *Ur-Ilias*, among them the passage containing the line we are con-

cerned with, N 603, though it must be confessed that his reasons do not seem altogether convincing. The same two critics are agreed that O is substantially late, though there may be genuine old material in it (Robert *op. cit.* 135, 145 f., Niese *op. cit.* 99f.); but Robert does not include either of our passages in his reconstruction. Π in its main lines must of course belong to the original poem, but of the lines we are concerned with Robert (*op. cit.* 77 ff. 93 ff.) allows only 20, 744, 754, 787, and 843 to stand, and regards the whole of the latter part of P including 679 and 702 as late. Niese (*op. cit.* 89) would get rid even of Π 787. Applying these results to our list we find that Robert would allow six cases of apostrophe in all, in the *Ur-Iliad* and Niese, apparently, only four. Of Robert's six cases, one (N 603) refers to Menelaos and all the rest to Patroklos, while Niese's four are all concerned with Patroklos. This is a sufficiently curious result. Does it throw any light on the origin of the figure?

Patroklos is pre-eminent among the leading Greek heroes by his death. Menelaos and Agamemnon, Odysseus and Aias live for ever in the poem as immortal as the 'marble men and maidens' on the Grecian urn. Patroklos stands alone as the victim of the war. His unique position is the key to the unique phrasing of the poet.

To honour the dead by an *αἶνος ἐπιτύμβιος* was a practice familiar to all ages of the Greeks (*v. Aesch. Agam.* 1547). In historic times this took place before the body was borne out for burial (see the evidence in Rohde *Psyche* 1² 220 ff.), and the lament was probably repeated on the occasion of the periodic visits to the tomb. Whether the body was burned or buried, the spirit was supposed to hover in its vicinity till the last rites were performed, and must have been supposed to hear what was said about it. *De mortuis nil nisi bene* was the outcome of a very real apprehension.

That on such occasions the spirit could be directly addressed we do not need to rely on conjecture to prove. To take some Homeric instances: Briseis (T 287 ff.) and Achilles (419 ff., 179 ff.) in their laments over Patroklos address him by name, the former telling him plainly how much she had liked him. So in Ψ (725 ff. 748 ff., 762 ff.) the women address Hector by name, and again in X (431 ff. 477 ff.). Here we

have direct evidence of the practice of apostrophizing the dead; and when we consider the isolation in which the souls of the dead were supposed to live in Hades when their bodies were burned (*v. Rohde op. cit.* 30, Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 525), the actual speaking to a dead man becomes ridiculous except in connection with the burial ceremonies.

To the praises, then, of the one great Greek hero who meets his death in the poem the author consecrates the form of speech used in the ritual of the dead. On any theory of the original form of the *Iliad* the death of Patroklos belongs to its very kernel. Whether an old *αἶνος ἐπιτύμβιος* has been worked into the Achilleis, or the latter has arisen out of the former is a question we can perhaps no longer decide with certainty, but it is curious that this usage should be so imbedded in the very oldest stratum of the poem.

To return to our analysis of the use. We find specimens of *A(a)*, *A(b)*, and *A(c)* in this early *Πατρόκλεια*; and they do not seem to possess any feature in common beyond the fact that they are all used with reference to Patroklos. *A(b)*, seems on the whole to be the direction in which the usage was most expanded in the *Iliad*. Possibly the elevation of style and feeling implied by the simile suggested the use of the apostrophe, consecrated already to the expression of deep feeling, though the exact meaning of the usage was either forgotten or disregarded in the interests of the style: the same explanation would account also for its frequent use at moments of crisis as in *A(a)*. In the *Odyssey* it had already sunk to a mere figure of speech, though why it is always used in connection with Eumaeus it is hard to see.

The Scholia then preserve some glimmering of truth about the meaning of the usage: it must have implied, in a way the Scholiast had little conception of, a very real 'sympathy' between the poet and his hero.

It may be objected that a *θρήνος* of the kind supposed, would not naturally be composed in hexameters. I see that Prof. Smyth (*Greek Melic Poets*, p. cxxvi.) regards it as 'probable that the use of hexameters by Euripides in *Aulrom.* 103 ff. represents an archaic established usage that gradually gave way to the elegiac distich.'

R. M. HENRY.

BELFAST, Nov. 5, 1904.

TWO LITERARY COMPLIMENTS.

DEPRECATING the common belief of ancient commentators that there was acute jealousy between Bacchylides and Pindar, Mr. Kenyon, in the *Introduction* to his editio princeps of Bacchylides, observes (p. xi) that the younger poet 'in the poem which appears to have been composed in direct rivalry with Pindar (Ode V), goes out of his way to introduce with praise the name of another Boeotian poet, Hesiod, in a manner which suggests the thought that he intended to pay a graceful compliment to his own contemporary.' While I agree perfectly with Mr. Kenyon's conclusion, I doubt whether it would be legitimate to build an argument solely on the laudatory reference to the muse of Hesiod. If it were Corinna, such a reference would be indeed significant; but Hesiod's position was Panhellenic, and I can hardly think that praise of Hesiod need have committed Bacchylides to approbation of Pindar. A more solid ground for revising our views of the relation between the two poets is to be found in another passage in the same ode (composed in honour of Hiero's Olympian victory in A.D. 476).

v. 31 τὼς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος
ὑμετέραν ἀρετᾶν
ὑμνεῖν.

Here we have the words of Pindar in the Isthmian Ode for Melissus of Thebes

iii. 19 ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντᾶ κέ-
(= iv. 1) λευθος,
ὃ Μέλισσ', εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανα
Ἰσθμίου.
ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν.

The sentence is so characteristically Pindaric that few perhaps would hesitate between the three possible views that Bacchylides quoted from Pindar, that Pindar quoted from Bacchylides, or that both quoted independently and identically the words of an older poet. But the καὶ ἐμοὶ of Bacchylides sets the relation beyond all doubt. He knew that Pindar also had been commissioned to compose a hymn for the same victory of Hiero,¹ and he gracefully alludes to this competition by a quotation from the rival poet. Since Bacchylides, then, was acquainted with the Third Isthmian, it must have been composed before summer A.D. 476,

¹ Mr. Kenyon, *ib.* p. xxx, points out that Pindar seems conscious of the competition (*Ol.* i. 111-116).

and the conjecture that the battle of Plataeae is referred to in v. 34 is confirmed.² This literary tribute, paid by the younger to the elder poet, furnishes a real ground for entertaining Mr. Kenyon's suggestion that the reference to Hesiod in the same ode may have been intended also as a compliment.

Nearly four years later, Aeschylus produced the *Persae*. It is not too much to say that the artistic success of this drama depends on the device of placing the scene not in Greece but in Persia. Now this device was not due to Aeschylus. The same theme had been treated by Phrynichus in the *Phoenissae* a few years before, and it was from him that Aeschylus derived the brilliant idea of setting the scene of his drama far away from the scene of the actions which supplied its argument. Otherwise the treatment of the two poets was probably very different, though we read in the *Hypothesis* to the *Persae*: Γλαῦκος, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Διοσχίλου μύθων, ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιήσθαι. But only one point of contact has been actually recorded. It was pointed out by Glaucus that the opening verse of the *Persae* (spoken by the chorus)

τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων
(Ἑλλάδ' ἔς αἶαν πιστὰ καλεῖται)

was suggested by the opening verse of the *Phoenissae* (spoken by a eunuch)

τάδ' ἔστι Περσῶν τῶν πάλοι βεβηκότων.

The imitation is undeniable. But there is nothing interesting or striking in the line of Phrynichus. It cannot be said that Aeschylus was tempted by its beauty or felicity to echo or rehandle a phrase of the other poet. Why did he occupy himself with it at all? Why did he select for imitation a verse than which none other in the play of his contemporary can have been conceivably less interesting? This is a question which seems to demand an answer. The answer, I suggest, is that by the adoption of the first words of the tragedy of Phrynichus in the forefront of his own, altered to suit a different metre yet so as to leave the imitation evident and unmistakable, Aes-

² Blass, *Bacch.*, *ad loc.* (p. 49, ed. 2), quoting the Pindaric passage, observes: Pindari carmen huic Bacchylidis suppar tempore esse videtur.

chylus rendered to Phrynichus an acknowledgment of the great obligation which his own play owed to the *Phoenissae*. The

quotation was a compliment, the formal acknowledgment of a literary debt.

J. B. BURY.

THE SHORTER SELECTION OF EURIPIDES' PLAYS.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF, in his *Analecta Euripidea*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 50 f.; 136 f., was the first to maintain that the shorter collection of Euripides' tragedies contained originally the following ten plays: *Iecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Troades*, *Rhesus*, and, *Bacchae*. For the twenty years previous, after the publication of Kirchhoff's edition, it had been held that the *Bacchae* stood outside this group. Again in the introduction to his *Herakles*, Berlin, 1889, i, pp. 207 ff., Wilamowitz repeats his former arguments with slight changes. His conclusions have been adopted by a number of scholars—e.g. by Bruhn in his third edition of Schoene's *Bacchae*, Berlin, 1891, p. 142; by Hayley, *Alcestis*, Boston, 1898, p. xxxiii; by Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*³, Munich, 1898, pp. 256, 275¹; and by Murray in his introduction to the Oxford text edition, i, 1902. Reflection on the matter, however, has brought me to believe that a re-examination of the evidence may not be without profit.

The considerations which led Wilamowitz to his position may be briefly stated. In the codex Laur. 32, 2 (L), which contains eighteen plays, the order is indicated by superscribed numerals as follows: *Iecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus*, *Bacchae*, *Helena*, *Electra*, *Hercules Furens*, *Heracleidae*, *Cyclops*, *Ion*, *Hiketides*, *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. The first eight plays are the same as appear in the manuscripts of Kirchhoff's first class, of which Vatic. 909 is the best illustration; the last nine, with the exception of the *Cyclops*, show an arrangement according to the letters ε and ι, similar to that indicated in the fragmentary inscription discussed by Wilamowitz, *Anal. Eurip.*, pp. 137 ff. In L the numeral θ' is written in an erasure over the *Bacchae*; this erasure Wilamowitz believes indicates that in the parent codex of the Laurentianus the *Bacchae* was numbered ι', since the *Troades* belongs between the *Rhesus* (η')

¹ Christ is hardly consistent, as he seems elsewhere to hold, *l.c.* p. 839, that the shorter collection contained but nine plays.

and the *Bacchae*, but that the copyist noticing that ι' was incorrect here, substituted θ'. This of course is mere conjecture. His reasons for classing the *Bacchae* with the preceding group of plays rather than with the following are, first that it does not fall into the alphabetical arrangement of the latter, and secondly, according to his view, *Anal. Eurip.* pp. 50 f., the *Bacchae* and *Troades* belong to the same line of manuscript tradition, which is, however, different from that of his twelfth century archetype Φ. His further claim that the *Bacchae* belongs to the class of annotated plays may be met at once with the answer that the eight glosses in L are insufficient to class it with the nine tragedies which have abundant scholia. Finally Wilamowitz adduces the fact that the compiler of the *Christus Patiens* in the eleventh or twelfth century drew from the *Bacchae* as well as from the *Iecuba*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, and *Rhesus*. At first this might seem a strong point in his support, but a little consideration shows that there is nothing which compels us to assume that the centonist had any other than the larger collection of nineteen plays before him, from which he selected such as suited his purpose or inclination. Even if Wilamowitz's view that he had a delectus of ten plays were correct, the choice exercised by the compiler would still be an arbitrary one.² Of positive significance is the fact that the compiler also employed the *Agamemnon* as well as the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus; but this gives no warrant for a claim that the shorter selection of Aeschylus' tragedies contained four rather than three plays. The obvious conclusion in the case of both tragedians is the same.

Yet more convincing evidence than the

² Van Cleef's interesting suggestion (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, viii, pp. 363 ff.) that the author of the *Christus Patiens* employed a manuscript—inferior to those of Kirchhoff's second class—containing only these plays of Euripides, if accepted, does not necessarily make for Wilamowitz's contention. But if such a selection of plays as Van Cleef supposes existed in Byzantine times, it is surprising that none of all the extant manuscripts shows a trace of it.

insufficiency of Wilamowitz's arguments is ready at hand. If the shorter selection made during the Alexandrian period or in later antiquity comprised ten plays, it is hardly possible that some of the numerous extant manuscripts should not give sign of that fact, but, as every student of Euripides is aware, no codex contains the *Bacchae*

except L, P, and the copies of L; all others belong to a collection of *nine* plays, although among themselves they exhibit great variety of content, as is shown by the following table which contains all the important codices except L, P, and G, employed by Kirchhoff, Nauck, Prinz-Wecklein, and Murray.

	Vat. 909	Havn. 417	Marc. 471	Marc. 470	Marc. 468	Paris. 2713	Paris. 2712	Laur. 31.10	Laur. 31.15	Cod. rescrip. Hierosol.	Harl. 5743	Neap. II. F. 41	Frg. Ambros.	Cod. Flor. deperd.
<i>Hec.</i>	B	C	A	N	F	a	E	c		h				
<i>Or.</i>	B	C	A	N	F	a	E	c		h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Phoen.</i>	B	C	A	N	F	a	E	c		h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Med.</i>	B	C		N	F	a	E	c	d	h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Hipp.</i>	B	C	A	N		a	E	c	d	h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Alc.</i>	B	C				a		c	d		Harl.			Flor. A
<i>Andr.</i>	B	C	A	N		a	E	c	d	h		Neap.	Ambros.	Flor. A
<i>Tro.</i>	B	C						c	d		Harl.			Flor. A
<i>Rhes.</i>	B	C						c			Harl.		Ambros.	Flor. A

The content of the manuscripts therefore supports the view that the *Bacchae* does not belong to the shorter collection. Finally Suidas' notice of the Byzantine grammarian Eugenius—ἔγραψε κωλομετρίαν τῶν μελικῶν Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου ἀπὸ δραμάτων ε'—shows that at least as early as the time of Anastasius I (491–518) the briefer selections from the works of the three tragedians were already defined, for the most natural interpretation of Suidas' words is that the fifteen dramas were the *Prometheus*, *Septem*, and *Persae* of Aeschylus, the *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, and of Euripides the

nine tragedies fully transmitted in B and C.¹ With these considerations before us then, we may fairly ask for further proof before classing the *Bacchae* with the nine annotated plays.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

Harvard University.

¹ So Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur* 3, p. 839. Wilamowitz oddly enough quotes this notice from Suidas in both his *Anal. Eurip.* p. 134 and his *Herakles* i. p. 137₁₅₂, but is unable to conjecture what these fifteen plays were: 'ob er von jedem 5 nahm oder wie er sonst verteilte, lässt sich nicht sagen.'

ON EURIPIDES *MEDEA* 714–15.

οὕτως ἔρωσ σοι πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος
715 γένοιτο παίδων, καὶ τὸς ἄλβιος θάνοις.
εὐρημα δ' οὐκ οἶσθ' οἶον ἡῤρηκας τόδε·
παύσω δέ σ' ὄντ' ἀπαῖδα καὶ παίδων γονὰς
σπεῖραί σε θήσω· τοιάδ' οἶδα φάρμακα.

L. Dindorf (*Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.*, 117, pp. 322 f.) wished to strike out vv. 714–15 as superfluous before the following three, and F. W. Schmidt (*Misc. Crit.* 1868) had desired to place them after v. 718. This latter suggestion has properly found no favour with the editors, for these verses do not form a climax after 716–18, but on the contrary express in general terms Medea's favouring prayer for Aegeus, while the

following lines give her definite promise that she will free him from his childless state. Furthermore, οὕτως can only refer to Medea's appeal to Aegeus in 709–13 for refuge in his land and home. The adverb means here, as frequently, 'if thou grantest my prayer'; to transpose the verses deprives it of all meaning.

Dindorf's proposal too has not found complete acceptance. Prinz bracketed the lines; Wecklein, after retaining the verses in his annotated edition, followed Prinz in his revision of the latter's text (1899); Verrall keeps them, but remarks that the passage would be smoother if they were removed; Murray also allows them to stand.

The recent discovery and publication (*Oxyr. Pap.* iii. p. 103) of a papyrus fragment of the third century containing vv. 710-15 carries back our manuscript tradition for the lines some nine centuries and gives us new reason for objecting to the text of Prinz-Wecklein. And indeed it is hard to see how the verses can be omitted without weakening the entire passage, for as it stands we have an effective climax—'if thou grantest me asylum, then I pray that thy desire for offspring may be fulfilled, and that thou mayest live in happiness until thy

end. Aye, more than than this, I will end thy childlessness. The means I know.' Omit the prayer in 714f. and the words εὔρημα δ' οὐκ κ.τ.λ. follow too abruptly on Medea's appeal and her speech loses much of its force.

It is also interesting to note that the papyrus reads in v. 713 δόμοι[ς] ἐφέστιον with the manuscripts against Prinz-Wecklein's δόμων ἐφέστιον.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

Harvard University.

ON EURIPIDES *ALCESTIS* 16.

ἦνεσαν δέ μοι θεαὶ
 Ἀδμητον ἄδην τὸν παρανίκ' ἐκφυγεῖν,
 ἄλλον διαλλάξαντα τοῖς κάτω νεκρόν.
 πάντας δ' ἐλέγξας καὶ διεξελθὼν φίλους
 16 πατέρα γεραῖάν θ' ἢ σφ' ἔτικτε μητέρα,
 οὐχ ἦνρε, πλὴν γυναικός, ὅστις ἤθελε
 ὕανων πρὸ κείνου μηκέτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος.

W. Dindorf was the first to remove verse 16 from the text on the ground that πάντας φίλους of verse 15 cannot be restricted to three (or two) persons. Most modern editors have looked upon the line with suspicion. Earle rejects it altogether, and Nauck, Weil, Hayley, and Prinz-Wecklein bracket it. Yet the verse appears in all the manuscripts and was read by the scholiast as well; furthermore there is nothing in the diction or metre to arouse suspicion. But its only defender since Dindorf's day is Dr. Verrall who, in his *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 27 ff., claims that according to the bargain none was admissible except the family of Admetus. As Dr. Verrall does not present the necessary proofs in support of his contention, it may not be amiss to examine the question anew.

At the outset it must be granted that the phrase πάντας φίλους διεξελθὼν seems an unusual expression to apply to a group of only three persons; but if it appear that in the play itself there is no suggestion that any other than father, mother, or wife could take Admetus' place, we shall then have a strong reason for retaining the verse in question. There are four passages which bear on this point:

290-293 (Alcestis speaks)

καίτοι σ' ὁ φύσας χῆ τεκοῦσα προὔδοσαν,
 καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς κατθανεῖν ἦκον βίον,
 καλῶς δὲ σῶσαι παῖδα κεῦκλεῶς θανεῖν.

338 f. (Admetus speaks)

στρυγῶν μὲν ἦ μ' ἔτικτεν, ἐχθαίρων δ' ἐμὸν
 πατέρα· λόγῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐκ ἔργῳ φίλοι.

466-470 (Chorus)

ματέρος οὐ θελούσας
 πρὸ παιδὸς χθονὶ κρύψαι
 δέμας οὐδὲ πατρὸς γεραίου,
 ὃν ἔτεκον δ', οὐκ ἔτλαν ῥύεσθαι,
 σχετλίῳ, πολὺν ἔχοντε χαίταν.

Again in the long wrangle between Admetus and his father (629-740) Admetus reproaches his father and mother for letting Alcestis die when they might have saved her. While it is hardly necessary to illustrate the use of φίλοι = 'dear ones,' 'one's own family,' such passages as 339 above and 701 f., where Pheres replies to his son's abuse, shows conclusively that the word is there employed in the restricted sense:

κατ' ὀνειδίζεις φίλοις
 τοῖς μὴ θέλουσι δρᾶν τάδ', αὐτὸς ὦν κακός;

and other places may be added to show that in this play φίλοι is usually limited to the three immediate relatives of Admetus, and that only one of them could take his place. This idea, reiterated in the tragedy itself, naturally found its way into the first hypothesis: καὶ δὴ "Ἀλκηστις ἢ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀδμήτου ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτήν, οὐδετέρου τῶν γονέων ἐβελήσαντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανεῖν. The

conception of Euripides therefore appears to have been that only one of these three¹ could take Admetus' place. This limitation, furthermore, seems not to have been an innovation by Euripides. In the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus the same restriction is found (1, 106 Wagner) ἤτήσατο παρὰ μοιρῶν ἕνα, ὅταν "Αδμητος μέλλῃ τελευτᾶν, ἀπολυθῆ τοῦ θανάτου, ἂν ἑκουσίως τις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν ἔλθῃ [πατῆρ ἢ μήτηρ ἢ γυνή] ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν ἢ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἡμέρα, μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε τῆς μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν θελόντων, "Αλκιστὶς ὑπεραπέθανε. This is repeated again in Hyginus (*Fab.* 51): et illud ab Apolline accipit, ut pro se alius voluntario moreretur. *Pro quo*

¹ The children of Admetus were left out of account obviously from their youth.

*cum neque pater neque mater mori voluisset, uxor se Alcestis obtulit et pro eo vicaria morte interit.*²

The received form of the myth, the antecedent conditions of the play, and the manuscript tradition then all make for the retention of v. 16. If we feel it to be bathetic, as Hayley claims it is, we are not therefore warranted in rejecting it, but must rather recognise frankly Euripides' artistic fault.

CHARLES N. SMILEY.

University of Wisconsin.

² Hayley quotes in part both passages, but in each instance he stops short of the essential words: μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε τῆς μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν θελόντων, and 'pro quo cum neque pater neque mater mori voluisset.'

SUGGESTIONS ON THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

1. 1139 a 3 πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθη δὴ εἶναι μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, τό τε λόγον ἔχον καὶ τὸ ἄλογον· ἔν τιν δὲ περὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διαιρετέον. Nothing is here said of the way in which the higher part of the ἄλογον can claim to be λόγον ἔχον. This is a strong but hitherto unnoticed argument in favour of this book's belonging to the Nicomachean treatise. For while the Nicomachean 1st book speaks of τὸ ὀρεκτικόν as ἄλογον in the first place (1102 b 13), and only afterwards allows it, and then with some reservation (οὐ κυρίως), some title to be called part of the λόγον ἔχον, the Eudemian 2nd book on the other hand refers to it from the first as λόγον ἔχον, with only a slight reservation in favour of the Nicomachean view (1219 b 28). The reference here made, πρότερον ἐλέχθη κτλ., is therefore much clearer to the Nicomachean passage: for here there is no suggestion that the ὀρεκτικόν could possibly be considered as anything but ἄλογον, which goes a little beyond even the Nicomachean passage, but is entirely inconsistent with the Eudemian. Observe that the reference here is in a form that shows it is not an interpolation as many references may be.

2. 1139 a 15 λιηπέον ἄρ' ἑκατέρου τούτων τίς ἢ βελτίστη ἔξις· αὐτῆ γὰρ ἀρετῆ ἑκατέρου, ἢ δ' ἀρετῆ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ οἰκίον. This punctuation seems to hide the sense. I should place a full stop after ἀρετῆ ἑκατέρου. For ἢ δ' ἀρετῆ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ οἰκίον has

nothing to do with what precedes, and a great deal to do with the whole of the following chapter, which is devoted to discovering the ἔργον of each of the two intellectual faculties with a view to discovering the ἀρετῆ of each thereby. This is quite clearly brought out by the conclusion 1139 b 12 ἀμφοτέρων δὴ τῶν νοητικῶν μορίων ἀλήθεια τὸ ἔργον. καθ' ὅς οὖν μάλιστα ἔξει ἀληθεύσει ἑκάτερον, αὐταὶ ἀρεταὶ ἀμφοῖν.

3. The following re-arrangement of the text of 1139 a 21–b 5 (the only important passage in the 6th book which at all seems to require re-arrangement) is I think new and has some advantages over others—(i.) (as at present) a 17 Τρία δὴ ἔστιν . . . a 20 πράξεως δὲ μὴ κοινωνεῖν: (ii.) a 31 πράξεως μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις . . . a 35 ἄνευ διανοίας καὶ ἥθους οὐκ ἔστιν: (iii.) b 4 διὸ ἢ ὀρεκτικὸς νοῦς . . . b 5 καὶ ἢ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ ἄνθρωπος: here would appropriately follow the foot-note b 6 οὐκ ἔστι δὲ προαιρετὸν οὐδὲν γεγονός . . . b 11 ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἄσ' ἂν ἢ πεπραγμένα: (iv.) a 21 ἔστι δ' ὅπερ ἐν διανοίᾳ κατάφασις καὶ ἀπόφασις . . . a 31 τῆ ὀρέξει τῆ ὀρθῆ: (v.) a 35 διάνοια δ' αὐτῆ οὐθὲν κινεῖ . . . b 4 ἢ δ' ὀρεξις τούτου: (vi.) the last two lines, b 12–13, of course keep their place. The advantages of this arrangement are as follows: 1. All the passages dealing with προαίρεσις are brought together and arranged in their natural order. 2. The discussion of θεωρητικῆ διάνοια is properly separated from that of πρακτικῆ, which is

only mentioned again to make the nature of θεωρητική plainer by contrast, no new fact about πρακτική being mentioned. 3. a 35 seq. carries on the contrast smoothly from the end of the sentence a 30 τῆ ὀρέξει τῆ ὀρθῆ: and then, in the light of the now sufficient discussion of both πρακτική and θεωρητική, ποιητική is properly discussed and put in its place. 4. The transition from a 20 πράξεως δὲ μὴ κοινωνεῖν to a 31 πράξεως μὲν οὖν ἀρχῆ προαίρεσις is clear and natural, while the present continuation at a 21 is highly obscure. 5. The meaning of ἀρχή, ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις, is given earlier, and so close to a 18–20 that it serves to explain the use of ἀρχή there too. 6. It would be absurd, after the assumption of the truth ἡ προαίρεσις ὀρεῖται βουλευτική in a 23, to write later on b 4 διὸ ἡ ὀρεκτικὸς νοῦς ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ὀρεῖται διανοητική, the statement being the grand conclusion of the whole argument: but on the other hand from the conclusion b 4 διὸ ἡ ὀρεκτικὸς νοῦς κτλ (a conclusion that follows naturally enough from a 31–35) the remark a 23 ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις ὀρεῖται βουλευτική follows quite well as a recapitulation of an already proved statement. With regard to such a re-arrangement as the above I would say what Professor Stewart says of his own re-arrangement of another passage in this book, 1140 b 3–30: it 'is offered, not as a reconstruction of the text as it may have originally stood, but as an attempt to make the meaning of the passage, as we now have it, clearer.'

4. 1139 a 23 δὲ διὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὸν τε λόγον ἀληθῆ εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὀρεξίν ὀρθήν, εἴπερ ἡ προαίρεσις σπονδαία, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τὸν μὲν φάναί τὴν δὲ διώκειν. No editor has pointed out, I think, that the above sentence expresses two different requirements, and not the same requirement in two different forms. Professor Stewart (see his note on 1139 a 24) says 'ὀρεῖται is ὀρθή when it seeks (διώξει) what λόγος or διάνοια affirms (κατάφασις) to be good, and shuns (φυγί) what it denies (ἀπόφασις) to be good.' But the harmony of reason with appetite is not the same thing as the goodness of either. It is true of vicious προαίρεσις, where the λόγος is false and the ὀρεῖται morally bad, that ὀρεῖται seeks and shuns respectively what λόγος affirms and denies. What is wanted is not merely the harmony of reason and appetite—not merely that both should have the same object—but the harmony of right reason with good appetite, so that both are rightly active with regard to the same object. Now the rightness of reason depends on the truth of its affirmations and

negations, and not at all on the character of the appetite, and the goodness of appetite depends on the goodness of its pursuits and avoidances, and not at all on the character of the reason. For every προαίρεσις, good or bad, it is necessary that the reason and the appetite should be concerned with the same object: otherwise there is merely an opinion, right or wrong, about one thing, and a desire, right or wrong, about another, and no προαίρεσις can occur. For good προαίρεσις it is necessary that both reason and desire should be good in themselves, and if they are good, and refer to the same object, it must follow in the nature of things that both feel attraction (κατάφασις and ὀρεῖται) or both repulsion (ἀπόφασις and φυγί). It has been shown that this harmony of attraction with attraction and repulsion with repulsion also exists in vicious προαίρεσις, where both reason and appetite are bad in themselves. Two other kinds of bad προαίρεσις, are possible, where this harmony does not exist: when the reason is bad and the appetite good, and when the reason is good and the appetite bad: then there exist the two states considered in the last two chapters of this book, the baneful development of natural moral virtue, which is nameless, and the baneful development of natural intellectual virtue, which is πανουργία. The two requirements stated in this passage are, then, (1) that reason and appetite should combine to form purpose by being directed to the same object, (2) that their relation to the object should be good in each case: and my point is that these two things required are causally independent of each other.

* 5. 1139 b 15 ἔστω δὲ οἷς ἀληθεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ καταφάναι ἢ ἀποφάναι . . . τέχνη ἐπιστήμη φρόνησις σοφία νοῦς ὑπολήψει γὰρ καὶ δόξῃ ἐνδέχεται διαψεύδουσθαι.

Professor Stewart says 'Noῦς is infallible as the immediate perception of ἀδιαίρετα or ἀπλά,' implying that the perception of ἀδιαίρετα or ἀπλά, i.e. of simple concepts as distinguished from propositions, is the whole function of νοῦς. He is obliged to suppose therefore that the words τῷ καταφάναι ἢ ἀποφάναι are only loosely applied to νοῦς, since they imply the making of propositions, which νοῦς does not do. I can find no evidence that other editors disagree with this view.

Now Professor Stewart admits that νοῦς here means what it means in chapter 6, where is said εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης. But deductive science cannot start from simple concepts: it must start from proposi-

tions. Chapter 6 therefore shows that *νοῦς* makes propositions. This does not prevent its also perceiving simple concepts, according to the doctrine of *Metaphysics* 1051 b 24: though it is probable that the author is not thinking of *νοῦς* in that sense anywhere in this book—which need cause no surprise, since, as it is, he uses the word in at least four different senses in this book. Professor Stewart himself admits that the doctrine that the principles of knowledge are reached by *νοῦς* is not inconsistent, in the author's view or in the view of the writer of *Posterior Analytics* 100 b 3 *seq.*, with the doctrine that the same principles are reached by induction (*ἐπαγωγή*). Clearly induction cannot be concerned entirely with *ἀδιαιρέτα*.

But in what sense then is *νοῦς* infallible? In just the sense in which the other four virtues are infallible and *ὑπόληψις* and *δόξα* fallible. It is a matter of names. In so far as a man is deceived, his *ἕξις διανοητική* is not truly any of the five virtues mentioned, but only in so far as he is right. *ὑπόληψις* and *δόξα* are fallible in the sense that they are either good or bad states—the names are not confined to virtues but may be applied to vices. They are not distinct from the five virtues as things mutually exclusive are distinct; for all five virtues are *ὑπόληψις* of a certain kind, see 1140 b 13 where *φρόνησις* is, it is implied, a *ὑπόληψις*, b 31 where *ἐπιστήμη* is called a *ὑπόληψις*, 1142 b 33 where *φρόνησις* is called a *ὑπόληψις*; and *δόξα* is at least a part of *φρόνησις*, which is twice called the virtue *τοῦ δοξαστικοῦ μέρους*. This infallibility then, which has caused the editors so much trouble, is a notion brought in, rather clumsily perhaps, to distinguish between the names of virtues and the names of states that may be good or bad.

6. 1140 a 20. *ἡ μὲν οὖν τέχνη, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἕξις τις μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς ποιητική ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ἀτεχνία τοῦναντίον μετὰ λόγου ψευδοῦς ποιητική ἕξις*. In this book *τέχνη* is used in two senses, one good, the other in itself neither good nor bad. These two senses are conveyed by the phrases (a) *ἕξις μετὰ λόγου ποιητική* (b) *ἕξις μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς ποιητική*. The former sense occurs in two other places in this book, where the above definition has been forgotten: 1140 b 22 *τέχνης μὲν ἔστιν ἀρετή, φρονήσεως δ' οὐκ ἔστιν*, and 1141 a 12 *σημαίνοντες τὴν σοφίαν ὅτι ἀρετὴ τέχνης ἐστίν*. In these two places *τέχνη* is perhaps not really thought of as a *ἕξις* at all, but as an activity or process or body of rules or something that is not a

quality or fixed condition of the mind of the *τεχνίτης*. If it is thought of as a *ἕξις*, the words *τέχνης ἔστιν ἀρετή* cannot mean that *τέχνη* can have an *ἀρετή* so much as that *τέχνη* can be an *ἀρετή*. In any case these two passages are inconsistent with the above definition of 1140 a 20, where *τέχνη* is clearly said to be a virtue, and has its vice *ἀτεχνία* opposed to it. *Τέχνη* in this sense can no more have an *ἀρετή* than *φρόνησις* can. It would have been an excellent thing if the word *εὐτεχνία*—which occurs in Hippocrates and Lucian but not in Aristotle—had been in common use enough to have displaced *τέχνη* here. How far the author clearly distinguished in his own mind his double use of *τέχνη* is doubtful; but as he does not generally mention intellectual vices, probably he had the neutral sense of *τέχνη* in his mind at 1140 a 20, and mentioned *ἀτεχνία* on purpose to show that it is not the neutral but the good sense that is there intended.

7. 1141 a 3 *εἰ δὲ ὅς ἀληθεύομεν καὶ μηδέποτε διαψευδόμεθα . . . ἐπιστήμη καὶ φρόνησις ἐστὶ καὶ σοφία καὶ νοῦς, τούτων δὲ κτλ*. Why is *τέχνη* left out of the list? Many reasons have been given: (a) we may have the list of another editor here (Stewart): (b) the omission may be a pure accident (Burnet): (c) *τέχνη* was shown in chapter 5 to be a *ἕξις ἧς ἔστι λήθη* (Stewart): (d) *τέχνη* is included in *φρόνησις*, both being *περὶ τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα ἄλλως ἕχων* (Eustratius): (e) *τέχνη* may be included in *ἐπιστήμη* (Stewart): (f) *τέχνη* may be included in *σοφία*, which is the *ἀρετὴ τέχνης* (Burnet). Now Ramsauer well says that Aristotle does not mind going without formal symmetry and precision so long as his meaning is plain. But the meaning is quite plain. *τέχνη* had its proper place in the argument at 1140 b 34 *τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἐπιστητοῦ οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιστήμη εἴη οὔτε τέχνη οὔτε φρόνησις κτλ*. It is therefore probably left out of the formal list because there is no possibility of confusing the use of *τέχνη* with the use of *νοῦς*, whereas it is easy to see that *νοῦς* might, in certain connections, be used as a synonym of either *ἐπιστήμη φρόνησις* or *σοφία*. Another striking instance in this book of carelessness about the formal completeness of a list occurs at 1143 a 26 *λέγομεν γὰρ γνώμην καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ νοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦς αὐτοῦς ἐπιφέροντες γνώμην ἔχων καὶ νοῦν ἤδη καὶ φρονίμους καὶ συνετοῦς*. Here *εὐβουλία* is not excluded of set purpose. Professor Burnet thinks it is, on the ground that the four *ἕξεις* mentioned here all apprehend their objects immediately, that

this is why they are εἰς ταὐτὸ τείνουσαι, and that therefore εὐβουλία is purposely excluded as being μετὰ λόγου. But (a) this if true would be a reason for excluding φρόνησις also, since φρόνησις is ζῆξις ἀληθῆς μετὰ λόγου πρακτικῆ (1140 b 5), and (b) the bearing of εἰς ταὐτὸ τείνουσαι is given quite clearly in line 28 πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐται τῶν ἐσχάτων εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον, which is of course also true of εὐβουλία. It is possible that εὐβουλία is left out because it is so closely connected with φρόνησις (since it is ὀρθότης ἢ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον πρὸς τὸ τέλος, οὗ ἡ φρόνησις ἀληθῆς ἐπόληψις ἐστίν 1142 b 32) that whatever applies to φρόνησις applies to it also. The list is twice repeated, each time less complete than before—1143 b 7 γνώμην δ' ἔχειν καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ νοῦν, 1143 b 9 νοῦν ἔχει καὶ γνώμην: so it may well have been incomplete to begin with. It is fair then to assume that neither εὐβουλία at 1143 a 26 nor τέχνη at 1141 a 5 is excluded of set purpose from the list, but might be put in without altering the doctrine of either passage.

8. 1141 b 29 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ φρόνησις μάλιστ' εἶναι ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἓνα. The author's wish to fix the meaning of important terms is so plain that it is always desirable, though always hard, to determine how far he accepts popular usages. Here is a case in point. It is worth asking if the use of the words πολιτικῆ and φρόνησις in the popular restricted senses is admitted. Does not Professor Burnet go too far in saying it is not? The author is surely ready to accept the popular usages because they are convenient and well known; but he hints in the case of πολιτικῆ (see 1141 b 28 λέγουσιν), and is at pains to show clearly in the case of φρόνησις, that these usages, however convenient now they have become established, sprang from mistaken ethical judgments. It is only at 1142 a 1 that this view of his about φρόνησις begins to come to light. By opposing φρόνιμος to the invidious word πολυπράγμων he shows that, in calling the egoist or the selfish man φρόνιμος, people commonly mean that such a person displays the highest sort of practical wisdom. From this view he expressly dissents 1142 a 9 καίτοι ἴσως οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ εἶ ἀνευ οἰκονομίας οὐδ' ἀνευ πολιτείας: showing that he does not accept the popular ethical judgment as well as the popular usage of words. Though he accepts the use of πολιτικῆ as meaning 'practical statesmanship,' he holds it the lower, and not like most people the higher, of the two kinds of πολιτικῆ (in the general sense 'statesmanship'); and though he

accepts the use of φρόνησις as meaning 'practical prudence about one's immediate personal interests,' he holds it the lowest, and not like most people the highest, of the three kinds of φρόνησις (in the general sense 'practical wisdom'). This acceptance of the popular restricted usage is not inconsistent with his demanding acceptance, as he clearly does, for the new extended usage of his own that better agrees with ethical truth. Had there been any fairly well-established names to substitute for πολιτικῆ and φρόνησις in the restricted senses, it is likely that they would have been used: since there were none, innovation in terms has been, as usual, avoided.

9. 1143 a 12 ὥσπερ τὸ μαθάνειν λέγεται συνίεναι, ὅταν χρῆται τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, οὕτως ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ δόξῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τούτων περὶ ὧν ἡ φρόνησις ἐστίν, ἄλλου λέγοντος, καὶ κρίνειν καλῶς. This passage has I believe been generally misunderstood. Ramsauer expands it as follows: ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μαθάνειν λέγεται συνίεναι ὅταν χρῆται τις τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ ὧν ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἐστίν ἄλλου λέγοντος, οὕτω καὶ τὸ μαθάνειν λέγεται συνίεναι ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ δόξῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ ὧν ἡ φρόνησις ἐστίν ἄλλου λέγοντος. I propose the following instead: ὥσπερ ὅταν χρῆται τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ περὶ ὧν ἡ σοφία ἐστίν, ἄλλου λέγοντος, τὸ μαθάνειν καλῶς λέγεται συνίεναι οὕτως ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ δόξῃ περὶ ὧν ἡ φρόνησις ἐστίν ἄλλου λέγοντος τὸ κρίνειν καλῶς λέγεται συνίεναι.

The following points have hitherto been overlooked: (a) μαθάνειν is appropriate only to the use of ἐπιστήμη and not to the use of δόξα. This is proved by line 16 ἐντεῦθεν ἐλήλυθε τοῦνομα ἡ σύνεσις, καθ' ἣν εὐσύνετοι, ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ μαθάνειν λέγομεν γὰρ τὸ μαθάνειν συνίεναι πολλάκις. That is, the use of σύνεσις to mean 'practical intelligence' has come from its use to mean 'scientific intelligence.' If μαθάνειν is understood (as Ramsauer would have it) in the δόξα part of the antithesis, surely ἐντεῦθεν ἐλήλυθε κτλ becomes unintelligible. (b) τὸ κρίνειν in the second part of the antithesis is opposed to τὸ μαθάνειν in the first. The formal expression is loose, but quite natural to a writer who is careless of formal precision as long as he thinks the sense clear: I have avoided the looseness by a slight paraphrase in my expansion. (c) ἐπιστήμη and δόξα are here used in the sense not of 'the contents of knowledge' and 'the contents of opinion' but of 'the faculty of knowledge' and 'the faculty of opinion': χρῆται τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ = χρῆται τῷ ἐπιστημονικῷ and not χρῆται τῷ ἐπιστητῷ,

χρησθαι τῇ δόξῃ = χρησθαι τῷ δοξαστικῷ and not χρησθαι τῷ δοξαστῷ. Coraes and Stewart think otherwise—see Stewart's notes. (d) The emphasis is not on *χρηται* and *χρησθαι* but on *ἐπιστήμη* and *δόξη*, in spite of the order. The usual Greek rule of putting emphatic words at the beginning of a sentence or phrase is not regularly observed by Aristotle as it is by Plato. To take an instance close at hand, in 1142 b 16 ἀλλ' ὀρθότης τίς ἐστίν ἢ εὐβουλία βουλῆς the context shows the emphasis to be not on ὀρθότης but on βουλῆς—Plato would have written ἀλλὰ βουλῆς ὀρθότης τίς ἐστίν ἢ εὐβουλία or the like. (e) The two meanings of *μαιθάνειν* that the editors quote may be borne in mind here: but whereas one of these two meanings of *μαιθάνειν* admits *συνιέναι* as a synonym of *μαιθάνειν*, while the other does not, the point is that *συνιέναι* can also be used in a sense in which it is not a synonym of *μαιθάνειν*.—The passage may be paraphrased as follows: 'Learning is often called "understanding," when a man uses his faculty of scientific knowledge (which is the faculty always used in "learning") to grasp what another teaches him about necessary truth: and when a man uses his faculty of discriminating judgment to grasp what another teaches him about practical contingent truth, that exercise of the judgment is by analogy called understanding, if it is of the right kind. The name understanding, in this latter sense, has been diverted from its use as the name of excellence in "learning" necessary truth from another's teaching, as may be seen from the fact that we still (perhaps somewhat improperly now the later use is established) often give the name of "understanding" to this excellence in "learning" necessary truth.'

10. 1143 a 19. Ἡ δὲ καλουμένη γνώμη, καθ' ἣν συγγνώμονας καὶ ἔχειν φαμέν γνώμην, ἢ τοῦ ἐπεικοῦς ἐστὶ κρίσις ὀρθή. This section is a remarkable instance of confusion caused by the view that etymological connection between words must carry with it kinship of meaning. *γνώμη* is taken as the common element in *συγγνώμη* and *γνώμην ἔχειν*, which in ordinary language represent two completely different notions; the meaning of *γνώμη* is arbitrarily fixed as about half-way between the meanings of *συγγνώμη* and *γνώμην ἔχειν*: a vague attempt is made to reconcile the two meanings, and *συγγνώμη* is forced, by mere unproved assertion, into being a synonym of *γνώμη*. As a matter of fact *συγγνώμη* represents the notions of 'forgiveness,' 'making allowances,' 'fair kindness,' and the like: the moral element in it, as in *ἐπιείκεια*, is essential. *γνώμη* on the other hand has properly no moral significance. *γνώμην ἔχειν* can mean two things: (a) 'to have an opinion' whether a true or a false one; (b) 'to have a true opinion,' 'to be right' intellectually, 'avoir raison.' The latter meaning, where *γνώμη* = ὀρθή or ἀληθής *γνώμη*, is chosen here to the exclusion of the former. Professor Burnet would, I believe, find it hard to justify his statement that in actual speech *γνώμη* had a sense corresponding to that of our 'feeling.' Stewart's paraphrase (*Notes* ii. 89) shows well how the author attempts to unify the two different notions of *συγγνώμη* and *γνώμη*: but no hint is given by him or any one else of what I believe to be the true explanation, that the whole attempt is the result of etymological confusion.

L. H. G. GREENWOOD.

NOTES ON MARCUS AURELIUS.

A VERY large number of the following suggestions had been put into writing before the appearance of Stieh's Teubner text in its second edition (1903). The text itself is (I think) quite unaltered: the only change in the book is the addition of a few things in the critical notes, e.g. some of the emendations proposed by Dr. Rendall. A careful re-reading has however given me some new ideas.

1. 6 τὸ γράψαι διαλόγους ἐν παιδί (*while a boy*).

Considering that Marcus congratulates himself more than once in this first book (§§ 7 and 17) on having given little time to σοφιστικὴ and ῥητορικὴ, it is somewhat surprising that he should count having written dialogues an advantage. Should we read τὸ <μὴ> γράψαι? He mentions a good many negative advantages he has to be

thankful for, e.g. 4 τὸ μὴ εἰς δημοσίας διατριβὰς φοιτῆσαι.

8 διὰ ταῦτα should perhaps be δι' αὐτάς or διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

15 τὸ πάντα αὐτῷ πιστεύειν περὶ ὧν λέγοι ὅτι οὕτως φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὧν πράττει ὅτι οὐ κακῶς πράττει.

οὐ κακῶς has been questioned and is certainly unsatisfactory. Perhaps οὐκ ἄκων may be proposed. Maximus never said what he did not mean, nor acted reluctantly against his own judgment or feeling. So 3. 5 μήτε ἀκούσιος ἐνέργει . . . μήτε ἀνθελκόμενος: Epict. *Ench.* 1. 3 ἄκων πράξεις οὐδὲ ἐν: Zeno (quoted in Philo *Quod omni. prob.* 14. p. 46) M) θάπτον ἂν <τις?> ἀσκὸν βαπτίσαι πλήρη πνεύματος ἢ βιάσαιο τὸν (!) σπουδαῖον ὄντιον ἄκοντα δρᾶσαι τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων (perhaps β. τὸν σπ. ὄτιον ἄ. δ. τ. ἄ.).

In Isoer. 5. 25 οὐ κακῶς is a v. l. for οὐκ ἀλόγως, and that too might perhaps stand here.

16 παρέχει should probably be παρέχοι, referring to his father's lifetime.

ibid. φαρμάκων καὶ ἐπιθεμάτων <τῶν> ἐκτός?

ibid. τὸ ἔμφρον καὶ μεμετρημένον ἐν τε θεωριῶν ἐπιτελέσει (ἐπιτελέσει!) καὶ ἔργων κατασκευαῖς, καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀθρώποις πρὸς αὐτὸ [δὲ] τὸ δέον πραχθῆναι δεδορκότος, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθείσιν εὐδοξίαν (δὲ wanting in the two-best MSS). ἀθρώποις is obviously wrong. I conjecture that the original was <ὡς> ἀθρώπου, that ὡς fell out after οἰς in ἀθρώποις, and that ἀθρώπου was then accommodated to the datives before it. A converse case is perhaps to be found at the beginning of the §, where τὸ ἀπαρατρέπτως εἰς τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἐκάστῳ looks meant (Reiske) for τὸ ἀπαρατρέπτως τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἐκάστῳ.

17 εὐποιία should I think be the dative. Cf. on 5. 35 below.

ibid. χρήζειν μήτε ἐσθήτων σημειωτῶν μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοιῶνδὲ τινων καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου κόμπου.

If τοιῶνδὲ is not to be expelled altogether, it would seem necessary to write <καὶ> τοιῶνδὲ τινων. Or is that too much like καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου κόσμου?

ibid. (end) ὅπως τε ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας, μὴ ἔμπεσεῖν εἰς τινα σοφιστήν.

So Stich, but there is good authority for

οὕτως instead of ὅπως. Perhaps we might read οὕτως τε ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας <ὡς> μὴ ἔμπεσεῖν. Cf. above on 16.

2. 3 ταῦτά σοι ἀρκείτω, εἰ δόγματά ἐστι.

There is authority for αἰεὶ δόγματα ἔστω instead of εἰ δόγματά ἐστι. Perhaps καὶ δόγματα ἔστω.

2. 6 ὑβρίζει, ὑβρίζει αὐτήν, ὦ ψυχῆ. τοῦ δὲ τιμῆσαι σεαυτὴν οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις· βραχὺς γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐκάστῳ.

Surely Gataker was right in wishing to read ὑβρίζεις, ὑβρίζεις for the imperative, which is intrinsically absurd. Cf. 16 ὑβρίζει εαυτήν ἢ τοῦ ἀθρώπου ψυχῆ, μάλιστα μὲν ὅταν κ.τ.λ. Moreover the οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις with a δέ points distinctly by antithesis to a statement of something being done, not to an imperative.

14 κἂν τρισχίλια ἔτη βιώσεσθαι μέλλης καὶ τοσαντάκις μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο κ.τ.λ.

In the first place write another κἂν (or ἢ) for καί. In the second can τοσαντάκις μύρια be right, 3000 years or as many times ten thousand? Who ever used such an expression instead of ten thousand times as many, μυριάκις τοσαῦτα?

3. 1 τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸν χρόνον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ προσήκοιτος ἀριθμοὺς ἀκριβοῦν κ.τ.λ.

I do not think εἰς τὸν χρόνον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ προσήκοιτος ἀριθμοὺς ἀκριβοῦν κ.τ.λ. means anything. Some adverb or adverbial expression = καλῶς is needed in addition.

4 ἦτοι γὰρ ἄλλου ἔργον στέρη, τουτέστι φανταζόμενος τί ὁ δεῖνα πράσσει κ.τ.λ.

ἦτοι is quite meaningless and ἄλλου can hardly be said to have any meaning. I have thought doubtfully of οὕτω γὰρ πολλοῦ ἔργου στέρη, which gives good sense itself and improves the meaning of τουτέστι, as explaining in part οὕτω.

ibid. ὁ γὰρ τοι ἀνὴρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκέτι ἐπεριθέμενος τὸ ὡς ἐν ἀρίστοις ἤδη εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.

ὡς ἐν ἀρίστοις is I think a phrase of an unknown kind as an equivalent for ὡς ἄριστος. Perhaps ὡς ἐν ἀρίστοις (as e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 4. 5. 9 ὡς ἐν ἡδίστα), or ὡς ἂν ἄριστος, if the ἂν is admissible, of which I am not sure.

6 τῷ λογικῷ καὶ ποιητικῷ ἀγαθῷ.

Read ἀγαθοῦ, as in 3. 11 μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν: 6. 52: 8. 14: 9. 1 twice. Cf. on 1. 16 above.

8 In the purified man there is nothing *δοῦλον οὐδὲ κομψόν οὐδὲ προσδεδεμένον οὐδὲ ἀπεσχισμένον οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἐμφωλεῖον*. Would not *ἀνυπεύθυνον* give a better sense? There seem three pairs of opposed terms.

12 τῇ ὧν λέγεις καὶ φθέγγῃ ἥρωικῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀρκούμενος.

ἥρωικῇ is quite out of place, and Dr. Rendall's *εἰροϊκῇ* (which he translates *even truthli*) does not recommend itself very much. The first letter may be a ditto-graph of the last in φθέγγῃ. Can we make anything of *ῥωϊκῇ*? *Ῥωμαϊκῇ* occurs to me as just a possibility. Cf. 5 ὃ ἐν σοι θεὸς ἔστω προστάτης ζῶν ἄρρενος καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίου καὶ ἄρχοντος: 2. 5 φρόντιζε στιβαρῶς ὡς Ῥωμαῖος καὶ ἄρρηγ: Martial xi. 20. 10 *qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui*: etc.

15 οὐκ ἴσασι πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κλέπτειν, τὸ σπείρειν, τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι, τὸ ἡσυχάζειν.

It is not easy to correct κλέπτειν, but surely ὠνεῖσθαι must be κινεῖσθαι.

4. 3 πάντα ταῦτα ὅσα ὀρᾶς ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσται.

ἔσται and the parallel passage in 7. 25 prove that we should read *μεταβαλεῖ*. Cf. ὅσον οὐδέπω with future in 10. 11, with μέλλω in 7. 70.

12 He speaks of a readiness to change, *ἐὰν ἄρα τις παρῆ διορθῶν καὶ μεταγῶν ἀπό τινος οἰήσεως*.

παρῆ does not seem very suitable. Would *παρή*, comes forward, presents himself, be better? Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 494 D τῷ δὴ οὕτω διατιθεμένῳ ἐὰν τις ἡρέμα προσελθῶν τάλρηθῆ λέγγῃ, ὅτι νοῦς οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ.

16 ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεὸς αὐτοῖς δόξεις οἷς νῦν θηρίον καὶ πίθηκος, ἐὰν ἀνακάμψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου.

This is of course a reference to the saying ascribed in *Hippias Maior* 289 B to Heraclitus, *ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος πρὸς θεὸν* (in comparison with God or a god) *πίθηκος φανέται*. Dr. Rendall has in consequence conjectured that we should read here *θεὸς <θεοῖς> αὐτοῖς δόξεις*. But why should they admire him so much as to account him one of themselves? Surely merely reverting to principles and revering reason would not move them to such enthusiasm. Let us rather read *θεοῖς* for *θεός* and for *αὐτοῖς* probably *ἄνθρωπος*, to which (1) the antithesis of *θηρίον*, (2) the use of the word by Heraclitus agree in pointing. *ἄνθρωπος*, written in its

shorter form *ἄνος*, is certainly corrupted sometimes, e.g. into *ἄλλος* (cf. on 10. 10), but I cannot quote a case of confusion with *αὐτός*.

17 μὴ ὡς μύρια μέλλων ἔτη ζῆν.

'Do not live as though you had a thousand years before you,' Rendall. 'Do not act,' Long. Probably some such word as *διανοοῦ* is lost. Cf. 2. 11 ὡς ἤδη δυνατοῦ ὄντος ἐξίναί τοῦ βίου, οὕτως ἕκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι.

19 ὁ περὶ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν ἐπτοημένος οὐ φαντάζεται ὅτι κ.τ.λ. . . μέχρι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ μνημὴ ἀποσβῆ δι' ἐπτοημένων καὶ σβενημένων προῖουσα.

ἐπτοημένων is quite unmeaning as well as wrong in tense, and is evidently nothing but an accidental repetition of *ἐπτοημένος* above. I conjecture the true word to have been *ἐξαπτομένων*, which matches *σβενημένων*, as in 7. 24 *ἀπεσβέσθη, ὥστε ὅλως ἐξαφθῆναι μὴ δύνασθαι* (cf. *Republic* 498 AB). Cf. also 21 and 9. 9. Nauck's *μεμνημένων* is not happy.

20 τί τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπαινέσθαι καλόν ἐστιν ἢ ψεγόμενον φθίρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρον γίγνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπαινῆται; τί δὲ χρυσός; κ.τ.λ.

φθίρεται and still more *χεῖρον γίγνεται* point to reading *κάλλιον* for *καλόν*, and a few lines above we have *οὔτε γοῦν χεῖρον ἢ (?) κρείττον γίγνεται τὸ ἐπαινούμενον*. Read also *δέ* for *γάρ* after *σμαράγδιον*, and four lines above *τὸ δέ γε* for *τό γε δή*.

50 ὅλον μικρόν ἐστι τὸ διάστημα (the difference in length of life), καὶ τοῦτο δι' ὅσων καὶ μεθ' οἷων ἐξαντλούμενον καὶ ἐν οἷφ σωματίῳ.

Read *δι' οἷων* which is much more natural in itself and confirmed by the double use of *οἶος* in the words following. Cf. also 6. 59.

5. 4 πορεύομαι διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν μέχρι πειρῶν ἀναπαύσομαι.

Is the future indicative found after *ἕως* or *μέχρι*? Should we not read *ἀναπαύσομαι*? I suspect on the other hand that *πορεύομαι* should be *πορεύσομαι*.

6 One man makes a merit of any service he may do. Another is at any rate conscious of having done it. A third seems all unconscious: *ἄνθρωπος δ' εὖ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐπιβοᾷται ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἕτερον*. *ἄνθρωπος* here is much too general. It is not a *man*, that is the ordinary man, who is thus

described, but the man of rare character. Read therefore *ἄνθρωπον*, governed by *εὖ ποιήσας*. Cf. 9. 42 (near end) *τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εὖ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπον*;

There is something wrong in the description of the second character too. The sentences run: *ὁ μὲν τίς ἐστίν, ὅταν τι δεξιὸν περὶ τινα πράξῃ, πρόχειρος καὶ λογίσασθαι (imputare) αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πρόχειρος, ἄλλως μέντοι παρ' ἐαυτῷ ὡς περὶ χρεώστου διανοεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ πεποιήκεν.* There is no plausible suggestion for ἄλλως κ.τ.λ. I have thought of ὄλως for ἄλλως (a confusion found I think elsewhere); also of <οὐκ> ἄλλως . . . <ἦ> ὡς περὶ, or <οὐκ> ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ περὶ. The first seems the best.

9. *μὴ ὡς πρὸς παιδαγωγὸν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιανέαι, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ ὀφθαλμῶντες πρὸς τὸ σπογγάριον καὶ τὸ ψόν, ὡς ἄλλος πρὸς κατάπλασμα, ὡς πρὸς καταίονησιν. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπίδειξῃ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναπαύσῃ αὐτῷ (find rest and refreshment in it).*

Dr. Rendall translates the last words 'not a question of outward show but of inward refreshment': Long (reading I can hardly tell what) 'thou wilt not fail to obey reason and thou wilt repose in it.' Coray conjectured *ἔτι δῆξει* for *ἐπίδειξῃ*. I would suggest *οὐδὲν ἐπίδειξῃ*, or *οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσει, τοῦ πειθάρχειν*, 'there will be no need then to obey reason,' i.e. with more or less constraint and reluctance: conformity to it will be natural and pleasant. Cf. Wordsworth's well known lines in the Ode to Duty.

Perhaps we should read *ὡς <ἄλλος> πρὸς καταίονησιν*, or *ἦ* for *ὡς* without adding ἄλλος. *αὐτό* a line or two below should be *αὐτά*, as *τούτων* following and *ἄ* preceding combine to show.

12 *ἐξακούσεται* should probably be *ἐπακούσεται*, both as the fitter word and to harmonise with *ἐπακούσαι* just before.

23 *πῶς οὖν οὐ μωρὸς ὁ ἐν τούτοις φυσώμενος ἢ σπώμενος ἢ σχεπλιάζων ὡς ἔν τινι χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσαντι*; (v.l. *ἐπὶ μικρὸν. Reiske ἐνοχλήσασιν*.)

It is surely clear that the last word should be future, not aorist. But we might think either of *ὡς ἐν τ. χ. καὶ ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἐνοχλήσονται* as in some space of time which will trouble him even for a little, or, better perhaps, of *ὡς ἐν τ. χ. καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσονται, ἀσ though they would trouble him in (a certain period of time) and for long.* For the latter

interpretation the dative (*ἐνοχλήσουσι*) is not necessary; *ὡς* with the accusative is quite admissible.

26 Certain affections (*πεύσεις*) of ours should be confined to the parts immediately affected: *ὅταν δὲ ἀναδιδῶνται κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν συμπάθειαν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐν σώματι ἠνωμένῳ, τότε κ.τ.λ.* The translators make no sense of *ἑτέραν*. Did not Marcus write *ἡμετέραν*? The first two letters might be lost after the *ην* of *τὴν*. So in Alciphron 1. 4 Dobree saw that *τὴν ἀκτὴν* stands for *τὴν ἡλακτὴν*.

28 *θεραπεύσεις* should perhaps be *θεραπεύσει*, *he will attend to it*. We should remember that *θεραπεύω*, like *curo*, does not mean *to cure*.

29 *ὡς ἐξελθὼν ζῆν διανοῆ, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα ζῆν ἕξεστιν. εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπωσι, τότε καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἕξιθι.*

Read *ἐξελθὼν <τοῦ> ζῆν*: 'as you think to exist after quitting life, even so you can live here.' Even when *ἐξίεναι* is repeated in the second sentence, *τοῦ ζῆν* is added to it. *ἐξελθὼν* might perhaps stand alone (like *ἐξάγειν, ἐξαγωγή*), but *ζῆν* could hardly be used thus of a state after death. Out of *ζῆν* it is easy to supply another vaguer infinitive.

31 The first sentence with its *πῶς* is no more a direct question than the second with its *εἰ*. In both cases we supply something like 'ask yourself.' Observe *ἀναμνησκου* *δέ* following.

35 *εἰ μήτε κακία ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐμὴ μήτε ἐνέργεια κατὰ κακίαν ἐμῆν.*

Read *κακία . . . ἐμῆ . . . ἐνέργεια*.

6. 10 Why care to live? *τί δέ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ αἶα γίνεσθαι*;

αἶα seems quite impossible. *Ménage's γαῖα γενέσθαι* is better (cf. 3. 3 where the body is called *γῆ καὶ λύθρος*, and *Il.* 24. 54 *κωφὴν γαῖαν ἀεκκίξει*), but the poetical form is much against it. I have sometimes thought that we might repeat the last two letters of *ποτέ* and for *τεαία* read *τέφρα* or *τέφραν*. *ρ* and *ι* are very often confused. Cf. 4. 3 *πόσοι ἦδη . . . ἐκτέτανται καὶ τετέφρωνται*: *ib.* 48 *κατιδεῖν αἰὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἐφήμερα καὶ εὐτελῆ. καὶ ἐχθὲς μὲν μυξάριον, αὔριον δὲ τάριχος ἢ τέφρα*, and *σποδός* in 5. 33: 12. 27. Also Herodas 1. 38 and 10. 2. Theocr. Ep. 6. 6.

It seems hardly possible that the infinitive *γενέσθαι* can be right alone. But cf.

7. 58 αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τὸ πῶς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὅλος γενέσθαι, and 10. 16 μηκέθ' ὁλῶς περὶ τοῦ οἴον τινα εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα διαλέγεσθαι, where Coray inserts δεῖ after ἄνδρα. But we might escape the difficulty here and in 7. 58 by reading πῶς. Cf. 4. 50 πάντως πού ποτε κείνται. So in Alciphron 1. 13 it is better to write ποθεν γάρ ποτε, not πόθεν γάρ ποτε.

12 εἰ μητριάν τε ἅμα εἶχες καὶ μητέρα, ἐκείνην τε ἂν ἐθεράπευες καὶ ὅμως ἢ ἐπάνοδος σοι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα συνεχῆς ἐγένετο. τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἔστιν ἢ αὐλή καὶ ἢ φιλοσοφία. ὦδε πολλάκις ἐπάνιθι καὶ προσαιαπαίου ταύτην.

The general sense seems to indicate that ἔστιν should be ἔστω, and the imperatives following confirm this. Possibly ταῦτό for τοῦτο.

13 ὅπου λίαν ἀξιόπιστα τὰ πράγματα φαντάζεται, ἀπογυμνοῖν αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορᾶν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐφ' ἣ σεμνύνεται περιαιρεῖν. Δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ τύφος παραλογιστῆς καὶ . . . καταγοητεύει.

For ἱστορίαν, which is manifestly wrong, Reiske conjectured and Nauck approved *τερθρείαν*. Rendall would read *ὑψηγορίαν*. I would rather think of *ῥητορείαν*, which is nearer to ἱστορίαν than either and harmonises well enough with παραλογιστῆς and καταγοητεύει. The word occurs in 10. 38. For ρ and ι cf. above on 10.

14 τὰ ὑπὸ ἕξεως ἢ φύσεως συνεχόμενα are contrasted first with τὰ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς and then with τὰ ὑπὸ λογικῆς ψυχῆς (cf. 10. 2) in such a way that it is clear that they are inanimate things and plants (*λίθους . . . ἐλαίας*). But, to give this meaning, *ἕξις*, if not *φύσις*, must have some qualifying word, such as *σωματικῆ* or *ἐλικῆ* added to it. Standing alone, it might just as well be mental (11. 18 under *τέταρτον* and 12. 16) as material.

16 ἐπὶ τι should perhaps be ἐπὶ τοῦτο. τό, which is confused with both, might be the *tertium quid*.

27 πῶς ὁμόν ἐστι μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κ.τ.λ.

We should expect *ὡς*, as in 5. 2 *ὡς εὔκολον κ.τ.λ.* and elsewhere in exclamations. But a similar mistake, if it is one, occurs in several places, e.g. 8. 3 : 10. 19 and 36 : 11. 7.

30 ὡς ὀλίγοις ἀρκοῦμενος, οἶον οἰκίσει, στρωμνῆ, ἐσθῆτι, τροφῆ, ὑπηρεσίᾳ.

These things fairly exhaust the requirements of the most luxurious and exacting among us ; cf. 12. 2. The question should

rather be of the *kind* of food, clothing, etc. Ought we for οἶον to read οἶα, harmonising very well with ὡς ?

38 Speaking of the bond that holds all things together, he says τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν τοικίην (or τοπικίην) κίνησιν καὶ σύμπνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς οὐσίας.

τοικίην hardly makes sense : perhaps γενικίην. For κίνησιν there are such conjectures as *σύννησιν* and *κοίνωσιν*.

44 The obscure sentence εἰ δ' ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς βουλευόνται will come out right, if we see that the parenthesis is not πιστεύειν μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον, as Stich gives it, where μὲν would be unmeaning, but πιστεύειν . . . βουλευόνται. The second εἰ . . . βουλευόνται resumes the first, and the δέ in it answers to the μὲν after πιστεύειν. We must take ἦ, not ἧ, the meaning being 'or, if we do believe, let us not offer sacrifice' etc., and (I think) read *μήτε* for *μηδέ* throughout. In the Didot text the Greek is improperly punctuated, but the Latin translation gives the right sense. Dr. Rendall seems to miss it.

46. πάσχειν should apparently be *πάσχεις*.

47 αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρου καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς χλευασταί.

It looks as though αὐτῆς should be ταύτης. The adjectives do not suit αὐτῆς : 'mockers even at our brief and calamitous life' is hardly sense.

50 πειρῶ μὲν πείθειν αὐτοὺς· πράττε δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων, ὅταν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἄγῃ.

Perhaps αἰρή, for the confusion is found elsewhere. Cf. 2. 5 τοῦ αἰροῦντος λόγου : 10. 32 οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰρεῖ λόγος (ζῆν) μὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα. But ἄγῃ may not be wrong.

55 εἰ κυβερνῶντα οἱ ναῦται ἢ ἰατρούοντα οἱ κάμνοντες κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλω τινὶ ἂν προσείχον ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς ἐνεργοίη τὸ τοῖς ἐμπλέουσι σωτήριον ἢ τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑγιεινόν ;

Rendall translates this : 'If the sailors abused the pilot, or the sick the physician, would they have any other object than to make him save the crew or heal the patients?' Long, adopting the other punctuation, 'would they listen to anybody else? or how could the helmsman secure the safety of those in the ship?' etc. I do not see the point of the passage on either of these interpretations, nor why with *ἂν* past tenses of the indicative should be used rather than optatives. One would expect

τοὺς τὸν κυβερνῶντα and τὸν ἰατρούοντα. The article is omitted because the participles refer to the subject of προσείχον, which is in reality first person singular, not third plural. 'If the crew had spoken ill of me when I commanded a vessel, or my patients when I was doctoring them, should I have given my mind to any thing but'—what? 'how I was myself to do what their preservation required.' Read ἐνεργούην. Marcus means that he does not any more than the doctor or the navigating officer allow himself to be distracted by complaints and discontent.

7. 3 κυνιδίους ὀστάριον ἐρριμμένον.

Perhaps a verse. Why else should κ. come first?

30 συμπαρεκτείνειν τὴν νόησιν τοῖς λεγομένοις. εἰσδύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ποιούντα.

Read probably τοῖς γενομένοις or γιγνομένοις. γεόμενος and λεγόμενος are well known to be sometimes confused. τοῖς γιγνομένοις makes excellent sense and is confirmed by the next sentence, whereas most of τὰ λεγόμενα call for no mental strain and τοῖς λεγομένοις would be too complimentary to other people.

34 ἴδε τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν οἷαι καὶ οἷα μὲν φεύγουσαι, οἷα δὲ διώκουσαι may be right, but I suspect we should read φεύγουσι and διώκουσι, as in 4. 38: 10. 13. The confusion may be found in other places.

55 τοῦτων οὖν ἐχόμενον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εὐθέα περαινέτω καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

After an imperative Greek idiom needs the future ζέει. In 11. 16 we should certainly read ἔσται for ἔστω with Gataker, χαίρει αὐτοῖς καὶ ῥάδια ἔστω σοι.

58 θέλε σεαυτῷ καλὸς εἶναι ἐπὶ παντός οὐ πρόσσει.

Coray conjectured καλῶς εἶναι. I would rather suggest ἱκανὸς εἶναι, the confusion of καλὸς and ἱκανός being quite familiar.

64 λαθάνει goes with πόνῳ ταῦτα ὄντα, not with δυσχεραίνόμενα, as the last words of the § show.

8. 3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πομπήϊος τί πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Σωκράτην; οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς ὕλας, καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἦν αὐτῶν ταῦτά· ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄσων (or ὄση) πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων;

πρόνοια is a good quality and the word

could hardly be used in this disparaging sort of way. M. Casaubon παράνοια. Περίνοια (cf. 1. 7: 8. 36: Ar. Frogs 958) might be more suitable. One would think πόσων ought to be ὄσων, but cf. on 6. 27.

8. Ἀναγιγνώσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν· ἀλλ' ὕβριον ἀνείργειν ἔξεστιν· ἀλλ' ἠδονῶν καὶ πόνων καθυπερτερεῖν ἔξεστιν κ.τ.λ.

Dr. Rendall suggests πάντα γιγνώσκειν. But a comparison of Epictetus 4. 4 fully confirms ἀναγιγνώσκειν. The whole of that fourth chapter is devoted to answering the complaints of a man who finds that he has not leisure for reading—κακῶς μοι ἐστίν· οὐκ εὐσυχλῶ ἀναγνῶναι. The Stoic points out that he is perhaps just as well occupied otherwise. Renan therefore also misconceives the meaning of the words before us, when he supposes (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 464) the emperor to have written them *un jour qu' il dut déposer par fatigue le livre qu' il tenait à la main*.

Cf. the references to books in 2. 3 τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίσκον ῥίψον and, though obscure, in 2. 2: 4. 30 (in which passage I have sometimes thought the two last clauses should be written as questions).

16 μέμηρσο ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθαι καὶ ἔπεσθαι τῷ διορθοῦντι ὁμοίως ἐλευθέρον ἐστί.

I should prefer ἐλευθέρων. Cf. on 11. 9.

22 δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχεις· μᾶλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αἰρεῖν γενέσθαι ἢ σήμερον εἶναι.

Write γάρ for δέ.

30 λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάντ' ὀντινοῦν μὴ περιτρανῶς· ὑγιεῖ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

περιτρανῶς has been doubted, and I was myself disposed to alter it, until I read in Longinus (*Rhetores Graeci* Teubner I. ii. p. 216) χρῆ τὸν παραμυθούμενον μὴ μετὰ σοφιστικῆς τρανότητος ἀλλὰ μετὰ συμπεπονηθείας λέγειν ἀπλότητος.

32. συντιθέναί δει τὸν βίον κατὰ μίαν πράξιν· καὶ εἰ ἐκάστη τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχει ὡς οἷόν τε ἀρκέσθαι· ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆς παρέχη, οὐδὲ εἰς σε κωλύσαι δύναται.

(1) I am inclined to suggest κατὰ μίαν <ἐκάστην> πράξιν. κατὰ μίαν πράξιν cannot mean that, and, if it meant like (*so as to form*) a single action, the ἐκάστη following would be intolerable. (2) Should μὴ be inserted in the last words after ἵνα δέ or τὸ ἑαυτῆς, or is it the abuse of ἵνα?

35 ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἕκαστον (ἕκαστος, ἐκάστῳ) τῶν λογικῶν σχεδὸν ὅσον ἢ

τῶν λογικῶν φύσις, οὕτως καὶ ταύτην παρ' αὐτῆς εἰλήφαμεν.

I suggest something like ἐκάστῳ...σχεδὸν δίδωσιν ἢ τῶν ὄλων φύσις, believing λογικῶν to be a mere inadvertent repetition of the λογικῶν preceding. For ἢ τῶν ὄλων φύσις cf. 6 ἢ τῶν ὄλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει; 12. 23 τὸν ὄρον δίδωσιν ἢ φύσις... ἢ τῶν ὄλων, etc.

45 Should συνδυομένη, which means nothing, be ἀναδυομένη, matching ὀρεγομένη?

48 οὐδὲν ὀχρῶτερον ἔχει ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ὃ καταφυγὸν ἀνάλωτος λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑωρακῶς τοῦτο ἀμαθῆς, ὁ δὲ ἑωρακῶς καὶ μὴ καταφυγὸν ἀτυχῆς. Should ἀμαθῆς and ἀτυχῆς change places? The second at any rate seems odd where it stands.

52 τίς οὖν φαίνεται σοὶ ὁ τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἥδιον, οἱ οὐθ' ὅπου εἰσὶν οὐθ' οἰτινές εἰσι γιγνώσκουσι;

There is no sense to be got out of this, nor is Gataker's bold conjecture (τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἢ ψόγον φεύγων [as though οἱ κροτούντες could blame] ἢ ἔπαινον διώκων οἷ), or Dübner's modification of that (τὸν τ. κ. ἔπαινον διώκων οἷ), satisfactory. Perhaps οὐ should be read for ὁ (as in 10. 25) and ἂν added so as to give the meaning *who would not prefer to avoid?*

Cf. the change proposed in 12. 8 below.

I have also thought of τί σοὶ φαίνεται τοῦ τὸν τ. κ. ἔπαινον φεύγειν ἥδιον.

55 ὁπότεν πρῶτον οὗτος θελήσῃ. αὐτός!

58 ὁ τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ἦτοι ἀναισθησίαν φοβέται ἢ αἰσθησιν ἑτεροίαν. ἀλλ' εἴτ' οὐκέτι αἰσθησιν, οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινας αἰσθήσῃ; εἴτ' ἄλλοιοτέραν αἰσθησιν κτήσῃ, κ.τ.λ.

Read οὐκέτι αἰσθήσῃ or αἰσθησιν <ἔξεις>. We can hardly understand ἔξεις out of the coming κτήσει.

9. 9 ὥστε χρήζειν τῶν διειργόντων καὶ βίας.

Rather διειρέζοντων by Greek idiom, and possibly βία.

21 ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξίς, ὀρμῆς <καὶ> ὑπολήψεως παῦλα καὶ οἷον θάνατος, οὐδὲν κακόν. καί is due to Gataker. Perhaps a substantive has been lost, parallel to ἀπόληξίς and παῦλα.

41 Epicurus used to ask himself πῶς ἢ διάνοια συµμεταλαµβάνουσα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδίῳ τοιούτων κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ, τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν τηρούσα.

Rather <οὐ> συµμεταλαµβάνουσα. The very point is that it did not share in the κινήσεις. οὐ would easily fall out before συ. τοιούτων may be right, but seems rather pointless. Qy. τοῦτῳ?

At the end of the § πράσσει wants a subject and should probably be πράσσεις.

10. 6 μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὄλου, ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένου.

Perhaps διοικουόμενον or even -ος. Cf. 2 τί σου ἢ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ, ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου.

7 εἰ δὲ φύσει κακόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς (i.e. for the parts to perish), οὐκ ἂν τὸ ὄλον καλῶς διεξάγοιτο, τῶν μερῶν εἰς ἄλλοτρίωσιν ἰόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθείρεσθαι διαφόρως κατεσκευασμένω.

I am puzzled by the combination of κακόν and ἀναγκαῖον, nor can I, if the text is right, make any coherent sense of the whole §, especially of the πότερον γὰρ ἐπεχείρησεν ἢ φύσις αὐτῇ τὰ ἐαντῆς μέρη κακοῦν, which immediately follows the words quoted. But other readers do not seem to have felt any difficulty. At present my impression is that κακόν and καλῶς should be changed to καλόν and κακῶς respectively. What is good and necessary for the parts cannot be bad for the whole, for nature never set about injuring her own parts.

8 (near end) Is there any such word as ὅτιπερ *that*, a form of ὅτι?

9 μῖμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκη, δουλεία καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαλείφεται σου τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκεῖνα δόγματα, ὅποσα ὁ φυσιολογητὸς (ὅποσα ἀφυσιολογητῶς Gataker, ὅποσα οὐ φυσιολογητῶς, Rendall) φαντάζῃ καὶ παραπέμπει.

μῖμος and πόλεμος, πτοία and νάρκη appear to be contrasted respectively, but δουλεία stands alone without a contrast. Is it possible that its proper antithesis ἀρχή has fallen out after the very similar letters of νάρκη?

10 ἀράχνιον μυῖαν θηρᾶσαν μέγα φρονεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ λαγίδιον, ἄλλος δὲ ὑποχῆ ἀφύην, ἄλλος δὲ κ.τ.λ.

Should the first ἄλλος be ἄνως, i.e. ἄνθρωπος? Cf. on 4. 16 above.

19 οἱοί εἰσιν ἐσθιόντες, καθεύδοντες, ὀχεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τᾶλλα: εἶτα οἱοὶ ἀνδρονομούμενοι καὶ γανρούμενοι ἢ χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιπλήττοντες. πρὸ ὀλίγου δὲ ἐδούλευον πόσοις καὶ δι' οἶα, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐν τοιούτοις ἔσονται.

For ἀνδρονομούμενοι, which is meaningless, there are conjectures such as ἀβρυνόμενοι, Reiske; ἀνδριζόμενοι, Coray; ἀνδρογνούμενοι, Rendall. Of these the first is the best, both as being nearest and because some word seems wanted that may be coupled with γαυρούμενοι as the other two expressions are coupled together in sense. I would suggest as alternatives, and coming perhaps even nearer, either φαιδρυνόμενοι or λαμπρυνόμενοι. It is hard to see the meaning of ἐν τοιούτοις. Perhaps ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, i.e. ἐν δουλείᾳ. For ἐν πόσις καὶ δι' οἶα (cf. 9. 34) see above on 8. 3.

23 ἐναργὲς ἔστω αἰεὶ τὸ ὅτι τοιοῦτο ἐκείνο ὁ ἀγρός ἐστι, καὶ πῶς πάντα ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὄρει ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἢ ὅπου θέλεις.

Dr. Rendall's translation 'take for your axiom the old truth—the field is where you make it' is difficult to connect with the Greek, and his idea that the field 'signifies the place of seclusion and retirement, as in iv. § 3' seems fanciful. Long's 'that this piece of land is like any other' gives a better sense, though hardly the right one and not quite to be got out of the Greek either. I do not feel at all sure what Marcus is saying, but I should like to suggest τοιοῦτο (or ταῦτὸ) ἐκείνῳ ὁ ἀγρός ἐστι, his field is to another man much as your court, your empire, is to you; things here and on the mountain-top and on the seashore are all at bottom the same. ἐκείνος would also give a similar sense. Cf. 27, including the words quoted from it below; also 15. πῶς should perhaps be πως.

25 ὁ τὸν κύριον φεύγων δραπέτης· κύριος δὲ ὁ νόμος· καὶ ὁ παρανομῶν δραπέτης.

The last words want a connecting particle, (lost after ων) or ἄρα (lost before δρα).

27 πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνα τοιαῦτα ἦν, μόνον δι' ἐτέρων.

Probably ταῦτὰ ἦν, for μόνον δι' ἐτέρων wants something stronger than τοιαῦτα, with which it does not contrast sufficiently.

31 οἷαν should surely be ποίαν.

33 οὐ πρότερον παύση στένων πρὶν ἢ τοῦτο πάθης, ὅτι, οἷον ἐστὶ τοῖς ἡδυπαθοῦσιν ἢ τρυφῇ, τοιοῦτό σοι κ.τ.λ.

Read μάθης for πάθης.

34 τῷ δεδηγμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀλπιᾶς καὶ ἀφοβίας· οἷον Φύλλα

τὰ μὲν τ' ἀνεμος χαμάδις χέει . . . Ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή.

'When once true principles have bitten in,' 'to him who is penetrated by true principles' say the translators. Gataker who cannot stomach (*concoquere*) either δεδεγμένῳ or δεδειγμένῳ, which he found in some editions, suggests δεδενμένῳ (not δεδιδαγμένῳ which Stich ascribes to him), quoting Plato's δόξα δευσοποιός: such a use is however improbable. According to Stich's critical note one MS has τῷ δεδογμένῳ and one has τῶν δεδηγμένῳ. The genitive in the latter may very well be a mere accident, but it falls in with what I think the true reading. Δ and Λ being so often confused, it is probable that we should read τῶν λελεγμένων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀ. δ., the genitive depending on and giving an improved meaning to τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ . . . κείμενον.

36 μὴ ἔσται cannot mean 'will there not be?' as the translators take it. It looks like a non-Attic construction, equivalent to the Homeric and occasional Attic use of μὴ and μὴ οὐ with subjunctive in independent sentences (Goodwin *M.T.* 261–264): 'I fear there will be.' But μὴ is wanting altogether in Stich's codex Δ.

ibid. τὸ ἴδιον ἔθος διασφύζων, φίλος καὶ εὔνοος καὶ ἰλεως.

Read ἦθος.

11. 9 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀσθενές, τὸ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps ἀσθενοῦς, as in 18 ὥσπερ ἡ λύπη ἀσθενοῦς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ὀργή. Cf. on 8. 16 above.

11 εἰ μὲν should apparently be omitted. Does it arise from ὤμεν concluding the § before?

16 Perhaps κάλλιστα δὴ, or καλλίστη δὴ, ζῆν δύναμις αὐτῆ.

18 (under ἔννατον) ἐὰν διατελῆς εὐμενῆς αὐτῷ καὶ . . . πρῶτος παραινῆς καὶ μεταδιδάσκεις εὐσυχολῶν.

For εὐσυχολῶν, which is quite inappropriate, read εὐκόλως.

ibid. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ μὴ βλαβῶ· σὺ δὲ βλάβη, τέκνον.

The sense and the οὐ μὴ point clearly to βλάβη for βλάβη. Cf. on 9. 9 etc.

ibid. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδίκτως τῇ ψυχῇ.

τῆ ψυχῆ, could hardly be added in this way. Read φιλοστοργῶ καὶ ἀδίκτῳ τῆ ψυχῆ.

12. 1 μὴ τὸ παύσεσθαι ποτε τοῦ ζῆν φοβηθῆς. ἀλλὰ τό γε μηδέποτε ἄρξασθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν.

παύσεσθαι should of course be aorist, like ἄρξασθαι.

2. ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνά τῶν ἰλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὄρᾳ.

καθάρματα are strange things indeed to be 'bare' of. Is it not clear that we should read καθαρμάτων?

5. οὐκ ἂν δ' οὕτω διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄριστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοί εἰσιν.

Is εἰσίν a mistake for ἦσαν? It may be right, but I do not recall a parallel in Greek, or in Latin either, for such constructions as *carmīna nī sint, ex umero Pelopis non nituisset ebur* take the subjunctive.

8. θεάσασθαι . . τί θάνατος, τί δόξα, τίς ὁ ἐαυτῷ ἀσχολίας αἴτιος, πῶς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἄλλον ἐμποδίζεται.

The third point here suggested, 'who is the man that involves himself in disquiet and trouble,' seems hardly natural or in keeping with the others. I would suggest that for ὁ we should read οὗ or rather οὗχ, meaning that a man is always responsible for his own ἀσχολία. It goes along with the next words πῶς . . ἐμποδίζεται. ἐαυτῷ and ὑπ' ἄλλον, τίς οὗ, and οὐδεὶς match one another. For the correction of ὁ το οὗ cf. on 8. 52 above.

12 The use of μήτε and not οὔτε shows

something to be wrong or missing. Should the first μεμπτόν be μέμφεσθαι?

16 ἐπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος ὅτι ἤμαρτε τί δαὶ οἶδα εἰ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤμαρτε, ὅτι κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ὁμοιον τοῦτο τῷ καταδρῦπτει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄψιν.

Rendall and Long follow Coray, rightly I think, in adding an οὐ before κατέκρινεν: 'how do I know that he did not condemn himself?' But what is the point of the comparison that follows? 'How do I know that he did not condemn himself?' is a suggestion in the man's favour, whereas the comparison to scratching your own face would tell against him. I do not feel very sure of the drift, but am inclined to suggest οὐ κατέκρινον. 'Even if he did do wrong, in condemning him for it was I not condemning myself (since I do the same or similar things) and scratching my own face?' ἑαυτόν may of course = ἐμαυτόν.

27 ὑπὸ ἀτυφία. ἐπί for ὑπό?

31 τί ἐπιζητεῖς; τὸ διαγίνεσθαι; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὀρμᾶν; τὸ αὔξεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. τί τούτων πόθου σοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ;

Rendall removes the note of interrogation after ἐπιζητεῖς and so gets a better general sense, 'why hanker for continuous (continued?) existence?' though then τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, etc. seem to have no proper construction and ἀλλὰ no meaning. For ἀλλὰ we should, I think, read ἄρα, which is sometimes confused with it: for the rest one would expect something like <ἐν> τῷ διαγίνεσθαι, or τῷ δ. without ἐν: τί ἐπιζητεῖς τῷ διαγίνεσθαι; ἄρα τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, τὸ ὀρμᾶν, τὸ αὔξεσθαι; HERBERT RICHARDS.

PROHIBITIONS IN GREEK.

THE fascinating theory advanced by Mr. Headlam in the *C.R.* of July 1903, vol. xvii. p. 295, and approved by Dr. Jackson in the *C.R.* for June 1904, vol. xviii. p. 262, must have attracted the attention of all scholars.

I chanced recently, for other purposes, to run through the Greek Tragedians, and I kept my eyes open for cases which might prove the truth or falsity of this distinction between μὴ ποίει and μὴ ποιήσης. It was an interesting investigation: very often I was convinced that the distinction was just; often again I was equally con-

vinced that the verdict must be 'non liquet.' I have ended by feeling that, while the alleged distinction exists, it is only one of many others possible.

'The current notions about this important piece of grammar' are not, I admit, satisfactory. But the question has received more attention than perhaps any in Greek Syntax, cp. Blass *Rhein. Mus.* 44 (1889, p. 406, Gerth. Kühner § 389, 6 c, Doonan, *C.R.* (1895), p. 145 ff., and Miller, *A.J.P.* 13 (1892), p. 424. The last, as Forman points out (*Plato Selections*, Append. p. 424), after examination of imperatives

in the Attic Orators, refuses to differentiate.

Mr. Headlam does not engage to help us in distinguishing *ποιεῖ* from *ποίησον*, and *prima facie* it is remarkable that the Greeks should have always retained so neat a distinction in the case of prohibitions only. It would seem equally important that a hearer should at once understand whether by the words 'do this' you mean 'go on doing' or 'do what you have not begun'; and yet, in view of the frequent 'παῦε παῦε,' it is obvious that the Greeks kept up no such distinction in the Imperative *invariably*.

Before I discuss this theory of prohibitions I should like to emphasise the necessity of recognising a 'conative' imperative. If we grant the conative meaning, then *παῦε* will signify 'be for ceasing' and is merely less peremptory than *παύσον*. Similarly *ἔκβαλε*, quoted by Mr. Donovan from Aesch. *Ag.* 906, is more fitting on the lips of an admiring wife to her victorious husband than would be the curt 'ἔκβηθι.' In fact the present imperative is often more persuasive than the aorist, and we are not surprised to find Nicias saying *ἐπιψήφίζε* to a reluctant chairman rather than *ἐπιψήφισον*.

Citations such as Soph. *El.* 395, which Mr. Headlam regards as conclusive, may equally well be explained by the conative method. Here *μὴ μ' ἐκδίδασθε* can mean 'don't be for teaching me'; and the rejoinder *ἀλλ' οὐ διδάσκω* 'but I am not trying to' is sufficiently intelligible.

The followers of Hermann will certainly be compelled to admit the 'conative' sense in such passages as Plato, *Apol.* 17. 308 ἢ ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε. If *μὴ ἀφίετε* is to mean 'cease acquitting,' the real force can only be 'cease being for acquittal,' since the verdict has not yet been given.

This use is, of necessity, common with such words as *κτείνω* and *θνήσκω*, cp. Eur. *Rhes.* 869

HN. ὦ γαῖα πατρίς, πῶς ἂν ἐνθάνοιμί σοι.

EK. μὴ θνήσχ', ἄλις γὰρ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὄχλος.

Here *μὴ θνήσχ'* can fitly mean 'cease being for dying' after the wish *πῶς ἂν ἐνθάνοιμι*, but it is by no means essential that it should express more than 'do not be for dying.'

The same may be said of Eur. *Or.* 659 'Ερμιόνην μὴ κτεῖνε σύ (*Ib.* 1027 is different: the 'killing' is metaphorical, cp. *Phoen.* 1620) and *ib.* 1075 *μὴ ξύνθησκέ μοι* and

Eur. *Elect.* 850 *ἀλλὰ μὴ με κτείνετε*. On the other hand in a situation precisely similar, viz. *Bacch.* 1120 Pentheus cries:

οἴκτιρε δ' ὦ μῆτέρ με, μηδὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς
ἀμαρτίαισι παῖδα σὸν κατακτάνης.

Compare *Iph. Aut.* 1207 and Soph. *Ant.* 546. Of the latter I shall speak presently.

Mr. Headlam argues that *μὴ ποιήσης* must mean 'do not do something not begun' because the aorist subjunctive 'is close to the future in form.' But it may be urged in reply that all imperatives or prohibitions refer in sense to the future. 'Do not come' whether it mean 'stop coming' or 'never come in the future' still looks to an action (the not-coming) which lies in the future; and we need not be surprised that a tense and mood should be used which so often has a future signification, nor that *μὴ ποιήσης* 'always refers, more or less, to future time.' In just the same way Latin has its jussive subjunctive present and future indicative closely allied both in form and meaning.

But Mr. Headlam may fairly claim that his theory is confirmed by the survival of the subjunctive in prohibitions which are doubly future, *i.e.* where the not-doing is, as usual, future and also still more future because not even begun. But we are still left to wonder why no future imperative came into existence, if the distinction was felt to be essential in the case of prohibitions.

However a few hard facts are worth pages of theory, and I venture to propound the following riddles which seem to defy solution.

First Eur. *Androm.* 87

AN. ὄρας; ἀπαυδᾶς ἐν κακοῖς φίλοισι σοῖς.

ΘΕΡ. οὐ δῆτα· μηδὲν τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσης ἐμοί.

Surely with *τοῦτο* inserted this must of necessity, according to Mr. Headlam's canon, be *μηδὲν τοῦτο ὀνειδίξαι*, *i.e.* do not throw this word 'desertion' in my teeth as you are doing.

Even more awkward is *Hecuba* 1180. Polymestor concludes his tirade against women-kind with:

ἅπαντα ταῦτα συντεμὸν ἐγὼ φράσω·
γένος γὰρ οὔτε πόντος οὔτε γῆ τρέφει
τοιόνδ'· ὁ δ' αἰεὶ ξυντυχὼν ἐπίσταται.

To this the Chorus replies:

μηδὲν θρασύνου, μηδὲ τοῖς σαντοῦ κακοῖς
τὸ θῆλυ συνθείς ὧδε πᾶν μέψη γένος.

Mr. Headlam's theory is unharmed by *θρασύνου*, but what are we to say of *ὄδε* (=as you are doing) and *πάν μέμψη γένος*—words which obviously refer to Polymestor's *συντεμών*? Here again we ought to have the present imperative—*πάν μέμψου γένος*, which would—and this is important—have satisfied metrical requirements.

Take again Eur. *Helen* 1259. It is better to quote the whole context, i.e. ll. 1255–1259. Menelaus and Theoclymenus are the interlocutors.

ME. προσφάζεται μὲν αἶμα πρῶτα νερτέροις.
 ΘΕ. τίνος; σύ μοι σήμαινε, πείσομαι δ' ἐγώ.
 ME. αὐτὸς σὺ γίγνωσκ'. ἀρκέσει γὰρ ἦν διδώς.
 ΘΕ. ἐν βαρβάρους μὲν ἵππον ἢ ταῦρον νόμος.
 ME. διδοῦς γε μὲν δὴ δυσγενὲς μηδὲν δίδου.

Is there any shadow of reason for assuming that *μηδὲν δίδου* means 'do not offer as you are doing'?

Let me next cite cases where only improbable suppositions will serve to bring things into harmony with the new canon, e.g. Aesch. *P.U.* 807 *Τούτοις σὺ μὴ πέλαζε*. This ought to mean 'cease going near these,' but unfortunately Prometheus is speaking as a prophet. He warns Io not to approach the *Arimaspi*; and the words above quoted are *immediately* followed by *τηλουρὸν δὲ γῆν ἤξεις κ.τ.λ.* The future here is to be observed: it completely¹ does away with the plea that Prometheus is 'rapt'; that, as it were, he cries 'Not there! Not there!' when, in imagination, he sees Io stepping into danger. Moreover the spirit of the whole passage is against this: it is rather a geographical description, comparatively emotionless. This time the conative sense will not save the situation for Mr. Headlam. It *may* do so in Eur. *Helen* 1427 where Theoclymenus asks: *βούλει ξυνεργῶν αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψω στόλον;* and Helen replies: *ἤκιστα μὴ δούλευε σοῖς δούλοις, ἀναξ,* i.e. *cease* being for playing the slave to your own servants. But '*do not be for playing the slave*' yields an equally good sense. Next consider Eur. *Alcest.* 690

μὴ θνήσχ' ὑπὲρ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, οὐδ' ἐγὼ πρὸ σου.

Pheres is speaking, and unless we assume a bitter irony, e.g. 'Pray do not go on dying (or 'be dying') for me, as of course you are,' we must admit that *μὴ θνήσκε* looks to some future occasion. Certainly we should supply *ἀποθανοῦμαι* or the equivalent of a future with *ἐγώ*.

¹ Compare however *Agam.* 126 *ἀγρεῖ* and 130 *λαπάξει*.

A frequent difficulty is seen in Aesch. *P.U.* 683

εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅ τι
 λοιπὸν πόνων σήμαινε· μηδέ μ' οἰκτίσας
 ξύνθαλπε μύθοις ψευδέσιν·

There is nothing in what Prometheus has said previously which can be called *ψευδής*, but supposing that *μὴ ξύνθαλπε* does mean 'cease soothing me,' it must have jarred on the ear if *σήμαινε* looked forward and *μὴ ξύνθαλπε* backward—at least in part of its meaning. Compare Eur. *Hec.* 385

τήνδε μὲν μὴ κτείνετε,
 ἡμᾶς δ' ἄγοντες πρὸς πυρὰν Ἀχιλλέως
 κεντέτε, μὴ φείδεσθε.

Assuming the truth of Mr. Headlam's dictum we here have *κεντέτε*—present looking to a future act—lying between two negated presents which are supposed to mean 'cease killing,' 'cease sparing.'

In the *Medea* two passages are troublesome:

(1) l. 61. The Paedagogus speaks:—

ὦ μῶρος, εἰ χρὴ δεσπότης εἰπεῖν τόδε·
 ὡς οὐδὲν οἶδε τῶν νεωτέρων κακῶν.

To which the Nurse promptly replies:

τί δ' ἔστιν, ὦ γεραῖέ; μὴ φθόνει φράσαι.

It can hardly be urged that the Paedagogus is already 'grudging to tell' his story.

(2) l. 90

σὺ δ' ὡς μάλιστα τοῦσδ' ἐρημώσας ἔχε,
 καὶ μὴ πέλαζε μητρὶ δυσθυμουμένη.

In l. 96 *Medea* is heard behind the scenes, and in l. 98 the nurse continues:—

τόδ' ἐκείνο, φίλοι παῖδες· μήτηρ
 κινεῖ καρδίαν, κινεῖ δὲ χόλον.
 σπεύσατε θᾶσσον δώματος εἰσω.
 καὶ μὴ πελάσητ' ὄμματας ἐγγύς,
 μηδὲ προσέλθητ' ἀλλὰ φυλάσσεσθ' κ.τ.λ.

Thus according to Mr. Headlam in l. 90 *ἔχε*, though looking to an act in the future, is immediately followed by *μὴ πέλαζε* which has to mean 'cease going near,' while in ll. 101 and 102 *μὴ πελάσητε* and *προσέλθητε*, as well as *φυλάσσεσθε* (present), refer to acts in the future. But here *μὴ πέλαζε* may well be explained by 'don't be for going near,' in contrast with the peremptory *μὴ πελάσητε*, where there is immediate danger of collision with *Medea*.

Difficult too is *Phoenissae* l. 1072. *Jocasta* speaks to the messenger:

ὦ φίλατ', ἦ που ξυμφορὰν ἤκεις φέρων,
 Ἐτεοκλέους θανόντος,
 τέθνηκεν ἢ ζῆ παῖς ἐμός; σήμαινέ μοι.

To which the messenger replies :

ζῆ, μὴ τρέσῃς τόδ', ὡς σ' ἀπαλλάξω φόβου.

The context would seem to demand φοβού. Did the φόβου at the end of the line cause the choice of τρέσῃς? More than once, e.g. *Heraclidae* 248, 500, 654, μὴ τρέσῃς occurs where, to say the least of it, μὴ φοβού might be expected, but will not scan.

The main difficulty in an investigation of this nature is that so large a percentage of instances readily admits of either meaning—either 'cease doing' or 'don't do something not begun.' Thus it is tantalising to find *μηκέτι* with the present imperative in *Soph. Elect.* 1426, and 1474, in *Eur. Herc. Fur.* 624, *Ion* 257; but aorist subjunctive in *Soph. Trach.* 1205, *O.T.* 975, *Elect.* 324, 963, 1225; and *Eur. Heracl.* 500, and *I.A.* 1207. Apparently with very slight difference the poet may write *μόνην* δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε (*Aesch. Suppl.* 748) or *σχέε, μὴ με προλίπῃς* (*Eur. I.A.* 1467); and *μὴ λέγε* (don't say such a thing!) in *Eur. Ion* 341, or *μὴ λέξῃς* in *Heracl.* 548. The distinction can hardly be as great as the new canon demands; and it seems simpler to treat *μὴ πρόλειπε, μὴ λέγε* as conative and persuasive; *μὴ λέξῃς* and *μὴ προλίπῃς* as curt or excited.

On the other hand, though *μηκέτι* is found with both constructions, I have observed no instance (in Iambics) of *μὴ πέρα* with the present imperative: all are combined with the aorist subjunctive, viz. *Soph. Philoct.* 332 οἴμοι, φράσῃς μοι μὴ πέρα, πρὶν ἂν μάθω, and 1275 παῦε, μὴ λέξῃς πέρα, and *Eur. I.T.* 554 παῦσαί νυν ἦδη, μὴδ' ἐρωτήσῃς πέρα.

The same is true of *μήποτε*, e.g. *Soph. Elect.* 383

πρὸς ταῦτα φράζου καί με μήποθ' ὕστερον
 μέμψῃ'

and *Eur. I.T.* 706

καὶ μὴ προδῶς μου τὴν κασιγνήτην ποτέ.

In the case of *μήπω* there may be a difference between *Soph. O.T.* 740 *μήπω μ' ἐρώτα* 'ask me not yet as you are doing' (it might perfectly well mean 'don't be for asking yet') and *Eur. Ion* 766-770

KP. αἰαί, αἰαί'

διανταῖος ἔτυπεν ὀδύνα με πνευμόνων τῶνδ'
 ἔσω.

ΠA. μήπω στενάξῃς, KP. ἀλλὰ πάρεισι γόοι.

ΠA. πρὶν ἂν μάθωμεν . . .

Here the Paedagogus says: 'Don't cry—,' Creusa interrupts with 'But I am crying' and the Paedagogus finishes his sentence 'before we learn.' The futurity of *μήπω στενάξῃς* is made clear by *πρὶν ἂν μάθωμεν* (as in *Soph. Phil.* 332 quoted above) and on Mr. Headlam's theory *στενάξει* would be somewhat harsh. Still I should be better satisfied if *στενάξει* would have scanned.

On the other hand in *Soph. Ant.* 546

μή μοι θάνης σὺ κοινά, μὴδ' ἂ μὴ 'θιγες
 ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς

there is real point in the change from *θάνης* (future action) to *ποιοῦ* (cease claiming) and Mr. Headlam's canon is well illustrated. We may say the same of *Aesch. Eum.* 800

ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μὴδὲ τῆδε γῆ
 βαρὺν κότον σκήψητε, μὴδ' ἀκαρπῖαν
 τεύξῃτ',

but in *Aesch. Agam.* 919

καὶ τἄλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμέ
 ἄβρυνε, μὴδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
 χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,
 μὴδ' εἰμασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
 τίθει

the changes ἄβρυνε . . . προσχάνης . . . τίθει seem to have little or no purpose, any more than in *Eum.* 74 ὅμως δὲ φεύγε, μὴδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη . . . followed in 78 by καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε, and it is significant that no change could be made in any of the above without ruining the metre.

But in any case we must be grateful to Mr. Headlam for reminding us of the ambiguity involved in 'Don't do'; for there are many cases where his distinction is of importance, even granting that *μὴ ποίει* and *μὴ ποιήσῃς* were as ambiguous as is our own imperative. There is an instance, viz. *Soph. Philoct.* 574

ἂν λέγῃς δὲ μὴ φώνει μέγα

where Mr. Headlam's view seems to improve the sense. The prohibition *μὴ φώνει* is usually taken as referring to *φράσον τίς ἐστίν*, i.e. tell me who he is but whisper the name. One would rather expect ἂν εἴπῃς not λέγῃς, and it appears better to make *μὴ φώνει* look back to the whole conversation, i.e. don't speak so loudly every word you say, as you have been doing.

Conversely in *O.C.* 1159, Theseus says: τί δ' ἔστι σοι; Oedipus answers: μὴ μου δεηθῆς. To which Theseus replies: πράγματος ποίου; λέγε. The use of *μὴ* + aorist subjunctive is effective. Instead of saying

'cease asking me,' Oedipus, in deep emotion, is half-deaf to the question. Just as we say 'Don't ask me!' when we do not wish to hear something asked which is unwelcome to us. Thus Theseus' rejoinder 'don't ask you what?' gains in point.

Dr. Jackson has referred to Plato's *Apol.* 20 E. and 21 A. At first blush this passage was most convincing and I was for accepting Mr. Headlam's conclusion in every case. But even here *μὴ θορυβεῖτε* need not mean more than 'don't be for making a clamour.' The difference may be rather one of tone than of meaning, and a certain harshness in *ὑπὲρ λέγω* is avoided.

To sum up then: the distinction drawn by Hermann undoubtedly occurs, but it is not the only distinction. The present tense may, of course, imply an action still con-

tinued, e.g. *ποιεῖ* may equal 'he goes on doing it.' Therefore *μὴ ποίει* may, on occasion, signify, 'do not go on doing it,' i.e. 'cease doing it.' But we must not bind ourselves to one meaning of the present stem. 'I have shown that *μὴ ποίει* can also mean 'don't be for doing it' and that, in this sense; it need not refer to an act already begun.

Conversely there seem to be undoubted instances where *μὴ ποιήσης* does imply 'cease doing.'

Lastly the conative meaning explains equally well (sometimes better) passages which are regarded by Mr. Headlam as conclusively in his favour.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

ORMOND COLLEGE, MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY.
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GREEK PROHIBITIONS.

THE distinction discussed by Mr. Naylor, and so little known, ought to be called Hermann's. How I came by it I have mentioned; but I find that Hermann's tract which I lit upon by chance in Koen's *Greg. Cor.* p. 864 was printed afterwards in his *Opuscula*, i. p. 269. The statement is clear enough, as the following paragraphs will show:

Quamquam nuper, certe inter praesens atque aoristum, Buttmannus aliquid discriminis statuit. Nam quum ego in censura grammaticae ab ipso editae Graecos ostendissem imperativum praesentis de eo quod aliquam diu duraret, aoristi de eo quod cito perficeretur, usurpare, probavit ille hanc distinctionem in quarta quintaque editione, sed, quod factum nollem, sic simpliciter etiam ad vetandi formulas transtulit.¹ Nam sane quidem *μὴ βάλλε* dicendum erit, quum vetabis aliquem crebris ictibus ferire; *μὴ βάλλης* autem, quum uno ictu: sed est in hoc genere etiam aliud discrimen, quum qui vetat aut iubeat aliquem ab eo quod facit abstinere, aut moneat ne faciat quod velle facere videatur. Ac non potest obscurum esse utra vetandi formula utri rei conveniat. Quod apud Sophoclem est in *Aiace* 1150 *ἄνθρωπε, μὴ δρᾶ τοὺς τεθνηκότας κακῶς*, sic est dictum ut significetur *desine mortuos iniuria afficere*. Si dixisset *ἄνθρωπε, τὸν θανόντα μὴ*

δράσης κακῶς, *moneretur Menelaus ne vellet iniquus in Aiace esse*.

Then, after collecting examples from Homer:

Prævideo quidem fore qui exempla quæ utramque interpretationem confirmant nihil probare dicant. His respondeo, primum, quæ propria sit imperativi praesentis significatio ex maiore tamen numero exemplorum colligi: ideoque exemplis usus sum unius scriptoris, et quidem eius quem ceteri fere sequi solent; deinde quoniam, sive omissio sive non inceptio imperetur, futurum tempus respicitur, fieri non potuisse quin tam exiguum discrimen saepe negligeretur.

And his conclusion is:

Iam igitur sic erit de omni ista vetandi ratione statuendum: *μὴ* cum imperativo praesentis proprie de omittendo eo quod quis iam faciat intelligi, sed saepius tamen etiam ad ea trahi quæ quis nondum facere aggressus sit; aoristi autem imperativum tantummodo de non incipiendo usurpari, in quo quidem genere coniunctivum aoristi Graecos praetulisse; idque Atticis maxime, ut dubitantius loqui amantibus, ita placuisse ut apud hos rarissime imperativus aoristi inveniatur (such as *μὴ ψεύσον*).

Ellendt *Lex. Sophocl.* s.v. *μὴ* p. 442^b says *Quorum modorum qua ratione significatus*

¹ As Mr. Naylor is disposed to do.

differat, aperuit Herm. p. 269 opusc. vol. i, expliuit Frank. copiose diss. de partic. negant. p. 28 sqq. idemque, etiamsi secus videatur, haud facile discrimen negligi docuit.

The latter I have not yet seen.

Mr. Naylor has collected from Tragedy the examples which appear to him to be in conflict with this canon. But he has not stated the number of examples where no objection to it can be found. Now the occurrences of μή prohibitive in Aeschylus and Sophocles are catalogued in the lexicons of Dindorf and Ellendt, and can readily be tested. In the complete plays the number of prohibitions in the second person is

		pres. imper.	aor. subj.
Aeschylus	43	39
Sophocles	59	69

altogether 210 in 14 plays. If we allow the same proportion to the 18 plays of Euripides, the total number in the complete plays of the Tragedians will be 480. Among so many it is not surprising that there should be some real or seeming abnormalities; but if among so many the refractory cases discoverable are so few, might they not almost be looked upon as those exceptions which, according to the proverb, prove a rule?

Since I was made aware of this distinction I have chanced to read not only Tragedy but almost the whole of Greek literature; and the result of that reiterated impression has been to assure me absolutely that the distinction is true in the vast majority of cases; and I do not see how any one who will go through the examples even in one author consecutively can doubt that the distinction holds in usage. But he must not concentrate solely upon a collection of abnormal cases, or his view will be distorted. That is why it is a mistake to teach Greek out of grammars, because inevitably they give far more prominence to abnormalities than to the rule itself. Some one might do worse than make a systematic table of the examples in authors containing the most dialogue, as the Tragic and Comic Dramatists, Homer, Plato, Xenophon and Lucian: the mechanical labour would not be great, and I have seen many a dissertation in which the result was not more useful. Only he should on no account omit to state the number, with the references, of those cases where the distinction holds.

Where it holds in usage, whatever the

origin may be; because for understanding the effect of literature it is the usage, not its origin, that matters. Mr. Naylor may be quite right in claiming a 'conative' sense for the present imperative, negative as well as positive, but for my purpose it appears to me to matter very little. He would explain the cases cited of μή κτείνε (it makes no difference whether they are metaphorical or not), μή θνήσκε as 'do not be for killing' or 'dying': very possibly; but in usage they imply 'do not seek as you are doing,' 'abandon your intention,' *desine velle mori*.

Of course his theory might account for cases where μή with the present does not refer to what is being done already.

It is no doubt true, and must be remembered, that often it matters very little whether you say μή ποιήσης 'take care you don't do so' or μή ποίει: but the appropriate distinction is observed, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, always, I believe, when it is necessary to the meaning. My statement of it was made for the sake of dealing with two passages, in a paper where I had many other things to say and no room to mention even the qualifications that were in my mind; and there are still cases which I am not prepared at present to account for by more than tentative explanations. And the rule itself was somewhat clumsily expressed. It will be more safely stated thus:

When the meaning is *Do not as you are doing, Do not continue doing so*, and this meaning is to be conveyed by the verb alone and unassisted, then μή must be followed by the present imperative.

When the meaning is *Beware of doing this in future time*, and this meaning is to be conveyed by the verb alone, then μή must be followed by the aorist subjunctive.

I do not say that μή ποίει or μή λέγε always mean *Do not thus any longer*; but that to express that meaning by the verb alone you must use μή ποίει or μή λέγε: though the same meaning may be conveyed by μή δράσης εἶ or μή εἴπης πέρα.

But μή εἴπης or μή δράσης always, I believe, mean *I warn you against doing this, I beseech you will not*; though this is sometimes used when the thing is being done; notably in certain cases which may be called colloquial or idiomatic, with an effect of impatience, μή φροντίσης *Oh, never mind!* μή δείσης *Never fear!* μή θαυμάσης *You mustn't be surprised*.

To illustrate this I will first take cases where the prohibition elicits the retort 'I am not doing so':

Theocr. x. 20 (in answer to a mock)

BOY. . . . μῆδὲν μέγα μῦθεῖν
(v.l. μὴ δὴ μ. μ. 'so don't boast')

ΜΙΑ. οὐ μέγα μῦθεῖμαι.

Theocr. v. 30

KOM. . . . τυῖδ' ὁ τράγος οὗτος· ἔρισδε.

ΛΑΚ. μὴ σπεύδε . . .

KOM. ἀλλ' οὐ τι σπεύδω.

Soph. *El.* 394

XP. ἀλλ' ἦν ἄν, εἰ σύ γ' εὖ φρονεῖν ἠπίστασο.

ΗΛ. μὴ μ' ἐκδίδασκε τοῖς φίλοις εἶναι κακῆν.

XP. ἀλλ' οὐ διδάσκω· τοῖς κρατοῦσι δ' εἰκαθεῖν.

There is no case known to me where such a rejoinder is elicited by *μῆ* with the aorist subjunctive; and until such case can be produced I shall believe the reason to be that only *μῆ* with the present imperative could elicit it; the response to *μῆ* διδάξῃς would have been οὐ διδάξω: Plat. *Protag.* 320c 'μὴ φθονήσῃς ἀλλ' ἐπίδειξον.' 'ἀλλ' οὐ φθονήσω.' 'I hope you won't.' 'Well, I will not.' In *Eur. fr.* 136

ἀλλ' ὦ θεῶν τύρανε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρωσ,
ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλά,
ἢ τοῖς ἐρώσιν, ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ
μοχθοῦσι μόχθους, εὐτυχῶς συνεκπῶναι

it was essential that the meaning should be 'Either give up teaching what you do teach, or else lend aid to those who suffer from your work!' There is nothing to convey that but the verb alone; and we have the pres. imperative: because *μῆ* διδάξῃς would have meant 'I pray you will not.'

The other examples that I find of *μῆ* δίδασκε are *O.C.* 654 OI. ὄρα με λείπων—ΘΗ. μὴ δίδασχ' ἂ χρῆ με δρᾶν. *O.T.* 1370 ὡς μὲν . . . μὴ μ' ἐκδίδασκε μῆδὲ συμβούλευ' ἔτι. *El.* 1289 καὶ μῆτε μῆτηρ ὡς κακὴ δίδασκέ με. *Ar.* *Ran.* 830, *Av.* 1436 μὴ νουθέτει. *Plaut.* *Pers.* 677 *ne doce.* All these mean 'You need not teach me thus.'

In *Tro.* 460 χαῖρέ μοι, μῆτερ, δακρύσῃς μῆδὲν is 'I pray you will not weep': but 'do not weep so,' 'dry your tears' is *μῆ* κλαῖε, *Ar. fr.* 135, *Babr.* 78. 2, *A.P.* v. 43 ἐκμαζαι, μὴ κλαίε, *Plaut. ne fle.* *Pers.* 656 *ne sis plora.* *Ter. Heaut.* 84 *ne lacruma, ne retice, ne verere.* *Ajaz* 579 μῆδὲ δάκρυε.

Here are the examples in Aristophanes of *μῆ* ποίει and *μῆ* ποιήσῃς: *Pax.* 979 νῆ Δία, καὶ μὴ ποίει γ' ἄπερ αἱ . . . κάκειναι γὰρ . . . τοῦτων σὺ ποίει μῆδὲν ἔθ' ἡμᾶς. It is evident that here the meaning is 'do so no more,' Now the aor. subj.: *Av.* 133 καὶ μῆδαμῶς

ἄλλως ποιήσῃς· εἰ δὲ μῆ, μῆ μοι τότε γ' ἔλθῃς, ὅταν ἐγὼ πράττω κακῶς. Here it is equally evident that the meaning is 'take care you don't.' And in *Eccles.* 562 μῆδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τουτὶ ποιήσῃς, μῆδ' ἀφέλη μου τὸν βίον. 'I pray you will not.' And in *Ran.* 7-16 'ἐκεῖν' ὅπως μὴ ρεῖς . . . 'τί δῆτ' ἔδει με . . . εἴπερ ποιήσω μῆδὲν . . .'; 'μῆ νυν ποιήσῃς,' 'I won't have you do it,' 'Mind you don't.' —*μῆ* ποίει is the normal answer to *ποιῶ*, as *Hdt.* 3. 140 'ἀνθ' ὧν τοι χρυσὸν δίδωμι,' 'ἐμοὶ μῆτε χρυσὸν δίδου . . .'. *Lucian* i. 747 'ὡς ἐγωγε καὶ πάνν ὀκνεῖ,' 'ἀλλὰ μὴ ὀκνεῖ,' *Plat. Ker.* 450b 'ὅκνος τις αὐτῶν ἄπτεσθαι' 'μῆδὲν ὀκνεῖ.' But *μῆ* ποιήσῃς το ποιήσω: *Lys.* 1036 'καὶ φιλήσω.' 'μῆ φιλήσῃς.' So in *Lucian's Timon* i. p. 146 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτίκα βέβλων τοῖς λίθοις συντρήσω. *EPH.* μῆδαμῶς, ὦ Τίμων, μὴ βάλῃς. Whereas p. 175 ὥστε τί οὐ λίθοις ξυμφορήσας ἐπιχαλαζῶ πόρρωθεν αὐτοῦς; *BAE.* μὴ βάλλε, ὦ Τίμων, ἄπιμεν γάρ. *TIM.* ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναμιωτί γε ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ἄνευ τραυμάτων he is already executing his intention.

Next I will quote places where something that a person is about to say is prevented by the other interrupting him with *Do not say, Beware of saying* :

Plat. Gorg. 321b *ΚΑΛ.* ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτά γε ποιήσεις—*ΣΩ.* μὴ εἴπῃς ὁ πολλάκις εἶρηκας, ὅτι ἀποκτενεῖ μὲ ὁ βουλόμενος.

Achill. Tat. viii. 6 'εἰ δὲ μῆ, αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴσθε οἷα εἰκὸς ἐν τοσαύταις αὐτῆν ἐπιβουλαῖς γενόμενῃν ἄκουσαν—' καὶ εὐθύς ἡ Δευκίππη, πρὶν τὸν ἱερέα εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον, 'μῆδὲ εἴπῃς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐτοίμη εἰς τὸ τῆς σὺργυγος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ χωρὶς προκλήσεως κατακεκλεισθαι.'

Lucian iii. 530 *ΜΩΜ.* ἀκούσατε δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλους. *ZEYΣ.* μῆδὲν, ὦ Μῶμε, εἴπῃς μῆτε περὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ μῆτε περὶ Ἡρακλέους· ὀρῶ γὰρ οἱ φέρῃ τῷ λόγῳ. οὗτοι γάρ, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱάται . . . , ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς οὐκ ὀλίγων πόνων ἐπρίατο τὴν ἀθανασίαν· ὥστε μὴ κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν 'so drop your charge against them.'

ib. 532 *ΜΩΜ.* ὥστε ταῦτα μὲν ἔασιν μοι δοκῶ μακρὸν γὰρ ἂν τὸ διελέγχειν γένοιτο. *ZEYΣ.* (forestalling him in anticipation) μῆδὲν περὶ τοῦ Γανυμήδους, ὦ Μῶμε, εἴπῃς· χαλεπανῶ γὰρ εἰ λυπήσεις τὸ μειράκιον ὄνειδίσας ἐς τὸ γένος 'I warn you not to say anything; for I shall be angry if you do.'¹

¹ In *Eccles.* 1064 N. καταστήσω. Γ. μὴ μοι καθίστη the pres. imper. is used because it was established with the phrase *μῆ μοι* (equivalent in effect to 'But me no buts!'). In *Nub.* 432 we have the pres. inf., *μῆ μοι γε λέγειν γνώμας μεγάλας*, literally 'No, please no speaking!'

Soph. *Aj.* 384

AI. ἴδοιμι μὴν νῦν, καίπερ ὄδ' ἀτόμενος,

ἰὼ μοί μοι

XO. μηδὲν μέγ' εἶπης· οὐχ ὄρα's ἴν' εἰ κακοῦ;

Ajax' prayer is incomplete in any case, whether what he would have said is 'But only let me see him, although I am so marred,—and I will slay him' or 'But let me see him dying at my hands!' as they so often said ἴδοιμί (or ἐπίδοιμί) τινα κακόν τι (or ἀγαθόν τι) πάσχοντα. It is to warn him, I think, against completing it that they say, 'Take care you do not boast.'

μηδὲν μέγ' αὐτοῦ in Soph. *El.* 831 is not, as I said it was, an interruption, but it is a warning:

XO. ὦ παῖ, τί δακρύεις;

ΗΛ. φεῦ.

XO. μηδὲν μέγ' αὐτοῦ—

ΗΛ. ἀπολείς.

XO. πῶς;

ΗΛ. εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς Ἄϊδαν
ἐλπίδι' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπεμβά-
σεις.

Electra sees that they are going to suggest some ground of hope, and she anticipates it from their phrase; they mean μήπω μέγ' εἶπης (Plat. *Sophist.* 238 A), and were about to add πρὶν 'before you are assured of the event'¹; as in Soph. *fr.* 601 μηδὲν μέγ' εἶπης πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἴδης.—The aor. subj. is natural and usual in such cases; e.g. Eur. *Ion* 768 μήπω στενάξῃς . . . πρὶν ἂν μάθωμεν (where Mr. Naylor unnecessarily desiderates the present), Hes. *Op.* μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης, Lucian i. 261, 266, 458 (to be quoted later). Though you could use the pres. imper. in checking an action that has been begun already: *Pax* 82 ἤσυχος ἤσυχος, ἡρέμα, κἀνθων' μὴ μοι σοβαρώς χῶρει λίαν εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, πρὶν ἂν ἴδῃς καὶ διαλύσης ἄρθρων ἴνας. *Vesp.* 919 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκ', ὦ πάτερ, πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσης ἀμφοτέρων.

But 'Oh, don't boast so!' is ἄ μὴ μέγα λέγε: *Hipp. Maj.* 295 A III. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι . . . ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὸ ἂν εἶποιμι τῆς πάσης ἀκριβείας. ΣΩ. ἄ μὴ μέγα, ὦ Ἰππία, λέγε. *Phaedo* 95 B ὠγαθέ, μὴ μέγα λέγε. *Ran.* 835 ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν, μὴ μέγα λίσαν λέγε (used so in quotation by Lucian iii. 613). *Plut.* 127 ἄ μὴ λέγ', ὦ πονηρέ, ταῦτα. *Philoct.* 898 μὴ λέγε τάδε. *Ant.* 567 'ἦδε' μὴ λέγε. *Ajax* 368 μὴ αὐδα τάδε. *Ion* 351 μὴ

λέγε. Theocr. xv. 11 μὴ λέγε τοιαῦτα. Lucian i. 275. παῦε παῦε, μὴ λέγε. *Vesp.* 637, *Pax* 648.

There is one class which an objector could not fail to quote against me, and from which Mr. Naylor has quoted one or two examples, as *Hec.* 1184 and *Agam.* 919. In this class there are two clauses or more, and the latter clauses vary the construction though you would expect them to continue with the same. But it is to be remarked that the tense is normal in the first clause; this, I take it, was considered sufficient to define the application to what is being done.

Examples are *Hec.* 1184 μηδὲν θρασύνου, μηδέ . . . πᾶν μέμψη γένος. *Agam.* 1463 μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπέουχο, μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψῃς. *Agam.* 909 καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ . . . ἐμὲ ἄβρυνε, μηδέ . . . προσχάνῃς ἐμοί, μηδέ . . . ἐπίφθονον πόνον τίθει. In *Eum.* 800 (quoted by Mr. Naylor in Weil's conjectural transposition of the words) the strict distinction may be argued for; and so it may be in the following: *Philoct.* 1400 καὶ μὴ βράδυνε, μηδ' ἐπιμνησθῆς ἐτι Τροίας. *Nub.* 1478 μηδαμῶς θύμαινέ μοι, μηδέ μ' ἐπιτρέψῃς. *Eg.* 860 μὴ τοῦ λέγοντος ἴσθι, μηδ' οἰηθῆς ἐμοῦ φίλον βέλτιον εὔρειν. But they betray, I think, a tendency to lapse into the aor. subj.

In all cases it is most important, I consider, to observe whether the meaning has been defined by a previous clause. Thus in *Lysist.* 590 σίγα, μὴ μνησικακίσης. *Nub.* 105 ἦ ἦ, σιώπα· μηδὲν εἶπης νήπιον. 833 εὐστόμει, καὶ μηδὲν εἶπης φλαυρὸν ἀνδρας δεξιούς, the second clause is in the form of a general commandment. Mr. Naylor brings against me *P.V.* 833 τοῦτος σὺ μὴ πέλαζε, which of course does not refer to what is being done. It is among the last of a long series of injunctions for the future, and the hearer could not misinterpret it. But it might also be defended on the ground that this prophecy which Prometheus gives to Io is an oracle (in which we have the oracular οὐς φυλάξασθαί σε χρή 741, and γρῦπας φύλαξαι 830). Oracles by tradition had the nature of general commandments, in which usage permitted all three forms, μὴ κλέπτε, μὴ κλέπτει, μὴ κλέψῃς: and all three are found in this oracle delivered by Prometheus; 744 ὄν μὴ περάσης, 738 οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, and 833 τοῦτος σὺ μὴ πέλαζε.

Mr. Naylor finds an instance of my view in *Philoct.* 573 τόνδε μοι πρῶτον φράσον τίς ἐστίν· ἂν λέγῃς δὲ μὴ φώνε μέγα. I should rather call it a general instruction marked by ἂν λέγῃς: 'in whatever you say, let there be no loudness of tone.' So Eur. *Hel.* 1259 διδοῦς γε μὲν δὴ δυσγενές· μηδὲν δίδου becomes a general instruction by the addition

¹ Aesch. *Cho.* 772

ΤΡΟΦ. καὶ πῶς; Ὁρέστης ἐλπὶς οἴχεται δόμων.

XO. οὐπω· κακὸς γε μάντις ἂν γνοίη τάδε.

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of διδούς, equivalent to ὄσ' ἂν διδῶς or ὅταν διδῶς: 'When giving, however, let there be no meanness in the gift.' Compare *Theb.* 467 κόμπα' ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μηδέ μοι φθόνει λέγων, *Plat. Legg.* 811c λέγε καὶ μηδὲν ἀπόκει λέγων. Or we might say that δυσγενὲς μηδὲν δίδου is merely δίδου μηδὲν δυσγενές, comparing *Ar. Eq.* 387 ἀλλ' ἐπιθι καὶ ἰστροβεί, μηδὲν δλίγον ποίει. But in all these cases the reference to the future could not be mistaken. Nor could it in *Theb.* 228 μὴ νυν, ἔαν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρομένους πύθῃσθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε, or in *Eq.* 580 ἦν ποτ' εἰρήνη γενήται καὶ πόνων παυσώμεθα, μὴ φθονεῖθ' ἡμῖν κομῶσι: in both these the reference to a future time has been sufficiently indicated by the previous clause.

The effect upon my mind of the reiterated impression I have spoken of it is impossible for me to impart to others; but meantime I have thought to try the experiment of taking from a few lively dialogues of Lucian, the Θεῶν διάλογοι, the Ἐνάλιοι, the Νεκρικοί, and the Μένιππος, all the cases of μὴ in prohibition with the second person and submitting them to the candid witness of the eye:

PRESENT IMPERATIVE.

i. 206 EP. εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις ἐπέραστος εἶναι, μὴ ἐπίσειε τὴν αἰγίδα, μηδὲ τὸν κεραυτὸν φέρε. . . ZEYΣ. ἄπαγε οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην ἐπέραστος εἶναι τοιοῦτος γενόμενος. EP. οὐκοῦν, ὦ Ζεῦ, μηδὲ ἐρᾶν θέλε.

211 θάρρει μόνον καὶ φαιδρὸς ἴσθι καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιπόθει τῶν κάτω.

214 HPA. τῷ μαλθακῷ τούτῳ Φρυγὶ οὕτως ἐκτεθλυμένω. ZEYΣ. μὴ μοι λουδοροῦ, ὦ γενναιοτάτῃ, τοῖς παιδικοῖς. So *Achill. Tat.* ii. 25 μὴ λουδορεῖ μου, μῆτερ. τὴν παρθενίαν. *Plat. Gorg.* 467 B ΠΩΛ. σχέτλια λέγεις καὶ ὑπερφυῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες. ΣΩ. μὴ κατηγορεῖ, ὦ λῦστε Πῶλε.

216 τί τοῦτο; δακρύεις; μὴ δέδιθι. So 258 ἀλλὰ τί τρέμεις καὶ ὠχρίας; μὴ δέδιθι χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὐδέν. 548 A, δέδια. . . E, μὴ δέδιθι. *Vesp.* 373. *Ran.* 1109 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο καταφεισθον, μηδὲν ὀρρωδεῖτε τοῦτο. Of course δέδια and κέκραγα were treated as a present tense; so we have μὴ κέκραχθι i. 169, μὴ κεκράγατε *Vesp.* 415, μὴ βοᾶτε 336, 371, *Av.* 1504, *Ter. Phorm.* 664 ne clama.

227 μὴ ἐνόχλει, φημί 'Don't bother, I say!' So i. 147 οὐδὲν ὑμῶν δέομαι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖτέ μοι. 425 μὴ ἐνόχλει οὖν 'Don't bother, then.'

234 EPΩΣ. καίτοι τί ἐγὼ ἀδικῶ δεικνύς τὰ καλὰ οἶά ἐστιν; ὑμεῖς γε μὴν ἐφίεσθε τῶν καλῶν μὴ τοῖνυν ἐμὲ αἰτιάσθε τούτων.

238 παύσασθε, φημί, καὶ μὴ ἐπιταράττετε ἡμῖν τὴν συνουσίαν. He has told them before to stop their disturbance, p. 235.

240 AP. Ἄρά σοι ἀλόγως λελυτῆσθαι δοκῶ; EP. ναί, ὦ Ἀπολλων ἦδεις γὰρ θνητὸν πεποιημένος τὸν ἐρώμενον ὥστε μὴ ἄχθου ἀποθανόντος.

225 AFP. ὄρας; οὐδὲν ἐγὼ μέφομαι οὐδὲ ἐγκαλῶ τὸ πρὸς ταύτην ἰδίᾳ λαλεῖν μεμιμνῶρον γὰρ καὶ οὐκ Ἀφροδίτης τὰ τοιαῦτα. This is in the Judgment: Aphrodite says 'I am not complaining at all of your talking to Athena privately!' But of course the tone she says it in shows that she is complaining; so Paris answers, καὶ αὕτη σχεδὸν ταῦτά με ἤρετο διὸ μὴ χαλεπὸς ἔχε μὴδ' οἷον μειονεκτεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ταύτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἀπεκρινάμην. So 278 HA. ἤμαρτον, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ χαλέπαυε. *Ran.* 1020 λέξον, μηδὲ χαλέπαυε.

275 EP. ἔστι γὰρ τις, ὦ μῆτερ, ἐν οὐρανῷ θεὸς ἀθλιώτερος ἐμοῦ; MAI. μὴ λέγε, ὦ Ἐρμῆ, τοιοῦτον μηδέν.

288 ΓΑΛ. (in reply to a jest) μὴ σκῶπτε, Δωρί. So *Ran.* 58, *Nub.* 1267, *Eccles.* 1005, 1074.

295 AΛΦ. (in reply) ἐρωτικὸν τι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστίν, ὦ Πόσειδον, ὥστε μὴ ἔλεγχε.

316 στήθι, ὦ νῆσε, καὶ ἀνάδυσθι αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ μῆκετι ὑποφέρου 'be no longer submerged.'

335 ΔΙ. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοῖς σοῖς ταῦτα, εἰ δοκεῖ, παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιτίμησον λέγων ἐκκλεῦσθαι αὐτούς. ΠΟΛ. μηδέ, ὦ Διόγενες, περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγε.

367 EPM. καὶ σὺ δέ, τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποθέμενος καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν δὲ προσέτι, μηδὲ τὰ ἐντάφια κόμιζε. . . μηδὲ ὅτι μέγαν τάφον ἐπὶ σοι ἔχωσαν λέγε βαρύνει γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα μνημονεύμενα. The point of this passage is that the dead are to abandon what they bring with them.

AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.

i. 205 Prometheus warning Zeus: μηδέ, ὦ Ζεῦ, κοινωνήσης τῇ Νηρηίδι ἦν γὰρ αὕτη κνοφορήση ἐκ σοῦ, τὸ τεχθέν ἴσα ἐργάσεται σε οἶα καὶ σὺ ἔδρασας.

229 Hermes warning Helios: ὦ Ἥλιε, μὴ ἐλάσης τῆμερον, ὁ Ζεὺς φησι, μηδὲ αὔριον μηδὲ ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν.

261 ΠΑΡ. ἀποδύθι καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ἀφροδίτη. ΑΘ. (interrupting to prevent it) μὴ πρότερον ἀποδύσῃς αὐτήν, ὦ Πάρι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν κεστὸν ἀποθήῃται.

458 ΜΕΝ. ἔδοξε δὴ τοὺς πλουσίους τούτους καὶ τὸ χρυσίον κατακλείστον φυλάττοντας—ΦΙΛ. (interrupting) μὴ πρότερον εἴπῃς, ὦγαθέ, τὰ δεδογμένα, πρὶν ἐκεῖνα διελεθῆναι . . .

266 ΠΑΡ. . . . πλὴν ἐρῶ γε ἡδὴ τῆς Ἑλένης . . . ΑΦ. μὴ πρότερον ἐρασθῆς, ὦ Πάρι, πρὶν ξέμε . . . ἀμείψασθαι. Here we might have had the present tense; but as I have already pointed out, the aorist is usual in warnings followed by πρὶν.

485 μηδαμῶς, ὦ πατέριον, ἀλλ' εἰπέ καὶ μὴ περιμῆδης με σοῦ τυφλότερον περιϋόντα.

472 τίνες οὗτοι, πρὸς Διός; μὴ γὰρ ὀκνήσῃς καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. 'I trust you will not hesitate.' So iii. 255 τίς αὐτῆ; μὴ γὰρ ὀκνήσῃς εἰπεῖν. ii. 631 ἐρήσομαι σε· σὺ δὲ μὴ ὀκνήσῃς ἀποκρίνασθαι.

458 Μ. ἀλλ' οὐ θέμις ἐκφέρειν αὐτά . . . Φ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ Μένιππε, πρὸς τοῦ Διός, μὴ φθονήσῃς τῶν λόγων φίλων ἀνδρῶν· πρὸς γὰρ εἰδότα σιωπᾶν ἐρεῖς. 'I beg you will not grudge'; though he might have said μὴ φθόνει.

308 μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Πόσειδον, εἰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὖ ποιοῦμεν . . .

457 ΦΙΛ. οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἡ παραπαίεις; . . . ΜΕΝ. μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ εἰταῖρε.

298 Μ. τοῦτο πάνυ θαυμάζω καὶ ἀπιστῶ. Π. μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Μένελαε.

These three examples of μὴ θαυμάσῃς are abnormal, especially the last. The normal answer to θαυμάζω is Plat. *Symp.* 205 B 'θαυμάζω καὶ αὐτός.' 'ἀλλὰ μὴ θαύμαζε.' *Legg.* 637 C ἐρεῖ θαυμάζοντι ξένω 'μὴ θαύμαζε, ὦ ξένε.' *Oratio* 50 C εἰ οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν 'μὴ θαύμαζε.' But we find μὴ θαυμάσῃς in answer to a surprised exclamation in *Legg.* 804 B and no doubt elsewhere. It is a phrase belonging to a class of which I have already spoken as colloquial. Properly the meaning is 'You must not be surprised' or 'alarmed,' or 'I beseech you will not': it is not difficult to see how such an expression might come to be used a little loosely much as we use 'Never fear!' and 'Never mind!' At any rate, besides μὴ νυν τουτογι φροντίζετε *Nub.* 189 and μὴ φροντίζε μηδέν *Plut.* 215 we have μὴ φροντίσῃς *Philoc.* 1404, *Vesp.* 25, 228, 998, *Lys.* 915, *Thesm.* 233, 247, *Eccl.* 547, *Eq.* 1356, *Alexis fr.*

124 προσκέκαυκε. Β. μηδὲν φροντίσῃς· ἰάσιμον γὰρ ἔστιν. In *Vesp.* 998 *Bdelycleon* says μὴ φροντίσῃς, ἀλλ' ἀνίστασο, and then, upon *Philocleon's* fretting, καὶ μηδὲν ἀγανάκτει γε 'and don't fret so.' And besides θάρρει, μὴ φοβοῦ in *Plut.* 1091 we have θάρρει, μὴ δέισῃς, *Eccl.* 621, cf. 586, *Vesp.* 387 οὐδὲν πείσει μηδὲν δέισῃς and doubtless others, including ζῆ, μὴ τρέσῃς τόδε in *Phoen.* 1074, which however is a second clause.

There are a few examples with other words of which I should give the same account: *Theocr.* xv. 35 μὴ μνάσῃς 'Oh, don't remind me of it!' 'Please don't speak of it!' where μὴ μίμνασκε would be normal. *Achill.* *Tat.* ii. 6 'χαῖρε,' ἔφην, 'δέσπονα.' 'Ἐγὼ σή; μὴ τοῦτ' εἴπῃς;' 'I your mistress? You mustn't say that.' This is just like Mr. Naylor's examples, *Androm.* 88 οὐ δῆτα· μηδὲν τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσῃς ἐμοί 'No! I hope you will not bring that charge against me.' *Heracl.* 547 οὐκ ἂν θάνοιμι τῇ τύχῃ λαχοῦσ' ἐγώ· χάρις γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι μὴ λέξῃς, γέρον 'I cannot do so; never speak of it.' In these last three a denial has preceded.

In Plat. *Clit.* 409 A εἶπέ μοι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ δικαιοσύνην. εἰπόντος δ' ἐμοῦ 'μὴ μοι τὸ ὄνομα μόνον εἴπῃς, ἀλλ' ὧδε' the meaning is 'I don't want you to tell me merely the name, but . . .' There is a similar sentence in *Rep.* 367 B.

One of the passages I was dealing with originally is *Herodas iv.* 52 μὴ πάνθ' ἐτοίμως καρδίη . . . *Κυννοῦ*, where Prof. Buecheler has favoured καρδίη βάλοι, which is by no means suitable, Prof. Blass καρδίη βάλῃ; and I maintain that we require the pres. indic., because the sense is 'do not thus (as you are doing).' This limits us to καρδίη βάλλεν or, as I prefer, Mr. Paton's compound καρδιηβολεῦ; a verb recorded by *Hesych.* καρδιοβολεῖσθαι: λυπεῖσθαι—for it is of course the same verb whether formed in ο or η; see *Lobeck Phryn.* p. 634 sqq. Thus the phrase is equivalent to μὴ ἐπὶ παντὶ λυποῦ, an ancient maxim of the Sages, attributed to *Periander*. πάντα is adverbial; cf. *Hdt.* iii. 36 ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίη καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε (as vii. 18 οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἶκεν), *Soph.* *O.T.* 1522 πάντα μὴ βούλου κρατεῖν, *A.P.* xi. 326 μὴ πάντα βαρὺς θέλε μηδὲ βάνανσος εἶναι, 329 μὴ πάντα κάτω βλέπε, *Lucian i.* 624 μὴ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὦ Ἐρμῆ, χρῶ τῇ κλεπτικῇ. *Menand.* 533 ἀπολεῖ με τὸ γένος. μὴ λέγ', εἰ φιλεῖς ἐμέ, μῆτερ, ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τὸ γένος. It will be observed in all these cases, whether they are merely general injunction or refer besides to what is being done, that μὴ πάντα

or its equivalent is followed by the present imperative.

The other examples in Herodas are

- vi. 37 μὴ δὴ Κοριττοὶ τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ ῥινὸς
ἔχ' εὐθύς, ἦν τι . . .
iii. 58 μὴ "λασσον αὐτῷ—Δ. Μητροτίμη, μὴ
πεύχοο
i. 17 . . . καὶ μὴ τοῦ χρόνου καταψεύδεο

In all these the meaning is 'Don't do so.' Nor is there any reason why it should not be in

- ii. 66 δείξον σεωυτὸν πᾶσι μηδὲν αἰσχύνει

In the following the aor. subj. has its proper sense :

- iii. 86 μὴ με, λίσσομαι, κτείνης
iv. 93 καὶ ἐπὶ μὴ λάθῃ 'and take care
you don't forget.'
v. 12 ἦν μὴ . . . θῶ, μᾶ, μὴ με θῆς γυναικ'
εἶναι.
vi. 17 λίσσομαι σε, μὴ ψεύσῃ
46 ἐνεύχομαι . . . μὴ μ' ἐπιψεύσῃ(s)
86 μηδὲ τοῦτό με ψεύσῃ(s)
vii. 65 μὴ . . . τρέψῃς
114 μῆτε προσθῆς μῆτ' ἀπ' οὖν ἔλῃς
μηδέν.

In v. 52 βιάδιζε καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλῃς αὐτὸν ἄγ' ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐθείαν the meaning is defined by the previous clause βιάδιζε. And perhaps the μὴ was felt to cohere closely

with τὰ Μικκάλῃς, as though the sentence were καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλῃς ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐθείαν ἄγε. Compare *Her.* 346 A ἐπεὶ τοσόνδε εἶπέ· καὶ μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἀποκρίνον (*Agam.* 922 καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπέ μὴ παρὰ γνώμην). 328 B ἀλλὰ μένετε καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιεῖτε, *ib.* 338 A, 369 B; *Eur. Hel.* 1259 δυσγενὲς μηδὲν δίδου and those I have classed with it.

In i. 74 σὺ δ' αὖτις ἔς με μηδὲ ἔν, φίλη, τοῖον φέρονσα χώρει the meaning is defined by the addition of αὖτις, 'come not so again'; and the suggestion made on the last example might apply to this.

In ii. 92 τὸ λοιπόν, ἄνδρες, μὴ δοκεῖτε τὴν ψήφον . . . φέρειν I am not clear whether τὸ λοιπόν means 'for the future' or 'for the rest.' In any case I fancy that μὴ δόκει was used in a somewhat exceptional way where one might have expected μὴ δόξῃς.

I hope the examples I have quoted are enough to show that there was ground for asserting this distinction; indeed Mr. Naylor himself, with reservations, is convinced of it. If he or others will bring forward more deviations from the general rule, we shall be able to pronounce more certainly upon the influences, often delicate and subtle, that account for them.

W. HEADLAM.

MODERN GREEK AS A HELP FOR OLD GREEK.

In a little pamphlet which I published last year I pointed out a few passages from the New Testament, the true meaning of which, but for the help of modern Greek, could hardly have been established (*Jn.* x. 24; *Mk.* ii. 7; vi. 21; vii. 19; ix. 39; x. 23; xii. 1; *Mtt.* xii. 44). And I will now show a similar case out of a classical text, viz. : *Eurip. Cycl.* 694

κακῶς γὰρ ἂν Τροίαν γε διεπυρώσαμεν
εἰ μὴ σ' ἑταίρων φόνον ἐτιμωρησάμεν.

In this passage, κακῶς, taken in any of its ordinary meanings, hardly suits the context; and therefore Kirchhoff suggested καλῶς in its stead, a change which Paley was inclined to approve of. Cobet, again, suggested ἄλλως = 'vainly, to no purpose,' and this is undoubtedly the sense which the context requires. But κακῶς must have also possessed the sense of ἄλλως, because the word in this sense is still

preserved in modern Greek under the form τοῦ κάκου (see *Vlachos, Δεξ.* 'Ελληνογαλλικόν, v. κακόν. 'τοῦ κάκου, en vain; en pure perte'). The genitive in Romaic sometimes meaning *the manner* in the same way as adverbs in ὡς do in old Greek (see *Jannaris's Hist. Gr. Gr.* § 1343), τοῦ κάκου = κακῶς.

ALEX. PALLIS.

Another coincidence between ancient and modern Greek may be mentioned. The Attic calendar, for the fourth in each section of the month, used not τετάρτη but τετράς (τετράδι, τετράδι ὑστέρα, τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδας). The modern word for Wednesday, the fourth day of the week, is identical, but it is usually spelt τετράδη. Τετάρτη may also be heard, but it is not the natural expression.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

NOTE ON THE MESSIANIC CHARACTER OF THE FOURTH ECLOGUE.

READERS of Virgil are perhaps not commonly readers of Josephus. But I think that in Josephus is to be sought the explanation of the 'Messianic' character of the Fourth Eclogue. The year 40 B.C. was the year of the Consulship of Pollio, and it was also the year in which, on the advice of Antony, Herod, the son of Antipater, was given the throne of Jerusalem. Octavian, also, was anxious to forward this arrangement, since Antipater had fought for Julius Caesar in Egypt (Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiv. 14. 4). Josephus says nothing of any part played by Pollio in this bestowal upon Herod of the Jewish crown. Herod, he says, was introduced into the Senate by Messalla and Atratinus. But in the next section (xiv. 14. 5) he mentions the fact that Pollio was Consul at this time. He does not usually reckon the years both by Olympiads and by consulships—his chronology is usually very loose indeed—nor was there any real reason for his doing so in this case. The year 40 had not any peculiar importance for a Jew, since the Jews generally (and Josephus) seem to have regarded the year 37 as the first year of Herod's reign. There is, of course, nothing unnatural in the mention of Pollio at this point; but Josephus' main reason for mentioning him here is, I think, the fact that he was accustomed to associate together, in connection with Jewish history of the period, the names of Pollio and Herod. The two men were undoubtedly close allies. This appears clearly from a passage in the fifteenth book (xv. 10. 1), where we gather that about the year 24 B.C. (or possibly 27 B.C.) Herod sent his two sons on a mission to Augustus (was it a mission of gratulation upon the honours which fell to Augustus in 27 B.C.?), and these young men 'lodged at the house of Pollio (= C. Asinius Pollio), who was very fond of Herod's friendship.' The explanation of this fondness for Herod's friendship appears, I fancy, from yet another passage of the *Antiquities* (xv. 1. 1): 'Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas his disciple, were honoured by Herod above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged [sc. consequently upon the bestowal of the kingdom upon Herod in the consulship of Asinius Pollio] they advised the citizens to receive Herod.'

The Romans, then, gave the kingdom to Herod in the consulship (one can but infer on the motion) of Asinius Pollio, and the

Jews were advised to accept Herod as king by 'Pollio a Pharisee.'

Is it possible, looking at these facts, to doubt that certain of Pollio's relations were Jews? 'Pollio the Pharisee,' since a Pharisee and (as Josephus mentions incidentally) a member of the Sanhedrim could not have been a mere 'proselyte of the gate.' We may suppose him to have been the son (or descendant) of some member of Pollio's family who had become a 'proselyte of righteousness.' Have we not here a better explanation than any other of the Messianic element in Virgil's poem? Asinius Pollio, if members of his family were Jews, must have been familiar with Jewish ideas, and even with Jewish literature. (We might, perhaps, infer this merely from his friendship with Herod.) He was also himself a poet of distinction. Is it unnatural to suppose that in his poetry he embodied something of the thought and sentiment of Hebrew poetry? Is it unnatural to suppose that Virgil, writing a poem in honour of Pollio, adopted, perhaps merely by way of compliment, the Hebraic style of Pollio himself? This would be particularly appropriate at a moment when Pollio, by securing the election of Herod, had shewn himself so eager a partisan of Jewish ideas.

The name of Herod is associated with the Massacre of the Innocents. This is, perhaps, I would suggest, an echo of a much earlier event, the slaying of Hezekiah and his band—a violation of 'the Law' which the Jews never forgot. But, however that may be, this story of the Innocents connects Herod's name with the expectation of a 'child,' such as that spoken of by Virgil. What Messianic ideals Herod (a much maligned man) may have entertained we do not know. But they may have been known to Pollio and, through Pollio, to Virgil. In some such way as this I think it possible that the Fourth Eclogue may be in very truth Messianic. The 'little child' of Virgil may literally be one and the same as the 'little child' of 'Isaiah.'

I do not, of course, mean that Virgil is speaking to the Jewish world, or has his eyes fixed upon Jerusalem. His eyes are fixed upon Rome. He is speaking to Romans. His mind dwells on the golden promises of the peace of Brundisium. He looks off from the 'little child' of Isaiah, perhaps, to some one of the expected children whose

names have been traditionally connected with this poem. But Jewish ideas of a reign of peace and splendour, of a mysterious prince and saviour who should re-organize

the earth, colour every word—ideas derived, through Pollio, from 'Pollio the Pharisee' or Herod the Great, or both.

H. W. GARROD.

VIRGIL, *AENEID* VII. 695-6.

Hi Fescenninas *acies* aequosque Faliscos,
Hi Soractis habent arces Flauiniaque arua.

THE zeugma involved in the accepted version of these two lines is so harsh that critics tend either to regard the word *acies* as corrupt or to argue that the passage is one of those which would have been recast, had Virgil lived to revise the *Aeneid* for publication.

If the reading *acies* were condemned, the conjecture 'Hi Fescenninos<s>altus' might claim consideration, but it is ill meddling with fourth century MSS., and besides, is it quite certain that the traditional interpretation is sound?

In the first place *Faliscos* may quite possibly be the name not of the people but of the city, employed here as in Ovid (*Am.* iii. 13.1), because the more usual form *Falerii* is not suited to a dactylic metre. Then the epithet *aequos*, as Müller pointed out long since, may mean the city 'in the plain.' Virgil is thinking of the Roman, not the Etruscan, town—the modern Falleri, which¹ Dennis describes as standing 'on the very level of the plain by which you approach it.'

The town of Fescennium (or Fescennia) was situated somewhere in the ager Faliscus. Its exact position is now unknown. Two sites have however been suggested—Cività Castellana and San Silvestro—and with regard to these one point is noteworthy. Each occupies a fairly lofty plateau surrounded or bounded by some of those deep and abrupt ravines,² which are the most striking feature of the ager Faliscus.

Now I submit that the word *acies*, which sprang from the same root and developed on the same lines as our own word *edge*, was used locally to describe these 'sheer rock walls,' the escarpments terminating the plateau on which Fescennium stood. Virgil was an enthusiastic antiquary, and in a

passage full of old-world terms and legends he has preserved the name which the Fescennines themselves had given to this striking feature of their home. We have then in the two lines a double antithesis between hill and dale, plateau and plain. Translate: 'These are they of the Fescennine Edges and these the people of Falisci in the plain: these the hillmen of Soracte, and these the tillers of the Flavianian levels.'

No precise parallel for such a use of *acies* is given in the new Thesaurus, although the cognate word *acumen* is twice used by Ovid (*Met.* xii. 337 and xiii. 778) to mean a mountain-bluff; but names borrowed from the configuration of the country are to be found in all languages.³ A bolder man might argue that in *Aeneid* x. 408⁴ the word has the same force, but I would rather rely on our own analogous use of the word 'Edge' to support, as it suggested, my theory. Thus (*e.g.*) Kinver Edge near Stourbridge is 'almost a precipice on one side, and a very gradual ascent on the other, about 400 feet high,' not higher that is to say than the site assigned by Dennis to Fescennium.

Soon after Virgil's time the town fell into ruins, and with the town the name also died. Few indeed are the allusions in our own literature to the many English Edges, and Macaulay's New Zealander, if he ever arrives, is likely to be as much puzzled by such a couplet as:—

'Oh tarnish late on Wenlock Edge,
Gold that I never see';

as are the critics of these two lines with their theory of a harsh zeugma in an un-revised poem.

D. A. SLATER.

Cardiff.

³ Cf. Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 492, § vii.: and *Aeneid* i. 109 saxa uocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Azas.

⁴ extenditur una Horrida per latos *acies* Volcania campos, A jagged edge (or precipice) of flame stretches across the broad plains?

¹ *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i. p. 101. Servius in his note uses the masculine Falisci to signify the town: 'Is condidit Faliscos.'

² Dennis, *op. cit.* i. 121.

VIRGIL *AENEID* XI. 690.

PROTINUS Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima
Teucrum
corpora : sed Buten adversum cuspidē fixit
loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis
lucent, et laevo dependet parma lacerto.

It is an admittedly rash thing to meddle with the text of Virgil, yet I am inclined to think that this passage has been altered since the time of Statius. I am not now concerned to defend *adversum* against the *aversum* of most MSS.; that has been sufficiently done by Dr. Henry (*Aeneidea*, iv. 282). The word to which I take exception is *sedentis*, on which Conington briefly remarks 'sitting on horseback.' No doubt Butes was sitting on horseback, but then so were they all: Virgil is describing a cavalry engagement, which begins at l. 597, and there is no conceivable reason for telling us, nearly a hundred lines later, that one warrior occupied a position necessarily occupied by them all. The correct reading is, I suspect, shown by the imitation of Statius, quoted by Dr. Henry *ub. supr.*, though he does not draw the same inference from it:

Cedentem Acheloius heros
impetit, et librans uni sibi missile telum,
derexit iactus, summae qua margine parmae
ima *sedet* galea, et iuguli vitalia lucent.
(*Theb.* viii. 522)

This he cites to prove that the wound inflicted on Butes was in the throat, in front, not in the neck, behind; but I think it proves more. I believe that Statius was imitating

Sed Buten adversum cuspidē fixit
loricam galeamque inter qua colla sedentem
lucent, cetera.

'Butes as he faced her she pierced with her javelin, where his throat showed white between his corslet and settled helm,' *i.e.* the *sit* of his helm, as we talk of the *sit* or *set* of a hat or coat. Virgil meant to describe the unguarded interval between the upper rim of the corslet, and the lower rim of the helmet, which *sedebat*, was settled, or fixed, on a line with the chin. The remaining words are added, as Dr. Henry has pointed out, to show that the shield was not raised to protect this uncovered spot, but held low down.

HERBERT W. GREENE.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

[That Statius referred the last word of 692 to galeam seems incontestable. But there is no reason why it should not also be referred to *loricam*, in which case *sedentis* will be the accusative plural and it will be unnecessary to change the reading of the MSS.—ED. C.R.]

ON HORACE *ARS POETICA* vv. 125 FOLL. AND 240 FOLL.

I VENTURE to express a hope that Mr. Maidment's remarks¹ on these passages will receive careful attention. His practical suggestion is to remove 240-3 ('Ex noto fictum . . . honoris'), so that they will stand before 128 (*Difficile est proprie, etc.*).

I need add nothing to what Mr. Maidment has so well said as to the intrinsic excellence of these 'most Horatian' lines, and the extreme difficulty of forcing them into any connection with the precepts for writing Latin Satyric Drama, which they now interrupt. Even if such a connection can be established, it must narrow the scope of the lines, which in themselves vigorously enforce Horace's favourite warning to

Roman poets that 'easy writing makes hard reading,' and that the true poet

ludentis speciem dabit *et torquebitur*
(*Ep.* 2, 2, 124).

Coming to the question of *where* the lines may have stood, I feel strongly with Mr. Maidment (and with Schütz, ed. 1883) that their natural neighbourhood is somewhere about 128. As to the particular place, I would ask consideration for an alternative view (one of several suggested by Schütz), *viz.* that they may possibly have immediately followed 130 (*quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus*). I do so on two grounds:

(1) 'Ex noto' will then naturally arise out of 'ignota,' according to a practice

¹ *C.R.* xviii. 9, pp. 441-2 (Dec. 1904).

familiar to Horace, which may be illustrated by 'ordo-ordinis' in 41, 2: see also Keller's note (*Epilegomena*, 1879) on *Epist.* 2, 1, 101, which he would with Lachmann read after 107; and so Wilkins and the *Corpus* (1893).

(2) 128 (*Difficile est proprie*, etc.) is surely the starting point of a new topic. Horace has done with the subject of ἡθῆ, and starts a fresh paragraph abruptly and sententiously. This is the manner of the *Ars Poetica* throughout; it is also the manner of our own classical poets, as Pope and Cowper; but in the *Ars Poetica*, the opening words are, as pointed out by Orelli on this passage, and more generally by Professor Nettleship, (*Journal of Philology*, xii, p. 52) upon the express authority of Porphyry, quoted from the writer of some Greek handbook, Neoptolemus of Parium or another. I do not wish to say a word upon the interpretation of this vexed passage, except, for the sake of clearness, to express concurrence in Orelli's (and Dr. Johnson's) view of the meaning of 'communia'; and to add that such difficulty as may be felt in the use of the two legal words 'communia' and 'publica' with a different reference must be at least softened by the widening of the interval between them by three or four lines.

If it be granted that the lines in question would read well after 130, can any plausible account be given of their removal to where they now stand?

Apart from any *mechanical* process by which lines might be removed from their place and reappear at an interval of 110 vv.¹ there are two considerations, which may be set down for what they may be worth:—

(1) Schütz finds a difficulty in the change from the second person of 128–130 to the first person of 240. A comparison of *Sat.*

¹ Such as that suggested by Chr. Brennan for Aeschylus, *Journ. Phil.* xxii, p. 62.

2, 4, 72–3, where the same change of persons occurs, may remove this; and the sententious tone of the gastronomic professor is not unlike that which Horace archly assumes in parts of the *Ars Poetica*. But the change of person may have offended some διορθωτής, and suggested a removal of the lines to a passage written in the first person.

(2) As noticed above, *communia* and *publica materies* are terms in legal use. Justinian (*Inst.* ii. 1) gives a series of methods by which property is acquired in such things, and Horace's lines as to *publica materies* might be a parody of some earlier text book of law (see Roby, *Roman Private Law*, iv. 3). *de medio sumptis* would stand in a legal context, but such phrases are more often quoted in a literary or general use. In *Epist.* 2, 1, 168 'ex medio quia res arcessit' is said of Comedy. Is it possible that this one line (243) rightly stands before 244, but should immediately follow 239? It would then point and conclude the advice given to the Satyric dramatist to give some dignity to his quasi-comic subjects. 'So much dignity is (or will be) given (in my Satyric drama) to themes drawn from common life.' The variant 'accedet,' which is found in a tenth century MS., would make this easier. The three lines 240–2 are complete in themselves, and might have originally followed 130, though our ear misses the familiar cadence of the sequence of the fourth. If this hypothesis were correct, the διορθωτής would have had a motive for bringing together the two 'tantum' lines.

The διορθωτής himself is hypothetical, though *Epist.* 2, 1, 101, seems to suggest his handiwork; and I fear that my two suggestions, taken together, do not amount to a 'vera causa,' but possibly some one else may be willing to strengthen them.

A. O. PRICKARD.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE HERCULES OETAÆUS.

G. RICHTER was the first to subject the Hercules Oetaeus to a systematic examination¹ with the object of deciding as to whether it was written by Seneca² or not.

¹ De Sen. tragoediarum auctore, Bonn, 1862.

² The Senecan origin of the seven plays which precede H.O. in the Florentine MS. (H.F., Tro., Phoen., Phaed., Oed., Ag., Thy.) is assumed throughout this paper. To these seven the expression 'the other plays' applies throughout.

Whilst his investigations led him to answer the question in the negative, Leo, who in the first volume of his edition had gone far more thoroughly into the points involved, came to the conclusion that ll. 1–705 came from Seneca. This position however has been shaken by G. Tachau, who has shewn³ that the choral passage 104–172

³ Philol. 1888, pp. 378 sqq.

exhibits the very features which led Leo to reject the latter portion of the play.¹

More recently P. Melzer² has attempted to maintain the Senecan origin of the whole work. He believes that we have only the rough sketch, full of duplicate scenes between which Seneca would have eventually had to make his choice. Richter himself, in the new Teubner edition of the plays, writes on p. 319 :

Argumenta a Leone prolata acriter impugnauit ac maximam partem uel infirmauit uel diluit P. Melzer . . . Neque noua Pauli Barthii Lipsiensis argumentatio per litteras mecum communicata eo ualet ut stare possit Leonis sententia.

The conversion, at least in part, of the scholar who first took the trouble to investigate seriously the question might so easily lead to a general acquiescence in what I regard as an absolutely impossible position that I feel bound to put forward a solution to which the study of the play had driven me before I had seen any of the literature on the subject, and in which the perusal of that literature has only confirmed me.

A summary of Leo's arguments will give a good idea of the main points involved. The peculiarities of H.O. fall under two heads: (A) frequent resemblances in thought and expression to passages of the other plays, especially the *Hercules Furens*, and (B) weakness and generally un-Senecan character of the style and thought. A noteworthy example under (A) is the passage 1402 *sqq.*, shewn by Leo³ to be 'paene cento ex Hercule furente decerptus et inepto loco insertus.' Very characteristic too is the repetition of complete (or practically complete) iambic lines from other plays. Under (B) we get slovenliness of grammatical construction, metrical phenomena, such as the shortening of the first syllable of *Hebrus*, *Cyclas*, and *fibra*, laxity and weakness of thought, poverty of language (evinced by frequent repetition of a word or phrase) and peculiarities of style (especially of vocabulary).

Leo's investigation, excellent piece of work as it is, suffers from three defects. He is not clear in his own mind as to the value of the A class of evidence. On p. 51 he thinks everyone will allow that the

parallelisms he cites cannot come from one and the same author. But on p. 53 he is less confident and says that he is aware that his examples do not prove that the parallels came from different hands—they only shew that *if* Sen. wrote the H.O. passages, he did so after he had written, *e.g.*, the *Hercules Furens*, so that the immaturity of youth cannot be pleaded in explanation of the weaknesses of the play. Again, some of the points raised under (B) are by no means decisive—least of all, the examples he gives of the illogical and feeble character of some of the writing. Leo's failure to press home his attack here is the more surprising as one of the most obvious differences between H.O. and the other plays is the monotony, the absolute lack of point, and the effort to make up for this by mere rant which certain parts of it display. Of this however I shall say more anon: I pass now to the third and last point in which Leo's method fails to satisfy me. It is not until p. 69 that we learn that his criticisms apply *with force* only to 706 *sqq.* ('eorum quae attulimus perpauca nec e grauioribus illa ad hanc partem [1-705] pertinere'): in the next few pages he proceeds to gloss over and minimise any blemishes which he has previously pointed out in the other portion of the play. So abrupt a turn is calculated to weaken the reader's faith in his guide. As an actual fact Leo quietly drops all mention of some of these blemishes, forgets to remind us that H.O. 484 comes almost direct from the *Phaedra*, that H.O. 361 contains an example of that use of *forsitan* with a present tense which he previously regarded as important enough to merit a page or more of investigation, that in H.O. 63 *genus* stands for *genus humanum* in just the same way as it does in three passages of the rejected part of the play. If these omissions are fatal to our belief in Leo's sense of equity, still more fatal to our faith in his theory is the fact that the blemishes in the first part are much more numerous than his examination of it reveals.⁴ To some of these (*e.g.* the use of *sonare* in the sense of *uocari* in 692), Birt⁵ has drawn attention and I shall presently point out many others. Here it is enough to remind

¹ Birt indeed (*Rhein. Mus.* 1879, pp. 516 *sqq.*) maintains against Leo the spuriousness of the whole play. Some of his arguments will be mentioned further on: as a rule he does not examine the passages with sufficient minuteness to be able to prove his case. Emendation of the existing text is his main consideration.

² *De Hercule Oetaeo Annæano*, Chemnitz, 1890.

³ Pp. 50 *sqq.*

⁴ How completely Leo's judgment is blinded by his faith in the theory is best seen by his extraordinary contention that the *Deianira* of part 1, as distinct from the D. of part 2, sends the garment with the intention of killing her husband. Birt and Melzer have answered him at some length, but the most cursory reading of the play will be enough to settle the question.

⁵ *l.c.* p. 516.

the reader that Tachau has shewn that ll. 104–172 contain the same kind of patchwork as ll. 1402 *sqq.*, the same inaccuracy of thought and strangeness of diction as disfigure the portion which Leo rejects.

The secret of the success of Melzer's attack lies in the fact that it is directed against these weak places. His paper is an extremely able one, testifying to keen interest and intelligent study of the plays. He is often very happy in his refutation of Leo's criticisms under (B). But his arguments on (A) seem to me distinctly mis-

leading. We are asked to concede that the 'imitation' in this play is much the same as we find in others.¹ Leo himself admits, as every student of the tragedies must admit, 'Senecam semet ipsum exscribere in reliquis fabulis.' It is necessary therefore that we should understand clearly what this means, and, fortunately, it is not difficult to do so.

I. Confining myself to the first two plays alone, I find the following half lines, etc. recurring in other plays.

H.F.

50 uidi ipsa uidi	=Tr. 170 (ipse)
953 uultus huc et huc acres	=Tr. 1092
1012 quo misera pergis	=Pha. 142
1027 uiuax senectus	=Tr. 42
1138 quis...locus, quae regio	=Tr. 498
1148 animus grande praesagit	Pho. 278 magna praesagit
malum	in mala...animus
1189 his pater	O. 828 malum timeri maius
quicquam timeri maius... potest?	his aliquid potest?

An examination of the other plays would lead us to similar results. In one or two

O. 688 domus ciuium coetu uiget.

A. 8 hinc auspicari regium capiti decus.

II. As for mere phrases, they of course recur from time to time—not more frequently in these plays than in other Latin writings.² I have noted more in the Troades than anywhere else; *talis incessu* . . . *sic tulit* 465, 466, H.F. 330 (*talis incessu*), Pha. 656 (*sic tulit*); *fidem alligare* 611, Th. 972; *retro patefacere iter* 724, H.F. 55 (*uia-m*); *in cinerem dare* 739, Pho. 113; *scelerum artifex* 750, M. 734; *scrutari ore* 812, Th. 499; *ad (in) auctorem redit* 870, O. 706.

III. Again, when particular *loci* recur, the language is sometimes very similar in both cases. Compare the dogs of the hunting-scene, Pha. 31 *sqq.*, with that of the simile in Th. 497 *sqq.* (*sagax, lorum, teneo,*

¹ See what he says on p. 22. If it is more frequent in H.O. than elsewhere, he thinks it will be because that play is *ceteris multo minus eliminata*.

² Repetition of pet phrases, often part of the common rhetorical stock in trade (such as *derat hoc solum, pars quota, hoc non est nouum*), is a different thing, and the consideration of it does not belong here.

Tro.

450 squalida obiectus = O. 625 (except that *squalidam-*
coma *comam* is written here)

519 dehiscit tellus tu- = O. 868
que

630 bene est: tenetur = M. 550

passages I have found curious, probably quite accidental, combinations. Thus

Pha. 436 domus sorte felici uiget.

482 ciuium coetum cole.

Th. 657 hinc auspicari regna.

H.F. 257 regium capitis (*capiti* E) decus.

presso, rostro, occur in both passages), the Bacchus of H.F. 472 *sqq.* with him of O. 423, 441 (*syrma, thyrsum leuem uibrare*). But variation is Seneca's rule even here: observe the different forms in which he dresses his favourite theme *medio tutissimus* in Pha. 1123 *sqq.*, O. 882 *sqq.*, A. 57 *sqq.*, Th. 391 *sqq.*

IV. Where, as often, a *sententia* is repeated, the language is carefully altered: see the variations on the *mot* 'death often a boon' in H.F. 511 *sqq.*, Tr. 329, A. 995, Th. 246 *sqq.*

From the Senecan usage as described above, H.O. varies in two important respects. (1) Nowhere else can I find an example of the transference of practically a complete iambic line from another play. The nearest approach to such a thing is H.F. 1189 cited above, and I know no parallel to it within the compass of the 7 plays. In H.O. we have five examples: 27, 484, 745, 1680, 1797. (2) The repetitions in H.O. are not merely frequent: they are often

continuous. I do not think I can illustrate what I mean better than by shewing how

H.O.

- 173 *sqq.* *templa suis collapsa deis.*
 181 *quae prima querar, quae summa gemam*
 197 *sqq.* *coniunx Ceyca gemit . . . natumque sonat flebilis Atthis*
 198 *sibi facta superstes*
 207 *uidi uidi*

Nor is the author so engrossed by his reminiscences of the Agamemnon passage that he cannot work in something from

- 178 *alio nostras fortuna uocat lacrimas.*
 185 *Sipylum flebile saxum.*
 211 *sqq.* *si tumulum fata dedissent quotiens quaerendus eras.*
 215 *sqq.* 'My parents were lucky to die in the sack of the town.'

It is this continuity, this use of patchwork as distinct from mere untimely reminiscence, that seems so important to me. That Seneca in a rough draft might, to an extent he would never allow in the finished work, repeat phrases used in other plays, that he might borrow a *sententia* in an almost unchanged form, is possible enough. Even a Vergil required *tibicines*. But I cannot think that he would allow reminiscences of a similar situation in a previous play to obtrude themselves in such a way as to completely paralyse the very qualities of his genius on which he pinned his reputation. Of course frequently the tags do not fit their new surroundings very well. But this is a criterion which often fails us, and Melzer has met Leo very successfully in several cases where the latter has tried to apply it. In this very monody, one can hardly say that the words are ill suited to the occasion, which is of course practically the same as that of the Agamemnon chorus. But the fact remains that the whole thing is a mere cento from the Agamemnon, patched up with loans from other plays, and this seems to me decisive. On the same principle I hold Leo mistaken in regarding H.O. 863 *sqq.* as a bare-faced plagiarism from Pha. 1104. The thought itself, as I shall presently shew, thoroughly suits the context, and the surroundings are entirely free from suspicion.

In attacking Leo's arguments under (B) Melzer has done well in shewing that the

Iole's monody¹ (173 *sqq.*) echoes a similar passage of the Agamemnon.

A.

- 653 *templa deos super usta suos*
 649 *quid nunc primum . . . quidue extremum deflere paras.*
 671 *cantat aedon Ityn* 680 *licet alcyones Ceyca suum . . . sonent*
 709 *superstes sibi*
 = 656

other plays, or other parts of that. So we have

Tr. 142 *alio lacrimas flectite uestras.*

A. 394 *Sipyli uertice summo flebile saxum.*
 Pha. 1274 *saepe efferendus.*²

Tr. 142 *sqq.* 157 *felix Priamus—secum excedens sua regna tulit.*

train of thought, etc. in several of the passages cited by Leo is perfectly satisfactory, or at any rate worthy of Seneca. A fair example is his defence of H.O. 844: *reddendus orbi est (sc. Hercules): quod potes, redde exhibe (sc. poenam)*. Leo objected to the word-play in this verse, although he was able to quote, in a footnote, something very similar from Seneca's prose—and of course the thing is only too characteristic of the most brilliant Silver work. Melzer appositely quotes Ag. 987 *fratrem reddat aut animam statim*. At times however Melzer's success is due entirely to the fact that Leo has not observed the worst point in the passage in question. Thus at H.O. 1272 *sqq.* Melzer disposes of his criticisms by reading *durius—uulnus*. But he leaves the extraordinary phrase *rixtus meos infregit* (1274) untouched: Leo found no fault with this. Compare what I have to say further on about H.O. 574. I quite accept Melzer's position that little can be proved by the repetition of words and slovenliness of grammar that we find in H.O. I think the evidence with which he supports it excellent.

The question of vocabulary raises a more important issue. Richter indeed tried to

¹ The parallelisms have not, so far as I know, been noted before. Birt is the only scholar who has examined the speech; his view of its spuriousness is based simply on the verbal repetitions which it contains (*l.c.* p. 535).

² Both passages refer to the burial of the remains of men torn or smashed to pieces.

support his views as to the spuriousness of H.O. by shewing that it did not contain certain particles (e.g. *etiam*) which are found in the other plays—a method against which Melzer justly enters a protest. More plausible are the arguments drawn from the occurrence in this play of particles etc. not found in the others, and Leo, who tacitly dropped Richter's other arguments, takes the trouble to refute some of his statements under this head,¹ and draws attention to the use of *haudum* in 80 and appositional *quamquam* in 1506, 1861.² Melzer, who evidently distrusts this kind of evidence,³ might have given strong reasons in support of his attitude. The fact that a line contains a word not used in the other plays is in itself no evidence against its genuineness. In the seven Senecan plays words so common as *adeo*, *breviter*, *ceu*, *comminus*, *coram*, *fere*, *grauiter*, *iampridem*, *ideo*, *iuxta*, *merito*, *nuper*, *propter*, *siquidem*, *subinde*, and *uerum* ('but')⁴ occur each in one play only and the 1344 lines of the *Hercules Furens* contain some 130 words which recur in none of the other plays—there are, in fact five lines which contain two such words.⁵ On the other hand one may go too far in Melzer's direction. Considering the hysterical tone of the plays, the tendency of the characters to exclaim, Leo's observation that *ei mihi* is never found in them whilst H.O. shews it, or signs of it, in five places,⁶ is surely very important.

But grave doubts often arise as to the very Latinity of this play. Melzer admits this as regards the four passages where *genus* stands for *genus humanum* and 1604 where *quem tulit Poceans* means 'whom P. begat.' I cannot think he has been successful in his attempts to dispose of the six cases

¹ He might have mentioned that *fere* does occur in the plays (Tro. 438, 1143).

² Neither Richter nor Leo seems aware that *quamquam* does not occur at all in the other plays.

³ See his remarks on pp. 33, 35.

⁴ *Necdum* I have only noted in Pha. 1109: if this is the only place, we have a close parallel to the isolated use of *haudum* mentioned above.

⁵ There is therefore nothing suspicious, in itself, in the use of *interim* in H.O. with the meaning 'sometimes.' It is a common Silver (and Senecan) use. It is curious it does not occur in the other plays, but so is it that the equally Silver and Senecan *tanti est* is found only in the *Phoenissae* (where, like *interim* in H.O., it occurs twice). But the fact that in both places (481, 930) *interim* is in bad company makes a difference.

⁶ Melzer will not allow 1172 and 1205 to count as instances, because in the former A reads *male*, in the latter E (not A, as he says) *mihi*. I think there can be no question that *ei mihi* must be read in both places. In Leo's sixth instance (1181) I admit that the reading is too uncertain for us to reckon it.

cited by Leo where the genitive of the personal pronoun is used, after the most approved manner of the beginner, with possessive force. M.'s eclectic view of the relative merits of the two recensions A and E allows him to choose, in five of the instances, an alternative reading which gets over the particular difficulty, but these alternatives are not in themselves free from objection,⁷ and one can hardly believe that the MSS. would by mere coincidence so often shew traces of the genitive. The worst example of all, *dextra tui* of 1217, cannot be got over—certainly not by M.'s explanation that the genitive is thus used for emphasis. As for the passages from Seneca rhetor which he cites after Leo, one can only say that, although it is quite permissible to make use of weapons with which your adversary supplies you, it is advisable to be sure that they are reliable weapons. Both passages⁸ are clear instances of the objective genitive, governed in the one case by *obiurgator*, in the other by *alimentum*.

Curiously enough, some of the most glaring shortcomings of H.O.'s vocabulary have as yet escaped the eyes of the critics.

I. QUOTUS.—The phrase *pars quota est* so dear to Ovid is not uncommon in the Senecan plays. It is however always used there in the literal sense. The only parallel I know to such a use as we have in H.O. 51 *pars quota est Perseus mei* is (apart from a passage of Claudian) Ou. M. 9. 69 *pars quota Lernaee . . . eris echidnae*, 'what will you be compared with the Hydra?' What Ovid could write, Seneca may have written. But at l. 95 we read

quota est mundi plaga
Oriens subactus? aut quota est Gorgon
fera?

The meaning is obvious—'The East is only one quarter, the Gorgon one monster; what is that compared with the many that I have subdued?' Apart from the fact that in the other plays *quotus* is only used in the phrase *quota pars*, I question if any parallel can be produced to the force with which the word is here employed.

II. IECUR.—Horace certainly uses this word in connexion with the passions of anger and love, but I cannot believe that Seneca would treat it as a satisfactory synonym for

⁷ For instance *nunc ueram tuam | agnosce prolem*, A's reading at 954, is only a shade better than E's.

⁸ Contr. 2. 2. 9, 3. 7 (excerpt).

cor and *pectus*, as is done in the following lines of H.O. :

574¹ *sed iecur fors horridum flectam mendo.*

709 *pavidumque trepidis palpitat uenis iecur.*

1677 *comprime infirmum iecur.*

1732 *o durum iecur !*

III. *Siccus*.—This epithet, applied absolutely to persons, ordinarily denotes the teetotaler or at any rate temperate drinker.² In 1269

siccus aerumnas tuli

it is used with the meaning 'without shedding a tear.'

IV. *PENSARE*.—In 1747 *sqq.* we read

nec properat uri, cumque iam forti datum leto satis pensavit . . .

Hercules is in no hurry to get the ordeal by fire over : he wishes to shew such fortitude in bearing the pain as will ensure his end being reckoned a noble one. *Pensavit* appears to mean 'he deemed,' a presumably very late force of the word.

V. *GIGANS*.—Aemene, alluding to the heap of ashes which is the only relic of Hercules, says in 1759

huc ille decreuit gigans !

I know of no other case where the word is used to denote simply a huge man.

Melzer's theory explains much. Admit that we have in H.O. the rough sketch of a play, and we cannot be surprised by slight laxness in the treatment of details, especially metre, by the abnormal length of this tragedy, its wearisome repetitions, its contradictions, above all the aimless, drifting character of some of its scenes. But such a theory does not help us to face the three phenomena on which I have laid stress above, the pointlessness, the patchwork, and the bad Latinity.

Before explaining my own solution of the problem, I should like to call attention to

¹ Curiously enough Leo and Birt have objected to the use of *fors* as contrary to the custom of the other plays, Melzer has defended it, and put an emendation at the disposal of anyone whom his defence fails to satisfy, but no one has attacked *iecur* in either this or any other of the passages.

² *Udus alcator* in Mart. 5. 84. 5 is no doubt meant to denote the opposite tendency. No one will believe it means that he begs for mercy in tears. *Sicca (uda) puella* in Martial is no doubt a piece of the argot of the day.

some small points relating to the use of anaphora which I have noted as distinguishing H.O. from the other plays. Anaphora is common in these and I have what I feel sure is a tolerably complete record of the instances. Those in which a single emphatic word is repeated and a word intervenes between the pair are not uncommon. In all of them the emphatic word³ either forms part of the first foot (*vidi ipsa vidi; sed fateor, Atreu, fateor*) or follows immediately on the penultimate caesura (*parta iam, parta ultio est; matris, en, matris sonus*). In three passages of H.O. (two of them within a few lines of each other) we find this anaphora in a different place : 756 *o lares, miseri lares; 770 pro diem, infandum diem; 1201 pro feræ, victæ feræ*. In another part of H.O. we find two instances of the addition of *nam* to the word when it is repeated (1338 *ubi natus, ubinam* and 1399 *ubi morbus, ubinam*); this again is peculiar to the play. In general I would note that in various parts of it, anaphora, the italics of the ancients, is used in a forcibly-feeble manner for which I can find no parallel in the other plays : two instances will be mentioned in the course of this paper.

The fact that so careful a student of the plays as Leo could accept part of the Hercules Oetaeus as the work of their author, and that Richter seems now ready to believe that the whole of it is genuine is in itself testimony that there must be considerable merit in this composition, of which so far mainly the faults have occupied us. I propose now to examine in detail⁴ ll. 1-103, which form the Prologus of the play and seem to offer me the best means of introducing to the reader the views for which I am seeking his approval.

1, 2 *sator deorum, cuius excussum manu utraeque Phoebi sentiunt fulmen domus.*

Sator deorum = Pha. 157 ; *tuas* (sc. Titanis) *utrasque domus* is in H.F. 1062. The rest seems due to H.F. 517 *cuius excussis tremunt | humana telis.*

³ I might say the first of the pair, but for H.F. 1147 *nescio quod mihi | nescio quod animus grande praesagit malum.*

⁴ Birt has criticised this part of the play (pp. 532 *sqq.*). So far as his objections apply they may be taken as supplementary to those pointed out above. Tachau (l.c. p. 381) states that he intends to prove the spuriousness of the prologue, but I cannot find that he has ever done so.

13, 14 quid astra, genitor, quid negas? mors
me tibi
certe remisit.

Anaphora of interrogative particles is altogether rare in the other plays: here it seems very feeble in the mouth of the imperious Hercules, and the fact that *numquid* has undergone anaphora in l. 11 makes things worse. The second sentence recalls H.F. 1143 where Hercules says *certe redimus* (from the quest of Cerberus, to which of course the present passage refers).

19 Hëbro.

See above p. 41. The point has been noted by my predecessors: I would add that there is distinct reminiscence in the whole passage of A. 842 *sqq.*, where, in reference to the same Diomedes, the four words *grex, Hebrus, hospites, and cruor* occur as here.

26 una est Geryon sparsus manu.

The sentence is barely intelligible until we illustrate it by the line of which it is an abridgment, H.F. 487 *nec unus* (i.e. *triplex*) *una Geryon uictus manu.*

27 taurusque populis horridus centum
pauor

It is curious that Leo¹ has not noted the parallelism to H.F. 230 *taurumque centum non leuem populis metum.*

Here then, in the space of less than 30 lines, we find collected most of the points which Leo very justly regards as un-Senecan. The subject-matter itself is very poor. When I pass from the *Controversiae* of Seneca pater to the plays of Seneca filius I feel that I am simply continuing my studies in a rather more vitiated atmosphere. But in this passage of H.O. I look almost in vain for the *sententiae uibrantes, the colores* and all the gay paraphernalia of rhetorical tragedy. If we exclude from consideration the borrowed plumes, we shall be able to muster only three 'points,' and their quality hardly atones for their numerical weakness. L. 6 = 'I have saved Jove many a bolt,'² l. 12 = 'Can't Atlas carry a heaven weighted by my presence?' l. 23 = 'The daylight feared Cerberus, and he the light' (which is really only an amplification of H.F. 60 *uiso labantem Cerbero uidi diem* with the aid of the description in 813 *sqq.*, esp. 824 *dien'inuisum expulit*).

¹ On pp. 51, 52, where he notes parallels much less complete.

² The writer seems pleased with this: it recurs at 850 *sqq.*, 1143, 1912.

Contrast with the passage we have just reviewed ll. 28-46. There is no obscurity; in only one place can there be any suspicion of 'imitation,' and the 'points' are numerous enough to satisfy Ovid himself—29 *iratis deis non licuit esse*, 31 *redde nato patrem uel astra forti*, 38 *in tutum meas laudes redegisti*, 43 *nec meos lux prosequi potuit triumphos*, 45 *intraque nostras substitit metas dies*, 46 *terra defecit gradum*. The suspicious passage referred to is this:

34 uel si times ne terra concipiat feras,
properet malum quodcumque, dum terra
Herculem
habet uidetque.

In H.F. 937 *sqq.* Hercules exclaims

si quod etiamnum est scelus
latura tellus, properat.

The idea suits H.F. *l.c.* perfectly well. The hero is eager for rest: if he is doomed to more toil, let it come now that he may get it over. But it suits the H.O. passage, where Hercules is disposing of any possible objection that Jove may raise to his release, even better. As there is no imitation³ in the rest of the passage I think we may recognise what we have here as genuine Senecan repetition.⁴

At l. 47 we are amidst dross again. *Lassata prior est* (*sc. terra*) is a feeble (and mistaken) comment on the *terra defecit gradum* of the previous line.⁵ In 47, 48 Hercules says *nox et chaos in me incurrit*, whereas the point was that *he* invaded *them*. *Hunc orbem* of 48 is, I think, an unusual way of contrasting the upper earth with the realms below.⁶ The boast of 50 *sqq.*—'no storm could⁷ toss the ship that had me on board' is very curious. In the first place pride in mere weight is but a poor thing. And the legends take rather a different view of *Hercules nauita*. Statius (Th. 5. 401) describes him as rendering Argo unsteady; in Valerius (3. 475 *sqq.*) he catches something very like a crab and

³ H.F. 83 *sublimis alias Luna concipiat feras* might be compared with l. 34. But Leo rightly regards the line as an interpolation there—possibly it came hence.

⁴ Anyhow this one blemish (if blemish it be), like the one oasis in the desert of 47-71, can easily be reconciled with the explanation I offer for the whole problem.

⁵ So at 763 *luctum occupasti* receives the feeble addition: *prima, non sola, Herculem macres.*

⁶ In H.F. 821 the earth above is called *orbis* in contradistinction to the realm below.

⁷ It is worth noting that *ualcet*, which never takes an inf. in the other plays, does so here and elsewhere in the play.

falling back flattens out several of the oarsmen behind him—a catastrophe which might well have sunk any bark save the good ship Argo. I am sure I have somewhere read of a legend which made the Argo (through the medium of its speaking stem from Dodona) absolutely decline to take him aboard, for fear of his sinking her. Of the unusual force given in 51 to *pars quota* I have spoken above. In 53 *sqq. feras tellus timet concipere* (which echoes 34 *terra concipiat feras*) is at once repeated by *ferae negantur*, itself an echo of l. 30 (*si negat mundus feras*). The idea that no ‘monstra’ are now left except Hercules himself, who *monstri loco iam coepit esse* (55) is ridiculous. At 63 comes the brachylogical use of *genus* already mentioned more than once. The thought, too, seems very weak. After ‘what good has freeing my fellow creatures been?’ we expect to hear examples of their base ingratitude, instead of which we learn that the gods are now in trouble, and we see, what it was impossible to see before, that *prodest* does not mean *mihi prodest*, but is used quite generally. Then in 67 *sqq.*, quite after the model of H.F. 6 *sqq.*, we have the ‘spheres of activity’ of the constellations Cancer and Leo described. Of the latter we read :

69 annum fugacem tradit Astraeae leo,
at ille iactans feruidam collo iubam
austum madentem siccatur et nimbos
rapit.

L. 69 of course simply alludes to the fact that the Sun passes from Leo to Virgo. But why the adversative particle and the demonstrative pronoun¹ in the next line? Does the writer mean that the lion throws this work over to the just and virtuous Virgo (much as it is rumoured that some professors hand theirs over to their assistants) and flies off on a wild tour of exploration, ‘drying’ liquid Auster and ‘culling’ the clouds. It seems improbable, especially as Leo surely has no power except when the sun is in his sign, and l. 70 vividly recalls the *Leo . . . rutila iubam | cervice iactans* of H.F. 948. Amid all this rubbish I find one gem :

61 o quanta fudi monstra quae nullus mihi
rex imperavit. institit uirtus mihi
Iunone peior.

The idea of this seems to me excellent in itself, but it also answers a passage of H.F.

¹ Surely *ipse*, which Gronovius under a misapprehension attributed to E (it being probably his own conjecture), is necessary in any case.

(*laudanda feci iussus* 1268) in a way which suggests a son who had studied to some purpose the *pro* and *con* arguments of the paternal *Controversiae*.

At 72 begins another lucid interval. The first part of the passage forms a doublet to ll. 63–71, a point to which I must presently recur. The writing, though not so good as in the passage 28–46, is clear and forcible. *Antecessit* of 73 is very Senecan; *astra portentis prius* (*quam mihi*) *Iuno tribuit* of 74, 75 is the typical bitterness of rhetoric. The idea of *committat undas Isthmos* 83 is found in M. 36, but it is just the kind of thought Seneca loves to repeat (cf. his frequent references to the narrowness of the Isthmos), and we find it copied by Lucan, Silius, and Statius.

The tone begins to fall off at l. 89. Ll. 89^b–91 only repeat the sense of ll. 87–89^a; *glacialis polus* is in H.F. 6 and recurs in a highly suspicious context at 336; *feruida* is not used in the other plays of the torrid zone, whilst the use recurs in 1218, 1797 of this play; the repetition of *partem* in l. 90 by *parte* in the next line is the more odious as *parte* stands also in l. 88. In l. 91

hac esse superos parte securos puta

securus very much more definitely loses all idea of ‘freedom from care’ than in any of the 13 passages of the other plays in which I have noted its occurrence.² By l. 92 the decline becomes a downfall. We borrow openly from H.F. 13 *sqq.* by quoting the cases of Phoebus (here styled Paean, a name unknown to the other plays), Bacchus, and Perseus as precedents for the translation of a hero; at 95, 96 comes the extraordinary use of *quotus* to which I referred above.³

The strong contrast between the merits of the passage 28–46 on the one hand and those of 1–27 on the other, of 72–89^a on the one hand and 47–71 or 92–96 on the other,

² Of course if we had *iube* in place of *puta* the case would be different. The fact that *iubes* stands at the end of the previous line will doubtless check the enthusiasm of any one who wishes to emend accordingly.

³ The rest of the prologue is, I believe, spurious. The plural *triumphos* (of a single victory) seems suspicious. I must take the opportunity of protesting against Rutgers’ *acta* which Richter admits to the text of l. 102. I believe we ought to read *ora* for the *ara* of the MSS. For *templa tollens ora . . . spectat mare* cp. V.F. 2. 9. *attollit tendentes pabula Magncs | campus equos*, and Pha. 285 *quacque nascentem uidet ora solem*.

can, it seems to me, be explained in only one way. The work of a good writer (and I see no reason why he should not be the author of the other plays) has been contaminated with that of a bad one. A rough draft left behind him by Seneca (in a much less complete condition than the Phoenissae, although, as we shall see, some of the choruses had been attempted) was supplemented by a person of literary pretensions, whose work is sometimes original (in which case the style is bombastic and wearisome, the language often illiterate), sometimes simply a more or less skilful patchwork of tags from other plays.

This theory explains, I think, the problems which meet us. Take for example the duplicate passage of 63-78. Melzer's explanation would doubtless be that we have here alternative compositions of Seneca's. But could he, even in his first sketch, write such Latin as *genus* of 63, such nonsense as *at ille* of 70? How much more likely that his amplifier, to whom I shall henceforward apply the long-suffering name of editor, felt bound to expand the little which Seneca had left, and did so with the success which his method and his talents deserved.

There is no knowing what liberties this worthy may have taken with his 'nucleus.' Probably Seneca left many lines unfinished. Not only does one of the incomplete Phoenissae scenes end with such a line (319), but even the polished Troades admits one at the end of a speech (1103). I cannot help thinking that E has preserved some trace of the condition of the draft at l. 739 where it offers, in the midst of complete iambic lines, these two fragmentary ones:

tumensque tacita
quassat caput.¹

H.O.

- 247 in uultus dolor processit omnis.
251 nunc inardescunt genae:
pallor ruborem pellit et formas dolor
errat per omnes.
253 queritur, implorat, gemit.

Secondly, its style is peculiar. *Dolor in uultus processit* seems a bold metaphor; *pectori paene intimo nihil est relictum* is mere nonsense; in 252 (cited above) *nunc*

¹ That *Δ* here gives us a single line *tumensque tacita sequitur et quassat caput* is a thing to be remembered against it.

² This *ut* would be very awkward after the temporal

A clear case of an interweaving of the two threads so closely that only the minutest care can enable us to unravel them is, I think, to be found in the nurse's speech 233 *sqq.* The first seven lines of this seem to me thoroughly Senecan: the subject is the radiant beauty of Iole when Deianira first meets her. Deianira's behaviour is next described:

- 240 stetit furenti similis ac toruum intuens
Herculea coniunx, feta ut Armenia
iacens
sub rupe tigris hoste conspecto exilit
aut iussa thyrsum quaterre conceptum
ferens
Maenas Lyaeum, dubia quo gressus
ferat
245 haesit parumper: tum per Herculeos
lares
attonita fertur.

Now l. 240 is a medley of *furenti similis* in H.F. 1009 and *toruum . . . intuens* in Th. 706. This medley is quite out of place here. In H.F. the *furens* is in rapid motion, and so one would suppose here when she is compared to a tigress leaping from its lair. And yet l. 240 says definitely *stetit*, and, as if it was feared we might miss the point, l. 245 repeats the verb with *haesit parumper*. The *second* simile, though very like M. 382 *sqq.* (*incerta qualis entheos gressus tulit | cum ium recepto maenas insanit deo*) thoroughly suits its environment: the dazed Bacchante and Deianira take time to realise what they are to do. If we omit ll. 240-242 and read *ut* for *aut* in 243, I believe we shall have what Seneca's draft had.² Unfortunately there is no doubt that the rest of the speech is due to our editor. For, first, the Medea pervades it.

M.

- 446 totus in uultu est dolor.
858 flagrant genae rubentes, pallor fugat
ruborem,
nullum uagante forma seruat diu
colorem.³
390 aestuat, queritur, gemit.

is needed with *pallor ruborem pellit*; 254, 255 run thus:

sonuere postes: ecce praecipiti gradu
secreta mentis ore confuso exerit.

ut of 237, but possible enough in a draft.

³ The tigress simile of 241 *sqq.* may be due to this passage, which continues *huc fert pedes et illuc, ut tigris orba natis*, etc.

where the double ablatives and the use of *exero* with *secreta* in the sense of 'betray' are most objectionable. As an actual fact, if Seneca left the speech unfinished, the editor was bound to notify the arrival of Deianira on the stage. *Sonuere postes* may come from O. 911 where the words 'sed quid hoc? postes sonant' introduce the entrance of a messenger.

This closeness of intertexture makes me resign all hope of resolving the play into its two factors. The attempt would occupy many more pages of this journal than it deserves, and I for one am not sanguine enough to believe that every detail would receive general acceptance. I am however convinced that the double character of the style which the examination of the prologue has revealed can be traced at various points right through the rest of the play. To this task I turn next.

The long scene between Deianira and her nurse is very rich in Senecan passages. Among them I reckon ll. 278 *sqq.*, where the appeal to Jove and the Sun (cp. H.F. 592 *sqq.*, O. 249 *sqq.*, Pha. 888-9, etc.) in ll. 290-1 and the thoughts *Hercules tantum | fui coniunx timentis and vota cessere captae: paelici felix fui* (291, 292 *sqq.*) are characteristic enough. So with ll. 307 *sqq.*¹, where amidst much Senecan language is the brilliant *pares eam* with which Deianira reproaches her cooling anger. At l. 344 begins a very good passage,² from which I select: 348 *me nuptiali uictimam feriat die | infectus Iolen dum supra exanimam ruam*, 351 *sqq. quid ipsa flammam pascis et uastum foues | ultro dolorem? 357 illicita amantur: excidit quidquid licet*, 361 *ipsas misericos (sc. Hercules) forsam aerumnas (sc. Ioles) amat*, 365 *nullamque amoris Hercules retinet notam.*³ Ll. 380 *sqq.* are still better: see

380-4, 385 *sqq. nostra...forma | deperdit aliquid semper... | nec illa uetus est*, 389 *materque ('maternity') multum rapuit ex illo mihi*, 394 *sqq. nihilque ab illa (sc. Iole) casus... | nisi regna traxit*,⁴ 400 *nuribus Argolicis fui | mensura uoti*, 406 *alte illa cecidit quae uiro caret Hercule*. Equally genuine I think are ll. 444-464, where note especially how independent the witchcraft locus (452 *sqq.*) is of the similar passages M. 707 *sqq.*, 754 *sqq.*⁵

Twice, I think, we get a trace of the imperfect condition in which Seneca left the play. L. 307 runs:

quid hoc? recedit animus et ponit minas?

Yet the lines immediately preceding breathe nothing but bitterness, culminating in the thought 'the day that ends our wedlock ends your life'! Seneca is no Shakspeare, to express by such abruptness the whirl of Deianira's passion. How he would use such a line can be seen from Th. 324 where Atreus, after deciding not to involve his children in the horrible crime he is planning, suddenly turns and rails at his own attempt to be only half a villain—*male agis: recedis anime?* In H.O. too, no doubt, Seneca meant the words to follow on signs of softening on the queen's part, but never completed the corresponding portion of the speech.⁶ The other trace is at l. 407 where '*Conciliat animos coniugum partus fere*, 'the birth of children often wins back for a mother the father's love,' is a direct answer to Deianira's complaint that child-bearing has diminished her beauty. But between the two intervene some sixteen lines of her speech. Probably Seneca, after writing the latter, jotted down a reply to part of it, as the germ of a speech for the nurse.

As for the editor's hand, it appears on almost every page of the scene. At 314 *sqq.* the nurse tries to frighten her mistress. 'Even if you can escape man's wrath, after killing Hercules, you will not escape his father's bolts,' she says, and continues (327)

Nemeaeus hardly commends itself, and the year's stay with Omphale is not a very good example with which to console D., I must admit the possibility of interpolation here: there is, moreover, distinct reminiscence of H.F. 471, and *marcidus myrrha comam* seems an extraordinary expression.

¹ L. 399 is presumably corrupt.

² For brevity's sake I say nothing in this paragraph of shorter passages such as 423-432^a, 569-574^a.

³ Ll. 299-303 may be part of such a passage; they certainly give an opportunity for a transition to a more lenient view of Hercules' offence. But I do not believe the lines are Senecan.

¹ In l. 314 Richter's *uel* is quite an unnecessary change. Deianira says, 'Juno will be here to guide my hands *nec inuocata*,' 'and (or 'even') without being summoned.' This force of *nec* is common in the plays, and *inuocata* is p. p., as in Pha. 423, 944.

² In l. 344 the anaphora of the infinitive (*ire, ire*) seems objectionable and occurs nowhere else in the plays. I would read LIBET *ire ad umbras Herculis nuptam, libet*, comparing H.F. 1156 *libet mecum uidere uictorem, libet*. In l. 364 I think *concessa FAMULO est* of ψ is necessary: *concessa* distinctly wants a dative. The application of the word to Telamon is an example of rhetorical exaggeration not unlike Pha. 94, where Theseus is called Pirithous' miles: cp. too Ou. M. 7. 483, where Telamon is *pars militiae* in reference to Hercules.

³ Leo has rightly pointed out that the repetition of *nempe* in this passage is natural enough. But the *nempe* of l. 374 is peculiar and quite different from those in ll. 353, 363, 366, 369, which introduce the nurse's answer to D.'s fears. As Heinsius' conjecture

mortem quoque ipsam, quam putas tutam,
time:
dominatur illic patruus Alcidae tui.

The idea comes (with verbal borrowing) from Pha. 149 *sqq.* ('You won't be able to hide your guilt from Neptune, from the Sun, from Jupiter'). But it is ridiculous to picture Pluto as eager to avenge the death of his old enemy, the man whom Juno saw (H.F. 51) *Dite domito spolia iactantem patri | fraterna*, so that she goes on *cur non uinctum et oppressum trahit | ipsum (Plutonem)?* The words *quam putas tutam* have no basis in anything that precedes, for D. has not said a word about her own death. And how feeble it is for the nurse, after threatening her with all the pains of earth, heaven, and hell, to say at 332 '*moriere*'! At 434 we read:

DEI. quid stupes, segnis furor?
435 scelus occupandum est...
436 NUT. perimes maritum? DEI. paelicis
certe meae...
439 NUT. quis iste furor est? DEI. quem
meus coniunx docet.

As commentary I quote: Pha. 719 *anime, quid segnis stupes?* A. 193 *scelus occupandum est*, H.F. 1263-4 AMPH. *Perimes parentem? ... genitore coram?* HERC. *cernere hunc docui nefas*. I pointed out above the merit of the passage 452-464: contrast therewith 465 *sqq.*, where the influence of the Medea passage at once makes itself felt (cp. esp. 469 *bruma messes uideat* and M. 761 *messem uidet hibernam Ceres*) and the form *deprehensum* (470) is a unique exception to Seneca's practice of contracting the verb *prehendere* and its compounds.¹ There is a pretty sample of the editor's work in ll. 480 *sqq.* Deianira, about to make use of the drug, implores the nurse to preserve secrecy, assuring her that her plans '*non tela sunt, non arma, non ignis minax*.' The following dialogue ensues:

480 NUT. praestare fateor posse me tacitam
fidem
si scelere careat: interim scelus
est fides.
DEI. circumspice aegedum, ne quis ar-
cana occupet...
485 NUT. en locus ab omni tutus arbitrio
caret.

That the phrase 'I confess' ill applies to the statement 'I can keep a secret if doing so involves no crime' is perhaps a small

matter. The use of *interim* is, as mentioned above,² striking, but possible enough. But 482 is a most instructive line. Scaliger suggested *aucupet*, no doubt rightly, but as far as I know neither he nor anyone else has noted that the whole line is due to Mostellaria 472-3 *circumspicedum, numquis est | sermonem nostrum qui aucupet*. I know of no parallel to this in the other plays. And, curiously enough, at 484 we have an example of that borrowing of a practically complete iambic from another play (Pha. 601) which, as we saw above,³ distinguishes H.O. from the wholly Senecan plays. Ll. 563 *sqq.*⁴ again shew unintelligent borrowing. It is bad enough that the nurse is sent to fetch what Deianira would more naturally fetch from the secret spot in which it was hidden (486). It is still worse that what is fetched is not the drugged robe, but the drug—and the robe, so that the drugging apparently takes place '*coram populo*.'⁵ Worst of all are the words with which the nurse reenters:

prolata uis est quaeque Palladia colu
lassauit omnem texta (*tela ψ*) famularum
manum.
nunc congeratur uirus.

In M. 843, whence the use of *uis* probably comes, *peracta uis est omnis* may easily mean 'the whole tale of my magic power is told.' As however Valerius Flaccus certainly uses *uis* in the sense of *φάρμακον* (see 7. 355, 450, 460) it is impossible to say that Seneca would not have done so. Even the use of *colus* in connection with weaving may be defended: *uere* is certainly used in similar context. But the verb *congeratur* only suits a case where several poisons are mixed, as is the case in the passage which, I have no doubt, our editor had in mind: M. 706 *congerit in unum frugis infaustae mala*. The only way to make sense here would be to translate: 'Let the poison (and the robe) be put together,' but this seems to me almost impossible. And the presence a little further on⁶ of that stormy

² P. 44⁵.

³ P. 42.

⁴ Of the long narrative 485 *sqq.* little, if any, is likely to come from Seneca. Ou. M. 12 has been freely used: e.g. the witch Mycale (525) comes thence. The prayer to Cupid (541 *sqq.*) may contain some genuine material (e.g. 552-555): as a whole, it is hardly consistent with D.'s departure at l. 580 to pray to Venus.

⁵ Can anything else be meant by l. 565 *congeratur uirus et uetis bibat | Herculca pestem: precibus augebo malum?*

⁶ L. 574. See on p. 44.

¹ I find at least nine examples of this contraction.

petrel, the use of *iecur* with the meaning of *pectus*, saves us from all need to strain our powers of interpretation; *ars cessit malis*, as Seneca says of the tempest which befel the Greeks returning from Troy.

Coming next to the chorus of 583-705 we see at once that from 675 onward the theme *medio tutissimus* is handled in a way closely reminiscent of O. 892 *sqq.* The reference to Icarus comes in both passages: both borrow the *ueras aues* of Ovid (Met. 8. 195). This is in itself, as I pointed out on p. 42, contrary to Seneca's habit. And a cursory examination of the two passages will I think illustrate very clearly the difference between Seneca and the editor; cp. among other things O. 898 *nomen eripuit freto* with the *nulli dedit* (*sc.* Daedalus) *nomina ponto...dedit* (*sc.* Icarus) *ignoto nomina ponto* of H.O. 685, 690. This part of the ode too contains the unprecedented use of *sonare* referred to above,¹ as well as the very bold construction of l. 677 *dum petit unum praebere diem*, where the object of *petit* (the subject of *praebere*) has to be evolved from *patrio* in the next line! I accordingly reject ll. 675-699; it is noteworthy that no other chorus in Seneca reaches the length of 123 lines—only one, and that exceptional in other respects, exceeding the century.² The rest of the ode is, for the most part, genuine Seneca: as characteristic I cite 588 (*Achelous*) *poneret undas*, 589-599, 608 *in tot populis uix una fides*, 614-5 *noctem quotiens summouet Eos* | *regem totiens credite nasci*, 616 *pauci reges, non regna colunt*, 644-672.³ At 622 however we are rudely startled by the application of the epithet *gemmifer* to Hister. A glance around shows that we have fallen into the snare of our editor, who, in confused remembrance of M. 724, 5

Danuuius illas (*sc.* aluit), has per arentes
plagas
tepidis Hydaspes gemmifer currens aquis,
improvises
nec tamen omnis plaga gemmiferi
623 sufficit Histri...
627 nec si totus seruiat Hebrus
ruraque diues iungat Hydaspes.

How far his interpolation goes is difficult to say. The feeble anaphora *auidis auidis*

Natura parum est (631) is surely his, as well as *non ut presso uomere SEMPER | NUMQUAM cesset curuus arator* of 633, 4.⁴ Probably we give him his due by assigning him ll. 622-636.

We come now to the consideration of the part of the play which even Leo rejects entirely. Certainly the scene between Hyllus and his mother starts badly enough. Not only do we find stumbling blocks (referred to in the earlier part of this paper) at 745, 756, 760 (*genus*), 770, but ll. 751-4 present a typical example of the editor's method. In O. 858 the herdsman, describing the plight of the babe whose life he spared, says: *vulneri innatus tumor | puerile foeda corpus urebat lue*, whereupon Oedipus says *quid quaeris ultra?*—*i.e.* 'no further inquiry is needed, the facts are manifest.' The H.O. passage runs:

Herculeos toros
*urit lues*⁵ nescio qua: qui domuit feras
ille ille uictor uincitur maeret dolet.
quid quaeris ultra?

The patchwork is obvious, and one notes the anaphora *ille ille*, which seems doubly weak after the relative clause.

Yet it behoves us to use care. That l. 738 is a valuable remnant of the Senecan draft I have shewn above.⁶ And contrast ll. 706-9 with ll. 710-14. The first passage is by no means free from 'reminiscences' and contains an example of the fatal use of *iecur* to which I have more than once referred. But the other is excellent and may well be from Seneca. With the previous one it coheres only in the most superficial way. For whereas there the whole position is that Deianira has had a fright and is still terribly frightened (*impulsis adhuc | stat terror animis et cor attonitum salit*, etc.), the Senecan lines compare her condition to that of the sea after a storm: her *mens adhuc uexatur* EXCUSO METU. It seems quite probable to me that Seneca meant the fear to be her fear of her rival: she has allayed this by sending off the robe, but still feels uneasy. But even if this be fanciful and

⁴ The thought is rather striking. This man loves wealth—not because it enables him to give employment to a number of deserving people, but *solus optat opes*. But one might add to the linguistic objection the material one that there is no difference between this man and that of 621 (*cupit hic gazis implere famem*).

⁵ In O. *l.c.* the Etruscan actually reads *lues*.

⁶ P. 48.

¹ P. 41.

² The polymetric chorus beginning O. 403, which reaches a total of 111. The passage Tr. 67-163 (104 lines) is dialogue between Hecuba and the chorus. The longer odes generally vary between 80 and 90 lines.

³ I agree with Richter and others that 673, 4 seem out of place here.

the fear in both cases refers to the crumbling of the wool in the sunlight, there is no question as to the discrepancy itself, and very little as to the authorship of the first passage.

Here, however, I must not stop to claim for Seneca fragments so brief as this. At l. 775 we enter on a vigorous description of the sacrifice and the agony which suddenly comes on Hercules. The shortening of the first syllable of *Cyclas* in 803 may mean that the editor here interpolated a line or two: on the other hand Seneca ventured on *Sigëon* (Tro. 932), *rei* (Th. 332), *cui* (Ag. 146, where the 'i' is actually elided) and may have ventured on *Cyclas*. I am much more exercised by another matter—the somewhat numerous 'reminiscences' which the passage contains: 775 *uertice immenso* (H.F. 1208¹), 786 *sordidum tabo* (*ib.* 785), 788 *veste tum fulgens tua | cana reuinctus populo horrentem comam* (cp. H.F. 467 *fulsitque... veste...horrentes comae*—likewise of Hercules), 792 *splendescat ignis* (Th. 56), 800 *uasto...mugitu replet* (Pha. 1171—in each case of a bull). Most of these are brief enough: perhaps the only one important in itself is 788 *sqq.* But it is certainly unusual in Seneca to find so many within so small a compass. I can only say that in every instance the words thoroughly suit their new context, so that it seems likely we have here what I suggested at the outset was possible enough: Seneca has repeated himself in the draft to an extent he would hardly have admitted to the finished work. The quality of the passage lasts until l. 808 when it receives an effective foil in an insertion by the editor. Hercules has suddenly burst into groans: without a word to tell us² that his agony was evidently due to the robe he wore, we find him suddenly turning on Lichas. The borrowing at once begins to take its usual slavish and tasteless form: l. 811 repeats the thought of H.F. 1023 (l. 808 has already recalled H.F. 1022), l. 815^a = A. 528^a (*ecce alia clades*). Obscurity and straining of expression resume their revels. Most important of all, these lines (808–822) obviously disturb the narrative. Accept them, and Hercules after hurling Lichas into the sea says abruptly enough, at l. 823, 're-

¹ And elsewhere, so that it is hardly a case of 'reminiscence' such as we are investigating. In the same way the fact that in 784 *uotiuum pecus* = A. 806 *pecore uotiuo* seems to me of no importance.

² In the *Trachiniæ* 767 *sqq.* προσπύσσετο πλευραίων ἀρτίκολλος... χιτῶν fulfil this office. In H.O. the dress has not been mentioned since 788 (and then only quite casually).

sistite...non furor mentem abstulit. Omit them, and this follows most naturally on 806 *sqq.*: *vulgus antiquum putat | rabiem redisse: tum fugam famuli petunt.* The rest of the speech is, I think, genuine: note such turns as 825 *vix pestem indicat | et saevit*, 828 *hoc solum Herculem | non posse vidi*, 832 *nec causa...patet | sed causa tamen est*, 838 *o sortem acerbam: fuimus Alcidae pares.*³

Deianira's speech (842 *sqq.*), though not free from reminiscences, I claim also for Seneca: witness 843 *natum reposcit Iuppiter, Iuno aemulum*, 844 *quod potes, redde exhibe*,⁴ 854 *perdidi in solo Hercule | et ipsa* (like Phaethon) *populos*, 869 *huic decet ferro immori*,⁵ 883 *aemuli, Iuno, tui | mortem occupauit.* One part of it certainly craves medicine, for the application of which it is necessary to quote at some length:

858 a me petatur (*sc. mors*): occupa ferrum ocuis.

cur deinde ferrum?.....

861 haec haec renatum prima quae poscit diem

Oeta eligatur: corpus hinc mitti placet;

abrupta cautes scindat et partem mei ferat omne saxum: pendeant lacerae manus

865 totumque rubeat asperi montis latus.

leuis uua mors est. leuis: at extendi potest.

Leo objects to the use of *deinde* in 859. I am much more offended by the isolation of 866, which not only comes in abruptly, but is followed by no explanation of the way in which D. proposes *extendere mortem*. I would transpose it to precede 861: by falling down the precipice she will be torn in pieces, each part as it were dying separately. In the light of this I can now understand *Contr.* 1. 3. 3 (see *C.R.* 1904, p. 221), where a precipitous cliff is chosen for the place of punishment *ut saepius deiciantur*.⁶ The dialogue (889 *sqq.*) is

³ Fond as Seneca is of violent contrasts I can hardly believe he wrote l. 840 *Austerque leuis pondus Herculeum rapit.*

⁴ For the asyndeton cp. Tr. 967 *lactare, gaude*, M. 449 *discedo exco*, O. 1053 *fugio exco*.

⁵ Leo's objections to the allusion to Hercules' sword (p. 52) seem to me answered by Melzer, p. 29. It is true we do not hear much of that weapon, but the MSS. give it in H.F. 1229, and Seneca was thinking of Dido and Aeneas more than of Hercules and Deianira.

⁶ Ll. 859–60, with the objectionable *deinde*, may be the editor's addition, to give the transition from 858 to 861 (rendered necessary when once 866 had got displaced). There may be other work of his in the neighbourhood: ll. 885–888 are weak.

thoroughly Senecan.¹ But from l. 910 onwards the editor's hand is clearly visible: one need only select for criticism the extraordinary feebleness of 911, 2 *si noui Herculem* (= H.F. 642) *aderit cruenti FORSITAN victor mali*, and the inaccuracy of 918 *ELISIT hydram*.² Pha. 246 *sqq.* have inspired ll. 925 *sqq.*,³ 1229 *sqq.* of the same play have produced ll. 942 *sqq.* In 949–963 (possibly more) I believe we return to Seneca: 951 *seu mater nocens | seu dira soror es* (to Medea), 961 *in me suas agnoscat ... manus*, 962 *coniugum turba*, 963 *sed et illa fugiet*, and the indicative in the deliberative question at 971.⁴ There is, however, a serious difficulty in l. 954:

nunc ueram tui
agnosce prolem.

We have seen above⁵ that this use of the personal pronoun is characteristic of the editor. Possibly Seneca wrote *uteri tui: proles fulminis* of M. 84 is much bolder. Of the rest of the scene I can only say that ll. 1000 *sqq.* seem to contain a thoroughly Senecan situation. Deianira has begged for death at her son's hands⁶: suddenly the vision of the Furies bursts upon her and she cries *scelus remitto*—'I can excuse you from matricide: the Furies will give me all I need.' Very possibly Seneca meant her to stab herself at l. 1006 (*poenas poscis Alcidae? dabo.*); at any rate this would be quite after his manner: see O. 1038 *sqq.*, M. 970 *sqq.* If so, the duplicate passage that follows is probably due to the editor—as the last six lines and a half most certainly are.

From this point onward I can be brief. Amidst all the rubbish that certainly predominates in the latter half of the play seven considerable passages stand out in marked contrast to their surroundings. To them I confine my attention, regardless on the one hand of occasional flashes in the gloom (e.g. at ll. 1346 and 1376), on the other ignoring the editorial work⁷ except in

so far as the contrast between the two styles is of assistance in deciding the question of genuineness.

(1) 1100⁸–1127. The rest of this chorus is so full of absurdity, commonplace, and reminiscence that the best way of testing my view is to compare it with the portion I have selected.

(2) 1249–1268⁹. Note 1258 *omne es malum nullumque*, 1261 *palam timere* (both phrases addressed by Hercules to the mysterious agony that is attacking him), 1264 *o malum simile Herculi* (with which cp. O. 925 *secum ipse... grande nescio quid parat | suisque fatis simile*).

(3) The dialogue 1352 *sqq.* Very characteristic is the indignant or surprised (*καὶ πῶς*; etc. in Greek tragedy) of l. 1355: cp. Tr. 429, 598; Pho. 243; M. 525; Pha. 673; O. 954; A. 292; Th. 196, 1075.

(4) 1564–1592. Here, as in (1), the Senecan chorus is imbedded in the editor's trash. L. 1518 is a medley of O. 250 and Pha. 678 (*o... mundi decus; radiate Titan*); in 1524 *quatiuntur* is a meaningless reproduction of the sound of *patiuntur* in the previous line; l. 1531 runs *quando, pro Titan, ubi, quo sub axe* (!); the monosyllabic ending of the Sapphic in 1543 is paralleled only⁹ by *licet sit* in Tro. 1018 (a much less objectionable case, as the two words cohere so closely); in general, the thought, though fairly free from reminiscence, is very 'thin.' At the other end occurs the impossible use of *tulit* referred to on p. 44. Turning to the lines I regard as genuine, we at once note in the passage beginning *loca quae sereni | deprimes caeli* resemblance to the thought of Verg. G. 1. 24 *sqq.*, Luc. 1. 52 *sqq.* The idea of the hero's proving a *burden* to the sky, which is not in Vergil, is common to Lucan and this passage. I think Seneca was more likely to affect Lucan than Lucan the editor, who shews no other signs of the nephew's influence. Another point that is Senecan is involved in the *ἄνω ποταμῶν* of ll. 1582 *sqq.*: here, along with stock examples, appears an unusual one ('the salt sea shall become fresh'), and this is the case with the other passages H.F. 374 *sqq.*,

¹ Especially 891, 894, 896, 897.

² This may be due to confused recollection of H.F. 221 *sqq. guttura elidens* (of the snakes at his cradle) | *prolusit hydrae* or to Ovid's *elisos hydros* (H. 9. 85), which of course refers to the cradle-snakes. We have seen the editor using Ovid's work above.

³ In l. 919 *obrutus artus ueneno read oblitus*.

⁴ For which cp. H.F. 964; Tr. 642, 686; Pho. 220, 450, 497.

⁵ P. 44.

⁶ Ll. 984–6 then may be quite genuine.

⁷ I cannot refrain from calling attention to some points hitherto ignored: the miserable line *quod nulla fera est, nullusque gigans* (1215), the use of

elidere in 1270 (*tot elisit mala*) in the general sense of *domare*, the imitation of H.F. in ll. 1294, 1308, 1313–4, 1351, the use of *quamquam* in 1506 (*quin ipse, quamquam Iuppiter, credi meus | pater esse gaudet*). In general, one need only refer to Leo's criticisms and the points noted in the earlier part of this paper.

⁸ Possibly the Senecan work begins at 1092. But the text of the passage there is too uncertain to build upon.

⁹ Leo, p. 60.

M. 401 *sqq.*, Pha. 568 *sqq.*, Th. 476, *sqq.*¹ The use of *non* with the optative (1589) is also Senecan; see H.F. 936; Pha. 946; O. 258, Th. 48, 185. The only difficulty presented by the passage is the transitive use of *quiescere* (in the sense of *tacere*) in l. 1586. I know nothing like it in the other plays, and must admit the possibility of editorial interference here.

(5) 1619–1641 and (6) 1693–1707^a. I put these together because all the rest of the description of the scene at the funeral is full of our editor's characteristic faults: e.g. we read at l. 1644 *quis illum credat ad flammam rapi?* The meaning is of course that his face was so joyful that none could imagine him at death's door, but the simile of a moaning lion which immediately precedes is a very bad introduction to the thought. And again in ll. 1679–1681 occur four clauses, three of which come almost verbally from the other plays.

(7) 1863–1898 (at least).² A passage similar to (1) and (4) above, and like them choral. Here, however, Seneca precedes the editor: see 1867 *ipsa quiddam plus luce perit*, 1880 the allusive *funus plangite verum* (addressed to Cretans), 1884 *nondum Phoebe nascente genus* (of Arcadia), 1897 *non stabulis nascitur infans* (as it did in the time of Thracian Diomedes). The only objection taken to the passage is the fact that in l. 1883, an anapaest follows a dactyl: the same however occurs, as Leo observes, in H.F. 1064. In case some may object to *caerulea Crete* of l. 1874 I quote from a recent article in the *Archiv*³ dealing with

¹ The only passage where no novelty is introduced is Pho. 84 *sqq.*, which however is very brief.

² I think ll. 1849 *sqq.* quite Senecan. Leo himself (p. 66) notes, in answer to Richter's criticisms (p. 25), that *aliqua* is 'ualde ex Senecae more' (Melzer well compares Pho. 249): so is *grex* in 1850 (cp. H.F. 507, 1149, Tr. 32, 959, A. 701), and 1852 *sqq. matribus miseris adhuc | exemplar ingens derat* seems to me to have a thoroughly Senecan ring.

³ 1905. 1. p. 81.

this adjective: 'So dürfen wie uns also gar nicht wundern wenn selbst die Insel Creta als *dominatrix vasti freti* (Pha. 85) Sen. H.O. 1874 das Attribut *caerulea* bekommt.' *Caeruleis equis* of H.F. 132 is much harder. The other half of the chorus is not Seneca's: observe the ineptness of *mundi turba citati* in l. 1903 (in A. 827 the epithet *conciatus* is applied with full force), *mundum . . . caelumque tulit* of 1906, the phrase *vector Olympi* (= Atlas) of 1907, the absurd anaphora of *nempe*⁴ in 1911–2. The exact line of demarcation between the two sections is doubtful: it must be either at 1898 or 1900.

Here then we say farewell to Seneca. It seems, at least, to me impossible to ascribe any of what follows to his pen. There is not, it is true, much 'reminiscence' here,⁵ but matter and style are intolerably weak. The question as to when the editor did his work I do not feel qualified to attack. Some indeed may think that too much time and space have already been devoted to the question of the genuineness of a Senecan play. The present age, with a literature that shares several weaknesses with silver Latin, has little sympathy with the writers of that style. Ovid, to whom Spenser owes much, is nowadays labelled a mere trifler; Valerius, a real poet, is classed with, even below, the pointed but wearisome Lucan. When we come to Senecan plays, the tendency to say that nothing is too bad to stand there seems almost irresistible to a certain class of critics. It is therefore desirable that those who are interested in the literary work of the first century after Christ should satisfy themselves that the inferior metal which they affect is at any rate pure.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

⁴ Which he never uses elsewhere in chorus.

⁵ This feature is, in fact, much less noticeable in the latter half of the play.

THE AMBROSIAN MS. OF PRUDENTIUS.

To have a decided prejudice in favour of a manuscript solely on the score of antiquity has long been proved a false principle; but to entertain a prejudice against a manuscript on that score and no other, is a peculiarity that I think one may fairly say is reserved to editors of Prudentius. I

have several times treated in this journal of their neglect of the old Paris MS.; and now I would speak for its brother, at Milan. In the Ambrosian library is a MS. of Prudentius (D. 36. Sup.) in an uncial hand of the seventh or eighth century coming from Bobbio,

With the solitary exception of Heinsius none of the editors has condescended to look at the MS.: even the careful Dressel, who raked over Italy for almost every fifteenth or sixteenth century fragment, is content to reproduce Heinsius' few and often incorrect statements about it. His description of it for instance is quite misleading: 'codex Ambrosianus antiquissimus *Cath.* et *Perist.* aliquot tantum hymnos praebebat' he says. One imagines a miserable ill used and illegible fragment;

OLD HAND.

- ff. 1-8 *Cath.* vii. 149-ix. 93.
 ff. 22-29 *Cath.* xii. 113 to the end. *Per.* x. 1-205.
 ff. 35-74 *Per.* x. 454-1140, i., ii., iii. 1-112.
 ff. 80-135 *Per.* v. 343-575, iv., xiv., vi., vii., ix., *Ap.* i. up to 847.
 ff. 147-178 *Ham.* 806-967: *Psych.* to 667.
 ff. 183-206 *Psych.* 843-915; *Symm.* i. to 336, 561-657, ii. to 84.

In the present number of the *Journal of Philology* I have endeavoured to prove that the later MSS. of Prudentius fall into two main groups, a French and English group and a German group, of which the German group is distinguished by the transposition of the *Peristephanon* from its correct position and placed at the end of the volume of poems immediately after the *Cathemerinon*; and by severing the last two hymns of the *Cathemerinon* from the rest of the book and placing them after the *Peristephanon*. The first of these changes undoubtedly occurs in *Ambr.*, but by a kind of mistake, for at the end of *Cath.* xii is written 'Finit Cathemerinon. Incipit Apotheosis,' though what immediately follows is *Per.* x and the rest of the *Peristephanon*. Now this placing of the hymn to Romanus before the rest of the *Peristephanon* is one of the special characteristics of the other, the French and English class; and it is with the French class that the order—or rather disorder—of the rest of the *Peristephanon* agrees. There is one unfortunate exception to that statement and with it is bound up the question whether the last two hymns of the *Cath.* were separated from their fellows or not. *Per.* xi, xii, xiii cannot have stood where they do in the French MSS., after *Per.* ix, because in *Ambr.* that hymn is followed by the *Apotheosis*; but it seems such an unjustifiable proceeding to insert them, and them alone, between *Cath.* x and xi that I surmise that origin-

ally that gap was filled merely by the missing parts of the *Cath.*, and those three hymns of the *Per.* were either omitted or occurred in the other gap between *Per.* iii and v.

LATER HAND.

- ff. 9-21 *Cath.* ix. 94- end of x. *Per.* xi., xiii., xii. The verses of Constantina and Damasus on Agnes. *Cath.* xi., xii. 112.
 ff. 30-34 *Perist.* x. 206-453.
 ff. 75-79 *Per.* iii. 113-215, v. 1-342.
 ff. 135-142 *Ap.* 848-1084, *Ham.* to 135, 581-805.
 ff. 179-182 *Psych.* 668-892.
 ff. 207-314 *Symm.* ii. 85-520.

ally that gap was filled merely by the missing parts of the *Cath.*, and those three hymns of the *Per.* were either omitted or occurred in the other gap between *Per.* iii and v.

However that may have been, *Ambr.* is in order an interesting connecting link between the two different classes; but in its readings it belongs distinctly to the better class (e.g. *Ps.* 177 uirtus et; 414 foedatur; the omission of the verses inserted in the German MSS. after *Ham.* 858; the reading 'caede stupenda' *Cath.* ix. 85). Indeed, though in view of such instances as *Cath.* ix. 58-60 and *Ps. Praef.* 63 it may be impossible to rely exclusively on *Put.* and *Ambr.*, still for such part of the poems as they contain they should form the base of any future edition.

I may perhaps notice here one form of corruption which is especially frequent in the MS.: the omission or addition of *m* or *n*, possibly due to the use of the stroke to represent those letters (e.g. *Ap.* 308 face-rent, 314 patrem, 400 audiant, 433 plagam, 462 reuicta, 529 matrems, 623 separant, 774 pleue): the confusion of *b* and *u* as in the last example is also common.

In the collation which follows I omit variations of spelling, and other unimportant variants, and also the readings given in Dressel's apparatus except when they are mistakes. In that case I have given the correct reading adding a star. For convenience sake I have separated the

readings of the old hand from those of the later hand which has filled up the missing parts; and where the variants are also found in the Paris MS. I have placed 'Put' in brackets after them.

Cath. vii. 151 pullati (*Put.* and practically all MSS.). 169 hauriat (*Put.*). 165 derogat (*al. m. suprascr. l'ne.*). *205 pectoris is a correction by a later hand from 'corporis.' The 'u' of rubiginem is altered to 'o' and the 'in' appears to be over an erasure, but, I think, by the first hand. viii. 31 cernat (*corr. al. m.*). 57 esequentum (*corr. in 'obs'.*). (*64 ineurans.) (*71 cibumue.) 72 temptas. ix. 5 corda

(*corr. in -e al. m.*). 10 *corefuso. 18 *quam. profundo (*corr. in -a al. m.*). 27 praemissus (ae *corr. in o.*) 58-60 The order is 60, 59, 58 (*Put.*). 'et' is altered to 'fit' by a later hand. 59 referta (*Put.*). 60 ferte qualis ter quaternis (*Put.*). 72 dissolubilis (*Put.*). 74 reulso (!) (*corr. in recluso.*) 90 sibila (*Put.*). xii. 133 quo (*Put.*). 184 pinxerint (*Put.*). 195 durum (*corr. in di.*).

Ap. 1st Praef. 12 in om. *2nd Praef.* 30 concitarum. 47 fertiles (*Put.*). 53 dent. 55 messe. *Ap. 26 uera.* 27 ni (*Put.*). 90 ratio uia (*Put.*). 97 quem. 117 munere. 137 subtrahite accensi frigescit. 160 om. (*Put.*). 181 existet. 186 et quis. 201 quod somniat. 202 exit.

209 numen (*mut. in no- al. m.*). 226 summumediae. 230 fit. 232 sursum (*Put.*). 248 and 249 are transposed, and 248 reads 'siue supernatus fuerit sibi ipse repente' (*Put.*). 254 om. ut (*Put.*). quo. 260 sensus (*Put.*). 265 qui (*Put.*). 269 generauerit unus. 234 fit nobis. 295 percurrere scrinia. 308 facerent. 310 condimus. 322 possint (*Put.*). 329 caecae defert. 337 lege. 360 procellis (*Put.*). 395 fraglans. 398 multae. 400 audiant. 408 auctor. 419 quid sis. 425 roseos et qui (*Put.*). 436 deus deus (*Put.*). 439 regit (*Put.*). 454 orbi (*Put.*). 464 reserarat (*Put.*). 472 perferre. 484 frustra.

487 om. (*add. al. m.*). 523 arte (*Put.*). 530 maternae ex. 573 et om. 577 fore nuntiat (*Put.*). 673 que (quae *Put.*). 676 reddit. 700 stupefacta—auctorem om. 702 purgamen (*Put.*). 722 qui om. 729 paruo de. 774 pleue. resoluef. 791 ipsa (*Put.*). 793 uerus uerus deus ille (*Put.*). 794 esse. 797 diest. 834 distans (!).

Ham. 818 nequiquam (*Put.*). 868 quod. 908 denseta (densetur *Put.*). 916 tristes et (*Put.*). 936 ueniam. 947 minaci (*al. m. ex -ci?*). *Ps. Praef.* 1 om. *add. al. m.* 60 parente natus alto et ineffabili (*Put.*). 68 impleuit. *Ps.* 36 exultant. 56 famulas-

que. 67 figurant. 104 contempta. 111 erigidis. 137 cf. 165 sequurus. 177 et (nam *supra al. m.*).

216 o (*Put.*). 220 iobis. 263 morsa. 269 at. 272 ac sub is written over an erasure and 273 added in the margin by another hand. 275 perspicit. 290 et om.

293 funali. 298 possent. 324 neruoya (neruum *Put.*).

338 quem (*corr. al. m.*). 407 effata. 413 nequiquam (*Put.*). 429 dulcibus (*corr. in lux- al. m.*). 449 flammiv deo hom. 492 peculator (*Put.*). s. *add. al. m.* 498 sacerdotealumni (*corr. al. m.*). 600 olamca flatu (classica *supr. al. m.*). 510 ingemuit. 515 formauit (*corr. in durauit al. m.*). 553 ueste (*Put.*). 570 incertus. 578 se om. 591 ligant (ba *supra al. m.*). 615 nec. 623 addubitas (*corr. in. at- al. m.*). 630

scaelus embaestae (*corr. al. m.*). 635 gradum (*corr. al. m.*). 642 arce (*mut. in arcem al. m.*). 649 est (*corr. al. m.*). 894 ac. 906 om. *add. al. m.* 910 omnes (*Put.*).

Symm. i. Praef. 9 pertulerat. 17 focos trudent. 37 discutit. 74 spes. 79 subsistit. 23 quis. 43 qui.

47 ut exul. 61 criminiamota. 62 at. blandosque

mirros (*corr. al. m.*). 66 firmarant. 74 axtus. 117 tactataeferuit. 151 parumque. 165 ianotant (abie-*al. m. supra.*) 168 isdicum (subcumbit *al. m. supra.*) 169 ne terrester est ne deam. 179 obiceret (audire *supra al. m.*). 190 quod in urbe. 196 seruaunt terror. 205 habitu. 209 inpressit. 223 fiant is written over senatu by another hand. probantur. 230 uiro. 233 dus. 256 et geniale parantur. 266 creata. 282 regione iacentes. 289 triumfis. 318 breuiorem. 561 graecos. 584 genitoris olsos. 585 magnis lateram adcurrit. 610 quam uocant. 614 om. *add. al. m.* 638 si...temptet (cum...temptat *supra al. m.*). 649 partam (altered by a later hand to patriam).

Symm. ii. Praef. 48 fidentem merito. 51 planus. 9 eductos...calentes. 13 sacratum. 14 equis. 35 cuique dextra est. 40 nomen. 47 uolunt (malum *al. m. supra.*) 48 conualuit...trina (docta *al. m. supra.*) 69 ueterem. 73 suus (*corr. al. m.*). 84 equis.

Per. i. 3 scriptata. 22 dura (*Put.*). 25 decorum est hoc (*Put. 2.*) 27 morte. 69 nobis (*corr. al. m.*). 76 nec. 97 domantur. 98 ritu. 119 perstrepat. After 120 an uncial hand supplies in the margin a verse 'quo beatae trinitatis concinator gloria.' ii. 4 triumphas (*Put.*). 44 dispensas. 86 praestrigiis. 106 qua (*Put.*). 134 spem (*Put.*). 160 primus (*al. m. ex promus.*) 193 turbidis (*Put.*). 213 effectus. 222 luces. 250 sitique. 285 nihil. 287 ut. 328 retudit (*Put.*). 333 sed iam. 437 confoederantur (*Put.*). 439 mansuescit (*Put.*). (*463 *Ambr.* does not read creditus as *Dressel* says.) 483 et stabunt. 487 euolens. 514 orare in puluinarum. 521 doma. 545 quia. 579 martyras (*Put.*). iii. 12 tres. 21 flere (*Put.*) changed to fore. iv. 17 promit. 25 inligataest (changed to tae est). 88 numero. 103 unctus. 134 negarit (*Put.*). 146 *heperco (changed from lup- by a later hand). 151 iuliam (*Put.*). 153 pangat (*Put.*) changed to -dat. 157 *euotit. 167 uitiosa (*Put.*). v. 390 nec. 392 figat. 394 aq. 464 aspectum. 484 interterit. 520 *subter. 574 sit. vi. 8 superbum. 24 ne. 46 patrem osatum (*corr. al. m.*). 55 resignarat. 78 nec. 79 resoluat. 126 *quos foro. vii. 20 uuida. 42 mitiferis. 78 hebet. 82 quiq.

x. 22 luculente (*r. al. m.*). 54 pauentum. 59 est (*om. add. al. m.*). 116 *tundatur (changed to tend- by a later hand). 144 ingentia (uel insignia *supra al. m.*). 178 deas deosque. 180 et. 196 cybaebis. 204 uictus. 480 ruit (*corr. in -at.*) 483 saeuitia. 495 artis. 508 fetit. 578 resistet. 597 minore. 688 spectem. 692 quantulus. 713 impiorum. 725 cedere. 768 parata nobis gloriae. 784 grata (changed to data). 789 munere est. 840 ego. *879 uelut. 881 laterna. (*896 quidam non quondam as *Dressel* says.) 912 praefectus ergo ratus. 972 seu retunsis tactibus. 1012 consecrandus. 1025 blattealis. 1076 acceptit fragitias. 1080 sic om. 1115 uligo. xiv. 6 fidei ac. 20 offerebat. 59 tunc. 63 ascensus. 79 Christo. 89 subiectu. 110 malorum taetrius omnium est. 112 ac.

A glance at the variants just given is sufficient to show that there is a much greater agreement between the two oldest MSS. of Prudentius than one could gather from

Heinsius' few readings, and if space did not prevent me from giving spelling-variants the same impression would be still more strongly enforced. Suffice it to say that most of the statements made in my article on the spelling of *Put.* apply too to *Ambr.*

From whatever source the later hand, which has filled up the gaps, derived its text, it is by no means a contemptible authority. In proof of that it is sufficient to note that the lines inserted in the worse class of MSS. after *Ap.* 937, *Ham. Praef.* 43, *Ham.* 69, *Symm.* i. 367, ii. 143 do not occur. I did not completely collate this latter part of the MS., but examined a number of readings, of which I will give a few to illustrate its worth.

Cath. ix. 102 ac. x. 8 *fol.* spiritus simul et caro seruit: and then as *Dressel's* i. 60 ardet. (154 ut est cleazar.) 157 atra e. xi. 111 perpetem. xii. 67 puero cui. *Ap.* 895 aggenitus. 923 dicitur inloto. *Ham. Praef.* 46 duorum. 62 cadet. 95 non sint. 107 deos. 786 agresti aburitur. *Ps.* 727 in commune bonis tranquillae plebis ad unum Sensibus in tuta ualli statione locatis Extruitur (as *Put.*). 752 hoc habet. 781 cuncta. 873 uiribus/arta. *Symm.* 1. (497 prodigia et laruas.) *Symm.* 11. 143 ignauiam trahere istam, *underlined*, and robur eneruatum etc. *written above.* 326-8 ceu quadrupes egit. *Mox tenerum* etc. 474 per amplum sub hoste Ingenium. *Per.* v. 169 hunc lacesse. x. 222 conanem. 228 spadonem. 253 promiscue. 333 pecuda. 399 hic. xi. 9 minuta. 65 excide. 87 hypolitus fiat ergo agitit 111 errore. 161 decurrunt celsis. 162 iaceant. xiii. 32 iustitia. 54 utrumque. 68 titubetque. 86 uenit. 90 docmatis atque loci iussus genus edere christianus inquit Seruo. 96 abire.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES ON ROMAN BRITAIN.

(See *C.R.* XVIII., Pp. 398 sq., 458 sqq.)

MR. McELDERRY'S 'Notes on Roman Britain' in the time of Domitian are interesting and suggestive, and form a pleasant change from the general style of many English writers on the subject. But I do not think they can all be taken as they stand:—

(1) *The establishment of a colonia at Lindum (Lincoln).*—It is probable enough on general grounds that this occurred in the latter part of the first century or very soon afterwards. But the *senum coloniae* of Tacitus (*Agr.* 32) is just as rhetorical a plural as the *aegra municipia* of the same sentence, which can only refer to the one known *municipium* of Britain, Verulam. The Mainz inscription of *M. Minicius M. fil. Quir. Lindo Martialis* (or *Marcellinus*), tribune or primipilus of the 22nd legion Primi-genia, gives no better proof. I have always hoped that Minicius might turn out British-born. But, on our present evidence, the chances are dead against it. It is not merely (as Mr. McElderry states in his postscript) that parallels can be quoted for eastern-born officers. It is that in the time of Septimius Severus (to which Minicius pretty certainly belongs) the Mainz inscriptions suggest that the *bulk* of the officers in this legion (as not improbably in others) were Orientals: 'wie es scheint, lauter Asiaten,' says one epigraphist. Earlier, the primipili and tribuni on the Rhine were generally Italian born, according to Prof. v. Domaszewski, and

Lincoln on either score is excluded. Nor is Lindus in Rhodes so unlikely. Men of the Quirine tribe occur there, though the tribe has of course no necessary connexion with the place, and I see no sort of reason why an officer should not have hailed from it about 200 A.D. as easily as from other attested Eastern sites.

(2) *Legio II adiutrix in Scotland.*—Personally, I believe the Camelon altar cited by Mr. McElderry to be a forgery. But it should be observed that, even if genuine, it cannot normally refer to this legion. The text is certain: the letters and stops plain, and the emendation of A | DIE into A | D. P. F. (easy enough in a MS.) will not do on a stone. If genuine, the altar refers to the Legio II A (ugusta). If forged, it may of course refer to anything.

(3) *Withdrawal of troops about A.D. 76.*—I do not think that the Baalbek inscription proves all that Mr. McElderry wants. It does not say that Velius Rufus led his vexillationes of eight (or nine) legions to Mauretania. Nor is such a view at all likely, though it has Mommsen's authority. The British legions were never employed for special service in Africa, and the Rhenish legions only in later times. Moreover, we have no record of trouble in Africa under Vespasian—though we have under Domitian. It seems preferable to connect the vexillationes of Velius with the legionary tiles of Mirebeau, seventeen miles N.E. of Dijou.

These tiles were found along with other tiles dating from about A.D. 88 and (though the site has not been properly explored) may be reasonably taken to be more or less coeval with them. The troops named on them belong to Upper Germany and Britain, and, while they do not suit the events of 70 (with which they are often connected), agree closely with the command of Velius. It is therefore probable, as Ritterling has suggested, that the tiles of Mirebeau and the operations of Velius were both connected with Domitian's wars against the Chatti in 83 and the following years. Velius afterwards, when stationed at Carthage, was sent to help in Mauretania.

The Batavian cohorts.—Here I am more inclined to agree with Mr. McElderry, and in one point perhaps to go further. If the last letters of COH. IX. BA EQ. MIL EX P. B. on the Weissenburg altar be explained as *ex provincia Britannia*, a very unusual description emerges. It is not common thus to 'specify the garrison-province.' But it might be justified if the cohort were fresh from Britain, only temporarily and perhaps accidentally at Weissenburg and still, in some sense, on the British army list. The draft of the Batavian cohorts to Germany is intelligible enough. These cohorts were originally connected with the Legio XIV Gemina and were withdrawn from the island with it and probably disbanded. The legion was replaced after A.D.

70 by the Legio II adiutrix; the original cohorts were equally replaced by other Batavian cohorts, and the two are connected like their predecessors. When the Legio II adiutrix goes to the continent, perhaps in 85 or 86, they go too. In this case the Weissenburg inscription may belong to that date, which it otherwise suits well enough. But whether the Carlisle fragment named the ninth Legion or the ninth Batavian Cohort is another matter. In either case it indicates an early occupation of Carlisle, presumably by Agricola.

(5) *The invasion of Ireland.*—I shall not discuss this weary subject. Discussion in print is indeed impossible, for the number of tiny details. Thus, Mr. McElderry quotes Prof. Gudeman's argument that the words *in aliam insulam* at the end of *Agr.* ch. 22 foretell the conquest of Ireland in ch. 23, and he adds that I have called the point too subtle. If I am to reply, I must reply that I have also said that, if there is anything at all in the argument, it applies as well to the description of Ireland in ch. 23 as it would to the alleged conquest. No one has yet shown that *in aliam insulam* looks on to *ignotae gentes* and not merely to the obvious mention of Ireland. But it would take a folio to argue on this scale. I shall only testify that Mr. McElderry's special pleading convinces me better than ever that Agricola did not invade Ireland.

F. HAVERFIELD.

NOTES.

ON EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 503-505.

νῦν δ' ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν δαίμον' ἦλθε μητέρι.
κακὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνδίκως ἠγούμενος,
αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα κτανών.

μητέρ' ἐγένετο Porson, 'more suo,' as Hermann once said of a transposition of his: and this is the only conjecture worthy of notice. It is difficult to say exactly why it displeases one: so I shall limit myself to proposal of my own remedy. That ἐγένετο should precede κτανών seems fairly certain: now μητέρα is superfluous and clumsy after μητέρι and αὐτὴν in the preceding lines, in fact αὐτὴν supplies the object to the second participle: μητέρα may well be a gloss to explain the construction of κτανών, or a deliberate addition. It could easily have slipped or been intruded into the line if the first word had been lost, as we know it could have been lost, from the following combination: κακῆς κακίων αὐτὸς ἐγένετο κτανών. The metrical critic who shifted αὐτὸς was like all who followed him down to the days of Porson, and did not boggle at the anapaest. The reading proposed makes 504 and 505 balance each other (κακὴν . . αὐτὴν = κακῆς . .

αὐτὸς), and the repetition κακὴν . . κακῆς gives additional force to κακίων.

C. J. BRENNAN.

* * *

ON AR. *Eph.* 347.

347 εἴ που δικάδιον ἔπασ εὖ κατὰ ξένου μετ-
οίκου, . . .

350 ὦν δυνατὸς εἶναι λέγειν, ὃ μᾶρε τῆς ἀνοίας.

The phrase ξένος μέτοικος has been long suspected. Neil indeed suggests a sense in which it is just possible, but admits that it is 'strange.' It is highly improbable that either word was an adscript to the other, and most attempts at correction have been based on the reasonable supposition that μετοίκου is sound, and κατὰ ξένου due to wrong division of the letters κατα-. Now the value of this type of emendation depends very largely on the sense or nonsense given by the words when wrongly divided. Thus, if Aristophanes had written κατ' ἄξιον (Kaehler), it is not probable that a scribe would have put this into the absurd form κατὰ ξίον.

I suggest κατ' ἀσθενοῦς μετοίκου. ἀσθενῆς is not

'poor,' 'needy,' as in Eur. *Supp.* 433, *El.* 236, but 'of no influence,' with insistence on the literal negative sense. So in Eur. *El.* 267, where Electra gives the motive of Aegistheus in marrying her to a poor man, *τεκνὸν μὲν ἐβούλετο ἀσθενῆ, τοιῶδε δούς*; there *ἀσθενῆ* is not positive, 'weak,' but consciously negative, for *σθένος οὐκ ἔχοντα* (not influential enough to take vengeance).

Thus Cleon's contempt for such small triumphs is yet further accentuated. 'You fuss and worry and train (348-9) for a suit of no importance (*δεδικιδιον*), in which the defendant is not a citizen but a *μέτοικος*—and an obscure one at that!'

To plead against a Cephalus would have been no such simple matter.

H. SHARPLEY.

ON CATULLUS, XXV. 5.

cum diua †mulier aries† ostendit oscitantes.

In the new volume of the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* Professor Ellis has not admitted to the text any one of the innumerable conjectures which this line has provoked; while from his apparatus criticus he excludes all suggestions—such as (*e.g.*) the late Professor Palmer's 'cum diua miluorum aues ostendit oscitantes'—which seek in the corrupt words some further description of the 'turbida procella' of line 4; rightly no doubt, for the storm is but a detail, the rapacitas Thalli is the point of the epigram. Is it possible that the line ought really to run thus:

'cum diua <nu> mularios ostendit oscitantes'?

The syllable nu- might easily drop out before mu- and the fragment mul- be mistaken for an abbreviation of mulier; when the *vox nihili* arios would be liable to be changed, as in O and G, into aries, alios, or, even aues, at the pleasure of well-meaning scribes.

Thallus I take to be not a kleptomaniac but a thief. The tone of the whole piece is extremely bitter, and lines 10-11 are not jest but earnest. The general sense of lines 4-5 will then be: 'And yet (*idemque*)

for all his sleek appearance the man's a common thief. Even the gold and silver at the mint is not safe from him, when his patroness (? Laverna) shows him that the clerks are off their guard.' If we could assume that, like his namesake the 'superpositus numulariorum' (Ellis, *Commentary on Catullus*, p. 84), the Thallus of this poem had also some special connection with the mint, my conjecture would approximate to certainty; but the supposition is not essential. In any case the diminutive element in the word is in keeping with the other diminutives in the piece, and it may have been from this passage that Catullus' admirer Martial took his 'otiosus numularius' (xii. 57, 8): the epithet certainly points that way.

D. A. SLATER.

ON HORACE, *Ep.* I. v. 1.

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis.

The epithet *Archiacis* is traditionally referred to a cheap cabinet-maker named Archias, not otherwise known. Many years ago the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe suggested to me a different interpretation. He associated it with a story in Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*. Archias, governor of Thebes, received one day at dinner, when he had well drunk, a despatch from his namesake at Athens, giving full details of the conspiracy of Pelopidas, and put it aside with the words *ἐς αὔριον τὰ σπουδαία*, words which afterwards became proverbial. The story is repeated by Montaigne, and I have seen *à demain les affaires* quoted by a French author as if it were familiar to his readers. This interpretation accords with the whole tone of the letter, which is an invitation to Torquatus to a plain dinner with plenty of good wine, and speaks, in no veiled terms, of the advantage of excessive indulgence in it. Notice especially the concluding lines

rebus omissis

Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

The words *rebus omissis* read almost like a translation of *ἐς αὔριον τὰ σπουδαία*.

H. W. EVE.

REVIEWS.

KALBFLEISCH'S GALEN *DE CAUSIS CONTINENTIBUS*.

Galen, de causis continentibus libellus. A NICOLAO REGINO in sermonem latinum translatus. Primum edidit CAROLUS KALBFLEISCH. Marpurgi Chatterum Elwert bibl. acad. 1904. 4to. 24 pp. M. 1.20.

SPECIALISM may be narrow no doubt, but when it is so, the narrowness is in the specialiser, not in the things themselves. For instance, what labour could seem narrower or more otiose than an elaborate edition—a collated text and notes in abundance—of an obscure Latin translation of one of the many

lost tracts of Galen, a version which for more than 500 years 'latuit in umbraculis bibliothecarum'; a tract moreover which did not even belong to the medical writings of this too prolific master but to that philosophical, or sophistical, apparatus which he considered indispensable, as an introductory mental training and orientation, for every serious person embarking upon the study of Medicine. Not only is it thus with the original, but the translation is from the pen of a medieval physician of no great medical repute, one who, in the present

writer's opinion, modified—and could not in his day but modify—the original work by use of terms which changes in substance also.

I admit therefore that I turned to this edition in a somewhat idle spirit, as to a school exercise; but, observing the name of its Editor, I began to read, and having begun did not put the book down till I had read it two or three times. The Editor is more than justified not only in devoting to this tract his valuable time but also in saying in the Introduction 'insunt enim quae non modo grammaticis sed ne philosophis quidem aut medicis . . . negligenda esse putem.'

In the few paragraphs to be spared to me here I can do no more than indicate two or three of the aspects in which I found this book interesting; indeed to work out these features would require not only more space than is at my disposal but a profounder investigation and comparison of terms and methods than I could undertake at present.

It is well known that the larger part of the treatises of Galen were destroyed either in the fire in the Via Sacra in the reign of Commodus, or by the ravages of later times. By citations we know that among them was a tract entitled *Περὶ τῶν συνεκτικῶν αἰτιῶν*, as contrasted with *αἰτίαι προκαταρκτικάι*; but before it disappeared—probably for ever—a translation had been made of it by Nicolas of Reggio who is well known to historians of Medicine as one of the teachers of Salerno in the fourteenth century, and as a member of that succession of benefactors who, by their translations of Greco-Arab and later, of Greek texts, forwarded the renaissance of Medicine in the Middle Ages. Of these early scholars Constantine of Monte Cassino was one of the first, and Gerard of Cremona perhaps the most important. Nicolas of Reggio was working in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, and one of the MSS. on which Kalbfleisch depends (the other is at Dresden) is at Paris (Cat. codd. mss. bibl. reg. iv. p. 286 sq.); but we are not informed when it got there. The Paris MS. is of the fourteenth century, but as I have good reason to suppose that in the earlier years of this century there were few, perhaps only nine, medical MSS. in Paris, it is probable that this book reached Paris at some later date; perhaps after the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. In the history of ideas in the Middle Ages, comparative study of libraries—a study on which there is much work yet to be done—is of great importance. However where Nicolas got his original (lost) text we may guess fairly well, for we

have not to go farther than Haeser to learn that he was encouraged in the work of translation by King Robert of Sicily, who in his turn persuaded the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus to lend him original texts for this purpose. Unfortunately King Robert took the unusual course of returning the borrowed works; had he followed the ordinary course they might have been still in existence. Whether any Arab copies existed or not I find no information.

The next aspect of interest on which I can touch is in the work itself. The text is based upon these two MSS. of Paris and Dresden. Much of the editor's interpretation is supported by parallel passages in Galen's extant works. On these parallels, and internal evidences of date and the like, the notes are very full and effective; very wide and careful reading must have been expended upon this part of the edition. The Latin title '*De causis continentibus*,' I would venture to translate into English: *Concerning comprehensive* (wider or remoter) *causes*—in distinction from the *προκαταρκτικάι* which, for the Hippocratic school at any rate, signified immediate causes. The contents are thus summarised in the Dresden MS.:—On the elements, their nature and combinations; On the three causes of disease, and their differences, according to Athenaeus; On the generation of natural bodies out of the elements, which do not mix, as ordinary matters do, but combine, so as to create new and distinct bodies; On the nature and conditions of such 'alteration'; On the invariability of cause; On the Pneuma as the cause of becoming; On *causae contentivae* in organised bodies, healthy and unhealthy; and so on. The reader who is versed in this kind of argument will recognise the return of the doctrine of the Pneuma in the schools of the later Stoics; especially as interpreted by Athenaeus of Attalia in Cilicia, who was known in Rome of the Julian period under the agnomen of 'Pneumaticus.' To the vast learning of Athenaeus we have Galen's testimony; and fragments of his writings are extant in Oribasius and Aetius. (Here I may refer to my article on 'Wellmann's *Die pneumatische Schule*,' Berlin, 1895, in this Review, vol. X. p. 346.) To Athenaeus the pneuma was the world soul. The pulse, for example, was for him a working of the pneuma. His large conception of dietetics as mental as well as bodily edification, if no new conception to the Greeks, yet proves him to have been a broad-minded teacher. The word *alteratio* again will be noted as per-

taining not to the first but to the fourteenth century, and its meaning at that time may be best illustrated by its use to signify the change of substance in the Eucharist.

The causes contemplated in the tract are largely the formal—as opposed to the material and efficient; but without an analysis, section by section, it is almost impossible to give a comparative sketch of the thought; for these distinctions exist in thought only, and cannot well be demonstrated objectively. Moreover the very terms themselves changed in more than shades of meaning, from the first century to the times of the schoolmen. And herein

lies another kind of interest in this little book—that to which I alluded in the first paragraph of this notice—namely, in the ways in which Greek thought is converted, as a perusal of this edition makes evident enough, into the terms of the scholastic philosophies of the fourteenth century. It is difficult to say whether the substantial identity of human thought in divers epochs or the dissolving views of its re-emergent forms are the more curious. For even such ontological controversy as this can never lose its interest as a chapter of the long history of ideas in the human mind.

T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

KLOSTERMANN'S *ONOMASTIKON* OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, Onomastikon. Herausgegeben von Dr. ERICH KLOSTERMANN. Hinrichs : Leipzig, 1904. Pp. xxxvi, 207. M. 8.

THIS volume forms one of the series of Greek patristic texts published under the auspices of the 'Kirchenväter-Commission' of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The material for this geographical dictionary of the Bible, as one might call it, is naturally drawn mainly from the Septuagint and Hexapla; but, as the editor points out, Eusebius is probably indebted also to official maps and route-books, such as must have been procurable at the provincial capital, Caesarea, as well as to private sources of information and his own personal observation: occasionally, too, he makes reference to Josephus's *Archæology*. For the constitution of the text the chief authority is a Vatican Codex of the twelfth century, of which Vallarsi (1735) was the first editor to make use, previous editors having relied solely on the Paris cod. 464 (sixteenth century), which is merely a late copy of the Vatican. In addition to these and some minor codices we have to take account of a considerable number of extracts from the *Onomasticon* in writers such as Procopius of Gaza; and above all, of the Latin translation by Jerome. Jerome's rendering is especially valuable in that it enables us to supply the substance of a number (circ. 46) of lacunæ in the Greek.

In the printing of the text Dr. Klostermann, like the older editors, sensibly puts the Greek and Latin in parallel columns, or rather pages, instead of adopting the clumsy

fashion set by his immediate predecessor, Lagarde (ed.¹ 1870, ed.² 1887), of placing the Latin under the Greek. Thus we are enabled to see at a glance where the two authorities differ. A comparison of the two shows us that Jerome frequently adds explanatory glosses of his own, which the editor generally marks by italics. In some cases, however, this convenient practice is omitted. Thus, it is not obvious why part of the Latin account of *Gedud* (p. 73) should be italicized, while equally plain glosses in the note on *Ger*, on the same page, are not so printed. So too with the statement 'Rabbath Moab, id est grandis Moab' (p. 125, l. 15), where the last words are an etymological gloss of the regular kind. It is also a matter of regret that the editor generally withholds all comment on minor points where the Latin deviates from the Greek. We find, for example (p. 33, l. 10), 'est hodieque villa' over against *καὶ ἔστι κώμη*, whereas the usual equivalent would be *καὶ <εἰς ἔτι νῦν> ἔστι κ.* So too (p. 168, l. 29) *καὶ οἱ Ὁ ἄλλαχού 'τοῦ λαξεντοῦ'* is rendered by 'sed et Septuaginta interpretes Fasga in quodam loco excisum transtulerunt,' which raises two questions, (1) is *in quodam loco* intended for ἄλλαχού, and (2) does not 'sed et' imply *δὲ καί*, or the like? These are but specimens of phenomena which probably occur on every other page; and they seem to demand a thorough investigation in order to determine how far such deviations are due merely to carelessness on the part of the translator and how far they may be taken to indicate corruption in the Greek

codices. We need to arrive at some general principle which will guide us in deciding, e.g., whether or not we should insert in the Greek text *πρὸς ἀνατολὰς* to correspond to 'ad orientem vergens' (p. 97, l. 11), or *πρὸς νότον* for 'contra australem plagam' (p. 35, l. 19; 99, l. 27); but I cannot find that the present editor anywhere attempts to supply us with such a principle. It may be suggested, further, that students of the text would have welcomed a hypothetical restoration of the Greek in the case of larger lacunae where the Latin supplies the sense. One such restoration, by Villarsi, is worth quoting: the Latin (p. 153, l. 15) is 'Segor, quae et Bala et Zoara, una de quinque civitatibus Sodomorum, ad preces Lot de incendio reservata,' for which V. writes *Σεγόρ ἦτις καὶ*

Βαλὰ καὶ Ζοορά, τῆς πενταπόλεως Σοδόμων, ἣ Ἄστ εὐχόντος (!) σωθεῖσα. Here, besides correcting the grammar, I should propose the insertion of *μία* before *τῆς* (comparing the notes on 'Αδαμά, p. 8; Γομορρά, p. 60; Ζογερά, p. 94); and I should question whether 'ad preces...reservata' is anything more than a Hieronymian gloss.

These, however, are but minor criticisms on a piece of editing which is marked by a high degree of erudition and care. In addition to full indexes of names and Biblical references, the correctness of which I have tested, the volume is furnished with an excellent map of Palestine, to correspond to the *Onomasticon*. The only misprint I have observed is on p. 169, l. 17, 'quaedem.'

R. G. BURY.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE *THEOPHANIA* OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, Theophanie: die Griechischen Bruchstücke und Übersetzung der Syrischen Überlieferungen herausgegeben von Dr. HUGO GRESSMANN. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1904. Pp. xxx + 272. M. 9.50.

THE *Theophania* of Eusebius, one of the chief works of the great Church historian, was intended as a more or less popular commendation of Christianity to the heathen world. It was long supposed to be irrecoverably lost, but a Syriac translation turned up among the Nitrian MSS now in the British Museum, and this was edited by Dr. Samuel Lee in 1842. About the same time Cardinal Mai discovered some extracts from the original Greek embedded in a Vatican *Catena* on S. Luke and on the Epistle to the Hebrews. These extracts Dr. Gressmann has now re-edited, together with a German rendering of the whole *Theophania* from the Syriac.

The Syriac version must have been made not very long after the publication of the original, for our MS is actually dated 411 A.D.¹ The version is slavishly literal in style, so much so as to be frequently quite incomprehensible. But this quality of literalness is of course extremely useful when we try to reconstruct the Greek

original, a process which is often possible owing to the method of composition which Eusebius habitually adopted. In fact, as soon as the Syriac came to light it was recognised that we had to do with an old friend in a new dress. Eusebius had no scruple at all about repeating himself, and fully half, if not more, of the *Theophania* is to be found word for word in one or other of his erudite and voluminous works. Thus of the five books of the *Theophania*, nearly all the fifth is taken from the third book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, and large portions of the first three books are identical with the second part of the theological Oration known as *De Laudibus Constantini*. It is therefore possible by means of these extensive parallels to gauge the accuracy and to tabulate the methods of the Syriac translator, so that we can obtain a fair idea of what he read before him in those parts where no Greek parallel is now extant. Dr. Gressmann has quite justifiably attempted to give in his German translation a reconstruction of the original rather than a mere echo of the Syriac, e.g. in *Theoph.* v. 48 (p. 254).²

With regard to the question of the chronological order of the various Eusebian writings, Dr. Gressman raises in his Introduction, pp. xiii-xx, a question of some

¹ The concluding leaf of B.M. Add. 12150, containing the colophon, was missing when Dr. Lee wrote, but it is now bound up in its place, as Dr. Gressman ought to have known (Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 633a).

² On pp. 195, 197 (*Theoph.* iv. 20) it is surely a mistake to emend *baddidēh dam'dittu*, i.e. 'suburbs,' in the face of the example cited in Brockelmann's *Lexicon*, p. 3b.

importance in literary criticism. That the *Demonstratio* and *Praeparatio* are earlier than the *Theophania* and that the *Theophania* borrows from them is certain: in fact, Eusebius mentions the *Demonstratio* by name at the end of the fourth book. But it is otherwise with the *Laus Constantini*, and Dr. Gressmann brings forward some very strong reasons why we should regard the second part of the *Laus* as later than the *Theophania*. The interesting part about his theory is that he admits the superiority of arrangement in the *Laus* to that in the *Theophania*. As a rule it seems to be assumed in literary discussions that the original arrangement of a writer's material is sure to be superior to any later use that may be made of them. But this need not always be the case, and Dr. Gressmann suggests that the necessity for compressing and arranging the diffuse and unwieldy

elaboration of the *Theophania* into something suitable for a sermon preached at Court actually led to a more artistic result. 'Eusebius hat es nicht übel verstanden, seine frühere viel zu weitschweifige und darum teilweise langweilige Arbeit so zu kürzen und stylistisch zu glätten, dass sie das Interesse des grossen Laien [*i.e.* Constantine] wohl zu erwecken vermochte' (p. xix).

Whatever view may ultimately be taken about this or any other of the special questions connected with the *Theophania* there is no doubt that Dr. Gressmann deserves our gratitude for his lucid and intelligent treatment of the Eusebian writings. It is right to add in conclusion that his book is furnished with admirable Indices, both of authors quoted in the *Theophania* and of the Biblical citations, as well as lists of Proper Names and of Greek words.

F. C. BURKITT.

GREEN'S ODES OF HORACE.

The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace.

Translated by the Rev. W. C. GREEN.
Digby Long and Co., 1904. 12mo.
Pp. 138. 3s. 6d.

THE influence of Horace on our English literature is not so generally known as it ought to be. Yet Dr. Philip Francis (father of the celebrated Sir Philip Francis), in an appendix to his excellent translation, records the names of no less than eighty authors who have attempted to translate into English verse portions of the Odes, Satires, or Epistles.

Of the poets in this list are named as those best known: Ben Jonson, Cowley, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift, Chatterton, Byron; there might have been added Cowper, Leigh Hunt, Procter (Barry Cornwall), Rowe, and the two Wartons. B. ii. Ode x. has found a worthy translator in Sir Philip Sidney: Sir William Temple (B. ii. Ode xiii.) represents diplomacy, and a special interest is added to the translation of B. ii. Ode xvi. by the fact that it was written by Warren Hastings 'on his passage from Bengal to England in 1785.'

Of living scholars few have a better right than Mr. Green to undertake this task. A ripe scholar of the Eton and Cambridge School, Mr. Green was second in the Classical Tripos of 1855, Craven University

Scholar, 1855, and for three successive years, 1852-3-4, he carried off Sir W. Browne's Gold Medal for the best Greek and Latin Epigrams of those years—a threefold honour which, I believe, Mr. Green alone has achieved. We need, therefore, feel no surprise that Mr. Green with this special taste for epigram, in addition to his general scholarship, of which he has given many proofs, has produced a metrical version of the Odes which is not unworthy of a high place among the best efforts of scholars past and present.

Mr. Green claims the right of varying his metres to suit the corresponding moods rather than the metres of the poet; but if one judges by results, one cannot always agree with him in his choice of metres. He rings the changes on the 'In Memoriam' metre somewhat too liberally to please all tastes. Thus the first line has sometimes 5 feet, *e.g.* B. ii. Ode xiv.: 'Ah, Postumus they glide away, away,' sometimes 4 feet, *e.g.* B. ii. Ode xv.: 'Our palaces will scarce a field,' sometimes 3 feet, *e.g.* B. iii. Ode iii.: 'The man of righteous will,' and the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th lines are subjected to the same variations. Most of us will like or dislike these changes as our 'ear' influences us. To the writer it seems that the stanzas ending with a long line are to be preferred to those beginning with a long line and ending with a short

line, which seems not to sustain the dignity of the stanza to the end. The conclusion that he has come to, by comparing some of Mr. Green's versions with those of Dr. Francis and the late Lord Derby, is that Mr. Green is seen at his best (and his best is very good) in the short and more simple metres. Apart from the effect produced on the ear by long lines which 'labour' and the words of which 'move slow,' there is a danger of superfluous words and phrases finding their way in to make up the feet wanted. The necessity of finding a rhyme also seems sometimes to be the cause of a weak line.

In B. i. Ode iii. 'loud and long' has no place in the Latin and seems inserted only to finish the line, and to find a rhyme to 'strong' in the 4th line. In B. i. Ode xxxi. we have 'rich merchant wight,' where 'wight' serves only to finish the line and supply a rhyme. In B. i. Ode vii. 'Rills that ever move' finds a rhyme for 'grove,' but does not rightly render 'mobilibus,' which Dr. Francis more correctly translates by 'ductile.' For no other reason can 'Infames scopulos Acroceraunia,' B. i. Ode iii. be translated 'those ill rocks that Thunder-peaks we call,' and in B. i. Ode ii. ('mountains tall') the strange epithet 'tall' would not have been applied to 'mountains' if it had not been required as a rhyme.

The word 'withal' often does the double duty of finding a rhyme and a foot to finish the line, *e.g.* :

B. i. Ode i.

'Many love camps, their mingled call
Clarion and trump, and wars withal
Which mothers hate.'

B. i. Ode vi.

'I touch them not, I small;
Me modesty, and a peaceful muse withal
Forbid,' etc.

and B. iii. Ode i.

'Comes the proud lord withal
Weary of land.'

Again in B. ii. Ode xiv.

'Ah, Postumus, they glide away, away.'

The repetition of the word 'away' seems to be intended to represent the 'Postume, Postume' of the original, but fails to do so if Orelli's explanation is accepted: 'In appellatione iterata haec inest vis "Probe, quaes, expende ac recogita quae dicam."'

One prefers Lord Derby's *ἀναδιπλωσις* : 'Alas, my Postumus, alas,' etc.

These and similar slips are not serious,

and in a new edition could easily be corrected by a little of the 'limae labor et mora' so needed by the best translations of so finished a poet as Horace; at present they detract a little from the enjoyment of not a few stanzas that otherwise would be faultless.

Mr. Green is not free from mannerisms, some of which are not unpleasing; yet the process of weeding is often called for.

The articles are often omitted; thus, in B. i. Ode i.

'Plough with keel Euboean wave,
we miss 'the.'

B. ii. Ode xvi.

'The spite and harm
Of vulgar crowd.'

B. i. Ode xxii.

'Sweet laugh, sweet voice of Lalage,
Still will I love.'

B. iii. Ode iii.

'Laomedon robbed gods of promised fee.'

Here one misses the article twice, and therefore prefers Dr. Francis :

'Mocked the defrauded gods and robb'd them of
their hire.'

Inverted constructions and involved sentences are of too frequent occurrence, *e.g.* :

B. iii. Ode vi.

'Ancestral guilt a guiltless child,
Roman, thou wilt atone.'

B. i. Ode iii.

'Aeolus who prison'd tight
Shall bind his windy sons all save the West.'

'Prison'd,' of course, refers to the winds, but from its position would seem to refer to Aeolus.

Mr. Green's English sometimes reads more like Latin than ordinary English, *e.g.*

B. iii. Ode iii. 'splendet' is rendered 'flaunts him bright' and 'invisum nepotem' ... 'grandchild of my hate.'

So in B. iii. Ode ii.

'Who goes before
Crime-stained, him vengeance sore
Seldom, tho' late, hath left.'

and in B. i. Ode xiii.

'Him hope thou not still true
(Mark well my words) who barbarously pains,' etc.

When 'Hope not he will stay true' would, perhaps, be better. But I feel my presumption in venturing to mark these occasional peculiarities, which to some ears will have a

quaint and classical ring about them; the same judgment applies to occasional words and expressions, e.g. 'Weapon-game' (B. i. Ode viii.), 'Twy-formed' (B. ii. Ode xx.), 'leg-bones' (B. ii. Ode xx.), 'air-way' (B. i. Ode iii.), 'down-slide,' 'make him happy die' (B. i. Ode xxvii.), 'otherwhence,' 'spilth of wine' (B. ii. Ode xiv.), is Shakespearean (*Timon of Athens*, ii. sc. 2), but 'spilth' is not an attractive word, nor do 'T'attest,' 't'entwine,' 'Thoul't,' please the eye or the ear.

In B. iv. Ode ii. 'Watery Tiber's groves' is clearly a misprint for 'Tibur's.' In the same Ode 'gives praise' scarcely gives the force of 'dicit,' which contrasts the living voice (vox viva) of the poet with the dumb praise of statues,—the 'infantes statuae' of ii. Sat. v. 40.

In B. i. Ode i.

Mountains of money move him not,
Timorous to be a sailor brave'

seems to miss the irony of 'pavidus'; you cannot bribe him to become (not a brave sailor, that would be impossible, but even) a timid sailor. Were it not for the word 'timorous' one might have supposed that Mr. Green had adopted the reading 'impavidus' of which Orelli very properly writes, 'Qui substitui voluerunt "impavidus" antithetorum vim et poetæ sensum non perceperunt.' When, however, Orelli describes 'pavidus' as a 'frequens nautarum epitheton,' even the Baltic fleet would repudiate the epithet as true of all sailors; nor is Orelli's explanation of 'pavidus' as meaning 'periculis semper expositus.' I am afraid that the epithet 'brave' has been introduced as providing 'wave' in the next line with a rhyme.

As specimens of Mr. Green's successful translations, I give two, to which many more might be added:

B. ii. Ode vi.

'That spot, those happy hills, they bid thee wend
Thither with me. There thou, when comes the end,
On the warm ashes of thy poet friend
Shalt duly shed a tear.'

and B. ii. Ode ix.

'Not always do the cloud-born rains
Stream down upon the miry plains,
Nor fitful storms the Caspian sea
Vex always with their tyranny,
Nor on Armenia's shore,
Friend Valgius, stands the dead dull show
Year-long, nor lab'ring bend them low
Garganian oaks to northern blast
Always, nor leaves down-falling fast
Doth widow'd ash deplore.'

Mr. Green's version of B. i. Ode xxiv. also well expresses the tender pathos of the original, and B. i. Ode xxx., a graceful little Ode, is gracefully rendered. Graceful also is Mr. Green's version of B. iii. Ode xviii., though as elsewhere one misses the article, and 'digger's toes' adds yet another to the lines that have suffered for the sake of a rhyme.

There remains the pleasing task of thanking and congratulating Mr. Green on his good work done in a good cause. To translate a selected and small number of the Odes of Horace, as did the late Lord Derby, must have been to a scholar of his calibre an agreeable pastime; to face all the Odes, attractive or unattractive alike, as Dr. Francis, Mr. Green, and some others have done, is a far more arduous undertaking.

One must not omit to mention the 'Apologia' which Mr. Green has written to justify his position as a translator of Horace. No such 'Apologia' was needed, but it imparts an additional charm to the volume, being as conspicuous for its elegance of diction as it is for its modesty of feeling.

He has added one more name to the list of those who have found in the serious studies of their youth a delightful recreation of their advanced years. Nor will he, we feel confident (however much the Philistine may rage), be the last to illustrate the truth of Cicero's words, 'Haec studia pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.'

E. W. BOWLING.

HOSIUS' GELLIUS.

A. Gelli Noctium Atticarum libri XX: post Martinum Hertz editit CAROLUS HOSIUS. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Leipzig, 1903. Vol. I., pp. lxiv., 378; Vol. II., pp. 372. Vol. I. 3s. 6d., Vol. II. 3s. 2d.

NO. CLXV. VOL. XIX.

THE earlier Latin authors are receiving a good deal of attention at present. New editions of Ennius (by Vahlen), of Lucilius (by Marx), of Varro's *Menippean Satires* (by Bucheler) have followed each other in quick succession; and of the grammarians

who preserve these fragments of early literature, Nonius and Gellius have been re-edited and a Teubner edition of Varro's *de Lingua Latina* is being prepared by Goetz and Schoell.

The new Teubner text of Gellius is an abridgment of Hertz's large edition (Berlin, 1883-5). The cumbersome *apparatus criticus* (with the Supplement published by Kuhn in 1894) has been reduced to compact and convenient shape, a reduction which will doubtless in time be imitated in the case of all the larger critical editions of classical authors. Once that the history of a text's tradition has been traced with certainty, editors should discard the separate MSS. and confine themselves to archetypes. To mention a copy's divergence from the archetype's reading, unless the variant is expressly stated to be a *lapsus calami* or a mediaeval monk's conjectural emendation, is merely to obscure the evidence submitted to the reader's judgment and to encourage the unsound argument which was once in fashion: 'So-and-so may be the right reading, for it is found in this-or-that codex and therefore has manuscript authority.' As if a scribe's blunder had any more authority than a misprint or a Carolingian abbot's emendation were likely to be better than a modern scholar's!

The possibility of the discovery of new MSS. of the *Noctes Atticae*, or of marginal collations of lost MSS., does not seem to be quite remote. In particular the readings of the lost *codex Buslidianus* (the only MS. known to have contained the whole work) may at any moment be unearthed from marginalia inscribed in some sixteenth

century printed text, and students in foreign libraries should be on the look out. They must, however, bear in mind that marginal citations of the *codex Buslidianus* may have originated in Carrio's published account of its readings. Thus in Nicholas Heinsius' copy of Gellius (in the Bodleian Library, with press-mark 'Linc. 8.° F. 79') the marginal note on XVII. ii. 16 [figuratione] 'ita Buslid. lib. Vulgo figura,' is of no importance, for there are other marginal references to Carrio. The 'v(etus) c(odex)' whose collation occupies the greater portion of the marginalia seems to agree with the earlier printed editions (Hertz's *e*), e.g. I. vii. 2 *antea adierant*] 'antea didicerant.'

But Hosius' edition is not by any means a mere re-arrangement of Hertz's materials. As was to be expected from so distinguished a scholar, there are many improvements of the text.¹ And there is an excellent Introduction in which Gellius' sources are enumerated with a full discussion of the question whether the '*Noctes Atticae*' furnishes (like Nonius' '*Compendiosa Doctrina*') clues to the true arrangement of the Republican literary fragments. The answer is in the negative, as might be expected from Gellius' own account (which Hosius' investigations confirm) of the composition of his work (N.A. Praef. 2, 11 *sqq.*). When will scholars abandon the foolish habit of preferring to disbelieve, rather than believe, what an ancient author expressly tells us?

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ The student will find some more in Heraeus' careful review of the new edition (in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* of Sep. 10).

HALE AND BUCK'S *LATIN GRAMMAR*.

A Latin Grammar. By W. G. HALE and C. D. BUCK. Ginn and Co., Boston, U.S.A., and London. Pp. xi + 388. 1903. 4s. 6d.

It is difficult within the limits of a brief review to do justice to a book like this. It is the joint product of the work of two eminent scholars, one of them probably the foremost Latinist of the United States; and it represents an enormous amount of thought and labour. Yet it raises grave doubts whether, with all its merits of

accurate work and refined scholarship and its suggestiveness to the advanced scholar, it is likely as a whole to serve the purpose for which it is intended. It is designed to cover the field of 'High School Latin' and to be limited thereto, that is, it is a book for the use of boys and girls of from 14 or 15 to 18 or 19 years of age. For this purpose the Syntax seems to the present reviewer too cumbersome and difficult to understand, if at least the first object of a school grammar should be to lead to a practical mastery of the language concerned

—a desideratum which is by no means inconsistent with a scientific method of treatment.

The Phonology and Accidence seem excellent, and are limited to the modest dimensions of 120 pages. The treatment is scientific, and, what is better, based on that kind of science which makes for simplicity. Many sections contain points which are novel in a school grammar and suggestive, e.g. § 29 on the rule of position, with § 14 on syllable division; § 25 on the quantity of final syllables is simple and sound; § 39 contains excellent hints on pronunciation. It goes without saying in a book designed for American schools that the system strangely called 'the new pronunciation' in this country is the one adopted. The only suggestion I have to make is that words like 'shadow' (as pronounced in such a line as 'And friends and foes were shadows in the mist') might be preferable to 'at home' as an illustration of the pronunciation of iambic words like *ámō*.

The outstanding feature of the Syntax is an elaborate classification of the uses of forms on an historical basis, and particularly in the light of the corresponding phenomena of Greek. The main categories of the subjunctive set up in this book (§ 462) are no less than fourteen in number. Apart from the question whether they are all scientifically justifiable, is it possible or desirable that a pupil should try to hold fourteen main categories of this mood in his head, so as to be able to refer any instance which he comes across in his reading to its appropriate heading? Opinions will no doubt differ. The authors hold that 'the addition of categories will at a number of points be found to make for simplicity': that is, that the distinctions of meaning laid down will make for clearness of conception. These fourteen categories are (§ 462) the 'Volitive,' the 'Anticipatory' (these being derived from an original subjunctive), the 'Optative,' the Subjunctives of 'obligation or propriety,'¹ of 'natural likelihood,' of 'possibility,' of

'ideal certainty' (these being traced to an original optative), and seven other kinds which are traced to the fusion of two or more constructions into one or to analogy. What the elements are which are fused is not stated (§ 520 ff.), so that the pupil has no means of seeing how, for example, the subjunctive of 'actuality' comes into existence. Among this latter class is a subjunctive of 'request or entreaty' distinct from the 'volitive' and from the 'optative' of the first seven. What is the difference? Only that which may be found between *iam accipiat, hanc ducat* (§ 530, request or entreaty) and *secedant improbi* (§ 501. 3, command), *sint beati* (§ 511. 1, wish). Another category (No. 12) is the subjunctive of 'consent or indifference,' e.g. *fiat* in the sense 'so be it' (§ 531), as distinct from *fiat* 'let it be done.' Yet surely both belong to the larger unity of the jussive.

These fourteen main categories are subdivided, so as to produce in § 499 over sixty headings. Thus the Volitive Subj. involves seven different kinds of independent sentence, and nine different kinds of dependent clause. This multiplication of categories is due partly to a principle which is in itself undoubtedly sound and scientific, namely the treatment of the subordinate mood constructions in immediate connexion with the independent constructions to which they are related. The difficulty of carrying this out in practice is that at each point one is called upon to say which exactly of a number of independent constructions is the one in question. The result is that the unity of the subordinate group is broken up. For example the substantive clauses introduced by *ut* or *ne* are here distributed according to the character of the verb on which they depend—verbs of 'will or endeavour' (§ 502. 3), verbs of 'wishing, desiring, etc.' (§ 511. 2), verbs like *oportet* (§ 513. 5), verbs of 'requesting, begging, imploring, etc.' (§ 530. 2), verbs of 'consent, acquiescence, or indifference' (§ 531. 2)—on the ground that the subordinate subjunctive is in the first case a 'volitive subjunctive,' in the second an 'optative subjunctive,' in the third a 'subj. of obligation or propriety,' in the fourth a 'subj. of request or entreaty,' in the fifth a 'subj. of consent or indifference.' Yet the logical difference between the subjunctives in *volo ut facias, opto ut facias, oportet* or *censeo ut facias, oro ut facias, permitto ut facias* is a vanishing quantity, as indeed the note on p. 284 partially recognizes. Is it desirable to try to create a consciousness of any such distinction at

¹ The distinction between *quid Romae faciam?* (§ 503) and *quid te iuvitem?* (§ 513. 1) is unnaturally magnified by calling the first a 'volitive subjunctive in questions of deliberation or perplexity' and the second a 'subj. of obligation or propriety.' The difficulty that 'there is no shade of deliberation' in the latter might be simply met by abolishing the term 'deliberative' altogether, as really too narrow, and recognizing that in both cases the subj. expresses what ought to be (or is to be) done. The negative is, of course, *non* in both cases.

all? However this may be, it is impossible to carry out this principle of classification completely, as the authors recognize in their note on § 511 (foot of p. 269); *utinam sit beatus* would on this principle have to be separated from *sit beatus*, the former containing a 'potential,' the latter an 'optative' subjunctive.

The treatment of the Imperative in § 496 is a great contrast to that of the Subjunctive. The Imperative, too, as is here fully recognized, passes from 'peremptory command' to 'advice or suggestion,' 'consent or indifference,' 'request or entreaty,' 'prayer,' e.g. *dic sodes; audi Iuppiter*. But no elaborate schematization is thought necessary in this case; and the question arises, why should not the unity of the subjunctive be recognized if not to the same yet to some extent? The parallelism of the Subj. and the Imperat. is indeed striking, extending as it does even to interrogative uses: cf. *cur non moriaris?* with *quin morere?* (The treatment, by the bye, of *quin* with the Imperative in § 496. *b* takes no account of my article in this review on Interrogative Commands.)

But the tendency to multiplication of categories is again shown in the treatment of the Gerundive. The authors treat the forms in *-ndus, a, um* as future participles passive; but (unlike Weisweiler, I think) they recognize also a 'gerundive' as something different. Thus in § 605. *2 hos Haedrus custodiendos tradit* is put down to the fut. part. pass., but in § 612 *pontem in Arari faciendum curat* to the gerundive, on the ground that here 'the leading idea is carried out by the grammatically subordinate word *faciendum*.' What would the authors do with *aedem Castoris habuit tuendam*, which stands, as it were, with a leg in both categories? On this principle we ought to distinguish not merely two uses of a form but also two forms in *post urbem conditam* and *post urbem* (behind the city) *a defensoribus relictam*. The name future part. pass. is no doubt attractive, though there is something to be said for 'present or future part. pass.' (Cf. note on § 600, *b*, foot of p. 324); but whether we adopt a significant name or a mere label, like 'gerundive,' it ought to be adhered to for all uses. Another illustration of the tendency to over-refinement is the distinction between 'Attributives' and 'Appositives' in §§ 317-319. How can a hard and fast line of demarcation be set up between *Caesar consul* = 'Caesar—he was at the time consul' and *Bibuli consulis amphora* 'of the consul Bibulus,' or between

regina Pecunia 'our lady Money' (§ 319. ii. *a*) and *rex Tarquinius* 'king Tarquin' (which, I suppose, would be admitted to contain an Attribute)?

It is hazardous and perhaps presumptuous to criticise the methods of so experienced a teacher as Professor Hale. And it is highly probable that many schoolmasters brought up in the school of research in which he is a leader will find this just the book for their purpose. I, too, welcome many features of it with sincere approval, for instance, the treatment of the present indicative expressing 'resolve,' etc. (§ 571), and the future indicative with similar senses (§ 572).¹ The 'anticipatory' or, as I prefer to call it, the 'prospective' subjunctive receives full discussion (§§ 506-509),² and is treated as a development of the subj. of will (§ 459*a*); to it are referred such clauses as *quin supplicium sumat* depending on *non dubitare* (§ 507. 2. *b*), instead of the more usual *sumpturus sit* (cf. § 521. 3. *b*, to which a cross-reference might have been given), indirect questions like *quid consili caperent* = dependent on *expectabat*, clauses with *antequam, dum*, etc.

Possibly in a future edition the authors may reconsider their classification of sentences and clauses as (i) declarative, (ii) conditional or assumptive, (iii) interrogative or exclamatory. The first runs the command and the statement into one, and the third would be better subdivided. The second introduces subordinate clauses (e.g. *si venit*, and *si veniat*) into a classification which would be better limited to independent sentences. The distinction between questions and exclamations is useful at any rate in their dependent forms, e.g. *viden' ut geminae stant vertice cristae* (§ 537 *g*). The treatment of *nonne* (§ 231. 1. *c*) is old-fashioned. There are really three interrogative particles in Latin, but *nonne* is not one of them: *nonne audis?* is simply a negative question, introduced by *ne*. No account is here taken of *an*, which is relegated to 'absurd questions' (§ 236); but absurd questions are still questions. The terminology of § 534. 2 (on Indirect Discourse) ought also to be re-considered: questions and commands are not 'subordinate clauses' in Indirect Discourse,

¹ Here I miss an example like *eras donaberis hacco* 'you shall be presented' = I will present you.

² I doubt, however, whether the 'shall' of § 507. 1 ought to be described as equivalent to a 'will,' e.g. in the translation of *famam qui terminet astra* 'who shall (= will) make the stars the boundary of his fame.'

like the clauses introduced by *quod, si, etc.*; they are principal clauses (or principal sentences, as they would be called in this book) on just the same level as the 'principal statements' spoken of in § 534. 1 (ex-

pressed by the Accus. with Infin.). This serious defect of terminology is probably only an oversight.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN

The University, Birmingham.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Plato gegen Sokrates. Interpretationen von DR. ERNST HORNEFFER. Teubner: Leipzig, 1904. Pp. 82.

THE German programm-writer is nothing if not paradoxical. To fly the flag of heresy is a sure way of attracting attention. And what could be more heretical than to accuse Plato of anti-Socraticism? This, accordingly, is what Dr. Horneffer has set himself to do. His treatise consists of an elaborate analysis of those Platonic dialogues — *Hippias Minor, Laches, and Charmides*—carried out so as to demonstrate to the author's complete satisfaction that the aim of all these dialogues is to overthrow the Socratic doctrine 'Virtue is Knowledge.' Thus, in the *Hippias Minor*, both the argument of the first section (363A–369B), concluding with the words ἀναπέφανται ὁ αὐτὸς ὡν ψευδῆς τε καὶ ἀληθῆς κ.τ.λ., and the arguments of the second section, resulting in the proposition ἀμείνους οἱ ἐκόντες ἢ οἱ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνοντες, appear to be of the kind known as *reductio ad absurdum*; and the absurdity thus rejected is, according to Dr. Horneffer, none other than the Socratic dictum 'Tugend ist Wissen.' Support for this interpretation is also found in the 'Einkleidung' of the dialogue—in the antitheses between Achilles (ὁ ἀπλοῦς) and Odysseus (ὁ πολύτροπος) and between Hippias, the 'polymath,' and Socrates. That the *Hippias Minor* contains controversial allusions to Antisthenes, as suggested by Dümmler, H. refuses to admit; rather, he supposes, it was Antisthenes who in opposition to Plato wrote a vindication of the character of Odysseus.

The *Laches* and *Charmides* are treated on similar lines: the Socratic elements in both are emphasized, and the point of each is made out to be the same, viz. the denial of the ethical premiss of Socrates.

The obvious objection to this whole line of interpretation is that in later dialogues Plato appears to adopt the Socratic position; so that Dr. Horneffer is forced to

admit that the *Hippias Minor*, etc., as he interprets them, are 'freilich mit den späteren Hauptwerken Platons nicht in Einklang zu bringen. But H., like Grote, insists on construing each dialogue by itself; and rather than credit Plato with a 'system,' he prefers apparently to credit him with any amount of inconsistency. For my part, I prefer to believe to the uttermost in 'the Unity of Plato's thought,' as a talented Platonist has recently described it in a work that may be commended to Dr. Horneffer's attention. That Socrates should be made the agent of his own dialectical destruction is another σκάνδαλον in the interpretation here proposed; but it is lightly set aside with the remark that the dialogues are 'völlig freie Dramen.' That 'Aristoteles gegen Platon' gained the reputation of a kicking foal we have long known: now it appears that it was, after all, but a just Nemesis which befell the 'Platon gegen Sokrates.'

R. G. BURY.

Pseudacron's Scholia in Horatium Vetustiora recensuit OTTO KELLER. Vol. I. Schol. in Carmina et Epodos; Vol. II. Schol. in Sermones, Epistulas, Artemque Poeticam. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Leipzig, 1902–4. Pp. xiii. + 480 and xvi. + 512. 21s.

THE current edition of these *Scholia* by Hauthal (Berlin, 1864) was known to be unsatisfactory. The painstaking and thorough labour of Prof. Keller has now provided us once for all with the best available text and the fullest available information regarding them. Though not of equal importance with the *Porphyrian Scholia* (edited by Holder, 1894), they are not without interest; and an accurate edition of them was necessary in order that no part of the traditional interpretation of Horace's poems might remain out of the reach of students. How much of this commentary comes from ancient sources, and

how much originated in mediaeval times is not always easy to determine. Such clues as are to be found are mentioned by Keller in his Introduction and in a recently published article 'Zu Pseudacron,' in which he defends some of his emendations of the text.

To attempt to criticize a work of this

description would be impertinence. We can only express our thanks to the Prague professor for the great service which he has rendered to students of Horace. The *Pseudacron Scholia* will have to find a place beside the *Porphyron Scholia* on our bookshelves.

W. M. LINDSAY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE OPENING SENTENCE OF THE VERRINES.

IN the *Classical Review* for December, 1904 (p. 440 f.), Principal Peterson proposes to change the *mirantur* of the MSS into *mirabitur*. The very excellence of the MS tradition and the fact that the error, if error it be, could—shall we say? must—have been corrected long before the date of our existing MSS, ought to make us suspicious of any emendation, and to look for corruption (or misunderstanding) in another part of the sentence. I take liberty to doubt the explanation that *mirantur* is a copyist's error for *mirabitur*, through the stages *miravitur*, *mirantur*. It is true that *b* is often written *v*, but in verbs this would surely hardly occur except where the other form is a real word, for example, where *habitavit* appears instead of *habitabit*. Also, the confusion between *n* and *u* is not common before the 13th century.

The proper solution is, I think, to regard *quis* as the nominative plural, and not as the nominative singular. This form is the same as that *ques*, which is attested by Charisius, Festus, and Priscian, and found in Cato, the S. C. De Bacanalibus, and Pacuvius, etc. (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 444). The form *quis* is quoted by Mr. C. H. Turner, in his *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Oxonii 1899–1904), Fasc. I. (Pars ii.), p. 150, seventeen times from Latin MSS of the Canons of Early Church Councils, which are amongst the most careful productions

of the scribe's art. The originals of these MSS are in no case older than the fourth century A.D.; so that we are face to face with the fact that a nom. pl. *quis(ques)* existed continuously throughout the long period of Latin literature. Confusion with the singular, or alteration to *qui*, was most natural.

I cannot see that there was anything to hinder Cicero from using this form. If it be a colloquial form, then he may have avoided it in his later speeches, as it is well known that there are stylistic features in the Verrines, which he seems to have given up afterwards. But this is a point, for the full discussion of which it would be necessary to have collations of all the oldest MSS of Cicero's works, and it must be left to experts like Dr. Peterson.

As to the last part of the sentence, I think it may stand as it is. The sentence is long, and the plural *si quis* may quite easily have been varied to the singular subject of *probabit* and *putabit*. But there is a ready way out of the difficulty; namely to regard *probabit* and *putabit* as corrections of *probab̄t* (= *probabunt*) and *putab̄t* (= *putabunt*). The contraction assumed is found in ninth century MSS, perhaps also earlier.

A. SOUTER.

Mansfield College, Oxford.

A TRANSLATION OF MÜLLER AND DEECKE'S *ETRUSKER*.

MAY I be allowed space to state that I am engaged on A Translation into English of Müller and Deecke's *Etrusker*? Some of
LIVERPOOL, January, 1905.

the latest discovered Etruscan inscriptions will be reproduced in the volume.

HERBERT A. STRONG.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1904.

ON Oct. 28th Mr. ELLIOTT read a paper on 'The restoration of the text of Aristophanes.' He pointed out that for the scientific restoration of the text an immense amount of work had yet to be done. There had been no lack of emendations (e.g. for *Vesp.* 1223 Dr. Blaydes had suggested 14), but they had to a very large extent not been based on a scientific analysis of the evidence. Most of the MSS. were still either uncollated, or collated very incompletely and inaccurately. No edition had yet been published based on an accurate collation even of R for most of the plays. One consequence had been that, only R's more plausible readings being generally known, undue weight was still assigned by most editors to R as compared with the other MSS. Further collations were indispensable. He had himself lately made a full collation for the *Acharnians* of A, B, and part of C at Paris, and hoped later to collate some of the more promising Italian MSS. The next essential after collation was the determination of the genealogical relations between the MSS., a study which for Aristophanes was still in its infancy. He showed that, through neglect of this, editors had often given undue weight to readings, because supported by mere copies of existing MSS. It was also important to examine the characteristic tendencies and errors of each MS. E.g., in *Eq.* 600 nearly all MSS., with Athenaeus, read *Πρίεμνοι κώθωνας, οἱ δὲ σκρόδοα καὶ κρόμμνα*. Various editors added *καὶ* after *δέ*, following B (xv c.) and X (xvi c.); but *καὶ* would lay an undue emphasis on *σκρόδοα*, and he showed that B and X swarmed with metrical and pseudo-metrical corrections, to which too much importance must not be attached. He therefore suggested *δὲ δὴ*, a favourite combination of Aristophanes, in which he showed that there was a strongly marked tendency of our MSS. to omit the *δὴ* (e.g. *Nub.* 1178, *Av.* 67, etc.). Transposition was a frequent error of our MSS. (e.g. *Ach.* 341); hence in *Ach.* 1151 for the unmetrical *τὸν ζυγγραφή τὸν* (or *τῶν*) *μελέων ποιητῆν* of the MSS. he suggested *τὸν μελέων ζυγγραφία ποιητῆν θ'*. Wrong division was common; hence in *Ach.* 832, for R's *ἀλλὰ μὲν* we must restore *ἀλλ' ἄμιν*. Unfamiliar words were often altered to easier, e.g. *Lys.* 281 *ὤμω*s to the unmetrical *ὕμω*s. So too post-classical forms were substituted, e.g. *Ach.* 279 *κρεμασθήσεται* for *κρημήσεται*. Changes were especially common in non-Attic words (e.g. *Lys.* 1080 *κα* to *κάν* or *καί*). Besides omissions of words, in a few cases a whole line seems to have been omitted (e.g. after *Ach.* 1205). But additions are commoner, both of words (e.g. *τῶν* in *Eq.* 29) and occasionally of whole lines (e.g. probably *Ach.* 803). After examining various types of errors in our MSS., and referring to the origin of the Aldine text, Mr. Elliott examined the question of the text implied in the scholia. Sometimes a reading may be safely restored from them against all our MSS., e.g. *Lys.* 191 *φάλιον* for *λευκόν*; and elsewhere a word, though not directly mentioned, seems implied; e.g. *Ach.* 924, from *αἰ νῆς* etc. of the MSS. and *εὐθύς* of the scholia, we should probably restore *αἰφνης*. Sometimes a diversity of readings is mentioned (e.g. *Th.* 1040). He did not think adscripts so common in our texts as Dr. Rutherford believed, but they

sometimes existed; e.g. in *Lys.* 799 the scholia implied the absence of *τὸ σκέλος* of our MSS. After illustrating the value of inscriptions in restoring the text, he examined the value of the numerous quotations in other writers. These were especially important for the *Thesmophoriazuzae*; e.g. in 456 we can restore the metre by adding *τοῖς* from Plutarch and Gellius. Of special importance for the text were Pollux (e.g. *Ach.* 1177, *ἐρι* for *ἐργ*), Athenaeus (e.g. *Écc.* 843 *λάγανα* for *πόπανα*), Hesychius (e.g. *Lys.* 1171, *λυσσάνι* for *λυσσάνι*) and Photius (e.g. *Eq.* 697, *περιεκόκκασα* for *περιεκόκκωσα*), who all wrote before the date of our earliest MSS., and Suidas (e.g. *Th.* 53, *ἀψίδας* for *ἀσπίδας*). After illustrating the great light that would be thrown on the relations of our MSS. by a more systematic examination of the text implied in their quotations, he showed that the excessive weight commonly assigned to R was not supported by the text of the palimpsest, contemporary with R, in the *Birds*, nor by the Fayyum papyrus of the sixth century.

ON Nov. 4th Mr. H. P. RICHARDS discussed the interpretation of certain passages in Aristotle. The passages were *Soph. Elench.* 183 a 34-end; *Poetics* 1451 a 6-8; 1455 a 1; 1456 a 17; 1457 b 26; 1458 a 31; 1459 b 2; 1462 a 18.

ON Nov. 11th Dr. FARNELL read papers on (a) 'An unrecorded settlement of Attic cleruchs in Euboea'; (b) 'A discussion of the cults of Demeter 'Αχαια and Demeter 'Ερωῖς.' The first of these two papers will shortly be published in full; the second will form a part of the forthcoming Third Volume of Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*.

ON Nov. 18th Mr. COWLEY read a paper on 'Traces of an early Mediterranean race.' He suggested that at some prehistoric time a Ugro-Finnic race lived on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, and that many names of places and persons can be explained from their language. Thus 'Ολυμπος, the name of several very high peaks, may be compared with the modern Finnish *ylampi*, the comparative (and superlative stem) of *ylä* 'high.' Ida is the mountain of the East or of sunrise, *itā*. Eteocretan is not 'true' Cretan, but from the same *itā*, the people in the 'East' of Crete. Italia (*i.e.* originally the southern part of the peninsula, Brutium) is *etlā* the 'South,' as contrasted with Latium, which is *luode* the 'North-west' (*uo*=original *a* and *d* is phonetic for *l*). The Greek forms of such names are often due to popular etymology. Thus *Αἰθιοπία* is from *etāū* and perhaps *pāū*, the 'far-off region,' but has been made to look as though derived from *αἶθω* and *ὕψ*. So *αἶθουσα*, really *etuousa* the 'front' of the house, because it always looked East or South, is turned into a participle of *αἶθω*, 'blazing.' If Greeks and Ugrians ever lived together, it is possible that some of the standing epithets in Homer are Greek translations of Ugrian names; e.g. *Ἰάσος* is *aiūs*, because derived from *ylä* 'high.' *Ἰδομενεὺς* is *örchaμος ἀνδρῶν*, because his name *etumainen* means 'foremost.' The Ugrians were a sea-faring race, and many of the legends of Phoenicians may really refer to

them. Possibly the 'Phoenician' alphabet, which does not appear in the East before 900 B.C., may have originated with them.

On Dec. 2nd Dr. GRUNDY read a paper on the relation of certain economic factors to Greek warfare in general and the Archidamian war in particular. He pointed out two paradoxes by which the student of Greek warfare is faced at the outset of his inquiry: (1) that the typical Greek army, the hoplite infantry, was a force which was wholly unfitted to act efficiently on four-fifths of the surface of so rugged and mountainous a country as Greece: (2) that Greek armies were even as late as the fifth century notoriously incompetent in siege warfare, though the land was thickly sown with strong natural positions, many of which were artificially fortified. These paradoxes could, however, be reconciled by means of that economic factor of which there is evidence scattered throughout Greek literature, the deficiency of the food supply. Extant

evidence on this point went back as early as the time of Hesiod. In the Archidamian war the Athenians were in possession of a new factor—the linked fortress of Athens-Piræus—which greatly modified the economic conditions under which, up to that time, war had been carried on in Greece. But in the Peloponnese the old conditions continued to prevail. Hence the main Athenian design in the Archidamian war was a blockade of the Peloponnese with a view to reducing the peninsula to severe straits with regard to food supply, a design in which the operations in Akarnania and the North-West formed a side-plot. Dr. Grundy also dealt with the data available for calculating the numbers which could be put into the field by the various States, and pointed out that some of Beloch's conclusions on this subject, and especially in relation to Sparta, understate what appear to have been the facts of the case.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE,
Hon. Sec.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND.

THE Fifth General Meeting of the Classical Association of Scotland was held in Edinburgh on the 26th of November when there was a very large attendance of members to hear papers read by Professors HARDIE and SAINTSBURY of Edinburgh University. The President, Prof. G. G. RAMSAY, LL.D., Glasgow, occupied the Chair and made some introductory remarks.

Professor HARDIE's subject was 'The pronunciation of Latin and Greek in schools and colleges.' He said he had no sympathy with those who urged that to secure anything like accuracy and uniformity would demand an exorbitant amount of time and trouble on the part of teachers, and that, therefore, all attempt at exact pronunciation should be abandoned. Strict attention to quantity and correct pronunciation in all teaching from the most elementary stages would secure the desired end. He concluded by submitting certain definite practical suggestions.

An interesting discussion followed the reading of the paper, and at the close it was agreed on the motion of Professor Burnet to request the General Committee to consider and report to next meeting regarding some definite scheme of recommendations which might be issued by the Association.

At the afternoon meeting Professor SAINTSBURY read an interesting paper on the 'Literary teaching of ancient and modern languages.' He said that if it was desired to give a literary colour to Classical teaching, and to inculcate a literary habit, they had in the Classics and in foreign modern languages also patterns and examples of the most perfect literary form. These the student ought to have in his memory as a permanent possession: they would help

him to exact scholarship and to the appreciation of whatever was best in literature. His profound belief was that they could not teach English literature or the English language in any really satisfactory manner if they were debarred from comparison with and illustration from those classical tongues to which the language owed so much and the literature so much more. He asked Secondary schoolmasters to advise their *abitarienten* always to take Latin, and, if they took it at all, Greek before taking English at the University.

Emeritus-Professor BUTCHER, London, spoke at some length on the subject of the paper, and alluding to recent educational methods in America, which were sometimes held up to us as models of imitation, said that those in that country who had given most thought to the matter were now coming to the conclusion that painless methods and the multiplicity of subjects were the bane of education. If he were asked to say what are the best subjects to create literary interest he would answer subjects which are in themselves literary, which are fitted to appeal to the imagination and create interest, which are also of a kind requiring severe precision and logical thought and demanding effort on the part of the learner.

These papers will be published in the third volume of the Proceedings of the Association.

The next meeting will be held in Aberdeen on the 11th March.

We are indebted for the above report to the courtesy of Mr. W. LOBBAN, Hon. Secretary of the Association.—ED. C.K.

VERSIONS

'THREE JOLLY POST-BOYS.'

THREE jolly Post-boys
 Drinking at the Dragon,
 And they determinéd
 To have another flagon.

Landlord, fill the flowing bowl
 Until it doth run over ;
 For to-night we'll merry be,
 To-morrow we'll be sober.

He that drinks good wine
 And goes to bed mellow
 Lives as he ought to live
 And dies a jolly fellow.

He that drinks small beer
 And goes to bed sober
 Fades as the leaves do fade
 And dies in October.

He that loves a pretty girl
 Let him have his pleasure,
 Fool if he marries her
 Unless she hath much treasure.

Therefore push the bowl about
 And drive away dull sorrow,
 Now's the time for pleasure. Where
 Shall we be to-morrow ?

IN LATIN.

(To be sung to the original air.)

Tres calones hilares
 Potantes in popina
 Statuerunt bibere
 Poela quisque bina.

' Appone, puer, cyathos,
 Et vina coronemus ;
 Indulgeamus genio,
 Cras aquam bibemus.

Qui fit mero madidus
 Et cubat ebriosus
 Scit decenter vivere
 Et moritur jocosus.

At si quis poscam potitat
 Lectumque siccus petit
 Occidit cum frondibus
 Quas Autumnus metit.

Totus adamandus est
 Chorus virginalis ;
 Sed est inepti ducere,
 Ni qua sit dotalis.

Nunc ergo comissabimur,
 Cor vino erigamus.
 Nam quo loco cras erimus
 Qui nunc hic comptamus ?'

IN GREEK.

(To be sung to the original air.)

Τρεῖς ἰλαροὶ ἱπποδρόμοι
 ἐπ' οἴνω οἱ ξυνῆσαν,
 τοῦτο δόξαν, κίλικας
 τὸ δεύτερον ἤτησαι.

ἔγχει ζωρὸν, ἔγχει, παῖ,
 πλημμυρέτω κύπελλον,
 μέθην γὰρ ἦδε νῆξ φέρει.
 δίψαν δὲ φῶς τὸ μέλλον.

εἴ τις ζωρὸν ἐλκύσας
 κείων ὑγρὸς βέβηκεν,
 εὖ διάξας βίον
 ὀλβιος τέθηκεν.

ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὄξους γένεται
 νηφάλιος τε μῖνι,
 ὡς φύλλ' ὀπώρα μινύθει
 ἐν Πλειάσιν τε δύνει.

ἐρῶμεν, ἂν τις ἦ καλή,
 ἔρωσ γὰρ ἄνθος ἦρος·
 σκαιοῦ δὲ γῆμαι παρθένον,
 εἰ μὴ ἴστιν ἐπίκληρος.

κωμάζετ' οἶν, ὃ ξυμπόται,
 λύπας μέθη παύοντες,
 ποῦ γὰρ ἐσόμεθ' αὔριον
 οἱ ᾧδε νῦν ξυνόντες ;

R. Y. TYRRELL.

[It is not the custom of the *Classical Review* to publish versions in other metres than classical. But we feel sure that our

readers will condone a deviation from our rule in favour of such renderings as the foregoing.—ED. C.R.]

She dwelt among the untrodden ways
Beside the springs of Dove,
A Maid whom there were none to praise
And very few to love :
A violet by a mossy stone
Half hidden from the eye !
Fair as a star, when only one
Is shining in the sky.
She lived unknown, and few could know
When Lucy ceased to be,
But she is in her grave, and oh,
The difference to me !

WORDSWORTH.

Πηγαῖς ὡς ἂν ἔνοικος ἀγείτοσιν, ἢ κλέος ἀστῶν
οὐδενός, ἢ πολλῶν οὐδ' ἔρον εὐραμένη,
ἀλλ' ἴον ἐν ποίῃ λήθουσ' ἄπερ, ἢ τις ἐρήμῳ
ἐμπρέπει ὡς ἀστῆρ αἰθέρι μονοφανής,
νῦν ἔλαθε ζήσασα· τί γὰρ πολλοῖσι μέλεσθαι
μέλλεν ; ἐμοὶ δ' ὄσσοσ φεῦ πόθος οἰχομένη.
W. H.

SONG.

Look not thou on beauty's charming,
Sit thou still when kings are arming,
Taste not when the wine-cup glistens,
Speak not when the people listens,
Stop thine ear against the singer,
From the red gold keep thy finger,
Vacant heart, and hand, and eye,
Easy live and quiet die.

SIR WALTER SCOTT,
Bride of Lammermoor.

IDEM LATINĒ.

Quid tibi, sive acuat reges in proelia ferrum,
Instruit illecebras seu Cytherea suas ?
Quid tibi, si spumant lucentia pocula Baccho,
Seu stetit intento densa corona foro ?
Non oculos rutili deleniat aura metalli,
Non animum liquidos docta Thalia modos.
Claudere securam facili vis funere vitam ?
Libera gestabis lumina, corda, manus.

D. A. SLATER.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1904, p. 328.)

SINCE the important—one might almost say sensational—discoveries recorded in my last report, there has been something of a lull in the interest of the Forum excavations: and at the present moment (the beginning of January) there is very little going on. The season of the year is, it is true, unpropitious, the water having, as is usually the case in winter, flooded the lower levels in the open area of the Forum: and the attack upon the remainder of the site of the Basilica Aemilia, which a fresh gift from Mr. Lionel Phillips has rendered possible, must of necessity be deferred until the new museum and director's offices in the former monastery of S. Francesca Romana are ready for occupation, so that the present temporary building may be removed.

The *Tribuna* of July 11th, 1904,¹ gives

¹ Of the *Notizie degli Scavi* nothing later than the number for March, 1904, has so far appeared.

some account of the discoveries of the early summer. Upon the southwest side of the Lacus Curtius the ground was found to contain many small cavities, for which a sacrificial use is conjectured, inasmuch as bones (mostly of bulls) and burnt beans and grains of spelt were found in them. A well was also discovered close by, excavated in the tufaceous earth and not lined, and, therefore, probably belonging to an early period. The upper portion of it was entirely filled with large lumps of tufa; but at the bottom there were discovered the skeletons of three large watchdogs, and fragments of archaic terra cotta antefixae, adorned with figures of horses in relief and polychrome decorations.

Stratigraphic explorations have been carried on here, and also near the bases attributed to the equestrian statues of Domitian and of Q. Marcius Tremulus; but, as stated above, they have now of necessity been suspended. Recent work has chiefly been confined to the higher ground in the

neighbourhood of the Arch of Titus. Here our classical authorities place two temples, that of Jupiter Stator and that of the Lares. The former stood in the fourth region (Notitia), *παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μουγωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ* (Dion. Hal. ii. 50; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* iii. i. 31, Liv. i. 12), *ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων*¹ (Plut. *Cic.* 16), and close to (or opposite) the house of Tarquinius Superbus, some of the windows of which faced the Nova Via, and which apparently lay on the upper (southwestern) side of this street (Liv. i. 41. 4, *per fenestras in novam viam versus—habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris—populum Tanaquil adloquitur*: Plin. *H.N.* xxxiv. 29 *contra Iovis Statoris aedem in vestibulo Superbi domus*: Solin. i. 24. *Tarquinius Priscus ad Mugoniam portam supra summam novam viam*).

The latter is merely placed 'in summa sacra via' (Solin. i. 23, *Mon. Anc.* iv. 7 'aedem Larum in summa sacra via feci') and a dedicatory inscription 'Laribus publicis sacrum' set up by Augustus in 4 B.C. 'ex stipe quam populus ei contulit K(alendis) Ianuariis apsentī' (*C.I.L.* vi. 456) was found in the sixteenth century 'in ipso fere Palatini montis in Forum descensu' within the limits of the gardens of the Farnese family. If this base had any connexion with the temple (which Mommsen, *R.G.D.A.* 82 denies, supposing it to have stood at a street corner), its discovery seems to fix the site as on the northwest side of the Arch of Titus, inasmuch as the road ascending from the arch to the Palatine formed the boundary of the Farnese property. This fact seems to have escaped the notice of Richter (*Topographie*, 161), who, while rightly maintaining that the base probably had something to do with the temple, agrees with Gilbert (*Geschichte und Topographie*, iii. 424) in giving the name to the remains of a temple on the southeast side of the arch. It must be admitted that the passages describing the site of the temple of Jupiter Stator seem to indicate that it lay between the Sacra Via and the Nova Via, and close to the ascent to the Palatine; and that these conditions would be rather better satisfied if it were placed on the northwest side of the arch: and the same is the case with regard to the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (*Mon.*

Inst. v. 7, Helbig, *Führer*, i². 692) in which the temple of Jupiter occupies the extreme right of the picture, the order of the buildings running from the Colosseum upwards. Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, 200) Hülsen (*Forum Romanum* (1904), 201)² and Boni (cited in *Bull. Com.* 1903, 18), are, however, all inclined to attribute the ruins to the southeast of the arch to the temple of Jupiter Stator: and the find-spot of the above-mentioned dedication to the Lares seems a decisive argument. A little has been done towards the further clearing of this temple, of which nothing but the podium remains: the core of it consists of selce concrete, surrounded above the ground level by a wall of peperino blocks: along the N.E. and S.E. sides runs a low mass of concrete, which is very likely the foundation of a flight of steps, and which was added later, as is shown by the slits which mark the places of the vertical beams used in setting the concrete of the core of the podium. It may be noted in this connexion that Cicero summoned the Senate to meet here after the discovery of the Catilinarian conspiracy (*in Catilin.* i. 1. 'hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus') and no doubt at that time the steps were narrower and the interior of the temple less easily accessible. Upon the podium of the temple are a few peperino blocks, which, if in situ, belong to the walls of the cella; but they very likely formed part of the substructures of the Torre Cartularia, which stood here in the Middle Ages, and to which belong other concrete foundations, in which many fragments of white marble are employed.

Of the temple of the Lares, on the northwest side of the arch, some scanty remains are believed to have been recently discovered. They consist of a wall of opus quadratum of tufa blocks, running along the northwest edge of the road ascending to the Palatine (*C.R.*, 1902, 286), upon which rests in one place a travertine pilaster base: so that what we have before us may be a portion of an external colonnade. The beginning of a crosswall going northwest at right angles has also been discovered; but the rest of the building has been destroyed by the extensive reconstructions which have taken place, and even upon the remains of which we have spoken there has been superimposed a huge mass of concrete, belonging to the foundations of a great portico

¹ This expression is generally taken to mean 'at the beginning of the Sacra Via,' i.e. at the end where the ascent to the Palatine is (and not at the Capitol end); but is it not possible that it may have the same meaning as Sacer Clivus in Martial i. 70. 5; iv. 78. 7 (see *C.R.* 1902, 336)?

² In the 'Nomenclator' to Kiepert and Hülsen, *Forma Urbis Romae Antiquae*, he follows Gilbert's view: but cf. *Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 95—where, as the sense shows, 'westlich' must be a misprint for 'östlich.'

(perhaps the Porticus Margaritaria) which stood upon the opposite side of the Sacra Via to the Basilica of Constantine and evidently belonged to the same period (*C.R.* 1899, 467, 1900, 238; *Bull. Com.* 1903, 24) and upon this again lies concrete of an even more recent date.

The temple was apparently a small one (though the 'sacellum Larum,' of which Tacitus speaks in *Ann.* xii. 24 as one of the four points—no doubt the angles—which marked the pomorium of the Palatine, is probably to be sought at the northwest angle of the hill, cf. Richter, *Topographie*, 33, for not far to the northwest lie the remains of a large house, belonging probably to the late Republic or early Empire (*C.R.* 1900, 239), of which other portions have been laid bare in the last few months), some fragments of well laid mosaic pavements in black and white and of painted wall plaster having been discovered in situ.¹ They have an orientation slightly diverging from that of the temple, and it is possible that the south-eastern portion of the house was removed to make way for it: but the house as a whole apparently continued to exist until the construction of the foundation walls of the portico mentioned above.

Below the level of this house again a portion of the tufa rock of the Velia itself has been reached: it has an artificially levelled surface, and in it is cut a flight of three steps. Here is another well, with remains of its lining of curved slabs of tufa. Further up the line of the road to the Palatine (the earlier pavement of which is extremely well laid) are remains of buildings on the northwest side, of which at present little can be understood. There is in one place a good example of an *intercapedo*—a space between two brick walls some four feet wide, bridged by blocks of travertine at intervals, and, at a lower level, a fragment of red brick tessellated pavement.

A certain amount of exploration has also been undertaken along the course of the Nova Via. In one of the *tabernae* on its south-side, close to its divergence from the ascent to the Palatine, a good decorative mosaic pavement in black and white has been found; and—not at the actual point of divergence, but further to the northwest—a good deal of its earlier pavement has been discovered, lying at about three feet below the later: it shows very little sign of wear, unless we are

¹ In a room further to the southwest is a circular well cut in the rock: in the soil which had accumulated above it were found a dolium and an amphora, both entire.

to suppose that it had been 'roughed only a short while before it passed out of use. Its freshness is, it is true, in part, though not altogether, accounted for by the existence on its southwest side of a footpath paved with slabs of travertine, which were laid upon it. The brick arches which span the road where it passes behind the Atrium Vestae and those which have been built along the façade of the edifices on the southwest of the road—probably shops in the lower portions of the substructures of the Imperial palace which towered above—can now be seen to have been later additions, inasmuch as their footings rest upon this earlier pavement. The exploration of the drain which runs below it is now in progress.

In the Basilica of Constantine the clearing of the pavement is being resumed, but not much more than was visible in the spring has as yet been brought to light. It was composed of pieces of various coloured marbles. Fragments of fallen vaulting with (in some cases) well preserved coffering are also being discovered.

The northeastern apse is represented by Andreas Coner (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, ii. pl. 16, 59) as having either four or six columns on the line of its chord. Neither is, as a fact, correct: there were probably two,² with a passageway between them, and marble screens between each column and the apse wall.

Under the remains of the Horrea Piperataria in front of the Basilica, near its southeast end, a piece of mosaic pavement, with white tesserae laid lengthwise, has been brought to light. This belongs perhaps to a private house or at any rate to some building which occupied the site before the construction of the Horrea Piperataria. (*C.R.* 1900, 239).

The discovery of three further fragments of the *Fasti Consulares* at different points has already been noticed in *C.R.* 1904, 425.

Turning to the literature of the subject, we find that the official reports, with the exception of a short notice upon these frag-

² The foundations upon which the bases of these presumed columns stood are each 1.40 metre square (Comm. Boni was good enough to have them cleared in response to an enquiry from me), and in the three spaces the threshold slabs of marble still remain; cf. Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, 318. Comm. Boni further remarks that the existence of four columns of red porphyry at the entrance from the Sacra Via (opposite to this apse) is uncertain, those which now stand there belonging to a comparatively recent restoration, and the discovery of a similar fragment below the level of the intermediate road mentioned in *C.R.* 1900, 239, may be an argument against the correctness of this restoration.

ments (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 8-10), are conspicuous by their absence. A plan of the Palatine, accompanied by accurately determined heights above sea level, will be welcome (*ibid.* 43-46 and plate), though, owing to the lack of distinction between walls above the ancient level and substructures, it is not so clear as it might be (cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 153).

The *Bullettino Comunale* contains a description of the find of vases in the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian (1904, 75-82, 174-178, cf. *C.R.* 1904, 328) by Prof. Gatti, in which he inclines to accept the idea that they were manufactured in the time of Domitian, and of the Lacus Curtius by Professor Tomassetti (181-187).

Prof. Petersen has published as a pamphlet (*Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus* Rome, 1904) a statement of his views upon the monuments which adjoin the Niger Lapis, of which he gave a summary at an open meeting of the German Institute on April 22, 1904. According to him, the line of steps which have hitherto been taken to be those leading up to the Rostra of the Republic (of which he finds as many as five, tracing them for a length of no less than 24 metres) belong in reality to the period of the Kings, serving as an approach to the *suggestus* or terrace of the Rostra which served as the southern boundary of the Comitium, and which he traces for about the same length. It faces almost exactly south, and thus corresponds with the orientation of the earliest Curia.¹ This *suggestus* remained in use, though raised to a higher level, in the Republican period, but the form of the steps by which it was approached was entirely modified. The original straight flight was replaced by a curved line—as far as can be determined, a segment of a true circle with a radius of about 18 metres—of five steps. On the northeast it ends abruptly with a straight termination which is almost parallel to the gutter in the marble pavement in front of the Curia Iulia; while, further to the west it cuts the straight flight, beyond which point it is not traceable: though the position of its other end may be inferred from the existence of

a pre-Caesarian travertine pavement, which is, on the other hand, probably not earlier than the time of Faustus Sulla, in front of the Curia Iulia and at a different orientation (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 309). The terminal points of this curved line of steps are, according to Prof. Petersen, the 'cornua comitii' upon which the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades were placed at the bidding of the Delphic oracle about 300 B.C., remaining there until the construction of Sulla's Curia necessitated their removal. And the tomb of Romulus lies more or less in the centre of this curve—a fact which gives the approximate orientations of the Curia both of the early Republic and of Sulla (they may have been either identical or slightly different).

The tomb is spoken of by Varro (as cited by the scholiast on Horace *Epod.* 16. 13) as either 'in,' 'pro,' or 'post rostris.' The meaning is, clearly, that the Rostra adjoined the tomb, and were behind it as seen from the Comitium, in front of it as seen from the Forum (or vice versa). The Rostra are therefore to be sought in the 'erection of the nature of an altar on the south side of the "tomb of Romulus"' (*C.R.* 1904, 140)—a possibility recognized by Boni (*Not. Scav.* 1899, 153). This foundation, which measures only 3.50 by 1.60 metres, would, of course, be the Rostra only in the narrower sense—the actual place where the orator stood, and which alone was decorated with the beaks of the ships—only six according to Florus, i. 5. 10—captured from the Antiates in 338 B.C., while the *suggestus* is the Rostra in the wider sense—the erection upon which the favoured part of the audience sat or stood at funeral orations or games and shows, and upon which statues of illustrious men were placed.² It is again, of course, only the Rostra in the narrower sense that can be regarded as a 'templum'—a rectangle orientated according to the four quarters of the heavens (though, as a fact, it is over 20 degrees out) and it did not exist before 338 B.C., as Livy's expression 'Rostraque *id templum appellatum*' shows (viii. 14). The tomb and the curved steps are of course older, though probably contemporary with one another—so that the tomb is perhaps not the original one in correspondence with the *suggestus* of the period of the kings. In any case, the destruction of the lions and

¹ The five tufa steps in front of the Curia of Diocletian (which, it is generally agreed, occupies the exact site of the Curia Iulia) which correspond more or less in orientation with it, but lie at a far lower level than even the pavement of the Republican Comitium—they are lettered X in the plan in *Not. Scav.* 1900, 296—perhaps belonged to the north-eastern enclosing wall of the Comitium (Petersen, *op. cit.* 14).

² 'Inferior locus' is interpreted, however, as referring to the level of the Comitium as distinguished from the Rostra, not to the Rostra in the wider sense as against the narrower.

the dislocation of their pediments is to be attributed to the Gaulish invasion of 390 B.C.

A comparison with the 'Rostra vetera'¹ at the northwest end of the Forum as reorganized by Caesar and with the Rostra Julia shows a surprising similarity of measurement, the length of the front of both these being about 24 metres, which corresponds exactly with that of the oldest *suggestus*, and is only about three metres less than the chord of the curve of the Rostra of the early Republic. There is further a remarkable analogy between the position of the tomb of Romulus and that of the altar which marked the spot where Caesar's body was burnt.

Professor Petersen's theories are decidedly ingenious, and deserve attention both for the authority of their originator, and as being the first attempt to explain the existing remains in conjunction with one another, and to trace the history of the whole.² Whether the interpretation that he has put upon them is correct, is another matter, and can, as he remarks in conclusion, only be tested by further excavation: for despite all that has already been done in the Comitium, there is room for yet further spade-work: and, in what has been done, it is not impossible that certain points may have been missed. Professor Petersen himself remarks that 'die Gräber [he is referring to the reports on the pre-historic cemetery] sind denn auch mit einem Raffinement der Beobachtung beschrieben, von dem man nur die Hälfte bei Abräumung des Romulusgrabes gewünscht hätte' *Jahrbuch des Inst.* 1904, *Arch. Anz.* 111) and it may be added that we are still without the final publication of the objects found beneath the black marble pavement (cf. *C.R.* 1901, 86; 1904, 141).

The literature of the Forum in general has been enriched by three handbooks, mainly intended for use on the spot

(Hülssen, *Das Forum Romanum*, Rome, 1904; Burton Brown, *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum*, 1898-1904; St. Clair Baddeley, *Recent Discoveries in the Forum*, 1898-1904). The first of these, while not pretending to take the same ground as the author's exhaustive and critical account of the recent excavations in *Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 1-97, is, it need hardly be said, written by a past master of the subject; and, being a description not merely of recent work, but of the Forum as a whole, has this advantage over the other two, that it places the latest discoveries in their proper setting. The historical introduction, divided into three sections—the Forum in ancient times, the Forum in the Middle Ages, and the investigation of the Forum from the Renaissance onwards—is of very great interest.

The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and there is a good bibliography.

The other two works will be of service to English speaking visitors and students, especially the former, which is the more conveniently arranged of the two; but the latter contains the most up to date plan of the Forum that has yet appeared, though it is not reproduced upon as large a scale as might be wished.

A serviceable volume on the city as a whole is Professor Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1904). The author states in the preface that it 'makes no claim to exhaustiveness or originality; it is only a compilation from various sources': but it is handy and contains very numerous references to the most recent works on the subject, which seem to have been used with discretion and care.

Outside the Forum there is no excavation of importance to chronicle; the Ara Pacis has not been touched for the last eight months or more, and we can only hope that a beginning may be made in the spring, when the river level has fallen.

Professor Petersen (*Röm. Mitt.* 1904, 159) expresses the hope that Horace's Sabine villa should be investigated. (The site of it, near the banks of the Licenza, is fixed with almost absolute certainty by the existence of remains of mosaic pavement.) I would plead, not only for this, but for the excavation of one or more of the villas which exist in hundreds in the nearer neighbourhood of Rome. For as Rostowzew (*Pompeianische Landschaften und römische Villen*, in *Jahrbuch des Inst.*, 1904, 103 *sqq.*) points out, we know practically nothing of their plan: the only two exam-

¹ Professor Petersen (p. 33, note 38) refuses to accept Richter's new theory (*C.R.* 1904, 140) with regard to the hemicycle which has hitherto been known as the Graecostasis. He does not attempt to meet the argument (urged long ago by Nichols, and confirmed by Richter's recent observations) that at the point of contact the hemicycle certainly seems to be earlier in date than the structure of opus quadratum in front of it. His observations with regard to the technique of the facing of the hemicycle are important: but slabs of porta santa (Iasian) marble are hardly to be described as 'bunte Kalksteinplatten.'

² It need hardly be said that they are irreconcilable with those of Professor Studniczka (cf. *C.R.* 1904, 140).

ples of completely excavated villas that he is able to find are the villa of Hadrian (which is not necessarily or even probably typical) and the villa of Voconius Pollio, which has since been obliterated by cultivation: and, though one or two others, such as the imperial (l) villa now known as Settebasi and the Villa of the Quintilii, may even in their present state (though they would amply repay complete investigation) be added to his list, it would be a great gain to our knowledge if the Italian Government would avail itself of some of the now frequent opportunities of research at comparatively small cost which occur when the site of one of these villas is brought under cultivation. The Campagna is fast undergoing the process of conversion from a succession of open pastures to a district of cornland and vineyards: and once these have been established, the expense of excavation will be large, if not prohibitive—if indeed there be anything left to excavate (cf. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, i. 136, 137, 249).

The first open meeting of the British School at Rome for the present session was held on Jan. 9th. Mr. H. Stuart Jones, the Director, read a paper upon the reliefs in the Villa Borghese, which have hitherto been attributed to the arch of Claudius, erected in commemoration of his victories in Britain in 51–52 A.D., which carried the Aqua Virgo over the Via Lata (*C.I.L.* vi. 960, Helbig, *Führer*, ii.² 939–941). As he pointed out, there is no positive evidence for the attribution, which rests upon a conjecture of Nibby's as to their provenance (*Monumenti Scelti della Villa Borghese*, p. 15), improbable in itself, but accepted without question by most archaeologists—who are reduced to various expedients in order to fit them into the place which they are thus wrongly forced to occupy in the history of art. Their real provenance is indicated by Flaminio Vacca *mem.* 68, 'nella chiesa di S. Martina . . . vi erano due grandi istorie di marmo statuate, assai consumate, rappresentanti armati con trofei in mano e alcuni togati, di buona mano . . . che al presente (1594) sono in casa del sig. cavaliere della Porta scultore.' Giambattista della Porta died in 1597, and his collection of sculptures (some 400 pieces in all) was sold in or after 1618 by his surviving heir, Giovanni Paolo, apparently *en bloc* to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, inasmuch as all the works of art which can be identified from the descriptions in the della

Porta inventory (published in *Röm. Mitt.* 1893, 236 sq.) can be traced to the Borghese collection.

An examination of the style of the reliefs shows that they present very close analogies with works of the time of Trajan, and this would agree with the fact of their having existed in the church of S. Martina, not far from the Forum of Trajan, for the decoration of which indeed they probably served. It is especially noteworthy that Winckelmann unhesitatingly attributed them to this period (*Werke*, Donauöschingen, vi. 259), though archaeologists have up till now not followed him.

Mr. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Student of the School, followed with a paper upon royal portrait heads of the Hellenistic period, in which he refuted certain of the current identifications, as being often based on insufficient study of the coin types, and in some cases contradictory. The meeting was well attended by Italian archaeologists and members of the other foreign schools, and also by English residents in Rome.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI.

Excavations at Phylakopí in Melos. Conducted by the British School at Athens. Society for Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper No. 4. Pp. xv. + 280; 41 plates. Macmillans. 30s.

FROM 1896 to 1899 the archaeological explorations of the British School at Athens, which have of late years been carried on in the Sitía province of Crete and more especially at the now well-known Paláikastro, were confined to the island of Melos. The work started in 1896, under Mr. Cecil Smith's directorate, with the idea of exploring the immediate neighbourhood of the classical town of Melos, but owing to the meagreness of the results of this exploration, it became necessary to seek farther afield a new scene of operations. This was found in a prehistoric 'site close to the village of Phylakopí on the north-east coast, which Ross (*Inselreisen*, iii. 13) had heard of in 1843, and of which Weil and Dümmler in *Ath. Mitth.* 1876, p. 246, and 1886, p. 26, give an account. Both Ross and Dümmler call the site 'στόν Καρνόν; but this is apparently a misconception, the real name being 'στόν Καρνόν because

of the white spray that blows over it when the wind is strong from the north.' Here were the remains of a Mycenaean cemetery, which had already been plundered, and the indubitable traces of a Mycenaean town, built directly upon the sea-shore, so close to the verge indeed that in the course of the centuries the waves had eroded part of the low cliff of soft tufa on which it stood, and had destroyed a considerable part of it.



This site appeared to offer great possibilities, and in May 1896 work was started on it. From the first it became evident that the town was one of importance, of considerable extent, and provided with strong walls of defence. Also it soon became evident that at least three distinct strata of building could be traced in it, the uppermost of which shewed traces of 'Mycenaean' occupation.

How the work of exploration was carried out may be read in the British School's publication of the excavations, which has appeared under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies as 'Supplementary Paper No. 4' (1904), edited by a special Committee of the Society, consisting of an ex-Director and the present Director of the British School and the Editor of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The result of this 'Belle Alliance' is the publication of a most interesting as well as archaeologically important volume.

The actual book is written by the excavators themselves, each contributing an article on the part of the work which chiefly concerned him. The only exception is an article on the Pottery-Marks by Dr. A. J. Evans. The illustrations are mostly from photographs and from drawings, chiefly by Mr. Halvor Bagge: there is a coloured reproduction of the famous Phylakopí fresco of the Flying-Fish (described by Mr. Bosanquet) by the practised hand of M. Gilliéron, and there are also two very useful plans, on which the walls of the successive settlements are distinguished by colours. These are by Mr. Atkinson, the architect attached to the excavations, and from them it may be seen that the excavation of Phylakopí is by no means completed. Of the separate articles the most interesting are those of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie on the history of the site and of Mr. Bosanquet on the ancient obsidian trade of Melos; Mr. C. C. Edgar's article on the pottery, illustrated by good photographs, will be useful to the student of Greek ceramics.

Dr. Evans's short article on the pottery marks calls for some comment. On p. 184,

Dr. Evans says that 'the method of writing from right to left, instead of from left to right, is not found in the Cretan linear inscriptions.' My doubts of this (*Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 141, n. 1) are, I confess, not yet resolved. Dr. Evans himself points out that a Melian inscription which he gives (Fig. 155) is the same as a Cretan sign-group, but is written in the reverse direction. If the Cretan inscriptions are to be read from left to right, then the Melian inscription reads from right to left: if the Melian group is to be read from left to right, the corresponding Cretan inscriptions must be read from right to left. One or the other must read from right to left: the Melian inscription is identical as to its signs with the Cretan ones quoted, both must have the same origin and presumably represent the same sounds: therefore we see the Cretan-Melian or 'Minoan' linear script *could be written and read from right to left*. In fact the analogy which I drew three years ago between the Cretan and Egyptian scripts holds good; and it would now appear that, like Egyptian, 'Minoan' could be written either from right to left or from

left to right: in Egyptian  (right to left) is the same as  (left to right): so with Minoan, evidently (*Phylakopí*, Figs. 155, 156).

Turning to the general scientific results of the excavation, we see that the exploration of Phylakopí is archaeologically important in that it enables us to gain a tolerably complete idea of the development of civilization in an Aegean island from the sub-neolithic (the 'Cycladic' or 'Amorgian') stage of culture, up through the 'Early Minoan' period to the culminating point of the Bronze Age civilization of Greece, the period which saw the greatest glory of the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos in Crete, and has been called by Dr. Evans 'Minoan' after the name of the great legendary ruler of Knossos. Further, we see the setting in in Melos, as in Crete, of the derived but decadent 'Mycenaean' culture, properly so-called, and after this, nothing. Phylakopí was abandoned, and, not so fortunate as Knossos or Phaistos, left not even a tradition of its existence in the mouths of men.

There are at Phylakopí the remains of four successive settlements: of these the first is not dignified by the excavators with the name of 'city': the last three are the

First, Second, and Third Cities of Phylakopí. The earliest settlement, upon the débris of which the houses of the First City were erected, was a simple village of the 'Cycladic' or 'Amorgian' period, the kind of prehistoric 'Middle Age' which a few years ago we used to call 'præ-Mycenaean,' which intervenes chronologically between Neolithic barbarism and the fully developed Bronze Age culture of Greece. This is the period of 'cist-graves,' corresponding to the Remedello period in Italy and that of the 'hall-graves' in Northern Europe. Of an earlier Neolithic settlement, however, there is no trace at Phylakopí. At Knossos there are indisputable traces of long ages of occupation by the stone-users. At Phylakopí no trace of house-walls was found in the Cycladic settlement, and elsewhere in the Aegean no trace of the dwellings to which the cist-grave cemeteries appertained have come to light. Now at Knossos no traces of walls have been found in the Neolithic deposits. Dr. Mackenzie concludes that 'if, now, the beginnings of the Cycladic civilization are to be put in a relation of direct sequence to the latest phase of the neolithic development, then we have an explanation of the fact that apparently the earliest Cycladic people also lived in houses which, if in some respects probably an advance on the old neolithic huts, were of equally perishable material' (p. 241). This is an interesting deduction and may be a correct one, but the possibility of a complete destruction of these early walls in all cases must not be ignored, and it cannot be definitely said that the supposed Neolithic wall at Phaistos referred to in a footnote on the same page, is probably in reality 'sub- or post-neolithic . . . in view of the evidence from Cnossos.' The argument from silence has often been proved fallacious in 'Mycenaean' research.

In any case we see that the 'sub-' or 'post-Neolithic' culture in Crete developed directly out of the previous Neolithic culture, and we may presume that the people to whom the corresponding 'Cycladic' culture of the Aegean, as we see it exemplified in Melos in the settlement of Phylakopí and the cist-graves of Pelos, belonged, were preceded by a Neolithic population, of which no trace now remains, and that the 'Cycladic' culture was a developed form of that of the stone-users. In Crete there is evidently, as Dr. Mackenzie in his article on the 'Successive Settlements' says, no break whatever 'in racial continuity to be bridged over in the period which saw the inauguration of the use of metals and the transition

from purely neolithic ceramic forms to the Cnossian equivalent for the early metal-age ceramics of the Cyclades. Neolithic evidence like that of Cnossos may one day be forthcoming in the Cycladic area itself. Meanwhile there are enough data afforded by the rich neolithic strata of prehistoric Cnossos to establish the primary fact of ceramic and so of race continuity. And these data are sufficient not merely to establish the continuity subsisting at Cnossos itself between the civilization of the neolithic people and that of the Minoan race of Crete. They also enable us to postulate an identical Aegean neolithic race as the ancestors of the Cycladic people, of whose civilization we have evidence, in the deposits of the cist-tombs, of early settlements like the one at Phylakopí and of later settlements both at Phylakopí and elsewhere in the Aegean' (p. 242).

Dr. Mackenzie's conclusion must undoubtedly be correct, but he is no doubt equally correct in saying further that 'this fact of race-continuity excludes any view which would assign the origin of the Cycladic race to any external influence which might be conceived as arresting the course of native development and inaugurating an absolutely new beginning at any later stage.' But to add that this conclusion 'enables us to refer the origin of the Aegean civilization to the native neolithic people of the Aegean rather than to the foreign Carian race of Asia Minor' is flogging a dead horse, surely. The excavations of Messrs. Paton and Myres in Karia (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvi, 264-270) made it certain, as Dr. Mackenzie says (p. 243 note), that the Karian hypotheses, whether of Furtwängler and Löschcke or of Dümmler and Studniczka, were impossible, and that—though we had not yet heard of the word 'Minoan' then (1898)—'the last reminiscences of the Minoan Sea-power and of Aegean culture were anterior to, and in their survivals became absorbed into, the Carian Sea-power and polity on the Asiatic coast in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.' The post-Mycenaean character of the Karian thalassocracy has of late years been taken for granted. Thus, says Dr. Mackenzie, 'the evidence enables us to substitute an internal for an external "conception of development."' This conception has been maintained by students of Mycenaeanology for some years past: cf. my own book (1901) pp. 23-28.

There is no break in the continuity of the prehistoric Greek civilization, though

different periods of its development are well marked. These periods no doubt correspond to epochs in which the dominating power in the Aegean was exercised by the rulers of those Greek lands in which the successive developments of culture seem to have originated, and from which the several impulses to development seem to have radiated over the Aegean world. Thus the 'Minoan' development of Greek civilization seems to have originated in Crete and to have radiated thence northward over Greece and eastward to Cyprus, and certainly came into close contact with Egyptian civilization at least from the time of the XIIth Dynasty to that of the XVIIIth (B.C. 2500-1500).¹ The 'Minoan' development reached its height and decadence set in, marked, as Dr. Mackenzie shews (pp. 270, 271), by the supersession of the Cretan culture by the Mycenaean culture properly so called which seems to have radiated from Argolis and Thessaly over the Aegean, including Melos and Crete, and to have had relations with Egypt from the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty (B.C. 1400) to the XXth (B.C. 1150). The 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' cultures were successive phases of the same Greek Bronze Age civilization which developed out of the Neolithic culture in Greece itself. The break in continuity occurs at the close of the Mycenaean Age, when the intrusive iron-users and makers of geometrical pottery came in. That the break was a very real one is shewn by a significant fact, the cessation of all relations with Egypt. Egyptian records tell us of no great civilization in the Northern Lands from the twelfth to the seventh centuries, when relations with Greece began again. That the change of phase in the old Bronze Age culture was a real one is shewn also by Egyptian evidence. XIIth Dynasty Egypt was in connection with the earlier Minoan, XVIIIth Dynasty Egypt with the later Minoan phase: the *Keftiu*-people were Cretans of the great Knossian period. These *Keftiu* disappear at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty: with the XIXth, when Mycenaean pottery first appears in Egypt, a new set of Northern peoples came into the ken of the Egyptians: a shifting of political arrangements had evidently

¹ In common with most Egyptological students, I adhere to the older date for the XIIth Dynasty. The calculation, accepted by some German Egyptologists, which would bring this date down to about 1900 B.C., seems to me to be inadmissible. It is difficult to cram the XIIth Dynasty and the Hyksos period into three centuries, and Brugsch's date still holds the field.

taken place, with the XXth Dynasty, when Mycenaean pottery disappears from Egypt, these Northerners also disappear from Egyptian history, and nothing more is heard of the North till the time of the XXVth Dynasty, when the historical Greeks first came into contact with Egypt. Thus the evidence of archaeological discovery in Greece is entirely borne out by the evidence of the Egyptian monuments. Finally, later Greek tradition enables us to identify the period of Minoan civilization, the age of the *Keftiu*, with the legendary time of the Cretan thalassocracy, and the Mycenaean period, the age of the 'Peoples of the Sea' with the political hegemony of either the Achaeans or the 'Pelasgian' rulers who preceded them, according as we identify the intrusive iron-users and makers of geometrical pottery either, following Prof. Ridgeway, with the Achaeans, or, following the older theory, with the Dorians. In either case the iron-using invaders were probably the 'Aryans' who brought an Indo-European speech into Greece, the Minoans and Mycenaeans having been probably 'Mediterraneans' like their neolithic culture-ancestors, and, presumably, speakers of the non-Aryan language-system of which Kretschmer has pointed out the traces in Greece.

So we see in Greece the development of a 'Mediterranean' civilization, ultimately in all probability closely connected with that of Egypt, from its neolithic beginnings to its final fall before the invading barbaric culture which, modified by the old tradition, formed the basis of the civilization of Classical Greece. The Karian hypothesis has long been dead: Dr. Evans has shewn us the distinction between 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean'; Dr. Mackenzie in his article in *Phylakopí* has for the first time brought the Cretan evidence into line with that available from the islands, and has emphasized the native character of the Bronze Age culture of Greece and its continuity of development.

Turning to the details of the excavations, above the remains of the small 'Cycladic' settlement we find those of the First 'City' of *Phylakopí*, which was of considerable extent. These remains consist of the actual house-walls, with pottery and occasionally other objects. The pottery is mostly of native manufacture, the peculiar porous ware of which the majority is made being presumably Melian; specimens of foreign ware found in Crete and there apparently native,

were also discovered. Conversely the more porous Melian pottery is found with the same Cretan ware at Knossos. This proof of connection is borne out by the simultaneous appearance at Phylakopí and Knossos of the beginnings of writing in the shape of potter's marks. Further we find in Crete the use of obsidian, which can only have come there from Melos. In Melos it is most abundant in the ruins of the First City of Phylakopí. Mr. Bosanquet devotes an article to this very interesting subject of Melian obsidian, and shews that the use of this handy material throughout Greece during the sub-neolithic period and later, as shewn by the excavations at Knossos, Phylakopí, Hissarlik, and elsewhere, proves an extensive obsidian trade connection between Melos and the rest of the Aegean world in very early times. But whether Dr. Mackenzie is justified in assuming that the obsidian objects found in deposits of the early period (4000-3000 B.C) in Egypt must have been imported from Melos (p. 247), and that therefore we have proof of regular trade-connection between Melos and Egypt in the fourth millenium B.C., is very doubtful. We do not know that the Egyptians of the First to Sixth Dynasties did not get their obsidian from some source, unknown to us, nearer home. Mr. Bosanquet points out on p. 228 that the *ὄψιανός λίθος* (probably obsidian) of the Roman lapidaries was imported from the Erythraean coast, and we know that the Egyptians were in constant communication with the 'land of Punt' at least from the time of the Vth Dynasty: it seems more likely that the obsidian cups of the Vth Dynasty grave at Dendera quoted by Dr. Mackenzie (*loc. cit.*) are made of Punite *ὄψιανός λίθος*, rather than that their material was imported from the far-away islands of the *Hanebu*. In this connection may be noted one of the few misprints in the book. On this same p. 228 the name of the Egyptian town Naqada or Naqada (pronounced 'Nagada'), in the predynastic necropoles of which obsidian was found, is misspelled 'Naquada.'

The Second and Third Cities differ from the First in being provided with strong walls of defence. The great Minoan cities, like Knossos and Orchomenos, were open and unfortified, pointing to a period of peaceful and untroubled civilization. But the Second and Third Phylakopí, though contemporary with them, are fortified. Relations with Crete were constant. Cretan pottery appears more and more: the older polychrome ('Kamaros') ware characteristic of the early Minoan period being succeeded

by vases of the 'Grand Palace style' (later Minoan); in the Third City even to the exclusion of the native ware. Phylakopí takes more and more the appearance of a mere over-sea outpost of the Minoan culture. Had it become politically an outpost of the Knossian power, a fortress of the Minoan thalassocrats? In this case its strong walls for defence against piratical attack either from landing-parties of sea-rovers or from the non-Minoan native population of the island become explicable. The later strata of the Second City correspond to the older strata of the Knossian palace, as is proved by the occurrence in them of rooms with single pillars in the centre exactly resembling the remarkable pillar-rooms at Knossos, which Dr. Evans considers to belong to the earlier Minoan palace. In the Third City we find a drainage-system parallel to that of Knossos. The older strata of the Third City are clearly contemporary with the second period of the Knossian Palace, and it is now, at the apogee of the Knossian civilization, that we find the Cretan influence most marked. Then comes an alteration. In the later houses of the Third City we meet with the first Mycenaean pottery, as we also find it in the later buildings of Knossos. To the later Third City at Phylakopí belongs a small palace or government house, which in its arrangement has no parallel in Crete or elsewhere in the Aegean, but 'goes back to mainland prototypes, and these prototypes themselves receive their classical expression in the Palace of Tiryns, not in that of Knossos.' It has a megaron with a central hearth, and the light-well characteristic of the Cretan palaces is absent. The pottery found in it is 'decadent Mycenaean of the latest class.' Dr. Mackenzie concludes that it is the creation of mainland (Mycenaean) architects, and so that 'the latest rulers at Phylakopí were a mainland people, and that these formed part of a general wave of immigration into the Aegean of part of the native population of Greece, consequent on the incursion into their homes of new tribes from the north' (p. 270). The same Mycenaean conquerors from the mainland overthrew the Minoans of Crete. We have here the 'Peoples of the Sea' overthrowing and succeeding the Keftiu.

The Mycenaean were the last inhabitants of Phylakopí. When the Argive thalassocracy was overthrown by the Iron-users, its site was abandoned. Karians and Phoenicians ruled, traded, and raided in the Cyclades, which may indeed have been partially depopulated (they are never mentioned

the Homeric poems) until Dorian colonists sailed in between the harbour-guarding rocks and took Melos for their own. But ancient Phylakopí, on the other side of the island, was never reoccupied by them, and remained forgotten until discovered by the modern investigators of the Greek civilization of the Heroic Age.

H. R. HALL.

WALTERS' CATALOGUE OF BRITISH
MUSEUM TERRACOTTAS.

Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department. Pp. 1+450; 44 plates, 90 illustrations in the text. 4to. 35s. net.

THE catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum is a work which will be as welcome to a certain section of archaeologists as it has been long expected, and Mr. H. B. Walters is to be congratulated on the successful completion of his gigantic task. The accurate and adequate description of more than three thousand specimens, the collection of references to plates, articles, and monographs illustrating the subject, and the comparison of similar specimens in other collections require a painstaking diligence, which is erroneously supposed to be peculiar to the Teuton, and a knowledge which is too seldom appreciated and commended.

The present catalogue maintains the high level of excellence reached by the familiar catalogues of vases in the British Museum, the plan of which it follows.

Like them it is preceded by an introduction. This contains, after a brief history of the collection, 'a full discussion of the ancient methods of working in terracotta, the various purposes which the material was made to serve, the circumstances in which the statuettes have been found, and their original destination, the range of subjects, the local fabrics, and the successive stages of the art.'

The catalogue itself is divided into five sections. Group A contains terracottas from Cyprus *circa* 1000-200 B.C. and a few of similar style from Syria; Group B, Archaic Greek Terracottas from the Mycenaean period onwards and a few archaic Etruscan Terracottas; Group C, Greek

Terracottas of the finest period; Group D, Italian Terracottas of the fine and later periods; Group E, moulds, stamps, and seals. The lamps, the moulded and glazed wares, and the moulds of Arretine vases are reserved for a second volume.

The catalogue is illustrated by no fewer than 44 plates of great excellence picturing 173 specimens, and by nearly one hundred cuts in the text.

The introduction is concise and scholarly. Entering more deeply and more seriously into the subject than Miss Hutton's monograph in the Portfolio series, it provides the first satisfactory account in English of the fictile art in antiquity, the fabrication of terracottas in particular, their uses, types, and subjects. To English Archaeologists then it will most probably be the standard work on the subject for many years to come. Consequently it appears matter for regret, first that there is no definite pronouncement as to the birth-place of the statuette, or rather no definite refutation of the popular English and continental belief in an Egyptian or oriental origin thereof. Secondly, that, when giving the various theories or guesses as to the uses of terracottas advanced by Welcker, Heuzey, Furtwängler, Rayet, Pottier, etc., Mr. Walters has scarcely discussed them, and has modestly refrained from indicating his own views, excepting perhaps by incidental comment. The reader is left to struggle more or less unaided in a sea of conflicting theories.

M. Pottier's statement that the so called funerary figures are never found in temples requires modification in view of Naukratite discoveries.¹ It is a pity that the error should be perpetuated, and moreover that the whole question of the nature of the 'funeral masks' should be treated with a positive confidence which is certainly not warranted by our existing knowledge of the subject.

Then again a brief list of the most characteristic varieties of clay, such as that given by M. Martha, would have been a useful addition to the section dealing with the fabrication of terracottas.

Among minor points may be mentioned the use of ἀκρωτήρια (should it not be ἡγεμόνες?) in the sense of *antefixae* (p. xvi); and the assumption made (p. xx and elsewhere) that πηλός cannot imply *baked clay*. The use of πύλινα ποτήρια (Lucian, *Lexiph.* 13)

¹ See *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1898-99, p. 69 ff.

shows that the word was not restricted to unbaked or sun-dried clay.

The statement (p. xv) that of walls of unburnt brick 'the most interesting remains are in the Heraeum at Olympia. The cella walls were of unburnt brick with a lower-most course of stone' is inaccurate and misleading.

Lastly the spelling of proper names appears to be arbitrary and inconsistent. If 'Croesus,' why 'Dionysos' and 'Asklepios'? If 'Myndus,' why 'Halicarnassos'? If 'Naucratis,' why 'Knidos,' and so forth?

The catalogue itself is deserving of the highest praise. The descriptions when tested in the Terracotta Room have proved faithful and minute, and they have this essential merit that they accurately visualise the objects described. A statuette is occasionally claimed to be Demeter or Aphrodite or what not, when it would perhaps have been better to avoid definite nomenclature or even deification, but it is difficult to decide where to draw the line, and easy to be hypercritical.

It was perhaps not part of the duty of Mr. Walters to point out that considerable suspicion is attached to the genuineness of the fine figures of Athena and Poseidon (B 78 and 79) said to be from Malesina.

Students in the Museum would have found the catalogue more useful if some indication had been given of the case (if not of the shelf) where each specimen is to be found. Whenever there is an absence of consecutive arrangement much time may be spent in fruitless search for a particular object. There are difficulties, no doubt, in the way of precise indication, but they are not insurmountable, and their conquest would greatly increase the working value of the British Museum catalogues.¹

Somewhat similar in character is the frequent omission of guiding numbers on the plates. The list of illustrations at the beginning of the volume does not invariably make up for their absence when several specimens are shown upon the same plate.

After this picking of small holes it is but fair that I should repeat my testimony to the general excellence and value of the work.

CLEMENT GUTCH.

¹ This fault is not peculiar to the Catalogue of Terracottas. As things are at present no visitor without official help can be certain of finding a particular vase within reasonable time.

BUTLER'S ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS.

Architecture and other Arts. By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, A.M. Part II. of the publication of an American Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900. The Century Co. New York City. Pp. 433, with 578 illustrations (in text). £4 4s. 0d. net.

It is now nearly forty years ago since the Count Melchior de Vogué revealed the existence of numerous remains of an early Christian style of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries in Northern Central Syria, fully developed, and possessing features closely approximating to those which we find in the Romanesque architecture in Europe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

His work entitled 'La Syrie centrale, Architecture civile et Religieuse' was illustrated by a large number of engraved plates of great beauty and included not only the Christian work in North Syria but early Pagan work in the Hauran, many of the drawings of which had never been measured or published. Since M. de Vogué's visit in 1861-62 no serious attempt has been made to study the architectural monuments of the country, so that the plates illustrating his work and the letter press which accompanies them still remain the principal if not the sole source of information regarding the Pagan and Christian architecture of Central Syria. The work just published and entitled *Architecture and other Arts*, to which should have been added 'in North Central Syria and the Hauran,' is Part II of the publication of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900.

The description is written by Mr. H. C. Butler and the work was not intended at first to be much more than an appendix to M. de Vogué's work. As suggested in the preface, its primary object, so far as the study of architecture was concerned, was to visit the sites reached by M. de Vogué, to verify the measurements of monuments, and to take photographs of the same. There is no doubt that the main result has been the confirmation of M. de Vogué's labours and that the photographs of Mr. Butler's work bear witness to the care and accuracy observed by M. de Vogué and the architect who accompanied him, not only in the delineation of the ornamental details which abound in the work, but generally to the correctness of the 'état actuel' of the buildings represented as regards their principal architectural features.

On the other hand the photogravures suggest that the actual buildings are not always quite so fine in effect as shown in M. de Vogué's beautifully engraved plates, though that may partly be due to the comparatively poor reproductions of the original photographs. That which, however, is more serious is the revelation they make of the ruinous condition of many of the buildings, far greater than that which is shown in M. de Vogué's drawings. It is quite possible that part of this is due to the lapse of time which has passed since his visit in 1861, and we are informed that two of the important buildings illustrated in M. de Vogué's book, viz. the *Praetorium* at Musmieh and the church of *Tourmanin* (*Der Turmanin* in Mr. Butler's book) have almost entirely disappeared, their materials having been utilized in modern constructions. In nearly all the churches in North Central Syria which have been photographed by Mr. Butler there are, however, wide fissures not shown in M. de Vogué's plates, so that we have every reason to be grateful to the American Archaeological Society for the reproductions they have made of what actually exists, and the faithful representations they give of architectural monuments which in a short time owing to the colonization going on now in Syria will soon disappear.

We gather from the *Prospectus* that Part I deals with the Topography and Itinerary, and Parts III and IV with the Inscriptions. As neither of these volumes has yet appeared it is difficult without the plan of the country which will probably be given in Part I, and without the inscriptions in Parts III and IV to criticize properly Mr. Butler's section Part II. As regards the former, reference to M. de Vogué's work makes up for the deficiency, but in the index of dated monuments in Part II nearly 156 inscriptions on the buildings are referred to, giving not only the year but the month in which they were carved, and we should like to know more about their minute accuracy. The inscriptions on tombs, slabs, altars, and the pedestals of niches we can understand, at all events so far as the year is concerned, but when found on the lintel of a doorway of a church or house there is no evidence that they may not have been carved long afterwards. On the pedestals of the columns of the *Propylaea* at Baalbek is an inscription of dedication to Antoninus Pius, the Emperor who conceived and carried out the greater part of the *Acropolis* and the Temple of Jupiter Sol, but this was set up by Cara-

calla at least fifty years after the death of Antoninus Pius, and the same may have happened in many of the cases quoted by Mr. Butler. In his attempt to arrive at dates of construction by the ornament and profiles of mouldings, Mr. Butler admits that precisely similar mouldings and ornaments are found on buildings the dates of which are sometimes fifty to sixty years apart, so that neither the moulding nor the inscriptions can be relied on for the exact dating of the construction in or on which they are found.

A glance at this index also reveals that which we consider to be a defect in Mr. Butler's descriptions. It would have been much better to have followed the chronological order observed by M. de Vogué and to have commenced with the buildings in the Hauran which are of much earlier date than those in North Central Syria. As it is the oldest buildings are not described or illustrated till we get to the fourth quarter of the book. Thus in the text of 422 pages, it is only on page 355 that we find the earliest date quoted, viz. on the tomb at Suweda which in M. de Vogué's book was illustrated in Plate I. Mr. Butler has collected some interesting dates relative to the proportions of breadth to width observed in the churches of North Central Syria, but as in later examples he is obliged to measure to the outside of the walls instead of to the inside as in earlier work no great reliance can be placed on these calculations. His detailed account of the ornamental detail and especially that of the carved disks are of some value: he draws attention also to the construction of the arches, more particularly those in early churches in which, either the *voussoirs* are entirely dispensed with, the arch being cut out of a single block of stone, or are partly built with *voussoirs* crowned with a monolith in which a segment only of the arch has been cut. He does not seem, however, to have laid sufficient stress on the megalithic character of the masonry generally due to local tradition and which accounts for much of the peculiar decoration round the doorways and windows. After the masons had built the church with blocks of stone as large as they were able to quarry and transport, the sculptor was brought in to carve them and he sets out his scheme of decoration and introduces his architectural features without any reference to the jointing of the masonry. (See the illustrations on pages 212 and 213

of BAKIRIÂ and DAR-KITÂ.) In Pagan work for instance, the capital and portions of the shaft of a pilaster are always carved out of the same block of stone, and in Christian work the apsidal arch, the archivolt mouldings and the hood-mould are all carved out of the same voussoirs which extend many feet beyond and form part of the main wall of the church. It is this want of recognition of architectural units which marks the chief characteristic difference between the Christian work in Syria and that in Europe, where the architectural features originate in, and are ruled by the construction.

There are one or two statements in the description to which we take exception. On pages 225 and 229 the word buttress is used instead of abutment or respond;—page 311, 23 A.D. should be 23 B.C. as recorded later on;—page 319, the frieze at Atil illustrated is not a representation of the palm tree but, as evidenced by the berries between the leaves, a conventional treatment of laurel leaves which like that of oak leaves and apples constituted a favourite frieze decoration throughout Syria;—p. 330, the base of the pilaster at Suweja could scarcely be recognized as an attic base.

The pilaster capital of the Temple at Si page 339 is in its design identical with those found at Warka in Mesopotamia, the work of the Parthian dynasty, by Mr. Kenneth Loftus and now in the British Museum which suggests another origin for the Nabataean work found in the Hauran. The chapter devoted to this early Pre-Roman architecture is one of the most interesting in Mr. Butler's work and his illustrations are valuable additions to those given by M. de Vogué.

R. PHENÉ SPIERS.

STUDNICZKA'S TROPHY OF TRAJAN.

Tropaeum Traiani. FRANZ STUDNICZKA.
Leipzig: Teubner, 1901. Pp. x+152.
M. 8.

THE monument of Adamklissi, the trophy of victorious Roman campaigns in the Dobrudja, has been well published and much discussed in recent times. Since M. Tocilescu, with the aid of Professors Bendorff and Niemann, published his monumental work on the trophy, it has become a battle ground of archaeologists, among

whom Professor Furtwängler, with his usual impetuosity, has taken a front rank. Whatever may be the case with controversy generally, certainly this controversy has been of the greatest gain to archaeology. It has applied a strong stimulus to learning and research; and the result of it is that the trophies of the Roman arms in all lands have been examined and analyzed with a precision before unknown. Such analyses as those which in the book before us Prof. Studniczka has given of the architectural details of monuments of the early Empire, are a great and permanent aid to knowledge.

The central matter of dispute is as to the date of the erection of the monument, whether, as the original publishers naturally supposed, it was by the inscription found with it dated to the reign of Trajan, or whether, as Furtwängler has since asserted, it was originally a record of the victories of Licinius Crassus in the reign of Augustus over Getae and Bastarnae. The inscription, which bears the name of Trajan, is really the crucial matter. As it was originally placed by Niemann in an absurd position, it was not unnatural that Furtwängler should have at first denied its connexion with the monument; but it is now agreed on both sides that it has occupied a place in the upper storey of the trophy, and the question only remains whether it and the monument belong to the same period, or whether it was merely inserted by Trajan in a monument which really recorded earlier victories. This last view however is on the face of it paradoxical, and could only be established by proofs of a far more conclusive character than those which Furtwängler has produced. Most writers would have given up the view, but Prof. Furtwängler is perhaps unequalled for tenacity, and for so advocating a paradox that it shall seem reasonable. Certainly my own opinion, after reading all that has been written, at all events by the protagonists, on the subject, is that although there is much that is anomalous in the architecture and sculpture of the trophy of Adamklissi, it is more difficult to find analogies for it in the monuments of the earlier period which has been suggested as in those of the later, and in these circumstances the preponderant weight of the testimony of the inscription must prevail. There is also force in the argument that it is far more likely that such a monument would be set up in a country

which was being permanently annexed as the Dobrudja was by Trajan, than in a country only partially conquered as it was by Crassus. There are doubtless difficulties attaching to the acceptance of either date, into which I cannot go further.

Prof. Studniczka's work, though controversial, is a careful and valuable enquiry. The greater part of it is devoted to a most elaborate and detailed analysis of the architectural forms and decoration of the Adamklissi monument, and the style of the reliefs, as compared with those of other monuments of Trajan, and those of works of the early imperial age generally. According to the writer, in every detail the trophy resembles the works of Trajan and contrasts with those of the Augustan age. He also entirely rejects the view of Furtwängler that the style of the reliefs is that found on certain monuments of upper Italy, and to be traced to the employment as sculptors of legionaries from that district, a style which had in it something 'truthful old and peasant-like,' true Italian realism which was generally speaking brought to an end by the triumph of Greek and Etruscan art. To me, as to Studniczka, the reliefs seem to bear rather the impress of helplessness and barbarism so complete as almost to exclude style. In any case the attempt which Wickhoff inaugurated, to praise the truth and sincerity of Roman art in contrast to the art of Greece is scarcely a promising one. At Adamklissi there is much more of brutality than of truth and of barbarism than of graphic power. To be true in sculpture requires in the sculptor an artistic sense which did not come naturally to the Romans.

The historical circumstances of the erection of the trophy are not treated of in detail by Studniczka. This side of the matter he leaves to Wilamowitz and Petersen. Here also, in the absence of sufficiently detailed information, there are many difficulties. And whatever be thought of his manner of controversy, gratitude is certainly due to Prof. Furtwängler for his ingenious and able attempt to extract history from the reliefs themselves, to distinguish the tribes of the vanquished, and to shew the importance of the earliest extensive record in art of a Germanic war.

P. GARDNER.

· HELBIG'S *ATHENIAN KNIGHTS*.

Les ἰππεῖς Ἀθηναίων. Par W. HELBIG. Extrait des mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, tome xxxvii. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1902. 4to. Pp. 112. Two plates, thirty-eight figures in text. 5 francs.

THIS treatise is an excellent example of the way in which archaeological evidence may be applied to the solution of a historical or political problem. It is difficult to understand how it is that, while the Knights formed one of the Solonian classes, and were doubtless expected to perform military service corresponding to their political privileges, we find no example of Athenian regular cavalry employed in battle until near the middle of the fifth century. By a careful examination of the vases of the sixth and early fifth centuries, M. Helbig shows that the horse-soldiers represented upon them are not really cavalry but mounted infantry, the large round shield and full armour of the hoplite with which they are equipped being unsuitable for fighting on horseback. Each warrior is usually accompanied by a mounted squire; such squires or attendants were often Scythians, and sometimes the Scythian arms seem to have been worn by native Athenians when serving in this capacity, e.g. in the well known figure of a horseman in Scythian dress on the Acropolis. Similar bodies of mounted infantry, who used their horses only as a means of transport, seem to have formed a *corps d'élite* in the armies of other Greek cities in early times. Thessalian cavalry, on the other hand, appear as allies of the Athenians in the sixth century; and, in imitation of them, between the time of the Persian Wars and the middle of the fifth century, we find represented the organisation and training of the body of Athenian knights which is familiar to us on the Parthenon frieze. The beginning of this organisation M. Helbig attributes with great probability to the year 477 B.C. While there may be doubts about some matters of detail, it is impossible not to accept M. Helbig's conclusions as, in the main, justified, and as offering a final solution of the problem.

E. A. GARDNER.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Leukas-Ithaka. By PETER GOESSLER. With two maps and twelve views. Pp. 80. Stuttgart, Metzler. 1904. M. 4.

THE author, a devoted follower of Dr. Dörpfeld in his new theory about the Homeric Ithaka, has summarised in this treatise, in an interesting, not to say convincing, manner, the grounds on which the renowned German explorer maintains the island of Leukas to represent the home of Odysseus. The arguments are drawn partly from the Homeric text, partly from the topography of the island, and the writer maintains that in the time before the Dorian invasion Leukas was known as Ithaka, Ithaka as Same, and Kephallenia as Dulichion, Zakynthos alone of the four retaining its name throughout. The work is illustrated by a series of pleasing and well-reproduced photographic views, as well as by two maps, one of Leukas, the other of the Ionian islands in Homeric times, with the names they respectively then bore.

Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden. Eine Reise durch Kleinasien. By A. JANKE. With six plans and twenty cuts in text. Pp. viii + 186. Berlin, 1904. (Weidmann). 7 marks.

IN the course of ten chapters the author retraces the ground covered by Alexander between Alexandretta and the Issos, Adana, the Cilician gates, Konieh, Troy, and the battlefield of the Granikos. His main object has been to study the two great battlefields in order to clear up by personal investigation some doubtful points of topography. Numerous notes and bibliographical references are appended, also some observations on the geology of the country, and the monograph is well illustrated with coloured plans and photographs.

La Mosaique Antique. By PAUL GAUCKLER. [Reprinted from Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*: Paris, Hachette.]

A USEFUL reprint in pamphlet form, with all the original illustrations, notes, and references, of the article *MUSIVUM OPUS* in the well-known French dictionary, which has only as yet after some thirty years reached the middle of the alphabet. This

article is fully up to the level of the most recent volumes, and contains twenty-eight cuts and a most exhaustive bibliography, as well as a fairly complete list of existing mosaics, chronologically classified.

La Via Salaria nel Circondario di Ascoli Piceno. By N. PERSICHETTI. [Reprinted from *Römische Mittheil.* xviii. (1903), Parts 3, 4.] With map and six cuts.

THE writer traces the course of the Via Salaria through part of Picenum from S. Giusta to the Adriatic, giving the various halting-places and intervening distances; the cuts give views *en route* where its constructions are still visible.

Carte Archéologique de l'Île de [Délôs] (1893-94). By E. ARDAILLON and H. CONVERT. In three sections, with 16 pp. of text. Paris, 1902. 25 francs.

THIS map is elaborately prepared to illustrate the excavations of the French School in Delos, on a scale of about 30 inches to the mile (1 : 2000 m.), printed in four colours; contour lines are given at distances of about 5 metres apart; and all remains of tombs, buildings, etc. are indicated.

H. B. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Athens.—In October 1903 a series of tombs was discovered near the Sacred Way, at a depth of nearly two metres. They range in date from about the first century B.C. to the first century after Christ. The earliest tomb of the series is approximately dated by the discovery in it of a gold bracteate coin bearing the impress of a silver drachma belonging to the period 146-87 B.C. The tombs for the most part lie N. by S. on both sides of the Sacred Way. Among the most noteworthy finds made in these tombs are a silver *κάλπις* containing calcined bones, a small bearded male head in marble (about 4 in. high) which is considered to bear a resemblance to the portrait of Hippocrates, a tragic mask of Pentelic marble (over life-size), and

two funeral reliefs of poor style. One represents a woman and a girl, the latter holding a toilet box; it is inscribed

ΑΦΡΟΔΩΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΜΙΑΗΧΙΑ

The other represents a similar scene. Here the woman touches the girl's chin with her hand.¹

Ithaca.—M. Vollgraff reports that, as the result of excavations carried on from April to July during the past year, it has been proved that the plain of Polis was not inhabited in ancient times. The ancient city of the N. part of the island was situated about half an hour's distance to the N. of the plain. Here a large rectangular building has been found together with several small objects belonging to the Roman Period. Near the church of H. Athanasios two capitals, probably of Mycenaean date, have been discovered. Excavations carried on at the foot of Aetos (on the isthmus connecting the N. and S. parts of the island) have revealed the presence of a small ancient town. Pottery and other objects have been found dating from the Geometric to the Roman Period. At Stavro and other places fragments of pre-Mycenaean monochrome pottery have come to light.²

Ceos.—As the result of excavations carried out during 1903-4 at Carthaea on behalf of the Belgian Government, the buildings at the entrance to the Acropolis have been identified. That on the r. is a temple of Athenè, that on the l. a prytaneum and hero-chapel combined. In a valley to the S.W. a peripteral Doric building of the third century B.C., probably a temple, has been partially cleared. Dedications to Demeter, Asklepios, Hygieia, and the *θεῶν μήτηρ* have been found. About 60 new inscriptions have been obtained, including fragments of accounts from the temple of Apollo, a decree in honour of Bucchon, nesiarchos under the first two Ptolemies, and another decree in honour of Hieron of Syracuse, deputy of Ptolemy Philadelphos.³

AFRICA.

Tunis.—M. Gauckler has discovered the remains of a temple raised in honour of Massinissa, King of the Massyliae, who was

the ally of Scipio Africanus in the second Punic War. A bilingual inscription (Semitic and Libyan) sets forth the king's genealogy.³

ITALY, ETC.

Praeneste.—A new fragment of the Calendar of Verrius Flaccus (cf. Suet. *de ill. gramm.* c. 17) has been found near the Chapel dell' Aquila. Little can be made of the fragment, but its discovery is of importance, since it confirms Suetonius' statement as to the position of the Calendar in the Forum.⁴

Pola and district (Istria).—Excavations at Val Catena on Brioni Island have resulted in the clearing of two temples, and in the discovery of many architectural fragments. On the site of a building near the N. temple a coin of Claudius (date: 41 after Christ) was found.⁵

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxiv. (1904), Part 2.

1. E. N. Gardiner: Further notes on the Greek Jump. (13 cuts.)
2. M. N. Tod: A new Fragment of the *Edictum Diocletiani*.
3. K. A. McDowall: Two heads related to the Choiseul-Gouffier type. (4 cuts.)
4. H. R. Hall: Nitokris-Rhodopis.
5. A. P. Oppé: The Chasm at Delphi.
6. J. E. Harrison: *Mystica Vannus Iacchi*. II. (10 cuts.)
7. K. A. McDowall: The so-called 'Sardanapalus.' (Plate, 2 cuts.)
8. A. M. Ramsay: The Early Christian Art of Isaura Nova. (39 cuts.)
9. P. Gardner: Vases added to the Ashmolean Museum. (3 plates; 24 cuts.)
10. R. C. Bosanquet: Some 'Late Minoan' Vases found in Greece. (4 plates; 3 cuts.)
11. C. Waldstein: *Damophon*.
12. F. H. Marshall: Antique Rings pierced with Gold Nails. (Cut.)
13. A. Furtwängler: A Counter-Protest.
14. C. C. Edgar: An Ionian Dedication to Isis. Notices of Books. Rules, Proceedings, etc.

American Journal of Archaeology, viii. (1904), Part 3, July-Sept.

1. C. N. Brown: Fragment of a Treasure-List found in the Acropolis-wall of Athens. (Plate.)
A new treasure-list from the Parthenon, found in 1897, containing an inventory of silver vessels

¹ *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1904, part 3.

² *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscr.*, July—Aug., 1904.

³ *Athenaeum*, Dec. 17, 1904.

⁴ *Bull. della Comm. Arch.*, 1904, part 3.

⁵ *Oesterr. Jahreshfte*, 1904, part 2.

and other objects; may be dated subsequently to 375 B.C., when the lists of treasures of Athena were separated from those of the other gods.

2. R. B. Richardson: A group of Dionysiac Sculpture from Corinth. (Plate; 3 cuts.)

Five sculptures from the recent excavations, including a *symplegma*, part of a colossal Dionysos, a relief with Maenads, and two heads of Dionysos, one beardless, the other archaistic.

3. W. J. Moulton: Twelve Mortuary Inscriptions from Sidon.
4. Archaeological Discussions, July-Dec., 1903 (ed. J. M. Paton).
5. Archaeological News, Jan.-July, 1904 (ed. J. M. Paton.)

Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts. xix. (1904). Heft 3.

1. M. Rostowzew: Pompeian Landscapes and Roman Villas. (3 plates; 3 cuts.)

Discusses landscape-paintings of 'illusionist' style discovered at Pompeii in 1900-01, in the house of M. Lucretius Fronto, which reproduce fairly accurately the appearance and arrangement of Roman villas of the time, such as Cicero, Pliny, and Statius describe, and resembling Hadrian's villa and that at Spoonley, in Gloucestershire. The characteristic feature is that the buildings are grouped round a garden or fountain with numerous trees and statues.

2. H. Lucas: Types of athletes. (8 cuts.)

Discusses groups of wrestlers on a mosaic found at Tusculum in 1862 (*Mon. dell' Inst.* vi.-vii. plate 82), and compares with the wrestler-group in Florence, which he traces to an original in the frieze of the Choric monument of Lysikrates, reflecting again the Herakles and Triton of the poros pediment. Also the metal caestus worn by boxers in the same mosaic, which consisted of four pointed rings united, through which the four fingers passed.

Anzeiger.

1. The harbours of Carthage (R. Oehler).
2. Finds in Roumania.
3. Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, July meeting.
4. Anniversary meeting of Hellenic Society.
5. Acquisitions of Louvre, Ashmolean, and Boston Museums in 1903.
6. Miscellaneous notices.
7. Bibliography.

H. B. W.

Rivista italiana. 1904. Part 2.

A. Simonetti. 'I tipi delle antiche monete greche.' A list of common types found on Greek

coins. This article is, I think, more likely to be useful to the 'young collector' than to middle-aged numismatists.—G. Dattari. 'Esame critico circa una nuova teoria sulla monetazione Alessandrina di Augusto.' A criticism of an article by A. Parazzoli, published in the *Revue Num.* for 1903.—Vitalini. 'Di un asse Reatino.' A new specimen of the rare *as* of Reate.—Blanchet. 'Le Congiarium de César et les monnaies signées Palikanus.' On the sester-tius inscribed PALIKANVS. The types as here explained are, *obv.* a tablet=*tesera frumentaria*; *rev.* a vase=*a congius*, such as would be used in distributions of oil. This coin is assigned by numismatists to B.C. 45, and it is known that on the occasion of the triumph of Caesar in B.C. 46 he distributed measures of oil to the citizens. Palikanus was perhaps the name of the curule aedile.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1904. Part 3.

H. A. Grueber. 'Roman bronze coinage from B.C. 45—B.C. 3.' A general view (pp. 185-243) of the Roman coinage of the period. Special attention is called to the coins of Augustus with the letters CA on the *rev.* These have been sometimes assigned to Caesar-Augustus in Spain, to Caesarea Pania in Syria, etc. Following the suggestion of Froehner, Mr. Grueber interprets the letters as *Commuue Asiae*, supposing that these coins were struck for currency 'in the union of the Asiatic cities which celebrated the cult of Rome and Augustus.' On p. 244 are some new analyses of Roman copper and bronze coins of the first century B.C.

Revue Numismatique. 1903. Part 3.

Beaupré. 'Monnaies gauloises trouvées dans l'arrondissement de Nancy.'—A. De La Fuye. 'Nouveau classement des monnaies arsacides.' A long review and summary (pp. 317-371 and 2 plates) of the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of *Parthia*. The new attributions proposed by me in the catalogue are set forth in some convenient tables and compared with those of Longpérier, Prokesch, and Percy Gardner.—Soutzo. 'Nouvelles recherches sur le système monétaire de Ptolémée Soter.' Partly a comment on Hultsch's 'Die Ptolemäischen Münz- und Rechnungswerte' (Leipzig, 1903).—G. Dattari. 'Sur l'époque où furent frappées en Égypte les premières monnaies de la réforme de Dioclétien.'—Blanchet. 'Le trésor de Nanterre.' A note on the find made at Nanterre in March, 1904. It consisted of 1,968 denarii and antoniniani of Roman Emperors from Albinus and Sept. Severus to Gallienus. This hoard, like several others previously discovered in France, was evidently buried in the early years of Gallienus during the German devastations of Gaul.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1904.

2 Nov. E. Pontremoli et B. Haussoullier, *Didymes*, fouilles de 1895 et 1896 (A. Körte). Chr. Blinkenberg et F. Kinch, *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes* (W. Larfeld). C. Clemen, *Die religions-geschichtliche Methode in der Theologie* (W. Soltan),

favourable on the whole. A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (P. Kretschmer), favourable.

9 Nov. *Anonymus Argentinensis*. Fragmente zur Geschichte des perikleischen Athen aus einem Strassburger Papyrus herausg. von Br. Keil (O. Schulthess), very favourable. P. Deiters, *De Urelen-*

sium titulis publicis quaestiones epigraphicae (W. Larfeld), favourable. E. v. Mach, *Greek Sculpture, its spirit and principles* (Th. Schreiber), favourable. *Bulletin d'institutions politiques Romaines*, par L. Halkin et M. Zech. I. Années 1900 et 1901. 'A most useful publication.' Thurneysen, *Die Etymologie* (O. Weise), favourable. W. Martens, *Geschichtswiederholungen* (Fr. Harder), favourable.

16 Nov. R. Meringer, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 3 Aufl. (Bartholomae), unfavourable on the whole. *Das Marmor Parium*, herausg. von F. Jacoby (G. J. Schneider). D. Detscheiff, *De tragocdiarum Gracarum conformatione scaenica ac dramatica* (H. G.), favourable. H. Bircher, *Bibracte. Eine kriegsgeschichtliche Studie* (Fr. Fröhlich). 'Well written but too far-reaching in conclusions.' *Parsi et Juvenalis Saturae cum additamentis Bodleianis* rec. S. G. Owen (J. Ziehen), favourable.

23 Nov. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (H. Stueding), very favourable. L. Ruhl, *De mortuorum iudicio* (H. Stueding), favourable. E. M. Perkins, *The expression of customary action or state in early Latin* (H. Blase), favourable. W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*. I. *Die Sprache*. 2 Aufl. I. Teil (M. Schneidewin), favourable.

30 Nov. *Catulli carmina*, rec. R. Ellis (K. P. Schulze). Agrees generally with his critical principles and commends him for adhesion to the best MSS., and for the rare admission of conjectures. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. Vol. 41. *Augustini de fide et symbolo* etc. Ex rec. J. Zycha. Vol. 42. *Augustini de perfectione iustitiae hominis* etc. Ex rec. F. Urba et J. Zycha. Vol. 36. *Augustini retractationum libri ii*. Ex rec. P. Knöll (G. Pfeilschifter).

7 Dec. K. Brugmann, *Die Demonstrativpronomina der indogermanischen Sprachen* (H. Hirt), very favourable. H. Nohl, *Sokrates und die Ethik* (J. Pagel), favourable. H. Gomperz, *Die Lebensauffassungen der griechischen Philosophen*, and W. Pater, *Plato und der Platonismus* (H. Nohl, jun.), favourable. N. Pirrone, *Un codice delle "Epistolae ad familiares" di Cicerone nel Museo Com. di Messina* (W. Sternkopf), favourable. *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii carmina* a M. Hauptio recognita. Ed. VI ab J. Vahleno cur. (K. P. Schulze), favourable.

14 Dec. *Xenophontis opera*, rec. E. C. Marchant. III. *Expeditionis Cyri* (W. Gemoll). H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes* (Ed. Wolff), unfavourable on the whole. G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (H. Stueding), very favourable. Ed. Gross, *Studien zu Vergils Aeneis* (J. Ziehen).

21 Dec. *Euripides, Iphigenie in Aulis*, herausg. und erkl. von K. Busche. I. Text. II. Einleitung und Kommentar (O. Altenburg), favourable. A. Pischinger, *Der Vogelzug bei den griechischen Dichtern des Klassischen Altertums* (A. Biese), favourable. Gr. Zereteli, *Die Abkürzungen in griechischen Handschriften* (C. Wessely), very favourable. Pirrone, *L'Epicedio di Cornelia* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. F. Studniczka, *Tropaeum Traiani* (R. Delbrueck),

favourable. O. Schrader, *Die Schwiegermutter und der Hagestolz* (Fr. Harder), favourable.

28 Dec. W. Schultz, *Das Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen* (Chr. Harder), favourable on the whole. A. v. Petrowicz, *Arsacidien-Münzen*. Katalog der Sammlung Petrowicz (C. Wessely). E. Bartel, *Die Varusschlacht und deren Örtlichkeit* (Ed. Wolff). Agrees with Mommsen that the site is to be found near Barenau.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 10. 1904.

F. Marx, *Philoktet-Hephaistos*. The Phil. legend, stripped of later accretions, suggests the narrative of an old epic poet with a knowledge of some divinity, the seat of whose worship was at Lemnos. App. Mith. 77 shows that an ancient cult of Phil. existed in his times in an island (? Chryse) near Lemnos. Lemnos is the seat of the worship of Hephaistos, who, like Phil., is lame. Hence the oracle declares Phil.'s presence essential for Troy's fall; hence his connexion with the pyre of Heracles. Indeed the legend in its kernel is a parallel to that of H.'s banishment from Olympos. A. Brieger, *Heraklit der Dunkle*. (1) His fire not only matter, but also reason. (2) The world created and preserved by a state of combat between unlike elements resulting in harmony. (3) Fire produces water; water earth or fiery vapour. (4) The soul, formed in the fiery atmosphere produced by that vapour, wishes to enter a body through love of change and power. (5) In the body it is generally injured (hence Life really Death) by the moist, dense vapour given off by the earthy factor of the body and predominating in our atmosphere. Its spiritual power enables it to escape such injury by inhaling only the pure, rational fire which that atmosphere also contains. (6) The end of the world produced by a reversal of the processes which formed it. (7) Heraclitus and Goethe. H. Reich, *Der König mit der Dornenkrone*. The narrative in Malth. 27. 27-31 historical. The soldiers acted a scene of a mime, with Christ for the discomfited Jew King. The Jew was a common character in the mime: an Oxyrhynchus papyrus-fragment shews us a mime in which a king forms a burlesque figure. So the Alexandrians mocked Agrippa by making their mock king out of a poor idiot and investing him with royal insignia, *ὡς ἐν θεατρικῶς μίμοις*, says Phil. (Flacc. 6). The ass-crucifix of the Palatine drawing probably inspired by a mime. Review by P. Cauer of three Homeric books: P. D. Ch. Hennings, *Homers Odyssee, ein kritischer Kommentar* ('the arguments pro and con not developed precisely enough: often difficult to realise what the author's own view is'); O. Rösner, *Untersuchungen zur Komposition der Odyssee* ('his view of the idea that forms the foundation of the Odyssey not convincing'); S. Eitrem, *Die Phäakenepisode in der Odyssee* ('helpful towards the understanding of Books ε-θ, but few of the conclusions can stand'). W. Amelung reviews very favourably H. Lechat's *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of their price.

- British Museum.* Hill (G. F.) Catalogue of Greek Coins in the B. M. Cyprus. 8vo. cxliv+120 pp. 1 map and 26 plates. London, 1904.
- Burton* (Ernest de Witt.) Principles of Literary Criticism (from vol. V of the University of Chicago Decennial Publications). 4to. 72 pp. Chicago, The University Press, 1904. \$1.00 net.
- Butcher* (S. H.) Harvard lectures on Greek subjects. 8vo. viii+266 pp. London, Macmillan and Co., 1904. 7s. net.
- Cardinali* (G.) Creta e la grandi potenze elleniche sino alla guerra di litto. [Rivista di Storia Antica. Anno ix. l. Estratto.] 8vo. pp. 69-94. Feitre, 1904.
- Christ* (W.) Geschichte der griechischen Literatur bis auf die Zeit Justinianus. [I. von Müller. Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Band VII. 4te Auflage.] 8vo. xii+996 pp. 43 plates. München, C. H. Beck, 1905. Brosch. 17.50 M. geb. 19.50 M.
- Decharme*: La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs des origines au temps de Plutarque. xiv+518 pp. Paris, A. Picard, 1904. Fr. 7.50.
- Dill* (Samuel.) Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. 8vo. xvii+639 pp. London, Macmillan and Co., 1904. 15s. net.
- Fahz* (Ludovicus.) De Poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica quaestiones selectae. [Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten Band II. Heft 3.] 64 pp. 8vo. Giessen, 1904. 1.60 M.
- Findlay* (G. G.) The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians. [Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges. Ed. F. H. Chase.] 8vo. lxxi+248 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1904. 3s.
- Gardthausen* (V.) Augustus und seine Zeit. 8vo. Theil I. Band III. 344 pp. 8vo. M. 8.—Theil II. Band III. 260 pp. 8vo. M. 7.—Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1904.
- Gay* (Jules) Les Registres de Nicolas III. (1277-1280) Fasc. 2. 4to. Pp. 113-208. [Bibl. des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Série 2. XIV. 2] Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1904. 7.20 Fr.
- Gaye* (R. K.) The Platonic conception of immortality and its connexion with the theory of ideas. 8vo. x+259 pp. London, C. J. Clay and Sons, 1904. 5s. net.
- Giarratano* (Caesar) C. Valeri Flacci Balbi Setini Argonauticon libri octo. 4to. lvi+82 pp. Apud Remum Sandron Mediolani-Panormi-Neapoli. 1904.
- Glover* (T. R.) Studies in Virgil. 312 pp. 8vo. London, Edward Arnold, 1904. 10s. 6d. net.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.* Vol. xv. (1904). 8vo. 244 pp. London, Longmans Green and Co., 1904. 6s. 6d. net.
- Hemme* (Prof. Dr. Adolf.) Was muss der Gebildete vom Griechischen wissen? Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. 4to. xxxii+156 pp. Leipzig, Eduard Avenarius, 1905.
- Homer.* Omero L'Iliade commentata da C. O. Zuretti. Vol. vi. Libri xxi-xxiv. 8vo. xi+212 pp. Torino, E. Loescher, 1905. L. 2.40.
- Horace.* Wickham (E. C.) Horace. Vol. i. The Odes, Carmen Saeculare and Epodes. 8vo. 324 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904. 6s. net.
- Horaz Schulze, (Dr. K. P.) Auswahl für den Schulgebrauch. Teil ii. Anmerkungen. Aufl. 2. 8vo. 206 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1904. Geb. M. 1.80.
- Howe* (G.) Fasti Sacerdotum P. R. Publicorum aetatis imperatoriae. 96 pp. 8vo. Leipzig, Teubner, 1904. M. 2.80.
- Hüter* (Dr. L.) Schüler-Kommentar zu Sophokles' Antigone. 8vo. 140 pp. Leipzig, G. Freytag. Wien, F. Tempsky, 1904. M. 1.20, K. 1.50.
- James* (M. R.) The Western Manuscripts in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Descriptive catalogue. 8vo. xvi+178 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1904. 5s. net.
- Jespersen* (Otto.) Phonetische Grundfragen. 8vo. 185 pp. Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1904.
- Libanius*: Opera rec. R. Foerster. Vol. II. Orationes xii-xxv. 8vo. 572 pp. [Bibl. Script. Graec. et Rom. Teubneriana.] Leipzig, 1904.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) The Ancient Editions of Plautus [St. Andrews University Publications. No. III.] 152 pp. 8vo. Oxford, J. Parker, 1904. 2s. 6d. net.
- Livy*: Zingerle (A.) T. Livi ab urbe condita libri, Pars. vii. Fasc. iii. Liber xxxiii. Editio major. 8vo. viii+69 pp. Leipzig, G. Freytag. Wien, F. Tempsky, 1904. M. 1.50, K. 1.80.
- Lucilius*: Carminum Reliquiae rec. enar. F. Marx. Vol. I. 8vo. cxxxvi+169 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1904.
- Marchant* (E. C.) and *Spencer* (J. G.) Bell's Concise Latin Course. 8vo. viii+198 pp. London, G. Bell and Sons, 1904. 2s.
- Mommsen* (Th.) Gesammelte Schriften von T. M. Abt. 1. Juristische Schriften. Band I. 8vo. 479 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1905. M. 12.
- Reden und Aufsätze. 8vo. vi+479 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1905. M. 8.
- Mustard* (Wilfred P.) Ph.D. (Professor of Latin in Haverford College.) Classical Echoes in Tennyson. xvi+164 pp. New York, The Macmillan Co. London, Macmillan and Co., 1904. \$1.25 c.
- Nicholson* (E. W. B.) 'Vinius to Nigra.' A fourth century Christian letter written in South Britain and discovered at Bath. 8vo. 16 pp. with colotype facsimile of the original. London, Henry Frowde, 1904. 1s. net.
- Parmenides.* De Marchi (Ettore) L'Ontologia e la Fenomenologia di Parmenide Eleati. Studio critico espositivo. 8vo. 52 pp. Torino, Carlo Clausen, 1905.
- Platner* (Samuel Ball.) The topography and monuments of ancient Rome. 8vo. Cloth, xiv+514 pp. 9 maps, 89 illustrations. Allyn and Bacon, Boston and Chicago, 1904. \$3.
- Reich* (Hermann.) Der König mit der Dornenkrone. 8vo. 31 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1905. M. 1.
- Reinach* (S.) (translated by Florence Simmonds.) The Story of Art throughout the Ages. An illustrated record. 316 pp. 8vo. London, W. Heinemann, 1904. 10s. net.
- Sanders* (Henry A.) Roman Historical Sources and

- Institutions. [*University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series.*] 8vo. iv+402 pp. New York, The Macmillan Co. London, Macmillan and Co., 1904.
- Schodorf (Dr. Konrad.) Beiträge zur genaueren Kenntnis der attischen Gerichtssprache aus den zehn Rednern (Schanz. M. von Beiträge zur hist. Syntax der griech. Sprache Heft 17.) 8vo. 114 pp. Würzburg, 1905. M. 3.60.
- Schulz (Otto Th.) Leben des Kaisers Hadrian. 8vo. 142 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1904.
- Sophocles: Oedipus Coloneus denuo recensuit et brevi annotatione critica instruxit F. H. M. Blaydes. 8vo. 126 pp. Halis Saxonum, 1904. M. 2.40.
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- Tacitus. P. Cornelius Tacitus erklärt von K. Nipperdey. Band I. Aufl. 10. besorgt von G. Andriesea. 8vo. 443 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1904. M. 3.
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- Theodoret. Theodoreti Graecarum affectionum curatio rec. J. Raeder. (*Bibl. Script. Graec. et Rom. Teubner.*) 8vo. x+340 pp. Leipzig, 1904.
- Vergil: Vergils Gedichte erklärt von Th. Ladewig und C. Schaper. 3tes Bdchn. Buch vii-xii der Aeneis. 9te Aufl. bearb. P. Deuticke. 8vo. vi+308 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1904. M. 2.40.
- Wissowa (G.) Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte. [Ergänzungsband zu des Verfassers 'Religion und Kultus der Römer.'] 8vo. 329 pp. München, C. H. Beck, 1904. M. 8, geb. M. 10.
- Wordsworth (J.) and White (H. J.) Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine. Secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit Johannes Wordsworth (Episcopus Sarisburiensis) in operis societatem adsumto Henrico Juliano White. Pars II. Fasc. I. Actus Apostolorum. 4to. xvi+228 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905. 12s. 6d.

The Classical Review

MARCH 1905.

THE SPELLING AND PRINTING OF LATIN TEXTS.

THE document which we print below at the request of the Committee who have drawn it up for circulation among members of the Classical Association of England and Wales and teachers interested in the subject, though its importance is primarily pedagogical, is not devoid of interest to the wider circle to which this *Review* appeals.

The proposal to mark the quantity of the long vowels consistently is but carrying out the principle which underlies the various expedients employed in Latin inscriptions for removing an ambiguity in the imperfect transcription of living speech. The apex, the doubling of the vowel and the use of the tall I are each of them a recognition of the paramount importance of the quantity to the pronunciation of the ancient Latin language.

The choice between a double and a single symbol for the twin sounds of the pair *i* and *u* is a somewhat different and certainly more disputable matter. The fact that there is no classical or even decent mediaeval authority for the discrimination in writing between the vowel and the consonantal sounds of the two letters is too well known to need more than the briefest of statements. It is however singular that the two letters have been differently treated. While a single symbol is now the rule in the case of *i*, even in Germany where *j* would be phonetically unobjectionable, the caprice of fashion or fortune has maintained the severance of *u* and *v*; but maintained it inconsistently. And thus it has come about that the ancient semi-vowel of the Romans is sometimes written *v* and pronounced as

v ('*vee*'), and sometimes written *u* and pronounced as *w* — a really remarkable combination of misspelling and mispronunciation.

There seems to be good ground for believing with the Committee that the writing of *u* for both vowel and consonant is gaining ground, though slowly. The most significant proof is that of its use in more than one recent text published in the Oxford series of texts, which has hitherto shown a steady conservatism in the matter.

'The Committee appointed to consider the spelling and printing of Latin texts desire to have the opinion of teachers upon the questions raised under the following heads. Answers to be useful should be based on actual experience, not on theoretical grounds.

I.—*The marking of the long vowels in Latin texts intended for the use of beginners.*

American editors, as a rule, mark long vowels consistently in grammars, texts and vocabularies. English editors do not, as a rule, mark them in texts nor consistently in grammars and vocabularies.

1. Have you in your teaching used—
 - (a) texts in which the quantity of the long vowels is consistently marked,
 - or (b) texts in which it is marked occasionally or not at all?If you have used both kinds, which do you prefer and why?
2. Do you think it would be helpful either (a) to the teacher,
or (b) to the learner,

if the long vowels were consistently marked in Latin texts intended for beginners (say in the first two years)?

II.—*The writing of the consonants or semi vowels i (j) and u (v).*

[It is assumed that the pronunciation of the consonant or semi-vowel corresponding to 'i' (= English *ee*) was roughly *y* and that corresponding to 'u' (= English *oo*) was roughly *w*.]

I (J).

The prevailing practice both in England and America is to use one symbol 'i' for both the sounds, thus following the Classical practice. But in a few elementary school books 'j' is used for the consonantal sound and in others an italic *i*.

1. Does your experience show that any inconvenience results from the employment of one symbol for both sounds?
2. Do you wish to see 'j' restored for use in school books?
- or 3. Would you prefer to see an italic *i* or the like (*e.g.* *i*) employed instead?

U (V).

I.—In a certain number of books intended for the more advanced students, and in two or three intended for the less advanced, 'u' is used for both vowel and consonant; and there are signs that this practice, which is in accordance with that of the ancient Romans, is on the increase.

II. In the majority of books 'v' is written for the semi-vowel.

* *But* after *q*, after *g*, and sometimes after *s* 'u' is written.

Thus *quis, exstinguo, consuesco*.

In these cases Madvig wrote 'v': *qvis, extingvo, consvesco*.

The distinction between vowel and consonant may be given by other means.

It has been proposed to use for it—

- (a) an italic *u*.
- (b) the symbol *u* (Professor V. Spiers in his elementary work on French etymology).
- (c) a new symbol.

The Committee would be glad if you will give from your own experience answers to the following questions.

[To facilitate the expression of opinion on the questions examples of all the pos-

sible combinations in which u consonant can occur are appended.

I.—When closing a word or syllable or preceding a consonant in the same syllable, 'u' is always the vowel: *u-nu-s, ful-gu-re*.

[So always after two consonants, unless the second is *q, g, or s*: *e.g. noctua.*]

II.—Before a vowel in the same syllable 'u' is always a consonant: *uerbum*.

[So always after a preceding long vowel: *am-ā-ui.*]

III.—After a vowel followed by a single consonant (*l, r, or n*) 'u' may be either a vowel or a consonant: *silua, soluo, uolui, larua, genua*.

In verse the scansion almost invariably determines a doubtful case.

In such words as *uīuō, ūidus*, the addition of the marks of long quantity decides the pronunciation.]

1. Have you used texts in which one symbol only (u) is employed?

If so, have you found that this spelling is productive of serious or of only passing inconvenience?

2. Are you of opinion that two symbols should be used *in elementary books*?

3. If so, are you of opinion that one of these should be used always for the vowel sound and the other used always for the consonantal sound?

4. Which of the four proposed representatives—

- (a) *v*, (b) *u*,
- (c) *u*, (d) some new symbol,

would you prefer as a representative of the consonantal sound?

[5. For those who answer *No* to (3).

How do you propose to deal with the three classes of cases given above and marked with an asterisk?]

In order to complete your answers will you kindly state if you are in favour or not in favour of the pronunciation of

- i* semi-vowel as *y*?
- u* „ „ *w*?

Signature and Description.

Answers to the above queries may be sent to *Professor J. P. Postgate, 54 Bateman Street, Cambridge*, from whom also copies of this circular can be obtained.

SPELLING OF PROPER LATIN NAMES.

The Committee of the Classical Association of England and Wales¹ would be glad of further information as to the correct spelling of the proper names in the following list. It may be sent to Prof. J. P. POSTGATE, address as above.

¹ See *Classical Review* for February 1905, pp. 6, 7.

Balearis	Parnasus
Bedriacum	Philyrides
Caphareus	Phraates
Casandra	Rhipaei
Delmatae, etc.	Semiramis
Egeria (Aegeria)	Talasio
Gnidos	Veseuus
Gnosos	

ON EURIPIDES *ALCESTIS* 119-121: 130 f.

Θεῶν δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρασι
120 οὐκ ἔχω ἐπὶ τίνα
μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ.

120 ἔχω 'πί L

130 νῦν δὲ τίν' ἔτι βίου
ἐλπίδα προσδέχομαι.

130 τίν' ἔτι βίου B
τίν' ἐπὶ βίου α τίνα βίου LP

The above shows the reading of the manuscripts, but all editors read with Musgrave προσδέχομαι in v. 131 as the metre and sense require; but there is no such general agreement as to the other changes needed in order to complete the respension and remove the difficulties of interpretation. In 119 f. objection has been felt to the repetition of ἐπὶ in different senses. Hence Monk reads δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάραν (δέ γ' ἐσχάραν Reiske): Weil and Wecklein-Bauer change ἐπὶ in 120 to ἔτι, but Wecklein in his revision of Prinz's *Alkestis* retains the preposition. Earle and Hayley adopt the proposal of Hartung, save that the former reads the improbable μηλόθυτον with Reiske and Nauck. Hayley's text is therefore:

Θεῶν δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάραν
120 οὐκέτ' ἔχω τίνα
μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ.
130 νῦν δὲ βίου τίν' ἔτ'
ἐλπίδα προσδέχομαι;

In this way the respension is secured and the interpretation is made simple, but the changes are too violent to be probable.

I propose to adopt the reading of L in v. 120, ἔχω 'πί, and to insert ἔτι after οὐκ, thus:

Θεῶν δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρασι
οὐκέτ' ἔχω 'πὶ τίνα
μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ.

The particle ἔτι could easily be omitted by a careless copyist, and while the use of the preposition with two distinct meanings may seem harsh it can be easily paralleled, e.g.—

Od. 24. 80-82

ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα
τύμβον
χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν
ἀκτῆ ἔπι προδούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεί Ἑλλησπόντῳ,

Aristoph. Equit. 402 f.

ὦ περὶ πάντ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τε πράγμασι
δωροδόκοισιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν ἴζων.

Aesch. P.V. 120-123

τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς
δὲ ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ' ὁπόσοι
τὴν Διὸς αἰδὴν εἰσοικνεῦσιν
διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν.

Soph. Ai. 581 f.

οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ
θρηγεῖν ἐπωδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πήματι.

Thuc. vi. 50. 4

ἐπὶ Συρακούσας ἔπλεον ἐπὶ κέρως.

Cf. also *Eurip. I.T.* 44 f.; 1289-1291; *Soph. Trach.* 330 f.; *Phil.* 1017 f.; *O.C.* 899 f.

I should then interpret v. 119 ff. as follows—'At the altars of the gods there is no longer any priest whom I may approach.'

With this reading of vv. 120 f. no change beyond Musgrave's emendation need be made in vv. 130 f. That a tribrach in v. 130 corresponds to the cyclic dactyl in v. 120 is no serious objection. The hiatus also at the end of v. 130 may be readily paralleled, e.g.:

Soph. *O.C.* 1215 f.

ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακρὰί
ἡμέραι κατέθεντο δῆ.

Cf. Eurip. *I.T.* 843 f. ; *Supp.* 277 f.

If the slight change suggested be adopted the verses will read :

Θεῶν δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάrais
120 οὐκέτ' ἔχω 'πὶ τίνα
μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ.
130 νῦν δὲ τίν' ἔτι βίου
ἐλπίδα προσδέχομαι. ;

ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY.
Cambridge, Mass.

THE *ALCESTIS* AS A FOLK-DRAMA.

THE position the *Alcestis* occupies with regard to other Greek dramas has caused much discussion as to its nature. I venture to suggest that it may be a relic of a folk-drama on the following grounds. The folk-drama in Greece, in Italy (*Livy* vii. 2), and probably also among the Teutonic races appears to have had a religious, or more probably magic, origin. In our own country one of these folk dramas has taken the form of the Mummers' play of St. George,¹ and there is strong evidence to show that an essentially similar rite or performance was at one time practised throughout the Teutonic world.² The typical Mummers' play as it still survives consists in a meeting between two warriors, who in the prevalent versions are called St. George and the Turkish Knight, and a fight between them after a boastful challenge: one is killed in the encounter and a third party laments his death, and asks in almost the same words in every version

'Is there a doctor to be found
To cure him of his deadly wound?'

A burlesque character representing a Doctor comes forward, and administers a remedy by which the dead man is restored to life. The archaic character of the performance and its many analogies with other popular rites point to a remote antiquity and class it as one of the widely distributed Death and Revival ceremonies. Now the myth of *Alcestis* represents just such a death and revival; and a myth is so often simply the explanation of a rite that has become unintelligible that one is tempted to conceive that something like the germ of our Mummers' play may lie at the bottom of the

Alcestis. If so the rite would probably survive, if not in the official religion, still in outlying country districts, much as our mumming play has survived alongside of and unnoticed by the regular drama. The various characters would have been stereotyped, and although there is no need to suppose that Euripides deliberately put a popular mumming play into literary form when he wrote the *Alcestis*, still in dramatising the myth he may have consciously or unconsciously reproduced the various characters in their conventional aspect: this would explain some of the peculiarities of the play, its happy ending, the burlesque Heracles, etc. The opening altercation between Apollo and Death is not unlike the dialogue between St. George and his opponent in its general tone (ll. 29-76). The lament of the Chorus over the approaching death of *Alcestis* is exactly parallel to our Mummers' lament and appeal for a Doctor, quoted above. They regret that there is no one to cure her now *Asclepius* is gone (ll. 112-118): he alone could raise the dead (l. 127): and similar appeals are made to *Paeon*, the god of healing, in lines 91, 92 and 220-222. *Heracles*, entering after the death of *Alcestis*, resembles the Doctor of the Mummers' play in more ways than one. It is he who restores *Alcestis* to life, and like the Mummers' Doctor he is a burlesque character; though when he undertakes to recover *Alcestis* from Death by force, his character suggests rather that of one of the fighting men than that of the Doctor proper (l. 840).

It would of course be absurd to push these resemblances too far. Even if the Mummers' play and the myth of *Alcestis* are derived ultimately from the same rite, many centuries must have intervened between the time when the germs of the two parted and the literary dramatisation of the latter, and many divergences must have

¹ For details see E. K. Chambers *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol. i. p. 205.

² Cf. Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* (second edition), vol. i. p. 215 *seqq.*, vol. ii. p. 60 *seqq.*, also Grimm's *Teut. Mythology* (Stalylbrass) v. l. ii. pp. 764, 766, and elsewhere.

occurred from the original. In the *Alcestis* it is a woman who dies and is brought to life: in the Mummings' play it is a man (though in a few versions a woman as well as a man is killed and revived). In the *Alcestis* the character of the hypothetical Doctor is confused between those of Apollo, Asclepius, and Heracles; and again the fighting men are represented by Apollo and Death on the one hand and Heracles and Death on the other. But still, in a performance of this sort tradition is only tenacious of general outlines, and these discrepancies are no greater than are to be found in different versions of the existing Mummings' play, which must have had a common origin. Certainly the Thracians had a mumming play (Xenophon, *Anab.* v. 9, 5) very like the modern one, and although the fact of its being described in detail by Xenophon implies that he did not know of contemporary Greek parallels, this is merely negative evidence, especially considering that the very existence of the modern mumming play is unknown to a large number of people to-day.

There is another point to which attention should be drawn, the reference by the Chorus to the Carneian festival in lines 445-452,

πολλά σε μουσοπόλοι
μέλῳουσι
.
. . . ἀνίκα Καρνείου περιίσσεται ὄρα
μηρὸς κ.τ.λ.

which implies that the story of *Alcestis* was connected with the Carneia; ostensibly, no doubt, because it was a festival in honour of Apollo, and therefore an allusion to his connection with Admetus would be appropriate. Now in spite of the military character of the Carneia, there is little doubt that it was originally a vegetation rite, probably pre-Dorian, to which the name of Apollo was subsequently attached. We know from Athenaeus (Bk. iv. 141 E) that the men who took part in the festival

lived in booths during the nine days for which it lasted, and from the explanation of *σταφυλοδρόμοι* (Bekker's *Anecdota*, vol. i. p. 305) that a man wearing garlands (*στέμματα*) ran along, uttering good wishes for the state, while young men called *σταφυλοδρόμοι* pursued him. If they caught him it was looked upon as a good omen for the state, if not, the reverse. Exact parallels to this performance are to be found in other European folk customs, enough to show that the Carneia must have been in origin a harvest or vintage festival, at which the vegetation spirit, impersonated by a man wearing garlands, and probably at first by an animal, was chased, and if caught went through the mock ceremony, and in the case of the animal, the reality of being killed.¹ We may conclude therefore that the Carneian festival embodied a Death and Resurrection ceremony; for in rites where the spirit of vegetation is killed his revival is also represented or implied. And in that case its association with the story of Admetus and *Alcestis*, which appears from the way in which it is introduced to have been traditional, would be natural enough. Possibly the story appeared in the form of a regular lament for *Alcestis*, similar to the *Linus* song and other laments in vegetation ritual, which would give an opportunity for those musical contests which appear to have been usual at the Carneia (cf. *Athenaeus*, xiv. 635). The *Alcestis* story need not have arisen directly from the Carneian rite: it may have become attached to it with the name of Apollo; but probably the similarity of the idea, and possibly the existence elsewhere in Greece of a true *Alcestis* vegetation rite, showed its special fitness.

E. H. BINNEY.

¹ The grounds on which this conclusion is based may be found in S. Wide's *Die Lakonische Kulte*, p. 73 *seqq.* Cf. also Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* (second edition), vol. ii. pp. 235, 259, 266, etc.

PLATONICA II.

I HAVE been taken to task by Mr. Adam (*C.R.* xvi. 215 *sq.*) and Professor Immisch (*Lit. Centralbl.* 1903, 65) for saying with Schanz that the Platonic MSS. known as Flor. x and Ang. v were derived from Vind. F. In spite of their objections, this con-

tinued to seem the simplest working hypothesis, and I claimed no more for it. I am now, however, in a position to give material proof that these two MSS. 'not only may, but must' be derived from Vind. F.

The *Minos* is the last dialogue contained

in Vind. F, and towards the end the book has been considerably damaged by damp. Bekker has fortunately collated Flor. x (he calls it b) and Ang. v in the *Minos*, and Professor Král has collated F for me. The following facts speak for themselves:—

314 d τὸ μὲν σφύζει] μὲν *madore fere deletum* in F: om. x v.

317 b ἢ τὸ ἱατρικὸν ἢ τὸ ἱατρικὸν ἢ τὸ *madore deletum* in F: om. x v.¹

317 c ὀρθὸν ἢ *madore deletum* in F: om. x v.

318 d φασί γ' ἐκ Κρήτης] γ' *madore deletum* in F: om. x v.

320 c ἐ[πισ]τατεῖν: *inclusa vermibus exesa* in F: ε ττεῖν x.

321 c ἀνδρῶ[ν ὥσπερ] ρ καὶ: *inclusa madore deleta* in F: ὥσπερ om. x v.

321 c ποιμένα λα[ῶν]: *inclusa vermibus exesa* in F: ποιμένα λαοῦ x v.

I may add that every recorded reading of x v in the *Minos* is consistent with the derivation of these MSS. from F, and that, in particular, the reading *ἄοινοι* in 320 a, where F has *οἶνος* with A, is explained by a marginal note in F, οὐτ' ἦσαν ἄοινοι ἄλλοι ἢ Κρήτες. This appears to be an attempt to make sense of the reading of F, οὐτ' for οὐ, and has been received into the text of the apographa. The mind recoils from the assumptions that would be necessary to account for these facts on the supposition that x v are not derived from F.

REPUBLIC II.

359 d, 1 τῷ Γύγου τοῦ Λυδοῦ προγόνου

On Wiegand's proposal to delete Γύγου, Mr. Adam says (App. I): 'There is, however, no proof to show that ὁ Λυδός could without further specification denote Croesus.' It is, of course, quite usual to speak of barbarian kings in this way, e.g. ὁ Ἀράβιος, ὁ Κίλιξ (Stein on Hdt. i. 17), and Mr. Adam only means that in the time of Plato, or even at the supposed time of the dialogue, when there was no Lydian king, such a way of speaking would be unnatural. But we must remember the special interest the Greeks of the fifth century took in Croesus. He was to them in an eminent sense ὁ Λυδός, and Plato may be trying to reproduce the colour and tone of the old tales, or he may even be quoting from an early historian.²

¹ I assume that 'om.' has been dropped by accident in Bekker's note. Otherwise it has no meaning.

² So in the fragment of Oenomaus preserved by Eusebius (*P.E.* 211 c) Croesus is called ὁ Λυδός more than once. It is true that he has already been mentioned by name.

359 d, 8 τοῦτον δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχειν οὐδέν, περὶ δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρυσοῖν δακτύλιον, ὃν περιελόμενον ἐκβῆναι.

Here Mr. Adam deserts A and interpolates ἔχειν before οὐδέν with the inferior MSS. The omission of ἔχειν in A is, however, no mere accident; for it is also omitted in several other MSS. which are independent of A. The true explanation of the construction is surely that suggested by Dr. Verrall as quoted by Mr. Adam in App. II., though it is not the participle *ποιήσαντα*, but rather the infinitive *ποιῆσαι*, that is to be supplied, if we must 'supply,' after ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν. The point is that such an 'ellipse' is quite regular after οὐδέν ἄλλο ἢ and τί ἄλλο ἢ, and that no difficulty would have been felt if Plato had written οὐδέν ἄλλο ἢ . . . περιελόμενον ἐκβῆναι. It has further been shown by Schwabe (*Synt. der gr. Comp.* i. p. 26 n.) that the formula ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν . . . δὲ . . . is nothing more than an emphatic οὐδέν ἄλλο ἢ . . . It is, therefore, possible to retain *τοῦτον*—Dr. Jackson would read *τοῦτον*—without supposing it to be governed by *περιελόμενον*. The real difficulty lies in *περὶ τῇ χειρὶ*, which could hardly be used as an attribute without a participle. If, however, we adopt Prof. Bywater's suggestion, communicated privately to me, and, instead of putting ὃν in brackets, change it to ὄντα, we get exactly what we want. The syllable *τα* was written tachygraphically, and often drops out in Platonic MSS. The confusion of ὃν and ὄταν is not uncommon.

363 d, 2 μακροτέρους ἀποτίνοσιν μισθοῦς.

Once more Mr. Adam has deserted A, which has *ἀποτείνουσιν*, for a reading which is that of F. I confess I did not think this worth recording in my critical note. It seemed to me a natural mistake for a mercenary and itacistic scribe. Mr. Adam's note shows, however, that there is something to be said for the reading of F, and his comparison with *διδόασι = δίδοσθαι λέγουσι* in 363 c is much to the point.

364 c, 3 βλάψει.

So Mr. Adam reads for the *βλάψει* of A. The interpretation which he adopts from Schneider's *Additamenta* implies that we are to 'understand' some such word as *φασί* from *πεῖθουσιν ὡς*, which is no doubt possible. On the other hand, the close way in which the conjunction *τε* joins this clause to the preceding makes it more likely that it should be actually dependent on *πεῖθουσιν ὡς*, 'they persuade him that he (*i.e.* their client) will injure.' Mr. Adam's objection to this is

that we must then 'regard the clause *ἐάν τε τινα . . . βλάβῃ* as semi-parenthetical and connect *πείθοντες* with *ἀγύρται δὲ καὶ μάντις* at the beginning of the sentence.' This does not seem to me cogent. It is surely more natural to refer the words *πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν* to the same persons as are meant by *ἐάν τις*, i.e. to the clients of the *ἀγύρται καὶ μάντις*. It is they that persuade the gods to serve them, and the plural participle after *ἐάν τις* is quite regular.

364 c, 6, *κακίας περὶ εὐπετείας ᾄδοντες*.

I do not see why Mr. Adam should say that Stallbaum 'attempts to evade' the difficulty of the MS. reading *διδόντες* here by taking it as equivalent to *διδόσθαι λέγοντες*. In his excellent note on 363 d, he has himself called attention to the frequent repetition of this brachylogy in the present passage, and indeed he has increased the number of instances by reading *ἀποτίνοσιν*, as we have seen. It is true, no doubt, that the conjecture of Muretus, *ᾄδοντες* for *διδόντες* is palaeographically sound, and seems to correspond well to *ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς . . . εὐπετὲς κτήσασθαι*. On the other hand, *ᾄδων* is not the same thing as *ὑμνεῖν*, and is never, so far as I know, used for *decantare*. I fancy, too, that it is not like Plato to say 'the poets sing.' That seems to belong to the conventional Alexandrian and Roman vocabulary, and so comes natural to us; but surely Plato would have said *λέγουσι*. Finally, we need not trouble about the difficulty of finding another instance of the plural of *εὐπέτεια*. It belongs to a class of abstract words which are continually used in the plural, and *ἐξουσίαι* is common enough. Any fourth century writer was quite free to say *εὐπέτεια* if he wished.

364 d, 3 *μακρὰν τε καὶ ἀνάντην*.

It is to be observed that the words *καὶ τραχείαν* in the margin of A are, as I can state from personal inspection, from the same hand that wrote the text (A¹, not A²). As they are also in F, their omission in DM is a minor matter. Except where introduced by *γρ.*, the marginal supplements of A are generally to be understood as corrections of accidental omissions, not as variants. It

is satisfactory to find that Mr. Adam keeps *λιστοί* in the text, and his reasons for doing so are convincing. I may add that the old scholium, *ἀντὶ λιταζόμενοι, λιταῖς εἰκόντες*, settles the point.

365 b, 5 *ἐὰν καὶ μὴ δοκῶ*.

Mr. Adam's defence of this is hardly convincing. Surely the parents and guardians never told the young man that 'Justice is in itself never advantageous.' That is the inference he is going to draw for himself. Here we are still dealing with *τὰ λεγόμενα*, the lessons he has learnt in his youth.

365 e, 2 *ἔκ τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γενεαλογησάντων ποιητῶν*.

I have never been able to understand what *ἐκ τῶν λόγων* means here. Jowett renders 'from tradition,' but I do not see how *οἱ λόγοι* standing alone can mean that. The reading of F, namely *νόμων*, gives a perfectly clear sense, and a Greek would hardly have omitted the *νόμοι* in this connexion. Cf. also below 366 a, 6 *ὡς αἱ μέγιστα πόλεις λέγουσι καὶ οἱ . . . ποιηταί*. The confusion of *λόγος* and *νόμος* is, of course, common, and the scribe of A is liable to it. In the *Timaetus* 29 d, where the reading *νόμον* is universally accepted, A appears to have written *νόμον* at first, but he has made it into *λόγον* himself by erasure and tinkering.

367 d, 4 *ἀποδεχοίμην*.

Mr. Adam is right in refusing to read *ἀνασχοίμην*, but the scholium to which he refers as mentioning the two readings *ἀποσχοίμην* and *ἀνασχοίμην* is purely imaginary. There is nothing whatever in A beyond the marginal variant *γρ. ἀποδεχοίμην* (A¹, not A²) already referred to by Mr. Adam. Ruhnken prints *ἤγουν ἀποδεχοίμην. γρ. καὶ ἀποσχοίμην*, which seem to be marginal variants from two different MSS. The lemma *ἀνασχοίμην* was added by Ruhnken himself from the vulgate text. The lemmata of the printed scholia often mislead editors. They do not exist in the MSS. at all.

JOHN BURNET.

DEMOSTHENES AND DIO CASSIUS. (D.C. 38, 36—46.)

IN his account of the war with Ariovistus, Caesar tells us a panic seized his troops at the prospect of fighting the Germans, concerning whom marvellous stories were told by the Gauls and the traders. Caesar, then called his officers and centurions together, and after severely lecturing them, had the satisfaction of seeing confidence in themselves and in their leader once more restored among the soldiers. His vigorous little speech as reported by himself (in indirect discourse) takes up just one chapter (*B.G.* i. 40).

Dio's account (38, 35 ff.) of the same episode differs in one respect from that of Caesar. He too speaks of the panic among officers and soldiers, but adds: *καὶ ἐθρύλλον ὅτι πόλεμον οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐψηφισμένον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμίαν ἀναίρουντο*. And accordingly we find the greater part of Caesar's lengthy speech, as reported by Dio, devoted to a justification of this war.

To account for this and other divergences, it was at one time held by some scholars,¹ that Dio had other and more trustworthy sources of information at his disposal than we have in Caesar's narrative, and Dio's account of the Gallic wars has been used by many an investigator to prove alleged misrepresentation of facts on the part of Caesar.²

At present, however, a different view prevails. D. G. Jelgersma,³ H. Haupt,⁴ and others have pointed out the right way to judge of the value of Dio's statements, when differing from Caesar's; it has been shown that many of these additions and discrepancies are due to Dio's mania for explaining everything, or to his marked prejudice against Caesar, or again to his love for rhetorical flourishes. T. Rice Holmes summarily dismisses Dio's testimony as that of a 'dull liar.'⁵

To these causes of disagreement between Dio and his principal, if not only, source of information, Melber has added a fourth: he has shown that many of Dio's statements in which he widely departs from Caesar are

nothing but more or less close imitations of famous Greek authors. Thus Dio has seen fit to adorn his description of the battle with Ariovistus with several features borrowed from Herodotus' description of the battles of Thermopylae and Plataeae. And Melber promised to show that Caesar's speech, as reported by Dio, is partly made up of extensive imitations.

Melber has never, to my knowledge, carried out his intentions. Perhaps, because he was forestalled by the dissertations of Litsch⁶ and Kynitzsch,⁷ who have collected a large number of passages from Dio's work, manifestly borrowed from Thucydides. Kynitzsch has devoted to Caesar's speech no less than 16 pages.

Dio has not confined himself, however, to Thucydides: Demosthenes' orations have also served him as models in the present instance, as indeed elsewhere. The fact itself that Dio frequently imitated Demosthenes is by no means unknown; but a systematic search for such imitations throughout the work of Dio has never been made: it is a Herculean task and the results of such an investigation would perhaps be no compensation for the amount of labour expended. Still, it may be useful to subject at least one of Dio's speeches to such an investigation: it will reveal the extent of Dio's imitating mania, his flagrant disregard for historic truth, when he saw his opportunity for bringing in some Demosthenic touches, and something may be gleaned of value concerning the constitution of the text of both authors.

Among Dio's imitations a distinction should be made between those passages where the original has supplied the thought and those where the resemblance is merely verbal. To this last category belong some turns of phrases, openings of sentences and such-like, which Dio frequently borrowed from Demosthenes: in such cases absolute proof of plagiarism can be given. It is different where Demosthenic thought has supplied Dio with ideas. So far as the present writer can make out, it seems to have been Dio's practice to read through several orations of Demosthenes before composing his 'masterpieces'; the result of

¹ Notably by Eichheim, *die Kämpfe d. Helvetier*, etc. Neuburg 1866.

² The literature on the subject is discussed by I. Melber, *der Bericht des Dio Cassius ueber die gallischen Kriege Caesars*, I. Prog. K. Max. Symm. Muenchen 1891.

³ *de fide et auctoritate Dionis C.C.*, Leyden 1879.

⁴ *Jahresber. ueber Dio Cassius Philol.* 41, 152 ff.

⁵ *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 180.

⁶ *de Cassio Dione imitatore Thucydidis*, Freiburg 1893.

⁷ *de contentibus quas Cassius Dio historiae suae intexuit cum Thucydideis comparatis*, Leipzig 1894.

such a method is that we are constantly reminded of the manner and the tone of the speeches of the great Athenian orator, without being able to lay our finger on any particular passage which Dio had in mind; the imitation is, so to speak, diffused, and only an occasional word, a peculiarity in the vocabulary may give a hint of where we have to look for the original.

Dio makes Caesar begin his lengthy address thus: οὐ τὸν αὐτόν, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, τρόπον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁρῶ σκοπὸν ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἅπασιν ὄντα. Cp. [Dem.] 10, 70 οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περὶ δ' ἑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βουλευομένους and Dem. 20, 57 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον νομίζω πόλει τὸν ἄξιον ἐξεταστῆον εἶναι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ σκέψις. The passage from the *Fourth Philippic* is borrowed from 8, 67. It seems, however, that not the original but the copy was in Dio's mind, for he continues: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονέστατος ἔσται, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ, with which cp. [10], 70 τὸν μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίον ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀπράγμονα κἀκίνδυνον ὄντα.

'Such being the case,' Caesar admonishes his men, οὐδ' ἑμῶν οὐδένα χρὴ τὸ ἴδιον ἢ δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοῖς πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ συμφέρον προσκοπεῖν. Thus Demosthenes says (6, 27) οὕτως ἢ παραυτίχ' ἡδονῆ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ μέζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὑστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος. The resemblance, it must be admitted, is not very striking; fortunately Dio elsewhere presents us with a more faithful copy of the original; on another occasion he makes Caesar say (41, 27) γνώσεσθε δὲ ὅτι τάληθ' ἔγωγε, ἂν μῆτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἢ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον κρίνητε μᾶλλον, ἢ πρὸς τὸ αἰεὶ ὠφέλιμον.

Caesar then points out to them ὅτι δεῦρο ἤλθομεν . . . οὐχ ἵνα ῥαθυμῶμεν, οὐδ' ἵνα ἀμελῶμεν, truly singular expressions in the mouth of a general, addressing an army, which is on the verge of insubordination and seized by panic. But then, Dio wished to compose a speech that should have a truly Demosthenic ring, and we remember how the great Athenian orator used to rebuke his fellow citizens vehemently for their indolence, and easy going ways; cp. Dem. 9, 5 νῦν δὲ τῆς ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος; [10], 29 ἀμελήσαντες . . . ῥαθυμεῖτε; etc.

In the remainder of the chapter the

following verbal resemblances occur. Dio, § 5 (ἵνα) τοὺς τε ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντάς σφας ἀμυνόμεθα (and 42, 1 ὅτι τοὺς ἀδικεῖν τι ἐπιχειροῦντας . . . ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ). Cp. Dem. 14, 11 τί τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ἐχθροὺς (cp. Dio, 44, 1 τῶν ἐχθίστων τις ὁμολογοῦντων) ἔχοντες, ἄλλους ζητούμεν; . . . ἀμυνόμεθα δὲ κἀκείνον ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῆ. In summarizing his speech Demosthenes uses the identical words (§ 41): ἀμύνασθαι καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, ἐὰν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι, and again in his speech on the *Liberty of the Rhodians*, when reminding his audience of the advice he once gave (15, 6): ἀμύνοισθε δὲ κἀκείνον, ἐὰν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῆ.

§ 7 πῶς ἂν ἢ καλῶς ἢ ὀσίως ἔχοι; Dem. 23, 54 ὀσίως καὶ καλῶς. This verbal coincidence might be considered purely accidental; but just below in the same speech Dem. has: ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει (§ 56) with which cp. Dio 44, 3 ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει; and again Dem. § 58 καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἐκείνο ὑπολαμβάνει, with which cp. Dio, 42, 1 καὶ μὴν (Reiske; μοι) εἴ τις ἑμῶν ἐκείνο ὑπολαμβάνει.

§ 8 πταίω in the sense of 'failing' is used by Dem. 2, 20, a passage elsewhere imitated by Dio in this same speech (see below).

The next two chapters, 37 and 38, are for the greater part made up of Thucydidean reminiscences. But in τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, 37, 5, we seem to have an expression due to Demosthenes. (Dio uses it again 45, 5.) Demosthenes 1, 12 and 9, 21 is speaking of the marvellous growth of Philip's power: ἀρα λογίζεται τις ἑμῶν . . . καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον, δι' ὃν μέγας γέγονεν, ἀσθενῆς ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς Φίλιππος; and: ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς Φίλιππος ἠξέηται . . . Thus Caesar speaks of the growth of the Roman empire: τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῖ τε, ὀλίγοισι τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς γενομένοι κ.τ.λ.

Certainly modelled after Demosthenes is 38, 2: καίτοι συχνὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνοι ὥστε μὴ ἐκείσε ἐκπλεύσαι, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεὺς ὥστε μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσαι, πολλὰ ἂν ἄντιχος, πολλὰ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔγγονοι ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καταρῖναι. Dem. 18, 81 καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης, ὥστ' ἔχεν Ἰφρέτιαν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχεν Ἐρετριάν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὀλίππος ὥστε ταυθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ . . . οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ.

In the following chapter, 39, Caesar points out the difference between the position of the Romans, as citizens of a

great empire and that of others: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπ' ἴσης ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κεκτημένοις βουλευτέον ἐστίν. Cp. Dem. 14, 6 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπ' ἴσης ὁρῶ τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι καὶ ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν βουλὴν οὔσαν. Cp. also § 4 ἂν διὰ κενῆς οἴκοι καθώμεθα (Pflugk; καθήμεθα) with Dem. 4, 44 ἂν μέντοι καθώμεσθ' οἴκοι (both speakers contend that nothing can be accomplished by sitting idly at home), and ἀλλὰ ἂν τὰ τε ὄπλα διὰ χειρὸς αἰεὶ ἔχωμεν . . . καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κινδύνων ἀσκῶμεν with Dem. 9, 8 εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὄπλ' ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων . . . τοῦνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρῆται κ.τ.λ.

The next chapter (40) opens thus:

εἰ μὲν γὰρ τις θεῶν ἐγγυητῆς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅτι, καὶ ταῦτα <μη> ποιῶμεν, οὔτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κεκτήμεθα ἀσφαλῶς αἰεὶ καρπώσομεθα, αἰσχροὺν μὲν ἂν <ῆν> (inser. Pflugk) εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐχρῆν, ὅμως δ' οὐκ εἶχον ἂν τινα σκῆψιν εὐπρεπῆ οἱ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν βουλόμενοι.

Cp. Dem. 8, 49 εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστι τις ἐγγυητῆς θεῶν . . . ὡς, ἂν ἄγῃθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα προῆσθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκείνος ἦξει, αἰσχροὺν μὲν κ.τ.λ. and 1, 25 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι and 1, 6 οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἐστ' ἡμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δεόντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται. We note that Dio seems to have had in his text of Demosthenes the ἡμῖν or ἡμῖν, after ἐγγυητῆς, found in the vulgate.

In the same chapter the following verbal resemblance is found. Dio, § 3, τί τοῦτο λέγει[s] τις, ὡς οὐ χρῆ ἡμᾶς αἰεὶ τι προσκτάσθαι; Dem. 8, 5 τί τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν εἰρήνην δεῖ. (In view of the Demosthenes-passage it may be doubted whether we should not emend λέγεις τις to λέγουσιν.)

Caesar finally takes it for granted that he has justified his warlike proceedings against Ariovistus, and Dio makes him conclude thus: οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν οὕτω χρῆ φρονεῖν, οὐδέν' ἂν (Pflugk; οὐδένα) ἀντειπεῖν ὑμῶν νομίζω; cp. Dem. 16, 14 οὐδέν' ἂν ἀντειπεῖν οἴομαι. That the resemblance is not merely accidental, is proven by the circumstance that the same passage in Demosthenes is imitated by Dio a few chapters below.

Caesar now proceeds to show why, under the present circumstances the sanction of the senate for conducting the war was not

needed. With § 1 εἰ δ' ὅτι μήτε ἐξήτασαι . . . διὰ τοῦτο τις ἦπτον οἴεται δεῖν ἡμᾶς προθυμηθῆναι, λογισάσθω τοῦθ' (Pflugk; ταῦθ') ὅτι κ.τ.λ. with Dem. 4, 4 εἰ δέ τις ἡμῶν . . . δυσπολέμητον οἴεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, . . . ὀρθῶς μὲν οἴεται, λογισάσθω μὲντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι κ.τ.λ.; in 45, 1 Caesar calls Ariovistus δυσπολέμητος. The passage in Demosthenes confirms Pflugk's correction.

Caesar continues ὅτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὅσοι πώποτε γεγόνασιν which reminds us of Dem. 9, 22 ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί.

§ 2 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι; so the vulgate; Boissevain emended δὴ το δεῖ on the strength of L's reading δεῖ; the emendation is confirmed by Dem. 8, 29 (the speech, from which Dio borrowed so extensively) δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι.

§ 5 οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν; Dem. 18, 69 οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. Just before Demosthenes used the word αὐτεπάγγελτος which Dio has 39, 3.

ἵνα τὴν οἰκίαν φυλάξωμεν, cp. Dem. 1, 26 οἱ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες φυλάττειν.

Caesar then explains why Ariovistus has forfeited his claim to the friendship of Rome. The opening sentence (42, 1) contains two Demosthenic reminiscences, pointed out above. With μὴ περιμείναντες κακῶς ἔργω παθεῖν we may compare Dem. 25, 95 μὴ περιμείναντες τι παθεῖν.

§ 3 φορτικόν; in this same book ch. 12, 7 Dio has φορτικός τε καὶ ἐπαχθής ἦν; cp. Dem. 5, 4 φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθές.

ἄρ' οὐ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, cp. Dem. 18, 139 καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον (Dio, 45, 39, 1 καίτοι δυοῖν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον).

§ 4 ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς γνώμης, cp. Dem. 18, 298 ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας κἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς (Dio 44, 23, 1 ἀπ' ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας).

§ 5 εἴτ' αὖ μηδενὸς τοιούτου ὑπόντος ὑπερέρακε τε ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνους ὑβρίκε, τί (Bekker; τίνα) χρῆ τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴν ἔργου τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται, προσδοκῆσαι πράξεις; cp. Dem. 9, 35 καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελῶς οὕτω χρώμενον, τί οἴεσθ', ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἐν' ἡμῶν ἐκάστων κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσῃ;

This seems to confirm Bekker's correction. That the Demosthenes-passage was really in Dio's mind, is again made probable by the fact that he has imitated its structure elsewhere (45, 35, 3) καίτοι τὸν οὕτως ὡμῶς (οὕτως ὡμῶς, Dem. § 26 of the same speech) ἐκείνοις χρησάμενον, τί οὐκ οἴεσθε τῶν δεινότη-

των πάντας ἡμᾶς, ἂν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσῃ; καὶ τὸν ἀσελγῶς οὕτως κ.τ.λ.¹ And with τί χρῆ τοῦτον προσδοκῆσαι πράξειν; cp. Dem. 4, 46 τί καὶ χρῆ προσδοκᾶν; 21, 9 τί χρῆ τοὺς τοιοῦτους προσδοκᾶν ἂν ποιεῖν; 14, 12 πῶς χρῆ προσδοκᾶν; 18, 195 τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν;

§ 5 οὐ τοίνυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ., cp. Dem. 24, 79 οὐ τοίνυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ, and 21, 17 οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν (Blass; ἀπέχρη) δ' αὐτῷ τοῦτ', ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ. (Dio. 37, 55, 1 καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ.; cp. 40, 32, 3; 6, 10, 1).

The opening sentence of the 43rd chapter contains another Demosthenic reminiscence καὶ μή μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσθήκην ταύτην εἶναι νομίσητε· μεγάλη γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίδειξις τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ. Dem. 2, 20 καίτοι ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μικρά τις ἡγείται, μεγάλη, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τοῖς εὐφρονούσιν. Blass questioned the authenticity of τῆς ἡγείται; Dio's imitation (μὴ νομίσητε) seems to prove he found the words in his text. The word προσθήκη is used by Dem. § 14 of the same speech, and again 3, 31.

§ 3 καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πόσης ὑβρεως καὶ πόσου προπηλακισμοῦ μεστόν ἐστιν; cp. Dem. 9, 60 ὑβρίζετο καὶ προπηλακίζετο.

With 44, 1 ὄσω . . . τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἀξιόμισθον (αὐτόν, i.e. Ariovistus) ὄντα ἀποδείξει and § 3 δικαίως ἐκείνων ἐτύγχανεν cp. Dem. 16, 19 ὄσω ἐπιδείξωσι . . . τοσοῦτῳ πλείονος ὀργῆς δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοιεν. And on another passage of this same speech Dio seems to have modelled § 4 of this chapter. Demosthenes 16, 14, expresses his surprise at those who contend that, if his advice be followed, the city will be accused of inconsistency (θαυμάζω τοίνυν κ.τ.λ.). Thus Caesar: 'do not be surprised if my present words seem inconsistent with my former actions' (μὴ θαυμάσητε κ.τ.λ.). Both speakers deny the alleged inconsistency: for one and the same principle has been and is underlying their apparently contradictory actions. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο τί; Demosthenes asks; and Caesar: τίς δὲ ἐστὶν αὕτη; a question which Demosthenes answers with: τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμβεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι. And so Demosthenes concludes: εἰ τοίνυν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκέτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴημεν οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ θέλοντες τοῖς δικαίοις ἐμμένειν, and Caesar: ἐκείνος δέ

ἐστὶν ὁ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁ μήτε καλῶς μήτε δεόντως τοῖς δοθεῖσιν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν χρώμενος. We noted above that Dio elsewhere (40, 9) borrowed another expression from this same passage in Demosthenes.

45, 3 πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν πάντες ἢ ἐκείνῳ συναράμενοι τὴν τε τυραννίδα αὐτοῦ ὁμορόν σφισιν οὔσαν καταλῦσαι καὶ τῆς χώρας μέρος τι παρ' ἡμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἐβελήσῃαν; Caesar implies that the nearness of Ariovistus' 'τυραννίς' is a constant menace to the autonomy of the neighbouring [peoples: they are naturally hostile to him. Of course the argument is absurd, in Caesar's mouth, and wholly superfluous; it was a well-known fact that both the contending factions of the Gauls were thoroughly alarmed at Ariovistus' encroachments: he could no longer find a willing and trustworthy ally among the Gallic tribes. It is a different thing when Demosthenes calls attention to the insecurity of Philip's position during the earlier part of his career, and reminds his audience of the fact that the neighbouring towns naturally distrust the powerful τύραννος. Cp. Dem. 1, 5 καὶ ὄλωσ' ἀπιστον οἶμαι ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὁμορον χώραν ἔχουσι. Just before he had said of the Olynthians that they knew ὅτι νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας κίνδυνος κ.τ.λ.

The vocabulary of Dio, in this chapter, presents some Demosthenic reminiscences. § 2 Ariovistus has no δύναμιν τινα οἰκείαν καὶ συνεστηκυῖαν καὶ συγκεκροτημένην. Demosthenes traces the frequent reverses of the Athenians to the circumstance that Philip has at his disposal δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν (8, 11 and cp. [10], 46); and elsewhere he characterizes the retinue of Philip as: δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσ' ὡς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου (2, 17).

46, 3 οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτὲ τὴν τάξιν ἣν ἐτάχθην ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. As Goodwin (see his edition of Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown*, ad 173) observes, this military figure was a favourite with Demosthenes; cp. the indices of Blass and Preuss, s.v. τάξις.

Summing up the results of our investigation: it has been shown that Dio deliberately perverted the truth with the sole object of obtaining an opportunity for displaying his rhetorical attainments. It was superfluous to point out the absurdity of Caesar's alleged remarks on this occasion; the whole speech has justly been characterized by Long as 'a rambling and unmeaning piece of fustian worthy of Dion's age,' and should not be

¹ We note in Dio's text the omission of *τι* before *ποιήσῃ*, the authenticity of which in Demosthenes' text has been questioned by more than one scholar.

taken too seriously. The extent of plagiarism exhibited is certainly astonishing; in this one speech reminiscences were found of at least thirteen speeches of Demosthenes; and to these should be added the large number of Thucydidean imitations collected by Kynitzsch, and the probably equally large number of passages borrowed from other authors, that have not yet been detected. We further note, that while there is much in Caesar's exhortations that reminds us of what Demosthenes had said under totally different circumstances to a

totally different audience, the bulk of Dio's imitations is rather confined to words: more an imitation of sound than of meaning, as is proven by the occurrence of words borrowed from Demosthenes, but used with different meaning, as *συμβόλαιον* (43, 3 and cp. Reuss' index s.v.) and *συγκεκροτημένην*. Finally, we may conclude that the list of testimonia for Demosthenes' text from Dio, and vice versa might be materially increased.

N. P. VLACHOS.

Philadelphia.

NOTES ON EPICTETUS.

1. 2. 36 Ἐπίκτητος κρείσσων Σωκράτους οὐκ ἔστιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὐ χείρων, τοῦτό μοι ἰκανόν ἐστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Μίλων ἔσομαι καὶ ὁμῶς οὐκ ἀμελῶ τοῦ σώματος.

εἰ δὲ μὴ οὐ χείρων is supposed to mean 'if I am no worse.' But (1) this takes no account of the οὐ: (2) Epictetus would never have claimed to be 'no worse' than Socrates, and this is apparent even from the parallels he goes on to give, 'I shall never be a Milo, a Croesus, etc.' Perhaps we should read *μή του χείρων* 'not worse than my neighbour,' as in *Aról.* 29 B εἴ τῳ σοφώτερός του φαίην εἶναι, *Μιδίας* 66 *κάν ἄμεινον ἀγωνίσωμαί τινος*, and often.

1. 1. 27 Θρασείας εἰώθει λέγειν 'σήμερον ἀναιρεθῆναι θέλω μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον φυγαδευθῆναι.' τί οὖν αὐτῷ Ροῦφος εἶπεν; 'εἰ μὲν ὡς βαρύτερον ἐκλέγη, τίς ἢ μωρία τῆς ἐκλογῆς; εἰ δ' ὡς κουφότερον, τίς σοι δέδωκεν;'

τίς ἢ μωρία cannot I think = the exclamation *ὄση ἢ μωρία*, nor yet do I see how else to explain it. Has a word dropped out, e.g., <μεγάλη> τίς (i.e. ἐστίν)? λέγη and μεγάλη resemble each other.

1. 4. 10 τί δ' ἀπάγεις αὐτὸν τῆς συναισθησεως τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν;

The context points plainly to *κακιῶν*.

1. 4. 16 ὁ οὖν ἐξηγούμενος αὐτὸ (τὸ βιβλίον) δοκεῖ ὅτι πλείονος ἀξίός ἐστιν ἢ πέντε δηναρίων;

Read *δοκεῖς*. So in 25 *δοκεῖτε ὅτι κ.τ.λ.* and often.

1. 5. 5 ἂν μὲν ἦ <τις> οὕτω διακείμενος?

1. 7. 26 τίς ἔτι ἄλλος ἐστὶ λόγῳ χρηστικὸς καὶ δεινὸς ἐρωτήσις καὶ ἀποκρίσει;

<έν> or <ἐπ'> ἐρωτήσει? So γάρ seems omitted a few lines below after *ἄτοπα*.

1. 9. 11 οὐ τοῦτο μηχανόμενον ὅπως μὴ κ.τ.λ. ἀλλὰ μή τινες ἐμπίπτωσιν τοιοῦτοι νέοι, οὐ . . . ἀπορρίψαι θέλωσι.

Grammar requires *θέλωσι*. The subjunctive seems an error due to the influence of *ἐμπίπτωσιν*, not a latinism.

ιβ. 26 ὅτι (twice) should be *ὅτε*.

ιβ. 27 ἐδόκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡτυχηκῶς καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐπιφανῆς ὢν καὶ πλούσιος ὕστερον δ' ἐκπεπτωκῶς ἀπάντων.

Should not the first *καί* be *ὡς*, a word with which it sometimes gets confused? The words from *καί* to *ἀπάντων* go poorly with *ἐδόκει*.

1. 10. 10 ὁμοιον οὖν ἐστίν . . . ἀναγιγνώσκειν 'παρακαλῶ σε κ.τ.λ.' ἢ 'παρακαλῶ σε κ.τ.λ.'; ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ὁμοιά ἐστιν;

This is not the only place where *ὁμοιος ἢ* occurs, but is it right? ἢ like *ὡς* gets confused in MSS with *καί* and perhaps this is the real origin of the strange phrase. *ὁμοιος καί* is of course familiar. Cf. the next note but one.

1. 11. 19 ἀποφαινόμεθα should be ἀποφαινόμεθα or ἀποφανούμεθα. Observe the answer ἔστω.

ιβ. 23 ἔδει . . . ἀβοήθητον ἀπολειφθῆναι τὸ παιδίον . . . ἢ . . . ἀποθανεῖν;

Another case of ἢ for *καί*.

1. 13. 3 οὐκ ἀνέξη τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ σαυτοῦ, ὃς ἔχει τὸν Δία πρόγονον, ὡς περ υἱὸς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων γέγονεν.

Remedy the asyndeton by reading <ὄς> ὄσπερ.

1. 16. 3 ὄρα οἶον <ἄν> ἦν and *ib.* 20 εἰ γοῦν ἀηδῶν ἤμην, ἐποίουν <ἄν> τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνης.

1. 17. 17 ποία οὖν ἐνθάδ' ὀφρὺς τοῦ ἐξηγουμένου; ('why should the interpreter be conceited?') οὐδ' αὐτοῦ Χρυσίππου δικαίως, εἰ μόνον ἐξηγείται τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως, αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ. πόσῳ πλέον τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐξηγουμένου;

πλέον should logically be ἦττον. Yet it would be unsafe to alter the text, for writers do fall into these mistakes. In the *Fairy Queen* 5. 6. 26 Spenser writes *ne lesse* for *ne more*, and I have noticed the same slip twice in J. A. Symonds (*Greek Poets* 1. p. 257 'nor are the enemies of Aristophanes less insensible': *Revival of Learning* p. 449 (ch. 8 *ad init*) 'the phrases of Petrarch are not less obsolete').

1. 18. 11 Read χαλεπανεῖς twice for χαλεπαίνεις: 19. 27 λέξεις for λέγεις: 23. 6 πολιτεύσῃ for πολιτεύσῃ: *ib.* 7 probably ἀπολείπει for ἀπολείπει. But in 25. 18 ἐξέρχομαι shows that μενῶ should be μένω, though this mistake is much less common.

1. 20. 11 οὕτως ὅπου διαφέρειν οἴομεθα τὸ πλανᾶσθαι τοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι (e.g. in money matters), ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν προσοχὴν εἰσφέροντες ἐπὶ δὲ ταλαιπώρου ἡγεμονικοῦ χάσκοντες καὶ καθειδόντες πᾶσαν φαντασίαν παραπροσδεχόμεθα: ἢ γὰρ ζήμια οὐ προσπίπτει.

I think we ought to restore here a Thucydidean word and read ἀταλαιπώρον. Our indolence and indifference in the one case is contrasted with our keenness in the other. Schenkl's index shows that ἀταλαιπώρος occurs half a dozen times in these *Discourses*.

1. 22. 16 There seems something lost after the word ἀγάματα.

1. 25. 17 μόνον μηδὲν βαρούμενος ποίει, μὴ θλιβόμενος, μηδ' ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν κακοῖς εἶναι. μὴ should apparently be μηδέ or μηδέν.

1. 29. 62 μέχρι δ' ἂν οὐ τινα ἀνοχὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ἔχω.

The sense is 'until I get some relief': we must therefore read ἄσχω.

2. 1. 32 ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδύνατο ἔχειν αἰεὶ τὸν ἐλέγχοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἢ ἐλεγχθησόμενον ἐν τῷ μέρει, αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἤλεγε.

The future ἐλεγχθησόμενον makes quite plain what might otherwise have been

denied, that ἐλέγχοντα should be ἐλέγξοντα. So 12. 2 δὸς . . ἰδιώτην τινὰ τὸν προσδιλεγόμενον the participle should be future, and 14. 21 εὐθύς ἀπαλλάσσει the verb; 17. 20 ἀποκτείνω μὲν τὰ τέκνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμυτῆν τιμωρήσομαι the parallel clause again proves the present tense wrong. 18. 25 οἴχεται may be right, but οἰχίσεται would be much more natural. It is not at all clear that κρινῶ in 5. 29 should not be κρίνω.

2. 2. 7 τοῦτό σοι προοίμιον, τοῦτο διήγησις, τοῦτο πίστις, τοῦτο νίκη, τοῦτο ἐπίλογος, τοῦτο εὐδοκίμησις.

Transfer τοῦτο ἐπίλογος to precede τοῦτο νίκη. ἐπίλογος must not be cut off from προοίμιον, διήγησις, πίστις, nor νίκη from εὐδοκίμησις.

2. 3. 3 Just as the judge of coins says 'give me any drachma you like and I'll tell you if it's a good one,' so with syllogisms we ought to be able to say 'φέρε ὃν θέλεις καὶ διακρινῶ σοι τὸν ἀναλυτικὸν τε καὶ μὴ. But ἀναλυτικὸν is not at all the word we want: it is clearly a mere mistake for ἀποδεικτικὸν (λόγον ἀποδεικτικὸν 2. 25. 2). What is the origin of the mistake? The words immediately following show us: διὰ τί; οἶδα γὰρ ἀναλεῖν συλλογισμοῦς. The coming ἀναλεῖν is reflected in the erroneous ἀναλυτικὸν.

2. 5. 17 In the game of ball ὁ μὲν ἐρεῖ 'βάλε,' <ὁ δὲ> 'μὴ βάλης,' ὁ δὲ 'μὴ ἀνέλαβες' or, as a correction in codex S has it, μίαν ἔλαβες. Possibly we should read μὴ ἀναλάβης.

2. 6. 2 μῆτ' must be μηδ', if the preceding μὴ is right.

ib. 7 μὴ γὰρ σὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἄλλ' ἐκείνου.

Read μὴ γὰρ <οὐ> σόν.

2. 8. 7 ἄλλως γὰρ <ἄν> περιπατεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο.

2. 13. 13 Nothing else changes a man's colour οὐδὲ τρόμον ποιεῖ οὐδὲ ψόφον τῶν ὀδόντων οὐδὲ

μετοκλάζει καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους πόδας ἔζει.

The verbs in the quotation should be infinitives after ποιεῖ.

2. 14. 22 <αἰ> ἐπιβολαί. The four other substantives have an article apiece.

2. 16. 30 Speaking of men complaining about this, that, and the other, he goes on ἄλλος ἐλθὼν ὅτι οὐκέτι τὸ τῆς Δίρκης ἔδωρ πίνειν μέλλει: τὸ γὰρ Μάρκιον χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῦ τῆς Δίρκης.

ἐλθών gives no particular sense. Is it perhaps a corruption of ἐνθεν ἐλών? Cf. my note on the *De Sublim.* 34 in this *Review* 16. 164.

2. 16. 31 ζήτει στίχον ὁμοιον τῷ Εὐριπίδου ποιῆσαι

θερμάς τε τὰς Νέρωνος Μάρκιον θ' ὕδωρ.

The unmetrical Μάρκιον seems due to τὸ Μάρκιον a few lines above. It may therefore stand for anything. But Pliny's words (*N.H.* 31. 3. 24 *Marcia . . vocabatur quondam Aufeia . . rursus restituit Marcus Agrίppa*) suggest the possibility of Αὐφεῖον or Ἀγρίππου. Μάρκιον might indeed be a gloss on it.

2. 17. 26 Omit the καί before τί ἐτι.

2. 22. 24 μὴ αὐτόθεν ἀποφαίνῃ is ungrammatical. Read ἀποφαίνω or ἀποφίην. So 3. 24. 5 μὴ . . ἡδέως αὐτὸ ἄρξῃ ποιεῖν καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς κακὸς ἀθλητῆς περιέρχῃ we should surely read περιέρχου.

2. 23. 8 κὰν πύθῃ . . , τίνος πυνθάνῃ;

I do not see how πύθῃ, *if you have enquired*, can be right. We seem to need πυνθάνῃ in both places. So in 3. 10. 12 ἂν καλῶς πυρέξῃς, ἔχεις τὰ τοῦ πυρέσσοντος read πυρέτῃς.

3. 1. 6 τί οὖν ποιεῖ ἄνθρωπον καλὸν ἢ ὅπερ τῷ γένει καὶ κίνα καὶ ἵππον; τοῦτο, ἔφη.

Divide the question into two, the first ending at καλόν, and write ἦ.

ib. 11 Write κὰν for ἂν.

3. 5. 9 μὴ οὐ προσῆλθόν σοί ποτε φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, εἵτοιμος εἶ τι ἐπιτάσσεις, εἶ τι σημαίνεις.

Should not the two last verbs be optatives or future indicatives?

ib. 17 εἰ λάχανά τις ζητῶν ἐλήλυθεν, πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν ἂν αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν.

ἐληλύθει? or ἦλθεν?

Is it possible that the καὶ γάρ which introduces this illustration is a mistake for καθάπερ or ὥσπερ (cf. ou 1. 9. 27 above)?

3. 9. 8 ὅτε παῖς ἦς, ἐξήταζες τὰ σαντοῦ δόγματα; οὐχὶ δ' ὡς πάντα ποιεῖς ἐποίεις ἢ ἐποίεις; ὅτε δὲ μειράκιον ἦδη . . τί σοι λείπειν ἐφαντάζου; κ.τ.λ.

ὡς πάντα ποιεῖς makes no sense, the general drift being that at every stage of his life he was quite well pleased with himself and thought nothing wanting. It seems to me that ποιεῖς is merely due to the ἐποίεις which

is about to come twice (cf. on 2. 3. 3 and 2. 16. 31) and that we should read something like ὡς πάντα εἰδῶς.

3. 14. 14 ἦ should of course be ἦς, and 21. 12 αὐτό should be αὐτά.

3. 21. 7 ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐξηγήσομαι τὰ Χρυσίππεια ὡς οὐδεὶς, τὴν λέξιν διαλύσω καθαρῶτατα, προσθήσω ἂν του καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Ἀρχεδέμου φοράν.

Once or twice elsewhere in these *Discourses* ἂν appears with the future. Here however it is suspicious as not being added to the other verbs, and του increases the suspicion. Is ἂν του the remains of another proper name, or possibly a dittograph of Ἀντιπάτρου?

3. 22. 14 If λέγε were right, we should have εἰμί and σχολάζω. Read therefore λέγει.

ib. 59 τί for ὅτι would seem better than Urpton's ἐπὶ τίνι.

3. 23. 10 πρόφην ψυχρότερόν σου τῶν ἀκροατῶν συνελθόντων.

The adverb is hardly suited to the verb. Read ψυχρότερον.

4. 3. 10 εἰ γὰρ ἤθελεν, ἀγαθὰ πεποιήκει αὐτὰ ἂν ἐμοί.

ἂν can hardly be in its proper place. ἀγάθ' ἂν?

4. 4. 14 ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ καταλήγομεν μαθεῖν τί λέγεται. <ἐν τῷ> μαθεῖν?

ib. 38 κἀκείνον θεραπεύειν ὡς κακοδαίμονα.

Should we write κακὸν δαίμονα? Neither κακοδαίμων nor ἀγαθοδαίμων is cited in the use here required. *Ar. Eq.* 112 is certainly not an instance of the former.

Fragm. 1 (end) Put mark of interrogation after ἦ μή.

6. τῇ . . φαντασίᾳ for τῆς . . φαντασίας?

Encheir. 12 (end) ὅταν δὲ καλῆς τὸν παῖδα, ἐνθυμοῦ ὅτι δύναται μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ ὑπακούσας μηδὲν ποιῆσαι ὧν θέλεις, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καλὸς ἵνα ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἦ τό σε μὴ παραχθῆναι.

The last part of this is quite unmeaning, but it seems to suggest something like ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶν αὐτὸν καλεῖν ἵνα ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἦ τό σε παραχθῆναι ἢ μὴ παραχθῆναι. The καί before ὑπακούσας should possibly be ἦ (1. 10. 10 above).

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON ORIGEN, *CONTRA CELSUM* I.

THE citations in the following notes are made from Koetschau's edition, vol. i.

Orig. *c. Cels.* I. c. xii. (p. 65, ll. 11 ff., Koets.) ἂ δ' εἶπον περὶ Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν δυνατὸν ἰδεῖν καὶ περὶ Περσῶν παρ' οἷς εἰσι τελεταί, πρεσβευόμεναι μὲν λογικῶς ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς λογίων συμβολικῶς δὲ γινόμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ ἐπιπολαιοτέρων.

In place of γινόμεναι, which can hardly stand, Guet has conjectured γινωσκόμεναι. ἐπινοούμεναι might also be thought of; but I should prefer τιμώμεναι, which supplies a better balance to πρεσβευόμεναι: and it should be noted that two codd. actually read γιγνώμεναι.

ibid. lv. (p. 106, ll. 3 f.) μέμνημαι δὲ ποτε ἔν τινι πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους παρὰ Ἰουδαίους σοφοὺς [ἐν]ζήτησις ταῖς προφητείαις ταύταις χρησάμενος κ.τ.λ.

Here Koetschau comments: '[ἐν] vor ζητήσει tilge ich, da ἐνζήτησις sonst nicht belegt ist und ἐπιζήτησις, woran man denken könnte, bei Origenes nicht vorkommt; ἐν ist vielleicht ursprünglich Variante zu παρά gewesen.' But the right word for 'a disputation' is neither ζήτησις nor ἐπιζήτησις but συζήτησις. Cp. *Acts* xv. 7 πολλῆς δὲ συζητήσεως γενομένης: *ib.* vi. 9 συζητοῦντες τῷ Στεφάνῳ: and with πρὸς c. accus., *ib.* ix. 29 (ὁ Σαῦλος) ἐλάλει τε καὶ συνέζητει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς: *Mk.* i. 27. Nor can it be

objected that συζήτησει is palaeographically a difficult correction.

ibid. lvi. (p. 107, ll. 27 ff.) καὶ μέμνημαί γε πάνν θλίψας τὸν Ἰουδαῖον νομιζόμενον σοφὸν ἐκ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ὃς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπορῶν εἶπε τὰ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀκόλουθα, εἶπε πρὸς μὲν τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν εἰρήσθαι κ.τ.λ.

The repetition of εἶπε is intolerable. It is the second εἶπε that the critics generally suspect: Bouhèreau would remove it, Gundermann would replace it by ἐπεὶ, Koetschau would insert either καὶ before or γάρ after it. But it is quite as likely that it is the first εἶπε that is corrupt; and if we substitute for it ἔπειτα we restore a good classical idiom. Cp. *Soph. Aj.* 761 ὅστις ἀνθρώπου φύσιν βλαστῶν ἔπειτα μὴ κατ' ἀνθρώπον φρονῆ: *Ar. Ach.* 498: and other exx. in *L.* and *S. s.v.* (3). Probably we should also omit the art. τὰ. The sense is that 'in spite of the fact that he was 'floored,' the Jew made a right Jewish answer.'

ibid. lxi. (p. 112, ll. 5 ff.) ἐβουλήθη οὖν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, μαχομένας διὰ τὴν κακίαν ἔχων κρίσεις ὑπὸ τοῦ τυφλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ διαβόλου κινούμενος κ.τ.λ.

I fail to understand μαχομένας κρίσεις. The passage is describing Herod's murderous designs against Jesus, and we need a word expressive of 'blind hostility.' I suppose that what Origen wrote was *μαινομένας*.

R. G. BURY.

PLAUTINA.

Amph. 179-180:

ME. Hic qui verna natust queritur.
So. Sum vero verna verbero, etc. (P, A n.l.).

Since Sosia is not supposed to have heard Mercury's remark, some editors take exception to his repetition of the word *verna*. But this is a common trick of Plautus. For example, at *Mil.* 1228, Acroteleutium, before her recognition of Pyrgopolynices, unconsciously adapts her remark to an 'aside' of his:

Px. Patiar, quando ita Venus volt.
Ac. Veneri pol habeo gratiam, etc.
Cf. *Amph.* 309 and other passages.

Asin. 632:

Hic med amantem ex aedibus †delegit† huius mater (P, A n.l.).

Although Plautus can use compounds of *lego* in extraordinary fashion, e.g. *Curc.* 424 (cited by Nonius p. 290 Me. for *diligit* 'dividit'), it is difficult to accept *delegit* here. In the majuscule archetype of the Palatine MSS. DELEGIT and DEIECIT were practically identical; so that Camerarius' *dececit* is, we may say, the traditional reading. Fleckeisen preferred *ieiecit*, because the notion of 'throwing down' is unsuitable. But if we read with attention Cicero's remarks on the verb

deicio in the speech pro Caecina 31, 89 *sqq.*, we must infer that in every-day language *deicio* 'I evict' was used where *icio* would be strictly correct.

Cas. 814. When the marriage-procession, with Chalinus dressed up as the bride Casina, appeared on the stage, it would be necessary for the disguise to be momentarily revealed to the spectators. The words *iam oboluit Casinus procul* are clearly an 'aside' of Chalinus, as he removes the veil for an instant and shows his laughing face to the audience.

Mil. 304 :

Quam mox horsum ad stabulum iuvenix
recipiat se <e> pabulo (P, A n.l.).

Camerarius' insertion of *e* is preferable to Bothe's <a>. Cf. *Amph.* 684 se r. huc ex hostibus, *Aul.* 710 se r. ex eo loco, *Men.* 883 se r. ex opere, *Poen.* 821 se r. e fano,

Mil. 863 : Quo[t] tu agis ? (P, A n.l.).

Why do editors change *tu* to *te* and cite Isid. *Orig.* 9, 3, 64? For one is strongly tempted to read *tu* in the Isidore-passage, and besides Isidore may refer to *Most.* 562, or even *Trin.* 1078, or *Pers.* 235. From *Poen.* 333 quó agis (A : quo agis te P) we might be inclined to suppose *agis te* in all its occurrences in this phrase to be a perversion of an original *agis*. But a wider survey of Plautine usage shews that both phrases were allowed. We have intransitive *ago* in *Bacch.* 1106 unde agis ? (P, A n.l.), *Pers.* 216 quo agis ? (B : abis CD, A n.l.). We have transitive *ago* in *Pers.* 482 unde agis te ? (APT), *Trin.* 1078 quo (quonam A) tu te agis ? (AP), etc. 'Quo tú agis ?' is related to 'quid tú ais ?' as 'quid tú ais ?' to 'quid ais ?' The article *ago* in the new Thesaurus will supply more examples.¹

Mil. 1042 : virtute et forma, factis
(P, A n.l.).

This type of Asyndeton recurs elsewhere, e.g. *Mil.* 1161 : lepide et facete, laute, *Rud.* 930 agrum atque aedis, mancupia.

Most. 73. The country-slave is warning the town-slave.

GR. Ita est. Sed unum hoc scito, nimio
celerius

Venire quod †molestē† quam illud quod
cupide petas.

TR. Molestus ne sis nunciam, i rus, te amove
(P, A n.l.).

That *molestē* is a scribe's mistake, his eye having been caught by *molestus* in the line below, is clear from the form of Tranio's reply. Had Grumio used the word, Tranio would have expressed himself differently, e.g. Tu saltem molestus ne sis. I conjecture *obest*.

Most. 601. Was the disarrangement of the *Mostellaria* in the Palatine archetype due to the resemblance of vv. 601 and 886?.

Most. 1067 : ludificabor (AB¹) : ludificabo
(B²CD).

From *Most.* 832, where *ludificat* is required by the metre, but where both families of MSS. offer *ludificatur*, we infer a tendency of scribes to change the Active to the Deponent form. The normal conjugation of the word in Plautus² is *ludifico, ludificatus sum, ludificare*. But it will not do to expel from the text of Plautus the Deponent form, *ludificor*. In *Poen.* 548 *ludificatur* is required by the metre.

Pers. 97. Satyrio prefers 'thick' scoup.

Quasi fiuream† esse ius decet collyricum.

Nolo in vesicam quod eat, in ventrem volo
(P, A n.l.).

In minuscule MSS. *iu* and *vi* are indistinguishable. So the traditional reading may be really *viuream*. Can this be the Latin cognate of English 'wire,' known to us in the plural *viriae* 'a bracelet' ? Osthoff (*Morph. Unters.* 4, 164) argues for the length of the *i* in the first syllable. Körting (*Lat.-rom. Wörterbuch, s.v.*) favours the short quantity.

Pers. 105-7 :

SA. Pernam quidem

Ius est adponi frigidam postridie.

TO. Ita fieri iussi (P, A n.l.).

Bugge changed *ius est* to *iusses* (i.e. iussisses, 'you should have ordered'). But the traditional readings in this line and in a passage of Petronius (c. 35 *suadeo* inquit Trimalchio cenemus. Hoc est ius [*v.l.* in] cenae) support each other.

Poen. 1051. The form *Antidamas* should not be questioned, for it is at least the form used by Hanno (vv. 934, 955), if not also by Agorastocles (v. 1058).

Pseud. 615 : solus secum A : secum solus P.

¹ Surely the conjecture in *Amph.* 1042, *me agam* for *me ducam*, hardly deserves a place (p. 1372) in the Thesaurus.

² Priscian (vol. i. p. 392 II.) ascribes to the 'vetustissimi' the use of *ludifico* for *ludificor*. On *ludificatus sum* see the (defective) passage in Nonius (p. 476 Me.).

The former is the invariable order in Plautus. See *Aul.* 52, 190, *Merc.* 364.

Rud. 96. Sceparnio thinks it is time to begin tile-making in order to repair the damage done to his master's roof by the storm.

Si sapiam, hoc quod me mactat concinnem lutum (P, An. l.).

A Latin verb *maccare*, to knead (cf. Greek μάσσειν), is presupposed by Romance words like Ital. *maccare* (see Körting *s.v.*). One is almost tempted to re-write the line thus :

Si sapiam, hoc quod me mactat ego maccem lutum.

At any rate there seems to be a play on the words *macto* and (the supposed) *macco* both in this line and in *Anth.* i. 199, 42 (*Vesp. Ind.*): Pistor ego macto flavas sine sanguine messes.

Rud. 384: quem illorum observet falsust, 'he is at a loss which of them to watch.'

The Subjunctive is not only the right reading, but was the reading of the majuscule Palatine archetype. For not only is *observet* offered by CDB² (while B¹ had apparently *observatur*), but we may almost infer that it was also the reading of T. For in the Bodleian collation of the Codex Turnebi the *observet* of the printed text is left without any written variant.

Rud. 687-8 :

Tr. Bonum ánimum habete. PA. Nam, ópsecro, unde ánimus mi invenitur?

Tr. Ne, inquam, timete; adsidite hic in ara. AM. Quid istaec ara, etc. (P. A n. l.).

Duaren's marginalia (the Bodleian collation of the Codex Turnebi) offers as the reading (presumably) of T: unde istec animus mihi invenitur. It is however possible that Duaren has miscopied Turnebus' collation and that Turnebus wrote *istec* as the T-reading in v. 688 (for *ista* of the printed text).

At the end of some plays of Plautus (and of Terence) the request for applause was in the archetype of our MSS. preceded by the Omega symbol Ω. On the strength of Horace *A.P.* 155 donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat, this symbol was interpreted as CANTOR. And since there are a few,

though not many, instances of the substitution of P for C in the text-tradition (e.g. *anpillas* for *ancillas*, *Men.* 801), the last line of the *Persa*, which appears in our MSS. (BCD) thus :

Spectatores bene valete leno periiit plaudite pantio,

was printed by editors

Spectatores, bene valete; leno periiit. CANTOR Plaudite.

But the recently found collation of T has altered the case. For T, it now appears, had *pantes*, not *pantio*. And from Turnebus' marginal note we may infer that T shewed in conjunction with *pantes* the symbol Ω. For Turnebus has added: *pariter* (then follows what Turnebus presumably wrote as Ω and Duaren has copied as &, the symbol for *et*, as in &c. for *etc.*) *vero chorum loquentem* (Duaren has miscopied this word as *loquenti*) *significat ut sine praecedentis comœdiae 'curemus Ω plaudite.'* I take it that the majuscule archetype (of TBCD) had

Ω

ΠΑΝΤΕC PLAUDITE

and that the minuscule copy T exhibited this correctly, while in the minuscule original of BCD the suprascript Ω, misread as IO, had been mistaken for a correction of the final syllable of *pantes*, producing *pantio*. So the symbol Ω does not represent CANTOR, but implies that all the actors (on the stage at the time, I suppose) came forward and asked the applause of the audience. The Latin expansion of this symbol was GREX or CATERVA, and, when the request for applause is so long as to be worthy of a separate heading (like a Scene-heading), the one or the other of these words was used in ancient editions. The word would be, I fancy, preceded by this symbol, just as a proper name in a Scene-heading was preceded by a 'nota personae' taken from the Greek alphabet.

From the form of the heading of *Truc.* IV. iii. in our MSS. :

SENEX ANCILLAE II ADVLESCENS,

we may infer that Plautus assigned a name, not only to the 'ancilla Phronesii' (viz. *Sura tonstrix*, v. 405), but also to the 'ancilla Calliiclis.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

TWO NOTES ON LUCAN.

Book I. ll. 121-4.

Tu, nova ne veteres obscurent acta triumphos,
Et victis cedat piratica laurea Gallis,
Magne, times, te iam series ususque laborum
Erigit, impatiensque loci fortuna secundi.

A comparison is here instituted between the motives, which actuated Pompeius and Caesar, respectively, in entering upon war. The words of the first member, *Tu nova . . . Magne, times* refer to Pompeius. In the second member, *te iam . . . secundi*, the reference is necessarily to Caesar; for (1) the co-ordinate object of comparison is required, and (2) Pompeius could not be described as *loci secundi impatiens*, inasmuch as he undoubtedly held the first place and is represented (ll. 125-6) as unable to brook an aspirant to equal fame. Since the name of Magnus is inserted in the first member, the omission of Caesar's in the second is inadmissible: in such a connection either both names must be omitted or both inserted. In a passage of Book IV. (ll. 112-3) an invocation to Jupiter and to Neptune occurs:—

Et tu perpetuis impendas aera nimbis,
Tu remeare vetes quoscunque emiseras
aestus:

where the first *tu* refers to Jupiter, the second to Neptune. Here no ambiguity exists, because neither name is expressed.

In view of the doubtful application of the pronoun *te* in our passage, Bentley proposed *hunc* in its place.

In another direction the third line is open to suspicion—the phrase *series ususque laborum* being overweighted and redundant, since *series laborum* implies naturally *usus laborum*.

Caesar's incentives to war were his vast resources, his military experience, and his

ambition; and in a passage of Florus (iv. 2. 14), based upon these lines and quoted by Mr. Haskins, we find the statement—*iam Pompeio suspectae Caesaris opes et Caesari Pompeiana dignitas gravis. Non hic ferebat parem nec ille superiorem* (cf. Lucan i. 125-6) *Nefas! sic de principatu laborabant, tanquam duos tanti imperii fortuna non caperet.* (Cf. Lucan i. 109-11.)

I am disposed to think that in the place of the third line given above we may read—

Magne, times: te, Caesar, opes ususque
laborum
Erigit,

the predicate agreeing with the nearest subject.

Book II. ll. 665-8.

Ut maris Aegaei medias si celsus in undas
Depellatur Eryx, nullae tamen aequore
rupes
Emineant, vel si convulso vertice Gaurus
Decidat in fundum penitus stagnantis
Averni.

The position of Mt. Gaurus in the neighbourhood of Lake Avernus is here exactly indicated. But Mt. Eryx has no near connection whatever with the Aegean Sea; and to speak of that mountain as being cast into the waves of the Aegean is much the same as if we should describe Snowdon as falling into the Bay of Biscay. Close to the shore by Mt. Eryx, however, were the Aegates Insulae, the largest of which was Aegusa. The first line of our passage should, therefore, run thus:—

Ut maris Aegusae medias si celsus in undas

The sea is not named after Aegusa: so, the possessive genitive is used; just as (ii. 427) we have *vicinae aequora Lunae* and (iv. 256) *undis Massiliae*.

ALEX. WAUGH YOUNG.

SOME FAULTS IN OUR LATIN DICTIONARIES.

THERE can be no doubt that every teacher of Latin in our country has long felt the need of a new dictionary adapted to the requirements of our American students

Our largest and most complete dictionary is sadly behind the times in very many directions. How long we shall have to wait for a thorough revision of this work, or whether

we may expect any revision at all, I cannot say. So far as I know, the prospects of such a revision seem even less bright perhaps than they seemed two or three years ago. I fear they are not so bright as they would be were it not certain that the great Thesaurus, now in preparation in Germany, will, when finished, completely supersede all dictionaries that could possibly be prepared in the meantime. Whether we may, or may not, look for a new Harper's, I hope that one or two criticisms of certain features shared by that book in common with other works of similar scope and character may not be entirely out of place. Many of the particulars in which Harper's Dictionary is far behind the times are of course patent to all. I shall not therefore even refer in the present paper to these glaring and universally recognised faults. My purpose is rather to criticise certain features, which are perhaps generally considered excellences, and which would be pretty sure to be retained in a revised edition, but which nevertheless could, in my opinion, be eliminated altogether not merely without loss, but with decided and important gains. It will be noticed that my remarks are not intended to apply, in all respects, to the great Thesaurus. The scope and purpose of that work place it in a class by itself. Nor will my criticisms be particularly applicable to various special dictionaries for single authors. In what I am going to say, I shall have in mind particularly the general dictionaries in most common use among our American students.

Harper's *Latin Dictionary* is intended to serve the purposes of two classes of students: (1) those who consult it merely for the purpose of enabling them to translate or understand some Latin word or sentence. All that they need is some English expression which, if used in translating the Latin, will reproduce, as accurately as possible, the idea of the original: (2) those who are engaged in the critical study of some problem where it is important to know the whole range of usage covered by the word under consideration. Let us see how well the needs of these two classes of dictionary-users are met by this book.¹

To insure clearness of presentation, it

will be well to examine in detail the treatment of some particular word. The word *bibere*, to *drink*, will suffice for this purpose. General division I. under *bibere* treats of *bibere* with the accusative. Subdivision 1 contains twenty-four lines. The first eighteen of these lines are devoted to giving quotations that illustrate the different beverages used as the object of *bibere*. Thus, four sentences are quoted in full containing instances of *aquam* with *bibere*, three of *vinum*, others of *merum*, *mulsum*, *venenum*, *mella*, etc. These eighteen lines give no additional information regarding the meaning or construction of *bibere* that could not be given quite as adequately in very much less space. As soon as we know that *bibere* means to *drink*, what good purpose is served by devoting so much valuable space to the information that the thing drunk is sometimes water, sometimes wine, sometimes poison, etc.? Certainly this is of no service to the first mentioned class of students, for all that they need to know is that *bibere* means to *drink* in all these passages. To the student of Roman life and customs, it would doubtless be instructive to learn from his dictionary that *mella*, for instance, is used as the object of *bibere*, but for the needs of such students a mere list of the words thus used as objects and a mere reference to the passages in which they occur would answer quite as well as an extended quotation. It cannot be said that a full quotation in the dictionary saves time for the critical student and investigator, in such a case as this, for no such student would make use of a quotation thus found in the dictionary without first looking up the reference and examining the passage from which the quotation is made. All the real information given in this section regarding the meaning or use of *bibere* could be given in ten lines, at the very most, and fourteen lines could thus be dropped without the slightest detriment to any class of dictionary-users.

Section 2 devotes 26 lines to *pocula bibere*, *cyathos bibere*, and similar expressions. It is safe to say that much of this section is absolutely useless to both classes of students. Is it conceivable that anyone who has already been told that *bibere* means to *drink* can find any possible difficulty in *pocula bibere*, or any possible use for full quotations of sentences in which such expressions occur? A mere reference to passages containing such uses would be all-sufficient for every purpose. All usable information on this point could easily be given in half of the twenty-six lines and

¹ In the discussion that followed the reading of this paper before the American Philological Association in St. Louis, the point was made that a dictionary should also meet the needs of those students who are translating from English into Latin. The inclusion of this third class of students, however, would not materially affect the validity of my criticisms.

thirteen lines of valuable space could thus be saved.

Under subdivision 3 (β), *bibere* is defined as meaning 'arrive at,' 'come to.' This brings me to what seems to me one of the most serious faults of our Latin dictionaries, viz. their treatment of figurative expressions. It will do very well for the instructor of a class in rhetoric to analyse every rhetorical figure and to point out the various methods by which rhetorical effects are produced. But such a method of procedure on the part of a Latin dictionary seems to me very unfortunate. I have frequently noticed in the course of my teaching that a student was losing all the charm and beauty of a passage solely because he had unfortunately consulted his dictionary and the dictionary had deadened his susceptibility to the finer points of style. Let me give a few illustrations. If a student had learned from his dictionary merely that *bibere* means to drink, drink of, drink in, he would be prepared to translate each of the following passages in the manner indicated immediately after it :

Verg. *E.* 1, 62 :

Ante
Aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania
Tigrim,
Quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus,
*sooner will the Parthians drink of the Arar,
or Germany of the Tigris, than the countenance
of that man be effaced from my heart.*

Verg. *Aen.* 11, 803 :

Hasta . . . virgineum alte bibit acta cru-
orem,
*the spear, driven home, drank deep of virgin
blood.*

Mart. 1, 42, 5 :

.ardentes avido bibit ore favillas,
she drank in with greedy lips the fiery sparks.

Hor. *Od.* 2, 13, 32 :

Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum umeris bibit aure volgus,
*the throng, pressing together shoulder to
shoulder, drinks in with eager ear the accounts
of battles and the banishing of tyrants.*

Verg. *Aen.* 1, 749 :

Infelix Dido longum . . . bibebat amorem,
*the unhappy Dido drank in long draughts of
love.*

In translating the *bibere* of these passages

in the manner indicated, he would be doing full justice to the meaning and the style of his author. Is there any schoolboy who, in translating thus, would not at once catch the meaning and the spirit of each and everyone of the passages? If there is, it would be only because his soul is dead and the study of language and literature is hopelessly beyond him. For the boy of ordinary intelligence such translations would breathe with life and vigour, would quicken his interest in the author he is studying and his appreciation of the poet's style. But if, in an unlucky moment, he notices that his dictionary treats of these very passages, he feels duty-bound of course to read what it says about them and to profit by its suggestions. And he there finds these passages treated as follows. *Ante Ararim Parthus bibet* is translated *sooner will the Parthians 'come to' Germany* etc. (i. 3, β). *Hasta virgineum bibit cruorem* is said to mean *the spear 'drew' the virgin's blood, or 'killed' the virgin* (i. 5, β); *avido bibit ore favillas*, 'breathed in' the sparks, etc. (i. 6, a); *pugnas . . . bibit*, 'eagerly listens to' the accounts of battles (i. 6, b); *bibebat amorem*, 'was affected with' love (i. 6, b). When a student has read all that the dictionary says about such expressions, what has he accomplished? In the first place, he has wasted a considerable amount of valuable time; for he has been compelled to read very many lines of very fine print without reaping the slightest benefit therefrom. Worse than that, he has been lured away from all that places his author above prosaic common-place. And if, after being thus treated by the highest authority with which he is familiar, he still gets some appreciation of the grace and charm and the vigour of his author's style, it is only because he has something within him that can rise superior to his dictionary. I am inclined to believe that it would be a decided gain to omit all explanations and translations of purely figurative uses of a word, or at the very least to reduce them to the smallest possible compass. It may be objected that it is frequently difficult to tell when a word ceases to be felt as purely figurative in a certain connection and acquires an entirely different literal meaning. Very well. If it is uncertain whether, in a certain connection, a word is used figuratively or literally, certainly nothing whatever is gained by insisting, in a dictionary, either that it must be regarded as figuratively used, or that it has acquired a new literal meaning. If the dictionary

merely cited such cases, without comment, there could be no possible loss to anyone, and every reader would have a full and adequate appreciation of the word's meaning. When a word has clearly lost its original force and has acquired a distinctly different meaning, then of course the new meaning must be recognised and duly illustrated in the dictionary. But purely figurative uses, and even possibly figurative uses, may best be left to take care of themselves except in treatises on rhetoric and style. Full justice will be done them by merely citing them. If all the explanations and translations of the passages belonging to this class, which everybody would be sure to understand perfectly without help, were omitted from the dictionary, there would be a saving of some twenty lines.

Under II. twenty-seven lines are devoted to giving instances of *bibere* used without an object. Three subdivisions are made according as the thing understood to be drunk is (a) water, (b) liquids in general, or (c) wine. Of what possible use can all this be to anybody? The thing drunk is in each case determined entirely by the context and the circumstances under which the word is used: no change whatever in the meaning of *bibere* is involved. Why is it any more desirable to have such a classification under *bibo* than it would be to classify the absolute uses of *edo* as referring to (1) luxurious things like pigs, peacocks, etc., (2) ordinary things like bread and honey, (3) things in general? For in Plaut. *Most.* 235 (for instance) *dies noctesque estur, bibitur, there is eating and drinking day and night*, where *bibitur* is classified by the dictionary as referring primarily to the drinking of wine, it is certain that *estur* similarly refers primarily to riotous eating. Still, no one feels any need of a recognition of such a classification under *edo*. And it is safe to say that the dictionary leaves us with just as full and adequate an appreciation of the meaning and use of *edo* as of *bibo*. The mere fact that we happen to know that the things commonly drunk were only few in number as compared with the things eaten and that we can therefore guess more accurately what particular thing was drunk on a certain occasion does not affect the meaning of *bibere* itself. Five lines regarding the absolute use of *bibere* would be a sufficiently liberal allowance for all that is either interesting or useful in this connection. The other twenty-two lines might well be dispensed with.

Under III. ten lines are devoted to giving

the various adverbs and adverbial expressions that are found used with *bibere*, viz. *iucundius*, *large*, *Graeco more*, *bis*, *semel*, and *decies*. What all this has to do with the meaning and use of *bibere* it is difficult to see. All of the ten lines might be omitted without loss.

Thus far I have made my remarks apply particularly to Harper's *Latin Dictionary*. But an equally large proportion of space is wasted in our smaller general dictionaries. Indeed, much of what I have said with reference to the larger work may be said with equal force with reference to the smaller works. Let us, for example, take such a book as Lewis' *Elementary Latin Dictionary*, one of the best of our smaller dictionaries. This book is clearly intended merely for one class of dictionary-users, namely, those who consult it for the purpose of finding the best English word or expression to use in translating some Latin word they have found. Let us suppose that a student belonging to this class has come upon a Latin sentence in which *bibere* is used. Turning to his dictionary he finds, immediately following the definition 'to drink,' a citation from Tacitus where *vinum* is the object; then another from Horace where *mella* is the object. Is it possible to conceive of any case in which a person who, in seeking help for the translation or the understanding of the *bibere* before him, could derive any possible help from the information that *vinum*, for instance, is used by Tacitus as the object of *bibere*? Still, this is the first thing that the dictionary forces upon his attention. A little further on he is told that *bibere* is sometimes used with such expressions as *ab tertia hora* and *Graeco more*. But the student who consults his dictionary under *bibere* is wrestling with a sentence that either does, or does not, contain one of these expressions. If the sentence does not contain one of them, clearly he gets no help from such citations in his dictionary. If the sentence does contain one of them, then he either does, or does not, understand that *ab tertia hora*, or *Graeco more*, as the case may be, means *from the third hour*, or *in accordance with Greek custom*. If he does not understand this, he will not seek aid under *bibere* but under *hora* or *mos*. Even if he happens to notice that these expressions are cited under *bibere* he will not be one whit the wiser, for his dictionary gives no hint there as to their meaning. If he does understand the expressions, the dictionary gives him no additional information.

It follows that the citations are of no service whatever to any user of this book. Next comes the explanation that *Xanthum bibere* means *to drink water from the river Xanthus*. Nearly all the rest of the space, comprising more than half of all the space devoted to the word, is taken up with such definitions as have been criticised in speaking of the larger work, e.g., '*to visit, reach, frequent, dwell in the region of*.' There is not so much as a hint that such a use of *bibere* is a figurative use. This definition is given for *bibere*, without comment, exactly as *amo* is defined as meaning '*to love*'; *sat prata biberunt* is translated *the meadows 'have been watered' enough*; *terra bibit umorem*, *the earth 'absorbs moisture,' &c., &c.*

I submit that, apart from a few idiomatic expressions, the meaning of which must of course be duly given, the students for whom such a dictionary is intended would receive from it all the information that they need, or that they could profitably use, if, without the citation of any passages and without any further explanation, it simply defined *bibo* as meaning (1) *to drink*, (2) *to drink of*, (3) *to drink in*. Then the student who was having trouble with *vinum bibere* would get at a glance all the help he needed. *Xanthum bibere* would at once mean to him *to drink of the Xanthus*; *sat prata biberunt* would mean *the meadows have drunk enough*; *terra bibit umorem*, *the earth drinks in the moisture*. Best of all, in the case of such figurative uses as *hasta virgineum bibit cruorem* he would catch something of the real atmosphere surrounding the words. He would see at once why it is that such expressions are confined to poetical styles. How can he possibly understand this from his present dictionary? If the student is given to understand, as he is in his dictionaries, that *Ararim Parthus bibet* means merely *the Parthian will 'visit' or 'come to' the Arar*, or that *hasta bibit cruorem* means merely *the spear 'drew' the virgin's blood or 'killed' the virgin*, he may well wonder why these expressions are not as common in the prosaic style of the historian as in Vergil or Horace. But if he is left to himself and is allowed to feel that these ideas are only indirectly expressed and that the thing actually said is, in the former case, *the Parthian will drink of the Arar*, and, in the latter, *the spear drank virgin blood*, then he will know, even before he is told, that the expressions will not be found in ordinary prose styles. It is safe to say that all the information in any way helpful to the users of this diction-

ary could be given in less than half the space now devoted to the word.

In making these criticisms, I have selected the word *bibere* only because this word afforded a convenient illustration of what seem to me to be very common faults in our general dictionaries. These dictionaries contain much that is of no service to anybody, much that might be dropped not merely without loss to anybody but with decided and important profit to all. The makers of our dictionaries of the various grades should consider more carefully the needs of the various classes of people for whom their works are intended. It seems to me that the faults I have pointed out are very serious faults and of far-reaching consequences to the welfare of classical studies among us. In spite of the increase of late in the number of pupils engaged in the study of Latin in our schools, it is a fact nevertheless that the study of the classics is in a sense upon the defensive. The objection that is most frequently and most forcibly urged is that the time required to accomplish anything with the classics is altogether out of proportion to the results attained. It is in recognition of the force of this objection that men have rushed to the front with no end of 'easy methods' and 'short-cuts'—with what lamentable results we all know too well. We may as well recognise at the outset that there is no easy method of learning the classical languages. To gain anything like a fair mastery of Latin or Greek must ever require years of concentrated study. But this is the best of reasons why, in preparing aids for the students, one should not increase their inevitable burden. I am fully persuaded that a classical student is often compelled to sacrifice unnecessarily a vast amount of valuable time and energy because he has not the right sort of tools with which to work. What seems to me to be imperatively needed all along the line of his classical studies is the elimination of non-essentials and the elevation of essentials into greater prominence, a more thorough grounding in general principles and less memorising of divisions and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions and of apparently isolated rules and facts, a more skilful and logical grouping of everything possible about a common centre, with a view to aiding the memory by a closer association of related ideas. I have attempted in the present paper to indicate in the most general way how such a reform might be carried out in our Latin dictionaries, not

only without loss but with a positive gain to the student in his appreciation of the language and literature and in the interest and enthusiasm with which he pursues his study. For it seems to me that, with his

present dictionaries, he is often compelled to work his way through thickets where he might be led through groves.

H. C. ELMER.

Cornell University.

REVIEWS.

ALLEN AND SIKES' *HOMERIC HYMNS*.

The Homeric Hymns. Edited with Preface, Apparatus Criticus, Notes, and Appendices, by T. W. ALLEN, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, and E. E. SIKES, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Pp. lxxviii + 330 Macmillan, 1904. 10s. 6d.

THIS book is certainly wanted. The Hymns are important for their contents, and difficult from the corrupt state of their text; while the only text published in England of late years is too expensive for the average student, and has no commentary. Mr. Allen, who made that text, collaborates with Mr. Sikes in this; and he has the advantage of some additional MS. material. Mr. Sikes has gathered a quantity of illustrative matter, much of which (especially that which relates to folklore) will be new to readers. The result of their labours is an excellent working edition. But it must be owned that it is not the final edition, nor is it so complete as it might have been made. To take one point: the bibliography is *ex proposito* not complete; it is a supplement to that of Gemoll, giving the books which have appeared since Gemoll's edition came out in 1886. This means that the serious student must have both. Space is wasted again in repeating the same reference at the head of several hymns. It would also be often possible, and in some cases it is desirable, to add to the notes, as I shall indicate by and by; whilst many of the problems of folklore and tradition call rather for essays than notes.

Turning first to the *Apparatus Criticus*, the account of the MSS. is excellent, and their relations clearly explained. The editors have not only collated, or caused to be collated, all the MSS. they have used, but they give an instructive selection of typical readings from several of them which will be useful to any one who wishes to form a judgment upon the merits of those MSS.

Another valuable section is that in which are collected all the ancient quotations of these hymns, or allusions to them. It is surprising how few these are: the editors infer that the Alexandrian writers did not include these hymns in the Homeric canon. There must have been many such in the sacred places, provincial collections one might call them, used on occasions of ceremony, but naturally not so popular as the more human stories of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Another section is given to the examination of the language, particularly the use or neglect of the digamma as an evidence of age.

In dealing with the literary side of the hymns, the editors are happy in hitting the right points. The humour and burlesque of the *Hymn to Hermes*, for example, obvious as it is to any one with a literary sense, has not always been seen by editors. But some editors are capable of anything; there are those even who have pulled a long face over the Cyclops of Theocritus, and got the life-belts ready.

We now come to a few details. In choosing readings the editors are generally most judicious, conservative by preference but not slavishly so. The best conjecture in the book, I think, is that *palmaria emendatio* of Dr. Postgate which throws light on a very dark place— $\rho\psi\psi\upsilon\nu$ for $\epsilon\rho\psi\psi\epsilon\nu$ in *Hermes* 79. The note on that passage, however, is not clear; I do not understand whether Hermes walks like a captain of the Salvation Army, or pushes the cows backwards. If the latter, an appeal to the practical cowherd might be useful. It is difficult to back a horse; is it possible to back a cow? Hermes could hardly have shown his divinity more conclusively than by backing a whole herd of them all that way. No wonder the old humpback was astonished. In ii. 77 $\omicron\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (= $\omicron\delta$) is properly kept, and may be supported by $\omicron\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$. $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron$ for $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}$ (iv. 33) is ingenious; but if Gemoll's punctuation of

the vulgate gives a weak sense, *ἄθρμα* is unsuitable to the metaphor of *ἕσσο*, and as a vocative would be weak likewise. The proposed substitution of *κατὰ* for *διὰ* (*νῶτα*) in iv. 48 is good; one could wish it to be true, and the parallels go far to justify acceptance. No solution is found of the muddle in iii. 213, which can hardly be right. This is not the only problem still left for the future critic; but it may be doubted whether we shall ever get more light on these, unless by spoiling the Egyptians. Could *πάντας* for *παντός* be the right reading in iii. 403, 'he shook them all off'?

A few errors or questionable points may be indicated. The notes on i. 18, ii. 431 confuse a short vowel with a short syllable; nothing can ever make a short vowel long. The first line of *Dionysus* surely cannot mean 'Dracon or elsewhere in Icaros'; the parallel cited from *Anth. Pal.* vii. 651. 3 mentions the general term first, which makes all the difference. The use of the word 'sacramentally' on p. 11 begs an important question; there is doubt whether the Greeks in the time known to us regarded the sacrificial meal as a sacrament. There is no difficulty in holding *πίαρ* to be both adjective and substantive; one has only to alter the words, to see that the translation of *πίαρ ἐξέλη γάλα* in the *n.* to iii. 60 as 'take the rich part out of the milk' can not be right. A euhemeristic explanation of the lameness of Hephaistos, because 'the trade of the smith was particularly suited to the lame' (p. 106), is not borne out by my limited knowledge of blacksmiths; I should have thought them likely as a class to be particularly hale and robust. On iii. 495 the editors reject all historical basis for the alleged Cretan origin of the cult of Apollo Delphinios, it is difficult to see why; only opinions are set against the statement of the text, which is after all, evidence. The word *thesis* is improperly used in the note on vii. 24; the Greeks used it of the syllable bearing the ictus, and it is strange that modern writers

nearly always give the wrong meaning to *arsis* and *thesis* both.

Finally some places may be indicated where further additions would have been useful. The assimilation of the accusative of Demeter to the first declension (ii. title) is post-classical, which should have been explained in the note (see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gr.* 384b, 386). The effect of abusive language in bringing good luck (ii. 195) may be illustrated from modern Greece; a local feast at one of the villages in Samos, just above Vathy, practised *αἰσχρολογία* until quite recently, when it was stopped, I believe, by the late Prince Mousouros because of the scandal. The roll of Titanic female deities in iii. 93 is indeed remarkable, and an excursus on this topic would have been welcome. It would be worth while to mention on iii. 439 that the name Crisa seems to survive in the village *Χρυσό* by Delphi, with a natural perversion to the more familiar word; *τετράδι* (iv. 19), not *τετάρτη*, the regular word for the fourth of each section of a Greek month, also seems to be perpetuated in the popular name for Wednesday, *τετράδη*, as I have already pointed out in this journal. More might have been said also of the Delian excavations (*App.* I.). The sacred pool has always had water in it when I have seen it, and that is in the height of summer; and whilst the ancient sanctuary on Cynthus has certainly been improved by art, it was I think built over or against a natural cavity. Besides these details—which are not the only ones I have noted—the treatment of the mythological problems might have been fuller with advantage.

But withal there is no doubt that this is a sound and laborious work, and that it contains a great deal which no other edition of the *Hymns* does contain. It sums up our knowledge of the *Hymns* with accuracy and fullness, and in many places adds to it.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

SANDYS' *BACCHAE*.

The Bacchae of Euripides. By J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Cambridge: at the University Press. Fourth edition. (Date on the title-page 1900; published in 1904.) Pp. clv + 275. 12s. 6d.

DR. SANDYS' commentary on the *Bacchae* is too well known to require more than a short notice to greet the appearance of the long-delayed fourth edition. The twenty-four years which have elapsed since the publica-

cation of the first edition have been marked by a widening of our conceptions of Hellenic culture, and the completeness of Dr. Sandys' *Bacchae* has helped the onward movement. It would be hard to name a book which would be more stimulating to an intelligent sixth form boy, or to an undergraduate reading for classical honours, not only as an introduction to him whom some of us still think to be the greatest of the Greek tragedians, but as an encouragement to wide and liberal reading of Greek literature in general. Its strength consists not so much in textual emendations (Dr. Sandys' name we believe occurs only four times in the critical notes at the foot of the page in Prinz and Wecklein's edition of 1898) as in the exhaustive orderly and accurate tabulation of the facts of all kinds connected with the play, a characteristic which also marks Dr. Sandys' notes on Demosthenes, and the new *History of Classical Study*, on which he has so auspiciously embarked, and which all scholars hope he may be able to bring to a satisfactory conclusion.

There is little that is new in the fourth edition: it embodies in the critical notes 'all the points of any importance in which Tyrrell's text of 1892, and Wecklein's of 1898 differ from those of an earlier date.' Only two changes have been made in the text: in l. 513 Dr. Sandys now reads κτύπου for κτύπους thereby getting rid of an awkward change of construction, while at l. 1084 he agrees with Wecklein in reading ἔλιμος instead of εἰλεμος, on the ground that the combination ἔλιμος νάπη is found not only in the *Christus Patiens* l. 2260, but in a fragment of Euripides' *Melanippe* discovered in Egypt in 1879. A short account of a painting found at Pompeii in 1894-5 has also been

added; and the conspectus of the literature of the play brought up to date.

The weak side of the book is in details of philology and art. To take one or two instances. The reader will feel that the last word in philology has not been spoken by Max Mueller (quoted p. 253) on Dionysus; that the account of *πυρναίδες* in the note on l. 664 might be supplemented by a reference to Photius *Bibl.* v. 533^b; that the discussion of Dithyrambus (Sandys p. 171) is not up to date; that the note (l. 370) on *δῶρα* does not give the real inner meaning of the word. It is a pity that stereotyped notes do not easily lend themselves to recasting or expansion. The fact is that, as Miss Harrison has lately shown us, the Dionysiac myth and worship are such far-reaching anthropological problems that any attempt to deal with them adequately nowadays requires more space than Dr. Sandys allots to them. And with regard to the works of art reproduced in this edition it is impossible not to feel that vases have more to teach us than gems, and that the illustrations in this book, interesting and illuminating as they are, do not deal exhaustively with the vast problem of Dionysus.

One more remark perhaps there may be space to make: the reference to the *Christus Patiens* and Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* on p. lxxxv does not quite do justice to the help which these 'dreary' documents may give to the editor of the *Bacchae*. The fact for example that Pentheus in Nonnus 41. 153 uses *μόθος* of the Bacchic rout points to the plausibility of Heath's *ἄσσοις μόθων* in l. 1060, in spite of Professor Tyrrell's fascinating emendation *ἄσσοις νόθων*.

A. H. CRUICKSHANK.

WILLIAMSON'S *PHAEDO OF PLATO*.

The Phaedo of Plato. Edited with Introduction and Notes by HAROLD WILLIAMSON, B.A. Pp. xxxix+251. London, Macmillan and Co. 3s. 6d.

THIS edition of the *Phaedo* is intended especially for use in schools. Accordingly Mr. Williamson gives attention 'mainly to the interpretation and the language of the dialogue, discarding the discussion of philosophical ideas, except so far as [is] necessary to elucidate the meaning.' In his *preface*

he writes: 'My debt to Mr. Archer-Hind is one that I cannot adequately express. . . I have to thank him for his courtesy in allowing me to use *in toto* his summary of the argument, which appears at the head of the chapters in my notes. . . The text of this edition is based on that of Mr. Archer-Hind.' The book, however, is really something better than these phrases might lead one to expect. Mr. Williamson is not a mere disciple and hero-worshipper. His notes prove that he is a sound and careful scholar,

capable of independent judgment as well as of lucid statement. The most marked instance of his independence is to be found in his treatment of ch. 48 (99 D ff.). Writing before the appearance of Mr. Goodrich's articles in this *Review*, he explains the famous δεύτερος πλοῦς to be an 'ironical' phrase for the Theory of Ideas as contrasted with physical investigation; and in the passage ἐπειδὴ ἀπειρήκη τὰ ὄντα σκοπῶν . . . βλέπων πρὸς τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ὄμμασι κτλ., he construes both τὰ ὄντα and τὰ πράγματα of 'the physical world,' 'phenomena,' as against the sense of 'Ideas' (ὄντως ὄντα) maintained by Mr. Archer-Hind and Mr. R. K. Gaye (*Class. Rev.* vol. xv. p. 249). I believe Mr. Williamson has found the right clue, that in this chapter we have 'an example of the Socratic εἰρωνεία.' Of minor points where our editor diverges from Archer-Hind, I may mention 109 D where τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταῦτόν is defended (I prefer Heindf.'s τοιοῦτον); 110 E ἐπὶ σηπεδέονος καὶ ἄλμης ἐπὶ τῶν δεῦρο ξυνερρηκόντων, where the double ἐπὶ is rightly retained, without resorting to curious punctuations or combinations such as those of A.-H. and Stallb., and confirmed by *Symp.* 216 c; 111 c τὸ χάσμα αὐτοὺς ἔλαττον ἔχειν, where the reading of most MSS. is retained against A.-H. who follows Heindf. in printing αὐτῶν; 114 B πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιώσαι, where also the tradition is defended against the doubts of A.-H. In this last passage, if correction is needed, the easiest change would be διαφέροντες for -όντως: while, if we retain διαφέροντως, by merely inserting < ὄντες > (cp. *Polit.* 307 E) we might save the necessity of supplying any infinitive. A comparison of Mr. Williamson's notes with my Stallbaum (ed. 3, 1850) suggests some further observations. W. (p. 108) says that 'what interfered with communication between Athens and Phlius' was 'certainly not, as Stallbaum suggests, the Elian war, which was over by 400 B.C.'; but my Stallb. has (p. 3) 'ultra deferimur ad tempora belli Corinthii . . . inde ab 394 A. Chr. n.' W. (p. 108) cites Wohlrab's 'solemniter mittunt' etc. in explanation of πέμπουσι (58 B); but Stallb. had already used almost identical words (p. 7). In a long note on 62 A ἴσως μέντοι θανμαστόν κτλ., W. adopts Stallb.'s view as to the reference of τοῦτο, but fails to notice that the sense given to ἀπλοῦν, 'absolute,' is also St.'s (after Heindf.): the removal of the full stop after ζῆν is indeed a novelty, but I doubt whether it is an improvement. In the note (p. 121) on 63 A, αὐτῶν, a wrong breathing occurs; and on p. 130 an accent is omitted (2. 12).

On p. 130 W. writes (on 67 c) 'Cobet reads ὡςπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν ἐκ . . .'; but St. also retains the former ἐκ for which there appears to be MS. authority. In 70 A W. brackets διαφθείρηται τε καὶ ἀπολλύηται as involving a harsh asyndeton: I question if this is necessary, as the Homeric echo may help to ease the superfluity of phrasing; but in any case, Heindf.'s explanation of the text is hardly better than that of Stallb., q.v. On 74 B (αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα) W. objects that Olympiodorus's explanation of the plur. as indicating the Idea in a plurality of minds is inconsistent with σοὶ ἐφάνη, but the objection might be got over by supposing that it is a plurality of apprehensions (by the same mind) that is meant. On 74 D (ἡ ἐνδεῖ τι ἐκείνου τῷ τοιοῦτον εἶναι) W. writes 'this is the reading which has by far the strongest MSS. authority'; but it seems *Bodl.* and *Ven.* II. give τῷ for τι. Stallb. cites *Vind.* γ. as supporting Heindf.'s ἐξεπάσητε, 77 E: W. is right here, as against A.-H., in making δέος rather than παῖδα the object. On 78 A, W. reads εἰς ὅτι ἀναγκαῖότερον with a note on the omission of ἄν which 'most recent editors insert': Herm., however, gives ἄν εὐκαιρότερον, and so too Turr. and Stallb. with no note as to any variant. In a note on μετ' ἀλλήλων, 78 A, W. remarks that the unusual sense of 'among' is unnoticed by the edd.; Ast, *Lex. s.v.*, however, cites for 'in vel inter,' *Phaedr.* 250 D, *Phaed.* 81 A, *Pol.* 359 E, *Legg.* 909 A; and μαχόμενοι . . . μετ' ἀλλήλων occurs *Symp.* 179 A. On 82 E τοῦ εἰργμοῦ τὴν δεινότητα κτλ., W. says 'most editors take this as an ex. of prolepsis'; Stallb., however, like W. himself, makes εἰργμός the subject. Similarly the 'most editors' who read τοῦ for τῷ (δεδέσθαι) do not include St. In 96 B, W. reads τὸ ἡρεμεῖν κατὰ ταῦτά, and construes κατὰ τ. closely with ἡρ., 'stability': he does not mention that the author of the corr. is Heindf., who, however, renders κ. ταῦτά 'eodem modo, quo μνήμη καὶ δόξα e sensibus oriuntur'—which I think preferable. In his note on φ' ἂν τί σώματι ἐγγένηται 105 B W. says 'the MSS. have ὃ ἂν τί ἐν τῷ σ. ἐ.', but Stallb. cites ὃ ἂν κτλ. as the reading of the best MSS.; the excision of ἐν τῷ seems due to St. As to περὶ ἐκείνο . . . ἐπτοημένη, 108 A, W. says 'the editors either pass this over without comment, or merely refer to 68 c,' and then suggests a ref. to 81 c as supporting a physical sense for ἐπτοημένη; but Stallb. gives this ref. for ἐπτ. as 'volitans ac trepidans' and takes τόπος as esp. 'sepulcrum.' In the note on the double

ἰπό in 110 E, W. ascribes to Stallb. the corr. *ἀπό* for *ἰπό*; but I cannot find this in my Stallb. In rejecting *τῆ γῆ* as a marginal note, in 113 B, W. neglects to notice that it is omitted in Eusebius and Theodoret.

Space admits of only one further observation. Mr. Williamson is perplexed as to the precise force of *δείγματα* in 110 B, saying 'we should rather have expected a

word like *μιμήματα*, "feeble imitations": would it not serve to meet the difficulty if we understood *δείγματα* of quantity rather than quality, i.e. 'samples'? Cp. the contrast between the *σμικρὸν παρ' ἡμῖν* and the *θαυμαστὸν πλήθει ἐν τῷ παντί* stated *Phileb.* 29 B ff., the whole of which is an important parallel.

R. G. BURY.

ELLIS'S CATULLUS.

Catulli carmina. Recognovit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit ROBINSON ELLIS, litterarum Latinarum professor publicus apud Oxonienses. Oxford, Clarendon Press. No date, no pagination. Cr. 8vo. 2s. and 2s. 6d. (Published 29 July 1904.)

PROF. ELLIS's place in the annals of Catullian criticism is much like that of Louis XVI in the history of France. He was the unwitting and unwilling author of a revolution. It was he who in the year 1867 brought out from the quiet shade of the Bodleian library that seed of disturbance and innovation, the now famous manuscript O. He then no more suspected what he had found than the son of St. Louis guessed what he was doing when he convoked the States General: he allotted the MS an insignificant place in his stemma codicum and treated it in his recension with almost total indifference. True, he adopted many readings for which O was the sole authority, but it was not on O's authority that he adopted them: they had already been divined by conjecture, and were established in the text of Catullus before 1867. But Baehrens, speciously arguing that a codex containing so many good readings was a good codex and was likely to contain other good readings, announced in 1875 that this was the best MS of Catullus and moreover that O and G were the sole sources of the text. These plausible opinions have been virtually accepted by the learned world, which agrees that all MSS but O and G, if not wholly worthless, are practically negligible, and that O, if not the first MS of Catullus, is the second; and on O's authority the generality of editors have received into their texts a number of novel readings: 11 5 *Arabasue*, 26 1 *uestra*, 57 7 *lecticulo*, 61 197 *cupis cupis*, 64 102 *appeteret*, 139 *blanda*, 249 *prospectans*, 273 *leviterque sonant*, 353 *messor*, 65 1 *defectum*,

67 5 *maligne*, 79 4 *notorum*. The only text to all intents and purposes unaffected by O is the text of O's discoverer, which borrows nothing from it but a few antique spellings and the reading *appeteret* at 64 102.¹

The number of Mr Ellis's conjectures, not including orthographical trifles, is considerably over eighty.² But the critics prefer his MS to his emendations. No editor, I think, has ever accepted more than four of them, and no foreign editor more than two. In my own opinion one of them, 76 11 *te ipse*, is right, a second, 55 11 *reducta pectus*, is probable, two or three more, as 66 55 *pupula*, deserve mention, and a certain number of the rest, though inferior to older corrections, have no positive demerit. But the majority are such as no editor would accept unless he had himself proposed them. Show the following lines, 6 6-14, to a critic who has never read the poem before: 'nam te non uiduas iacere noctes | nequiquam tacitum cubile clamat | sertis ac Syrio fragrans oliuo, | puluinusque peraeque et hic et ille | attritus, tremulique quassa lecti | argutatio inambulationeque. | (12) nam nil uerpa ualet, nihil tacere. | cur? non tam latera ecfututa pandas, | nei tu quid facias ineptiarum.' The critic will gaze a minute, then he will put his finger on u. 12 and say 'This verse is extraordinary in itself and deprives the context of coherency: here lies a corruption.' Well, that is the verse which Mr Ellis has emended. The objection to this and to many more of his proposals is not so much that they fail to correct the text as that they do not seem to aim at correcting it. He treats lines of Catullus almost as if they were

¹ 64 31 *optato finitae* is no example: see Mr Ellis's editions of 1866 and 1867.

² The following conjectures should have been assigned to their authors: 31 5 *Thuniam atque Bithunos* Schwabe, 55 9 *usque* Munro, 62 92 *tuos* Usener 65 5 *Lethaco* in Parthenius.

fragments of Ennius or Lucilius whose context had perished and whose bearing could only be guessed. At 61 151 the MSS have *quae tibi sine seruiat*, and most editors, including Mr Ellis, read *seruiat*, which mends both sense and metre; but in the note he proposes *quo tibicina fert uiam*. The result is the following sentence, 'en tibi domus ut potens et beata uiri tui, quo tibicina fert uiam, usque dum tremulum mouens cana tempus anilitas omnibus annuit.' This example shows also another feature of Mr Ellis's procedure: 'uelitationis campum sibi certis emendationibus eripi non patitur.' He prints, and rightly, Froelich's beautiful restoration of 41 8 'non est sana puella, nec rogare | qualis sit solet *aes* (et MSS) *imagosum*'; then at the foot of the page he offers this suggestion, '*nec rogare | qualis: sic olet aes imagosum*', which appears to mean—if I am wrong, I apologise for so ridiculous a fancy, but I can think of no other meaning which is not more ridiculous—that the 'puella' smells like Corinthian bronze (Mart. ix 59 11). And similarly at 64 207 'caeca mente caligine Theseus | consitus' the correction *mentem*, which might be thought certain, does not deter him from suggesting *mentis*, which might be thought impossible. Impossible, again, might be thought conjectures like 'mihi, mi Catulle, paulum | istos comoda; *eram* uolo ad Sarapim | deferri', 'qui natam possis complexu auellere matris, | complexu <a> matris retinentem auellere natam', 'cuius iter *caecis* angustans corporum aceruis', 'si quoui, Virro, bono sacer *introsuum* obstitit hircus', '*fomentum* in flamma pingue liquefaciens', 'Mentula habet *bostar*', and the proposal of *inopinanti* for *insperanti* at 107 5. Towards conjectures which take sense and context into consideration he shows some hostility, and his voluminous notes have no room for 9 1 0 *meis*, 10 10 *nunc quaestoribus*, 44 21 *fecit*, 47 2 *munda*, 64 14 *freti*, 64 23^a <*saluete bonarum*>, 91 3 *non nossem*, 116 7 'contra nos tela ista tua euitabimus *acta*', frag. 2 2 'qua domus tua Lampsaci est *quaque* <*lege*> *Priapi*.' These emendations are not all certain, but they are all acute and prudent; they all grasp the situation, address themselves to the weak point, and rid the text of its blemishes. Mr Ellis's own conjectures in the last two passages are 'euitamus *amictei*' and '<*cella*>, *Priape*.'

The apparatus criticus is described on the title-page as a *brevis adnotatio*. Brevity and Mr Ellis 'non bene conueniunt nec in una sede morantur', but the notes are

perhaps as concise as their authorship allows; they never occupy more than half the page.¹ Whereas most editors, in effect, use two MSS, he uses about two dozen. No, I am wrong: he does not use that number; he much oftener quotes them without using them. For example at 68 81 'coniugis ante coacta *noui* dimittere cillum' the note begins '*noui* ed. Trinc.: *noui* GO': that is enough, but the *brevis adnotatio* runs on for a line and a half: 'A Ven: *uouit* B Laurentiani: *uenit nouit* R, super *nouit* alia manu scriptum *al. uo. nouum* Dap'. Sometimes however he does use them, and that is much less innocuous. He mentions in the preface, as a reason for continuing, after the discovery of G and O, to employ the Datanus (one of Lachmann's two chief MSS), that he highly esteems Lachmann's criticism: 'ego, qui Lachmanni *crisin* semper habuerim plurimi'. Hereupon I wish to ask three questions. First, where is the connexion? If Lachmann, having no good MSS, used a bad one, is that a reason why Lachmann's disciples, having two good MSS, should use it still? Parisians ate rats in the siege, when they had nothing better to eat: must admirers of Parisian cookery eat rats for ever? My esteem for Lachmann would lead me to act as Lachmann acted not in a dissimilar but in a similar case, in Lucretius, where, having obtained two MSS as much superior to the rest as G and O are superior to the rest of Catullus' MSS, he based his recension upon these. Secondly, if esteem for Lachmann's criticism checks Mr Ellis from discarding one of Lachmann's two chief MSS, how does it allow him to discard the other, the Santenianus? Last, and most perplexing of all, why does Mr Ellis esteem Lachmann's criticism? His own criticism is pre-Lachmannian and anti-Lachmannian, and his apparatus is just what an apparatus used to be before Lachmann and his contemporaries introduced their reforms. Lachmann, who had none but bad MSS, was content with five of them: Mr Ellis, who has two good MSS, is not content with fewer than twenty bad ones into the bargain. And no MS is too bad for Mr Ellis to build conjectures on its corruptions. I do not

¹ Their succinctness however does not degenerate into Sallustianism. 45 7 text *caesio*, note '*caesio* GOR Ven'; 66 8 text *caesariem*, note '*caesariem* GOBL a Ven'; 44 7 '*exspui* scripsi, *cxpui* Scaliger'; 62 8 '*casiluere* scripsi, *cxil.* codd.'; 63 37 '*languore* scripsi, *langore* codd. quod retinuit Lachm.' (of course *languore* and *casiluere* and *cxspui* are all much older than Mr Ellis, but that is not the present point); 95 9 '*monimenta* scripsi, *monum.* n.'

speak now of Bonon. 2621 or Laur. xxxiii 13 or Vat. Ottob. 1829, which seem to show a few faint traces, perhaps delusive, of separate derivation from the archetype: I speak of MSS from which no such traces are adduced. I have counted sixteen places where the readings of such MSS have set Mr Ellis conjecturing; but I will mention only the three passages where he has printed his conjecture in the text. At 21 9 GO have 'atque ipsi faceres satur, tacerem', for which all other editors read *id si*: a single MS, 'Caesenae saec. xv exeuntis', has *atque qui si*, and hence Mr Ellis's text is *atqui si*. At 72 6 GO have 'multo ita me nec uilior et leuior' whence editors correct *multo mi tamen es*: that is the change of one letter and the addition of a stroke, *multo ita me nes* (see Tac. hist. iii 24 *frustrā inisset* for *frustra minis et* and similar errors everywhere). One MS, Paris. 8234, inverting *ita* and *me*, has *multo me ita nec*; but the mistake has been corrected by marks of transposition. Too late: Mr Ellis has caught sight of it and conjectured *multo mei tamen es*: that is the change of one letter and the addition of two. At 66 16 'estne nouis nuptis odio Venus, atque parentum | frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis?' one single MS, not of Catullus, but of a thirteenth century writer who quotes Catullus, has *frustratur*; 'unde scripsi' says Mr Ellis 'idque parentum frustratur'. The new lection is not a whit less incoherent than the old, but *ceteris paribus* Mr Ellis follows the weaker authority and prefers a conjecture to a MS reading. One crowning example: the line 38 4, *quem tu, quod minimum facillimumque est*, is much longer than any other line in the poem; so a single MS, Laur. xxxiii 12, has broken it in two at *minimum*. 'Quo indicio' comments Mr Ellis 'mancum declaratur poema.' This sort of criticism, as I said, is pre-Lachmannian, and Lachmann and his great contemporaries spoke hard words of it: Madvig for instance called it 'inanis ille coniecturatum lusum ex apicibus unius alteriusue codicis ducturam sine ulla ceterorum aut cognationis cura.'

Levity in conjecture and a haphazard treatment of evidence are the two chief faults of Mr Ellis's edition, but it also has defects of scholarship. I say nothing much about his acceptance of the conjecture *Virrō* at 71 1, though few other critics at this date would thrust upon Catullus a scansion which

does not appear till the time of Ovid. But Mr Ellis further proposes at 63 9 the false quantity *tāblam* and at 6 8 inserts in the text the false quantity *frāglans*. At 64 273 G has 'procedunt, leuiter sonant plan-gore cachinni'; O has *leuiterque*, correcting the metre and removing the asyndeton, and this most editors now accept. Mr Ellis, fleeing from the odious MS like Eurydice from Aristaeus, has trodden, like her, upon a snake in the grass: he has proposed and printed *leni et resonant*. This conjecture was made by Vossius in the seventeenth century, and at that date it was excusable; but it has been known for the last sixty-four years that Catullus does not postpone the conjunction *et*. Mr Ellis's spelling of Latin has improved a good deal since 1867 and even since 1878, and *humor* and *iocundus* have now followed *sodalitium* and *provincia* to their long home. But *uillcae* still stands in the text at 61. 129, though the true spelling is found in O; and *erus* and *era* are everywhere printed *herus* and *hera*, though *ero* is preserved by O at 63 92.

The title of the book is 'Catulli carmina.' In every other volume of this series which I have seen, the author's name is given entire. The nomen and praenomen of Catullus are not unknown: why are they concealed? In order that Mr Ellis may propose at 67 12 a conjecture involving the exploded error that the praenomen was Quintus?

Although it is difficult to praise a text containing not only some twenty of Mr Ellis's conjectures but also no small number of MS readings which most scholars think corrupt,—such Latin as 'leporum disertus puer ac facetiarum', such diction and metre as 'Pharsaliam coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant',—still there are whole poems and pages which can be read without offence. And although the notes omit some things which deserved recording, they contain all requisite information about the two important MSS. Considered therefore as a handbook for students this work may well lay claim to a place in the world: in all external features it is much superior to its only competitor, Schwabe's small edition of 1886. Mr Ellis's fame in Catullian literature continues to repose entirely upon the ample and unborrowed learning of his Commentary.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

VOGT AND VAN HOFFS' *SATIREN DES HORAZ.*

Satiren des Horaz. Im Versmaß des Dichters übersetzt von E. VOGT u. F. VAN HOFFS. Zweite Aufl. Berlin: Weidmann, 1904. M. 2.40.

THE bulk of this translation was left in MS. by Dr. Edmund Vogt, who died in 1885. His friend Dr. van Hoff's published it, with some additions and corrections of his own, at Essen in the same year, but the alterations since made appear to be so important that Dr. van Hoff's now adds his name as collaborator on the title-page. It may be, however, that this proceeding was adopted not so much from any eagerness to claim a share in the work, as from a generous desire to stand forth as the living champion of a dead friend against hostile criticism. It is evident, from the preface to the first edition, that Dr. van Hoff's will not admit any defects in the translation. Yet it is not really very meritorious. It slurs over the difficult passages: e.g. at ii. 1. 86, where *solvuntur risu tabulae* is translated 'platzen vor Lachen Gericht und Gesetz,' a mixture of two rival explanations: or i. 7. 10, 11 (*hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti*, etc.), where the translation—

Natürlich! da alle ja zähe in dem Punkt

Wo sich die Stärke der Kämpfenden zeigt— is either false or highly fallacious. But it is also not very close in passages which are quite easy: e.g. at i. 1. 120, 121 (*ne me Crispini scriinia Iippi Compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam*), the version is

Jetzt kein Wort mehr weiter! Ich käme ja sonst in Verdach noch,
Daz ich geplündert das Pult Crispins, dem schlimmer als seine
Augen der Mund noch trieft—vom wäszrigen Tugendgeschwätze:

or ii. 6. 14 (*pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praefer Ingenium*)

Lasz Kohl mir gedeihn auf der Flur, doch
Nicht im Kopf:

or i. 5. 37 (*in Mamurrarum—urbe*)

In der Stadt des Mamurra, des Geldsacks:

or i. 5. 51 (*villa Quae super est Caudi couponas*)

Komfortabler fürwahr als Caudiums Schenk-
en!

But, supposing these blemishes to be inevitable and pardonable, the translation is in itself unpleasing, being clumsy and full of false emphasis. Here is a fair specimen, from ii. 6. 65 (*o noctes cenaequae deum!* etc.):

O ihr nächtlichen Mahle, des Neides der
Himmlichen würdig,
Wo ich am eigenen Herde im Kreise be-
freundeter Nachbarn
Schmause, darauf mit dem Tischabhub haus-
bürtiger Sklaven
Drollig begehrlische Schar abfüttere! u.s.w.

Even in Germany a specimen (i. 3), which Dr. Vogt published in his lifetime, did not escape censure. Dr. van Hoff's protested hotly, in the preface to the first edition, that his friend's German was not more cacophonous than Horace's Latin, and that some expansion of the text was inevitable. It may be so, but an Englishman can hardly be expected to praise verse which the *Deutsche Literatur-zeitung* described as 'nicht lobenswerth,' for to us there is only one standard of German translation, and that the highest—the standard namely of Voss and Schlegel and Tieck and Freiligrath.

J. Gow.

HARRIS' TRANSLATION OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES.

The Tragedies of Seneca, rendered into English verse by ELLA ISABEL HARRIS, Ph.D. (Yale). London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse. New York: 91 and 93 Fifth Avenue. 1904. Pp. xii + 464. Price 6s.

A TRANSLATION of Seneca's plays is certainly much needed, not only for 'the student of the English drama,' who 'seldom has such com-

mand of Latin as will enable him freely to study Seneca in the original.' But to translate Seneca is no easy task, and Dr. Harris has greatly overrated her strength. The first consequence of this is of course that paraphrase takes the place of translation.

H.F. 210 *antequam laetam domum |*
contingat, aliud iussus ad bellum meat:
'His happy home just reached, another
foe Must be subdued.'

328 quem saepe transit casus, ali-
quando invenit: 'He who oft escapes
At last must meet misfortune.'

420 longa fame | mors protrahatur
lenta: 'Let tardy death Be brought by
creeping famine.'

500 dest una numero Danais: 'Of
the Danaïdes one failed to act.'

It may be pleaded that the general sense is at any rate preserved in the above extracts. But no Latin author, least of all Seneca, can be played with in this way. The brilliant, pointed style of our author becomes a mere blur in such passages as:

72 meliusque collo sedit Herculeo
polus (H. kept the sky steadier than
Atlas himself could have done):
'Lightly upon the neck of Hercules
Heaven rested.'

222 prolusit hydrae (young Her-
cules, killing the two snakes, rehearses,
or gives the prelude to, his hydra-
labour): 'And so essayed the hydra.'

241 numerosum malum (of the
Hydra, many monsters in one): not
rendered.

320 fluctuantes more turbati maris...
harenas (the shifting sands of the
desert give to land the perils of the
sea): 'The sands uncertain and the
stormy sea.'

434 obici feris monstrisque virtutem
putas? (Lycus ridicules the idea that
Hercules' labours imply *virtus*): 'To
conquer beasts and monsters, then, thou
think'st Is valorous?'

560 populis pluribus (the dead, *oi*
πλείους): 'these many peoples.'

But inexcusable errors are not rare.

296 *sqq.* 'When shall I embrace
Hercules again,' reditusque lentos nec
mei memores querar? (reproach him
with a return that is so tardy and
shews no thought for me: *nec* divided
in accordance with a well-known Silver
mannerism): 'nor make complaint of
thy forgetfulness and slow return.'

331 alienā dextrā sceptrā concutiens:
'in his alien hand He holds the sceptre
which that hand usurped.'

391 manat in Sipylo lapis: 'stands a
mournful stone.'

427 effare potius quod nouis thalamis
parem . . . munus (say what bridal gift
I am to get thee): 'What princely
gift Can equal the new bridal I would
give?'

558 quincas iura . . . Stygis: 'would
thou might'st bind.'

611 nocte quiddam grauius: 'what-
e'er is worse than night.'

Carelessness is visible in the not infre-
quent omission of clauses, and in other
respects. On the very first page we read
'The star Arcturus guides the Argive fleet.'
One would naturally refer the last two
words to Agamemnon's expedition. A refer-
ence to the original shews that Dr. Harris
has misled us; the reference is to Greek
fleets in general and Seneca accordingly
writes *classes*. One might add that Arcturus
is by no means synonymous with *Arctos*
of the Latin, but such criticism might be
thought an instance of the pedantry so
natural to admirers of the ancient
classics. More obvious is the fault on the
next page, where we read 'Phoebus bidden
hold his light concealed In Ocean slowly lit
the western sky.' This is likely to give the
'student of the English drama' strange
ideas as to the powers of observation possessed
by the author of the *Quaestiones Naturales*—
unless indeed he 'has such command of
Latin as will enable him to study Seneca in
the original,' when he will read

tardusque Eoo Phoebus effulsit mari.

After this it is perhaps a trifle that
Seneca's rapid lyrics are rendered into
the same heroic blank verse as the rest
of the play. 'It was with some regret
that the decision was reached that
this task [of rendering the choruses in
lyric form] was beyond the translator's
poetic power.' Surely, at the worst, a
shorter blank verse might have been
adopted, *e.g.*, that of Longfellow's *Hia-
watha*.

I have contented myself above with the
first 600 lines or so of the first play in the
collection. I cannot pretend to have ex-
amined thoroughly the rest: will any
experienced teacher accuse me of rash
generalisation on this account? One pass-
age from another part of the book which an
accident brought to my notice deserves
mention as it shews how very unsafe the
book is for the very class for whom it is
intended. A student of the influence of
Seneca on Shakspeare will notice, on p. 134,

'Intrench thyself in snowy Caucasus.'

He will be disappointed to learn that the
original (Med. 43) runs

et inhospitalem Caucasum mente indue.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

LOISEAU'S *ANNALS OF TACITUS*.

Tacite. Les Annales. Traduction Nouvelle par L. LOISEAU. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1905. Pp. xii + 698. Price 3 fr.

As M. Hild says in his preface to this painstaking work, 'Maintenir à Tacite, dans un idiome moderne, sa véritable physionomie est une des tâches les plus ardues que puisse s'imposer un auteur.' We would even go a step further and pronounce it impossible. Of course it may be said of any task, *Solvitur ambulando*, and some day the world may be astonished by a completely successful version of Tacitus' *Annals* or *Histories*. But at present we know of nothing near this mark; and indeed, if ingenuity and care succeeded in reproducing Tacitus' style to-day in French or English, readers of either country would pronounce the book too harsh for use. Tacitus could leave out the little connecting-words with which modern languages link clauses and sentences together; he could omit even the copula—a licence now unknown. He often wrote his descriptions and his judgments (not of course his carefully thought-out epigrams) at a white heat of passion. This heat cannot be re-kindled, or, if kindled, could not be kept up, by a translator who spends many critical years in touching-up his version. It is not true of the translator that *facit indignatio versum*: a very different set of considerations and feelings dictates his choice of words, his turns of phrase. Moreover, even where no gloomy fury breaks through, even where no epigram offers difficulties of its own, the Latin of Tacitus is too close-packed for imitation. We could hardly follow sentences built like his in their tight compactness. We have to unfold what he enfolded, and set forth the connection of the thoughts which he merely jammed together. Then, when we have done this, as the genius of our language requires, it is no longer Tacitus who appears on our sheets of paper. We

can give the matter, the sense of what he says; we can make it possible for a reader who knows no Latin, to use Tacitus (if he thinks it safe) as historical evidence; but Tacitus, *quid* Tacitus, is beyond his reach.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that M. Loiseau has not succeeded better than his forerunners. His French style is smooth, rounded, well filled-out; but these merits exclude the surprises, the jolts, and the peculiar thrills of the real Tacitean manner. M. Loiseau has however the benefit of the latest corrections of the Latin text, and he has perhaps achieved more accuracy than most other translators. He also helps the reader by 'un nombre considérable de notes archéologiques et historiques.'

We must not however imply that he has made every point. In A. 1. 50 we have the technical term *limes* used, but M. Loiseau seems (from his translation and from the absence of a note) hardly to realize what it means. In 2. 14 the passage *si ratio adsit*, and the rest, is rendered 'si l'on veut raisonner, on verra que les forêts et les défilés étroits peuvent offrir autant d'avantages.' Not only is this perhaps unduly expanded, but *si ratio adsit* is surely misunderstood, or at least mis-expressed. It means, not so much 'if you will think it out,' as 'if judgment, or common sense, be brought to bear' (on handling the weapons). A little lower, *utcumque* hardly gets its full force; 'en tous cas, leur première ligne seule est armée de lances.' The point is that only the first line carries spears, and those are not very good ones: the arming has been done as best it may.

But we must not leave the book without a concluding word of well-deserved praise. No trouble has been spared over it; when it fails, it is generally where full success could not be looked for.

F. T. R.

RECENT LITERATURE ON ORIENTIUS.

Le poème d'Orientius, édition critique avec un facsimile, étude philologique et littéraire, traduction par LOUIS BELLANGER. (Paris and Toulouse, 1903). 8vo. Pp. lv + 351.
Recherches sur Saint Orens, évêque d'Auch. Par LOUIS BELLANGER. (Auch, 1903). 8vo. Pp. 22.

The Commonitorium of Orientius. A Lecture by R. ELLIS (Oxford, 1903).

Les derniers travaux sur Saint Orens. Par LOUIS GUÉRARD (Auch, 1904). 8vo. Pp. 34.

ORIENTIUS is an interesting writer, not for what he says but for what he does not say.

What he says is dull enough. His *Com-memoratorium* is a poem of just over a thousand elegiacs, embodying in smooth classical diction a series of exhortations to upright, Christian living. These exhortations are ordinary platitudes, neatly worded, but devoid of originality in manner or matter, devoid also of notable allusions to current events, wholly general in character, and suitable to any commonplace congregation in any commonplace age.

But the age in which they were written was not commonplace. It was a period of change, crisis, and calamity. The great raid of 407 had just stamped into pieces the Roman administration in Gaul. Amid tumult and disaster, the dominion of the land was passing to the barbarians. Here was material enough for moralist or preacher. Yet it all mattered so little to Orientius that he barely mentions it. To the catastrophes of his age, *labentis funera mundi*, he gives twenty verses out of 1036, and even these twenty are only brought in to illustrate one aspect of the uncertainty of life. They are immediately followed by the reflexion that peace too has its dangers. And they stand alone. You may search in vain through the rest of the poem for any hint of troubles or barbarians. To his own eventful age the poet appears almost wholly indifferent.

This indifference has not been always recognized by the critics of Orientius. Prof. Dill (who, by the way, puts the poet a generation later in his text than he does in his notes) contrasts 'the hopeful optimism of Orosius' with 'the horror and grief' of Orientius at what seemed to him 'the death agony of the Roman world.' Similarly Prof. Bellanger,

On peut présenter Orientius comme un des témoins de l'éroulement du monde romain. Nous entendons chez lui l'écho des plaintes provoquées par les calamités qui bouleversaient alors l'empire.

But horror and grief which efface themselves for 1016 out of 1036 verses seem a little thin, and though Orientius is unquestionably a witness to the overthrow of Roman Gaul, his testimony is uncommonly brief and void of detail. He plainly viewed the event with comparative unconcern. This unconcern is just the interesting feature in him.

Its cause must not be sought in any such ordinary thing as piety or dullness. Orientius, unless I am mistaken, was both pious and dull. But his unconcern, his neglect of

the signs of the times, recurs in quite dissimilar writers of the same epoch. Turn, for instance, to the elegiacs of Rutilius Namatianus. He knew the barbarians by personal experience. He had seen the sack of Rome: his estates in Gaul had been pillaged: his journey thither was hampered by the prevailing insecurity. Perhaps he says more of these troubles than Orientius. Yet even he says wonderfully little, and he was no Christian bishop, but a pagan and man of the world.

This attitude was not absurd. As we now see, the fifth century brought a new era to the lands of the Western Empire. But in the growth of the new era, much changed very slowly and much of the old survived. The barbarians themselves admired the Latin civilization and copied numerous details in the Roman administrative system. Like Greece, imperial Rome in her own way *ferum victorem cepit*. In the fifth century, therefore, those that had a shred of optimism considered—and very pardonably considered—their troubles as passing plagues, and the barbarians as only in part a serious menace to their ancient Empire. The invaders (they imagined) would disappear, like Brennus of old, or would become romanized, like their own provincial forefathers. With such thoughts they were not likely to harp incessantly on the evils of the age. The pessimist might do that: not so the man of average cheerfulness, whether Christian bishop or pagan layman.

The writers of Gaul were perhaps more likely to take this attitude than those of other lands. Gaul, or at least southern Gaul, was now well romanized, and in the fifth century, as indeed in earlier ages, it was a home of literary and rhetorical culture, and of minor poets. There was little enough life and progress in this culture. Like the Gaulish potters, the Gaulish poets simply copied classical models, and their friends did not praise them for originality or independence but for their likeness to Horace and Virgil, to Pindar or Sophocles. If I may borrow a phrase from a distinguished Irishman they formed a fossil society, feeding on its own traditions. Neither Orientius nor Rutilius, so far as we know, belonged to the inner cliques of this literary society. But in their wholesale dependence on classical models they illustrate its principles. And it is in the true spirit of such a society that in their various degrees they so interestingly ignore the true character of their age.

This, I fear, is not altogether the reason why recent scholars have interested themselves

in *Orientius*. That is Mr. Ellis' doing. His edition of the poet, issued in the Vienna Corpus in 1888, first called modern attention to him. More recently M. Bellanger, professor at the Lycée of Auch, has taken up the study of the ancient bishop of that town, and round his volume quite a little literature has arisen. It is indeed a most excellent volume, not so much (perhaps) in matters of textual criticism, for here Mr. Ellis naturally left little to be done; but in general explanation and collection of material which might elucidate the *Commoni-*

torium and the poet's life. I do not desire to criticize it in detail. That has been adequately done by reviewers in England and Ireland and France and Germany. I will only add my praise to theirs. For the rest, I fear that my view of *Orientius* differs too widely from that of M. Bellanger and indeed of Mr. Ellis. They regard *Orientius* as interesting for what he says. To me, as I have tried to explain, the chief interest of his poem lies in what he omits.

F. HAVERFIELD.

BUSOLT'S GREEK HISTORY.

Griechische Geschichte. Von Dr. GEORG BUSOLT. Band III. Teil I.: Die Pentekontaetie. Pp. xxii+592. M. 10. 1897. Teil II.: Der Peloponnesische Krieg. Pp. xxxv+1049. M. 18. Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1904.

THE first part of Dr. Busolt's third volume has already been incidentally alluded to in these pages; by the present writer, for instance, in his notice of Hill's Sources for Greek History (*C.R.* 1898, p. 451). Indeed, although it has only now come to hand for reviewing, in company with the second part, it must long ago have become familiar to English scholars, and praise and blame are alike belated. Let us turn to the second part, which tells in continuous narrative the whole story of the Peloponnesian war. It is needless to say that the book is a valuable commentary on Thucydides, and that on the whole its author's judgments are sound and weighty. The 167 pages specially devoted to Sources, and the references given in foot notes throughout the book, form the best Bibliography of the subject that exists, and should be in the hands of all who deal with it. Dr. Busolt is at his best in dealing with Chronology and Statistics, and we notice full and excellent discussions on such points as the strength of the Athenian forces (p. 878 *seq.*), and the exact limits of harvest time as determining the Peloponnesian invasions (p. 907 *seq.*). None the less the book does not wholly satisfy. It would be unfair indeed to criticize it for want of life and vividness. Dr. Busolt has meant it to be a record of facts, and nothing more. In this connection I should only suggest in passing

that the printing of particularly important sentences in the body of the narrative in much bolder type than the rest is out of keeping with the dry light in which the narrative is presented to us. When after three pages of ordinary type, for instance, we suddenly are confronted with *Das Scheitern der Verhandlungen war wesentlich Kleons Werk*, we get an impression of theatricality and sensationalism which is of course not at all what the author meant, but is none the less somewhat comical. One is reminded of that unfortunate death-scene in Daudet's *Jack*, which—for indeed there is no accounting for tastes—gave Georges Sands such a 'serrement de cœur' that she was unable to work for three days. 'Jack—c'est moi—Je suis là.' Pas un mouvement. La mère eut un cri d'épouvante. 'Mort?'—'Non'—dit le vieux Rivals d'une voix farouche 'Non . . . Délivré!!' It would be less suggestive of la voix farouche if paragraph-headings, or some such simple device, could be adopted instead.

This is by the way. A book can only be fairly judged from the standpoint of the object which it sets out to achieve. Dr. Busolt's History is meant to be thorough, exhaustive, exact. Does it from this point of view come up to the highest standard?

Modern researches into even such a limited period as that of the Peloponnesian war are, it is needless to say, voluminous. To go into full detail over every small point discussed in the controversies of recent years would have demanded even more than the thousand pages which Dr. Busolt has given us. Grote devoted two and a half volumes to this part of the subject, and,

taking into account the size of the page, that means only a little less than is given us here. Granted that much new material has come to light since Grote's time, and that to say that Busolt does not go into matters as fully as Grote did, merely means that he has written on a smaller scale, not that there is a want of proportion between his treatment of various sections of the work, we have still to face this question. If a history aims at being exhaustive, and sacrifices to that aim all literary style and interest, ought it to be on a smaller scale than Grote? Ought it to omit? One naturally turns for a comparison to a book that deals with another subject that has grown with recent years, Dr. Frazer's *Pausanias*. It cannot be said that Dr. Busolt's work gives the same impression of massiveness, of his having got to the bottom of every controversy and understood every suggestion. That this is a high standard goes without saying. Yet it is one by which I think Dr. Busolt would have us judge him.

Let us take a few instances. No notice is taken of the interesting side lights which were thrown by the investigations of the members of the British School at Athens on the Athenian attack on Melos. Milchhöfer is quoted (p. 1147) as giving certain views on the Battle of Delium. These views may have been formed independently of Frazer, but the latter (vol. v. p. 76) published two years earlier, and should have been quoted. More important is the absence of any reference to Frazer's account of the walls of Plataea, though attention might easily have been called to it by Dr. Grundy's short answer in the *Classical Review* (vol. xii. p. 162). It is however in regard to Pylos and Sphacteria that Dr. Busolt's shortcomings are most startling. It is hard to avoid the belief that some distinguished German scholars find it irksome to follow a long piece of consecutive English. Grote has been translated into German, and so, we notice, has the third volume of Freeman's *History of Sicily*. Apart from writers who have extorted attention to this extent, the output of English work on ancient history is not nearly so great as that of German. We have partly ourselves to blame, then, if a German historian does not take it for granted that he has thoroughly to master all that has been written in English on his subject. On Pylos and Sphacteria, unfortunately, at least three-fourths of all that is important on the subject is written in English, from Leake's day to our own. To

judge from Monsieur Fougères' *Appendice* to the new edition of the *Guide Joanne* to Greece, French scholars, set on the track by Dr. Frazer's *Pausanias*,¹ are familiar with the fact. I have not seen the latest German edition of Baedeker's *Greece*, but some German historians at least are not yet alive to it.

Dr. Busolt indeed has not fallen so heavily as Eduard Meyer. In the fourth volume of the latter's history, published in 1901, when all the various articles that had appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and the *Classical Review* on Pylos were already published, Eduard Meyer gives us his views on the matter in a short paragraph of twenty-three lines (p. 382). The first statement that caught my eye was one that naturally caused me concern, as coming from a historian of distinction 'The views of Burrows (*J.H.S.* xvi, cp. the controversy in the *Classical Review* x, xi) differing as they do in some points from those of Grundy appear to me not tenable.' I was relieved, though somewhat astonished, to find, a few lines above, that the view which had attracted Meyer, and appealed to him as the centre point of Dr. Grundy's position and the key to the difficulties of the narrative, was the identification of 'Theucydides' two entrances to the harbour with the bay of Boidia Koilia and the Sikia Channel. Now it is true that this view was put forward by Dr. Grundy in his original Article (*J.H.S.* xvi.), but, though superficially attractive, it was the weakest part in his whole argument, and was at once recognised by him as such and withdrawn. In a note he had printed as an appendix to the special copies of his article he definitely withdrew it, and the matter never formed part of our 'controversy' at all. The fact that he had retracted the view in question was clearly stated both by him and me in one of the very volumes of the *Classical Review* (xi. pp. 8 and 158) to which Meyer refers. It is hard to find words to characterise an historian who is in the first place carried away by a theory so unsound that a month after publication it is retracted by its author, then takes so little interest in the matter that he never discovers the retraction, and finally quotes, as if he had read them, the articles in which that retraction appeared!

Dr. Busolt has at least taken some pains to understand the main points of Dr. Grundy's revised theory as to the blocking of the channels. The unfortunate thing is that having grappled with Dr. Grundy's theories

¹ See Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. pp. 608-613.

only to reject them, he seems to have sunk back exhausted from his study of English texts. He does indeed give an excellent Bibliography of the various articles on the subject, but there is no evidence that he has studied them. It is possible that Dr. Busolt thought my views so similar to his own, as indeed on many points they are, that it was unnecessary to go fully into them. It is possible that he rejected some details, or thought others too unimportant for him to allude to in the space at his disposal. Professor Bury for instance, in the admirable account he has given of the whole incident in his history of Greece (school edition, pp. 430 to 438), has naturally exercised a discrimination in the matter. He would indeed be a foolish researcher who would expect other scholars to agree with him on every point, and to attach the same relative importance to every detail. Yet he would be almost as foolish who could not distinguish the man who had studied his views and sifted them from the man who had never taken the trouble to study them at all. If it were merely that the only hint of any identification of particular points in the topography, such as Brasidas' rocks, or of any remains of fortifications on Pylos or Sphacteria, is contained in a foot note reference to 'Photographieen bei R. M. Burrows ebenda,' one might assume conscious rejection or omission. It is more difficult however to adopt this attitude to Dr. Busolt's incidental remarks about the fortifications of Pylos. He could hardly have remarked without comment (p. 1087) that Pylos only needed to be fortified against land attacks on the North-east if he had known that the reasons which I gave for placing Demosthenes' wall on the North-west had at least the *prima facie* support of being directly approved by one writer whose article is mentioned in his Bibliography (H. Awdry *J.H.S.* xx, p. 19), and indirectly by both of those whose independent visits to the site resulted in the taking of the 'Photographieen' (R. C. Bosanquet and A. Lindsay, *J.H.S.* xviii, pp. 147 *seq.*). Much the same applies to Dr. Busolt's unquestioning identification (p. 1091 = 1089 n. 2) of the wall facing the mainland (Thucydides iv. 9. 2) with the wall on the side of the harbour (iv. 13. 2). If Dr. Busolt had come to the conclusion that I had not after all succeeded in proving my point that, so far from these walls being the same, Thucydides could not be understood unless one of them was placed on the North-west of Pylos, and the other on the South-east,

it was strange that he should refrain from refuting an argument that had clearly proved itself capable of deceiving others.¹

It might be urged that these are points on which Dr. Grundy and I disagreed, and that our controversy was so tedious that any one might be forgiven for refusing to decide between us. There is a good deal to be said for this! It is difficult, however, to suggest excuses for positive misstatements that seem to have arisen from not reading us on points where we *are* agreed. Whether for instance an historian accepts my view of the last struggle on Sphacteria or that of Dr. Grundy, he would be obliged to regard as meaningless the statement (pp. 1108, 1109) that the Spartans defended themselves in the fort on the north peak (Nordspitze), till the Messenians "climbed the steep ascent, and seized a higher peak (eine höhere Bergspitze) in their rear." On my theory the point the Messenians climbed was the cliff at the top of the gorge, which could scarcely be described as a peak, and was considerably lower, not higher, than the north peak. On Dr. Grundy's theory they climbed the actual north peak, and the words 'höhere Bergspitze' are equally inappropriate, as the Spartans on that supposition were not on another peak at all, but on the slopes of the same peak.

More far-reaching is a mistake that Dr. Busolt has made in regard to the entrances to the harbour. He rejects Dr. Grundy's view, as I have said, and is convinced that the two channels to which Thucydides refers must be the Sikia channel and the broad entrance which now separates the south of Sphacteria from the fort of Neo-Kastro. Misled, however, by the assumption that the Spartans, though they did not in fact on his own showing block the entrances, must have seriously meant to do so, and ignorant or regardless of my suggestion that Thucydides' under-estimate of the breadth of the southern channel arose from a natural though mistaken combination of an Athenian fact with a Spartan excuse, Dr. Busolt falls back on the old theory that the southern entrance was probably much narrower in ancient times (pp. 626 and 1090 = 1089, note 2). Such a view is absolutely out of the question. If there is one point on which Dr. Grundy and I are in solid agreement, and on which from first to last we have spoken clearly

¹ See the discussion in *J.H.S.* xviii. Besides the three papers in that volume (pp. 147, 232, and 345) and the two papers in *J.H.S.* xvi. (pp. 1 and 55), see also *Classical Review*, x. (p. 371) and xi. (pp. 1 and 155). See also Mr. Awdry's article in *J.H.S.* xx. (p. 14).

and decisively it is this (*J.H.S.* xvi, pp. 3, 72, 73). Error does indeed die hard.

I have no wish to exaggerate the significance of these shortcomings, nor to suggest that they could be found to occur in other parts of Dr. Busolt's work. He has won a high reputation, and there is no reason to think that he has not deserved it. It cannot be denied, however, that the incident of Pylos and Sphacteria has been raised to importance in the world's history by the fact

that the greatest of the world's historians thought it worth his while to put some of his best work into describing it. It is at least a pity that on such a matter two of the leading historians of Germany would be less able to give an account of themselves to the ghost of Demosthenes than the ordinary English schoolboy who had read his Bury.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

DILL'S ROMAN SOCIETY.

Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.

By SAMUEL DILL, M.A. Macmillan. Pp. xxii + 639. Price 15s. net.

It will be seen from the title of this important work that it does not, in point of time, quite join on to Dr. Dill's earlier study of Roman affairs, his *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. There is room for an intermediate volume, and we hope that some day Dr. Dill will give it to us.

In the meanwhile, what is the plan of his present work? This is divided into four books. It is not altogether easy to make out what links bind the four together, or bind the contents of some of the books singly; but, so far as we can see, Books I, II deal with Social Life; III with the Philosophic Director; and IV with the Revival of Paganism. Books I and II differ in that I handles 'the worst of [Roman] society, whether crushed by the tyranny of the Caesars or corrupted and vulgarized by sudden elevation from ignominious poverty to wealth and luxury,' while Book II 'will reveal a different life' because 'there were great numbers, both among the nobles and the masses, who maintained the traditions of old Roman soberness and virtue.'

The chapters of the First Book deal with The Aristocracy under the Terror, The World of the Satirist, and The Society of the Freedmen. The Second Book, looking most at the happier days inaugurated by Nerva, takes up The Circle of the Younger Pliny—that is to say, well-to-do and cultivated men, who lived now in Rome, now on their estates—Municipal Life, with its cultivated or uncultivated freedmen, its petty ambitions, its generous gifts to fellow-citizens; and Plebeian Life in many parts

of the Roman world, under which head we find much to read about *collegia*, whether they were for social, religious, or business purposes.

To Books III and IV we shall return presently. It must be clear from the headings of chapters already quoted that these studies might be made to mean or cover either much or little. Dr. Dill makes them mean much, and the chapters deal very fully with their respective subjects, and even contain in many cases more than they directly promise. The work is as thorough and solid as readers would expect who know the companion volume. But the arrangement of the books and chapters is not perhaps quite an ideal one, and it leads to some overlapping. Book I. c. 3 and Book II. c. 3 are not very sharply distinguishable in topic; and even within the limits of one chapter cases of overlapping or repetition may be found, as on p. 2 compared with p. 6, or on p. 597 compared with p. 604.

Apart from this drawback, one which is hard to exclude where wide and far-reaching matters are concerned, the author's style is agreeable, smooth, and yet unmonotonous and well fitted to keep up the attention of his readers. This stout volume is not exactly one which will, like the Stoic books known to Horace, lie about on ladies' sofas or dressing-tables; but it is as readable as such topics can be made. The literature and history of long-dead peoples can never be studied without an effort; but the effort is here made an easy one. The treatment is not repellent: we see always where we are going, and very soon learn confidence in our guide. A large part of the book too is taken up by what we may call essays on the views and surroundings of the authors of the age: each comes up in turn; and this

method of treatment relieves the strain of study, and divides the whole into natural sections. It is a method which has hitherto been more common in French than in English writings on antiquity; and it is not the only point in which Dr. Dill reminds us of the lucid and scholarly essays of France.

The merits of style are, as often happens, an index to inner trustworthiness. The writer's judgments are remarkably well balanced. In one part of the book you have the lights, in another the shadows; but he never loses sight of either: he is neither plunged into gloom by pessimism nor carried away by the happier features of the time. He is, as we shall see, strong upon a certain hopeful tendency, but he does not exaggerate it or forget that its moral fruits were not yet great.

On the other hand, it may with justice be said that the divisions of the book, as sketched out above, do not exhaust what might come under the head of Social Life. Certain other points might well be at least indicated, if it were desired to put the Social Life of Nero's time or of the Antonines into its proper setting, and to see why it took its actual shape and why the civilization failed to grow, or even hold its own, through the future. Anyone who will take the trouble to look at the author's two books in juxtaposition will see what we mean. The atmosphere of the two is singularly different. In the volume on the later period (published first) the sky is threatening, or worse, all round. The men of the time, the poets or the letter-writers, do not seem to know what their world is losing or has lost (a point that really defies explanation); but at all events the ruin is there. In the other volume, the new one, the view is serene, often peaceful, sometimes glorious; confidence is a note of much of the period. We do not forget the nascent troubles, the accumulating difficulties (well enumerated by Niese); but no period whatever has been without its drawbacks, and we prefer to believe here in something like the Golden Age which Fielding and Gibbon discovered. The age was golden, at least by comparison with 'the fall of the Western Empire'; and, if we ask why the one age ended in the other, a large part of our answer will consist in enumerating certain aspects of the Roman society which are foreign to the volume before us. The bearings of imperial finance; the extent and consequences of commerce; the diffusion of the Roman franchise; the first implanting of Germans or other outsiders within the empire; mili-

tary questions, at least so far as the composition of the armies goes: these things need to be to some extent understood if we are to realize the actual position of that Empire which surrounded the Mediterranean. It was curiously divided in blood, in speech, in ideals, and in local position, while it was an object of unbounded admiration but also of unbounded greed to its neighbours. The great question of population, or depopulation, is alluded to by Dr. Dill, but not fully handled. It is perhaps always the most important of the questions of social life: it certainly was so under the Roman empire. The author says his

'attention has been concentrated on the inner moral life of the time, and comparatively little space has been given to its external history and the machinery of government.'

But these two aspects do not exhaust the matter. There is a third for which we contend — not in order to improve what is written, but to account for the actual standing and future fate of what is here described. The Age of Anne or that of Louis XIV is often compared, more or less whimsically, with that of Augustus. Instead of Augustus, say the Antonines; and ask why the Age of Anne (both here and abroad), with its queer mixture of polish and coarseness, of civilization and backwardness, has gone on to something better, while the Age of the Antonines, with its refined gentlemen and its degraded slaves, its crimes and its earnest moral tendency, went from bad to worse. We need to know and to explain the future of any human affairs, as well as their past, before we can claim that we understand their present; and Dr. Dill, who brings many serviceable illustrations from his study of the fourth or fifth century to light up the first or second, knows this well: but we suppose that his plan of operations fixed his eye to the microscope and forbade or postponed a wider view.

The microscope, however, has been used well. Few of the currents of the inner life can have escaped the author's observation; and his close survey saves him from more than one risk. As he justly says,

'In such inquiries there is often a danger of treating society as a uniform mass, moving together along the same lines, and permeated through all its strata by the same influences.'

But he runs no such risk. He carefully discriminates — distinguishing rank from rank, profession from profession, 'the masses' from the 'cultivated class,' and

omitting only a general confrontation of East and West.

Nowhere is the divergence of different strata of society more striking than in religious matters. As it is in the United Kingdom at the present moment (Jan. 1905), so was it in ancient Italy and, more or less, throughout the contemporary world.

'We are amazed at the prolongation for ages of religious ideas which the Roman mind might appear to have outgrown . . . The masses were probably never so superstitious as in the second century . . . And the singular thing is that the influx of foreign religions, due to the wide conquests of Rome, never to the end seems to have shaken the supreme attachment of the people to their ancient gods . . . A more difficult problem is presented by the attitude of the cultivated class to the old mythologies.'

It is a most curious picture of the religious world which Dr. Dill draws for us in his Book IV. The Antonine Age was

'an age of spiritual contradictions. On the one hand, not only was the old ritual of classical polytheism scrupulously observed even by men like Plutarch and M. Aurelius, but religious imagination was appropriating the deities of every province [the Jews!], almost of every canton, embraced by the Roman power. At the same time the fecundity of superstition created hosts of new divinities and genii who peopled every scene of human life. On the other hand, syncretism was in the air. Amid all the confused fervour of devotion a certain principle of unity and comprehension was asserting itself, even in popular religion.'

From this bird's-eye view, as well as from the closer study, Dr. Dill excludes Judaism and Christianity—and perhaps he is wise; but even without these elements of discord, the subject is sufficiently complicated, full of cross-currents, and obscured by the coexistence of many different religious levels or standpoints. The grossest superstition, anthropomorphism, and magic, stand side by side with scepticism and with the efforts of the highest thought of the age to keep within the established, or some established, religious framework and yet make a reasonable scheme. The lower stages too at that time did not hide themselves as they do now-a-days. We know something, and suspect more, of strange survivals of religious belief or practice in Great Britain and in other progressive Western nations; but in Rome it was not necessary to suspect: men could see most of what went on. There was little need of disguise, in or out of Rome. Druidism, magic, and Christianity were dangerous to touch and therefore obscure; but, apart from these, most kinds of belief or practice were absolutely open and often energetically pushed in the capital, while in the provinces

an Arcadian thought it no shame to beat his god, or an Egyptian to keep up the divine honours of animals.

Through the labyrinth of this subject our author finds his way largely by one clue. He is strongly impressed by the idea of a religious and moral reform then on foot.

'Maximus of Tyre, along with Plutarch, shows us paganism at its best, striving to reform itself, grasping after new sources of spiritual strength, trying to wed new and purer spiritual ideals to the worn-out mythology of the past' (p. 349).

'It is one great object of this book to show how the later Stoicism and the new Platonism, working in eclectic harmony, strove to supply a rule of conduct and a higher vision of the Divine world' (p. vi).

'The love of wealth was strong, but a spirit of benevolence was in the air, even in the days of Juvenal; and the constant invectives of poet or philosopher against wealth and luxury are not so much the sign of a growing selfishness, as of a spreading sense of the duty of the fortunate to the miserable' (p. 98).

But, possessed as he is by the idea of this 'great onward sweep of humanity to a spiritual reconstruction,' he has to admit that it did not go very far, at least above ground, and that the actual practice of the world was not greatly improved. Perhaps time was too short.

'Whether there was any corresponding elevation of conduct or moral tone in the mass of men may well be doubted.'

A more certain point is the emotional value of those new religions to which Dr. Dill assigns chapters, *e.g.* the worships of Isis or of Mithra. The consideration of ancient religious systems, oracles, or divinations, as explanations of the world or as guides to conduct on definite occasions, has been carried far by students; while the other aspects of the cults as comforting, soothing, full of tenderness and cheer, are comparatively overlooked. (See however Mr. L. Dyer's *Studies of the Gods in Greece*.) But Dr. Dill has rightly seen how much Mithra and Isis had to offer to unhappy humanity where Jupiter had nothing. They held out hopes of another and a happier life; and even in this world, Mithra is the friend and consoler of the poor, while, as to Isis—

'Women especially saw in the divine mother and mourner a glorified type of their sex, in all its troubles, such as their daughters in coming ages were destined to find in the Virgin Mother . . . The lonely, the weak, and the desolate found in the holy guilds succour and consolation, with a place in the ritual of her solemn seasons, which bound each to each in the love of a Divine Mother.'

As the old religions of the Mediterranean

world decayed, or spread out into circles too wide for exact control, we find that they produced an inclination to syncretism and even monotheism, or allowed the rise of superstitions, or developed and modified the views of philosophers. On all these three tendencies the author has much to tell us. But perhaps his Third Book may be found the most generally interesting. Its motto is, *Nec philosophia sine virtute est, nec sine philosophia virtus*. Its material finds less parallel in modern times than the chapters of Books I, II, or IV. We cannot easily point to modern philosophic directors or missionaries. We have had priest-directors, who were philosophers, just as we have missionaries who are medical men; but neither medicine nor philosophy has taken the first place with these teachers; whereas the philosophic interest and the moral interest filled nearly all the horizon with Seneca or Plutarch. The estimate of the position of philosophy under the early Roman empire takes us into many strange places. Philosophy on the throne, philosophy in opposition to the throne; philosophy limited to ethics, philosophy trying to rationalize religion and silence all obstinate questionings:—into all these branches of the subject Dr. Dil leads us, although he divides the ground somewhat differently, into The Philosophic Director, Missionary, and Theologian. Not least striking is the second portrait of his gallery.

'The philosophy of conduct was no longer the pursuit merely of an intellectual aristocracy. Com-

mon, ignorant folk have caught the passion for apostleship. Everywhere might be met the familiar figure, with long cloak and staff and scrip, haranguing in the squares or lanes to unlettered crowds. And the preacher is often as unlearned as they, having left the forge or the carpenter's bench or the slave-prison, to proclaim his simple gospel of renunciation with more or less sincerity.'

To this type we can obviously find analogies, but nothing really identical.

The reforming spirit, then, was there, in that wavering Roman world, but it was really more moral than religious. When it was the latter, it hovered always over the gulf of superstition, and we hesitate to recognize reform. As moral, it was indeed offered to the poor; but we shall never know how far it was accepted by them, or how far any feeling so created turned to the profit of Christianity or Mithraism. Either of those systems might be forwarded among the poor and simple by a sense that the philosophic reformation preached was cold without religion, and unsatisfactory with the religions usually offered, and that something more personal, near, and kindly was wanted. Here then is another link, from the other end, as it were, between Books III and IV.

We close the volume with the sense that we have been listening to a man of great learning, but equal power and judgment. To see, to estimate, to combine, are no small qualifications for a historian.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

GOELZER'S FRENCH-LATIN DICTIONARY.

Nouveau Dictionnaire Français-Latin. Par HENRI GOELZER, D. ès L., etc. Paris: Garnier Fr. 1904. 10 fr.

THIS book contains 1900 pages, printed in three columns each, and is thus nearly twice as large as Smith's English-Latin Dictionary, which has only 964 pages, with very little (if any) more matter to the page. It would be exceedingly difficult to give a careful judgment of so large a work even if it were written in English, but the difficulty is enormously increased when it is in French. The reviewer is required, first of all, to dismiss from his mind all the prepossessions derived from his own language: he must not, for instance, expect to find all the meanings

of 'control' under the heading of *contrôler*, or of 'entertain' under *entretenir*, or of 'hazard' under *hasard*. He must also have such a mastery of French as to be able to say, in regard to any French word, whether all the definitions here assigned to it are sound and whether any necessary definition has been omitted. For instance, *nancisci* is not given under *obtenir* or *acquérir*, but is given under *gagner* in the sense of 'occuper un lieu,' and under *trouver* in the sense of 'voir se présenter par hasard.' Many Englishmen know Latin enough to be sure that these are right uses of *nancisci*, but how many know French enough to be sure that *obtenir* and *acquérir* are never good equivalents for *nancisci*? Similarly, *aspernari* is not given under

mépriser, but is given under *dédaigner*; *observare* is given under *respecter*, but not under *vénéraler*, and scores of other instances might be cited, in which an Englishman who should venture to criticise, would in fact be pitting his knowledge of French against that of an educated Frenchman. And M. Goelzer is not merely an educated Frenchman: he is, to quote his title-page, 'docteur ès lettres, lauréat de l'Institut, Maître de Conférences à l'École Normale Supérieure, Chargé de Cours à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris,' and he has collaborated already in two Latin-French dictionaries. Obviously a lexicographer who has done such work and holds such a high position in the esteem of his countrymen, is immune from foreign criticism. His French is beyond cavil, and his Latin is perfectly protected by his French.

It must suffice, then, by way of review, to set out briefly the principles on which the author has proceeded in constructing the book. He says of it, in his preface, 'il comprend, à l'exclusion des noms propres, tous les mots français qui ont formé le fonds de la langue des honnêtes gens depuis la fin du XVI^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours.' 'Le plan des articles était tout indiqué: il devait reproduire l'histoire même du mot à traduire, prendre ce mot à ses origines, le plus souvent latines, et le suivre dans toute la filiation logique de ses significations.' In determining the logical order of meanings of a French word, the chief authorities used are the dictionaries of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas, of the French Academy, of Littré and of Bescherelle 'qui, sur bien des points, conserve une supériorité marquée.' The French meanings being duly arranged, each is immediately followed by its Latin equivalent or equivalents with examples of the right use of these—'les mots Latins sont rangés dans un ordre logique; le premier est toujours celui qui ne paraît rendre avec le plus de précision l'idée du mot français; ceux qui suivent sont ou des synonymes ou des équivalents énumérés suivant leurs degrés d'approximation.' The Latin words given are, as far as possible, classical, but some licence is demanded in dealing with technical terms

or names of modern things. M. Goelzer does not attempt the impossible: he gives *canon* (*bellica tormenta*) and *pistolet* (*sclopetum minoris modi*) but not *billard*, which, I remember, Ainsworth used to translate 'mensa oblonga, viridi instrata panno, in qua globuli clavis impelluntur.' Finally, he says, 'j'ai tâché de fournir à nos étudiants un répertoire à la fois *complet, précis et sûr*. . . . J'ai conscience d'avoir écarté de l'ouvrage tout ce qui peut embarrasser ou égarer les étudiants, je veux dire les exemples latins qui n'ont qu'un rapport lointain avec l'expression française opposée.' It is, as I have already hinted, so highly probable that this programme is well carried out and the danger of criticising it is, to a foreigner, so great that I will only venture to add two remarks. M. Goelzer's system obviously requires a great deal of space. The *nuances* of a French word are very often identical with those of a Latin word, and hence, in the same article, the same Latin translation (sometimes even the same Latin quotation) is often repeated many times (e.g. under *bouche*, *os* is given five times). Secondly, I am inclined to suspect that M. Goelzer's plan does not do justice to the French reflexive verbs. He starts, of course, with the simple verb, arranges its meanings and finds Latin for each: but the same verb used reflexively may have *nuances* of its own which require another set of Latin equivalents. I was led to this criticism by hunting over the dictionary for *obsequi*. I found it under *obéir*, but not under *plaire*, *complaire*, *agréer*, *flatter*, *ménager*. It would seem to suit a reflexive verb better, but it is not given under *s'accommoder*, *s'accorder*, *se plier*, and is given only, and here rather casually, under *se conformer* (*alicui rei obsequi*) and *se soumettre* (au jugement de quelqu'un). To this last verb, also, *morem gerere* is given, but I cannot find *morigerari* anywhere. I can, at any rate, make one criticism confidently, and will conclude this notice with it. The title-page says that the dictionary is 'précédé d'un tableau de la conjugaison Latine.' No such *tableau* occurs in the copy supplied to me.

J. Gow.

VERSION.

'GO, FETCH TO ME A PINT O' WINE.'

Go fetch to me a pint o' wine
 And fill it in a silver tassie,
 That I may drink before I go
 A service to my bonnie lassie.

The boat rocks at the port o' Leith,
 Fu' loud the wind blows frae the ferry;
 The ship rides by the Berwick-law,
 And I maun leave my bonnie Mary.

The trumpets sound, the banners fly,
 The glittering spears are ranked and ready;
 The shouts o' war are heard afar,
 The battle closes thick and bloody;

But it's not the roar o' sea and shore
 Wad make me longer wish to tarry;
 Nor shout of war that's heard afar—
 It's leaving thee, my bonnie Mary.

Edinburgh.

Ἐνεγκάτω τις νῖν κοτύλαν ἐμοὶ
 φοῖνω, καλὰν εἰς ἀργυρίδ' ἐγγέφας,
 ὀππῶς ἄμυστιν πρὶν γ' ἀπενθῆν
 παρθενικῆ προπίω τερεῖνα.

ἦδη σαλεύει πὰρ λιμένι σκάφα,
 βρέμει δ' ἀφῆματ' εἰναλίων πόρων,
 παιδὸς δὲ νοσφισθέντα μ' ἀβρᾶς
 ναῦς παράλων ἀπ' ἀκρᾶν φόρησι.

κέκλαγγε σάλπιγγί, σᾶμα μάχας τορόν,
 στίλβει δὲ δεινῶς ἔγχε' ἀφολλέα,
 πόρσω δ' ἀκούειν ἔστ' αὐτὰν
 ἔσσιμενᾶν ποτὶ μῶλον ἱλᾶν.

ἀλλ' οὐ σδᾶλας οὐτ' αἰγιαλῶ βρόμος,
 οὐ τῆλε φαχούσα προμάχων βοά,
 στόλω μ' ἀπαίροντ' ἄν ποτ' ἴσχοι,
 οἶα πόθος βραδινῶς Νεαίρας.

G. DUNN.

NOTE.

A letter with which the Editor kindly favoured me has suggested to me another and I think more probable interpretation of the second verse. The words—'The ship rides by the Berwick-law'—I took originally to mean—the ship bounds onwards past the Berwick Law; but it is probably better to suppose that 'rides' means 'rides at anchor.' The poem may be regarded as describing the departure of an exile (e.g. a Jacobite) from his native land. The boat or fishing-smack

is in readiness at Leith to take him on board and convey him to a ship (perhaps a French war-vessel or privateer) which is lying at anchor off Berwick Law. He reaches the Continent, and may be supposed to engage in military service there, as so many Scotch exiles did. If this interpretation is correct, as I now think it is, the Greek version should reflect it: which however it does not, for the reason implied.

G. D.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

DITTENBERGER'S GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (SUPPLEMENT).

Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum. Edidit WILHELMUS DITTENBERGER. Volumen prius. Lipsiae, MDCCCIII. M. 18.

WITH commendable speed Dr. Dittenberger has fulfilled the promise made in the second and enlarged edition of his *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. A considerable number of the texts which had been included in the first edition of that work were omitted from

the second edition on the ground that though they had relation indeed to the general history of the Greek nation, yet their greatest value lay in the light they threw upon the history of the kingdoms which arose from the disruption of Alexander's empire. Here then we have the first volume of *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones*. It contains texts illustrating the history of the kingdoms of Alexander, Antigonus, Demetrius, Lysimachus; the kingdom of the Lagidae; the regions of Nubia and Aethiopia; the kingdoms of the Seleucidae and Attalidae; the minor kingdoms of Asia

—Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Iberia, Armenia and Media Atropatene, Commagene, Judaea; and lastly the kingdoms of the Arsacidae and Sasanidae; in all 434 texts of varying length.

The second volume will draw, but more sparingly, from the enormous mass of inscriptions dealing with the affairs of the Roman provinces in the East. The limits of time prescribed for the whole selection are those marked by the reigns of Alexander the Great and Justinian; the regions illustrated are those parts of Asia and Africa, over which from the time of Alexander kings, states, magistrates, and all men of culture made use of the Greek language. But in order to be of more service to the historical student the editor has not hesitated to sacrifice consistency and to include in his collection inscriptions from such localities as Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Boeotia, when they bear upon the relations between, e.g., the Ptolemies and the cities of Hellas proper.

The texts are accompanied by the same wealth of commentary which excited the wonder of scholars in the editions of the *Sylloge*. Our expressions of praise will not be less ungrudging when we reflect that the preparation of the present work involves an acquaintance with the results of scholarship and research in Oriental literature. The difficulty experienced by one who is essentially a Hellenist and not an Orientalist is intensified when the Egyptian section is reached. In this section moreover the elucidation of texts demands an intimate acquaintance with the ever increasing literature of the Papyri and with the formulae of the Ostraka.

Of the texts included in the volume a very large proportion has already appeared in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and other published collections; but scholars will be grateful to the editor for placing before them in an accessible form and illustrating in the light of the latest researches, such well-known documents as the inscriptions on the 'Rosetta Stone,' the '*Monumentum Adulitanum*,' and the trilingual Decree of Canopus. To readers of works like Droysen's *Hellenismus* and Mahaffy's *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, this equipment of inscriptional records will be very welcome. Letters from potentates, edicts of Alexander, treaties, decrees, dedications, grants of proxenia, texts of laws, follow each other in kaleidoscopic variety. The student accustomed only to the prim formality and precision of Attic inscriptions will

find himself here in a new world. He may well be startled to note such liberties taken with grammar as are indulged in by Silo, a Nubian king, in a declaration of his prowess and his policy dating probably from the sixth century A.D.: ἀναχωρήθη—οὐκ ἀφῶ αὐτοὺς καθεζόμενοι—ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλονικήσουσιν—οἱ γὰρ ἀντιδικοί μου, ἀρπάζω τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ παιδιά αὐτῶν (No. 201). Antigonus I in his letter to the people of Scepsis (No. 5) uses ἵνα for ἕνεκα. This letter and a decree of the Scepsians (No. 6) are both of recent discovery: the decree lavishly confers honours upon Antigonus, but it did not save them from the caprice of the king, who removed them bodily to his newly founded city, Antigonea. In Nos. 82, 86 we hear of a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, where the officer indicated is not an ἀρχικίνηγος, but, in modern military language, a 'remount' officer, the 'remounts' being elephants for use in war. No. 70 shows that the better known form Τρωγλοδύται of the MSS. of Herodotus must yield in correctness to the inscriptional Τρωγοδύται. Among the inscriptions here made accessible for the first time are those discovered in 1881-3 on the mountain of Nemrud-Dagh in *Commagene*, in the longest of which, with tedious verbosity, Antiochus I of Commagene, against whom Pompey made war in the year 64 B.C., ἔργα χάριτας ἰδίας εἰς χρόνον ἀνέγραψεν αἰώνιον.

Eleven pages of *Addenda et Corrigenda* furnish fresh evidence of Dittenberger's determination to leave unexamined no recent literature which may subserve the fuller illustration of the inscriptional texts. A long supplementary note on No. 56 (the Canopus decree) deals with difficulties experienced in reconciling the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars, difficulties not lessened, but rather increased, by the discovery of papyri on the site of the ancient Magdola. And even a Dittenberger is sometimes obliged to confess that second thoughts are best. 'Non recte intellecta sunt a me tituli verba' is his corrective remark on No. 194 (an honorary decree of the reign of Cleopatra and Caesarion), where he quotes with approval M. L. Strack's conjecture that by the word πρεσβύτεροι is indicated a council, common in Egyptian communities, from which the institution of πρεσβύτεροι in the Christian church may have taken its rise.

E. S. R.

BLINKENBERG'S *ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES*.

Archaeologische Studien. CHR. BLINKENBERG.
Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1904. M. 6.

THESE papers were written in Danish, but Mr. Blinkenberg has wisely determined to publish them in a German version, in order that they may be accessible to scholars in a tongue which they are bound to understand. This sacrifice of patriotic preference in the cause of science deserves all recognition.

The book contains four papers: (1) Greek stone implements, (2) the shooting in the Megaron of Odysseus, (3) an Attic votive-relief, (4) monuments of the cult of Sabazius. It is of the two last, which have considerable importance, that I propose to give a brief account.

The Attic relief is discussed with excellent judgment and good sense. It turns out to be a very interesting memorial of the cult of Hippolytus on the southern slope of the Acropolis Hill of Athens. Hippolytus himself leading a horse, and a votary, appear in the foreground; in the background are a statue of Themis in her temple, and seated figures of Asklepios and Aphrodite. The geography of the shrine of Hippolytus is thus given completely, as between the shrines of these latter deities. Unfortunately the upper half of the relief is gone, but it is nevertheless one of the most interesting cultus memorials yet found. It does not however come from Athens, but from the neighbourhood of Rome, and Blinkenberg shews the probability that it was brought from Athens in antiquity and dedicated at the shrine of Virbius, a Latin substitute for Hippolytus, at Aricia on the Appian way.

The other paper I have mentioned is a valuable contribution to the history of Hellenistic religion.

A class of monuments not unfamiliar to most archaeologists is that of the so-called votive hands in bronze, of which the thumb and two fingers are raised in the attitude of benediction, while many things animate and inanimate, the serpent, the tortoise, the eagle, the pine-cone, the caduceus, scales, and so forth occupy the back of the hand or twine among the fingers. Blinkenberg gives a list of such hands, and statistics of the added symbols. He describes also the statuettes whose hand corresponds to these bronzes.

Of these 'votive hands' however three bear inscriptions, and in every case the

inscription is a dedication to Sabazius, the Phrygian parallel to Dionysus. This defines the cultus to which they belong, an indication which other facts support and nothing contradicts. Oddly enough Mr. Blinkenberg has missed one piece of confirmatory evidence. On one of the hands, figured on p. 80, are two objects, unidentified in the text, which are certainly flutes, the straight and the curved, and so of Phrygian type. (Pausanias, v. 17, 9) These are singularly appropriate to the Phrygian *ἀλητήρ* Sabazius. (Aristoph. *fragm.* 478.) The same pair of flutes appears on a relief. (p. 97)

Some of the objects thus proved to be connected with the cult of Sabazius have when found in Germany and elsewhere been regarded as Mithraic symbols. The cautious criticism of Cumont (*Mystères de Mithra*, ii. 526) had already disputed this view, and it is satisfactory to be now able to substitute a positive for a negative attribution. The cults of Mithra and of Sabazius were akin and doubtless had points of contact, but the one was not swallowed up in the other.

Mr. Blinkenberg argues that the bronze hands do not stand for the hands of men, but for that of Sabazius, in the pose usual on early Christian monuments, blessing his votaries. We have here a very important point of connexion with the early history of Christianity. Some modern theologians have maintained that the cult of Mithra was too late to have had much influence on early Christian ritual: this certainly cannot be said of the cult of Sabazius; and thus the paper of Mr. Blinkenberg opens a door which may prove of value to those who are studying the history of religion under the Roman Empire.

It would not be easy to praise too highly the brevity, clearness, and sobriety which mark Blinkenberg's papers. He omits nothing necessary to the discussion and inserts nothing extraneous to it. He does not aim at the elaboration of hypotheses, but he increases our knowledge of every subject of which he treats. Such easy reading must have been very difficult writing.

P. GARDNER.

REINACH'S *STORY OF ART*.

The Story of Art throughout the Ages, an illustrated Record. By S. REINACH. Translated from the French by FLORENCE SIMMONDS. London: Heinemann, 1904. 8vo. Pp. xii+316. With 584 illustrations in text. 10s. 6d.

To compress into the limit of 300 pages a readable and intelligible account of the art of sixty centuries—nay more, for we must not ignore the performances of Palaeolithic Man—is a truly marvellous feat, and M. Reinach is one of the few men who could have achieved it with success. As however only seven chapters, or little more than a quarter of the work, have been allotted to the classical periods of Art, we do not propose to notice the book in full detail. These seven chapters (iv-x) deal respectively with Pre-historic Art (including a brief survey of the Cretan discoveries); Greek Art before Pheidias (down to Polykleitos); Pheidias and the Parthenon (and the Venus of Melos!); Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippos; Greek Art after Alexander the Great; the Minor Arts in Greece; Etruscan and Roman Art.

Whether M. Reinach's well-known theory that the Venus (or Amphitrite) of Melos may be traced to the school of Pheidias can be upheld may be doubtful, but most critics have probably accepted with reluctance the evidence of a late Hellenistic date for this noble and beautiful statue.

The translation appears to be well done throughout, but there are a few trifling slips such as 'Canossa' for 'Canosa,' and 'Barbelon' for 'Babelon,' while the correction in the *errata* of 'Araballesque lecythus' (p. 71) to 'Aryballise lecythus' is hardly an improvement. We should have liked to see a relatively greater space allotted to Greek architecture and painting, which are very briefly noticed in chapters vi and ix. The illustrations on the whole are admirable, though small objects, and details such as heads of statues, usually come out better than full-size figures, for which the scale is too small, the size of each cut being strictly limited. For the *format* and binding the original French edition is perhaps to be preferred. Not the least admirable feature of the book is formed by the excellent, and in some cases really exhaustive, bibliographies appended to each chapter.

H. B. W.

NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1904. Part 4.

W. Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1903.' The total number of coins ac-

quired was 551, including some Cypriote pieces which have been inserted in the recently issued Catalogue of coins of Cyprus, and a number of Phrygian coins which will be described in the Catalogue of Phrygia now in progress. One of the finest and most interesting coins acquired is a tetradrachm—the second known—of Alexander I. Bala, King of Syria, with portrait busts of himself and his wife, Cleopatra Thea, the daughter of Ptolemy VI. The portraits are of most delicate workmanship for this period of coin-art, and it is interesting to compare the portrait of Cleopatra with her head as it appears on Seleucid coins about twenty-five years later. This tetradrachm was probably struck at Seleucia Pieria in Syria, *circ.* B.C. 150. *Delphi.*—Two small silver coins showing a circular object within a circle of pellets. The type which has been called a *patera* and also the *ὀμφαλὸς γῆς* is discussed. *Euboea.*—An excellent specimen of the coin inscribed EYBOI with *obv.* A very fine head of a nymph. *rev.* bull. Date *circ.* B.C. 411-387. *Milietopolis* in Mysia.—An unpublished bronze coin, *circ.* B.C. 400 or later, *obv.* facing head of Athena. *Proconnesus.*—A new silver coin, *circ.* B.C. 400, of this island. The *obv.* has a female head (Aphrodite?), the severe and simple style of which—faintly reminiscent of the archaic—is admirable. *Cos and Milctus* in alliance.—Bronze of Antoninus Pius, *rev.* Asklepios and Apollo *Διδυμῆς* standing. A good example of this Apollo which has been often discussed in connexion with the stater of Apollo Phileios by Canachus. *Diocaesarea* in Cilicia.—*Obv.* Philip junior, *rev.* winged thunderbolt placed on the seat of a throne. This was evidently a cultus-object connected with the Zeus Olbios or Olbos of Diocaesarea. Compare the thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios worshipped at Seleucia in Syria and displayed on its coins.—E. J. Rapson. 'Ancient silver coins from Baluchistan.' An analysis of the different classes of coins found in Baluchistan—a term which (as now used) corresponds to the Gedrosia of the ancients together with the southern province of Drangiana. The specimens found represent a period from *circ.* B.C. 300 onwards. The country probably never possessed a distinctive coinage of its own, but—like other semi-barbarous peoples—issued money imitative of the coinages of the more civilized peoples on its confines. In the accompanying plate are shown some of the imitations of the smaller silver coins of the early kings of Syria and a copy of a coin of Eukratides of Bactria, *circ.* B.C. 190. Some remarks (p. 323 f.) on the date of the coins of the Indian ruler Sophytes (here assigned to *circ.* B.C. 326 rather than to B.C. 306) and on Indian imitations of the coins of Athens deserve attention.

Bulletin International de Numismatique. Paris, 1904. Part 4.

With this number the *Bulletin* comes to an end after a rather brief existence. Its most useful features have been the numismatic bibliographies and accounts of finds. I am glad to see that the editor, M. Blanchet, is resuming his editorial connexion with the *Revue Numismatique* and that he will contribute to it a 'bulletin bibliographique.'

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xxix. No. 58.

Notes on Quintilian Book X, John E. B. Mayor. *Notes on the MSS. of Prudentius*, E. O. Winstedt. *On Fronto*, Robinson Ellis. *Enoch and Clement*, C. Taylor. *Notes on the Pronunciation of Greek as deduced from Gracco-Italian bilingual Coins*, B.C. 180-20, Cecil Bendall. *Emendations Homericæ (Od. XX.-XXIV.)*, T. L. Agar. *Metrical Studies in Statius' Thebaid*, H. W. Garrod. *The Hebrew Verb כָּרַח 'to create'*, A. A. Bevan. *Some remarks on the Later Platonism*, R. D. Archer-Hind.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxv. No. 3.

The Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy in relation to Obsequens and Cassiodorus, Clifford Herschel Moore. *On the Recession of the Latin Accent in connection with Monosyllabic and Traditional Word-Order*, R. S. Radford. *Notes on the First Book of the Aeneid*, W. H. Kirk. *The Language of Tragedy and its Relation to Old Attic*, James Dennison Rogers. *Cicero's Appreciation of Greek Art*, Grant Showerman. *The Ablative Absolute in the Epistles of Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, and Fronto*, R. B. Steele. *Greenough's, Kittredge's, Howard's, and D'Ooge's Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar*, H. C. Nutting. *Winbolt's Latin Hexameter Verse*, Kirby Flower Smith. *Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention. Recent Publications, etc.*

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. xv. 1. 1905.

P. Cauer, *Erfundene und Überlieferte bei Homer*. The conventional style proves the pre-existence of epic poetry. The excavations shew that the world of the Homeric heroes is faithfully described: this could only be done, at the birth of epic poetry, by those who themselves lived in that world. Iliad and Odyssey were written by men who continued an art handed down to them from family to family, Ionians following the traditions created by the popular poetry of Aeolians in Thessaly. It has been shewn that some Iliad battles are native to Greece. Bethe's view as to the Aias' episodes being the oldest part of the Iliad probable, but it is more likely that they were incorporated in than that they formed the kernel of that poem. Dörpfeld's theory (Odysseus' Ithaca=later Leucas) perhaps certain, especially if we can assume it for the Catalogue, making no attempt to associate the subsequent change with the Doric migration. J. Strzygowski, *Die Schicksale des Hellenismus in der bildenden Kunst*. Native reaction to the influence of Greek art on the old Mesopotamio-Persian tradition manifested by spread of the Persian ornament seen, e.g., in the ruins of Mschatta. Oriental influence passed to N. Europe without contact with Rome: hence Romanesque church like, not a Hellenistic basilica, but such an Oriental church as, e.g., that at Resafa, near the Euphrates. E. Samter, *Antike und moderne Totengebräuche*. (1) Burning of candles round the death-bed, (2) Laying of dying man on ground, (3) Catching of dying man's breath, (4) Sweeping of house by the heir after removal of corpse, (5) Beans at the Lemuria. R. M. Meyer, *Lebenswahrheit dichterischer Gestalten*. E. Stutzner, *Bismarck und Lassalle. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*. F. Wertsch describes pre-Roman

antiquities discovered at Carthage by the 'White monks'; H. Guhrauer reviews H. Riemann's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (1. 1 *Die Musik des klass. Alt.*). 'Literary history weak: otherwise, indispensable for students of Greek music.'

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. 60. 1. 1905.

H. Usener, *Keraunos*. Traces of such a god in literature of sixth century and coins of cities of Macedonian origin even under the Empire. In Greece proper, Zeus (Z. Kataibates, later Keraunios) took his place, but a stone at Mantinea preserves the old belief by its inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟ. Cp. the Roman sequence *Fulgur, Iuppiter Fulgur, I. Fulgurator*. The bolt represented in various ways: e.g. two-pronged fork (? hence *bidental*). The eagle probably an emblem of it before it came to be regarded as its bearer. P. v. Winterfeld, *Wie sah der Codex Blandinianus vetustissimus des Horaz aus?* An Irish MS. It was the Irish who first (about 850) brought Horace to France. F. Jacoby, *Zur Entstehung der röm. Elegie*. The Hellenistic subjective love elegy never existed. The Alexandrian elegy was concerned with legends: when Propertius refers to his debts to Callimachus or Philetas the context shews that he has that kind of elegy in mind. Ov. Tr. 2. 369 refers to epigrams of C.'s. Gallus created Roman elegy: his influence on his successors still traceable. The Greek erotic epigram is the primary source (see the development in Ov. Am. 3. 1, Prop. 3. 17, Tib. 1. 2): Attic Comedy, Bucolic, and the legend-elegy (often dealing with love) must also be reckoned with. H. v. Herwerden, *Annotationes criticae ad Libanii orationum ed. Foersterianam*. P. Graffunder, *Entstehungszeit und Verfasser der akronischen Horaz-scholien*. The bulk of it composed about middle of second century, probably by Helenius Acro. *Miscellen*: F. Reuss thinks that in Ctesias' (Photius') account of the sacking of a temple of Apollo by the Persians after Salamis τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς is corrupt and the temple at Didyma is meant. In *Eine Inschrift aus Pharsalos* F. Solmsen deals mainly with τοί, ταί, οί, αί. W. Gilbert has notes on Hor. *Odes*, mainly 3. 3. 9 sqq., 26. 11 sqq. G. Lehnert thinks in the subscriptio to the larger pseudo-Quintilian declamations we may identify Domitius Dracontius with Domitius of Symmachus 2. 76: Hierius may be Hierius of *carm. adv. Flavianos* 47, who must have belonged to Symmachus' circle.

Mnemosyne. 33. 1. 1905.

P. H. Damsté, *ad Ovidii Heroides*. Critical notes. I. C. Vollgraff, *Thucydidea* (from vol. 30). Bk. 5. S. A. Naber, *Adv. criticae ad Lysiae orationes*. J. J. Hartman, *De Ovidio poeta commentatio* (from vol. 32). 5. The last two books shew little skill in the interweaving of the legends. O. is weary of his subject and hastens to the end. 6. Ovid's rhetorical tendencies: his use of *loci* illustrated by comparison of *M.* 11. 460 sqq., *Her.* 13. 14 sqq., with Prop. 1. 8. 9-16. Schömann's view as to the cause of banishment accepted: such lines as *filius ante diem patrios inquit in annos and lurida terribiles miscet aconita nouercae* offended Tiberius and Livia. Notes on Plutarch (Cic., *Cat. Mai.*) by J. J. H., on Sall. *Iug.* (106. 4, 113. 5) by P. H. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

- Audolent* (Augustus) *Defixionum Tabellae* quot quot innotuerunt tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas. 8vo. cxxviii+568 pp. Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1904. 25 francs.
- Biese* (A.) Römische Elegiker (Catull, Tibull, Propert, Ovid) in Auswahl für den Schulgebrauch. 2te. Auflage. 8vo. 103 pp. Leipzig, G. Freytag; Wien, F. Tempsky, 1905. Geb. M. 1.20 = 1 K. 50 h.
- Brueckner* (Alfred) *Anakalypteria* [64tes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste]. 4to. 22 pp. 2 Tafeln und 8 Textabbildungen. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1904. M. 4.
- Cicero*. Nohl (Hermann) Ciceros Rede über den Oberbefehl des Cn. Pompejus für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben. Aufl. 3. 8vo. 54 pp. Wien, F. Tempsky; Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1905. 60 Pf. or 70 h.
- Schülerkommentar zu Ciceros Rede für T. Annius Milo. 8vo. 52 pp. Leipzig, G. Freytag, Wien, F. Tempsky, 1905. 60 pf. = 70 h.
- Ellis* (Robinson) *Catullus in the XIVth century*. 8vo. 30 pp. London, Henry Frowde, 1905. 1s. net.
- Gross* (Adolf) *Die Stichomythie in der griechischen Tragödie und Komödie, ihre Anwendung und ihr Ursprung*. 8vo. 108 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1905. M. 2.80.
- Isacus*. Wyse (William) *The Speeches of Isacus*, with critical and explanatory notes. Demy 8vo. Cloth. lxiv+736 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1904. 18s. net.
- Knauth* (Prof. Dr. Hermann) *Übungsstücke zum Übersetzen in das Lateinische für Abiturienten*. Teil I. Deutscher Text. Teil II. Lateinische Übersetzung. Aufl. 5. 8vo. 76 pp. Wien, F. Tempsky; Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1905. Preis beider Teile gebunden, 1 M. 50 Pf. = 1 K. 80 h.
- Nacinovich* (Dr. Mario) *Note sul Vocalismo dei Dialetti di Larissa e di Gortyna*. 8vo. 66 pp. Roma, Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1905.
- Niceta*. Burn (A. E.) *Niceta of Remesiana: his life and works*. Crown 8vo. Cloth. clx+194 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1905. 9s. net.
- Plato*. Gifford (E. H.) *The Euthydemus of Plato*, with revised text, introduction, notes, and indices. Crown 8vo. Cloth. viii+184 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905. 3s. 6d.
- Virgil*. Burghelore (Lord) *The Georgics of Vergil translated into English verse*. 8vo. 196 pp. London, John Murray, 1904. 10s. 6d. net.
- Sidgwick (A.) *The Aeneid of Vergil*. Book iii. Edited with notes and vocabulary. [The Cambridge Series for Schools and Training Colleges.] 8vo. 110 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1904. 1s. 6d.
- Whibley* (Leonard) *A Companion to Greek Studies*. 8vo. xxx+672 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1905. 18s. net.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1905.

THE most important recent event from the point of view of Classical Studies in England has been the rejection by the Cambridge Senate of the first report of the Studies and Examinations Syndicate. Their proposals for the reform of the Previous Examination were thrown out on March 4 by a majority of about three to two in the heaviest poll yet recorded. More than one cause contributed to the result. Some defects in the details of the Syndicate's scheme were exposed in the searching criticism to which it was subjected, and the improvements subsequently introduced did little to disarm opposition. The votes of the party (considerably larger it would seem than the other side had anticipated) which would maintain 'Compulsory Greek' at all hazards were reinforced by those of others who held that in a matter of this kind Oxford and Cambridge must act together, or who expected not a little from the reform of methods in Classical teaching now actively taken in hand. Others again, though not indisposed to make concessions to the demands made on behalf of Natural Science and other complaining studies, required fair options and educational substitutes, and had no mind to give up pass Greek for nursery French. It is understood that the Syndicate will continue in existence, but will be enlarged by additional members from the non-placet side.

Notwithstanding that the vote in the negative was large and decisive, it may be doubted whether the status quo can long be maintained. But the situation must be simplified before any satisfactory conclusion can be reached. In the first place the Pass and the Honours Students must be dealt with independently. And in the second place it must be recognised that for a very large propor-

tion of the candidates the Previous has shifted in position and become what is practically an entrance examination. Those who take it as such have an advantage over those who must prepare for it during their university course. This involves an inconvenience and an inequality (injustice is too strong a word for the case) which the University should, if possible, remove. And removed it could be by allowing Honours students to take the Previous examination at any time prior or subsequent to their Honours examination, while requiring that it should be passed before they could obtain the coveted B.A. This would be a more liberal solution of the problem than to turn the Previous into an Entrance examination, though this also would extinguish the discontent among non-classical Honours undergraduates which has had so much to do with the present agitation. As to the passmen it is sufficient to say that the interests of education demand that the University should feel itself perfectly free to introduce drastic reforms into the present arrangements.

Complete and up to date etymological dictionaries of Greek and Latin have been long felt wants. And so we note with interest that Brussels proposes to supply the one and Leipzig the other. The Greek dictionary is compiled by Prof. Émile Boisacq, and will consist of 720 octavo pages, to be issued in three parts at a subscription price of twenty-five francs, the first part to appear at the end of the month. Of the Latin one, which is the work of Prof. A. Walde of Innsbruck, two parts of eighty pages each have already been published. It is to be completed in ten parts, and the subscription price is fifteen marks.

ON *ODYSSEY* XXIV. 336 *sqq.*

In the current number of the *Journal of Philology* there is an article (*Emendationes Homericæ*) which, beside other interesting and ingenious suggestions, contains an attempt to prove that the text of the *Odyssey* has been tampered with in the following passage (Bk. xxiv. 336-344).

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι καὶ δένδρε' εὐκτιμένην κατ' ἄλων
εἶπω, ἃ μοί ποτ' ἔδωκας, ἐγὼ δ' ἤτεόν σε ἕκαστα
παιδὸνός ἔων, κατὰ κήπον ἐπισπόμενος· διὰ δ'
αὐτῶν
ἰκνήμεσθα, σὺ δ' ἄνόμασας καὶ ἔειπες ἕκαστα
ὄγχνας μοι δῶκας τρισκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα μηλέας,
συκίας τεσσαράκοντ'. ὄρχους δέ μοι ᾧδ' ἄνό-
μηνας
δώσειν πεντήκοντα, διατρήγιος δὲ ἕκαστος
ἦην· ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν,
ὁπότε δὴ Διὸς ὤραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθεν.

The principal objection taken to the text is a common sense one, and this is reinforced by another based upon philological grounds. It is urged that it is absurd to represent Laertes as giving the boy all these trees, the whole orchard, in short, and the whole vineyard, as the writer of the *Emendationes Homericæ* thinks. Also that the sense of 'you promised' assigned to ἄνόμηνας by Monro, while necessary with the received text, is without parallel and inadmissible. The key to the original sense is supposed to be in the words

σὺ δ' ἄνόμασας καὶ ἔειπες ἕκαστα,

and it is maintained that in the original text Laertes in answer to the boy's questions tells him the names of the trees, as he points them out, and the number of them.

Accordingly it is suggested that δῶκας in l. 340 must be wrong, and that δειξας or something like it should be read. Similarly a word like δειξας or δειξας is to be substituted for δώσειν in l. 342. Line 337 is thought to have been still further corrupted and ἤτεον (I asked for) substituted for the original ἐρόμην (I asked about).

The case for these very serious changes is put forcibly, and at first reading one inclines to agree. But on second thoughts the new text seems open to graver objections than the old one both from the point of view of common sense and from that of philology.

But before coming to these, there are some preliminary difficulties, so great that

they seem enough to vindicate the text at least against the argument before us.

If the story in the text is so absurd, how can we account for the fact that it should have been deliberately substituted for the rational and straightforward narrative which the original is supposed to have contained?

The objection here really seems to defeat itself, for to assume the alteration made is to allow that the story did not seem absurd to the Greek who was responsible for it; besides that the version of this single rhapsodist or redactor should have displaced the one found everywhere else, implies that it could not have seemed absurd to a Greek audience.

Again the argument from the meaning of ἄνόμηνας also defeats itself. It is a part of the writer's case against the text that in it ἄνόμηνας must be interpreted as 'you promised' for he expressly calls this interpretation 'a concession to the actual requirements of the passage.' But how could a forger who altered δειξας into δῶκας, and went on in consequence to alter ἐρόμην into ἤτεον fail to complete his work by altering δώσειν after it for δειξας? It cannot be replied that he could not find a word suitable, for he would not on that account have left something which, if the critic is right, is not Greek.

We may now come to the difficulties in the proposed text taken in itself.

In the first place there is one the importance of which is all the more apparent from the fact that the writer avoids it by an inconsistent translation. σὺ δ' ἄνόμασας κ.τ.λ. ὄγχνας μοι δειξας τρισκαίδεκα is rendered 'you told me the names of each. . . you shewed me thirteen pear trees': while ὄρχους δέ μοι ᾧδ' ἄνόμηνας δειξας πεντήκοντα is rendered 'you shewed me and counted up fifty rows of vines'.

But ἄνόμηνας δειξας applied to the vines should have the same meaning as ἄνόμασας. . . δειξας applied to the other trees. If then ἄνόμασας means 'you named,' in the sense of 'you told me the names of,' as the writer thinks it important to maintain, ἄνόμηνας should have the same meaning and the second passage should be translated 'you named for me and pointed out to me fifty rows of vines.' The difficulty of the expression is obvious. 'To point out and tell the name

of so and so many objects' naturally implies either that the objects have different names, or, if they all have the same name, that the name of each has, for some reason to be given singly.

The difficulty exists in the first statement (*ὀνόμασας κ.τ.λ.*) though it may be obscured by an arrangement of the words, as in the translation offered for the new text, which the second statement does not admit: for it really comes to this 'you named for me and told me each one, and pointed them out to me: to wit, thirteen pear trees, etc.' The names might be given singly, if the child were so young that he had to be told of each of the thirteen pear trees, *e.g.* that it was a pear tree, he not being able to see at once they were of the same sort. But this need not be considered, for, as we shall see, it is part of the view before us that the child must not be supposed so young as that; and in any case such an explanation would not suit for the vines, which are enumerated by the row, implying the child could see the whole row was of the same sort.

If it is contended that

ὄρχους δέ μοι ὦδ' ὀνόμηνας
δείξας πενήτηντα,

'you named for me fifty rows of vines and pointed them out to me,' really means, 'you pointed out the vines to me, told me their name, and that there were fifty of them,' one must ask, as in the case of all such interpretations, If the poet meant something which could be said so simply, why did he choose a form of expression which normally means something else? Besides such a drastic alteration as the one we are considering, cannot be convincing unless the sense required for the new text commends itself at once as the obvious and natural meaning of the words.

But suppose the above objection is put aside, there is another to which the critic's method renders him particularly liable. It is but reasonable to suppose that to a boy who could count to fifty, and lived in the open air, the trees in his father's orchard would already be objects of familiar, and (as fruit-trees) interesting experience, and he would not need to be told which was an apple tree and which was a vine. Now it is a part of the writer's contention that the child is not to be supposed too young. 'The boy,' he says, 'is a boy and not a prattling baby ready to ask for the moon or anything else that was handy,' and so he substitutes 'being but a lad' for Butcher and Lang's 'being

but a little child,' as translation of *παιδὸς ἑών*.

There is therefore here a serious difficulty if we may use for this part of the *Odyssey* the kind of common sense test which the writer applies to it himself.

There is, however, also a philological difficulty in the sense here assigned to *ὀνομάζω*. Perhaps it would be too much to say that it was quite insuperable, but it constitutes a real objection to an alteration of the text which is otherwise involved in difficulties. As we have seen, *ὀνόμασας* and *ὀνόμηνας* are rendered inconsistently, but it is essential to the view before us that *ὀνόμασας* should mean 'you named' in the sense of 'you told me the names of.' Now *ὀνομάζω* and *ὀνομαίνω* have normally two main meanings, (i) to give a thing, or person, a name, *i.e.* impose a name upon it, call it so and so (*cp. Il. xxiii. 90*) or, (ii) to mention by name. Neither of these is the same as 'tell what the name of a thing is.' If it is said that either of the above two meanings might pass into that of giving information about the name of a thing, it may be fairly answered that this requires to be proved. It seems no more natural that *ὀνομάζω* should have this meaning than the word 'name' in ordinary and non-technical speech. The Greek lexicons do not seem to give instances of such usage in any author, nor is there any in Homer, if the concordances are sufficiently complete.

There is one place in the *Odyssey* which at first might seem an exception, because in it *ὀνόμαζε* may be rightly enough translated 'tell me the name of.' But it is really no exception and only an illustration of the ordinary normal use, 'to mention by name.' *Odyssey* iv. 496. Proteus says to Menelaus,

ἀρχοὶ δ' αὖ δύο μοῖνοι Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
ἐν νόστῳ ἀπόλοντο· μάχη δέ τε καὶ σὺ παρήσθα.
εἰς δ' ἔτι πον ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ.

ib. 551. Menelaus asks for an explanation of this dark saying:—

τούτους μὲν δὴ οἶδα. σὺ δὲ τρίτον ἄνδρ' ὀνόμαζε,
ὅς τις ἔτι ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ.

Here *ὀνομάζω* does not mean to tell what a person's name is—to inform anyone what is a given person's name. Menelaus knows that already: he knows that the son of Laertes is named Odysseus. It means 'to mention a person by his name'—a name in this case already known to the person addressed, instead of by a description or periphrasis, such as

εἰς δ' ἔτι πον ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ.
1, 2

The passage may be compared with *Od.* xiv. 145

τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν αἰδέομαι.

'To tell the name of,' in Homer is, as might be expected εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, or a cognate expression. *Od.* viii. 550 εἶπ' ὄνομα : ix. 16. ὄνομα μνήσομαι : 355 τεὸν ὄνομα εἶπέ : vi. 194. ἐρέω δέ τοι ὄνομα λαῶν.

If then we make ὀνομάζω and ὀνομαίνω mean 'to tell the names of' we have (1) the difficulty described arising out of the combination of this with the number of the trees as it is made in the text ; (2) the difficulty that the boy would presumably know the names already ; and (3) the difficulty that the proposed usage is in itself doubtful, and requires therefore confirmation which, however, does not seem to be forthcoming.

There is, however, an established sense of ὀνομάζω and ὀνομαίνω which suits the passage perfectly: the sense which the writer himself has given to ὀνόμηνας. The sense of 'mentioning by name' includes, naturally enough, the specification of the items in a list (nominatim recenseo, percenseo, Stephanus), and thus it comes close to the idea of enumeration and Eustathius (cit. Stephanus) renders it by ἀριθμεῖν κατ' ὄνομα. Cf. *Il.* ii. 488 πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μνήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω. So *Od.* iv. 240 ; xi. 328, 517. More especially, it is regularly used for the specification of a number of gifts. It is important, for several reasons, to quote some passages fully : *Il.* ix. 515 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ δῶρα φέροι, τὰ δ' ὄπισθ' ὀνομάζοι ; i.e. 'specified the gifts which were to follow.' *Il.* xviii. 448

τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες

'Αργείων, καὶ πολλὰ περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομάζον.

i.e. 'Specified the presents they were prepared to make.'

Il. ix. 121

ἡμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω
ἔπτ' ἀπίρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἑίκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους...
δῶσω δ' ἔπτα γυναικῶν ἀμίμονα ἔργα ἰδίας...

Other gifts are mentioned by tale in the context, e.g.

ἔπτα δὲ οἱ δῶσω εἰναιόμενα πτολίεθρα.

These passages shew that this use of ὀνομάζω and ὀνομαίνω is, so to say, 'common form' in the Homeric account of the gifts of heroes.

In the last passage ὀνομαίνω is followed by a specification, or naming, of the various kinds of gift together with the number in each. Now these are exactly the features of the passage before us. It reproduces the 'common form' and gives the enumeration in the style of the passage which recounts the gifts promised to Achilles. It is indeed the kind of imitation of the Homeric model we might expect in this part of the *Odyssey*, which, as scholars agree, is a continuation of the story by a later and inferior poet. ὀνόμασας and ὀνόμηνας then simply mean 'you specified by name.' 'In reply to my childish request you named (i.e. specified) the trees you would give me, to wit, thirteen pear trees, etc. etc. And of vines you named fifty rows to give me.'

The passages quoted from the *Iliad* shew another thing. The writer of the article, as we have seen, objects to Monro's translation of ὀνόμηνας by 'you promised.' 'Elsewhere,' he says, 'ὀνομαίνω never means anything like "I promise."' But in *Il.* ix. 515, xviii. 448, ix. 121, ὀνομάζω and ὀνομαίνω do just mean something very like 'promise,' for they refer to the enumeration of intended gifts. We actually find that τὰ δ' ὄπισθ' ὀνομάζοι in *Il.* ix. 515 has corresponding to it below, in 519, as its equivalent τὰ δ' ὄπισθεν ὑπέστειλη.

The difficulty on which the proposed re-modelling of the text is grounded, the exaggerated character of the gift, is no unreal one. But even if nothing could be done to remove it, enough seems to have been said to shew that there are greater common sense difficulties and philological difficulties in the new text than in the old one. Indeed in the latter, or, at least, in the part of it with which we are concerned, there are no philological difficulties whatever. But a suggestion may be made about the exaggeration itself. The key to the understanding of it may be partly in the words παιδνός ἐών and partly in the peculiar character of this part of the *Odyssey*. It is a familiar fact that children delight to be allowed to think they can exercise the same kind of ownership as the grown up, and their childish requests are often humoured, the ownership not being taken very seriously. The present writer remembers that in this way (παιδνός ἐών, though quite able to count) he 'owned' in succession all the dogs belonging to a complaisant neighbour. Perhaps the poet here intended the gift to be in earnest, but still by the words παιδνός ἐών he indicates that the request was a childish one. Whether or not he also intended the gift was

not of a serious kind, it must be admitted that its magnitude remains a difficulty, though we need not suppose, with the advocate of the new text, that there were only ten apple trees in all in the orchard. However is it not quite enough to suppose that the poet, who has given abundant proof of his want of taste elsewhere, was here exaggerating a common incident of child life,¹ to the proportions he imagined proper to the heroic world to which father and child belonged?

Have we not, in short, here a caricature of the royal generosity which the Homeric heroes display to one another, and a parody of such passages as that above quoted from the ninth book of the *Iliad*?

The learned and ingenious writer of '*Eminentiones Homericæ*' seems not to

¹ Mr. J. L. Myres informs the present writer that the Greeks in the country and in the islands are remarkable now for the way in which they spoil their children; and he makes the interesting suggestion that perhaps the poet wishes to represent Odysseus as the specially indulged child, which would give point to the reminiscence as a means of recognition.

have allowed for the fact that the passage before us occurs in the 'Continuation' of the *Odyssey* by a later poet. Contrasting this addition with the original, Mr. Monro writes 'But in the "Continuation" no such attempt is made to give the story an air of credibility. The consequence is that the concluding events are unnatural in themselves, and that they caricature the most important part of the poem.'

Finally one must hold it far easier to suppose a fault of exaggeration in the original author of this part of the poem than to believe that a story simple, sufficient for its purpose, and free from all exaggeration (such as would be contained in the emended text) should in the first place have been so perversely altered by some 'reciter or redactor,' and then that this piece of perversity should have prevailed against the intrinsic superiority of the original, and against all other texts, or the tradition of all other rhapsodists.

J. COOK WILSON.

ON *ILIAD* I. 418.

In the *Classical Review*, xi. 243, is a note by Mr. M. L. Earle on *Il. i.* 414 foll. suggesting that in 418 we ought to read τὼς instead of τῶ on the ground that τῶ does not give the required sense. I observe that this suggestion is endorsed by the authority of Dr. Leaf in his note upon the passage (2nd edition).

I confess that I do not find any difficulty in the ordinary reading, nor, as far as I know, do the commentators. No doubt the remark of Mr. Earle that 'therefore ill-starred did I bring thee forth in the hall' (τῶ σε κακῆι αἴσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισι) is 'not what we expect here' is true, but then I fear that he is not giving the correct interpretation of the sentence. The true predicate is not τέκον but κακῆι αἴσῃ and the sense is 'therefore to an ill lot it was that I

bore thee (as I now know).' In 415 Thetis calls herself αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα, next she justifies the use of that phrase in *Il.* 416, 417, and then repeats the words αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα in τῶ σε κακῆι κ.τ.λ. There is nothing abnormal in the use of τῶ.

There is a passage similar to this in *Il.* v. 204 foll. where Pandarus says he has come to Troy relying upon his bow and arrows, 'but they were not destined to profit me,' for, he says, when I wounded Tydides and Atrides I only 'provoked them rather.' Then he concludes τῶ ῥα κακῆι αἴσῃ ἀπὸ πασσάλου ἀγκύλα τόξα | ἤματι τῶι ἐλόμην ὅτε κ.τ.λ. which line virtually repeats 204. Mr. Earle is logically obliged to read τὼς here as well as in i. 418.

R. C. SEATON.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PINDAR.¹ II.

Nem. iv. 1.

Ἀριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων
 ἰατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ
 Μοισᾶν θύγατραι δοδαὶ θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι.
 οἷδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
 γυῖα, τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμυγγι συνάρορος.

When the labour is over and the issue is decided, the reward for victory and solace for the hard exertion are glad cheer, festivity, and praise.² 'When weary labours are accomplished, gladness is their best physician; Songs, the skilled daughters of the Muses, soothe them with their touch: warm water doth not make tired limbs so soft and supple as doth the voice of praise in unison with the lyre.' This is an expansion of the medical metaphor which he uses to the same effect in *Nem.* viii. 49 ἐπαοιδᾶς δ' ἀνὴρ ῥόδονον καὶ τις κάματον θῆκεν. Yet Didymus would seem to be the only critic who has taken θέλξαν νιν to mean 'soothe them,' i.e. the labours: the majority, after Boeckh and Dissen, understand τὸν νικῶντα: Aristarchus, Heyne, Metzger, and Prof. Bury take νιν to mean εὐφροσύναν, 'they charm her forth by their touch': while others meddle with the text. I can only surmise the tacit reasons which have led them to reject what seems to me the right interpretation in favour of others not so natural. Do they object to νιν as a plural, meaning αὐτούς? Examples are quoted by Apollon. *Dysc. de Pron.* p. 108 Bekker: ἔτι καὶ ἡ νῖν τάσσεται ἐπὶ πλήθους· 'ὅστις δὴ τρόπος ἐξεκουλίσθη νιν' Πίνδαρος Ἰσθμιοῖκας (*fr.* 7 Bergk): 'προσφωνεῖτέ νιν ἐπὶ νίκαις' Βακχυλίδης (p. 23 Blass ed. 3): there is another in *Bacchyl.* viii. 16, others in *Soph. O.T.* 868, *O.C.* 43, *Eur. Supp.* 1148, *El.* 1251. But this use was denied by ancient grammarians to Homer; later poets were supposed to have found their warrant in certain Homeric passages not rightly interpreted (see *Apoll. Dysc. l.c.*); and Aristarchus probably denied it here to Pindar; for the schol. who quotes his view continues ἄμεινον δέ, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, ἐπὶ τῶν πόνων

ἀκούειν τὴν νῖν· οἱ γὰρ μεθ' Ὀμηρον οὐκ ἀκριβεύουσι τὴν ἀνωτυμίαν. ὡς καὶ Εὐριπίδης 'τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων οἴστρησ' ἐγώ' (*Bacch.* 32). As this, which I infer to have been the ground for Aristarchus' view, has not been noticed, too much deference, perhaps, may have been paid to his opinion.

There cannot surely be any objection to the phrase θέλγειν πόνους: *Hom. Hymn.* 15 Ἀσκληπιὸν . . . κακῶν θελκτήρ' ὀδυνῶν. *Aesch. Cho.* 666 καὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ πόνων θελκτήρια (θελκτῆρια) στρωμνῆ. . . . But when Dissen says of ἀπτόμεναι 'ubi eum tangunt. vox bene addita, quum statim comparetur aqua calida, quae tangens corpus reficit', while Rauchenstein conjectures συναπτόμεναι, Leutsch συναντόμεναι (both quoted by Christ and Schroeder), and Christ himself suggests ἀροδομέναν, I can hardly suppose that the meaning of ἀπτόμεναι has been appreciated. It is part of the medical metaphor, like σοφαί: Songs are learned doctors in two faculties, and touch a theme as a physician touches a sick patient: Solon 13. 62 τὸν δὲ κακαῖς νοῦσοισι κακοῦμενον ἀργαλέαις τε ἀψάμενος χειροῖν αἴψα τίθησ' ὑγιῆ. *Ar. Plut.* 728 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφήψατο. *Aristid. I.* p. 490 τοῦ τε θώρακος τῶν τε ὑποχονδρίων ἀψάμενος. *Philostr. Apoll.* vii. 7. 3 ἰατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένουσ. *Aelian N.A.* viii. 4 b τῶν γε θεραπευτήρων ἐπιψανόντων καὶ ἐπαφωμένων. *A.P.* xi. 113, 114, 118 (ἦψατο) and 123 (ἔθιγε) are jests upon physicians killing even with—or even without—a touch.

This is the phrase in which the East always spoke of the physician; 'He laid his hands upon the sick and they recovered': and Greek too spoke habitually of the healer's hands, χεῖρες, παιωνίασι χερσίν, ἡπιοχειρ, ὁ χειρουργῶν *surgeon*. That is why the deified representative of the Thessalian nation was called Χείρων, just as another of the national heroes bore the name Ἰάσων. Thessaly was the home of medicine and magic, two things never dissociated in the unscientific stage of human knowledge. The other glory of the nation is mentioned by *Eur. El.* 815: ἐκ τῶν καλῶν κομποῦσι τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖς εἶναι τόδ', ὅστις ταῦρον ἀρταρεῖ καλῶς ἵππον τ' ὀχμάζει. The equestrian inhabitants (ἱππότα Πηλεῖς) of the Thessalian prairies were a race of stockmen, and sat their horses—introduced by Poseidon through the vale of Tempe—as though they were one piece; the cow-boys of the ancient world: they

¹ I have given some already in *C.R.* 1903 p. 228^b on *Isthm.* iv. 31 μομφὰν ἔχει and κατὰ βάβδον (which perhaps includes the drift of *Bacchyl.* ix. 52 πέφαται θνατοῖσι νίκας [ὑστε]ρον εὐφροσύνα αἰλῶν . . . μιν . . . χρή τι' . . . Cf. v. 187, xiii. 20, *Isth.* i. 43, iii. 43.

² This should be the drift of *Bacchyl.* ix. 52 πέφαται θνατοῖσι νίκας [ὑστε]ρον εὐφροσύνα αἰλῶν . . . μιν . . . χρή τι' . . . Cf. v. 187, xiii. 20, *Isth.* i. 43, iii. 43.

practised lassoing, and had their bull-fights, *ταυροκαθάψια* (see Jacobs *Anthol.* ix. p. 191 and the description in *Heliod.* x. 29, 30); so that mythology portrayed them as half-man, half-horse, and they were called *Κένταυροι* (*Soph. Trach.* 1095 *διφνᾶ ἵπποβάμονα στρατὸν θηρῶν*, *Eur. I. A.* 1058 *θάσος ἵπποβότας κένταυρων*), whether *κένταυρος* meant *Buffalo Bill* or a *Toreador*. These diverse accomplishments were combined in Cheiron, and in Nessus; and when Thessalian heroes, as Achilles and Iason, were said to have been Cheiron's pupils, that meant that they were *πατρίων οὐκ ἀπείρατοι καλῶν*.

The technical use of 'touch' in medicine limits the problem {of the corrupt line, *Aesch. Cho.* 1057 *εἴσω* (*εἴσω* at first, seemingly) *καθαρμὸς Λοξίου δὲ προσθίγων ἐλείθερόν σε τῶνδε πημάτων κτίσει*: for it was the healer that was said to touch the patient; whereas I do not know what they could mean by bidding Orestes touch Apollo. Dr. Verrall's punctuation *εἴσω καθαρμὸς Λοξίου δὲ προσθίγων κτέ.* removes that difficulty; but if we accept it, then I fear we cannot approve *εἴσω*, for *εἴσω* by itself would mean 'In with you!' 'Get in!' as *ἔξω* means 'Out with you!' 'Get out!' and surely slaves could never speak in that tone to a master. If *εἴσω* and *Λοξίου* are both right, I think that we must make it (as in the MS.) a single sentence, *εἴσω καθαρμὸς Λοξίου δὲ κτέ.*

Nem. viii. 32 *ἐχθρὰ δ' ἄρα ἀρφάσις* ('misrepresentation') *κτέ.* 'But malignant calumny, it seems, was here of old—calumny that walks with cunning words, imagining deceit, a shameful (or 'shaming') and injurious thing, that doeth violence to shining merit, and holds up a rotten fame of the obscure.'

35. *εἴη μὴ ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος, Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ κελειθεὶς ἀπλόαις ζωᾶς ἐφαπτοίμαν, θανῶν ὡς παισὶ κλέος μὴ τὸ δίσφαιμον προσάψω. χρυσὸν εὐχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι ἀπέραντον ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀῶν καὶ χθονὶ γνῖα καλύψαιμ', αἰνῶν αἰνιγτά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων δ' ἀλιτροῖς. αὐξεται δ' ἀρετὰ χλωραῖς ἔρσαις ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον . . . σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀρθεῖσ' ἐν δικαίῳ τε πρὸς ὑγρὸν αἰθέρα.*

'Never, O Father Zeus, may such a spirit be in me! May my life ever cleave unto straightforward paths, that when I die the name I set upon my children may be none of ill report. Gold men pray for, or for boundless land; my prayer is that I may win the favour of my people, and with it hide my limbs under the earth, praising where praise is due, and dispensing blame upon offenders.'

'Like as a tree watered by fresh dews, so

waxeth merit . . . before wise men and just exalted to the yielding air.'

It is not easy to say whether the *καί* in *v.* 38 should be explained with Dissen 'etiam moriar talis,' and retain it until death,' or as Hom. *ἴδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν κτήσιν ἐμὴν* 'If only I may win the favour of my citizens, e'en let me die!' *τεθναίνην* (which should be read, I think, in *Agam.* 544) was certainly a common formula, 'I am content to die upon the attainment of an ambition'; but one scarcely feels it natural to regard the winning of one's people's favour as a single act to be achieved, like seeing Naples, or an enemy's decease, or returning to one's native land again.—There is no metrical objection to the elision of *καλύψαιμ'*, and I can hardly think that Wackernagel's *καλύψαι* is 'confirmed,' as Schroeder says, by the scholiast's *ἕτεροι μὲν . . . εὐχονται, ἐγὼ δὲ εὐχομαι τοῖς πολίταις ἀρῆσαι καὶ τεθνάναν*.—In 36 we should not, I think, punctuate with Dr. Christ *κλέος, μὴ τὸ δίσφαιμον*.—*ἐπισπείρων* is 'distributing,' 'disseminating,' as a sower scatters seed, or 'radiating,' as the sun scatters his rays: *Ar. Poet.* 21. 14 *οἶον τὸ τὸν καρπὸν μὲν ἀφίεναι σπείρειν, τὸ δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν ἡλιον καὶ τὸ σπείρειν πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν, διὸ εἴρηται <ἄλιος> σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα*—an epitrite fragment, from Dorian lyric probably, not Tragedy. *Nem.* i. 13 *σπείρέ νιν ἀγλαίαν τινὰ νάσφ.*

In *v.* 40 the MSS. give *ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον* (or *δένδρον*) *αἴσσει σοφοῖς*, and Boeckh for metre's sake gave *ἄσσει | ἐν σοφοῖς*. But *αἴσσει*, as Bergk pointed out, is not recognised by the 1st schol., who explains the order of the words thus: *τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς αὐξεται δὲ ἀρετὰ ἐν σοφοῖς τε καὶ δικαίῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρθεῖσα, ὡς ὅτε δένδρον χλωραῖς ἔρσαις πρὸς ὑγρὸν αἰθέρα*: nor is it recognised in the paraphrase: *αὐξεται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑψωθεῖσα τοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ δικαίοις λόγοις τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς περ καὶ φυτὸν ἐπαίρεται πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αὐξεται τοῖς χλωροποιοῖς δρόσοις*. It is certainly superfluous, for *ὡς ὅτε* was commonly used without a verb; *Nem.* ix. 16, *O.* vi. 2, *P.* xi. 40, *I.* vi. 1, *ὡς ὅκα Ibycus jr.* 4: and in place of it we look rather for a word to tell us what it is that merit grows by. On these grounds Bergk held that *αἴσσει* was a conjecture made after *αἴνω* had been lost or partially obliterated; and I am strongly disposed to think that the original was this or *αἴνους*, or at least some word synonymous: Prof. Bury thinks that Pindar would not have used *αἴνους* after *αἰνῶν αἰνιγτά* in the preceding line. Bergk, whose note should be studied carefully before those of

Dissen and Schroeder, quotes for the comparison a fragment in Clem. Alex. I. 154: οἱ δὲ . . . αὔζονται τῷ ἐπαίνῳ 'ἀρετὰ γὰρ ἐπαινεομένα δένδρον ὡς ἀέξεται' which Blass (ed. 3, p. 173) attributes to Bacchylides. Another illustration is supplied by Plut. *Agid.* 2: νέω ἔτι ὄντι καὶ φιλοτίμῳ δοτέον ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων καὶ δόξῃ τι καλλωπιζέσθαι καὶ κομψάσαι· φνόμενα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τηλικούτοις αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ βλαστάνουσαι τό τε κατορθούμενον, ὡς φησὶ Θεόφραστος, ἐπιβεβαιοῦνται τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὔζονται μετὰ φρονήματος ἐπαιρόμεναι. Ovid *Ep. Pont.* iv. 2. 35 *excitat auditor studium; laudataque virtus crescit; et immensum gloria calcar habet.* Cf. *Remed.* Am. 393 Burmann.

By ἐν σοφοῖς Prof. Bury understands 'in the favourable environment of wise and just men'; and it may well include that notion; but I incline to think it also means 'before the eyes and witness of', 'before the court and judgment of', a use which there is no need to illustrate. And I suppose that Milton understood it so; for in a famous passage I believe that among other classical memories he had in mind not only the phrase of Ovid I have quoted, but also this of Pindar: *Lycidas* v. 70:

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise

(That last infirmity of noble mind)

To scorn delights and live laborious days:
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,

And slits the thin-spun life. 'But not the praise,'

Phoebus replied, and touched my trembling ears:

'Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
'Nor in the glistening foil

'Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies;

'But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
'And perfect witness of all-judging Jove;

'As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
'Of so much fame in heaven expect thy meed.'

ἡ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς δόξα οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὑπόζυλον. οὐδὲ παράσημον αἶνω τῷ τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ Διὶ, κριτῇ εἰλικρινεῖ καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ, δικαιομένη, καὶ ἕνα τοῦτον μάρτυρ' ἔχουσα καὶ ἐπαινέτην, ζῆ τε καὶ θάλλει ὥσπερ δένδρον αὔζανομένη.

W. HEADLAM.

A MISINTERPRETED GREEK OPTATIVE.¹

THE most unduly neglected, though the best known Greek play in this country (by reason of its vogue in New York and Chicago last winter) is the *Ajax* of Sophocles, the one hundred and eighty-sixth verse of which reads ἦκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος. The meaning of the last part of the sentence has never been in question: the θεία νόσος, the *pestis a caelo*, is the heaven-sent frenzy of Ajax, just as the μάστιξ θεία of *Prometheus* 682, the *heaven-sent lash*, is the madness with which Io is goaded by Juno;² but the first part of the sentence, ἦκοι γὰρ ἂν, has been frequently misinterpreted. Jebb translates: 'When heaven sends madness, it must come.' This is incorrect, in spite of the fact that this rendering has been quoted with approval by many eminent scholars; and since the proper conception of the tenor of the whole passage depends particularly on the correct understanding

of this comparatively rare optative,³ it has seemed to me worth while to set forth in extenso the reasons why I regard ἦκοι ἂν as connoting an entirely different idea from ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, ἀνάγκη ἀφικέσθαι.

Just as the English and German modal auxiliaries are with difficulty comprehended by foreigners, so the Greek optative is used in so many ways that it has always been a source of trouble to English students. One German-English dictionary translates mögen by *to may* and können by *to can*, and anyone who has had experience in teaching German to English students knows that the pupil finds greater obstacles to surmount in the exercises on *sollen*, *wollen*, *dürfen*, *müssen*, etc. than in any other part of the grammar. The Greek optative may vary in significance from 'may' to 'must,' but this does not mean that it always connotes 'must' where this word seems to translate the Greek in such

¹ A paper read before the American Philological Association in St. Louis, September 17, 1904.

² Cp. 137 πλεγγὴ Διός, 455 f. εἰ δέ τις θεῶν βλάπτοι, φύγοι τὰν χῶ κακὸς τὸν κρείσσονα.

³ See Publications of the University of Cincinnati, *Some Grammatical Myths*.

a way as to give good sense. The optative may often be translated best by 'can' and 'will' (Cp. Soph. *Phil.* 1302 οὐκ ἂν μεθίην, Eur. *Heracl.* 344 οὐκ ἂν λίποιμι, βωμόν, ἐξώμεσθα δέ, *I.A.* 309 ἄφες δὲ τήνδ' ἐμοί to which the reply is made: οὐκ ἂν μεθίην, *Ion* 418 στείχομεν ἂν εἶσω, Aesch. *Cho.* 1050 and 1062 οὐκέτ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ) rather than by 'could' and 'would' and 'should.' It may be permissive, and again mildly jussive. The Greeks, like the French, always recognized a certain bluntness about the imperative; hence the many optatives with ἂν in Plato and in the tragedians, where we usually employ an imperative in translating into English. For example, in Aeschylus, *Cho.* 105 (cp. 668). Electra says λέγεις ἂν, εἴ τι τῶνδ' ἔχεις ὑπέρτερον, to which the chorus replies αἰδουμένη σοὶ βωμόν ὡς τύμβον πατρός | λέξω, κελεύεις γάρ, τὸν ἐκ φρενὸς λόγον. Here the polite request to speak (veuillez parler) is responded to by the future indicative λέξω. That λέγεις ἂν is equivalent to λέγε, spoken with more urbanity than the simple brusque imperative (voulez-vous avoir la bonté de dire?), is evident from what follows (κελεύεις γάρ), κελεύειν itself being a verb that varies in tone from a mild request to a harsh injunction. Compare also *Eum.* 94 εὐδοίτ' ἂν, 117 μύζουτ' ἂν, Soph. *Phil.* 674 and *El.* 1491 χώροισ ἂν εἶσω, *Ant.* 1339 ἄγοιτ' ἂν, Eur. *Ion* 335 λέγεις ἂν. When a slave receives a command, the imperative is used. Cp. Plato, *Meno* 82 A: *Soc.* ἀλλά μοι προσκάλεσον τῶν πολλῶν ἀκολούθων τούτων ἰ τῶν σαντοῦ ἕνα. *Meno.* δεῖρο πρόσελθε.

In like manner the English modal auxiliaries are variously rendered in Greek. Such passages as the following from Shakspeare might well have caused the μαθητῆς to despair, if English had then existed and formed as prominent a part of the school curriculum as does German to-day in American schools:

Isabella.

I am come to know your pleasure.

Angelo.

That you might know it, would much better please
me
Than to demand what 't is. Your brother cannot
live . . .
Yet he may live awhile; and, it may be,
As long as you or I: yet he must die . . .

Isabella.

There is a vice . . . For which I would not plead,
but that I must;
For which I must not plead, but that I am

At war 'twixt will, and will not . . .
Must he needs die? . . . I do think that you might
pardon him.

Angelo.

I will not do it.

Isabella.

But can you, if you would?

Angelo.

Look; what I will not, that I cannot do.

Isabella.

But might you? . . . I would to heaven I had your
potency,
And you were Isabel! Should it then be thus?
No I would tell what 't were to be a judge . . .

Angelo.

Were he my kinsman . . . It should be thus . . .
he must die.

Many of these auxiliaries might be interpreted by a foreigner incorrectly from the looks alone,—'Interpretation will misquote our looks' (1 *Hen.* IV. 5. 2). Our auxiliaries 'may,' 'shall,' 'must' may be done into Greek not by an optative, but by some other form, or by δεῖ, χρή, μέλλω.¹ But the English 'must' is particularly difficult for the novice, both by reason of the variety of terms for the word in Greek and of the fact that the loss of the past tense removes this modal form, to a certain extent, from the other auxiliaries. The tyro who finds no difficulty in translating 'muss,' usually wants to render 'musste' by *must have*. But we reserve this form to express an idea which is generally expressed in modern European languages by the future perfect indicative, the familiar idiom of the verification in the future of what has really happened in the past. So, for example, in Italian (in the good old days when the preface still meant something and the novelist took the reader into his confidence, was personally in evidence from the beginning to the end of the book): 'sarà [il lettore] entrato in curiosità di sapere qual mai potesse essere tal cosa (Fanfani, *Cecco d'Ascoli*, ch. 31), 'Il lettore sarà certamente meravigliato' (45). An excellent example in French is found in George Sand's *Lélia*, ch. 64. The young poet Sténio has committed suicide by plunging down a declivity into a lake, the priest Magnus, in an endeavour to rescue him, has fallen in himself, and has been pulled out in an unconscious state, together with the dead Sténio, by some peasants on the border of the lake, who are

¹ Cp. φ 83 μέλλω που ἀπέχθεσθαι Διὶ πατρί, γ 451 φ μέλλεις εὐχεσθαι, Ω 46 μέλλει μὲν πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι.

indulging in conjectures as to the probable cause of the catastrophe: 'Ils auront voulu pêcher les truites du lac; le plus hardi des deux se sera risqué trop avant; il aura crié au secours, mais l'autre aura eu peur et la force lui aura manqué.' Now this is precisely what I conceive the chorus is doing in the passage under discussion. The Salaminian sailors have come to the conclusion that their chief lies stricken by frenzy sent from heaven (πληγὴ Διός) and they give expression to this belief by using *ἄν* with the optative of ἦκω. To be sure, this form is rare; but if we should count all the occurrences of the familiar idiom just cited from George Sand in any French author, the number would probably not be very great, and for the simple reason that the occasion to employ such a construction does not necessarily present itself very often. Similarly in Greek the optative with *ἄν* used to express future verification of a past act is not by any means frequent. Nevertheless, the perfect optative middle and passive (with *ἄν*) must have been a favourite method with the Greeks of expressing subjective conviction with reference to the past. An excellent example occurs in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 349 ἡμεῖς ἄν εἶμεν θατέρῳ κεχρημένοι (where, however, two manuscripts read ἦμεν, Nauck ἄρ' ἦμεν). But the very verb which the Greek would naturally have employed most in this construction happens to be without a perfect in all the moods (except when it borrowed from γίγνεσθαι to make up the deficiency), hence was unable to form an optative with *ἄν* in the perfect to express the idea which is usually rendered in modern European languages by a future perfect (*wird gewesen sein, aura été, sara stato, habrá sido*). Consequently, just as in the case of the infinitive and the participle the present did duty for the imperfect, so in this idiom the Greek was content to use the present for the perfect, as, for example, Herodotus 1. 2 εἴσαν δ' ἄν οὔτοι Κρήτες (*these must have been Cretans*), Thucydides 1. 9. 5. αὐται δὲ οὐκ ἄν πολλοὶ εἴσαν (*these could not have been many*), where subjective conviction with reference to the past is expressed, but the English modal, by reason of the negative, is changed from 'must' to 'could.'

Now let us return to consider the Sophoclean passage. The verse occurs in the well known scene before the Greek general's tent, whither the Salaminian sailors, the stricken hero's faithful friends, have rushed in haste from their quarters to ascertain from the chieftain himself whether

the report circulated by Odysseus and the Atreidae (that their leader had attacked and slaughtered the goodly kine) can, indeed, be true.

οὐ ποτε γὰρ φρενόθεν γ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά,
παῖ Τελαμώνιος, ἔβας
τόσσον, ἐν ποίμναις πίντων
ἦκοι γὰρ ἄν θεία νόσος· ἀλλ' ἀπερύκοι
καὶ Ζεὺς κακὰν καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀργείων φάτιν.

The pure perfect optative active in any form is so rare that it may be practically regarded as non-existent. Of such an optative with *ἄν* there is but one example.¹ In Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5. 7. 26 is found one of the few examples without *ἄν*: εἶδισαν δὲ μὴ λύττα τις ὥσπερ κοινὴ ἡμῶν ἐμπεπτόκοι.² This sentence almost paraphrases verse 186 of the *Ajax*. The mariners, who constitute the chorus, fear that madness has seized their leader. The method of expressing this fear or conviction (unless the verb of fear itself be expressed, as in the Xenophon-tean passage) would naturally be the perfect optative with *ἄν*, confined, however, to the periphrastic forms in the middle and passive. But ἦκω is neither a perfect nor a passive, and yet it is both. In other words, the optative in this sentence is doubly disguised, is really a perfect masquerading as a present and a passive as an active (*ventum sit*). Consequently the chorus means: ἀφιγμένη ἄν εἴη θεία νόσος. In speaking of their frame of mind we might say εἶδισαν μὴ λύττα τις Αἴαντι ἐμπεπτοκνία εἴη. Indeed, if we read on about a hundred verses, we get all the light we want for this passage from the mariners themselves. In responding to Tecmessa in verse 278 f. the chorus repeats what it had said here—only the sentence is given a different cast: ξύμφημι δὴ σοι καὶ δέδοικα μὴ 'κ θεοῦ | πληγὴ τις ἦκη. If verse 186 had been correctly interpreted by the commentators, there would have been no controversy as to the reading in 279 (ἦκει or ἦκη), no cause for the hesitancy on the part of some editors in reading the subjunctive.³ An excellent parallel is *O. T.* 1011, where Oedipus says ταραβῶν γε μὴ μοι Φοῖβος ἐξέλθῃ σαφής, and then later (1182) exclaims τὰ πάντ' ἄν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ, using almost the same words, with the

¹ Sophocles *O. T.* 839 ἄν ἐκπεφυγαῖον.

² It is worthy of note that Plato, when he has occasion to employ the same verb in the same mood and tense, makes use of the periphrastic form ἄν ἐμπεπτόκως εἴη (*Icp.* 569c). Cp. Pseudo-Demosthenes 59. 11 περιπεπτόκως ἦν.

³ Mekler (Teubner) reads the indicative, Jebb the subjunctive.

optative, just as the chorus does in the *Ajax*. Jebb's note on this passage is correct: *must have* (come true). Even Tecmessa sees in Ajax's behaviour evidence of a διαφθορά φρενῶν, a θεία νόσος (243): κακὰ δένάζων ῥήμαθ' ἂ δαίμων | κοῖδεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐδίδαξεν.

It is the subjective conviction of the chorus that a θεοβλάβεια,¹ or νόσος φρενῶν,

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his treatise *De Compositione Verborum*, speaks of the arch-offender against style, Hegesias, as being afflicted with θεοβλάβεια καὶ διαφθορά φρενῶν ὥστε εἰδῶτα τοὺς

has visited their chieftain. Consequently ἦκοι ἂν θεία νόσος is equivalent to θεία νόσος αὐτῷ ἐμπεπτωκυῖα ἂν εἴη, Die Wuth vom Himmel wird gekommen sein (Der Fluch eines Gottes wird ihn getroffen haben), La folie lui sera venue du ciel (quelque dieu l'aura atteint de folie), La pazzia gli sarà venuta dal cielo.

J. E. HARRY.

κρείττους ἔπειτα αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς χείρονας, ('so infatuated and fatally misguided that he chose the worse although he knew the better').

THE DATE OF ARISTOPHANES' BIRTH.

ARISTOPHANES' birth is commonly assigned to the year 444. This date is reached by the assumption that the minimum age at which a poet could receive a chorus for the bringing out of a drama was twenty years, and is supported to a greater or less degree by four passages. In 424, when Aristophanes presented the *Equites*, the first play which he brought out in his own name, he says of himself, *Nubes* 530 sq.:

κἀγώ, παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦ, κοῦκ ἐξῆν πώ μοι
τεκεῖν,

ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβὼν ἀνέλειτο.

This is interpreted as indicating that until the time of the *Equites* Aristophanes was not qualified, in point of age, to receive a chorus. At any rate, he was still a young man when he entered the lists of comedy; for we read in *Schol. ad Ran.* 501 σχεδὸν γὰρ μειρακίσκος ἦδη ἤπτετο τῶν ἀγῶνων, and in *Thom. Mag. Vita Aristoph.* § 1, ἐν νέᾳ κομιδῇ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἠδουκίμησεν ἐν κωμῳδίαις. The fourth authority for the belief that he was born in 444 is the life of the poet found in the *Codex Ambrosianus* L 39 ('Novati life') and in Suidas. In the latter we read, κωμικός, υἱὸς Φιλίππου, γεγονὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ τὴν ριδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, while the former says, κωμικός δέ, ἐπὶ Φιλίππου γεγονὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ τὴν Ϛδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. There is no difficulty in extracting the meaning: 'A writer of comedies, son of Philippus, flourishing at the time of the wars in the 94th Olympiad.' Ol. 94, 1 is 404/3, which is just at the close of the Peloponnesian war; and as a man's *floruit* was taken to be his fortieth year, we get 444 as the date of his birth. Then this agrees with the sup-

position that at the time of the *Equites* he was just old enough to receive a chorus.

The whole argument, however, in favour of this date is too weak to stand a very searching examination. Croiset (*Hist. Lit. Gr.* iii². 527) does indeed say that Aristophanes was born 'vers 445,' but Kaibel (*Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyc. s.v. Aristophanes* 12) is inclined to a somewhat earlier date and Christ (*Gr. Lit.-Ges.*² 290 sq.) says 'um 450.' On considering the sources, we find that in the passage quoted from the *Nubes* the poet may merely be referring to his modesty and lack of experience. The scholiast interprets the phrase κοῦκ ἐξῆν πώ μοι τεκεῖν as meaning οὐπω ἐπέτρεπον ἐμαυτῷ τὸ λέγειν διὰ τὴν αἰδῶ, 'through modesty I did not allow myself the privilege of speaking to the public.' He is doubtless right, for the παρθένος cannot be taken as referring to the years of the poet, but must indicate his bashfulness and shame in first presenting a comedy—as though he were an unmarried girl with a child. This is supported by other passages. He tells us that he considered that 'the duty of a chorodidascalus was an exceedingly difficult one,' (*Eq.* 516), and that bearing in mind the capriciousness of the public in the bestowal of its favour upon comic writers (*Eq.* 517-540), he desired to test its attitude by having others present his plays, before himself coming before it in his own name (*Eq.* 541-544). No word is here said that implies that he was ineligible to receive a chorus on the score of years; yet in this passage is exactly where we should expect to find such a statement if it were the case. In the *Schol. ad Ran.* 501, the word

μειρακίσκος may be used loosely, not in its strict sense, and may mean no more than 'a young man.' The same may be said of the ἐν νέᾳ ἡλικίᾳ of *Thom. Mag. Vita Aristoph.* The Novati life and the Suidas article are both, as a comparison of the texts quoted shows, corrupt, and little reliance can be placed upon the dates contained in them. They will be taken up again below, and discussed at greater length. To cap the climax, there is really no evidence that twenty years was the legal age minimum for receiving a chorus. Thus all the arguments in favour of the specific date 444 have fallen to the ground.

Can any other date be proposed as more probable? Christ says 'um 450;,' but I think that we have a real indication of a definite date in the *Schol. ad Nubes* 510: νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίοις μήπω τινὰ ἐτῶν ἅ γε γονότα μήτε δράμα ἀναγιγνώσκων ἐν θεάτρῳ, μήτε δημηγορεῖν. τοῦτῳ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ὁ κωμικός οὗτος εἰργόμενος πρότερον διὰ τὸ μὴ τριακονταετῆς εἶτι ὑπάρχειν, ποιῶν δράματα διὰ Φιλωνίδου καὶ Καλλιστράτου ἀνεγίνωσκον ἐἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὧν ἐν ἦν τὸ τῶν Δαιταλέων λεγόμενον, . . . καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν θεατῶν ἐπηνέσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ νεικῆκεν ἐν τοῦτῳ ὁ ποιητής. ἐπιβὰς ἤδη τοῦ ἅ ἔτους, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν Νεφελῶν ποιήσας δι' ἑαυτοῦ διδάσκει, καὶ αἰτᾷ παρὰ τῶν θεατῶν, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ, ἧτοι τὸ νικῆσαι τῷ δράματι.

It is evident at first glance that the scholiast is wrong in setting the legal age minimum at thirty years: the great tragedians all produced plays before they reached the age of thirty. Aeschylus produced his first play when he was twenty-five (*Suid. s. v.*); Sophocles was victorious at the age of twenty-six with his first play, the *Τριπτόλεμος* (*Mar. Par.* 72); Euripides, born about 480, brought out the *Πηλιάδες* in 455 (*Vita*). Is the scholiast in this passage then merely making a guess, and a bad one at that, or did he have some data which misled him? From the circumstantial way in which he goes on to relate that Aristophanes, on reaching the age of thirty, applied for a chorus in his own name, and on receiving it, presented the *Equites* (the scholiast wrongly says the *Nubes*), it seems highly probable that it is the second part of his narrative which is to be trusted and not the first. Then the truth is, that the scholiast learned from some source unknown to us, that Aristophanes was thirty years old at the time of the production of the *Equites*. From this basis he made up the rest of his story with the aid of *Nubes* 530 sq. Through this passage, therefore, we

arrive at the date 455/4 as that of Aristophanes' birth.

This scholium is late and cannot be relied upon, if unsupported. While no other considerations favouring this specific date are known to the writer, there are six that tend to set the date at about this time.

I. That a boy of seventeen years should set himself up as a censor of morals, public and private, and compose the *Δαιταλῆς*, following that play up inside of three years with the *Βαβυλώνιοι*, *Acharnenses*, and *Equites*, seems intrinsically unlikely, despite the example of Eupolis (*Suid. s. v.*). The addition of a few years to his age makes the performance seem less like that of an infant prodigy.

II. Eupolis aided Aristophanes in the composition of the *Equites* (*Nubes* 551-556, *Schol. ad* 554; *Schol. ad Equites* 531, 1291; Kirchhoff in *Hermes* xiii. 287). Eupolis was himself born in 447/6 and brought out his first play 430/29 (*Anon. de Com.* § 11; *Suid. s. v. Eupolis*). And yet he acted as a mere assistant, receiving no credit, to a poet who brought out his first play two years later than his own first play (*Anon. de Com.* § 12; *Nubes* 529 et *Schol.*). He would hardly have performed this part of an underling for a man his junior not only in dramatic standing, but also in actual years of age: he must have been induced to give his services through Aristophanes' being sufficiently his elder to cause him to look up to him with respect.

III. The passage *Equites* 542-544 suggests that there were three rungs in the dramatic ladder: ἐρέτην γενέσθαι, to be an assistant, as Eupolis to Aristophanes in the *Equites*; πρωρατεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαθρήσαι, to bring out under the name of another poet, to see how popular favour inclined; κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ, to bring out one's plays in one's own name. Though this may be a far-fetched interpretation of a poetical passage, we know certainly that Aristophanes passed through the second and third stages. It is the first, however, with which we are here concerned. By the side of ἐρέτην γενέσθαι may be set *Vesprae* 1018, ἐπικουρῶν κρίβδην ἐτέροισι ποηταῖς, 'secretly helping other poets.' The two passages indicate that he aided, at some time or other, certain other poets as an assistant, without receiving any credit for his collaboration. The time of this naturally falls before 427, when he began to be constantly active in composing plays for himself, to be brought out either in the name of another or of himself. And

in this case Aristophanes must have been born some years before 444, for by the time that he was seventeen he could not have gone through this literary apprenticeship.

IV. Aristophanes was markedly bald as early as 424, for he alludes to this fact in the *Equites* (produced in that year), and also in the *Pax* (produced 421) and in the second *Nubes* (*Eq.* 545-550; *Pax* 767-774 *et Schol. ad* 767; *Nub.* 540 *et Schol.*; *Schol. ad Plat. Apol.* 19 c). In a youth of twenty—the poet's age in 424 if he were born 444—this baldness would be very remarkable; in a man of thirty it would be less strange.

V. Unquestionably *Ach.* 646-654 indicates that there was some connexion between Aristophanes and Aegina (cf. also *Schol. ad Ach.* 653, 654; *Anon. Vita Arist.* § 5; *Schol. ad Plat. Apol.* 19 c). The most probable explanation—derived from the scholia—is that either he or his father was a cleruch in the division of the island amongst Athenian settlers in 431. Now if Aristophanes had been born in 444 he would in 431 have been but thirteen years old, and it must have been not he, but his father, who received the allotment of land. In this case he could scarcely, at nineteen years of age (the *Acharnenses* appeared in 425), have been known as prominently connected with Aegina. Were he in 431 twenty-three years old, he might have been himself a cleruch; and if he made his abode in the island during the greater part of the time for the next six years, he would in great measure have identified himself with the island, and the phraseology of *Ach.* 646-654 becomes more readily comprehensible.

VI. In the years from 426 to 424 the poet would, if born in 444, be an ephebus, undergoing military training. In those years, when every man was needed for the defence of Athens, a youth would have found his time fully occupied with the drilling and exercises necessary to make of him a good soldier. Leisure to write comedies would not at that time have fallen to the lot of the ephebus. Were he a few years older he would have had time to write, in the intervals between campaigns.

Though any one of these six points is by itself almost insignificant, their cumulative

weight is not to be disregarded. They point strongly to a date about 455/4 as that of Aristophanes' birth.

It remains to take into consideration the date given in the Novati life and the Suidas article. If *γεγονός* be understood in its usual meaning of *floruit*, and a man's *floruit* be considered the time at which he reached his fortieth year, the date given in the Novati life, Ol. 94, unquestionably favours the date 444 as that of Aristophanes' birth. To establish the year 455/4 in its stead, the passage may be treated in any one of three ways: (1) The term *floruit* may not refer precisely to the fortieth year. (2) The numeral may be emended in accordance with the recognized principles of textual criticism. (3) *Γεγονός* may mean not *floruit*, but *natus*. The first course leaves us all at sea as regards any definite date, and we have liberty to choose any time between 460 and 440 as the year of his birth. But if we retain *floruit* in the sense of the fortieth year, the second way may be followed by emending $\text{Q}\delta'$ to $\text{Q}\alpha'$, the corruption of A to Δ being very easy. We have then the date Ol. 91, or 416-412. Ol. 91, 2 is the fortieth year after 455/4. The *ἀγῶνες* mentioned are the Syracusan expedition and the commencement of the Decelean war.

If *γεγονός* mean *natus*, rather than the customary signification *floruit*, we must of course first change the $\text{Q}\delta'$ to $\pi\delta'$. This gives Ol. 84, and Ol. 84, 1 is 444/3. The same correction of Δ to A as in the previous case, however, gives us $\pi\alpha'$, or Ol. 81. Ol. 81 was 456-2, the time of the *ἀγῶνες* in which the Athenians extended their dominion in central Greece and sent the fleet to its destruction in Egypt. Ol. 81, 2 is 455/4, the date for which we are arguing.

It should be added, however, that the phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι* refers naturally to the theatrical competitions rather than to any war or wars. This suggests at once that something has fallen out of the text, and this may have been vital to its comprehension. At any rate the passage is too corrupt to be authoritative, and cannot count for or against any fixed date.

ROLAND G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

NOTES ON JULIAN.

P. 61 B. ὅστις δὲ θέλει μηδὲν ἰπὸ τοῦ κάλλους ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφερομένων πλασμαίων, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ ἀρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων, Ἄρεοπαγίτης ἔστω κριτῆς καὶ οὐκ εὐλαβησόμεθα τὴν κρίσιν.

Of the passage marked by daggers Hertlein observes: 'Locum corruptum ita olim tentavi, ut scriberem ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ ἰπ' ἀργυρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρυσομάτων.' Accepting from this ἐν γραφῇ I would continue with περιλειμμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων. Though περιλειμμα may seem a strange word to go with γραφῇ, yet compare Plato *Rep.* 420 C: ἀνδριάντας γραφόντας . . . ὁστρέϊφ ἐναγλημιμένοι. And ἐπιφέρειν χρώματα occurs at *Soph.* 251 A.

70 D. Qu. τῇ κρατίστῃ?

76 C. Transpose βασιλεῖ to follow ἐποιεῖτο.

79 A. Read εἰδαιμονίζοντα for εἰδαιμονούντα.

80 C. ὅπως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐκείνου κρείττον, ὁ βιασάμενον καθέξει καὶ καταφαιρήσεται τὸν ἔχοντα ἅπαξ.

ἀφαιρήσεται Hertlein, but much more alteration is required. The precious possession referred to is ἀρετή, and this is presently compared to the light of the sun, τὸ φῶς δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρείται. It is then as plain as the sunlight itself that Julian wrote something like ὁ βιασάμενος οὐδεὶς καθέξει. When οὐδεὶς had dropped out, by whatever accident, the termination of βιασάμενος was assimilated to agree with ὁ.

100 D. οὐ παραπέμπειν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ εἰς ἐγγόνους προφάσει τῆς ἀκριβοῦς δίκης καὶ τοῦ βούλεσθαί περ ἐπιεικῶς μάλα πίντος δίκην τῶν πονηρῶν ἀφανίζειν τὰ σπέρματα.

'Not to continue the quarrel to the second and third generation on a pretext of rigid justice, or on the still more specious pretext of wishing to abolish the seed of the wicked root and branch.'

περ is of course impossible. Reiske proposed ὅπερ ἐπιεικῶς μάλα προφασίζονται, πίντος. Hertlein would delete περ as a remnant of ὥσπερ, 'quod aliquis ad δίκην explicandum addidisse videtur, ut 406 c.' I should prefer to read καίπερ (or possibly εἴπερ); either would be easily corrupted after βούλεσθαι, and would give a good sense.

As to Hertlein's observations on ὥσπερ, I

do not believe that any one would think of adding it or anything else on the ground that a word so common as δίκην in late Greek was unintelligible without it. But it might be added superfluously, and that by Julian himself just as much as by any other person. Look at all these passages, beginning with that quoted by Hertlein himself:

406 C. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡλίον καθαροῦ δίκην.

393 C. οἰονεὶ καλύκων δίκην.

440 D. οἰονεὶ σφαίρας δίκην.

447 B. οἰονεὶ πτηνοῦ δίκην.

Are we to suppose that some one went through Julian with pencil in hand looking out for every δίκην he could see and explaining them for the benefit of a posterity which might just as well be ignorant of the meaning of οἰονεὶ and ὥσπερ? Julian added them all himself, why not? Such expressions are apt to be doubled.

104 B. καὶ γάρ, οἶμαι, σόφρονα καὶ συνετήν καὶ νέμειν ἐκάστῳ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ θαρραλέαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ πάντα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐκείνην οἴομενοι χρῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγκωμίων ἀφαιρησόμεθα;

'Believing Eusebia to have all the virtues under heaven, am I not to praise her?' The first four virtues are naturally the cardinal, and the words καὶ νέμειν—ἀξίαν have to represent δικαίαν. As they can't do it, Hertlein proposes to read καὶ <οἶαν> νέμειν. Don't you feel an awkwardness about this? I should prefer καὶ νέμουσιν. But a more important point is χρῆναι. Surely the most careless reader must see that χρῆναι is wrong. Fancy a panegyrist saying that a Queen ought to have all the virtues! Of course she not only ought to have them, but has: 'Tis the prerogative of royalty,' as somebody says in one of Fletcher's plays, Nor can we get out of the difficulty by making the words mean 'she ought to be called by all such epithets,' not even if we should read ἐκείνη, for πάντα must represent a feminine accusative parallel to σόφρονα, etc. For this curious neuter in place of the feminine compare 212 B, πρὸς διδασκάλους, πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας, πρὸς πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, and 234 D τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Διὸς ἀνθρώπου.

I conclude then that χρῆναι must be ejected from the text or is corrupt.

105 c. καὶ ὡς κρίνειν εἶ ἠπίστατο, οἷσιν τ' εἶ φρονέησι, καὶ διαλύειν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα τοῖς πολίταις ἀναφύομενα ξὺν δίκῃ.

'οἷσιν τ' εἶ φρονέησι Cob. ex Odyss. η 74.' But V gives ἦσιν δὲ εὐφροσύνη, M ἦδη δὲ εὐφροσύνη, and the rest ἦδη δὲ φρονήσει. And the reading of η 74 has been disputed from early times. αἱ χαριέστεραι read ἦσιν τ' εἶ φρονέησι, and Eustathius testifies to a third reading, ἦσιν εὐφροσύνησι. The original was probably ἦσι τ' ἐπιφροσύνησι, but this was of course unknown to Julian. The question then is which reading he had. The line ends with καὶ ἀνδράσι νεῖκα λυεί, and this is what Julian paraphrases by καὶ διαλύειν κ.τ.λ. In Homer, and therefore also in Julian, καὶ means *even* or *also*, and therefore the comma before it must be deleted. Then τοῖς πολίταις shews that Julian does not take ἀνδράσι to be *men* opposed to *women*, and so he cannot have read ἦσιν τ' εἶ φρονέησι. But the reading of V plainly points to ἦσιν, and the other MSS. are at least nearer to that than to οἷσιν. Moreover τοῖς πολίταις does not appear to me to come in a natural position after οἷσιν κ.τ.λ. On the whole the reading preserved by Eustathius (and in a corrupted form by two of La Roche's MSS.) seems much the most probable here, ἦσιν τ' (perhaps changed by Julian to δ' if we are to trust *his* MSS.) εὐφροσύνησι καὶ διαλύειν.

108 A. νῦν δὲ ἦδη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιλειπούσης, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς μοναρχίαν τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μεθέστηκε, τιμὴ καθ' αὐτὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν ἀντίρροπος εἶναι δοκεῖ.

The subject of the sentence is the Consulship. We must read μεθέστηκεν, ἢ τιμὴ καθ' αὐτὴν. For to say 'though its power is lost, it seems to be an honour in itself,' is ridiculous. 'The honour *per se* is reckoned equivalent to any power whatever.'

Also we must read ἐπιλιπούσης with the inferior MSS. Nobody in the fourth century could use the present tense in talking of the decline of the consul's power. At 137 D we shall find the same correction to be necessary, at 448 B Hercher has had to correct the strange form λειποτάκτην, and at 449 B a nonsensical ἀπολείπων (ἀπολιπόν Vat.) has yielded to Horkel's ἀπολιπόν.

110 c. τῇ δὲ ἀνὴρ μὲν οὐδεὶς καλὸς καὶ μέγας ἢ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ πλούσιος ὅς ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ὑπέμεναι ποτε.

Nobody has ever had the face to ask the Empress's mother to marry him. For this

more reasons than one might be assigned, but the beauty or the inches of the suitor could not well be a lawful impediment. Hence it is no use to eject ὅς with Horkel, for the result is a sentence signifying that no man of any looks, and so on, has ventured to propose himself, and you expect the author to continue by saying that hideous dwarfs have besieged the lady like a princess in a fairy tale. What has happened really is that οὕτω has dropped out after οὐδεὶς. Cf. 179 c: τίς οὖν οὕτω παχὺς τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅς οὐ συνήσιν;

119 D. ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ποτε ἄρα πεπόνθαμεν; καὶ τίνα νῦν διαπεραίνειν οἴομεθα λόγον;

'Post διαπεραίνειν,' says Hertlein, 'fortasse δεῖν excidit. Malim vero scribere περαίνειν διανοοῦμεθα.' It seems however that οἶμαι δεῖν was such a common expression that it became abbreviated, as common expressions will, into οἶμαι without δεῖν. Lysias *Eratosthenes* 26: οὐκ οἶε ἔμοι καὶ τουτοισὶ δοῦναι δίκην; where Madvig wished to omit οἶε, making δοῦναι depend on ἀξιοῦς a little way back. *Ibid.* 93: εὔνοος ᾧοντο εἶναι, where the context shews the meaning to be 'expected you to be their partisans.' Plato *Laches* 200 B: οὐ σύ που οἶε καταγελάειν, 'whom you see fit to laugh at.'

128 A. Omit the words τὸν πρὸς τοῖς νεωρίοις πόλεμον, which are a manifest gloss on τείχους μὲν αἴρσειν (the storm of the Greek wall in the *Iliad*), καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τρόπον τινα ναυμαχίαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

130 c. ἐντέτῃκέ μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος.

Read ἐκ παιδός, which was corrupted by the τῶν following. Unless indeed the Emperor wrote ἐκ παιδόθεν as at the opening of the 74th epistle.

133 A. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ξύμπας, ἄτε δὴ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου [τῆς ἰδέας τάγαθοῦ] γεγονὸς ἔκγονος.

Another most gross and palpable gloss. Hertlein seems to suspect something, for he suggests ἀγαθοῦ for τάγαθοῦ, but what he means by it I cannot conjecture.

137 D. ἐκ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας εἰ πάντως ἐγένετό τι συνεχῶς, ἀνελύτο δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν μηδὲν, ἐπέλειπεν ἂν τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ οὐσία.

ἐπέλειπεν VEEFG, ἐξέλειπεν Mb, ἐπέλιπε vulgo. Surely the old vulgate is right, and the good MSS. are wrong again. The sense requires 'would have run dry,' not 'would now be' nor 'would have been running

dry.' Why should the οἰσία τῶν γιγνομένων have been failing just when Julian wrote this Oration? His argument is a bad one of course, because things may be getting used up without our knowing anything about it, but such as it is it needs an aorist. And such as it is, it is an echo of Plato *Phaedo* 72 D: εἰ γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ζῶντα γίνονται, τὰ δὲ ζῶντα θνήσκοι, τίς μηχανῆ μὴ οὐ πάντα καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ θεθνάαι; *Not καταναλίσκεσθαι.*

152 B. ὑμνεῖσθω τε ἄλλοις ἀξίως καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πιστενέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύσθω.

The dative of the agent after ὑμνεῖσθω is not impossible in Julian, but yet we ought to read ὑμνήσθω, as is shewn by the whole tenor of the sentence. πιστενέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύσθω makes it clear that the subject *has been* already illustrated by others, and so needs no further witness from us.

159 A. ἀρά γε χρὴ φάναί καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων; καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρητῶν γράφομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα ἐκλαλήσομεν; the balance of the sentence makes it clear that we should insert ἐξοίσομεν after ἀνέξοιστα.

168 A. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλως ῥέπειν πέπεικε νεύειν εἰς τὴν ὕλην δοκεῖ. ῥέπειν καὶ νεύειν B. Friederich. Better ῥέπειν τε καὶ ἐπινεύειν, which accounts for the letters of the text.

160 C. ἡμῖν [τε] οἱ θεοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ μιμῆσθαι τοὺς ἡμῶν.

τε seclisit Hertlein. Compare 219 A ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς, and write here μιμῆσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, or possibly τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἡμῶν.

179 C. δι' Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἕνεκα τοῦ πάντη καὶ πάντως, ὃ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἰδίον ἐστίν.

Read τὸ ἕνεκά του, and translate: 'By Hermes and Aphrodite are typified all those parts of the material world which shew evidence of design (have in them that which is for the sake of some end), for that is the peculiarity of Reason.' Hermes was called λόγιος, and τὸ ἕνεκά του is what shews λόγος in γενέσις; therefore Hermes may be taken as a type of design in the world. As for Aphrodite, even the ingenuity of a disciple of Iamblichus cannot make out much of a case for her; she and λόγος are 'many miles asunder,' but Hermes is called ἐπαφρόδιτος ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν, and if you aren't content with that, you will be called παχὺς τὴν ψυχὴν 'by the master of many legions.

Directly after, Attis is described as ἄφρω

μὲν ὅτι τὴν ὕλην εἴλετο καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιτροπέει. Read ἐπιτροπέειν. To say that Attis chose τὴν ὕλην is absurd; he chose to look after τὴν ὕλην.

183 A. εἶτε ὁμοίωσιν θεῶν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. Read θεῶ. Plato *Theaet.* 176 B.

195 C. Ἐπικούρος . . . οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φησιν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἐρίζων, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονεστάτου ζῶν καὶ ἔλεγε ζῆν εὐδαιμονέστερον.

Reiske made a truly monstrous sentence out of this by inserting εὐδαιμονέστερον after εὐδαιμονεστάτου. The real corruption is in καὶ ἔλεγε, for which read κατ' ἐμέ γε, and either omit ζῆν as a makeshift inserted after κατ' ἐμέ γε had been corrupted, or else read ζῶν εὐδαιμονεστέρα. The former alternative commends itself most to me, as one would expect βίον rather than ζωὴν (ζῶεις δ' ἀγαθὸν βίον, *Odyssey* xv. 491), but the lexicon quotes ζῶν ζῆζων from Herodotus.

For κατ' ἐμέ γε cf. 192 D, κατὰ σὲ φάναί.

195 D. ὃν ἂν πριώμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου τόσων ἢ μναῖν δυοῖν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα.

ἂν addidit Hertlein. Add further καὶ τόσων after τόσων, according to the rule for prose, though it is true that Plato does use τόσος for τοσοῦτος once or twice. But even Plato does not use it in this sense. Cf. 275 C, τὰ καὶ τὰ.

203 C. γυναικῶν ἀθλῶν τεθαύμακας φιλῶν νεκρὸν βίον.

The last words are plainly corrupt, nor does Hertlein's suggestion of φιλονεικῶν help much. In φιλωνεκρον the νν is a ditto-graphy, ε is for α, and κ is the usual corruption of β. The whole six words are evidently the ends of two tragic senarii.

At 203 B accent σοὶ for σοι.

206 C. οἷον εἶδωλα ἄττα καὶ σκιαί· πράττουσι γοῦν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐπιστήμης τὰ ψεῦδη.

πράττειν τὰ ψεῦδη is no sort of Greek, nor is it read here by any MS. of Julian. There is a string of lacunae hereabouts in his MSS. which is partly supplied by Suidas s.v. ὑπηγέμια. As just above Suidas gives ἀντί for ταντί, his testimony is not infallible. Here V has 'καὶ σκιαί . . . ἄττουσι (ut videtur) . . .' and the other MSS. fail altogether, for the only word of any difficulty. Whether V really had πράττουσι or not, I can have no doubt that what Julian wrote was προτιμῶσι, a favourite word of his; see e.g. 259 B, 261 D, 263 C, 268 B, 327 A, 329 C, 375 A,

376 c, 400 b. And προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν was almost a proverb. Certainly προτίουσι would be much more 'scientific' as people call it, but who ever saw προτίω in prose?

219 a. It is time ἰδοῦ was corrected to ἰδοῦ.

227 b. ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανιεύς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἥνικα ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐξήγει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ῥήτορας.

It is strange that the second Ἀθηναίους has not long ago been cleared away.

233 b. αἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀνδρῶν δὲ ὅστις ἡμῖν προσομοίος ἐστίν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα.

For καὶ read μὴ (the usual confusion of κ and μ). For δέ after μὴ μόνον see Hertlein's note on 116 c: καὶ οὐ τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς μόνον τούτῳ ἔδρασαν ἀγαθὰ, ξενίαν δὲ . . . Hertlein there gives a number of other references to Julian for this consecution.

252 a. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τό γε ἵνα πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχέως ἄμεινον ἄλλ' ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἕξων οὐκ ἀπαρμυθῆτως οὐδὲ ἀψυχαγωγῆτως ἐνόω.

Read ἐπεὶ for ἐπί. The meaning is: 'I don't say this (that you may go further than Illyria) as a wish, for it were better for you to come back to me the way you went.' One would certainly expect ἀνίεσθαι, but at 252 d we have τὴν οἴκαδε παρ' ἡμᾶς πορείαν, not ἴστον.

256 b. πρὸς ἣν ῥητέον ὡς οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύσει τὸ ζῶον εὐδαιμονίας ὀρέγεται, κρείττον εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην μακαριστὸν τέλος τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινετοῦ [μαντευόμενον].

The last word is bracketed by Hertlein; 'videtur expungendum esse, corruptum certe est.' If however we expunge it, the change from the construction of ῥητέον ὡς ἐστίν to κρείττον εἶναι is very unlike Julian, nor is it easy to see where μαντευόμενον should have come from. As he is manifestly thinking throughout this passage of the first book of the Nicomachean ethics, so here it looks as if he were consciously or unconsciously echoing the sentence in the fifth chapter: τὰ γὰρ θὸν δὲ οἰκείον τι καὶ δυσσαφαιρέτον εἶναι μαντευόμεθα. It would be nearer to his MSS. if we supposed that he used the active form μαντεύομεν.

272 a. οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελεῖν τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον ἀρκεσθεῖς.

Julian's use of πρὶν is not above suspicion (οὐ θέμις προσελθεῖν ἐστὶ πρὶν ἀπολοῦσασθαι *Ep.* 76), yet seeing how ugly καθελεῖν and περιελεῖν are so close together, being indeed only defensible as a silly pun, and how easy the corruption involved, I can hardly doubt that he wrote καθελεῖν. Similarly in the well known lines of Solon οὐτ' ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἀνταράξας . . . ἐξέλεν was corrupted, not indeed to ἐξελεῖν but to ἄν . . . ἐξέλη, and it looks as if that passage may have been in Julian's mind.

272 d. οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον ἢ ἀγαγόμενος τὴν ἀδελφήν.

He inveighs against the iniquity of Constantius in murdering Gallus, 'his cousin, the Caesar, the husband of his sister, the father of his niece, whose sister he had himself previously married.' If he had meant to say ἡγάγετο he would have said so; where else does he use such a periphrasis as ἦν ἀγαγόμενος? Is it not more likely that γαμβρός has dropt out after ἦν? then ἀγαγόμενος τὴν ἀδελφήν is added to insist further on the force of γαμβρός by repeating the idea in other words in a manner suitable to the impassioned tone of the whole sentence.

273 a. καὶ τοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ' ὄναρ μοι φανείς ἀδελφὸς ἐπεπράχει.

ἀδελφός Hertlein, ἀδελφός MSS. I suspect that Julian wrote οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὄναρ.

285 a. δυοῖν θάτερον προσδοκῶντες, ἢ διαστήσειν ἀλλήλους ἢ καὶ παντάπασι ἐπιθέσθαι μοι φανερώς.

Obviously ἐπιθήσεσθαι.

287 c. τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων.

Read αὐτοῦ.

299 d. οὐδ' ὅσα νερερίων ἵπεδέξατο φύλα καμόντων

Τάρταρος ἀχλυόεσαν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἄϊδος εἶσω.

'ἀχλυόετος?' Hertlein. No, ἀχλυόεσσα, which would to a certainty become ἀχλυόεσαν because of the hiatus.

301 c. μήτε Ἐπικούρειος εἰσίτω λόγος μήτε Πυρρόνιος ἤδη μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιῶντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνθρώκασιν, ὥστε ἐπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βιβλίων. ὁμως οὐδὲν κωλύει τύπον χάριν ἐπιμνησθῆναι μὲν καὶ τούτων.

This punctuation spoils the whole passage. Read βιβλίων, ὁμως δ' οὐδέν.

ARTHUR PLATT.

TWO NOTES ON *THE VERRINES*.

Cic. Div. in Caec. § 25.

Huic ego homini iam ante denuntio, si a me causam hanc vos agi volueritis, rationem illi defendendi totam esse mutandam, et ita mutandam ut meliore et honestiore condicione quam qua ipse vult imitetur homines eos, quos ipse vidit amplissimos, L. Crassum et M. Antonium, qui nihil se arbitrabantur ad iudicia causasque amicorum praeter fidem et ingenium adferre oportere.

With part of the above (the doubtful clause *et ita mutandam*) I have dealt in a previous note, *C.R.* vol. xviii. p. 208. That something was felt to be wrong with what follows may be inferred from the variants reported, e.g. *condicione sit* Pseud. Asc. and Lg. 45, *esse vult* Par. 7776 (p), G¹, Par. 7822, and the dett. A better line of emendation is suggested by the fact that in the three leading members of what I propose to call the Y family of MSS., viz. Par. 7776 (p—11th cent.), Lg. 29, and Harl. 2687 (which I cite together as pqr), before *imitetur* we have *ut*. If to this *ut*, we add the letter *i*, on the supposition that it may have fallen out in front of *imitetur*, and so read *uti*, construction and meaning alike become quite clear: *rationem . . . mutandam . . . ut meliore et honestiore condicione quam qua ipse vult uti imitetur* etc. Hortensius, if left to himself, would be at his old tricks; but he is hereby warned that he will have to rely in this trial, as Crassus and Antonius always did, on his own *fides* and *ingenium*.

In Verr. ii, 1 § 149 (Muell. p. 194, 36).

Iste quid ageret nesciebat; si in acceptum non rettulisset, putabat se aliquid defensionis habiturum: Habonium porro intellegebat rem totam esse patefacturum. Tametsi quid poterat esse apertius quam nunc est? Ut uno minus teste haberet, Habonio opus in accep-

tum rettulit quadriennio post quam diem operi dixerat.

The above is given as in Mueller's text,—eliminating, however, the ridiculous German commas (e.g. between *post* and *quam*) which have so long vexed our classical texts. But Madvig, in his *Epistola Critica ad Orellium* (pp. 89–90), had already shown a better way of punctuation, which is followed in the main by Jordan in the Zürich edition. What Madvig failed to see is that, on any explanation, *haberet* is an impossible reading. In place of *haberet*, it is natural to suggest *ageret*, such interchanges being of not infrequent occurrence. For example, in his *Actio Prima* (Mueller, p. 133, 36) all the MSS. give *secum habere* for *secum agere*. For the construction, compare § 117 *uno signo ut sit minus*,—though the *ut* there is not a final *ut*, as here.

We ought to return, therefore, to the punctuation suggested by Madvig, and read *Iste . . . esse patefacturum—tametsi quid . . . quam nunc est?—ut uno minus teste ageret, Habonium . . . dixerat*. Habonius was the fraudulent guardian, who wanted a quittance for his contract. Verres saw that if he declined to give such a quittance, he might be able to enter some defence of the charge now brought against him: on the other hand (*porro*) he saw that such a refusal on his part would lead Habonius to make a clean breast of the whole business (just as though anything were needed to complete the exposure!) and so, in order that he might shut his partner's mouth (*ut uno minus teste ageret*), he gave him the quittance asked for four years after the date he had set for the completion of the work.

W. PETERSON.

McGILL UNIVERSITY,
MONTREAL.

REVIEWS.

GAYE ON PLATO'S CONCEPTION OF IMMORTALITY.

The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas.

By R. K. GAYE. Pp. x+259. London: C. J. Clay and Sons. 5s. net.

MR. GAYE'S Essay, which obtained the Hare

Prize in 1904, deals with an interesting and important aspect of Platonic speculation. For the questions raised in it concern not merely immortality and the Ideas, but also the Platonic doctrine of the soul in general and its relation to body. Beginning with

a brief, but sufficient, sketch of pre-Platonic views of immortality, Mr. Gaye proceeds to discuss the views of Plato as developed successively in the *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *Republic*, and *Phaedo*. Then follow two chapters in which the results of this discussion of these 'earlier' views are summed up, and the changes which mark the later Platonic doctrines are indicated. Next, we have an examination of the teaching as to the soul and its immortality in the *Timæus* and the *Laws*; and the book concludes with three chapters on 'Immortality and the later Platonism,' 'the Degeneration of Souls,' and 'the Place of Immortality in Plato's Philosophy.' It will be seen from this table of contents that the ground is well covered; and it may be gathered also that Mr. Gaye is an adherent of that theory of Platonic development of which Dr. Henry Jackson has been for years past so able an exponent. Indeed, as is stated in the *preface* (p. vii), this Essay is 'based throughout on the assumption that there was some such modification of Plato's philosophical doctrines as they [*i.e.* Dr. Jackson and Mr. Archer-Hind] hold to have taken place.' Accordingly our estimate of the value of this Essay as a contribution to the study of Platonism, must depend largely upon our attitude towards this fundamental assumption of an 'earlier' and 'later' theory of Ideas. Personally, I am inclined to believe that the Ideas remained Ideas, naked and unashamed, to the end of the chapter, and to disbelieve that the 'Parmenides' hints at reformatory fig-leaves. But it would be irrelevant here to argue the point the Essayist assumes. There is, however, another side to this dependence upon the conclusions of the scholars named, and that is the almost complete omission of any reference to the work of Platonic scholars outside Cambridge. A continental reader could not fail, I imagine, to be surprised at what he would regard as a characteristic display of insularity. For example, Mr. Gaye discusses at some length the order and dates of composition of the *Symposium*, *Meno*, *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*. These matters have been discussed already *sescentiens*; there is a large literature dealing with them. Yet, strangely enough, Mr. Gaye takes no account of any theories other than those of Dr. Jackson, Dr. W. H. Thompson, and Mr. E. S. Thompson. His remarks are chiefly directed against the view of the last named scholar that the *Symposium* is to be classed with the *Phaedo* and dated after the *Meno* and *Republic*; and

he has little difficulty in showing that the arguments by which this view is supported are 'flimsy' in the extreme. It is much more natural, as Mr. Gaye maintains, to class the *Symposium* with the *Phaedrus*; and Mr. Gaye may also be correct in his view that the *Phaedrus* is later than the *Symposium*, as to which opinions seem to be about equally divided. Rather more important is the question as to the order of the dialogues *Phaedrus*, *Republic*, *Phaedo*. M. Lutoslawski, in his 'Plato's Logic,' has collected a good many arguments and opinions in favour of the view that the *Phaedrus* is later than the *Republic*, and the *Republic* later than the *Phaedo*. If Mr. Gaye believes it possible to arrive at a fixed order for these dialogues, it would have been well if he had taken account of M. Lutoslawski's statements, especially such a statement as that 'the proofs of the soul's immortality in the *Republic* and the *Phaedrus* are posterior to the *Phaedo*. They show a greater certainty, an advance in the form of expression, carried further in the *Phaedrus* than in the *Republic*'; and again, 'Plato laid great stress on the immortality of the soul in the *Laws*, and out of all his arguments in favour of this doctrine he selected the proof given in the *Phaedrus* as adequate (*ικάρων*)' (p. 335). In view of these statements, and the literary references by which they are supported, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Gaye can write (p. 73): 'No one, so far as I am aware, has attempted to ascertain the relation in which the *Phaedo* stands to the *Republic* by examining and comparing the respective proofs of immortality contained in the two dialogues, and the general attitude towards the question which Plato adopts in each of them.' Possibly no one has yet succeeded in ascertaining the truth as to these matters; but that is another thing. And I venture to doubt whether Mr. Gaye himself will produce conviction in the minds of those not already convinced. In fact, one may ask whether Plato intended any of his proofs to carry logical demonstration, or to serve as more than provisional supports for what was his personal belief; and one may reasonably suppose, as Prof. Shorey has put it, that 'the logical obstacles to a positive demonstration of personal immortality were as obvious to him as they are to his critics.' Mr. Gaye evidently thinks that the final argument in the *Phaedo*, and it alone, was entirely satisfactory to Plato's own mind; but this implies that Plato was the victim of a fallacy, and it leaves unexplained the

fact that in the *Laws* he chooses another proof rather than this one.

In connexion with the doctrine of immortality in the *Phaedo*, Mr. Gaye has an interesting, and I think novel, discussion of the reasons which may have led Plato at this date to attach so much importance to immortality. He supposes that while in the *Republic* Plato still hopes for direct cognition of the Ideas, in the *Phaedo* he has given up this hope and resorts to the doctrine of immortality as affording to the philosopher 'his only ground for hoping that he will sooner or later attain direct cognition of the ideas.' That Plato was for so long deceived as to the possibility of obtaining 'absolute knowledge' in this life it is not easy to believe; nor does it follow that because he attached importance to immortality we must find a reason for it in his despair.

Another problem of interest, upon which Mr. Gaye joins issue with Mr. Archer-Hind, is this: 'Does Plato in the *Phaedo* admit the possibility that souls exist in a state of complete separation from body?' Mr. Archer-Hind had answered this question in the negative, partly on the strength of *Phaedr.* 246 c, but Mr. Gaye sets aside that passage as a piece of 'conscious allegorizing' and insists on pressing the sense of such phrases as *χωρὶς σώματος* (*Phaed.* 76 c, 114 c) to the utmost. However, it still remains to be proved that Plato purposed any definite answer to the question, or meant *σῶμα* to be construed in its widest sense. It would seem that he is mainly concerned to assume a condition of soul where its energizing is pure from all bodily *πάθη*, whether or not we ascribe to such a condition entire immateriality. The object of Mr. Gaye's polemic is, however, not to destroy but to fulfil Mr. Archer-Hind's account of the 'earlier' theory, by showing that in it *ψυχαί* correspond in all respects to *εἶδη*, as equally *χωριστά*. He displays the zeal of the son of Zadok, who, by the way of the plain, 'overran Cush,' but the tidings he brings from the battle are, after all, much the same.

We find the same zeal in overrunning the conclusions of the first exponents of the 'later theory' in Mr. Gaye's exposition of the *Timaeus*. He criticizes Mr. Archer-Hind's interpretation of c. xiv from the stand-point that here he 'has not carried far enough the principle of interpretation which has guided him in his treatment of the Dialogue as a whole'; which means that he has confused allegory with history,

symbol with fact, logical with chronological sequence in his comments on the *πρώτη* and *δευτέρα γένεσις*. And I think Mr. Archer-Hind could hardly deny that Mr. Gaye's suggestions admirably serve to complete the consistency of his account of the philosophy of the *Timaeus*: *νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών!*

In another point also Mr. Gaye diverges from Mr. Archer-Hind. He believes that the 'later theory' allowed ideas of the four elements, as well as of 'natural kinds,' although 'Mr. Archer-Hind seems loth to admit that this is so.' And he is dissatisfied also with a phrase of Dr. Jackson's which speaks of the 'later' ideas as 'only hypothetically existent.' Against this Mr. Gaye argues that 'the idea must always be existent because it is an external mode of absolute thought.' Here, too, I think consistency is on the side of Mr. Gaye, who certainly, throughout this Essay, shows much ability and perspicacity in applying his formulae. For the 'later' Platonism these formulae seem to resolve themselves into these two: 'The ideas are thoughts of God: that is to say, they are permanent modes of the operation of supreme *νοῦς*. Individual souls are the creatures of God: that is to say, they are permanent determinations of supreme *νοῦς*.' And thus, in short, Plato explained the world as the self-evolution of absolute thought. It is true that this seems a nicely-rounded system of idealism; but, had it not been for Hegel and his kind, who would have thought of imputing it to Plato? Can it be said that this super-Berkeleyian idealism is not imported into the language of the *Timaeus*, rather than legitimately extracted from it? Or can it be denied that the exponents of this later Platonism are gifted with a philosophico-historical imagination which leads them, in their desire for *τὸ ἰκανὸν καὶ τέλειον*, to be wise above what is written?

But whatever prejudices we may entertain against the view of Plato's thought and its development which Mr. Gaye adopts, we cordially congratulate him on the scholarly, lucid, and interesting manner in which he has expounded his theme. A dissertation of this quality on such a subject is, in this country, a rare achievement. And one cannot but observe that in the attractive *format* of the book we have a *σῶμα* appropriate to its *ψυχή*: for in the book-world a *ψυχή αὐτῆ καθ' αὐτήν* is by no means a desideratum.

R. G. BURY.

BELOCH'S *HISTORY OF GREECE*.

Griechische Geschichte. VON JULIUS BELOCH. Dritter Band. Die Griechische Weltherrschaft. Erste Abteilung. Pp. xiv + 759. M. 9. Zweite Abteilung, mit Sechs Karten. Pp. viii + 576. M. 10.50. Strassburg: K. J. Teubner, 1904.

PROFESSOR BELOCH has here brought to a close the history which he began to publish in 1893. He may be congratulated on a remarkable achievement. There is no extant history that gives so vivid a picture of the Greek world from the earliest times to the close of the third century B.C. We may often differ from the author on particular points, but we can never fail to recognize that we are dealing with a powerful mind, which has studied detail with the full apparatus of modern research, but has never allowed itself to get buried beneath it. The present volume is perhaps the most valuable of the three, as it covers the period from 330 to 217 B.C., ground which has been little touched by first class historians. It is divided into two parts. The first part begins with an introduction dealing with the question as to whether the Macedonians were Hellenes. This is followed by six chapters that carry the direct narrative from the entry of Alexander into Ekbatana to the death of Seleukos in 280 B.C. Then comes what is perhaps the most important part of the work, a long digression of eight chapters dealing with the general aspects of the period. We do not lay the most stress on the chapters on the science, literature, and art of the Alexandrian age, interesting though they are. It is rather the general constitutional and commercial aspects of the period on which new light was urgently needed. On such points as population, the conditions of industry, and the cult of the kings, Prof. Beloch writes with authority and insight. In the six last chapters of the first part the narrative is again taken up, and carried to the peace between Philip and the Aetolian league in 217 B.C.

The second part carries the narrative no further in point of date, but is rather an appendix to the first, revising in some points certain conclusions in the light of new matter and dealing in greater detail with constitutional and chronological points. It bears in fact somewhat the same relation to the first part as Eduard Meyer's *Forsch-*

ungen do to his *Geschichte*, except in so far that in Beloch's case the *Forschungen* are published last. All students who are working at the period should have before them the very careful discussions on the complicated calendars of the time, and the lists of kings and magistrates. There are also a number of genealogies, an elaborate discussion of the division of the Satrapies after the death of Alexander, special chapters on the foreign possessions of the Ptolemies, the Amphictyonic Council, and the Boeotian league, and an inquiry into certain details of Alexandrian literature. It should be especially noticed that four sections, containing altogether a little more than one hundred pages, are definitely marked as notes to certain chapters in the first part. In order, we suppose, to avoid confusion, they are not themselves headed Chapter (Abschnitt). It is a pity, however, that they are not given any other name, but simply headed by the Roman figures. They will be difficult to quote, and one would have thought that the resources of the German language were equal to another word. It should be noticed in this connexion that the admirable chronological table of events at the end gives references under the head of any given event to the pages in which it is mentioned in both parts. It would be wise then for those who are reading the continuous narrative in the first part, to have this table before them, so that they can see whether any corrections or supplementary remarks are made in the second. It should be added that there is a complete index, and six maps; five of them referring to various parts of the Hellenized world at the dates of 303, 290, 270, 235, and 228 B.C., and the sixth marking the limits of the Greek language at about 220 B.C.

In reviewing a book like Prof. Beloch's it has seemed to be the most useful thing to do to explain what it contains, and not to attempt to criticize any of its views. It is not to be expected that every scholar will agree with all the theories that are here so vividly and vigorously propounded. But even those who disagree cannot fail to respect. For, to use the words in which Mommsen describes Gibbon, Prof. Beloch's history is written in a large spirit and with a comprehensive glance.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

ZIELINSKI'S *CLAUSELGESETZ*.

Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden. Von TH. ZIELINSKI, Prof. an der Universität St. Petersburg. Leipzig: Th. Weicher, Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung. 1904. Pp. 253. M. 8.40.

PROFESSOR TH. ZIELINSKI, of St. Petersburg, who is well known to students of Cicero as the author of a charming work *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig, 1897, has made a very remarkable discovery concerning the character of the Ciceronian clausula. From statements which he makes he appears to have been working upon the subject since 1894. His conclusions have been formed as the result of a truly gigantic piece of work: viz. the examination of all the clausulae in all the speeches of Cicero, 17,902 in number. These he has analysed, classified, and reduced to forms, and has finally discovered that they are based upon a principle which can be readily comprehended. The clausula follows a law, and if this is broken, then the clausula is faulty. It may at first be thought that the writer is suffering from an *idée fixe*, caused by prolonged poring over statistics. I have, however, studied his system with care, tested his examples, and examined in the light of his rules several speeches upon which I am myself working, and have come to the conclusion that, whatever the ultimate explanation of his law may be, it is a very valuable instrument which cannot be neglected by any critic, while it enables every reader to discover fresh charms in Ciceronian prose.

Since the subject is very technical and has not received much attention in this country, it may be well to state briefly some theories of ancient writers concerning the rhythm of prose, and the results arrived at recently by other inquirers.

Metrical prose was, of course, not an invention of the Romans, but came to them from Greece. Thrasy machus of Chalcedon, well-known to us from the *Republic* of Plato, is said to have been the first person to aim at metrical effect by the use of favourite rhythms. Quintilian (ix. 4. 87) speaks of him as the 'discoverer' of the paean. The same foot was preferred by Aristotle, who thought that the 1st paean (— ∪ ∪ ∪) was most suitable at the beginning of a sentence, and the 4th paean (∪ ∪ ∪ —) at the end. Both of these are metrical equivalents of

the cretic (— ∪ —), as Cicero points out when commenting upon the rule of Aristotle (Orator § 215). Demosthenes had certain favourite rhythms. Thus Norden shews that in the First Philippic the predominant forms in the clausulae are the ditrochaeus (or dichoreus), dispondeus, cretic + trochee, choriambic + trochee. His love of the cretic was noticed by Quintilian who quotes as examples of his *severa compositio* (ix. 4. 63) τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις from de Cor. 1, and μηδὲ τοξέῃη from Phil. iii. 19. The use of *numeri* was pushed to an extreme by Asiatic writers. Cicero says that they put in words merely to complete the rhythm: 'apud Asiaticos numeros servientes reperias quaedam verba quasi complementa numerorum' (Orat. 231). Their writings were marked by excessive partiality for certain rhythms, by carefully balanced clauses (*ισόκωλα*) and *ὁμοιοτέλευτα*, the delivery being as Cicero says a chant, or sing-song (ululanti voce more Asiatico canere Orat. 27).

The Asiatic school became popular at Rome. Cicero in a famous passage (Orator 214) after saying (modum) unum est secuta Asia maxime, qui dichoreus vocatur, quotes from a speech of Carbo

'quicumque eam violasset, ab omnibus esse ei poenas persolutas,' dichoreus . . . deinde, 'patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit.' Hoc dichoreo tantus clamor contionis excitatus est ut admirabile esset. Quaero, nonne id numerus effecerit? verborum ordinem immuta: fac sic, 'comprobavit filii temeritas,' iam nihil erit.

The use of rhythm was avoided by the Atticists, such as Caesar and Brutus: by archaic writers such as Sallust and apparently by Tacitus. The favourite rhythms of Livy differ, as will shortly be shewn, in an interesting particular from those of Cicero. The composition of Seneca and Pliny and that of the various imitators of Cicero is rhythmical and follows more or less the Ciceronian rules.

Cicero on various occasions and especially in de Or. iii. 173 *sqq.* and Orat. 204 *sqq.* discusses the nature of *numerosa oratio*. The gist of his remarks is that, while the orator should not fall into poetry, or *numeri* pure and simple, his discourse should be *similis numerorum*. Thus (Orat. 222) referring to the sentence of Crassus

missos faciant patronos, ipsi prodeant,

he says that but for the stop after *patronos*, it would form a senarius. He would prefer *prōdeant ipsi*.

Besides *numeri*, he says, *concinntitas* is necessary: i.e. the various *commata* and *cola* must be carefully balanced. 'The most important part of the sentence is the end or *clausula*: cf. de Or. iii. 192 'clausulas diligentius etiam servandas esse arbitror quam superiora, quod in eis maxime perfectio atque absolutio indicatur.' In a verse the beginning, the middle, and the end are equally important, and a blemish anywhere is promptly detected: 'in oratione autem pauci prima cernunt, postrema plerique.' He elsewhere (Orat. 216) defines what he means by *clausula*. He says 'hos cum in clausulis pedes nomino, non loquor de uno pede extremo: adiungo quod minimum sit, proximum, superiorem, saepe etiam tertium.' He recommends for use in the *clausula* in the first place the cretic, and secondly the paean (— — — —), which is its metrical equivalent. Of the spondee he says that it is not 'funditus repudiandus,' and that it has 'stabilem quendam et non expertem dignitatis gradum.' I pass by the remarks which he makes about the use of other feet.

I also omit the rules laid down by Quintilian, since they appear to be based upon those of Cicero, while his examples, many of which are highly interesting and shew keen insight, are chiefly taken from Cicero's writings. I also pass over various remarks made by grammarians and rhetorical writers, with a single exception: which, in view of Zielinski's canon, possesses peculiar interest.

Terentianus Maurus (290 A.D. circ.) says of the cretic

optimus pes et melodis et pedestri gloriae:
plurimum orantes decebit, quando *paene in ultimo*

obtinēt sedem beatam, terminet si clausulam
dactylus, spondeus imam nec trochaeum
respuo:

bacchicos utrosque fugito, nec repellas tri-
brachyn.

plenius tractatur istud arte prosa rhetoricum.

It will be noticed that he speaks of a *sedes beata* for the cretic in the *clausula*, viz. *paene in ultimo* before — — — —. This statement is practically identical with Zielinski's law, which I shall shortly set forth.

During the last 25 years various writers have dissected the Ciceronian *clausula*.

The first writer upon the subject was G. Wüst (1881), who in his work '*de clausula rhetorica*' etc. tabulated the results arrived at by an examination of 18 speeches, leaving the others to those blessed by leisure or to whom 'natura ferream quandam constantiam dedit.' He shewed clearly that while some *clausulae* were extremely common, others were very exceptional, e.g. the *clausula heroica*, condemned by Quintilian. Thus he only found two cases of this in the speeches used by him viz. Cat. 1. 14. *cumulasti*, Mil. 91 *volitarunt*, where the unsynopated forms remove the faulty rhythm. So in 1895 I read *volitaverunt* in Mil. l.c., which Zielinski refers to as being the only occasion upon which any editor has made an alteration on metrical grounds. The results of Wüst's discussion were somewhat desultory, and his chief claim to praise lies in the fact that he was the pioneer. He was followed by several investigators who proceeded by one of two methods. One school, the most eminent member of which is M. Bornèque (1898), took as its watchword the theory that the metrical form of the last word in the *clausula* determines the metrical form of that before it, e.g. he took an iambic dissyllable, and tabulated all possible feet found before it, e.g.

oras	} ferant.
figere	
amoveant	
ore	
scripserint	

He took his illustrations from the letters *ad Fam.* some of which are wholly rhythmical, such as those to Lentulus, while others are only partially so. Those to Atticus are, of course, not rhythmical. His conclusions were not satisfying. Frequently he says that no conclusion is possible, or that all the forms seem possible. His tables, however, are exceedingly interesting when compared with Zielinski's forms, the results being the same though the terminology is different. The other school represented by E. Müller, *de numero Ciceroniano*, 1886, Norden in his important work, *die klassische Kunstprosa*, 1898, and Ju. Wolff, *de clausulis Ciceronianis*, 1901, insisted upon the connexion of Latin rhythmical prose with Greek, and endeavoured to collect types or forms of *clausulae*. They also made important contributions to our knowledge of Ciceronian prosody. Wolff found that there were 4 chief forms of the *clausula*, viz.

— — — —	ditrochee
— — — — —	choliambic
— — — — —	dicretic
— — — — —	hypodochmiac

These writers shewed that a particular foot might, as in verse, be replaced by its metrical equivalent, e.g. a cretic by a molossus (— — —) or an epitrit (— — — —, or — — — —): just as Cicero had pointed out that a cretic was the metrical equivalent of a paean. Wolff indicated various devices used to produce favourite rhythms, e.g. the use of *-que* and *atque* in a clausula, the latter word being constantly found in the clausula before a consonant, whereas elsewhere it is seldom used except before a vowel. He illustrated the use of synaloepha, elision, hiatus, contraction (e.g. *nil, comprehendo*), and shewed how the evidence of the clausula threw light upon such questions as the gen. in *-ii*, and *-i*.

Zielinski, who in a review of my edition, vol. VI. Oxford Class. Texts (Deutsche Literaturz. 1901, p. 1556) hinted at certain conclusions of his own regarding the *clausula*, now thought it time to publish his secret. This he did briefly in a review of Wolff's work (D. L. 1901, p. 3243), where he points out that both the ditrochaeus, and the hypodochmiac of Wolff are preceded by a cretic base, like his other two forms. There is really, therefore, only one form of the clausula, viz. a cretic (or its metrical equivalent) followed by a trochaic cadence consisting of from 2 to 5 syllables.

This view he has developed at length in the present work. His investigations are mainly concerned with the *clausula*, since this is the point in the sentence where the rhythm becomes most palpable. It is, however, obvious, as is indeed stated by Cicero and Quintilian that the *cola* are governed by the same rules, though not with equal stringency. This subject he promises to discuss in a later work upon what he terms the 'durchgehender Rhythmus' or 'constructiver Rhythmus,' which, from the hints which he throws out, promises to be of a most fascinating character.

The strength of Zielinski's arguments is based upon statistics. He has classified all the examples, and is always ready with percentages. He quotes in full all the rarer cases. He is thus enabled to speak with authority, and to talk of laws, where his predecessors could only speak of favourite forms.

The theory is briefly this. In every clausula there are two parts, a basis, and

a cadence. The basis consists of a cretic, or its metrical equivalent, the cadence varies in length, and is trochaic in character.

Form 1. — — — — —

This is the simplest and favourite form (4184 exx., 23 p.c.). In it no metrical licenses of any kind are allowed, i.e. no molossus, or resolution of long vowels. The last syllable, of course, is doubtful, as in verse.

Form 2 }
ii } — — — — —

The basis has two¹ forms, viz. the weak — — — — —, and strong — — — — —. Of the first he finds 1991 exx. (11.1 p.c.). Of the second 1297 exx. (8. p.c.). It is an interesting point in tracing the development of Cicero's rhythm that in his later speeches he shews marked preference for the cretic basis as against the molossus.

Thus while in the Verrines Zielinski finds — — — — — 479 exx., — — — — — 399, in the Philippics the figures are — — — — — 514, — — — — — 161.

Form 3 }
iii } — — — — —

Of the weak form he finds 1787 exx.: of the strong 1586.

So far the question is one of the greatest possible simplicity. No metrical license of any kind has been admitted, beyond the recognition of the two forms of the basis. Yet these three Forms at once account for 10,845 out of 17,902 clausulae, or 60.3 p.c. They are denoted by Zielinski as *V*, or *Verae* clausulae.

If for a moment we glance at previous theories, we find that the result of Zielinski's tables is to establish the canon of Terentianus Maurus, concerning the *sedes beata* occupied by the cretic *paene in ultimo*. Form i is that connected by Quintilian with Demosthenes, i.e. *πᾶσι καὶ πάσις*—*μηδὲ τοξείῃ* (34 exx. in Phil. i), and appears in the emendation made by Cicero upon the involuntary senarius of Crassus, viz. *prōdēant ipsi*. It coincides with the second of Wolff's forms viz. the choliambic. Form ii is the dicretic recommended by Quintilian who says '*sed et se sequitur creticus*' (ix. 4. 107) and quotes Lig. 38 *servārē quam plurimōs*. It is the 3rd form of Wolff. Form iii is the ditrochaeus

¹ Zielinski throughout indicates the weak forms by ordinary numerals, and the strong by the same numerals more heavily leaded, e.g. 2 and 2. For the sake of clearness I use Roman numerals, e.g. ii, for the strong forms, and Arabic, e.g. 2, for the weak.

should occur in the speeches of Cicero. Zielinski, of course, knows the answer, but resorts to *a priori* considerations before producing his statistics.

His first principle is what he terms his 'Law of Correspondence,' *i.e.* that the variations, *i.e.* the *L* and *S* clausulae, tend to model themselves upon the typical or *V* forms, *i.e.* $S\ ii : S\ 2 = V\ ii : V\ 2$. Here *S* ii is the unknown quantity or *X*. The other quantities are known. *S* 2 occurs 235, *V* ii (in round numbers) 1300, and *V* 2 (also in round numbers) 2000 times. So $X : 235 = 1300 : 2000$, the result being 152. This, therefore, is the number of times when *S* ii should occur if this were the only law in operation. But there is another force which must be taken into account: *viz.* that of equipoise, which tends to maintain a balance between long and short syllables. This must obviously tend to diminish the number of occasions upon which we might otherwise expect to find this combination of long syllables. How shall we determine the strength of this force? This can be ascertained by the statistics concerning *S* iii. If we start with a similar equation, *viz.* $S\ iii : S\ 3 = V\ iii : V\ 3$ ($S\ 3 = 500$, $V\ 3 = 1800$, $V\ iii = 1600$) we get the formula, $X : 500 : 1600 : 1800$, the result being 444. The actual number of *S* iii clausulae, however, is 116. The law of equipoise, therefore, has in *S* iii reduced 444 to 116. It will, therefore, reduce 152, the expected number for *S* ii, in the same proportion, *i.e.* $X : 152 = 116 : 444$. The result is 40. Zielinski then produces his statistics, which reveal 44 cases. Various adjectives might be applied to this method of reasoning: none will question its ingenuity.

So much for the theory of the clausula. There remains the fascinating subject of what Zielinski terms the constructive or pervading rhythm. This corresponds to the *concinuitas*, or *numerosa compositio* of ancient writers. I would prefer to call it the rhythm of the *colon*. This Zielinski proposes to deal with in a subsequent work. He, however, makes frequent references to it, and it is easy to see on what lines the investigation must proceed. It is clear that the *numerus* of the *colon* is identical with that of the clausula. This appears from *e.g.* Orator 230, where Cicero is quoting a period from his speech *pro Cornelio*, where he says 'compositi oratoris bene structam conlocationem dissolvas permutatione verborum.' The whole effect he says will be lost (*perierit tota res*) if the collocation is changed, *e.g.* if for

neque me divitiae movent, quibus omnis Africanos et Laelios multi venalicii mercatoresque superarunt (*L* 1²)

we write 'superarunt mercatores venaliciiue' (*P* 3)

or, in the next colon, if for

e Syria Aegyptoque vicerunt (*V* 1 γ)

we substitute 'e Syria Aegyptoque' (*MS.* iii²),

or, in what follows, if for

ab aliquo video perfacile Deliaco aut Syro potuisse superari (*L* 1²)

is written 'potuisse superari ab aliquo Syro aut Deliaco' (*P*²).

Zielinski considers the chief difference to lie in the fact that in the clausula the rhythms are more strongly-marked and their laws are more rigid. There is also a new principle at work. Whereas the clausula is autonomous and not affected by other clausulae, each colon is in relation to other cola and influenced by them. A special point of interest which at once appears is that in the cola the harsh rhythms, *S* and *P*, are more frequent than at the end of the sentence. Quintilian (ix. 4. 70) makes some very suggestive remarks. He says—Quaedam etiam clausulae sunt claudae atque pendentes si relinquuntur, sed sequentibus suscipi ac sustineri solent, eoque facto vitium quod erat in fine continuatione emendatur. 'Non vult populus Romanus obsoletis criminibus accusari Verrem' (*S* 1): *durum si desinas*, sed cum sit continuatum iis quae sequuntur . . . 'Nova postulat, inaudita desiderat' (*V* 2): *salvus est cursus*.

Here the harsh rhythm (*S* 1) is redressed by *V* 2. Zielinski compares the next sentence.

Includuntur in cārcērēm cōndēmnātī (*S* 3): supplicium constituitur in illos, sumitur de miseris parēntībūs nāvārchōrūm (*S* 3): prohibentur adire ad filios, prohibentur liberis suis cibūm vēstītūmqūē ferrē (*V* iii).

Here after two blows from the hammer (*S* 3), the sentence terminates musically with *V* iii.

Sometimes the cola are arranged in strophes *abab*, *e.g.*

Cat. ii. 3 quam multos . . . qui quae ego
deferrēm nōn | crēdē|rent (ii)
quam multos qui propter stūl-
tītām | nōn pū|tārent (3 tr.)
quam multos qui ētlām dē-
fēndē|rent (ii¹)

quam multos qui propter improbitatem fallerent (3 tr.).
 Mur. 62 petunt aliquid | publi | cani
 (3 tr. β¹δ)
 cave quicquam habeat momenti | gratia (ii δ)
 supplices aliqui veniunt miseri
 et | calamitosisi (3 tr. β¹δ)
 scelestus et nefarius fueris si
 quicquam misericordia adductus | feceris (ii δ).

It is obvious that this subject will in the future render a rich harvest to the inquirer.

Zielinski now proceeds to the second part of his discussion: viz. the application of these conclusions. He considers

i. Orthography and prosody.

I pass hastily over these, merely mentioning some points of interest. A short vowel may remain short or be lengthened before e.g. *br*, *cr*, *gr*, *tr*, as in poetry. A vowel before *sc*, *sp*, *st* is lengthened. Synizesis is frequent, e.g. *dēesse* is always a dissyllable, both *vemens* and *vehemens*, *reprendo* and *reprehendo*, *nil* and *nihil* occur. The spellings *reccido*, *redduco*, *reliquus*, found in Lucretius, are everywhere demanded by the evidence of the clausula, e.g. Phil. ii. 10 *lege redductus*. Zielinski points out that, although *reliquus* has disappeared from the MSS., we have a trace of it, Phil. xiii. 2, where for *reliquorum* (so V) the D family give *belli quorum*. To this I would add from the same speech § 47 where I have conjectured

reliqui veniant] bellum quod veniant hv:
 (velim quo venias b: quod venias t).

Both forms of the genitive in the second declension are found, viz. *-i*, and *-ii*. The form in *-i*, e.g. *iudici Iuniani* seems to be almost invariable in substantives. At least Zielinski quotes no exceptions. The form *-ii*, however, seems naturally required in the famous clausula of Carbo, *filiū comprobavit*. In proper names, *-ii* seems frequently used, e.g. Mil. 70 *morte Clodii sentiatis*. This is interesting, since Müller always gives *-i* in the case of proper names, and *-ii* in that of substantives.

Both *periculum* and *pericūm* are found, but *vinculum* appears to be Cicero's form, not *vinculūm*. He also uses *gratius*, not *gratis*. Finally, the clausula gives evidence for *Caecina*, e.g. Caec. 17, *Caecinae nupsit*.

ii. Textual Criticism.

This is for me the most interesting part

of the discussion, and it was on account of the bearing of Zielinski's law upon textual questions that I was forced to study his book. He says that in the future it will be as impossible to edit Cicero without a knowledge of the clausula as to edit Plautus without a knowledge of Plautine metre. This is, of course, a strong statement, but it contains much truth.

He warns the student not to be too eager to remove rare rhythms by emendation, since what is rare is not necessarily bad, e.g. *Sii*, of which there are only 40 exx., and bad clausulae, e.g. the *clausula heroica*, are sometimes permissible. Certain conclusions present themselves, viz.

(a) Where there is a good clausula, the presumption is that the text is so far sound. Where there are two families of MSS. and one gives a V clausula, and the other M or P, there is reason for preferring V. This gives us a clue in innumerable cases where there is a variety in the collocation, and shews that sometimes the right reading is given by the inferior MSS. No one MS., therefore, should be slavishly followed, however good it may be.

(b) When a conjecture gives a rare clausula, the probability is against it. When it gives one for which there is no parallel, the chances are 18,000 to 1 against it.

(c) When there is other ground for suspecting a passage, fresh evidence is supplied by a faulty clausula.

Zielinski goes through all the passages of which he is aware in which the evidence of the clausula is for or against a disputed reading. He uses the text of Müller throughout, and in the case of those speeches published in vol. VI. of the Oxford text quotes my variants.

I single out one or two instructive cases.

In Cat. iii. 22. the usual reading is

ut homines Galli . . . vestram salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus esse factum putatis, praesertim qui nos non pugnando sed tacendo superare poterunt.

Potuerint Madvig.

Here the MSS. reading gives 1² (772 exx.): Madvig's conjecture yields *Miv.*²⁻⁴, being the only example of that clausula. The 18,000 to 1 rule, therefore, applies here. Zielinski approves of Eberhard's proposal to excise *praesertim . . . potuerunt*, which produces V3. This, however, is a violent change, and the goodness of the clausula is in favour of the MSS. reading. I am inclined to think that *potuerunt* is

right, and that Cicero preferred the indicative to the more usual subjunctive on rhythmical grounds. This opens up a large field for inquiry, viz. the influence of rhythm upon grammatical construction. I would refer e.g. to

Fam. 1. 7.° 10 qui plus opibus armis potentia valent, profecisse tantum mihi videtur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent.

Here I have often been puzzled by the sequence? Why not *valeant*? I now see what I take to be the reason, viz. *valerent* = *V*3, *valeant* = *P*2.

Cat. iii. 3 previously quoted. Here Halm excised *quam multos . . . putarent* while Madvig expelled *quam multos . . . faverent*. Both *cola* are defended by the strophic arrangement. They may be pleonastic, but they are musical. The order of the strophes, viz. *abab* is against the reading of the best MSS. which give *crēdērēt*, *defēdērēt*, *pūtārēt*, *fāvērēt*, i.e. *aabb*.

Mur. 83 consulem . . . fortuna constitutum ad amplexandum otium, scientia ad bellum gerendum, animo et usu ad quod velis negotium.

Halm here remarked that rhetorical symmetry required a verb with *negotium* to balance *amplexandum* and *gerendum*. The clausula is a bad one, viz. *M* vi¹. If *transigendum* were supplied that would give *V*3.

I add one or two small points upon which curious light is thrown, e.g. Cat. iv. 3 nec (v.l. neque) misera sapienti. The law of equipoise makes *nec* better than *neque* before *misera sapienti*.

Clu. 42 suo salvo cāpitē pōtūis-ēt Σ = 1·2
salvō cāpitē sū|ō pōtū|issēt *M* =
PP (no base);

Cat. 1. 20 consūlis iērīs | sūstī|nēbō MSS.
edd. = *L* 3¹, but wrong 'Anlauf,' and against 'Aufösetz.' Zielinski proposes *ivērīs*, which gives *V*3.

In a number of cases a reading not known to Zielinski removes a harshness, e.g.

Pomp. 42 saepe cognovistis. = *S*γ, a wrong type, the *S* clauses being δ.

Zielinski conjectures *cognostis*. This is the reading of *Harl.* 2682 (*H*). *Ib.* 68, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.

This gives *iv^{tr}γζ* (10 exx.). *H* was inventus est . . . venisse gauderent = *V*1.

The evidence of the clausula is particularly unfavourable for the Dutch school of critics who have wildly indulged in the use of brackets. For them it is, according to Zielinski, a 'divine judgment,' to be compared with the evidence furnished by finds of papyri in the case of Greek authors.

iii. The Higher Criticism.

viz. questions of authenticity.

It has been found that the percentage of various clausulae in Cicero is

$$V = 60.3 + L 26.5 + M 6.1 + S 5.2 + P 1.4.$$

This gives us a canon of authenticity for Ciceronian works. In a genuine writing we should expect to find that $V + L = 86$ p.c.

Zielinski compares with this formula similar formulae obtained from portions of Livy xxi, and Pliny, Panegyricus, equal in length to Cic. pro Caecina. The results are

	Cicero	Pliny	Livy
<i>V</i>	60.3	50.9	9
<i>L</i>	26.5	30.7	8
<i>M</i>	6.1	8.5	20
<i>S</i>	5.2	6	40
<i>P</i>	1.4	3.6	22

i.e. $V + L$ in Cicero = 86.8, in Pliny = 81.16, in Livy = 17.

$M + S + P$ in Cicero = 12.7, in Pliny = 18.1, in Livy = 82.

To compare with these results (*a*) the spurious *Controversia in Sallustium* (*b*) the *de domo* (*c*) the *pro Marcello*, we find the following percentages

	Controv.	Dom.	Marc.
<i>V</i>	22	60.7	52.5
<i>L</i>	28	28.1	35.8
<i>M</i>	27	5.8	4.2
<i>S</i>	14	4.5	6.6
<i>P</i>	11	.9	.9

i.e. $V + L$ in the *Controversia* = 50, in *de Domo* = 88.8, in *Marc.* = 88.3.

$M + S + P$ in the *Controversia* = 50, in *de Domo* = 11.2, in *Marc.* = 11.7.

It will be seen that the speech *de domo* conforms almost exactly with the Ciceronian canon. The other *post reditum* speeches yield similar results. In the *pro Marcello* the *V* and *L* clauses together come to 88 p.c., but the proportion of *L* clausulae to *V* is rather higher than elsewhere, resembling, as Zielinski points out, the canon for Pliny. As the speech is short and was delivered under peculiar circumstances, this slight deviation cannot be considered an argument against its genuineness.

Zielinski concludes by comparing the two versions given by Cicero and Sallust respectively of the letter sent by Lentulus to Catiline.

In Cicero (Cat. iii. 12) this runs thus

Quis sim scies ex eo quem ad te misi
(*S* 3): cura ut vir sis et cogita quem in
lucum sis progressus (*S* 3): vide equid tibi
iam sit necesse et cura ut omnium tibi
auxilia adiungas, etiam infimorum (*L* iii²).

Sallust (Cat. 44) gives it thus

Quis sim ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces
(*S* ii): fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis
et memineris te virum esse (*L* 3): consideres
quid tuae rationes postulerent (*L* ii¹): auxilium
petas ab omnibus etiam ab infimis
(*M* 4²⁻³).

It cannot be doubted that the version in Sallust is more authentic. Cicero has recast the words of the conspirator and made them rhythmical.

Zielinski does not examine the prose of Tacitus. I, however, took the trouble to examine the clausulae in four highly elaborate chapters of the Annals where we might expect to find rhythm if anywhere, viz. iii. 4 and 5, the funeral of Germanicus, *ib.* 54, the letter of Tiberius to the senate concerning the growth of luxury, and xiv. 5, the attempt upon the life of Agrippina. These contain 26 clausulae, of which 6 are *verae*, 5 *licitae*, 4 *S*, and the rest *M*, *P*, or *PP*, several not being reducible to any form, e.g. iii. 54

nēquē mētūs ultrā nēquē pūdōr est
intra Itāliā dōmināntībūs
divitēs sātīās in mēllūs mūtēt.

In these chapters, therefore, the percentage is

$$V + L = 45.$$

$$S + M + P + PP = 55.$$

Zielinski concludes his work by a learned discussion of the Latin accent, a question in which he is deeply interested. The subject is too large and too technical for me to deal with it here. His central points are the coincidence of the accent with the metrical ictus, and the connexion of his laws with the character and genius of the Latin language.

The question which will at once suggest itself to every reader of this review is, to what extent modern Latin Prose conforms to the Ciceronian canon? The inquiry is a painful one. I have shrunk from applying the test to versions of which I am myself guilty. I have, however, examined some published versions by a well known master of the art, and find an alarming number of *M*, *S*, *P*, and *PP* clausulae. I greatly fear that most of the oratorical prose which we and our predecessors have written may, if this test is applied, which I greatly deprecate, be found to conform with the system, not indeed of Cicero, or of Pliny, but possibly of the Anonymus who produced the *Controversia in Salustium*. What then are we to do? Shall we turn deaf ears to the *Clausegesetz*, or must we rewrite our Latin Prose?

ALBERT C. CLARK.

{CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM (FASC. IV).

Corpus Poetarum Latinorum. Edidit IOHANNES PERCIVAL POSTGATE. Fasc. IV. quo continentur Calpurnius Siculus, Columellae liber X, Silius Italicus, Statius. Londini, sumptibus G. Bell et filiorum, 1904. 4to. Pp. xiii. + 197-430. 9s. net.

THE new volume of the Corpus presents the same features as its predecessors. There is the same lucidity of arrangement, and the same careful apparatus criticus. If to some the text appear to be over-emended, it must be remembered that the aim of the editors is to produce a readable text, not a critical edition; an aim which is eminently reasonable in the case of a book destined for the purpose of general reference. This con-

sideration disarms that criticism which is jealous as to the admission of conjectures. How far particular conjectures are probable is a matter of special enquiry.

The Fasciculus contains Calpurnius Siculus, Columella Bk. X, Silius Italicus, and Statius. The preface begins with some generous words (provoked by the strictures of Ehwald) as to the merits of Baehrens as a critic: for in spite of his glaring defects Baehrens had some merits besides his curious astuteness. Though he damaged every text that he touched, there were for him lucid moments: he had at any rate one great virtue, which distinguishes him from many smaller men: he did his own work bravely, collating collecting and sifting materials,

not merely coming as a last hour arrival to scatter with his conjectures a field where the labour had been performed by others. As usual in the Corpus, there is a special preface to his author by each editor. Calpurnius has been edited 'secundis curis' by H. Schenkl: his admirable earlier edition is well known. Columella Bk. X. has been edited by Dr. Postgate. It was a happy thought to include this interesting poem on gardens, designed to fill the gap in Vergil's Georgics; especially as Columella was not printed in Baehrens' *Poetae Latini Minores*. Silius Italicus has been entrusted to the capable hands of Mr. W. C. Summers, who has already done much for the Silver poets. His recension is based on the Teubner edition of Bauer. Of Statius the Thebais and Achilleis have been edited by Prof. A. S. Wilkins, with his usual skill and judgement. Prof. Wilkins must be congratulated on the ability shown in his latest performance. Everywhere are signs of conscientious labour, labour which in his unfortunately weakened state of health must have been especially exacting. The materials are those of O. Müller and Kohlmann; but the text is in advance of Kohlmann's: there are no such metrical backslidings as that which appears in the Teubner text at Theb. x. 510. The unusually difficult text of the Silvae has been prepared jointly by Mr. G. A. Davies and Dr. Postgate, on the basis of the work of Klotz and Krohn: free use has been made of Engelmann's masterly essay *De Statii Silvarum Codicibus* (Leipzig. Stud. xx). The preface would have been more lucid, if it had been stated clearly that, as Engelmann has proved beyond question, the Matritensis is not Poggio's MS. (as Klotz contends) but is a copy of that MS. as are all the MSS. of the Silvae except the Laurentianus.

Of the text of Calpurnius little need be said, Schenkl's large edition being well known. It is a pity that the eclogues of Nemesianus could not have been included here; but convenience has been sacrificed to chronology. Two emendations, the first by Postgate, the second by Schenkl, printed in the text are decided improvements: i. 76 *tepet* for the almost meaningless *patet*, and iv. 63 *carmen modulatus auena* for *carmen modulavit a*. In v. 81 *nec Brutia desit pax tibi: <tu>*, the convincing emendation of Baehrens, is accepted. The conjecture *fulmina* proposed on i. 57 may be ignored. On the following lines iii. 13, 22, 80, 91, v. 109 occurs the note 'def. Ellis': as we are nowhere informed where Ellis

defended the text in these passages, the notes are both tantalising and useless.

The text of Columella presents few novelties, the chief being Postgate's pretty correction l. 80 *cantabit* for *contauit*, and Housman's conjecture *mulcet* for *miscet* proposed in l. 262. Little is left untranslatable: the following three passages are however exceptions, being obelised. Line 193 stands *tuque suis Paphien iterum iam pange Kalendis*. The subject is different kinds of lettuces, the Caecilian sowed in January (190) the Cappadocian sowed in February (191) the Spanish (192) in March, and (in this line) the Cyprian (cp. 187 *Cypros item Paphio quam pingui nutrit in aruo*) sowed in April, the month associated with Venus (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 69): cp. Plin. *N.H.* xix. 125. I think we should read *tuque tuis Paphien Amathusia pange Kalendis*. Amathus, the port of Cyprus, was associated with Venus: Catull. xxxvi. 14. Line 244 *tempus havis satio famosaque tunc coriandra* is left unemended: *tunc raphanis* is proposed in the note by Housman. I suggest *tum pyrethris satio*. That *pyrethrum* had its uses may be seen from Ov. A. A. ii. 418. Line 407, marked as corrupt, *at nunc expositi paruo discrimine leti*, for which Housman proposes *ex positis*, Postgate's *uice nunc positi*, is probably not corrupt, and means 'But now (when transplanted) cause slight risk of certain death': *expositus* means 'what is open to all.' Stat. Silv. ii. 2. 152, Lucan v. 102.

Passing to Silius Italicus at i. 46 for *similisque* Postgate's conjecture *famulusque* (of the Trebia) is printed in the text. The conjecture appears to me hardly certain: comparing iv. 701 (also of the Trebia) *gramineas undis statuit socialibus aras*, I have long been inclined to read *sociusque*. i. 71 is partly emended and partly left corrupt; it appears *addiderat iam tum* (Summers' *tandem* MSS.) *puero† patrius furor oscus.†* In the note Mr. Summers proposes *pater: hinc furor ortus*. I have long thought that the text should read *addiderat iam tum puero patrius furor. ortus Sarrana prisci Barcae de gente*. i. 156 *nymphis ululatur (ululatus* MSS.) *Hiberis* is accepted from Lefebure, and a full stop placed at the end of the line. But surely the usual comma, and the reading *ululatus* (sc. *est*) should be retained: a past tense is required by the context; the omission of the substantive verb is too common to need illustration. i. 316 *aere* is needlessly altered to *aera* in the text, and the conjecture proposed in the note *permisso—ascendit—telo*

seems superfluous. i. 373 Mr. Summers prints his attractive conjecture *surgebat cumulis etiam tum* (*cumulo certantum* MSS.) *prorutus agger*; but though he mentions in the note his authorship of *etiam tum*, he says nothing of *cumulis*, leaving the reader to gather that it is in the MSS. See *Class. Rev.* xiii. 297. i. 477 Mr. Summers prints his convincing correction *contra* (for *inter*) *solem*. i. 656–657 are transposed by Postgate in the text to follow 645. ii. 21 *quis*, proposed for *quid* in the note, appears to me wrong, for *quid* is a variation on *quantum*. ii. 86 Mr. Summers prints his own ingenious conjecture *tumululumque propinicum* (for *tumuloque propinquo*)—*campo* (for *campum*). ii. 166 *laeuae* (Postgate) is printed for *laenae*. ii. 508 Summers proposes *tenorem* for *uigorem*; wrongly, I think. The words *uigorem dignum te* have special appropriateness with reference to the strong man Hercules. ii. 614 the conjecture (*lentum indignata parentum*) (Summers) produces an ill-sounding rhyme. Perhaps we should read *lentum paratum*: they were setting about their work too slowly. At iii. 98 Mr. Summers' alterations *quae* (for *cui*), and *aeque* (for *atque*) are decided improvements. iii. 520 *cremat* (Postgate) for *premit* is bold, but gives good sense. iv. 188 *meditantem* (for *meditatus*) seems hardly necessary. vi. 32 *ac mentita* (for *atque iniecta*) *morte tegebat* (Postgate) is excellent. vii. 269 Summers' conjecture *aegrae—inuidiae—mederi* (for *aegre—inuidiam—timere* obelised in the text) involves overmuch change. vii. 273 *castra scrutantem* (Summers, omitting *et*) is convincing. vii. 606 *cum sedit* (Summers for *consedit* Ch.) may be right: but why should not *sedit cui* (S) stand? viii. 41 for *sit fas, sit tantum, quaeso, retinere fauorem | antiquae patriae*, etc. Summers offers two to my mind superfluous conjectures in the note. The text surely means: 'Only, I pray, may the divine law sanction my remaining faithful to my old country (Carthage), and to the instructions my sister Dido gave me, though I now have a place among the gods worshipped by Rome.' The three following conjectures printed in the text, ix. 165 *scelerare* (Summers for *celare*), ix. 347 *sintque* (Postgate for *sitque*), x. 229 *Viriathum* (Postgate for *ritu iam*) deserve high praise. x. 462 *tumulata* (Summers for *mulcata*) is inferior to Drakenborch's *mulcata*. xii. 479 *sed non, ut scitum celerare ad moenia Poenium, | astabat res ulla loco* is altered by Summers to *sed nunc—haud stabat*: but the use of *haud* with a verb (except in the phrase *haud scio an*) is rare. Read *sed non*

—*iam stabat*. On the vexed passage xii. 669 Summers adds in the note another to the numerous existing conjectures. xv. 549 *si patriae vis credere* (Summers for *addere*) *fatis* seems to me tame. Retaining *addere* the meaning is 'if you want to add (something to) the destinies of your country' viz. increase its history: cp. Vergil's *noua condere fata*. There are many other minor alterations (e.g. on v. 134, vii. 460, viii. 313, 508, ix. 53, x. 158, 406, xi. 22, 241, 470, xv. 147, 648, xvi. 323, xvii. 233): but these are sufficient to show the character of the work.

The text of the Thebais of Statius is conservative on the whole. I notice some points. i. 16 *limes* is rightly restored, but in l. 18 Prof. Wilkins has unfortunately not had the courage to eject Heinsius' *spirare* in favour of *sperare* MSS. The meaning is 'The limit of my poem is the Theban story: I cannot aspire to be the laureate of the empire.' i. 45 *alto* (Lachmann) is accepted for *alio* MSS.; but *alio horrore* seems right meaning 'a fresh horror,' new sort of horror: Theb. x. 85 *Aethiopsque alios* (Friedländer on Iuv. iv. 138). i. 227 *mens cunctis imposta manet* is rightly obelised. I suggest here *iniusta*, which seems to me obvious. i. 460 Postgate's *sociae novisse cubilia terrae* is adopted. ii. 638 *dubia iam luce* (Wilkins) is a neat conjecture. iii. 101 *uadere contemptum reges* (for *regis*) is restored from a few MSS. The plural is however awkward, as Eteocles only is in question. iv. 145 *belli* viz. *bellatorum* (Wilkins) for *ferri* is a neat suggestion: the expression is in the manner of the Silver poets: Lucan v. 108 *minas impellere belli*. iv. 665 *conspicit et solem radiis ignescere ferri* here *solem* should not be obelised, and the conjecture offered (*atque solum*) appears unnecessary. This is one of those bold inversions characteristic of Latin poetry 'the sunlight glitters with gleams of steel' means 'the gleaming steel glitters in the sunlight.' vii. 123 *ni fallimur aure* is altered by Wilkins to *num fallimur aure*? But *ni* is sound: it is a variation on the ordinary phrase *ni fallor*, and there is a characteristically Latin ellipsis in the thought 'Where is this noise? (for noise there is) unless my ear deceives me.' viii. 268 *pacique* (Postgate for *tantique*) makes good sense. viii. 619 *fit* (Housman for *et*) *truncum ac flebile murmur* may be right; but would not *it* be simpler? ix. 249 *pedum quem remigio sustentat equus* (Housman for *pedumque—equum*) is a needless alteration accepted in the text: the MSS. reading means 'he keeps his horse from falling by

sitting it straight.' ix. 501 *passa salum* (misprinted *uadum*) is read after Postgate: this is very probable, *salum* is used of river-water, x. 867. ix. 787 Housman's *dabimus leto moriare* (for *moriere*) *uirorum*, though ingenious, is questionable, since ellipsis is so frequent in Latin. Statius means *dabimus (tibi famam sepulchri)*. x. 527 Postgate's *trabibusque atque aere* (for *et ariete*, Kohlmann had already conjectured *aut aere*) *sonoro pellunt saxa loco* is accepted. I have long thought that here we should read *uel assere duro*: cp. Tac. Hist. iv. 30.

The difficult text of the *Silvae*, as might be expected, contains many novelties. i. 2. 183 *quae non face corda iugali*—? is punctuated by Postgate as an apopiopsis: he compares (in a paper written for *Philologus*) Theb. viii. 514 and xii. 301. i. 2. 235 Postgate's clever conjecture *huic eques, in iuuenumque aestu* (for *hinc iuuenum questus*) *stola mixta laborat* is accepted. Rather nearer to the MSS. I think would be *hinc iuuenumque aestu* (i.e. *hinc iuuenum aestu*). i. 3. 41 Postgate reads *qua sibi* (for *tibi*) *tota quies—et nigros mutantia* (so he elucidates M) *murmura somnos*, meaning, I suppose, 'noises which change the course of our dreams during darkening sleep': this is obscure even for Statius: I suggest *mulcentia*. i. 3. 89 *auia* is altered by Postgate to *obuia*, which makes good sense; but the manuscript text appears to me intelligible: 'the remote sea-coast to which you will resort when now the days shorten in rainy winter': cp. Iuv. iii. 4 *gratum litus amoeni secessus*. i. 4. 4 Postgate reads *es caelo, Diti es* (for *diues*), *Germanice, cordi*. Thus by a trifling change, excellent sense is obtained. Dis loves Domitian, and therefore will not deprive him of an excellent servant. i. 4. 61 *progressusque 'morast?'* (Postgate for *moras*) seems to me rather abrupt. i. 5. 10 Postgate's *nec et enumerare* for *et enumerare* is to me convincing, and in line 36 *nitent marmora* (for *nitet purpura*) is a neat, if bold, correction. ii. 1. 130 *angustante alas* (Postgate for *angusta telas*) is ingenious. ii. 2. 93 for *fluctus spectare* Postgate suggests *praestare*, which is hardly an improvement on Waller's *superare*. The transposition of words at l. 136, *plectrique (largus) patriaeque* effected by Postgate simplifies the sentence. The alterations *quo* for *quod* (ii. 3. 69) and *nunc strata* for *monstrata* (ii. 5. 1) are decided improvements. ii. 6. 79 for *quinta—hora* Postgate reads *quinta—Oeta*, which is recondite but possibly right. Schrader's *quinto—ortu* (cp. Theb. x. 305) is easier. In ii. 2. 81 *quemque* (Post-

gate) is attractive for *quaque*. iii. 4. 73 *nondum pulchra ducis clementia coeperat ortu* | *intactos seruare mares* for *ortu* (which has been unsatisfactorily explained as 'males by nature' or 'at birth') Postgate proposes *artus*; but the word seems to me inappropriate. I believe Statius wrote *arte*: then *arte intactos* means 'not artificially emasculated.' v. 2. 6 *dominaque dedit consurgere mensa* is altered by Postgate into *dominamque dedit contingere mensam*: this seems to me violent. The same sense is really given by the manuscript reading, which should be retained. To leave the table (*consurgere*) at the end of dinner means to have dined with Caesar, whereas *assurgere* (17) means to rise out of respect to Caesar.

The alteration (v. 6. 10) *extu satur* (Postgate for *ferat*) is attractive: Postgate compares Mart. xi. 52. 14. A neat correction is made (iv. 7. 35) through interchange of terminations by Postgate *propinqui—amico* (for *propinquo—amici*). It may be remarked that *propinqui* is the reading of the Parma and Roman editions. iv. 9. 30 *quantum!* (Postgate for *tantum*) is a doubtful gain. If *quantum* can mean 'how trifling a thing' *tantum* might mean 'that trifling thing': so τῆρόν Ap. Rhod. ii. 190. v. 2. 83 *sed te, puer optime, cerno* | *flectentem uisus* (Postgate for *iustis*) though palaeographically satisfactory, seems to make doubtful sense, viz. that the orphan boy rolled his eyes, or twisted them about. At v. 3. 87 there are a good many changes, *ansam* (for *ausum*) and *Pallade buxum* (for *Pallada buxo*) both by Postgate, and *foeda* (Heinsius for *fida*). If *fida* is to be changed, there is much to be said for *fissa* edd. uett. v. 3. 114 for *Pylîi greges*, obelised in the text, Postgate proposes *regis Pylîi* which seems to me inferior to the early Italian conjecture *Pylîi senis*. Just below l. 127 Postgate reads *clarius qua et puppe* (for *gravis qua puppe*). Here *gravidus* (Ellis) might have been mentioned, cp. i. 6. 5 *multo gravidus mero*. v. 3. 149 Postgate's *quantus equum* (for *equus*) is ingenious; but the Italian conjecture *equos*, accepted by Klotz, deserves to be mentioned. v. 3. 183 *cui Phrygii pateat coma flaminis* (Postgate for *cur—lateat*) strikes me as too prosaic for Statius.

Besides these conjectures there are many more which I mention briefly: Theb. i. 517 *ardentes* Bury (for *tenues*): ii. 417 *quod toruos* Postgate (for *quam toruus*): ii. 514 *strictosque* Housman (for *quanti crudele*): iii. 211 *quantoque cruore* Wilkins (for *quanti crudele*): iii. 327 *atra* Wilkins: iv. 717 *hic* Wilkins (for *haec*): v. 103 *e medio*, and 115 *poscentia* Wilkins:

vi. 821 *effodiam* Postgate: vii. 338 *incendere* Postgate: viii. 203 *ipsae malent* Postgate: ix. 531 *e* Postgate (for *et*): ix. 694 *leuat* Postgate: x. 312 *atros* Postgate: xi. 521 *nectuntque* Wilkins: xii. 384 *heu pudeat* Wilkins: xii. 463 *trahentum* Postgate: xii. 474 *ubique* Wilkins. Silu. i. praef. l. 3 *procucurrissent* and l. 6 *seueris* (for *suis*): both by Postgate [but surely *operibus suis* may mean 'his genuine i.e. serious works']: ii. praef. 14 *una coleremus* Postgate: ii. l. 50 *colla et* (for *colla*) Postgate: ii. 2. 140 *sed* (for *et*): and ii. 6. 42 *bellans*: and ii. 7. 14 *patet ac*: and iii. 1. 157 *magis*: and iii. 3. 15 *anguem*: and iii. 3. 71, 72 *passus—lenis* (for *tenuis—passus*) and iv. 3. 138 *umbraret* (for *undaret*),—all by Postgate. In the last passage I suggest *umeret*. iv. 5. 9 is punctuated thus by Postgate *nunc cuncta ueris*; *frondibus* etc. clearly rightly. v. l. 6 *Phidiacam uel naeta manum* is proposed by Postgate: and in l. 19 he reads *quis tum uesanam*: and in v. 3. 112 *illa* (for *ille*). v. 3. 269 *temptantem* is corrected by Davies into *quem tandem*. In Achill. i. 265 Postgate suggests *hac* for *has*. The text of Statius, especially the *Silvae*, is so difficult that recourse must necessarily be had to conjectural emendation. The new text here offered, which I have examined with considerable care, seems to me eminently creditable to English scholarship: it is sensible, and does not contain meaningless Latin, which is incapable of translation.

In some points the notes might have been improved: thus Sil. Ital. vii. 79 the note runs 'uarie temptarunt nonnulli.' What is the use of this if no single conjecture is

recorded? Stat. Theb. v. 699 *alipedi* is assigned to 'Anglus anon.': this was the learned Jortin. Theb. vii. 323 the note 'manus edd.' is wrong, for Kohlmann first restored *manum*. It appears that the note has been copied in from Kohlmann's edition: the same criticism applies to the notes on viii. 125, 126, 354, 444, 549, 557, 688, ix. 277. Theb. x. 553 '*obsessasque nescio quis*' implies that this is a conjecture. It is really the reading of a manuscript at Peterhouse. Silu. ii. l. 64 the note omits to mention that M has *ipso*—*postes*. I have noticed the following misprints: Colum. 36 *que*. Stat. Theb. iii. 412 note printed faultily. iv. 384 note belongs to 383. Silv. v. 3. 149 *quantus*. I think that considering his eminent position as a scholar, more mention should have been made of the acute (if sometimes over-acute) conjectures on the *Silvae* of Prof. Robinson Ellis to be found in *Journ. Phil.* v. 262 ff. xiii. 88 ff. xxvii. 23 ff. *Class. Rev.* xiv. 259. The following go unrecorded i. 2. 235 *uestis* (for *questus*) ii. 3. 38 *Bormum*: ii. 6. 77 *inuidit—nec*. iv. 3. 19 *clauum*. iv. 3. 59 *laurus—Deliae uetarent* Const. Fanensis defended J.P. xiii. 90. iv. 4. 102 *torrentius*. v. 3. 13 *uenae*; 36 *Stella, tuus*; 57 *litarent*; 94 *Chria liber*; 129 *Maeonidenque*; 180 *probator*; 209 *ignotaque*; 232, 233 *quam—inuia* (the passage is obelised in the Corpus but has no note). It is to be hoped that Dr. Postgate will complete his admirable Corpus to the end, so as to include that interesting personality Ausonius and Rome's last great poet Claudian.

S. G. OWEN.

GREENIDGE'S HISTORY OF ROME.

A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate. (Vol. I.) By A. H. GREENIDGE, D.Litt. London: Methuen and Co., 1904. 8vo. Pp. xii+508. 1 map. Price 10s. 6d. net.

MR. GREENIDGE has passed successfully through the first stage of an enterprise, which is on a large scale; for this goodly volume of 500 pages is to be succeeded by five others. No one who has made himself familiar with the defective and refractory material which the wreck of ancient literature has left to us, can fail to recognize the knowledge and ability which the author has

applied to it. The fact that he is careful to display the evidence on which his conclusions are based adds greatly to the value of his work. Here and there important references are missing; but we have no corresponding work in English which has made the sources so accessible. Any student who reads Mommsen's account of the period and then comes face to face with the evidence in Mr. Greenidge's pages will inevitably be instructed, and at the same time to some extent disillusioned. He may not improbably feel inclined to agree with a pronouncement of the Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, which has seemed a

paradox to many, viz. that Mommsen's reputation as a man of letters may rest on his History of Rome, but his reputation as a historian rests on other works. The English style of Mr. Greenidge's volume is on the whole easy and pleasant. Readers of his earlier works have often complained of obscurity in their diction. The fault does indeed appear incidentally at a good many points, but is not conspicuous excepting in the introductory chapter. Here are to be found vague, abstract, and complex phrases, linked together in long sentences, of which the purport will sometimes elude a reader even on a second or third perusal. These chiefly occur in passages where the attempt to penetrate the darkness of the past is carried farther than the circumstances warrant, and the ancient witnesses are cross-questioned in the vain hope that they may reveal more than they actually knew. Those who are best acquainted with the sources will be the readiest to treat this tendency with indulgence. But my impression is that the value of the book would not have been lessened if the space devoted to fine-drawn speculation on causes and motives had been considerably restricted.

It is inevitable that two students, working over the records, unsatisfactory both in extent and quality, of the Gracchan period, should differ in their conclusions as to many matters, great and small. Things of great moment are often clouded in mist, even where direct ancient testimony survives; and in many cases resort must be had to risky combinations of indications which are indirect. In reading this volume I have found that my estimate of probability differs from the author's at very many points; but on no important question does he put forward a view which does not demand consideration, and the traces of actual error are scanty and of little consequence. Each of the eight chapters into which the book is divided has obvious merits which make it a valuable addition to the literature of the subjects with which it deals. In the first we have a careful survey of causes antecedent to the Gracchan revolution; principally those which are loosely called economic, and are concerned with capital, agriculture, trade, and luxury. The chapter well illustrates a familiar difficulty which besets the study of ancient politics, in that the needful economic clues are often hard to grasp, or not to be grasped at all. Some of the evidence which Mr. Greenidge presses into his service is hardly relevant. We do not know, for instance, how much of his descrip-

tion of the Roman house is applicable to this period. Some assumptions seem to rest on no sound testimony, as (p. 58) that few free Romans were at this time engaged in manual labour. The chapter would bear compression, by which space might have been found for a fuller analysis of conditions other than economic which influenced the Gracchan movement. It is true that something is done in the following sections of the work to supply this want, but in my opinion not enough. The account of the Gracchan revolution, given in the third and fourth chapters, is the most exact, impartial, and generally satisfactory that I have ever read. The story of the African war is also excellently told. I have said enough to make clear my conviction that Mr. Greenidge's volume merits the gratitude of all students who are concerned with Roman History. The appearance of the succeeding volumes will be expected with interest. I append a few notes on matters in which I have not been able to agree with the author. Questions requiring large debate evidently cannot be handled within the limits of a review; the points to which I draw attention are therefore of necessity selected from those which are of minor importance.

P. 1. The spelling *Caius* is usual; but *Gaius* is sporadic: on p. 230 the two occur within four lines.

P. 4. I do not understand the statement that 'the effect of the wars which Rome had waged with her neighbours in the peninsula had been to make the life of the average citizen more purely agricultural than it had been in the early Republic; perhaps even in the epoch of the kings.'

Ibid. Two passages of Cicero, *Caec.* § 98, and *De Domo* § 78, are quoted to prove that Roman citizens were sometimes required to join a Latin colony, or pay a fine (*legis multa*). This conclusion is quite irreconcilable with the whole drift of the contexts in which the two passages occur. In his speech for *Caecina*, Cicero argues that Sulla's law depriving the Volaterrans and others of the Roman franchise was constitutionally invalid. It would have been an extraordinary inconsistency if he had admitted that a law was valid which forced a Roman citizen to exchange his *civitas* for the Latin franchise, if he were unable to pay a fine. The *legis multa* of the texts is something far different.

P. 5. 'As early as the year 186 the consul Spurius Postumius, while making a judicial tour in Italy, had found to his surprise that colonies on both the Italian

coasts, Sipontum on the Upper, and Buxentum on the Lower Sea, had been abandoned by their inhabitants; and a new levy had to be set on foot to replace the faithless emigrants who had vanished into space (Liv. 39, 23). These citizen-colonies had been planted only a few years before, and Mr. Greenidge finds in the passage of Livy evidence of the failure of the burgess-colony regarded as an agricultural settlement. The conclusion is, I think, unwarranted. In the first place it is strange that the deserted condition of the colonies should have been accidentally discovered by the consul. Next it must be remembered that he was engaged in trying persons charged, at that time of public frenzy, with complicity in the 'Bacchanalian conspiracy.' When we recollect that a praetor in 184 B.C. condemned 2000 persons, and another in 180 as many as 3000, the suspicion grows strong that the approach of the judge, rather than agricultural failure, had caused the desolate condition of the towns.

P. 12. Surely the fact that a consul of 137 B.C. was punished by a censor for having built his villa in the open country (*in Alsiensi agro*) too high is no proof that a law existed regulating the heights of buildings. There can have been no such law affecting country houses. It was a punishment for luxury, and Valerius Maximus is ridiculously in error when he imagines a *populi iudicium*, with the censor as prosecutor.

P. 25. The mention of 'the State' in connexion with gladiatorial *munera* needs to be guarded. The first exhibition by a magistrate (as such) only just falls within the period covered by this volume, and even for a later time the statement in the text is far too strong.

P. 35. I think the passage of Cic. *Parad.* § 46 about those *qui honeste rem quaerunt mercaturis faciendis* etc. is misunderstood. The context shews that it refers to the non-senatorial class; this comes out clearly in the words that follow and also is proved by § 43: *sin . . . nullum quaestum turpem putas cum isti ordini ne honestus quidem possit esse ullus.*

P. 45. Whether the rents of the farms in the *Campanus ager* were paid to *publicani* is not certain, in view of a well known passage of Licinianus.

P. 55. There is a good deal in the statements about the *collegia* on this page which, if I have understood them aright, seems to me questionable.

P. 63. The reference to the penalties devised by Augustus for *stuprum* may con-

vey the impression that none existed earlier for any offence so designated.

P. 76. Polybius (2, 35) does not speak of the Gauls as having 'vanished' from the valley of the Po, but as having been 'driven out' (*ξλωσθέντας*) and even this statement must be exaggerated.

Pp. 125, 138. Is it certain that the *imperium* was conferred on the agrarian commissioners? The right to take the auspices does not necessarily imply that. Compare Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2 § 31, where a special clause in the law of Rullus is mentioned, which gave his *decemviri* the *ius auspiciorum*.

P. 125. It may be doubted whether the deposition of a tribune by the comitia was regarded by Romans as illegal. In the often-quoted passage of the 'De Legibus,' Cicero lays stress on the circumstances in which Octavius was deposed, rather than the mere fact: the words *sublatus intercessor* and *intercedenti collegae* are obviously emphatic and important. Cicero was familiar with the tradition that Brutus had induced the assembly to deprive Collatinus of the consulship. The abrogation of the tribune's office on more than one occasion under the régime of Caesar does not seem to have been attacked as in itself unconstitutional. The ordinary *abdicatio* has no bearing on the question whether the treatment of Octavius was illegal.

P. 127. There was surely nothing novel in the 'doctrine that it was no business of the senate to decide the fate of the cities which had belonged to the Attalid monarchy.'

P. 135. The assertions of some ancient authorities as to the large scheme of legislation contemplated by Tib. Gracchus, had he lived, are accepted without question. They seem to me largely due to confusion between the careers of the two brothers. It is especially improbable that Gaius owed the idea of his judiciary law to Tiberius. The error here may have been partly caused by the title given to the speech of Scipio against the jurisdiction of the agrarian commissioners (*Oratio contra legem iudicariam Tib. Gracchi* in Macrob. 3, 14, 6).

P. 137. In regard to the candidature of Tib. Gracchus for a second tenure of the tribunate, the objection may have been to *continuatio*; a second tenure after an interval of a year may have been regarded as regular. At least in Appian 1, 14 it is *δὲς ἐφεξῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχεῖν* which is *οὐκ ἔνομον*.

P. 143. I have found the discussion of the question, what effect the execution (by private enterprise) of Tiberius Gracchus

and his followers exercised on subsequent history, exceedingly obscure.

P. 154. The ancient authorities make the most bewildering statements about the interference of Latins and allies in the course of Roman politics. Mr. Greenidge is conscious of the entanglement, but nowhere is it fully faced.

P. 158. 'The functions of the commissioners were paralyzed' (by the withdrawal of the *iudicatio*). So thought Appian; but would an idle commission have continued to exist for ten or eleven years longer? It is probable that before the powers of the *tresviri* were curtailed sufficient land had been delimited to allow the allotment to proceed.

P. 160. To me it is surprising that any modern historian can seriously entertain the idea that Scipio was assassinated. Such charges were recklessly fabricated, and in this case the evidence is worthless. Cicero quotes three persons who believed in Carbo's guilt, but when he speaks in his own person we have only the vaguest hints, pointing to Scipio's relatives. Had there been any reason to believe in murder, the aristocrats would not have failed to press it against the democrats, whatever the 'official' version in the funeral *laudatio* might be. Mr. Greenidge accepts Appian's statement that a public funeral was not given to Scipio for fear of disturbance. He does not quote the words which Cicero places in the mouth of Laelius, the supposed author of the *laudatio*: 'quam civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est' (*Lael.* § 11). And if Cicero is correct in his description of the popular enthusiasm with which Scipio was greeted on the day before his death, there can have been no reason to fear disturbance at the funeral.

P. 213. Mention might have been made

of the probability that some ancient writers have to some extent confused the *lex iudiciaria* of Gracchus with that of Drusus.

P. 225. 'The existing village' is a phrase hardly applicable to Capua. It was a great and flourishing town, though politically, as Cicero says, it was an *inane nomen* and possessed only *imago reipublicae*.

P. 239. The author assumes the truth of the ancient reports that the elder Drusus was chief actor in a great political farce, concocted by him in collusion with the senate. If that be so it is hard to imagine how he could have reaped 'a harvest of mental and moral satisfaction at the opportunities of self-fulfilment which chance had thrown in his way.' The great enigma of Drusus' career is not set forth in a satisfying manner.

Pp. 242, 417. The idea that Drusus proposed to relieve Latins from a punishment to which Roman soldiers remained subject does not appear to be probable.

P. 243. The interpretation of Plut. *C. Gr.* c. 8, *καλῶν ἐπὶ κοινανία πολιτείας τοὺς Λατίνους* to mean merely 'an invitation to the Latins to share in the citizen colonies' is to me unacceptable. There is nothing in the context to shew that the invitation formed part of the colonial law, and in the following chapter the same privilege is described by *ἰσοψηφία*, with which we must compare 'ἰσοψήφους ποιῶν τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας,' referred to the 'συμμαχικός νόμος' (in c. 5). The information about this law is notoriously obscure, and there are some other places in which I cannot follow Mr. Greenidge's views concerning it.

P. 288. The passage of Cic. *Brut.* § 136 about the *lex Thoria* is given without any mention of the different interpretations which it has received.

J. S. REID.

GARDTHAUSEN'S *AUGUSTUS*.

Augustus und seine Zeit, von V. Gardthausen. (1) Erster Theil, Dritter Band; (2) Zweiter Theil, Dritter Band. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. (1) Pp. 1035-1378, with map and 32 illustrations; (2) pp. 651-910, with 9 illustrations. Price M. 15.

WE heartily congratulate Mr. Gardthausen upon the completion of a work whose publication has spread over several years and

whose preparation must have cost long and arduous labour. Its solid and weighty character is known to all readers of the earlier volumes. If it is not quite a cyclopaedia of the Augustan age, it is not far from having that position. Religion is not discussed in any connected way. Literature, for which a section was originally destined, is abandoned by the author without much regret. Considerations of space have

pushed out, more to his sorrow, the subject of art; but a good deal of this section is written and the author hopes that it may appear elsewhere. On the other hand, sections on Philosophy and Law have been contributed by friends, R. Hirzel and R. Helssig respectively.

Of the two parts of the *Augustus* now before us the second contains the notes to the first, as well as a useful table of the journeys of the emperor. The first part is chiefly made up of Books x-xiii, whose subjects are The Sons of Livia; The Sons of Julia; Rhine, Danube, and Elbe; The Last Years of Augustus. Book xiii contains one of the best accounts we have seen of the Monumentum Ancyranum and the recent literature about it. We wish for completeness' sake that the author had found it possible to insert the text of the Monumentum: it would not have filled many pages. As with the earlier instalments, so here, the method of laying out the work is sometimes a trifle hard to follow: two sets of notes, one at the foot of the page, one in a separate volume, are a little embarrassing; and, if each volume of notes be bound up with the corresponding text, which seems a natural arrangement, then the index will be found, not where it should be, at the end of the bound volume, but near the middle.

The text-volume before us ends with a summary of Gardthausen's conclusions about Augustus. This seems to be inspired with a less favourable judgment than that which we had gathered from the body of the work. The screen of make-belief is thrust aside with a more decided hand, and the reality of One-Man-Power is laid bare. Here at least Gardthausen will hear nothing of the dyarchy (or, as he prefers to call it, the diarchy) being a reality. Both in praise

and dispraise Gardthausen, like his hero, avoids superlatives; but he goes to facts and lets them speak. The principate, or reign, or usurpation—whatever name we prefer—was a long one; and we are therefore able to judge it by results, distant indeed, yet falling within its own years. There was time for everything to come out. We are not confined, as in dealing with so many other kings or statesmen, to a few years or to single actions, which might produce consequences quite opposed to what the statesman intended. Augustus had time to try and re-try and modify. Indeed, as Mommsen said, he actually did modify many early plans or arrangements. If, therefore, certain results were not attained, it was because they were either impossible or not such as he wished for. He had opportunity to find his way by degrees, if he did not see it at once, to anything which he chose, within the bounds of the possible. It is exactly on this view of Augustus' peculiar openness to criticism that Gardthausen goes in saying 'Never did Augustus, in the course of his whole long government, make even an attempt to give the senate a real independence. So we come to the conclusion that a dependent senate was what corresponded to his real intentions.'

We must add a word of gratitude for the readableness of Gardthausen's book. We know something of what the style of German history-writing has been, and we welcome its present stage. We fancy that the skill and brightness which German or Austrian novels have acquired of late years has not been without effect upon the interpreting, the grouping, and above all the wording in modern German history.

F. T. R.

CHROUST'S *MONUMENTA PALAEOGRAPHICA* XIII—XVI.

Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters. Erste Abtheilung: Schrifttafeln in lateinischer und deutscher Sprache. Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Dr. ANTON CHROUST, Professor an der kgl. Universität Würzburg. Lieferungen xiii-xvi [40 plates]. München: F. Bruckmann, 1904. Each part M. 20.

THESE four parts of Prof. Chroust's great work complete the second volume of the

first series, for those, at any rate, who wish to bind up the plates in the order in which they appear. It will obviously be wise, however, to wait until the series is complete, and then to arrange the whole set of 240 plates either chronologically or topographically, according as the owner of them wishes to study the history of Latin palaeography in Germany as a whole, or to examine the local varieties of hand in the principal centres, such as Salzburg, Würzburg, or St. Gall. Certainly the four parts now

before us would appear in incongruous juxtaposition if retained in their present order, since the first of them contains documents of the fifteenth century, while the remaining three exhibit book hands from the eighth to the eleventh century.

Part XIII is not, in fact, of much interest to English students. It consists of facsimiles from the official letter books of the Austrian chancellery, ranging from the reign of Sigismund in 1413 to an autograph of Maximilian about 1499. Some of them are formally written, and represent the regular charter hand of the period; but the majority are rough drafts, and illustrate the private letter hand. In either case, they are chiefly of importance for the students of German mediaeval archives; and it is to be feared that there are fewer English students of German archives than there are German students of English.

But if this part is comparatively uninteresting, compensation is more than adequately provided by Parts XIV–XVI, which are drawn entirely from manuscripts in the library of St. Gall—the finest undisturbed mediaeval library in existence. For palaeographical purposes it is, indeed, of quite exceptional value, since we possess comparatively full records of the history of the library, and nearly all its MSS. can be approximately dated. We can consequently study in dated specimens the evolution of the book hand in a centre of literary culture which greatly influenced the Rhine valley and the neighbouring provinces. These three parts do not exhaust its treasures, since they cover only a space of three centuries, from A.D. 760 to a date shortly after 1072; but they cover the most important period and deserve careful examination by students of palaeography.

The manuscripts of St. Gall begin with the well-known copy of the Pauline Epistles, written by the monk Winithar. His hand, which appears again in a deed of gift of the year 761, is a heavy pre-Carolingian minuscule, thick and inelegant. Two other documents which bear his name are plainly not written by his hand, but though somewhat superior in style, still show no premonitions of the Carolingian reform. MS. 44 of the Prophets, however, written by order of Bishop John of Constance, abbot of St. Gall from 760 to 781, shows a distinct advance, and may be described as early Carolingian in style, though of a somewhat broad and heavy type. The documents which occupy the next two plates, and which bear dates in 772 and 797, show that the reform had not

yet reached the charter hand of St. Gall, since they have the cramped and contorted characteristics of the Lombardic and Merovingian minuscules. An interval of three quarters of a century here intervenes, during which the library of St. Gall was raised by abbot Gozbert to the rank of importance which it subsequently held, and the next MS. shown, a copy of St. Augustine on the Psalms, written by order of abbot Grimald about 870, is thoroughly Carolingian. One of the scribes, named Waning, writes a small sloping hand; the other a rather large, thick, square hand, which falls more into the sequence of the St. Gall tradition, and which at the first glance one would be inclined to assign to a later date. A charter of 865, written by the scribe Folkard, is in a small, but not very even, hand, akin to that of Waning; another, of 867, by Liuthart, who is described as *bibliothecarius*, is particularly well and gracefully written. Finally, with the great Psalter of Folkard we enter the circle of 'golden' MSS., this being a copy *de luxe*, written in parts with gold and silver uncial upon vellum, and elsewhere with large minuscules which do not at all suggest the Folkard of the above-mentioned charter. It is a broad and handsome writing, regular but rather heavy. The date of the MS. is between 867 and 872.

Part XV carries on the story for only a very few years, the MS. of Proverbs, which occupies its first two plates, being about contemporary with the Psalter of Folkard, while the golden Psalter, with which it ends, is hardly later than 900. The Proverbs MS. belongs to the group of MSS. for which Grimald and Hartmut were jointly responsible, one of which (a smaller and much less ornate book) may be seen in the show-cases of the British Museum. It is also interesting to compare it with the nearly contemporary Tours MSS. containing the Alcuinian version of the Vulgate (*e.g.* Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10546). They are MSS. of the same type of writing and decoration, but the heavier character of the St. Gall hand is at once evident. This is less conspicuous in the charters of 873 and 885 which provide the third plate in this part; but it re-appears in the fine copy of Jerome's 'Hebrew' Psalter, which is another of Hartmut's MSS. In the description of this plate Dr. Chroust gives a careful examination of Hartmut's own hand, as it appears (probably) in the dedication-verses of this and other volumes and in part of the British Museum MS. mentioned above. Plate 5 is

interesting as containing eleven lines in the autograph of the well-known St. Gall scholar, Notker. The first half of the page is perhaps not in a St. Gall hand. Notker also wrote a part of the Acta of the second Council of Constantinople, four pages from which are given in plates 6 and 7. Two plates are likewise given of the famous Golden Psalter of St. Gall, which certainly belonged to the monastery very shortly after its production, about the end of the ninth century, though there is no direct evidence that it was actually written there. As Dr. Chroust says, the hand shown in the first of the two plates may well belong to the St. Gall school, but that of the second is of a different character. The ornamentation of the Psalter is not shown in these plates. The part concludes with specimen pages from the two ancient catalogues of the St. Gall library, the first written before 872, the second early in the tenth century.

Part XVI contains specimens of seven MSS., ranging from 900 to the last quarter of the eleventh century. Two pages are given from the 'evangelium longum,' said to have been written by the scribe Sintram to the order of abbot Salomon III, to fit a casket made of ivory tablets. The first page contains a large initial and a number of decorative letters, characterised by projecting leaves, mostly trefoil and quatrefoil, ornamenting capital letters of ordinary shape. The second page shows the ordinary hand of the text, which is quite in the St. Gall style. This is followed by two pages from the well-known quadripartite Psalter, now at Bamberg, containing the Gallican, Roman, 'Hebrew,' and Greek text (in Latin letters) of the Psalms in parallel columns. It was written in 909 for Salomon III. As he was bishop of Constance as well as abbot of St. Gall, the MS. may have been written at the former place. The hand is not decisively of the St. Gall pattern, but it is

impossible to dogmatise on this point, and it is hardly likely that the bishop would have entrusted so important a work to a less well-known scriptorium, when he had the experts of St. Gall at his disposition. One of the two plates shows the introductory verses, in rustic uncials; the other represents the ordinary text. The next plate contains four pages from an antiphonary, written by Hartker at the end of the tenth century. One page shows a miniature, of poor execution; another is in rustic uncials; the two remaining show the ordinary writing of the MS., a small, rather thick, minuscule, with musical neums. We are now leaving the St. Gall hand of the type associated with Hartmut; and the poems of Ekkehard (Pl. 6), written about 1035, are in a thinner and more irregular hand of no particular merit. The remaining plates include the Annals of St. Gall, of about 1044; a Gradual and Sacramentary, of about 1054; and the lives of SS. Gallus, Othmar, and Wiboreda, in or soon after 1072. The first and last of these show something of the heavy style traditional at St. Gall, but are not otherwise especially remarkable.

This detailed summary will show how interesting these instalments of Dr. Chroust's work are to the palaeographer. They give an admirable representation of one of the great literary centres of the Middle Ages, and contain a series of MSS. which are of considerable interest in themselves. It only remains to add that the plates are excellently executed, and the descriptions leave nothing to be desired. The only defect is one to which attention has been previously called in these columns, namely the omission to print the date of each MS. on the plates themselves, instead of leaving it to be hunted for in the course of the description or in the table on the outside of the wrapper.

F. G. KENYON.

HARVARD STUDIES (VOL. XV).

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
Vol. XV. Cambridge, Massachusetts,
1904. Pp. 244. Harvard University.
6s. 6d. net.

MUCH the most substantial contribution to the volume of *Harvard Studies* is Mr. Baker's elaborate Latin dissertation *De Comiciis*

Graecis litterarum iudicibus, which fills 120 pages. He passes over familiar criticisms like those in the *Frogs* or *Thesmophoriazusae* and confines himself to the comic fragments from Epicharmus to the latest of New Comedy writers. The essay shows much reading, care, and interest in the subject, but it cannot be said that it yields any

great result. The fragments of any importance for the subject are of course well known. It is convenient however to have everything brought together, and the writer touches on a good many points, great and small, which have interest for classical scholars, especially those fond of the drama. He does not interpret *litteras* very strictly, and various topics of comedy which are not exactly literary judgments find their way in. I have noticed nothing important enough to call for special comment.

Akin to Mr. Baker's article is another by Mr. Capps on the *Nemesis* ascribed to Cratinus. It is an argument to show that Plutarch was wrong, probably misled by taking things at second hand, in giving this play to the great predecessor and rival of Aristophanes, and that it was really by the younger poet of the same name, and typical of the Middle Comedy. Mr. Capps makes out a good case.

The other most interesting article is one on the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, in which Mr. Rand maintains a certain amount of origin-

ality and force on the part of Boethius, more than many recent critics have allowed. It is argued that though he owed much to Plato, Aristotle and others 'he combined diverse elements in an independent fashion,' and that Books IV. V are really a criticism of Neoplatonism from his own distinct point of view. Boethius was not a pagan at heart nor a lukewarm Christian: the book is an attempt at establishing by the unaided reason what others might base upon faith.

Two other articles deal, one by Mr. Pease with 'Some Uses of Bells among the Greeks and Romans,' taking the rather disjointed form of comments upon a book by the Abbé L. Morillot; the other by Mr. Barentine with 'Some Phases of the Cult of the Nymphs,' seeking to show that both in Greece and in Italy the Nymphs were regarded as actual givers of water in the shape of rain, rivers, etc., not merely connected with it in a way apart from causation; and further that they were also treated as deities of marriage and birth.

H. RICHARDS.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

THE second open meeting of the British School at Rome was held in the library on the afternoon of February 21st. The Director (Mr. H. Stuart Jones) read a paper upon the circular reliefs of the Arch of Constantine. These are eight in number, and fall into four pairs, consisting each of a hunting scene (or, in one case, the departure for the chase) and of an offering at the shrine of some deity, the figure of an emperor appearing in the centre of each of the groups. The original arrangement, which has not been preserved, was clearly demonstrated by Prof. Petersen in the *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1889, 314-339, and pl. XII. (cf. *Antike Denkmäler*, i. 42, 43), who, following the general opinion, considers that they belong to the time of Trajan. An examination at close quarters has convinced Mr. Stuart Jones that the emperor represented can in no case be proved to be Trajan, nor is it possible, as Arndt has recently attempted to do (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Text to No. 555), to find Hadrian upon any of the reliefs. In those upon the

south side, which have not been restored in antiquity, only one head of an emperor is sufficiently well preserved to admit of the recognition of any of its characteristics; and this, though beardless, and therefore certainly not Hadrian, is not altogether like Trajan, but from the fullness of the lower part of the face is more like one of the Flavian emperors. On the north side of the arch a curious and unsuspected state of things presented itself. Here the original features of the emperor are in no case preserved: all the imperial heads have the nimbus, which has been cut into the background at a comparatively late date; and the heads themselves are of two distinct types, which occur alternately. In the two hunting scenes we have a portrait of Constantine himself, the original heads having been roughly broken off and the new ones fitted with great care to the fracture, though they do not fit exactly into the background; but in the two scenes of sacrifice the emperor is certainly neither Constantine nor any emperor of the first or second century, but is represented with hair and beard treated in a style which

could not be earlier than the reign of Severus Alexander. This emperor is not certainly identifiable from coins; but it is well known that immediately after the death of Maximianus (310 A.D.) Constantine proclaimed himself the grandson of the deified Claudius Gothicus, who was represented as the father of Constantius Chlorus: and this, Mr. Stuart Jones thinks, must be the emperor represented.

These two heads are (in contradistinction to those on the other two reliefs on the north side) the original ones, very carefully worked over, one of them having been accidentally broken and replaced.

To the same monument probably belong the two reliefs in the Villa Medici, representing a procession in front of the temple of the Magna Mater and of Mars Ultor respectively, which were, until the most recent excavations (in which it was found that there was no room left for them), supposed to belong to the Ara Pacis Augustae. In the former of these the head of the emperor has been worked over so as to represent the same person that is depicted in the round medallions representing the scenes of sacrifice (Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 73 n.). The style both of these reliefs and of the medallions is, in Mr. Stuart Jones' opinion, that of the Flavian period; and the question now arises, to what building they can originally have belonged. We know from the *Historia Augusta* (c. 4) that Claudius Gothicus was proclaimed emperor 'in ipso sacratio Matris,' and the only building which he is recorded to have erected or restored is the so-called Gens Flavia, or mausoleum of the Flavian family, on the Quirinal (c. 3, 6 'gentes Flaviae propagavit'); and we further know (a) that Claudius Gothicus is called Flavius Claudius in the *Hist. Aug.*, (b) that Constantine bore the name Flavius and that *templa gentis Flaviae* were erected in honour of his family at Hispellum and in Africa.

The significance of the re-arrangement of the reliefs consists in this—that the unre-stored medallions of the south face of the arch represented the emperors of the old Flavian house, while those on the north, all of which have the 'nimbus,' show the new Flavian dynasty. The rest of the paper was devoted to meeting possible objections drawn from considerations of style, special stress being laid on the fact that the companions of the emperor have features distinctly characteristic of the Flavian period and even show a decided resemblance to the Flavian family. Prof. Petersen

remarked that he had not as yet had the opportunity of examining Mr. Stuart Jones' conclusions in detail; but that for the present he must decline to abandon his former views.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace followed with a short paper upon certain hitherto unnoticed reliefs in the Vatican and the Lateran, which according to him fill the gap which exists in the history of art between the execution of the sculptures of the Arch of Titus (A.D. 81) and those of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (A.D. 114). The first of these is a relief in the Museo Chiaramonti, which presents almost a duplicate of part of the relief of the Arch of Titus representing the procession bearing the table of the shewbread: this may belong to the Arch of Vespasian and Titus at the entrance of the Circus Maximus (A.D. 81). The second is a group of fragments of sculptures, some over life-size, some representing a procession of lictors, in the Lateran again resembling the style of the Arch of Titus, but showing two rows of heads instead of one. None of the heads bear laurel wreaths, and the fragments do not therefore belong to a triumphal procession; but the fragments over life-size probably came from a group. If so, they are almost the earliest example of the transition from procession to group which occurred between 81 and 114 A.D. The third is a fragment of a relief in the cortile di Belvedere in the Vatican, representing a portion of a triumphal procession—lictors wearing laurel wreaths, and Roma leading the first horse of a quadriga. The composition is again slightly more crowded, and the relief, which was originally at least as long as the reliefs of the Arch of Titus, must belong to a triumphal arch—probably an unknown arch of Domitian. It cannot belong to the Janus erected in honour of his Chattic and Dacian triumphs in 89 A.D., but may belong to another monument set up on the same occasion.

T. ASHBY, JUNIOR.

DÉCHELETTE'S POTTERY OF ROMAN GAUL.

Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine (Narbonaise, Aquitaine, et Lyonnaise). By JOSEPH DÉCHELETTE, Conservateur du Musée de Roanne. 2 vols. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1904. 4to. Pp. vi. + 668. With 29 plates and numerous illustrations in text. 50 fr.

It is to be hoped that we have at last thrown overboard the term 'Samian Ware' as applied to Roman pottery, and that it has been banished to the same limbo as 'Etruscan vases.' M. Déchelette has at least done much to demonstrate the absurdity of the term by the industry and acuteness with which he has established the centres of manufacture of the later Roman pottery. For this branch of ancient ceramics has hitherto been strangely neglected by archaeologists of all nations; and though of course it cannot compete in interest and beauty with the Greek vases, it has yet merited a better fate than the mere dry records of finds or the occasional lucubrations of provincial 'antiquarians' have hitherto accorded to it. Even the Arretine wares which in some respects form one of the most favourable examples of Roman decorative art, worthy to be ranked with the sculptured reliefs whose merits Wickhoff has recently championed, had received no scientific consideration before Dragendorff's epoch-making monograph in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* (vol. xvi). The last-named writer, in addition to the useful work he did in this direction, was the forerunner of M. Déchelette in regard to the provincial wares, and without the latter's opportunities of studying on the spot the pottery of Gaul, has proved to have been on the right track in regard to its origin.

Dragendorff based his chronological classification on forms and ornamentation, pointing out the differences between Arretine and Italian pottery on the one hand and the provincial wares on the other, and the prevalence of a distinct set of forms in each group (*op. cit.* Pls. I.—III.); and his conclusion that the latter fall into two main periods, (1) from the conquest of Gaul to A.D. 70, (2) from A.D. 70 to A.D. 250, is fully supported by M. Déchelette's investigations. The latter are based mainly on the discovery of the moulds of certain potters *exclusively on certain sites*, often in connection with the remains of kilns, etc.—a sound and scientific basis for determining the centres of fabric. In this way he has been enabled to establish the result that in successive periods (1) *St. Rémy-en-Rollat* in the Department of Allier, (2) *Graufesenque* in Aveyron and *Banassac* in Lozère, (3) *Lezoux* in Puy-de-Dôme, were the chief, if not the exclusive, centres of fabric in Gaul, and that extensive exportation went on from these to Germany, the Netherlands, Britain, and even in some cases to Italy itself. For one of the chief results of his investigations is to determine

conclusively that the manufacture of *terra sigillata* or ornamented red ware ceased entirely in Italy after the degeneration of the Arretine ware in the middle of the first century of our era.

Another important feature of this work is the treatment of the various shapes employed for *terra sigillata*. Following on Dragendorff's lines he demonstrates that the Gaulish ornamented wares—subsequently to the fabric of St. Rémy—are almost confined to four varieties of the bowl without handles, of which two prevail almost exclusively at the two main centres in succession. Of these the earliest, Dragendorff's No. 11, is a sort of krater, originally Arretine and probably only transitional in Gaul; next from A.D. 30 to 70 we find a keel-shaped bowl (*bol caréné*, Dragendorff's No. 29) typical of the Graufesenque fabric; thirdly, a cylindrical bowl (Dragendorff's No. 30), made at Graufesenque and Lezoux about A.D. 50–100; fourthly, about A.D. 70 a hemispherical form of bowl (No. 37) comes in with the rise of the Lezoux potteries and holds the field almost exclusively down to the termination of the industry.

To the forty-one provincial forms given by Dragendorff M. Déchelette now adds some sixteen as found in Gaul, all of which are engraved in his plates. He adopts as final Dragendorff's numbers for these shapes, to which his own follow on (Nos. 56–71).

We have entered into some detail in regard to the four principal shapes, Nos. 11, 29, 30, and 37, because we recognise with M. Déchelette their extreme importance for the study of Gaulish pottery, especially in conjunction with their ornamentation and potters' stamps. It will now become possible almost without hesitation to date and assign to its origin any piece of *terra sigillata*, even when not bearing a potter's name.

With the chronological sequence of forms goes also a chronological sequence of ornamentation, which will now form a second basis for the attribution of particular vases to their proper fabric. The author classifies separately on pp. 70, 72 of vol. i. those which are mainly associated with Graufesenque and form 29, and those more characteristic of Lezoux and form 37, though, as is the case with the shapes, many ornamental motives are common to both fabrics. The main point of difference is in the characteristic decoration of the Graufesenque bowls of form 29, with running scrolls or wreaths in two friezes; at Lezoux the wreaths are always straight, but on the 37 bowls are mostly supplanted by systems of medallions

and arcades, and finally by what may be called the 'free' style, with friezes of figures (usually hunting-scenes), unconfined by panels or arcading. Generally speaking, figure-decoration comes in late at Graufesenque.

This leads us to a consideration of a third important basis of classification, the figure-subjects on Gaulish pottery. These M. Déchelette has collected in the first part of his second volume, illustrating nearly every one by a rough but adequate drawing, and noting whether they occur at Graufesenque, at Lezoux, on both sites, or elsewhere. In all he gives 1238 types (arranged according to subject), of which 179 are peculiar to Graufesenque, 793 to Lezoux, and 221 common to more than one fabric. These types, he points out, are not derived from Arretine vases, but from all sorts of sources, statuary, reliefs, coins, etc. They include 'Alexandrine' subjects such as fishermen, pigmies, or the Egyptian Anubis, types of deities, especially Venus and Cupid, and the typically Roman subjects of gladiatorial combats, *bestiarii*, and hunting-scenes. In all of these close parallels may be noted with the subjects popular on Roman lamps.

Fourthly, there is the important evidence of potters' stamps, so common a feature of the provincial red wares. M. Déchelette devotes a large portion of his first volume to this question, not only incidentally in his account of the separate fabrics, where invaluable tables are given, shewing the distribution of the names which can be traced to each site, but also in the second part of the work, which consists of a descriptive inventory of vases, moulds, and stamps of *sigillata* ware bearing these marks. These are classified under the potters' names.

It is interesting to note the frequent occurrence of imported Gaulish wares in Italy during the first century of our era, a fact which M. Déchelette rightly emphasises as proving the early cessation of *terra sigillata* in Italy. The name of Mommo for instance frequently occurs at Rome and at Pompeii (where of course a *terminus ante quem* confronts us), and this potter's Rutelian origin is proved by the occurrence of his moulds and stamps exclusively at Graufesenque. Another notable instance is the vase found at Pompeii with the inscription *Bibe, amice, de meo* (*Mus. Borb.* vii. 29), which M. Déchelette is able to connect with the fabric of Banassac, whence many similarly inscribed vases have emanated. In Gaul itself the potters' stamps appear to come to an end about the middle of the third century,

and it is not likely that any *terra sigillata* was made after that time; at Lezoux there is very cogent evidence that the potteries were destroyed by invading barbarians in the reign of Gallienus, about A.D. 260.

The scheme of the work may be briefly summarised as follows:—An introduction of twenty-six pages deals with the fore-runners of Romano-Gallic pottery, especially the Arretine ware, and an outline of the arrangement of the work. Part I. is concerned with a topographical and chronological classification of the moulded vases, beginning with the 'transitional' vases of Aco and the fabrics of St. Rémy, Vichy, and Gannat, of which the white clay is a conspicuous feature. Succeeding chapters deal with Graufesenque, Banassac and Montans, and Lezoux, with full discussion of the forms and ornaments employed, the potters' names, and the chronology and distribution of the pottery; these are supplemented by a brief description of undetermined fabrics and discussion of the origin of the figure-subjects. Part II, which completes the first volume, is devoted to an inventory of the vases, moulds, and stamps, which bear potter's names, as already noted. Of volume ii. the first half (Part III.) is devoted to the description and illustration of all the known types and subjects on Gaulish *terra sigillata*; in Part IV the vases with *appliqué* reliefs from Lezoux and those with medallions from the Rhône Valley (see below) are treated with similar fulness of detail; and Part V contains an account of fabrics with barbotine or incised decoration, and miscellaneous wares with more or less simple ornamentation, some of which are now noticed for the first time. A brief but useful appendix deals with some aspects of the technical processes employed. The plates are devoted mainly to the illustration of the typical shapes and ornamental motives, but also give some of the best specimens of the non-moulded wares, and examples of the interesting *graffiti* found at Graufesenque (vol. i. p. 86).

M. Déchelette confines himself to discussing the ornamented pottery of the three Gaulish provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Narbonensis, ignoring not only the plain wares, but also (except for passing allusions) those of Gallia Belgica and Germany. The former are not instructive except for the potters' names, which are all now being published in the thirteenth volume of the Latin *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and to include the German fabrics would have involved, besides an immense amount

of additional labour, a considerable increase in the size of the work. The latter have indeed received some attention at the hands of Von Hefner, Dragendorff, Hoelder, and Koenen, but a comprehensive volume on the lines of the French one is greatly to be desired.

Of the vases dealt with in the latter half of his second volume, which are distinguished from those described in the first by not being produced entirely from moulds, the most interesting are those with figured medallions. They were made in the Rhône Valley, probably at Vienne, and display an extensive repertory of subjects, many of which appear to relate to scenic and gladiatorial representations. M. Déchelette makes the ingenious suggestion that they were perhaps prizes or complimentary vases, like modern racing-cups. Few exist complete, but the fragmentary remains include no less than 150 different types. On p. 291 is given the remarkable medallion lately acquired by the British Museum from the Morel collection, with the scene from the *Cycnus*.¹

An analogous but distinct class is that of the vases with *appliqué* reliefs, in which the figures are not in medallions, but are moulded separately and attached to the vase, the ground being filled in with ornaments *en barbotine*. These were made at Lezoux, and are often found in Britain; they sometimes attain a very high order of merit, as in the fine example from Felixstowe now in our national collection.

Space forbids us to discuss this monumental work in further detail, and our object has been not so much to criticise as to offer a *compte rendu* which may attract not only scholars but also the more general reader to devote some attention to its perusal. Roman pottery may at first sight appear an unattractive subject, especially to the student of Greek art, but M. Déchelette has shown that it is equally susceptible of scientific treatment, and the ingenuity with which he has worked out the problems of its development and chronology must command the admiration of all who know the difficulties of a pioneer in any subject. Its only defect in our opinion is that it is difficult at first to find one's way about the book, and a much fuller index would also be a great advantage. H. B. WALTERS.

¹ The fragment with the inscription PVS given by M. Déchelette on p. 296 of this volume cannot, from its shape and decoration, belong to a medallion-vase. It seems to be an example of the transition from Arretine ware to Gaulish, represented by the potter Aco Acastus (see vol. i. p. 31).

ON THE LINEAR SCRIPT OF KNOSSOS.

THE remarks on the direction of the early Cretan writing contained in Mr. Hall's interesting review of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'² call for a few words of explanation. In describing the linear tablets first discovered at Knossos in 1900, I observed that 'the inscriptions are invariably written from left to right.' In his work on the *Oldest Civilization of Greece* (p. 141, note 1), Mr. Hall expressed doubts as to the truth of this generalisation. With regard, however, to the particular phase of Linear Script to which my remark applied, the conclusion to which I was originally led has been confirmed by all the later discovered tablets.

There is, however, an earlier form of conventionalised Linear Script (Class A) which first emerged at Hagia Triada and is now seen to belong to the first Period of the Later Palace at Knossos. Here, too, so far as the evidence of the tablets goes, the rule seems also to be universal that the inscriptions read from left to right.

When however we turn to the still earlier conventionalised photographic or hieroglyphic script we find the order of the writing much more variable. It seems to run indifferently from left to right or from right to left, and there are often indications of a kind of boustrophedon arrangement.

The Melian inscription to which Mr. Hall refers belongs to the period of the earlier class of Linear tablets (Class A). Unquestionably the two signs that there appear read from right to left. It seems probable therefore that at the beginning of the period to which Class A belongs the usage was not yet fixed. But the tablets as yet discovered give no indication of this.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Rhodes.—At Lindos the Danish excavations of 1903-4 led to the discovery of a rectangular court near the theatre. It is apparently of Hellenistic date and is surrounded by Doric columns. Here was found a list of the eponymous priests of Athena Lindia, beginning at about 170 B.C. The list is of great importance for the chronology of the artist-inscriptions. Another inscription records the history of the sanctuary of Athena. It is prefaced by a decree relating

² *Cl. Rev.* xix. pp. 79 sqq.

to the restoration of the document, which blends the legendary and historical in a curious fashion. Carved in the rock of the acropolis is a ship's *ἄφλαστον*, with an inscription recording the name of the sculptor—Pythokritos son of Timocharis of Rhodes. The entrance to the acropolis at Lindos was through a Propylaeon which appears to have been built after the model of the Propylaea at Athens. Among the finds there is a dearth of archaic objects and of works belonging to the best period of Rhodian art. The artist-inscriptions are exceedingly numerous. It is now possible, with the aid of the above-mentioned list of eponymous priests, to determine the date of one of the sculptors of the Laocoon group. The Boethos inscription reads

ἐπ' ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Λινδίας
 Νικαγόρα τοῦ Παναϊτίου
 καθ' ὑποεσίαν δὲ Αἰνησιδᾶμω
 Βόηθος Ἀθαναίωνος Καλχαδόνιος πρόξενος
 ποιήσας Ἀθαναΐαι Λινδίαι χαριστήριον

Cf. Plin. *H.N.* xxxiii. 155.

This inscription settles the question as to the date of Boethos, whose period of activity will have belonged to the first part of the second century, B.C.¹

ITALY.

Rome.—At the 5th milestone from the Porta Portese an inscription has been found in a vineyard. The letters are those of the end period of the Republic. It reads:

CONLEGIA · AERARIOR
 FORTE · FORTVNAE
 DONV · DANT · MAG ·
 C · CARVILIVS · M · L
 L · MVNIVS · L · L /// ACVVS
 (MINIS · T · MARICARVIL^M
) STIMI · D · QVINCTIVS

The inscription is on a rectangular block of travertine. It must have belonged to the Templum Fortunae ad milliarium sextum of the Fasti of Amiternum. The dedicators were the magistri of the collegia aerariorum.

The excavations on the site of the Palazzo Torlonia have brought to light some stone steps covered with rude *graffiti* of tabulae lusoriae, gladiators, etc. One shows a trumpet, two swords, a trident, and a palm, and is inscribed:

MAXIMEBIBAS
 PATERSARORVM

—Maxime (v)i(v)as pater sarorum (?)

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1904, part 4.

The date of these *graffiti* is about the 5th century after Christ.

Near the Ponte Cavour the lower part of a large inscribed marble pedestal has been found. It is inscribed with the name of Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus, who was consul with Theodosius II in 438.²

F. H. MARSHALL.

A NEW ACQUISITION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE British Museum has just been enriched by the liberality of the Marquis of Sligo, with important relics of Mycenaean times in the shape of the complete shaft of one of the columns and a considerable portion of the second column from the so-called 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae. The fragments were brought from Greece by the second Marquis in 1811, and have since been at the family seat at Westport, Mayo, where their identity was recently discovered by the Earl of Altamont. The surface of the shaft (which tapers downwards like the column of the Lion Gate) is richly decorated with bands of spirals and zigzags in relief, and the capital suggests an early development of the Doric. Of the other column, part is now in the Museum at Athens, and one fragment was presented by the Institute of British Architects to the British Museum. The columns will be erected in the Archaic Room, with restorations of the base and cap as far as possible.³

H. B. W.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

Jahrbuch des deutschen Archeologischen Instituts, xix. Heft 4. 1904.

1. R. Foerster: Hermes in a double Herm from Cyprus. (Plate and cut.)
 Publishes a herm of soft limestone, of late Roman date, with male and female heads, representing Hermes and (probably) Fortuna, who is often associated with him. He wears lotos-leaves like Hermanubis on coins of Alexandria.
2. R. Engelmann: Andromeda. (Plate, two cuts.)
 Disputes Petersen's interpretation in *J.H.S.* xxiv. of the B.M. vase with this subject (E 169); the central figure is not Phineus-Agenor, but an effigy of Andromeda, whose absence is otherwise inexplicable. He would date the vase about 410 B.C., under the influence of Euripides, the effigy being that employed in the play to represent the captive heroine.
3. L. Kjellberg: Clazomenae sarcophagi. (Four cuts.)
 Publishes one in Stockholm of the same elaborate architectonic type as the large one in the

² *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1904, part 4.

³ See the *Times* of March 13, 1905, for fuller details.

B.M., but representing an earlier stage (first half of sixth century).

Anzeiger.

1. Thera, Magnesia, Priene.
2. Lindos in the light of the Danish excavations (H. von Gaertringen).
3. Acquisitions of Brit. Mus. in 1903.
4. Recent acquisitions of Leipzig Museum.
5. Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, Nov. and Dec. meetings.
6. Quinquennial meeting of American Archaeological Institute.
7. Miscellaneous notices.
8. Bibliography.

American Journal of Archaeology, viii. Part 4. Oct.—Dec. 1904.

1. C. S. Fisher: The Mycenaean Palace at Nippur. (Three plates, 20 cuts.)
An interesting parallel to Tiryns recently discovered in Babylonia, the plan of the palace being almost identical; among the finds were a Mycenaean gold mask, a *stèle* with cultus-tree and two

goats, and some good terracotta figures from a later Greek occupation.

2. T. W. Heermance: Preliminary Report on excavations in Corinth in 1904. (Two plates, one cut.)
The chief discovery was that of a large *stoa* of about 400 B.C., forming the south side of the Agora; among other finds were some pre-Mycenaean pottery and a torso of a Kriophoros, a replica of that at Wilton House.
3. F. B. Tarbell: Some present problems in the History of Greek Sculpture.
An address given at the St. Louis Congress, dealing with the study of copies and their relation to the works of the great masters.
4. Alice Walton: 'Calynthos' or Calamis.
The name Calynthos in Paus. x. 13, 10, is probably a mistake for Calamis, suggested by the proximity in the text of the name Phalanthos.
5. *In Memoriam*: Sarah W. Whitman.
6. Archaeological discussions, Jan.—June 1904 (*ed.* J. M. Paton).
Supplementary Part with Annual Reports, 1903-04.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.

1905.

4 Jan. W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament* (A. Wiedemann), very favourable. J. Heckmann, *Priscae latinitatis scriptores qua ratione loca significaverint non usi prae-positionibus* (G. Funaioli), favourable. Chr. Hulsen, *Das Forum Romanum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (A. S.). 'An excellent guide.' R. Beigel, *Rechnungswesen und Buchführung der Römer* (C. Bardt). The substance good, but the writer has no acquaintance with philology.

11 Jan. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*. III. *Die griechische Welt Herrschaft*. 2 Abt. (Schneider). M. Arnold, *Quaestiones Posidonianae*. I. (H. Moeller), favourable. D. Vaglieri, *Gli scavi recenti nel foro Romano*. Supplemento I. (A. S.).

18 Jan. F. Blass, *Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee* (C. Rothe). 'Cannot be disregarded by the Homeric scholar.' N. Riedy, *Solonis elocutio quatenus pendeat ab exemplo Homeri* (β), favourable. N. Terzaghi, *Timoteo ed i Persiani* (J. Sitzler), favourable. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae epigraphicae*. A dictionary of the Latin inscriptions by G. N. Olcott. I, 1. (M. Ihm), unfavourable on the whole.

25 Jan. B. Delbrück, *Einleitung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachen* (O. Weise), very favourable. *Valeri Flacci Argonauticon libri octo*, rec. C. Giarratano (Hübner), favourable. J. Candel, *De clausulis a Sedulio in eis libris, qui inscribuntur Paschale Opus, adhibitibus* (I. Hilberg), very favourable.

1 Feb. *Omero, L'Iliade*, comment. da O. Zuretti. Libri xxi-xxiv. (C. Rothe), favourable. R. Schubert, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur Geschichte Philipps II. von Makedonien* (Fr. Reuss), favourable. F. Stein, *Tacitus und seine Vorgänger über germanische Stämme* (Ed. Wolff), favourable on the whole. R. Sabbadini, *Spogli Ambrosiani latini* (P. Wessner).

8 Feb. E. Rolfes, *Aristoteles' Metaphysik*, übersetzt und mit einer Einl. und erkl. Anmerk. versehen. 2. Hälfte. Buch viii-xiv. (A. Döring), unfavourable. E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus* (K. Regling), very favourable. *Die Saalburg, Auf Grund der Ausgrabungen durch L. Jacobi*. Von Architekturmaler P. Woltze. Mit begleitendem Text von E. Schulze (C. Koenen), favourable.

15 Feb. P. Foucart, *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (H. Gillischewski), favourable. *Plato, The Phaedo*, by H. Williamson (H. Nohl jr.), unfavourable. *Caesaris Commentarii de bello civili*, herausg. von R. Novák. 2. Aufl. (Ed. Wolff). C. Pascal, *Morte e resurrezione in Lucrezio* (O. Weissenfels). On Lucr. iii. 843-846. C. Pascal, *Sul carne 'de ave Phoenix' attributo a Lattanzio* (C. W.). W. Kroll, *Das Studium der Klassischen Philologie* (O. Weissenfels), favourable.

22 Feb. Th. Mommsen, *Reden und Aufsätze* (J. Ziehen). F. Horn, *Platonstudien*. Neue Folge. *Kratylos, Parmenides, Theätetos, Sophist, Staatsmann* (A. Döring), favourable. R. Burckhardt, *Mauthners Aristoteles* (R. Fuchs). Gi. Zottoli, *Pervigilium Veneris* (C. W.).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

- Clark Albert C.) *The Vetus Cluniacensis* of Poggio, being a contribution to the textual criticism of Cicero Pro Sex. Roscio, Pro Cluentio, Pro Murena, Pro Caelio, and Pro Milone. With two facsimiles. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8". Pp. lxx + 57. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1905. 8s. 6d. (\$2.10). (*Anecdota Oxoniensia. Classical Series, Part x.*)
- Cope (Alfred Davies) On a recently discovered fragment of Juvenal. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 16. Oxford, R. H. Blackwell; London, Simpkin Marshall & Co. 1905. 6d. [*A jeu d'esprit.*]
- Demosthenes. Poyard (C.) Démosthène. Discours judiciaires, traduction entièrement nouvelle avec arguments et notes. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vii + 462. Paris, Garnier Frères. 1905. 3 fr.
- Hauvette (Amédée) Archiloque, sa vie et ses poésies. Un poète Ionien du viii^e siècle. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. x + 302. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1905. 7.50 fr.
- Jebb (Sir R. C.) The British Academy. Bacchylides. (From *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. i.) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 18. London, Henry Frowde. 1905. 1s. net.
- Nutting (H. C.) Studies in the *si* clause (*University of California Publications. Classical Philology*, vol. i., No. 2, pp. 35-94) 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Berkeley, The University Press. Jan. 31, 1905. 60 cents.
- Oswald (M. M. F.) The use of the prepositions in Apollonius Rhodius compared with their use in Homer. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 208. University Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, U.S.A., 1904. \$1.00.
- Randolph (Charles Brewster) The Mandragora of the Ancients in Folklore and Medicine (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. xl., No. 12, pp. 485-537). 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Boston, Massachusetts. January, 1905. 75 cents.
- Propertius. Butler (H. E.) *Sexti Properti Opera Omnia*, with a commentary. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. vi + 416. London, Archibald Constable. 1905. 8s. 6d. net.
- Ransom (Caroline L.) (Fellow in the University of Chicago). Studies in Ancient Furniture, Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans. 12" x 9". Pp. 128 + 30 plates. Chicago, The University Press. 1905. \$4.50 net.
- Souter (A.) *De codicibus Manuscriptis Augustini quae feruntur, Quaestionum Veteris et Novi Testamenti cxxvii.* (*Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Band 149.*) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. ii + 25. Wien, Karl Gerold's Sohn. 1905. 75 pf.
- Spiers (R. Phené) *Architecture East and West.* A collection of essays written at various times during the last sixteen years. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. iii + 270. London, Batsford. 1905. 12s. 6d. net.
- Stewart (J. A.) *The Myths of Plato*, translated with introductory and other observations. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 532. London, Macmillan. 1905. 14s. net.
- Virgil. Stampini (Ettore) *Le Bucoliche di Virgilio con introduzione e commento, Parte prima, Ecloghe i-v* (Terza edizione con molte variazioni ed aggiunte) 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxiv + 109. Torino, Casa editrice Ermanno Loescher. 1905. 1.50 lire.
- Vogel (Dr. Paul) *Schülerkommentar zu Lysias' Ausgewählten Reden.* 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 45. Leipzig, G. Freytag; Wien, F. Tempsky. 1905. 50 pf. or 60 h.
- Zielinski (Th.) *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden. Grundzüge einer oratorischen Rhythmik.* 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii + 253. Leipzig, Theodore Weicher. 1904. M. 8.40.

CORRECTION TO THE JANUARY LIST (p. 93).

The title of Mr. Burton's book should have been given as:

Burton (Ernest de Witt) *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem.*

CORRIGENDA.—EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI.

IN a review of *Excavations at Phylakopi*, *Class. Rev.* 1905, p. 80, I find I have misquoted Dr. Arthur Evans. In his article on the 'Pottery-marks' Dr. Evans writes (p. 184) that 'the method of writing from right to left, instead of from left to right, is not found in the Cnossian linear inscriptions.' By a slip which I much regret I wrote 'Cretan' for 'Cnossian' in quoting this sentence. I of course understood Dr. Evans to be referring to the Cnossian inscriptions only, not to the whole 'Minoan' system of picture-writing generally. He shews that right-

to-left writing could be used in the Minoan system by the Melian example, which reads in the reverse direction to that of an otherwise identical Cnossian sign-group. This being so, I still doubt whether all the Cnossian inscriptions will eventually prove to read from left to right.

On p. 81, l. 23 of my review, for 'but' read 'and'; on p. 82 read 'a shifting of political arrangements had evidently taken place. With the XXth Dynasty,' etc.

H. R. HALL.

March 31, 1905.

The Classical Review

MAY 1905.

THE 'Retrospect' in the current number of the *American Journal of Philology* will recall to not a few that disagreeable adage of middle life *tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis*. But in the present instance there is the tempering reflexion that the aging may be very slow. Almost a decade of years after the epoch at which, upon the principles of Mr. Osler, Prof. Gildersleeve had qualified for retirement, he founded by his own sole exertions this quarterly representative of American scholarship, and unabashed has remained for a quarter of a century its active editor. The signal services which he has thus rendered to the cause of learning in America and outside it are known to all readers of the *Classical Review*, who will join in wishing him a long continuance of his *cruda uiridisque senectus*. To this friendly wish we may add the hope that he will not allow the claims of editing and the seductions of 'Brief Mention' to delay much longer the completion of his Greek Grammar, the first part of which appeared in 1900, a work as highly appreciated as it is sorely needed.

Apropos of the *American Journal of Philology*, its editor's conscientiousness descends so much into details, that he will no doubt gladly furnish the clue to a small puzzle in the compilation of its book-lists. Why are so many of the English publications, including most of the important ones, transferred to the American list? The fact that my publisher has a branch or agency in the United States does not make my book an 'American publication.' I wish I could persuade the American Customs that it did. Bibliographically the practice is misleading. Thus in the last number the American list

contains sixteen entries (including Jebb's *Translation of Sophocles* and Tyrrell and Purser's *Correspondence of Cicero*, 3rd edition) and the English list four, whereas the true figures are twelve and eight respectively.

The Council of the Hellenic Society has circulated among the members for consideration at the Annual Meeting a paper which contains two financially important proposals. The first, which every one will welcome, is to establish an Endowment Fund for the maintenance of the Society's work at its present high level. The second with the same end in view is to raise the life composition from fifteen to twenty guineas. At the present time the expediency of this is doubtful. Actuarial considerations and recent experience suggest that it may practically put an end to compounding.

Prof. F. Ramorino has sent us an extract from the Transactions of the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome (1903), containing an account of the MS. of the Agricola of Tacitus lately discovered at Jesi near Ancona, a third part of which goes back to the ninth or tenth century. Unfortunately, however, as Prof. Ramorino points out, the page photographed holds out no hope of the discovery adding anything to our knowledge of the text.

We note in answer to a correspondent that the *Greek Etymological Dictionary* referred to in our last issue is published by Messrs. Misch and Thron in Brussels, and the *Latin* one by C. Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung in Heidelberg.

THE PLACE OF THE DOLONEIA IN EPIC POETRY.

THE Doloneia is by common consent regarded as one of the latest books of the *Iliad*: and by equally common consent one of the most worthless from a poetical point of view. But none of the critics seems to go further than the supposition that the piece (for such it is, not an integral part of the poem) is by some late and inferior compiler, ignorant of the dignified usage of the Epic style. No one seems inclined to suggest that there is any other explanation of its many peculiarities but that of the incompetence of the author. Monro in the Appendix to his edition of the *Odyssey* (xiii.—xxiv. p. 378) lays stress indeed on the adventurous and romantic character of the book and the character of Odysseus as portrayed in it: he notes in it affinities to some of the later Epics in which similar adventurous episodes appear and in these epics he seems to detect, in one place at least, ‘an unmistakable air of comedy’ (p. 368). But he goes no further and leaves his view of the Doloneia rather vague.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any one who reads the Doloneia through more than once that there is something unusual in the inevitable blundering which seems to be a characteristic of its author. *Nihil quod tetigit non inquinavit* might be his epitaph: and the conviction is gradually borne in upon one’s mind that there is something here besides incompetence. What that something is, it is the object of this paper to determine.

When night falls at the end of the Eighth Book we find the Greeks driven in on their ships, while Hektor and the Trojans camp on the plain, ready to renew the attack in the morning (© 553 *sqq.*). So sorely are the Greeks pressed that Agamemnon sends an embassy to Achilles with offers of ἀπερείσι' ἀποινα if he will but consent to fight again. The end of I leaves Agamemnon face to face with Achilles’ refusal and the prospect of an almost certain attack by Hektor in the morning. This situation fits in admirably with the ‘background’ of K: we find the guards who had been posted just before the πρῆσβεία (I 80 *sqq.*) still in their places in K 180; and though some ancient critics said that the book was sometimes placed elsewhere in the poem, it is hard to see what position would suit it better.

The book opens with a description of

Agamemnon’s misery (1–24): he cannot sleep, groan follows groan as quickly as flashes of lightning or flakes of snow: they come ‘from the bottom of his heart and his midriff (φρένες) quivered within him’ (10). When the writer proceeds to tell us that ‘he tore many hairs out of his head by the roots (προβελύμους, cf. I 541) unto Zeus upon high’ we can hardly be in doubt about his intention. He wishes to make Agamemnon ridiculous, as Thersites is made ridiculous in B 265 *sqq.* The same device meets us in 93 *sqq.* where Agamemnon tells Nestor, ‘nor is my heart steady, but I am distraught and my heart leaps out of my breast and underneath do my stout limbs tremble’; the epic mouthing only makes the facts more ludicrous. The same insistence upon the physical symptoms of fear meets us in the description of the hunted Dolon (375 *sq.*): he stood still ‘quivering, and from his mouth came the rattle of teeth, pale with fear.’ We feel that it is only the enforced dignity of epic tradition that spares us from a recital such as we have in Aristophanes’ ‘Frogs’ 479 *sqq.*

To return to Agamemnon. In his distress he decides to go to Nestor and with him ‘put together’ (τεκτῆναυτο) some plan for relieving the Greeks. He sits up and puts on his χιτών, his sandals, a tawny lion’s skin reaching to the feet and seizes his spear. It is a sufficiently curious costume, but editors point to Paris and his leopard’s skin (Γ 17) and are content. But when we find Menelaos later on with a leopard’s skin round his back (29), Diomedes in another lion’s skin (177), and Nestor in ‘a double, flowing, purple cloak’ (133) going about in the dead of night, we become suspicious: and when, to complete the colour-scheme, Dolon appears clad in the hide of a grey wolf (334)—the futile Dolon—we resent the attempt to pass this off upon us as serious poetry.

Agamemnon is not the only hero awake in camp that night. Menelaos is awake too, and imagining, like his brother, that he is the only light sleeper, thinks he had better go and wake Agamemnon. This crossing of purposes, two people doing the same thing, each thinking he is the only one who is doing it, is a distinctly comic touch that we shall find recurring. Menelaos goes and finding his brother awake and arming

expresses his surprise: is he going to try to get some one to go as a spy?; it will be hard to find anyone, *μάλᾳ τις θρασυκάρδιος ἔσται*. Agamemnon declares his intention of going to Nestor, but his confusion is such that he has forgotten what he wants with him. In l. 19 it was 'to put up' a plan: in l. 55 it is to see if Nestor 'will come to the sacred band of the guards, and give them a charge; for him would they hearken to above all men.' But what the charge is to be or anything else about it, we are not told. Meanwhile Menelaos is to wake Aias and Idomeneus and wait with them till Agamemnon comes.

Menelaos when about to start is given some advice which forms a very effective touch. He is told to wake the heroes 'naming each man by the name of his sire and his stock, giving honour unto all; and be not haughty in thy spirit, but let even us (*αὐτοί περ* ourselves) take trouble: 'tis for this, I ween, that Zeus sends upon us heavy trouble for what hath been done' (68 *sqq.*). Now, considering the way in which Agamemnon has comported himself all along, this is, to say the least of it, impertinent. His own language to Achilles in A is a model of studied discourtesy (A 173 *sqq.*). In his *ἐπιπόλησις* he attacks Menestheus (Δ 338 *sqq.*) and Diomedes (*ib.* 370 *sqq.*) in the most unprovoked fashion: the most savage expression in the *Iliad* is put into his mouth (Z 57 *sqq.*), and his unbending and essentially discourteous nature is well shown in the two concluding lines of his speech when proposing the embassy (I 160 *sq.*)

*καί μοι ὑποστήτω, ὅσσον βασιλεύτερός εἰμι
ἦδ' ὅσσον γενεῆ προγενέστερος εὐχομαι εἶναι.*

That such a man should warn the courteous Menelaos not to be rude, is impertinence; but when he proceeds to include his brother along with himself as suffering for discourtesy and lack of geniality, it is more than impertinent: it is comical. Another comical side of his attitude to his brother comes out in his conversation with Nestor (102 *sqq.*). Nestor is inclined to blame Menelaos for allowing Agamemnon to wander about at night instead of doing it for him. Agamemnon's apology is worthy of Mr. Pecksniff. 'Aged Sir, at other times do I bid thee lay blame to his charge: often doth he lag and willeth not to vex himself, not yielding to sloth or folly of heart, but looking to me and waiting for my bidding; but now etc.' The description of Menelaos is simply untrue, and would not be comical but for the air of superiority assumed by Agamemnon—who

had been tearing out his hair in handfuls a few minutes before in sheer terror—and his patronage of his 'harmless necessary' brother.

As Agamemnon approaches Nestor whom he finds *ἐννῆ ἐνι μαλακῆ* (Nestor is never unduly hard on himself), the old man half rises in bed on his elbow and calls out 'Who goes there among the ships through the host alone in the murky night? Seekest thou one of thy mules or one of thy comrades? Speak! Come not near me till thou speak! What cravest thou?' For the realism of l. 80 and the comical accent of terror in l. 85 (we can almost hear the words rising gradually to a shriek) we shall look in vain till we come to Aristophanes and Herondas. In the reference to the mules, the quiet humour of the passage becomes pure burlesque.

In reply to Nestor, Agamemnon begins (one may as well put it bluntly) to drivel in his best tragic style (88 *sqq.*): 'look upon Agamemnon, son of Atreus (*γνώσεται* is best taken as an imperatival future) whom beyond all other men Zeus hath cast into troubles evermore, so long as breath remains in my breast and my dear limbs have strength'—he proceeds to describe his symptoms. He has made up his mind for the third time about what he wants from Nestor: they are to go together to the *φύλακες* and see if they are sleeping or not. Nestor replies by a vague prophecy of trouble for Hektor, when Achilles joins the army again, and agrees to go. After the interchange of views about Menelaos already noticed, Nestor dresses and goes with Agamemnon to wake Odysseus. On Nestor's summons he comes out of his tent, not unnaturally surprised to see the two heroes. He is told that the Greeks are in trouble and that he is to come with them—and wake some one else 'meet to devise plans to fight or fly' (147). Odysseus retires, reappears armed with a shield and joins them. This is a passage which has evoked an enthusiastic comment from Dr. Hayman (*Odyssey*. i. p. xlvi): he regards it as 'an admirable epitome of character.' That the cautious Odysseus should choose a shield and the bold Diomedes a spear (see l. 178) he regards as a master-stroke of *ἠθοποιία*. Perhaps:—but not in serious poetry; a device like this is the property of the comic stage.

The trio proceed to Diomedes' tent, and find him sound asleep. Nestor steps up and 'stirs him with a kick' *λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας* (158) 'Wake, Tydeus' son! Why sleepest

thou heavily all night long?' We are not far from

ἄσθηθι, δούλη Ψύλλα· μέχρι τέο κείσῃ
ῥέγουσα; (Herond. viii. 1, 2).

Diomedes jumps up and (to put it colloquially) flies at Nestor:

σχέτλιός ἐσσι, γεραιέ· σὺ μὲν πόνου οὐ ποτε
λήγεις.

'Are there not younger men,' he asks, 'to go on such an errand?' 'There are,' retorts Nestor in effect, 'and you are one of them: so be about it': ἄνοσησον—σὺ γάρ ἐσσι νεώτερος (176) is the cheap retort to οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλοι ἔασι νεώτεροι of 165 which we should expect to meet in Comedy.

Joined by Diomedes and, as we must assume, by Menelaos and his party, Nestor and his motley crew come upon the sentinels. We are gravely told that they did not find them sleeping. We had not expected for some fifty lines back that they would. Nor did the author entertain any idea of the kind himself, and in case we should think he did, he lets us into his private opinion by a simile. The sentinels are compared to dogs watching by night over a sheepfold listening to the advance of a wild beast through the forest on the hill 'and loud is the din at his coming both of men and dogs and sleep has departed from them utterly' (183 sqq.). The noise made by Nestor and his party coming to see if they were asleep or not had effectually settled the question. Nestor cheerfully bids them continue as they are, crosses the trench and prepares to hold a council of war in a clear space on the field. When all are ready to listen, he expounds his plan of safety—to send out a spy to see what is going on! Nestor's mystifying methods of procedure, his mysterious hinting 'I know what I know,' and then giving some perfectly commonplace advice after an immense and laboured preparatory harangue, could not be 'hit off' better. A plain man who is a careful reader and asks questions as he reads can hardly avoid remembering the proceedings in Agamemnon's tent early that very night (I 90 sqq. 670).

Nestor's speech is enlivened by one sly sneer, which is as much a sneer of the writer's at the military situation which he found assumed at this point in the poem as anything else. The spy is to find out what the Trojans design, 'whether they are minded to tarry where they be, far off from the ships or retreat again to the city, now

that they have subdued the Achaeans' (209 sq.). The reward of a black sheep from each chieftain for the spy seems an unhappy proposal (Sch. A does the best that can be done to explain it) if it be serious (but on the view of the book assumed here, a very sly intimation of the fate in store for a spy) and it is called by an ill-omened word (κτέρας cf. κτεραΐζειν): and if we adopt Peppmüller's view of 217 'he shall be present in the songs sung at feasts' the further reference to posthumous fame makes the passage, in the circumstances, pure burlesque.

Diomedes engages to go if some one will go with him. 'It will be more comfort' (θαλπωρή) he says, 'and more encouraging': this from θρασὺς Διομηδῆς *donne furieusement à penser*. He hastens to add reasons for his apparent cowardice. 'It is a case,' he says, 'of "two are better than one," and "one man sees before his fellow"' (224). I take σὺν δὺ ἐρχομένῳ and πρὸ δ' τοῦ ἐνόησεν as two proverbs: for καὶ τε cf. M 284.

The rivalry for the honour of supplying the θαλπωρή that Diomedes desires is evidently modelled on Θ 91-174; and Agamemnon's fear that Menelaos may be chosen is obviously a reference to Δ 148 sqq. where he shows such anxiety about him. In obedience to a broad hint Diomedes passes over Menelaos and chooses Odysseus. The latter takes his complimentary remarks very coolly εἰδόσι γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορευέας (250) and the pair proceed to supplement the shield and spear they had between them.

Whatever be the view we take of the tone of the book as a whole there can hardly be two opinions about the point of 266-271. The lines are a deliberate parody of B 102 sqq. There Agamemnon's sceptre is said to have descended from Pelops, to whom it was given by Hermes, who had it from Zeus, for whom Hephaistos made it. The helmet that Meriones gives to Odysseus had been an heirloom from the time of Autolykos, who got it—by burglary from the house of Amyntor (πύκνιον δόμον ἀντιτορήσας; the word is found only here and in *Hymn Herm.* 178, a suspicious parallel); the parody extends even to details: cf. Θυστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι (B 107) with ὁ Μηριόνη δῶκεν ᾧ παιδί φορῆναι. Could Odysseus of all men, and on this errand, have a more comically suitable present?

As the adventurers start on their journey Athena sends a heron as an omen (if Zopyrus' reading πελλόν be right in 275 it

adds to the point), which, as the poet admits, they did not see but merely heard crying, and both pray for success in the approved manner.

Meanwhile Hektor is not idle: he has on his part been doing precisely what the Greeks are doing on theirs. Now to send out a spy is a device whose success depends largely on the fact that the other side either doesn't or can't send out another. When both sides send out spies at the same hour over the same road, disaster is close at hand: and disaster that is sure to contain some elements of comedy. *πολύμητις ἔων πολυμήχανον εἶρεν* is pretty certain to be the epitaph of one or other.

Hektor proposes a reward of a more substantial character than Nestor's. The spy is to get, if successful, the best chariot and pair in the Greek army. Dolon volunteers. The description of Dolon is a deliberate parody of that of Tydeus in E 801: the latter *μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας ἀλλὰ μαχητής*: Dolon is one *ὃς δὴ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός, ἀλλὰ ποδώκης* (316). Dolon too was an only son among five sisters, not a promising family history for a warrior. However his greed urges him on, and he demands that Hektor shall give him a definite promise of the horses and chariot of Achilles. Hektor does so with the words 'Let Zeus be witness . . . that no other warrior of the Trojans shall mount the team,'—the 'tragic irony' is obvious: *ἐπίορκον ἐπόμοσε*, too, in 331 may be intentionally ambiguous 'swore an oath to confirm' what actually happened or 'perjured himself' by failing to carry out his promise.

Dolon starts with extravagant promises to penetrate as far as Agamemnon's ship. He is not far on his way when he meets the others. Odysseus *πρὸ τοῦ ἐνόησεν* and proposes to let him pass first and then hunt him down. They lie among the corpses to wait and when he had passed them 'as far apart as the furrows ploughed by mules' they make after him. He stops when he hears the steps, confident that they were messengers sent by Hektor to recall him. The bold blade had perhaps been stopped before this on some *soi-disant* dare-devil exploit by the *πέντε κασίγνηται*. Recognizing his pursuers he gives them a good run and is only stopped at last when Athena gives Diomedes strength enough to come close up and miss him with his spear on purpose. Dolon stops in terrible dismay. He offers to ransom himself with the airs of a great man (cf. 378 *sqq.* with Z 46 *sqq.*, A 131 *sqq.*), but his offer is neither accepted

nor refused (Odysseus merely tells him 'not to let death get on his mind') till they extract information. In answer to the rather superfluous question whether he had been sent by Hektor or had merely come out of 'spirit' he throws the blame on Hektor. Odysseus is coolly ironical about Achilles' team and asks where Hektor is and where the guards are stationed. Dolon tells all he is asked, giving a full description of the camp and particularly of the position of Rhesos. He proposes in return that he should be tied and left where he is till they return, as a pledge for his good faith. He seems to think they are not likely to get back and that he will be found by his friends in the morning. Diomedes disabuses his mind of this idea (*μὴ δὴ μοι φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλω θνητῷ* 447) and makes sure of his future in true Diomedean style. They take off his weasel-skin cap and wolf skin and dedicate them with his bow and spear to Athena. They hang them up in a tamarisk tree and to make sure that they won't miss them again in the dark they tie a knot on the branches of the tree with rushes! Not even an Abderite could have adopted a wiser method.

Dolon's news about Rhesos and his horses puts the pair on a new scent. Why not secure these famous horses!—a brilliant idea which is put into immediate execution. They decide to make the horses their objective and at last reach the post where Rhesos and his horses are to be found. It will be noticed that they make no attempt to find out what they had been sent to find out. It is true that in 409 *sqq.* Odysseus asks Dolon for the information he had come to get (cf. 208 *sqq.*); but Dolon ignores the question in his reply and Odysseus does not insist on an answer. It is unnecessary to obelize 409–411 with Aristarchus: they serve to emphasize the inconsequence and want of plan characteristic of every one in the book. We may assume then that Diomedes and Odysseus are henceforward intent only upon plunder, and plunder for themselves. When Odysseus catches sight of the horses (again *πρὸ τοῦ ἐνόησεν*) he is all eagerness to secure them. 'There is no use standing there with your finger in your mouth' is the homely English for *οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ | ἑστάναι μέλειον σὺν τεύχεσιν* of 479–80. 'Loose the horses or else do thou slay the owners and leave the horses to me,'—a preferable alternative. Diomedes goes at it *ἐπιστροφάδην*: as Diomedes killed each man, Odysseus caught the body by the foot and pulled it out of the way till they had made

a lane for the horses: finally he kills Rhesos; 'he was a bad dream to Rhesos' says the poet (as the Scholiast, rightly I think, interprets 496). Meanwhile, Odysseus looses the horses, and drives them out using his bow for a whip. Then he 'whistles' (ροίζησεν 502—Schol. B makes heroic efforts to explain away the meaning) to Diomedes who was meanwhile pondering what was the most rascally thing he could do (ὄτι κύντατον ἔροδοι) to wind up. Athena comes to warn him that if he does not make off at once (Odysseus' whistle had been an unfortunate inspiration) he may have to retire at the double (μῆ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθης): 'some other god, mayhap, will wake the Trojans' (511)—there is no telling what a god may do! Meanwhile the sharp-sighted Apollo (οἶδ' ἀλαοσκοπιῶν εἶχ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἄπ. 515—it is 'almost comic' notes Dr. Leaf, *ad loc.*) scented mischief when he saw Athena busied with Diomedes: that he had seen nothing before was only to be expected from a Trojan god. The best he can do is to wake Rhesos' cousin to see the slaughter when all was over. The Trojans raise an outcry, but the marauders are gone, riding bareback: on their way they recover the 'bloody spoils' of Dolon and reach the ships. Nestor is the first to hear them. 'Shall I tell a lie or the truth?' he asks (see δ 140 with Merry's note), and decides for the latter as they are on him before he can make up his mind. All are surprised to see the heroes: Nestor admires the horses in words that are a parody of those used to express his admiration for the heroes of old (cf. K 550 with A 262) and supposes that some god has given them to Odysseus. Odysseus assures him that a god could provide better horses than those (556 is a parody of γ 231). Then with a guffaw (καγχαλόων) he drives them into the stable and has a bath and another drink—the third that night.

Are we really to regard all this as a serious attempt in the Epic vein, unfortunately marred by a few infelicities? Yet this is the view taken by the editors. Dr. Leaf, it is true, comments on 'something of a burlesque tone' in 84 and the 'almost comic' effect of 515, but they are isolated criticisms and of the nature of a reproach. Fries (*Homerische Beiträge in Beiträge zur alten Gesch. von Lehmann u. Kornemann* 241) says Den späten Dichter der Doloneia erfreute offenbar die Duplizität, die Symmetrie, der Konflikt der sich begegnenden Spione, ein komödiantisches Motiv, fast an Menandrische Technik gemahnend: but this is the one light touch in his serious tracing

of the pedigree of the tale to respectable progenitors in India and Babylonia. But once read from the point of view sketched above, the inconsistencies and infelicities in the book become plain; and there are many more than have been mentioned. We have the play of cross purposes running through the book, the realism which meets us so constantly in the *Odyssey* (Immisch, *Die innere Entwickl. d. Griech. Epos*, 19 sqq.) and which becomes so prominent a feature in the comic *Mime*, the use of proverbs, and proverbial sayings, so marked e.g. in Herondas (see ll. 224, noticed above, 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς (cf. Theogn. 551), 351 ὄσσον τ' ἐπὶ οὐρα πέλονται ἡμιόνων, a homely measure of distance explained by Prof. Ridgeway), the evident parodies upon well known lines of Homer (Aristophanes' use of this weapon of comedy against Euripides is too well known to need illustration), and the irresponsible or bewildered way in which every one in general seems to act,—all prominent features of Comedy.

The book is late, as its language shows (see Leaf's Introduction), and it evidently presupposes a knowledge of Homer in its hearers, as Aristophanes presumed upon his hearers' knowledge of Euripides. This will explain the uncertainty as to its place in the *Iliad*. But what is to explain the more than uncertainty that has obscured its intention? Perhaps had we more Greek literature preserved we might find that the Greeks were not such fools as they seem to have been when they admitted a book so miserable in its attempts to be Homeric (as the editors assume) into the Homeric canon. It got there, as a matter of fact, as the Hymn to Hermes won its place among the Homeric hymns. Still we have some slight evidence to support the view that the Greeks did not always take it seriously. Dr. Leaf in his Introduction points out that the story is sometimes represented on vases in a comic spirit, and concludes that 'in the sixth century the story was still fresh and popular and was treated as public property in a different way from the consecrated older legends.' The Scholia are not the place to which one would go for an appreciation of humour: yet even there we find something like a stumbling upon the right track. In commenting on 409, Sch. A remarks γελοῖος γὰρ ἔσται ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤδη τῆς ὕρας προκεκοφνίας ἐρωτῶν εἰ μένονσιν ἢ ἀπέρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; but having seen the absurdity, he obelizes it away: at 499 the same Scholiast says μιμείται τὸ γινόμενον ἐν ταῖς παραχαῖς. Schol. B actually notes as Dolon proposes to

go as a spy (318) *δοκεῖ διαγανακτεῖν ὁ ποιητῆς οἶος ὧν οἷοις ἐπιχειρεῖ* (1); but he makes up for this in his note to 438 *τὸ σμικροπρεπὲς τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀκρως κωμωδεῖ ὅτι περὶ χρυσὸν ἐπτόηται*. But the curtain is only lifted for a moment: and these sleepy hints are all that the

Scholiasts offer to show that they were conscious of any absurdity in the book from beginning to end.

R. M. HENRY.

BELFAST, March 24, 1905.

NOTE ON AESCHYLUS *AGAM.* 1060-1.

εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχει λόγον
σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερί.

According to the ordinary interpretation, which generation after generation of commentators follow with sheep-like fidelity, these lines are pure nonsense. To say, as Mr. Sidgwick for instance does, that 'the apparent stupidity of such a suggestion is removed on the stage by Clytemnestra's meaning gestures,' is really no explanation at all. Mr. Housman's well-known lines—

But if you happen to be deaf and dumb
And do not understand a word I say,
Then wave your hand to signify as much—

are, on this view, no parody, but an accurate rendering. What sort of gesture could be added to these words that would not make them more absurd than ever? It is not at the culminating point of a great tragedy that we should expect Aeschylus to make Clytemnestra drop into such a piece of fatuity.

Wecklein is apparently the only commentator who has seen that the second line is addressed, not to Cassandra, but to the leader of the Chorus. His note runs thus:

‘σὺ δέ, weil sie sich von Kasandra ab zum Chorführer wendet, den sie auffordert der Fremden statt mit Worten ein Zeichen mit

der Hand zu geben, dass sie absteigen und in den Palast gehen solle. Das thut der Chorführer, aber wieder ohne Erfolg. Deshalb sagt er: Es scheint nichts anderes zu helfen als gewaltsames Herabziehen vom Wagen.’

Neither rhythm nor grammar however will reasonably admit of disjoining the two datives. The *καρβανος χεῖρ* is clearly the *gewaltsames Herabziehen* itself, which Cassandra must needs understand if she does not understand Clytemnestra's words. The Chorus-leader replies accordingly:

ἐρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἢ ξένη τοροῦ
δεῖσθαι τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νεαιρέτου,

and moves towards the chariot to draw her out of it; not however savagely, as Clytemnestra suggests, but gently and with soothing words:

ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτεῖρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι.
ἴθ', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρμώσασ' ὄχρον
εἴκουσ' ἀνάγκη τῆδε καίνισον ζυγόν.

But at the mere touch of a hand on her holy body, Cassandra breaks out of her stupor with the wild shriek that sends the Chorus shuddering back. They do not attempt to touch her again.

J. W. MACKAIL.

ADVERSARIA GRAECA.

1. THE Homeric fare provided by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in their latest volume (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part iv. 1904) cannot claim the name even of *τεμάχην*: it is crumbs. Let us hope for more next time, and mark one or two points.

Pap. 685 gives us a scholion (on P 728) containing $\eta \kappa = \acute{\eta} \kappa \omicron \iota \nu \acute{\eta}$. The vulgate may

be intended, but it is as probable that the word bears the sense which *κοινή* or *κοινή* *ἀνάγνωσις* has in prosodiacal scholia, of 'current usage'—much the same as *παράδοσις*.

Pap. 769 gives a new variant in N 344.

νῖδ
γηθησ] εἰελ. [

The reading superscribed is the ordinary one, γηθήσειεν ἰδών. The original can hardly have been anything but γηθήσειε λάων. We thus obtain an instance of this verb from the *Iliad*—otherwise it occurs in the *Odyssey* and the *Hymns*—, and a confirmation of the usual and non-Aristarchean interpretation.

Pap. 773. β 340. I hazard the suggestion that]δε[. . .]ο which is above the last word of 341 may represent ἡδὲ ποσοῖο, an absurd variant on ἡδυνότοιο which occurs ο 507.

2. Aeschylus *P. V.* 436.

Ἄραβίης τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος.

With the scholiast, we are all shocked at Arabs near Caucasus, but it is a case for interpretation, not excision, as Strabo says (33, 41, 784) defending the similar difficulty

Αἰθιοπίας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίου καὶ Ἐρεμβούδης δ 84, where many read Ἐρεμνούς or even Ἄραβίς τε. The geographer remarks αἰτιάσθαι δὲ βέλτιον τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος μετάπτωσιν πολλήν καὶ ἐπιπόλαιον οὖσαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. We now learn from M. Bérard (*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* ii. 88) that Ἐρεμβούδης is in fact an alternative transliteration of the same Semitic word which gave Ἄραψ.

566. ἃ τὸ φρωῶν
ἀλατὸν γένος ἐμ-
πεποδισμένον;

λείπει ἔστιν schol. Reluctance to believe this has led to various supplements. The construction is not uninfrequent in the good period. I wish to add *Herod.* iii. 14 (καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπειχιθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων, εὖ δοκέειν σφι εἰρήσθαι) to the exx. given by Sikes and Willson and also on *h. Apoll.* 335.

1096. οὐ γὰρ δὴ που | τοῦτό γέ τλητὸν παρέσυρας ἔπος say the Chorus to Hermes when he advises them to escape in time. Apparently they consider the advice an impertinence: 'you have dragged in this remark by the head and shoulders.' Messrs. Sikes and Willson say this sense is not found in *παρασύρειν*; but it is in *παρέλκειν*; Aristophanes said *Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρόωριστον παρέλκυσεν*, of his impudent theft; and we have the curious neuter use of *παρέλκει* = 'it is superfluous,' in grammarians' Greek.

3. Scholia on Sophocles' *Electra* (ed. Pappageorgius 1888).

28. Δι ἔση. Certainly not *Δίδυμος*, as M. Schmidt imagined, nor is the χ the *chiamata* for which it is sometimes employed. Since

δι^χ, both here and *Ajax* 1225, introduces a variant, it is obviously διχῶς, as the lamented Kaibel took it. The word is of course part of the technical vocabulary of ancient criticism. Though it appears not to be found in the Euripidean scholia, it occurs in the Aristophanean. If a proper name had been wanted, it would have been Dicaearchus.

78. Pappageorgius is probably right in interpreting π as *τούτου* or *τούτων*, although the abbreviation is contrary to the usage of the scribe of the scholia. However as the scribe has put a sign equivalent to ζήτει in the margin, there can be no error on his part, but probably a faithful copying of an archetype, in which, as is the case with praeminuscul MSS., abbreviation was simple and trenchant.

The normal meaning of π in this MS. is *τισιν*, as at v. 102, where the accent ἐνπ shews what the scribe meant, and there is no ground for imagining, with Jahn, a mistake for ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι. At v. 232 after the same ἐνπ an οὐ in ligature has been erased. The wasp-like shape of the ligature and the breathing are perfectly visible in the facsimile. The accent on κείται shews that no preposition (e.g. ὑπό-) has perished. The scribe automatically wrote the familiar οὐ κείται, and then found it was not the case for that formula.

4. *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The publication of the second volume of Mr. Murray's Euripides (Oxford, *no date*) has relieved me of a long paper which I once wrote to cleanse this play of the barnacles of criticism. My University prescribes this text, and since in Philology for good and evil we are largely sheep, our charges are likely to be free from a vast quantity of Baboo Greek. For this they may thank Mr. Murray.—On a few points I still find something to say.

208. ἃ μαστευθεῖσ' ἐξ Ἑλλάνων
ἀν κτλ.

τῶ μαστευθεῖσα ἔξ M. after Elmsley, but it is just these small changes of construction that cannot be made. Read ἃ; it is a case of the construction referred to above *P. V.* 566. There is another instance of it in this play in v. 194. German relative sentences give an analogy.

465 ἄς ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν νόμος οὐχ ὅσιος
Ἑλλησι διδοὺς ἀναφαίνει.

Ἑλλησι διδοὺς can barely be translated.

Δοθείς is inadmissible. I will hazard a conjecture in which I do not believe, but which is the best so far: viz. νόμον, sc. ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλησι νόμον διδούς, 'our lawgiver.' The present participle seems quasi-idiomatic in this phrase: Demosth. 18. 6, 19. 7, 22. 11, 23. 27 bis, and cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 416 B, 419 A, though the aorist also is found.

579 ἀκούσατ'· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τιν' ἤκομεν λόγον
ἡμῖν τ' ὄνησιν, ὧ ξένοι, σπουδῆς ἅμα
κάμοι.

Σπουδῆς is difficult to construe, and Mr. Murray rightly puts Musgrave's σπεύδουσ' in his apparatus. Qu. the correction of Λ, σπουδαῖς? She has come to a topic which contains, for her and them alike, ὄνησις + σπουδαί, comfort together with trouble. For the plural the Lexx. give *Ion* 1061. H = ai needs no demonstration.

633 ξανθῶ τ' ἐλαίῳ σῶμα σὸν κατασβέσω.

The sense of the verb is difficult; it must I suppose mean quench, stifle, smother, sc. 'coat'—so that if alive the man would be smothered. There is no near use of the word—Nonnus 29. 268 ἰχῶρα νεόσσυτον ἔσβεσεν οἴῳ is faintly similar: Plato *Critias* 112 c uses ἀποσβέννυμι of a spring choked by an earthquake and κατασβεῖσαι is used of oil, in a different connection, *Protag.* 334 c: ἐτοuffer is a kitchen term. Oil was used for embalming: Aelian *V.H.* 13. 3, Strabo 198. The process of course would be applied to Orestes between his execution and his burning. Nothing would come out of the fiery chasm.

914 φίλα γὰρ ἔσται πάντ' ἐμοί. 'I shall like it all.' She expresses her determination to have all the news before she deals with the situation. In so doing she interprets the feelings of the audience and of Euripides: the like artless device for more talk in *Phoen.* 383. The future therefore seems sound.

966 ψήφους διηρίθμησε Παλλὰς ὠλένη.

Why is ὠλένη suspect? The poet sees Athena's stout arm at work, as in the *Knights* 1169 she stirred the soup τῇ χειρὶ τῆλεφαντίνῃ. *Phoen.* 1375 may be added to Mr. Murray's parallels.

1142 sq. χοροῖς δ' ἔσταιν ὅθι καὶ
παρθένος εὐδοκίμων γάμων
παρὰ πόδ' εἰλίσσουσα φίλας
ματρὸς ἡλίκων θιάσους κτλ.

It is a real comfort to have this passage restored to sanity. The usual emendations accepted the idea of a maiden of a good

Argive family dancing a violent skirt-dance at a wedding! The occasion was of course domestic, like the dance described by Eubulus ἐν Ἀγκυλίῳ (Kock II. 165). Εὐδοκίμων γάμων is gen. of quality: 'a fine match.' Cf. *Phoen.* 59.

1193 θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά.

This verse, a motto for Venice, is primarily literal. Seawater played a great part in ritual: Dittenberger, *Syll.* 617. 22, 877. 15, etc.

1223 [ὄρῳ] καὶ θεᾶς κόσμους νεογνοῦς τ' ἄρνας. Mr. Murray has turned out one of the quaintest conjectures ever made—μόσχους for κόσμους. The latter word of course is technical: the κόσμος of a god was his clothes, jewels, etc., his wardrobe. See Homolle in Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *Donarium*: *B.C.H.* 14. 407 ο κοσμος ο του αγαλαματος του την ερειαν εσθητα εχοντος. On the clothing of statues see Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. p. 574-6 (a reference I owe to Miss Penrose): Dittenberger, *Syll.* 553. 41 ξοανα παντων των δωδεκα θεων εν εσθησιν ὡς καλλισταις.

A feeling that κόσμος ought to be singular has influenced views of this passage. The feeling rests partly on the analogy of *mundus*, and is not justified. Cf., whether literally or metaphorically, Aesch. *Ag.* 1271, Isocr. ix. 9, *Phaedo* 114 E, *Protag.* 322 C, *Laws* 800 E, *Alcib.* i. 123 C, Phrynichus in *Anec. Bekk.* i. p. 18, 23.

1351 οἱ δὲ κλίμακας | σπεύδοντες ἦγον διὰ
χερῶν πρμνήσια.

κλίμακες are gangways for landing: called ἀποβάθραι or κλιμακίδες in nautical inscriptions; Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 101, 102. The πρμνήσια are the ropes by which they are worked: Orpheus, *Argon.* 359

ἑκταδίοις ὀπλοῖς δῆσαι πάρα κλίμακα μακρὴν.

1462 ἀμφὶ σεμνὰς . . . κλίμακας | Βραν-
ρωνίας.

Since Mr. Murray has thought Pierson's λείμακας worth mentioning, it may be well to defend κλίμακας in this local sense by Diod. xix. 21 (quoted by Mr. England) and *Att. Mitth.* viii. 20 ἀντιφερον δημοκλεους εκ κλειμακων. The Lexx. give κλιμακῶδης from Strabo.

5. *Knights*, 631.

κᾶβλεψε νᾶπυ καὶ τὰ μέτωπ' ἀνέσπασεν.

Crates, ap. Seleucum in Athen. 366 F found κᾶβλεπε σίναπυ in his text, and blamed Aristophanes for using the form.

It has not been noticed that this very early variant in the Aristophanic text is probably graphical. ΚΑΒΛΕΠCΕΝΑΠΥ easily gave ΚΑΒΛΕΠΕCΙΝΑΠΥ. The fashion of writing ΠC for ψ, ΧC for ξ is common in inscriptions and has left some

traces in MSS. A well-known instance shews this: *Poetics* c. 21.

μία γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων ὄψ,
for ψ the MSS. give us ησ, that is ΠC.

T. W. ALLEN.

NOTES ON DEMOSTHENES. III.

31. 14 ὃν μόνον ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπωβελίας ἄξιον ἦν κινδυνεύειν.

As a genitive seems not to be found elsewhere with κινδυνεύω, the conjecture may be hazarded that a substantive on which it depended has been lost. We find elsewhere κίνδυνον κινδυνεύειν and κινδύνεμα κινδυνεύειν, and such a word would easily drop out near the verb, e.g. immediately after it. Or περί may be missing. The genitive with φεύγειν etc. is not parallel, because there was of course no ἐπωβελίας δίκη.

34 arg. (*ad finem*). ἐκεῖ μὲν <ἡ> ἐκατέρου διαστολῆ φανερά.

The similarity of ν and η (N and H) often leads to error.

37. 4 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις <τοῖς> ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ?

53 τινάς . . . οἷ τὸ πρᾶγμα τέχνην πεποιημένοι μήτε συγγνώμης μήτ' ἄλλου τινός εἰσιν ἄλλ' ἢ τοῦ πλείονος.

Here again the genitives seem unaccountable, and something may be missing, e.g. μήτ' ἄλλου τινός <ἧττους> εἰσιν, if συγγνώμης ἧττων could stand.

41. 11 φιάλην μὲν γὰρ λαβόντες . . . καὶ θέντες ἐνέχυρα μετὰ χρυσίῳν, οὐκ ἀνενηόχασι κεκομισμένοι ταύτην . . . σκηνήν δ' ἦν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτην λαβόντες ἀναφέρουσιν.

It would be hard to interpret σκηνήν here; but, when we come to 27 παρὰ τοῦ Λεωκράτους ἔχουσαν τὰ χρυσιά καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια τὴν γυναῖκ' ἔλαβεν and compare 59. 35 ὅσα ἦν αὐτῇ . . . περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἰμάτια καὶ χρυσιά, we see it to be unnecessary, as σκηνήν is an easy error for σκευήν, to which ἰμάτια directly points.

44. 17 σκέψασθε ὡς πολλοστὸς εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου συγγείειαν προσήκων.

The nominative πολλοστὸς seems questionable. Perhaps πολλοστῶς, as in *Ar. Eth.* 10. 5. 1176 a 29 δευτέρως καὶ πολλοστῶς.

45. 59 See *Journal of Philology* 13, 98, where I suggested ἔνεκα τῶν for κακῶν.

In 42 Reiske's μίσθωσιν for μίσθωσις and in 53 Cobet's τὰ τῆς φύσεως δίκαια (for οἰκεία) should surely be adopted. With the latter cf. *Gorgias* 484 A ἐξέλαμψε τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον.

68 ὀκνήσειέν τις ἂν προσελθεῖν πρῶτον.
Should not πρῶτον be πρότερος?

47. 4 ἀναγκάζει for ἀναγκάζοι?

48. 7 περὶ ὧν οὗτος ἡξίου ἑαντῷ εἶναι.
ἑαυτοῦ?

53. 1 οὐδ' αὖ οὕτως ἄπορος ἦν οὐδ' ἄφιλος ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἀπογράφοντα.

This is well known as one of two passages in Demosthenes, where οὐ is joined with an infinitive after ὥστε not in *oratio obliqua*. The other passage I have dealt with before (see in vol. xvii. 148 my note on 9. 48). Here I should suggest οὐκ ἂν ἐξηρῶν or οὐκ ἂν <εἶχον> ἐξευρεῖν.

54. 6 ἢ εἰδῆθ' ὅτι, ὃ προσήκε τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον ἁμαρτηθεῖσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν, οὗτος αὐτὸς πρότερος πολλῷ δεινότερ' εἴργασται.

For πρότερος (said by Paley and Sandys to mean as a *ringleader*, which cannot be the case) Dionysius gives πρὸς τούτοις, but that does not harmonise really well with πολλῷ δεινότερα: we should rather expect ἄλλα καὶ δεινότερα. Can πρότερος be a mistake for ὕστερον? ὕστερος could not, I think, stand. Possibly ὕστερον <οὐ> πολλῷ. That χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ follows within a line or two is hardly an objection, as the reading of the evidence comes in between.

20 ἰθύφαλλοὶ τινές ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ ἐρῶντες οὓς ἂν ἡμῖν δόξῃ παίομεν καὶ ἄγχομεν.

The connexion of ἐρῶντες with the verbs

seems grotesque. Perhaps ἰθύφαλλοι . . . συνειλεγμένοι καὶ ἔρωτες, <καὶ> οὐς ἂν κ.τ.λ.

56. 10 πυθόμενος τὰς τιμὰς τὰς ἐνθάδε τοῦ σίτου καθεστηκυίας.

The words τοῦ σίτου seem out of their proper place. Are they not an adscript from 9 above, αἱ τιμαὶ τοῦ σίτου ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἐβάδιζον? Or should we read τῷ σίτῳ?

16 ταῦτα δ' ἡμῶν λεγόντων . . . καὶ ἀξιούντων Δ. τουτονὶ τὴν μὲν συγγραφὴν μὴ κινεῖν . . . , τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ὡς ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων κριθῆναι . . . , οὐκ ἔφη προσέχειν Δ. τοῦτων οὐδενί.

Kennedy follows Schäfer in taking ἐτοιμῶν as neuter and translating it *certaïn*, as against Reiske who says it is *positum in bivio* and = ἀξιούντων ἡμῶν Δ. κριθῆναι (*id est ἔαν κριθῆναι*), ὡς ἐτοιμῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων κριθῆναι. No doubt Reiske is right in making the word masculine. Omit ὡς as having arisen from the *ων* preceding, and all difficulty disappears, ἐ. ὄντων being parallel to ἀξιούντων.

προσέχειν should be προσέξειν. [In Blass' text *κάν* just below is apparently a misprint for *κάν*.]

57. 7 τὸ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα λέγειν τοῦτ' ἔγωγ' ὑπολαμβάνω, ὅσα τις . . . πέποιθ' ἀδίκως ἐπιδείξει.

I do not see how these two things can be identical. Read τοῦ γάρ.

44 Blass is certainly wrong in adopting *ψηφισαίσθε* from Lambinus without any MS. authority and leaving the nominative *μηδεὶς* κ.τ.λ. without construction. What Schäfer says is perfectly true, I think, that *μηδεὶς* really stands for *τις*. *τις* has become a negative under the influence of the *μηδενί* following it and of the tendency to double and emphasise a negation. εἰ τις, *μηδενί* τούτων ἀμφισβητῶν . . . , *ψηφίσαιτο* is what the orator had in his mind.

59. 105 ἔπειτα τοὺς δοκιμασθέντας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τῇ θεῷ.

στήναι?

61. 43 καίτοι τινὲς ἤδη καὶ δι' εὐτυχίαν πραγμάτων γυμνασθέντες ἐθανάσθησαν.

As in 31. 14 and 37. 53 above, so here the genitive seems to have lost the word which governs it, though here possibly the error may be different. A few lines before we have τὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ἐμπειρίαν

γυμνομένην, which suggests πραγμάτων <ἐμπειρία> γυμνασθέντες or something similar.

54 δι' ἃ δεῖ σε τῶν ἐπαίων ἀξιόν εἶναι δόξαντα καμὲ τῆς σῆς φιλίας ἀνεπιτήμητον ποιεῖν.

Again a dubious genitive. Any real parallel can only be found in poetry, e.g. ἄθικτος ἡγήτηρος. τῆς σῆς φιλίας <ἐνεκ'> ἀνεπιτήμητον?

Prooem. 2. 3 τὸ δὲ μῆδ' ὀτιοῦν μεταλαμβάνειν τὸν δῆμον ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας περιεῖναι κ.τ.λ.

The drift of the whole passage seems to require some such word as αἰεί or πάντως with περιεῖναι.

26. 3 ἀθῶους τοὺς κινδύνους ποιήσουσιν αὐτοῖς.

Such a use of ἀθῶος is unparalleled. Should we read ἀθῶους τοῦ κινδύνου ποιήσουσιν αὐτούς?

29. 3 τοῦτο δὴ, τοῦτο.

Reiske was practically right in τοῦτο δὴ ταυτό, but the regular order is ταῦτο δὴ τοῦτο.

33. 2 οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μὴ δυνήσεσθαι θαρρεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κὰν δύνωνται κρατήσκειν, and 3 ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀποτρέψομαι λέγειν ἃ δοκεῖ μοι, καίπερ ὄρων ἡγμένους ὑμᾶς.

The absolute use of δύνασθαι and still more that of ἡγμένους are strange. I conjecture something like <φαύλως> ἡγμένους (as in *Or.* 13. 15 ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φαύλως ἡγμένοι κ.τ.λ.) and τοὺς ἐχθροὺς <ἐπίεναι> μὴ δυνήσεσθαι.

33. 2 καὶ γὰρ ὡς δικαιοτάτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὲ πόλλ' εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑώρων καὶ ὄρω, καὶ ὡς ἀρίστων προγόνων, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα.

Something like πόλλ' <ἂν ἔχω> εἰπεῖν, or πόλλ' <ἐνόντ'> εἰπεῖν would seem more likely.

34. 1 πάλιν ταῦτ' εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν οὔτοι λαβόντες τούτων κατηγορήσουσιν.

λαβόντες, which Kennedy translates (with ταῦτα) *take the same course*, can hardly be right. I would suggest ἀναβαλόντες *having deferred*. To avoid hiatus this should be put before οὔτοι, and then we see that the *ανα* may have been lost after the *αν* of ἐκκλησίαν.

39. 3 βουλευθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ παροξυνθέντων τῷ γεγενημένῳ.

There is nothing in the context to be

supplied with βουλευθέντων. Has not an infinitive been lost?

53. 4 καὶ <τοῦ μὲν> γελάσαι . . μετέδωκαν ὑμῖν!

55. 1 ἐν οὐδέποτε' εὐτυχῆσαι τοῦτο νομίζω.

Should we not write οὐδέποτε? In prose οὐδέποτε is usually, if not always, future or present.

Letters. 1. 3 ἔστιν μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς ἐμμεῖναι συμβουλή· πολλοῖς γὰρ εἰώθατ' ἀπαντᾶν ἡμεῖς πρὸ τοῦ περιμεῖναι μαθεῖν.

ἐμμεῖναι συμβουλή can hardly be right,

the sense needed here being only *giving advice*. It has arisen, I think, from the περιμεῖναι which follows in the next sentence, and which would have prevented the writer from using ἐμμεῖναι here, even if it were suitable. The true word need not have resembled ἐμμεῖναι, and some other case of συμβουλή may have followed.

2. 7 δι' ὀμιλίας πείσαι προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν ὡς βούλοιο.

προσέχειν has no distinct subject, and on the other hand ὡς βούλοιο is otiose and weak. Read therefore οὖς for ὡς.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON LITERARY ASSOCIATION, AND THE DISREGARD OF IT IN 'LONGINUS.'

THE author of the treatise 'On the Sublime,' whatever was his name and date, is justly reputed one of the best representatives of ancient criticism. All the better does he illustrate a strange and characteristic defect of it, by repeatedly ignoring the possibility, or even the certainty, that a striking word, phrase, or sentence, which is not in keeping with the style of the context, was chosen by the writer for the sake of its literary associations, and owed its effect, the effect of a quotation, to the very fact of its peculiarity.

Let us illustrate this familiar principle by the first example that comes to hand.

'America, gentlemen say, is a noble object. It is an object well worth fighting for. Certainly it is, if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Gentlemen in this respect will be led to their choice of means by their complexions and their habits. Those who understand the military art will of course have some predilection for it. Those who *wield the thunder of the state* may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favour of prudent management than of force,' etc.

The pompous phrase here italicized instantly catches the ear, as incongruous with the studied and ironical simplicity of the passage. And therefore in Burke we should suspect, even if we did not know, that it is a quotation, and that the source of it will be worth examining. It comes of course from the famous couplet of Pope,

Argyle, the state's whole thunder born to wield

And shake alike the senate and the field ;

and it depends upon this origin for its meaning. Not military men merely, but military orators, soldiers speaking in Parliament, the opponents of conciliation with America, are 'those who wield the thunder of the state'; Burke is sneering at the violence of their declamations. But it is by Pope, by the context in Pope, and not by the context in Burke, that the innuendo is explained; and in the incongruity of style, as directing the memory to Pope, lies the principal merit of the passage. What would be said of a critic who, ignoring all this, were to tax the incongruity as a fault in the orator?

Yet this is what 'Longinus' does again and again. He ignores the possibility of quotation, not only where there is a presumption in favour of it, but where his own citations, if the idea had occurred to him, are sufficient to prove it. And in some cases, perhaps in all, he is following precedent, an established error of criticism and common to the stock.

'A hazardous business . . . is periphrasis, unless it be handled with discrimination; otherwise it speedily falls flat, with its odour of empty talk and its swelling amplitude. This is the reason why Plato (who is always strong in figurative language, and at times unseasonably so) is taunted, because in his *Laws* he says "that neither gold nor silver treasure should be allowed to establish itself and abide in the city." The critic says that if he had been for-

bidding the possession of sheep or oxen, he would obviously have said "ovine treasure" or "bovine"¹—*ἐν τοῖς νόμοις λέγοντα ὡς οὔτε ἀργυροῦν δέι πλοῦτον οὔτε χρυσοῦν ἐν πόλει ἰδρυμένον εἶν οἰκεῖν.*

It is assumed that the words criticized are simply Plato's, and that his negligence or want of taste is responsible for the dissonance between them and the proper simplicity of the conversation. Now *first*, such a writer as Plato might claim the contrary presumption; even without evidence we should assume that he is quoting, and meant the quotation to be recognized. *Secondly*, the context confirms this presumption: Plato is warning composers of public prayers to pray only for things beneficial; it has been shown, he says, in the words cited, that gold and silver are not truly beneficial; and he adds that 'not all composers' or 'poets' (*ποιηταί*) are capable of this distinction, indicating by 'not all' that some of them are, and that the warning against the precious metals, as here shaped, comes itself from a poet. And *finally*, Longinus, whose text of the *Laws* was correct and better than some,² could have proved the presumption; for his citation contains, to a syllable, the words of the iambic couplet to which Plato refers:

*ὡς οὔτε Πλοῦτον ἀργυροῦν ἰδρυμένον
εἶν ἐνοικεῖν οὔτε δεῖ χρυσοῦν πόλει.*

What periphrasis is, and what it would be, if misapplied, the example may show; but the criticism of Plato is itself misapplied.³

Similarly fare Xenophon and Timaeus, the historian of Sicily, in the chapter on frigidity, τὸ ψυχρόν.⁴ Xenophon is solemnly rebuked for punning upon *κόρη* (*maiden*, *pupil of the eye*) in *αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παρθέων*,⁵ 'you would deem them more modest than the very maidens in their eyes'; and Timaeus is charged with stealing the pun from Xenophon, when he wrote *ὁ τίς ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κόρας, μὴ πόρας, ἔχων*; As if the occurrence of the same quip in two writers, both of whom place it in such a context as to surprise us, and

who yet frame it in words so different that the later is manifestly *not* borrowing from the earlier, were not in itself enough to prove that the thing belonged to neither of them, and was claimed by neither, but was a notorious commonplace, an old favourite of literary speech, introduced by each because of its interesting associations. And in fact each writer points to a prior use. Timaeus cites almost literally from tragedy or tragi-comedy,

*ὁ τίς ἐποίησεν ἂν,
κόρας ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι, μὴ πόρας, ἔχων;*

Whether on grounds of merit he was entitled to the presumption that he is here quoting, we are not in a position to say, but the censures of 'Longinus' prove nothing to the contrary. Xenophon is so entitled, and also manifestly does quote, but less accurately, and from another passage of tragi-comedy, something like this,

*αἰδήμονας δὲ μάλλον ἡγήσασαί τοι
αὐτοὺς ἂν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κορῶν.*

As for the equivocation itself, it was probably as old, and as sacred, as the hills, like the similar one upon *κόρος* (*pride*, *son*). Among authors known to us, the most likely to have stamped it for currency are Aeschylus and the oracle of Delphi. We might really as well censure a modern moralist or historian for compromising the dignity of his style, if he used *Tekel* in the sense of 'Thou art found wanting.'

'Yes, and Plato (usually so divine) when he means simply *tablets* says "They shall write and preserve *cypress memorials* in the temples."⁶

But for the other examples, it would be scarcely conceivable that the critic had seen this place with his own eyes, and one would hope that he had not. Plato does *not* 'simply mean tablets,' and there is no more to be said. He is speaking, with great solemnity, of an official prayer, a commination akin to our 'Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's landmark.' The passage is too long to quote; but let the reader turn to it, and say whether *κυπαριτίνας μνήμας* is not palpably borrowed from poetry, and designed to enhance the dignity of Plato's own language by the recognized majesty of the place (whatever that was) from which it comes. It is less obvious, but, considering the author, fairly presumable, that Herodotus, when he makes his Persian revellers, who otherwise talk pure

¹ Long. xxix. 1 (Plato, *Laws* 801 B). Transl. of Rhys Roberts, slightly modified in the last clause.

² Baiter-Orelli-Winckelmann give *ἐνοικεῖν* (for *εἶν οἰκεῖν*): *ἐνοικεῖν* may be right, but the omission of *εἶν* is demonstrably wrong.

³ Aristoph. *Plutus* 1191, cited by Prof. Rhys Roberts, alludes doubtless to the same passage of tragedy, and proves it notorious.

⁴ iv.

⁵ *Rep. Lac.* iii. 5.

⁶ iv. 6 (Rhys Roberts), *Laws* 741 c.

prose, describe the Macedonian beauties, seated out of reach on the other side of the table (*ἀντίας ἰζομένας*), as 'paining their eyes' (*ἀλγηδόνας σφι ὀφθαλμῶν*),¹ is not using mere words of his own, but alluding, not in compliment, to some poem, contrary in sentiment but otherwise similar to the *ὄστις ἐναντίος τοι ἰζάνει*, the *qui sedens adversus identidem te spectat*, of Sappho and Catullus. At all events to censure Herodotus for 'an unseemly exhibition,' without noticing the possibility of such an allusion, is blindness. Since the last speech of the Persian guest at the banquet of Attaginus² is palpable poetry, and in fact is almost entirely made up of poetical quotations slightly transposed, we see that Herodotus did not think it inappropriate (nor is it in his manner of narration) that his barbarians should use Greek literature in this fashion.

'Then we have Plato again (usually so divine) writing *περὶ δὲ τευχῶν*, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ἐγὼ ξυμφεροίμην ἂν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸ καθεῦδεν εἶν ἐν τῇ γῇ κατακείμενα τὰ τεῖχη καὶ μὴ ἐπανίστασθαι,³ when he means simply that a city should not have walls.'

This 'frigidity' is not to be condoned; it arises, we are told, like other such ugly and parasitical growths, 'from a single cause, that pursuit of novelty in the expression of ideas, which may be regarded as the fashionable craze of the day.'⁴

About 'the day' of Longinus, we may possibly judge when we know what it was. Meanwhile it is certain that in this passage of Plato the departure from the author's ordinary style does *not* arise from 'the pursuit of novelty in expression,' but from the very opposite cause, the modest and natural desire, common to all writers who know their business, to commend new thoughts by old expressions, by clothing them partly in the language of some admired predecessor. Here again one wonders whether the critic can have read Plato. For Plato in the very next words actually mentions 'the excellent and much-quoted speech of the poet on the subject of walls,' and paraphrases a sentence of it: τῶν δὲ εἰνεκα καλῶς μὲν ὁ ποιητικὸς λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὑμνείται, τὸ χαλκᾶ καὶ σιδηρᾶ δεῖν εἶναι τὰ τεῖχη μᾶλλον ἢ γῆινα, 'bronze and iron,' that is, weapons, 'make better walls than earth.' The mention of 'earth' makes

clear what even without it would naturally be assumed, that the poetical metaphor of the preceding sentence, that walls 'should be let lie and sleep in the earth,' comes from the same source. The play cited does not seem to be known, but was later in date than the celebrated attempt of the Lacedaemonians, after Plataea, to make the Athenians adopt Spartan principles and refrain from rebuilding their fortifications.⁵ The speaker, we notice, refers to the 'restoration' (*ἐπανιστάναι*) not to the mere erection of walls, a fact which alone would show that the language is not Plato's own, for he is concerned only with building. The dramatist apparently found or invented a heroic parallel to that historic situation, and put the argument of 'Sparta' into the mouth of a Spartan. The *disjecta membra* are visible enough,

ἐν γῇ καθεῦδεν ταῦτ' εἴητε κείμενα
καὶ μὴ 'πανίσταται(ε) κ.τ.λ.

Of course the fault, which the critic discusses in this chapter, does really exist. There is such a thing, and it is not uncommon, as incongruous language or metaphor adopted without any other motive than the pursuit of novelty, the desire to be strange and striking. Proper examples and safer he might probably have found in his contemporaries. To find them in ancient works was then, and would be now, *ἐπίκρηρον*, 'a hazardous business'; we can hardly be sure that we are not committing the error of Longinus, and ignoring the effect of some literary association. With a contemporary one may respectfully venture: 'I let myself flow out to her in a happy weakness, and looking all about, and before and behind, saw the world like an undesirable desert, where men go as soldiers on a march, following their duty with what constancy they have, and Catriona alone there to offer me some pleasure of my days.' The oddities and contortions here have not, so far as I can see, any literary defence. The style is not that of Stevenson's novel as a whole, and still less appropriate to his hero; it seems to be a mere extravagance of diction, and *if it is that*, it is an example of τὸ ψυχρόν. But the examples in Longinus, all of them so far as they can be tested,⁶ are

⁵ Thucyd. i. 90.

⁶ Of the two that remain, one, the ominous significance of the name *Hermocrates* (iv. 3), cannot possibly have been a legitimate example. Whether Timaeus defended the superstition or derided it (we do not know), in neither case did he commit an offence of style. The comparison of Alexander and Isocrates (iv. 2) may have been a proper illustration, but without seeing the text we cannot say.

¹ Long. *ib.* 7, Herod. v. 18.

² Herod. ix. 16. See *Classical Review*, vol. xvii. p. 98.

³ Long. *ib.* 6, *Laws* 778 D (*ἐπανιστάναι* Baiter).

⁴ Long. v. 1 (Rhys Roberts).

false, and for the same reason: he ignores the effect, the calculated and legitimate effect, of literary association. His merits and just reputation make the insensibility or inattention to this point, which we cannot but attribute to him and his authori-

ties, all the more significant, as showing what sort of perception we are not to expect from Graeco-Roman critics, and how their judgments need to be discounted.

A. W. VERRALL.

ON SIMPLICIUS *DE CAELO*, 476, 11 sqq.

HEIBERG's text reads: οἱ δὲ πάσας τὰς σφαίρας τὴν αὐτὴν λέγοντες κίνησιν τὴν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν κινεῖσθαι καθ' ὑπόληψιν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν Κρονίαν σφαῖραν συναποκαθίστασθαι καθ' ἡμέραν τῇ ἀπλανεῖ παρ' ὀλίγον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Διὸς παρὰ πλεόν καὶ ἐφεξῆς οὕτως, οὗτοι πολλὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπορίας ἐκφεύγουσι.

The phrase καθ' ὑπόληψιν means in conception, in opinion. It is opposed to κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν in [Plutarch] Strom. 5, and is out of place here. We must read καθ' ὑπόλειψιν (by) lagging behind. Simplicius is combating a view not explicitly mentioned by Aristotle according to which the planets do not have a proper motion of the 'other' in Plato's phrase from West to East, but all move of their proper motion in the direction of the diurnal revolution from East to West. The apparent easterly revolution of the Moon once a month, the Sun once a year, Saturn once in thirty years,

is due on this theory to their lagging behind (ὑπολείπεσθαι) the diurnal revolution, Saturn slightly, the Sun more, and the Moon most.

Simplicius goes on to argue that, though the theory solves some problems, it is incompatible with the phenomena. If the daily circle of the planetary body is parallel to the equator how does it ever move north and south? If it is oblique (λοξός) why does it not move north and south every day? ἄτε πάντα τὸν λοξὸν κύκλον περιμόντα, ὡς φασι, καθ' ἐκάστην τοῦ παντὸς περιφορὰν πλὴν τῶν μοιρῶν, ἃς ὑπολειπέμενα φαίνεται. Theon of Smyrna, p. 147 Hiller, uses ὑπολειπτικά and ὑπόλειψις in the sense required, and I presume that the precise phrase καθ' ὑπόλειψιν might be found by searching the Greek astronomers. In any case it is formed by an obvious analogy and is necessary here.

PAUL SHOREY.

University of Chicago.

ON LUCRETIUS V. 43 sqq.

*At nisi purgatumst pectus, quae proelia nobis
Atque pericula tumst ingratis insinuandum!*

The interpretation generally accepted for these lines is thus given by Munro: 'But unless the breast is cleared, what battles and dangers must then find their way into us in our own despite!' It is hardly possible to prove that this rendering is not correct, but I think that there is good ground for questioning it. In the first place, it seems to overlook the relation between the passage and the verses that immediately precede. In them Lucretius declares that Hercules did not render mankind so great a service by slaying the monsters as Epicurus did with his philosophy, chiefly because the monsters, if they were still in existence,

would have their abodes in remote regions, to which men could generally avoid going. But, he goes on to say, if Epicurus had not given us the means of exorcising the monsters that dwell in the impure heart we should not find it possible to avoid going into perils and conflicts, even against our will. According to this view of the thought the correct translation of the passage would be: 'But unless the breast is cleared, into what battles and dangers must we then find our way in our own despite!' And this interpretation is not, I think, inconsistent with the following verses, which make it clear that the dangers to be encountered come from the passions of one's own breast. It is perfectly natural to say that one goes into a conflict with the

impulses of one's nature, more natural, it seems to me, than to speak of such a conflict entering one from without.

A second reason for doubting the correctness of the usual interpretation is that the construction it requires, accusative and dative with *insinuare*, is not found elsewhere in Lucretius. Indeed, a dative does not occur at all with this verb except in sentences of the ordinary (not gerundive) passive type *aliquid alicui insinuari*, of which there are several examples (i. 113, ii. 684, iii. 689, 722, 729, 738), while an accusative of object affected appears but once, and then in connection with a phrase with *per* (vi. 859 f.). Hence it seems better to regard *nobis* as the apparent agent with the impersonal gerundive, exactly such as we find in iv. 777 f.:

*Multaque in his rebus quaeruntur multaque
nobis
Clarandumst,*

in Cat. 39. 9:

Quare monendum est te mihi,

and in Plaut. *Trin.* 869

mi agitandumst vigiliis.

In the same way it is better to look upon *proelia* and *pericula* as the accusative, not of the object affected, but of the limit of the action. There are four clear cases of such an accusative with this verb in Lucretius; thus in i. 408 f. we find:

*poteris caecaque latebras
Insinuare omnis;*

and in v. 73 f.:

*Et quibus ille modis divum metus insinu-
avit
Pectora.*

The other two cases are more striking, because in them this accusative seems a much less natural construction than the dative would be. In i. 116 it is used in

connection with the accusative of the reflexive:

An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se;
and in iv. 1030 it is made to depend upon a passive verb:

*Tum quibus aetatis freta primitus insinu-
atur
Semen.*

These examples make it clear that the proposed interpretation involves only constructions that may be found elsewhere in Lucretius; the traditional view, as has been said, requires a combination of constructions without parallel in his work. Yet we must admit that there would be nothing-unreasonable in supposing that Lucretius has here indulged in a unique construction with *insinuare*. He has done so in no less than five other places, and he actually has eleven different constructions with the word in a total of twenty-eight¹ occurrences (excluding the present passage). Still, the terminal accusative is one of his favourites, and I am disposed, in view of the improvement that it makes in the sense, to hold that he used it here.

CHARLES N. COLE.

OBERLIN COLLEGE,
OBERLIN, OHIO.

¹ The following list of occurrences and constructions of this verb in Lucretius is, I think, complete, and it may be of interest in connection with this passage:—

I. Active Voice.

- (a) Absolute, iii. 485, iv. 331.
- (b) With *per*, vi. 89, 385, 778.
- (c) With acc. object affected and *per*, vi. 860.
- (d) With reflexive, ii. 436.
- (e) With terminal acc., i. 409, v. 73.
- (f) With reflexive and terminal acc., i. 116.

II. Passive Voice.

- (a) Nothing dependent, iii. 698, 780, 782, vi. 277, 355, 955.
- (b) With dative, i. 113, ii. 684, iii. 689, 722, 729, 738.
- (c) With *in*, iii. 671, iv. 525, vi. 234, 802.
- (d) With *per* and *ad*, vi. 1031.
- (e) With terminal acc., iv. 1030.

CAESAR DE BELLO GALLICO V. 12.

CLASSICAL scholars in England have always been separated by a strange and regrettable gulf from the English archaeological societies and their work. It is therefore possible that readers of the

Classical Review may have overlooked an interesting contribution to the interpretation of Caesar, recently laid by Mr. Reginald A. Smith before the Society of Antiquaries (26 Jan.).

Caesar remarks of the British coinage of his time that the Britons *utuntur aut aere aut nummo aureo aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis*. It is usually agreed that *aut aere* is interpolated and that *nummo aureo* refers to the well known coinage in gold. But the 'iron bars' are an old puzzle. Mr. Smith now proposes to identify them with certain iron objects found, sometimes with Celtic remains, in the south and west of England. These iron objects somewhat resemble unfinished swordblades. They are flat and slightly tapering blades with blunt vertical edges and rude handles made by turning up the edges to meet one another at one end. They have been discovered at some eleven sites, such as Maidenhead, Ventnor, Hod Hill in Dorset, Ham Hill and Glastonbury in Somerset, Bourton in Gloucestershire and Malvern, in very varying quantities. Glastonbury has yielded 2, Hod Hill 17, Ham Hill 70, Bourton 147, Malvern 300. Their date seems assured by their occurrence in the Pre-Roman village at Glastonbury and by their occasional association elsewhere with Late Celtic remains. They have usually been taken to be unfinished swords, but once or twice the guess has been emitted that they are Caesar's *taleae ferreae*. Mr. Smith has lately examined these objects and adduced good reasons for accepting the guess. The 'swords' appear on careful scrutiny to contain more iron and to be longer and thicker than would be natural in half-manufactured Celtic swords. On the other hand, their weights, taken in round figures, seem to suggest a definite

standard. The average weight of the majority of specimens seems to approximate to 580 or 600 grammes: on the other hand certain smaller specimens weigh 305 grammes or thereabouts, certain larger ones weigh 1161 and 1218 grammes, and a bronze 'weight' found lately with Celtic objects in Glamorgan weighs 309 grammes. This implies a unit of about 600 grammes, a half-unit of about 300, and a double unit of about 1200. Other specimens deviate somewhat from these norms. But great precision is hardly likely in an iron currency, while, thanks to rust and weathering, the original weights of the various bars can now be only ascertained very roughly. Mr. Smith's theory appears, therefore, to have established a *prima-facie* case to be carefully considered. His paper will be published in the second part of vol. xx of Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

I may add that the reading *anulis* (iron rings) for *taleis*, which Meusel quotes as a Renaissance conjecture of the *editio princeps*, Beroaldus and the like, is really older. It occurs in an eleventh century MS.—early rather than late in the century, as Mr. Kenyon tells me—in the British Museum (Addit. 10084), which might deserve a further glance. The reading appears to be a mere emendation on the unintelligible *aut aliis* which early superseded in many MSS. the proper *aut taleis* and it might date from a period very far anterior to the eleventh century.

F. HAVERFIELD

REPRÆSENTATIO TEMPORUM IN THE ORATIO OBLIQUA OF CAESAR.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following article is based upon a section of an essay for which Mr. A. P. SAVUNDRANĀYAGAM was awarded the prize for philological research at University College, London. With a view to its ultimate publication it was referred back to the author for revision, but at the time when it reached Mr. Savundranāyagam, he was on the point of leaving England for Ceylon, where he still resides. This limited the author's opportunities of revision and made it necessary for others to complete the work of preparing the MS. for publication. It has accordingly been deemed advisable to

separate the collection of materials (Part I.), which, with the exception of the passages printed *between square brackets*, was made entirely by Mr. Savundranāyagam, from the observations upon them which will follow in Part II.

PART I.—MATERIALS.

The passages cited below are a collection from the *Bellum Gallicum*, Books I.—VII. and the *Bellum Civile*.

For the *Bellum Gallicum* Peskett's, Kübler's, and Meusel's editions were consulted, together with the recently published Oxford Text. For the *Bellum Civile* Kübler's and Peskett's (I., III.).

A *V* following a quotation means that in it there is some variation in the MSS. from the text printed, account of which will be taken in Part II.

Of the abbreviations used *P* means that the tenses in the passages cited are those of Primary Sequence, *S* those of Secondary Sequence, *M* of Primary and Secondary Sequence mixed. *H.P.* stands for *Historic Present*.

The references to noteworthy passages are printed in italics.

The words in the Latin extracts printed in spaced roman type are the ones which would presumably have been used in the *Oratio Recta*.

BOOK I.

7. § 3 (*M*) *Mittunt* nobilissimos civitatis—qui *dicerent* sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter *haberent* (*habemus*) nullum; rogare ut eius voluntate id sibi facere *liceat* (*liceat*).

§ 6 (*S*) *respondit* [Caesar] diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum; si quid *uellent*, a.d. Id. Apr. *reverterentur*.

8. § 3 (*P*) Primary tenses after *H.P.* *negat—ostendit*.

11. § 3 (*P*) After *H.P.* 'legatos *mittunt* rogatum auxilium; ita se omni tempore de p. R. meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri uastari, liberi eorum in seruitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non *debuerint*.'

13. § 3-7 (*S*) After 'ita cum Caesare *egit*.'

14. §§ 1-6 (*M*) After Caesar *respondit* first *S*. Then 'consuesse enim deos immortales quo grauius homines ex commutatione rerum *doleant*, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci *uelint*, his secundoiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum ea *sint*, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi *dentur* (*dabuntur* *ordentur*) uti ea quae *polliceantur* (*pollicemini*) facturos *intellegat* (*intellegam*), et si Aeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum *intulerint* (*intulistis*), item si Allobrogibus *satisfaciant* (*satisfacietis* or *satisfaciatis*), sese cum iis pacem esse facturum.'

14. § 7 Divitiaco *respondit*: ita Helvetios a maioribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare *consuerint*.

17. §§ 1-6 (*P*) After *H.P.* *proponit* (*V*).

18. §§ 3-10 (*P*) After *H.P.* implied in *quaerit*.

20. §§ 2-4 (*S*) After *obsecrare coepit*.

30. §§ 2-4 (*S*) After *gratulatum conuenerunt*.

[31. § 2 (*S*) After verb implied in *fientes se proiecerunt*.]

31. §§ 3-16 (*M*) *Locutus est* Diuitiacus: *Hi cum tanto opere—contenderent* (*contendant*), *factum esse, uti arcesserentur—posteaquam—adamassent* (*adamarunt*), *tractatos plures—qui—potuissent* (*potuerant*)—*sese neque obsides repetituros neque recusaturos quominus—essent* (*simus*)—*unum se esse—qui adduci non potuerit* (*potui*) *ut iuraret* (*iurare*) *aut liberos suos obsides daret* (*dare*)—then Secondary Tenses to § 12. Ariouistum autem ut semel Gallorum copias proelio *uicerit* (*uicit*), *quod proelium factum sit* (*factum est*) *Admagetobrigae, superbe et crudeliter imperare obsides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere si qua . . . facta sit* (*facta est* or *sit*), etc. Then Primary Tenses, to end of chapter (*V*).

32. §§ 4, 5 (*S*) After *respondit*.

34. §§ 2-4 (*M*) After *respondit*. 'Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus *esset*, *sese ad eum uenturum fuisse*; si quid ille se *uelit*, illum ad se uenire oportere.' Then follow Secondary Tenses to end of chapter (*V*).

35. §§ 2-4 (*S*) After 'cum his *mandatis mittit*.'

36. §§ 1-7 (*S*) After *respondit*.

[37. §§ 2, 3 (*S*) After *ueniebant questum*.]

[39. § 6 (*S*) After *dicebant*.]

40. §§ 1-15 (*M*) uehementer eos *incusauit*, Secondary tenses to § 5. Then 'factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum Cimbris et Teutonibus a Gaio Mario pulsus non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus *uidebatur* (*uidebatur*).'¹ Then Secondary Tenses to § 7. Then 'denique hos esse eosdem quibuscum saepenumero H. congressi—plerumque *superarint* (*superauerunt*), qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non *potuerint*' (*potuerunt*). Then follow Secondary Tenses to § 12 'quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi *dicantur* (*dicuntur*), nihil se ea re

¹ Here the sudden transition into *Oratio Recta* is noticeable.

commoveri: scire enim quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit (fuit), aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse aut etc. Then follow Secondary Tenses till we come to § 15 'Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur (sequetur or sequatur), tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum de qua non dubitaret...' (V § 7).

42. § 4 (S) After *postulauit*.

[§ 6 (S) After *dixit*.]

43. §§ 4-9 (M) After *docebat* in § 6 'P. R. hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos—gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores uelit (uelit) esse; quod uero ad amicitiam P. R. attulissent (? attulerunt), idiis eripi quis pati posset' (? possit).

The preceding §§ 4-7 after *commemorauit—docebat* and following (after *postulauit* § 9) parts have the regular Secondary Sequence (V § 4).

44. §§ 2-13 (M) Ariouistus multa praedicauit.—stipendium capere iure belli, quod uictores uictis imponere consuerint (consuerunt).—§ 4 Si iterum experiri uelint (uolunt), se iterum paratum esse decertare. Primary Sequence continues till (in § 8) it passes into Secondary Sequence with 'Quid sibi uellet.' From here Secondary Sequence continues till § 10 where it passes into Primary Sequence in 'Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat (habeas or habeas) sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque—deducat sese—habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit multis sese—gratum esse facturum.' Then follow Secondary Tenses to the end of the chapter (V § 4).

45. §§ 1-3 (S) After *multa dicta sunt*.

BOOK II.¹

[3. §§ 2-5 (P) After *miserunt* qui *dicerent* reliquos—Belgas in armis esse—Germanosque qui eis Rhenum incolant sese cum his coniunxisse tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem ut ne Suesiones quidem, qui eodem iure—*utantur*, unum imperium—cum ipsis habeant, deterrere *potuerint* quia cum his *consentirent*.]

[4. §§ 1-3 (M) Cum ab his quaereret quae ciuitates quantaeque in armis essent et quid in bello possent sic *reperiebat* [Belgas] Gallos qui ea loca *incolerent* (incolabant) expulisse solosque esse qui patrum nostrorum memoria—Teutonon Cim-

brosque—*prohibuerint*; qua ex re fieri ut—magnos spiritus in re militari *sumerent* (sumant) (V § 2).]

[§§ 4-10 (P) After *dicebant*. 'De numero omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant propterea quod—quantam quisque multitudinem—*pollicitus sit cognouerint*—apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Diuitiacum qui—etiam Britanniae imperium *obtinerit*; nunc esse regem Galbam—totidem Neruios qui maxime feri—*habeantur* longissimeque *absint*—Paemanos qui uno nomine Germani *appellantur* arbitrari ad XL milia' (V § 4).]

14. §§ 2-6 (P) After *H.P.* 'Pro his Diuitiacus—*facit uerba*:—qui huius consilii principes *fuissent*, quod *intellegerent* quantam calamitatem ciuitati *intulissent*, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bello-uacos sed etiam pro his Aeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos *utatur*. Quod si *fecerit* (feceris fut. perf.), Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum, quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella *inciderint*, sustentare *consuerint*.'

15. §§ 3-5 (S) After 'sic *reperiebat*.'

[16. §§ 2-4 After *inueniebat*.]

31. §§ 2-6 (S) After *dixerunt* § 3.

32. §§ 1-3 (S) After *respondit*.

BOOK III.

[8. § 3 'celeriter missis legatis per suos principes inter se coniurant nihil nisi communi consilio acturos—reliquisque ciuitates *solicitant* ut in ea libertate quam a maioribus *acceperunt* permanere—*mallent*' (*malitis*) V.]

8. § 5 (P) After *H.P.* 'legationem ad P. Crassum *mittunt*: si uelit suos recipere obsides sibi *remittat*.'

18. § 4 (P) After *H.P. docet*.

BOOK IV.

7. §§ 3-5 (P) After 'haec *fuit oratio*.'

8. §§ 1-3 (M) exitus *fuit orationis*: sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia *remanerent* (*remanebitis*); neque uerum esse, qui suos fines tueri non *potuerint*, alienos occupare; neque ullos—uacare agros qui dari—*possint*; sed licere si *uelint* in Ubiorum finibus consistere quorum *sint* legati apud se et—*querantur* et—auxilium *petant*.

[11. § 3 (S) After *ostendebant*.]

¹ From this point the form of the verb in Oratio Recta is usually added only when the tense is different.

[11. § 5 (S) After '*mittit qui nuntiarent.*']

[16. § 4 (S) After *responderunt.*]

§§ 5-7 (M) After '*magnopere orabant.*' Secondary Tenses follow regularly, until the point of the speech is reached in the following words: '*Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem eius exercitus Ariouisto pulso et hoc nouissimo proelio facto etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint.*'

BOOK V.

3. §§ 6, 7 (S) After *H.P.* '*legatos ad Caesarem mittit.*'

27. §§ 2-11 (M) '*Ad hunc modum Ambiorix locutus est.*' There follow Secondary Tenses until they pass into Primary in § 3 '*neque id, quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum, aut iudicio aut uoluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu ciuitatis, suaque esse eiusmodi imperia ut non minus haberet (Secondary again for *habeat*) iuris in se multitudo quam ipse in multitudinem. ciuitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, quod repentinae Gallorum coniurationi resistere non potuerit. id se facile ex humilitate sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis copiis populum Romanum superari posse confidat. sed esse Galliae commune consilium: omnibus hibernis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem ne qua legio alteri legioni subsidio uenire posset (posset) non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse praesertim cum—consilium ininitum uideretur'* (*uideretur*) and the speech ends in Primary Sequence.

28. § 4 (P) After *docebant*: '*rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum, multis uulneribus illatis, fortissime sustinuerint.*'

29. §§ 1-7 (S) After *clamitabat* (*V* § 5).

31. §§ 1, 2 (P) After *H.P. orant.*

34. § 1 (S) After *iusserunt.*

36. § 2 (P) After *respondit.*

[§ 3 (P) After *H.P. communicat.*]

38. §§ 2-4 (P) After *H.P. hortatur.*

41. §§ 5, 6 (P) After *H.P. dicunt.*

§§ 7, 8 (P) After *respondit.*

[46. § 4 '*Scribit Labieno si reipublicae commodo facere posset (possit) cum legione ad fines Neruiorum ueniat*' (*V* § 4).]

51. § 3 (P) After *H.P.* '*pronuntiarium iubent.*'

BOOK VI.

7. § 6 (P) After *H.P. loquitur.*

8. § 1 (M) '*Galli cohortati inter se ne speratam praedam ex manibus dimitterent; longum esse, perterritis Romanis, Germanorum auxilium expectare; neque suam pati dignitatem ut tantis copiis tam exigua manum, praesertim fugientem atque impeditam, adoriri non ardeant, flumen transire—non dubitant.*'

9. § 7 (M) After *H.P.* '*orant ut sibi parcat ne—innocentes—poenam pendant. si amplius obsidum uellet dare, pollicentur*' (*V*).

10. § 4 (P) After *H.P. referunt.*

23. § 7 (P) After *dixit.* '*Atque ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, se ducem fore, qui sequi uelint profiteantur.*'

BOOK VII.

1. §§ 6-8 (P) After *H. P. dicunt.*

2. § 1 (P) After *H. P. petunt.*

[5. § 2 (P) After *H. P.* '*legatos mittunt*' (*V*).

§ 5 (P) After *H. P.* '*renuntiant se Biturigum perfidiam ueritos reuertisse quibus id consilii fuisse cognouerint ut si flumen transissent una ex parte ipsi, altera Aruerni se circumstiterent.*']

[9. § 2 (P) After *H. P. monet.*]

14. §§ 2-10 (P) After *H. P. docet.*

15. § 4 (M) After *H. P. Procumbunt* omnibus Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae praesidio et ornamento sit ciuitati, suis manibus succedere cogentur. Then § 5 (P) after *H. P. dicunt.*

17. §§ 4-7 (S) After *petebant.*

20. §§ 3-7 (M) After (S) '*ad haec respondit*': following several Secondary Tenses, we have § 4 '*et illic fuisse utilem, quo sint profecti.*' Then Secondary Tenses again till § 6 when we have '*interuenerint*' and '*dimicare potuerint*' and '*repperint.*' Then Secondary Tenses are resumed until Vercingetorix reaches the climax when he says, '*quin etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere quam ab se salutem accipere uideantur*' (*V* § 7).

29. §§ 1-7 (M) After (S) '*cohortatus est ne se—animo demitterent, ne perturbarentur,*' then § 2 '*cuius rei fuerint ipsi imperiti.*' Then Primary Tenses in a general maxim. Then Secondary Tenses (§ 4) until a

climax is reached in the words (§ 6) 'atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cuius consensui ne orbis terrarum quidem possit obistere.' Then Secondary Tenses again.

32. §§ 2-5 (M) Primary Tenses after *H. P.* in § 3 'veniunt oratum' except 'consuessent.'

37. §§ 2-5 (P) After *H. P. hortatur.*

38. § 5 (S) After *H. P. exponunt,*

39. § 3 (M) After *H. P.* 'Quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum milia cum hostibus coniunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui negligere neque ciuitas levi momento aestimare posset' (! 'possit').

40. § 4 (P) 'Adhortatus milites ne permoueantur—iter eorum—impedit interdicitque omnibus ne quemquam interficiant.'

41. §§ 2-4 (P) After *H. P. exponunt.* Then 'summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant cum—succederent nostrosque defetigarent quibus—perpetuo esset isdem in uallo permanendum.'

52. §§ 1-4 (S) After *reprehendit* (§ 1), *exposuit* (§ 2).

53. § 1 (S) After 'confirmatis militibus ne...'

54. § 4 (S) After *exposuit.*

60. § 1 (S) After *cohortatus ut.*

62. § 2 (S) After *cohortatus ut.*

64. §§ 2-3 (P) After *H. P. dicit.*

66. §§ 3-6 (P) After *H. P. demonstrat* (V § 4).

§ 7 After *H. P.* 'Conclamant equites, sanctissimo iure iurando confirmari oportere ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos—aditum habeat qui non bis per agmen hostium perequittasset' (V).

[90. § 2 *H. P.* 'legati ab Aruernis missi quae imperaret se facturos pollicentur.']

DE BELLO CIVILI.

BOOK I.

1. §§ 2, 3 (P) After *H. P. pollicetur.*

1. § 4 (P) After *H. P. loquitur.*

[2. §§ 2-3 (S) After 'dixerat aliquis leniorem sententiam.'

§ 6 (P) After 'Scipionis sententiam sequuntur.'

5. § 3 (P) 'Decurritur ad illud ex-

tremum atque ultimum S.C.—*dent operam consules,*' etc.

[6. §§ 1 *sqq.* (P) After *agit.*]

7. §§ 1-7 (P) After *H. P. contionatur.*

In this speech of Caesar's to the XIIIth legion he keeps the Primary Sequence, except in 'Nouum in rempublicam introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimeretur' (§ 2), and also in 'Quotienscumque sit decretum, darent operam magistratus ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet, qua voce et quo senatus consulto P. R. ad arma sit uocatus, factum in perniciosis legibus e.q.s.' § 5.

8. § 2 (P) After '*habere se a Pompeio—mandata demonstrat.*'

9. §§ 1-6 (P) After *H. P. petit.*

10. §§ 3-4 (S) After 'mandata remittunt quorum haec erat summa.'

[11. §§ 1-2 (M) 'Erat iniqua condicio postulare ut Caesar—excederet atque—reuerteretur—neque ante quem diem iturus sit definire.']

13. § 1 (P) After *H. P.* 'docent sui iudicii rem non esse—proinde habeat rationem posteritatis.'

17. §§ 1, 2 (P) After *H. P.* 'mittit qui orent.'

18. § 1 (S) After *H. P. nuntiatur.*

19. § 1 (P) After *H. P. hortatur.*

§ 4 (S) After *rescripserat.*

[20. § 2 (P) After *H. P. conloquuntur.*]

§ 5 (P) After *H. P. mittunt.*

22. § 1 (P) After *H. P. conloquitur.*

§ 5 After *H. P. interpellat.*

§ 6 (P) After *H. P. petit.*

24. § 5 (P) After *H. P.* 'remittit cum mandatis.'

26. §§ 3, 4 'mittit et eum conloqui causa:—in primis ut ipse cum Pompeio conloqueretur postulat: magnopere sese confidere demonstrat si eius rei sit potestas facta, etc. with Primary Tenses.

§ 5 (P) After *H. P. renuntiat.*

30. § 5 After *H. P.* 'queritur in contione sese proiectum ac proditum a Cn. Pompeio qui omnibus rebus imparatissimis—bellum suscepisset et ab se reliquisque in senatu interrogatus omnia sibi esse ad bellum—parata confirmauisset.'

32. §§ 2-9 (M but chiefly P) After *H. P.* 'docet se—expectato legitimo tempore consulatus eo fuisse contentum quod omnibus ciuibus pateret latum—ut sui ratio

absentis haberetur, ipso consule Pompeio: qui si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset? si probasset, cur se uti populo beneficio prohibuisset? patientiam proponit suam cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulauisset in quo iacturam—ipse facturus esset. acerbiter inimicorum docet qui quod ab altero postularent in se recusarent atque omnia permisceri mallent quam' etc.—

(§ 6) 'pro quibus rebus orat ac postulat ut rempublicam suscipiant atque—administrent. sin timore defugiant illi se oneri non defuturum—neque se reformidare quod—Pompeius paulo ante dixisset ad quos legati mitterentur his auctoritatem attribui timoremque eorum qui mitterentur significari—se—ut operibus anteire studerit, sic iustitia.'

[33. § 2 (S) After *dixerat*.]

35. §§ 3-5 (P) After *H.P. renunti-ant*.

64. § 2 (S) After HISTORIC INFINITIVE.

67. §§ 1-5 (M) After '*censebant* ut noctu iter facerent posse prius ad angustias ueniri quam sentiretur. alii quod—conclamatum esset in Caesaris castris, argumenti sumebant loco non posse clam exiri—nocturna proelia esse uitanda quod perterritus miles—timori magis—consulere consueuerit.' Then Primary Tenses.

69. § 2 (S) After '*laudibus ferebant*.'

71. §§ 2-4 (S) After '*concurrerant* legati.'

72. §§ 1, 2 (S) After '*in eam spem uenerat*.'

74. § 2 After *H.P.* '*agunt gratias* quod sibi perterritis pridie pepercissent: eorum se beneficio uiuere. dein de imperatoris fide quaerunt rectene se illi sint commissuri. et quod non ab initio fecerint—armaque—contulerint queruntur.'

§ 3 (P) After *H.P. petunt*.

76. § 4 (P) After *H.P. edicunt*.

84. §§ 3-5 (P) After *H.P. loquitur*.

85. §§ 1-12 After *respondit* (P till § 12, then M) '*proinde ut esset dictum prouinciis excederent exercitusque dimitterent: si id sit factum, se nociturum nemini*.'

86. § 2 (S) After '*significare coeperunt*.'

87. § 1 (P) After *H.P.* '*pollicetur addit*.'

Book II.

12. §§ 3, 4 (M) After *H.P.* '*orant* ut aduentus Caesaris expectetur—nullam ex-

oriri moram posse quominus cum uenisset (uenerit, si imperata non facerent (facient or facient), e uestigio diriperentur (diripiantur). docent si omnino turris concidisset (conciderit), non posse milites contineri quin spe praedae in urbem intrumperent (intrumpant) urbemque deleant (delegant).'

[13. § 3 (S) After '*mandauerat* ne...']

17. § 2 (S) After *loquebatur*.

20. §§ 2, 3 After *H.P.* '*litterae redduntur*' the Secondary Tenses of the original are retained.

[21. § 1 '*Caesar contione habita Cordubae omnibus generatim gratias agit* ciuibus Romanis quod oppidum in sua potestate studuissent habere, Hispanis quod praesidia expulissent, Graditanis quod conatus aduersariorum infregissent seseque in libertatem uindicauissent, tribunis militum centurionibusque (qui eo praesidii causa uenerant) quod eorum consilia sua uirtute confirmauissent.']

25. § 6 (S) After *H.P.* '*Curio pronuntiarum onerariis nauibus iubet* (quae stabant ad Uticam numero circiter CC) se in hostium habiturum loco qui non ex uestigio ad castra Cornelia naues traduxisset.'

28. §§ 2, 3 (S) After '*obsecrare coepit*' and '*addidit*.'

30. §§ 2, 3 (S) After '*erant* sententiae—*dicebant*—*erant* qui censerent.'

[31. § 1 (S) After *dicebat*. The bulk of the speech is reported in O. Recta.]

32. § 1 (P) After *H.P. commemorat*. The bulk of the speech is reported in O. Recta.

[34. § 5 (S) ille unum elocutus ut memoria tenerent milites ea quae pridie sibi confirmassent sequi se iubet.]

Book III.

6. § 1 (S) After *contionatus* and in the reply after *conclamantibus*.

10. §§ 3-11 (S) After '*erat* haec summa mandatorum' (V § 4).

12. § 2 (S) After HISTORIC INFINITIVE.

[13. § 3 (S) After *H.P.* '*cum prope Dyrachium Pompeius constitisset castra quae metari iussisset—Labienus procedit iuraturque se—eundem casum subiturum quemcunque ei Fortuna tribuisset*.'

15. § 6 (P) After *H.P. loquuntur*.

16. §§ 3-5 (M) After *H.P.* '*excusat* Bibulum.' In § 4 '*potestatem eius rei*

nullam habere quod—summam belli—Pompeio *permiserint*—interea *manerent* indutiae dum ab illo rediri *posset*, neue alter alteri *noceret*.’

17. §§ 2-4 (S) After *postulabat*.

19. § 3 (S) After ‘*mittit* qui *pronuntiaret*.’

[§ 4 (S) After *responsum est*.]

31. § 4 (S) After ‘*uoces cum audirentur*.’

33. § 1 (S) After *H.P.* ‘*litterae ei redduntur*’ a Pompeio—*properaret*—omniaque post *haberet*.’

36. § 6 (S) After ‘*litterae sunt consecutae*.’

45. § 6 (S) After ‘*dicitur—dixisse*.’

57. §§ 2-4 (S) After ‘*dat* litteras *mandataque* quorum *haec erat* summa.’

73. §§ 2-6 (S) After *hortatus est*.

[82. § 4 (S) After ‘*magna fuit* *controersia*.’]

90. §§ 1, 2 (S) After *commemorauit*.

[102. § 6 (S) After ‘*cognouit* nuntios *dimissos*.’]

105. § 1 After *reperiebant*.

TIBULLIANA.

I. vi. 1-4 :

Semper, ut inducar, blandos offers mihi uultus,

post tamen es misero tristis et asper, Amor.

quid tibi *seuitie* mecum est? an gloria magna est

insidias homini composuisse deum?

We have not to travel far from the tradition of the Ambrosianus, the best of the bad manuscripts of Tibullus, in order to obtain a satisfactory correction of line 3. For *i* has been miscopied for *e* at I. ii. 81 ‘*magni*’ for ‘*magne*’ *i.e.* ‘*magnae*’ and *t* for *r* at II. i. 45 ‘*antea*’ A for ‘*aurea*’ which the Paris excerpts have preserved. We should therefore restore :

quid tibi, saeue, *rei* mecum est?

For the exact phrase compare Terence *Adelphi* 177 ‘*quid tibi rei mecum est?*’ The scansion of *rei* is Augustan (*e.g.* *Hor. carm.* 3. 16. 25). ‘*Saeue puer*’ has already been conjectured by the Itali.

ib. 15 *sqq.* :

at tu, fallacis coniunx incaute puellae,
me quoque seruato peccet ut illa nihil
neu iuuenes celebret multo sermone caueto
neue cubet laxo pectus aperta sinu
neu etc.

The editors place a full stop after *nihil*. But what ‘*me quoque*’ then means, it is very hard to see: *seruato* is however not the imperative but the ablative of the

participle; and if any stop is added it should be a comma. The ‘*quoque*’ then refers to the other ‘*iuuenes*’ of the next line. The ambiguous form in *-ato* has caused trouble elsewhere: see *Prop.* i. 21. 5, iii. 17. 29.

I. ix. 23 *sqq.* :

nec tibi celandi spes sit peccare paranti :
scit deus, occultos qui uetat esse dolos
ipse deus tacito permisit *leue* ministro
ederet ut multo libera uerba mero :
ipse deus somno domitos emittere uocem
iussit et inuitos facta tegenda loqui.

On 25 *sq.*, one of the most desperate passages in Tibullus, it is perhaps worth observing that *leue* seems to be for *lena(e)* which is a gloss on *ministro*, a right but somewhat superfluous explanation. For the sense of the couplet we may compare Plautus *Cistellaria* 125 *sqq.* where the *lena* says :

quia ego nunc quasi sum onusta mea ex
sententia,
quiaque adeo me compleui flore Liberi,
magis libera uti lingua conlubitum est
mihi :
tacere nequeo misera quod tacito usus est.

These lines are not in the Ambrosianus and were bracketed by Windischmann as un-Plautine and a duplicate of 120-122 which express the same idea; but as an illustration they will serve. It seems possible that the lost word is *uina*, the sense being that Providence allowed the

generally reticent slave to have access to the wine-cellar, and the secret was out.

(In 24 I have printed *scit*, a Renaissance emendation, for the *sit* of A and the *est* of Par.)

Panegyricus Messallae 140 *sqq.* :

pro qua uel Nilus uel regia lympha
Choaspes,
profuit aut rapidus Cyri dementia Gyndes,
ardet arectais aut unda perhospita campis.
(So F, A Creteis ardet aut unda caristia
campis).

The main difficulty in this passage is to adjust the claims to credit of the readings of the Ambrosianus and of the much better F or Fragmentum Cuiacianum. The origin of the first of the divergences in 142 is clear. The reading of A is practically the same as that of F; but the letters and the words have been shifted. The shift of words was easy enough with the homolographon *ardet arect-*, the transposition in A being a secondary effect of the omission (see *C.R.* xvi. pp. 308 *sq.*); and not less easy if Lachmann's emendation *aret* is right, as it seems to be. The *arectais* of F means *Aracc(a)eis*, Ἄρακκα being the name of the town in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 6. 3.

We now come to the end of the line. Here Heinsius, apparently building upon F, conjectured *haurit una per ostia*, no stop being placed after *Gyndes* (AF *Cydnus*), and Lachmann put the conjecture into his text. It is however quite untenable. For the author is alluding to the well known story of the insensate rage of Cyrus against the river Gyndes narrated by Herodotus in i. 189; and this river, that historian states in the clearest terms, did not fall into the sea as *ostia* would imply, but into the *Tigris*. ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγριν, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοὶ. Nor again is the disemboing of the river anything to the point, as Cyrus' threat was that by the dispersion of the water through his channels he would make its stream so feeble that for the future καὶ γυναῖκας μιν, εἰπετώς τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. There is accordingly no reason why we should regard F's *perhospita* which, like one or two more of its reported readings, has the air of being an attempt to make sense,

as entitled to especial consideration. I suggest that F's and A's readings came as *PHOSPITA* and *CARISTIA* respectively, from attempts to make something out of *OROATIA*. The *Oroatis* is a river of Susiana, geographically and otherwise suitable, as may be seen from the following quotations.

Strabo iv. c. 3 § 1: τριττὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῆ φύσει καὶ τῆ τῶν ἀέρων κράσει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ παραλία κανυματηρά τε καὶ ἀμμώδης καὶ σπανιστὴ καρποῖς ἐστὶ πλὴν φοινίκων ὅσον ἐν τετρακισχιλίοις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἢ τριακοσίοις ἑξεταζομένη σταδίοις καταστρέφουσα εἰς ποταμὸν μέγιστον τῶν ταύτῃ καλούμενον Ὀρόατιν. Ammianus Marcellinus xxiii. 6. 26 his tractibus Susiani iunguntur apud quos non multa sunt oppida, inter alia tamen eminet Susa, saepe domicilium regum, et Arsiana et Sele et *Aracha*, cetera breuia sunt et obscura, fluuii uero multa per haec loca discurrunt quibus praestant Oroates et Harax et Mosaeus per *harenosas* angustias quae a Rubro prohibent Caspium mare aequoream multitudinem inundantes. Compare the *τέναςος ἀμμώδες* of Ptolemy 6. 3.

ib. 173 :

et ferro tellus, pontus *confunditur* aere.

This is the tradition; but the editors with distressing monotony give the Renaissance conjecture *confunditur*, a compound verb as unnecessary as it is unattested. To this even *conscinditur*, another Italian conjecture, would have been preferable. We may, however, agree that *confunditur* is impossible and that *findo* rather than *scindo* will provide the right idea; cf. Ovid *Ars. Am.* 2. 671 'aut mare remigiis aut uomere *findite terras*.' Restoring *finditur*, we want a longer word than *pontus*. Now *pontus* differs hardly at all from *nept(ū)us*, for the *ū* would easily fall out; and we have just had two examples of letter-shifting in *Araccaeis* and *Gyndes*. When *finditur* had been miswritten *funditur* and the nominative shortened by a syllable, to clap a *con* on to *funditur* was the most obvious way of making up a verse. *Neptunus* for *mare* is a licence of the poets which Lucretius reprehends at 2. 652 and employs at 472. Its use for the element was in no way fettered by its use for the god; and *neptunum findere* would be just as natural as *Neptuno immergere*, Virg. *G.* 4. 29.

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE ZEUGMA IN HORACE *EPODE* XV.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
inter minora sidera,
cum tu magnorum numen laesura deorum
in verba iurabas mea,
artius atque hedera procera astringitur ilex
lentis adhaerens bracchiis,
dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
turbaret hibernum mare
intonosque agitare Apollinis aura capillos,
fore hunc amorem mutuum.

In vol. xv. *C.R.* p. 404 ff., Mr. A. E. Housman discusses at some length the instances of Zeugma in Latin literature, and desires to place lines 7 and 8 of the above passage under that category. Careful consideration of his arguments leaves me convinced of the erroneous character of former interpretations: but I am far from being convinced that Mr. Housman's own view is correct. None of the adduced examples is so harsh, none leaves so much to the reader's imagination; only a clairvoyant or Mr. Housman would have seen what Horace intended to say in that which he has said.

I endorse heartily Mr. Housman's exhortation to think, to endeavour to disentangle the thought from the expression instead of supplementing the latter by figments from our own imagination. But I hold that in all examples of Zeugma, there is some respect for logical thought, some law, though the fragmentary expression of that law may seem 'unlaw.' Language is the expression of thought; therefore, thought is the tribunal before which language must be justified ultimately. Latin was a clear medium of expression for thought: this was the very genius of that language. No Roman writer recognised more than Horace the value of correct well-ordered thought, that

Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.

He never descends to Persius' *préciosité* of expression, much less to mental puzzles which call to mind the 'altar' of Dosiades or the 'Syrinx' of Theocritus.

Taking Mr. Housman's examples in detail, I find that in all of them the thought is clear: that either the language expresses a specific idea where a generic idea is predominant in thought, or more rarely a generic idea where in thought the emphasis is upon a specific idea.

The examples from Latin literature can hardly be said to be 'more licentious' than the Zeugma which Mr. Housman would have us foist on Horace.

These examples are:—

Virgil *Georg.* i. 92 sq.

Ne tenuous pluviae rapidive potentia solis
acrior aut Boreae penetrabile frigus *adurat*.

Virgil is treating of the relation of the weather—rain, sunshine, and frost—to the state of the soil. This relation is in thought at first merely a generic one: we may call it the idea of *affecting* or *rendering*. But when this idea becomes expressed, the proximity of the last of the three subjects specialises and sharpens the generic idea into one of 'affecting with dryness,' 'rendering dry.' It is a case of *Assimilation through Contiguity*.

Sen. *Herc. Oct.* 335–8.

Ante ab occasu dies
nascetur, Indos ante glacialis polus
Seythasve tepida Phoebus *inficiet* rota
quam me relictam Thessalae aspiciant nurus

Here too we have a generic idea of 'changing,' 'affecting' specialised by the context into one of 'affecting with heat (tanning).'

Cic. *ad Att.* x. 4. 4.

fortunam quâ ille florentissima, nos duriore
conflictati videmur (Tyrrell and Purser;
quacum).

Here we have a transition from the generic notion of 'laden' to the specific one of 'crushed'; or if 'quacum' is correct, from a notion of 'meeting' to one of 'meeting with adversity': *duriore* gives the specific colouring.

In [Ov.] *Her.* xix. 111, 2.

Vel pudor hic utinam qui nos clam cogit
amare,
vel timidus famae cedere vellet amor

we have a predominant notion of 'giving way, yielding' specialised by the context into 'yielding to sense of decency.' But would it not be simpler to take *famae* as genitive with *timidus*? Ovid as well as Horace uses this construction. *Cedere*, then, will be taken in an absolute sense 'to die away, cease.' Thus 'Oh that either our

sense of decency which makes our love a secret intrigue, or Love itself, since it dreads Mrs. Grundy, might cease !'

Hor. *Serm.* ii. 2, 11, 13.

seu pila velox,
molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco.

Here the predominant thought is the generic notion of *playing, tossing something into the air*. The proximity of the second clause, 'seu te discus agit,' gives a special character to the thought as expressed, viz. *ludere disco*.

Lucan vii. 323-5.

Sive quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro
ibit, seu nullum violabit vulnere pignus,
ignoti iugulum tanquam scelus imputet
hostis.

Here we have a variation of the usual phenomenon. The predominant thought is the special one, viz. : 'Murder of a *relative* is to be a merit in your eyes.' The second clause, 'seu nullum violabit vulnere pignus' implies a wider denotation, to use the terms of formal logic : consequently, owing to the proximity of this clause, the connotation of the thought *as expressed* is enlarged into 'Murder of any kind is to be a merit' : i.e. the generic thought is the one which finds expression.

Zeugma, therefore, considered as an expression of thought, amounts to this : the special character of the context may specialise the expression of a generic thought or, more rarely, the generic character of the context may give a generic expression to an idea in which, for thought, there is a specific character. Now, in *Epodes* xv. 7, 8, according to Mr. Housman there is a double zeugma : two generic notions of 'vexing' and of 'place,' find only specific expression as *turbaret, mare*. This might be illustrated thus :

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| | generic notion
of 'place.' |
| (1) Nautae : pecus :: sea : fold. | |
| | generic notion of 'vexing.' |
| (2) Orion : lupus :: storm : alarm in fold. | |

Now this, though it is far more complicated than the cited examples, has at first sight a certain plausibility. But closer consideration will show that the thought of l. 7 is too intimately connected to admit of a 'splitting,' by the insertion of some such supplement as *terreret ovilia* or the like. Place a comma after *pecori*, and the result is

nonsense. *Infestus* must be taken with *pecori* and *nautis*, and that too in *one continuous* thought. On the word *infestus* lies the whole burden of the analogy. Orion is the foe of sailors, as the wolf is the foe of the flock. To weaken this link (in syntax as well as in thought) is to weaken the force of the analogy. Mr. Housman seems to see this point in part : he takes *pecori* with *infestus*, and not as a *dat. incommodi* after [*terreret*]. But he fails to recognise that the thought-supplement interrupts this connection. If it were not for this stress on *infestus*, we might ask why Horace had not written something like 'dum *pecudem* lupus.' The sense of this closeness of connection (by means of *infestus*) lies perhaps at the basis of Kiessling's otherwise fatuous remark that 'turbaret hibernum mare' is really a relative clause which had been attracted into the position of a predicative owing to the parallel 'agitaret aura.' Even the time-worn '*infestus foret*' places the emphasis rightly upon *infestus*. Both these views involve barbaric syntax ; but Mr. Housman, who would have us 'think,' places an equally severe strain on the thought. We have at one and the same time to hold fast, keep close together, the two terms of the analogy—the wolf's hostility to the flock, and Orion's hostility to the sailor—and to 'split' this connected thought by some such supplement as *terreret ovilia*.

It remains, therefore, either to assume with L. Mueller the loss of two lines, or that there is some corruption. I incline to the latter alternative. There is no Zeugma, and lines 7, 8 form one continuous thought. Mr. Allen (*C.R.* xvi. p. 305) placed his finger on the difficulty when he remarked that *lupus* was corrupt. I suggest that these lines, as originally written, were

dum *pecori lips* et *nautis infestus* Orion
turbaret hibernum mare.

Lips might easily have been mistaken for an abbreviation of *lupus* (*lup̄s*). The proximity of *pecori* would have suggested *lupus* to a monastic scribe acquainted with Is. 11, 6 (Hieron.) 'Habibabit *lupus* cum agno et pardus cum haedo accubabit ;' just as this same verse was responsible for 'cum bove *pardus*' where Horace wrote cum bove *pagus* (*Carm.* iii. 18. 12). The south winds were pestilential to cattle. In Persius—an ardent Horatian—we have

Hic ego securus vulgi et quid praeparet
Auster
infelix pecori (vi. 12).

Virgil *Georg.* i. 444.

Arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique
sinister.

Claudian, talking of the northern side of Sardinia, says that the North winds are unable to reach the land owing to the barrier of the hills called Insani Montes:—

hinc hominum *pecudumque lues*: hinc pesti-
fer aer
sævit et exclusis regnant Aquilonibus Austri
(*Bell. Gild.* 514, 5).

Hor. *C.* iii. 23. 5 calls the Africus 'pestilens.' In *C.* ii. 14. 15, 16 we find

frustra per auctumnos nocentem
corporibus metuemus Austrum.

Theocritus ix. 11 shows how the violence of the south wind was dreaded by the herdsmen,

δαμαλᾶν . . . τὰς μοι ἀπόσας
λίψ κόμαρον τρωγολίσας ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς ἐτίναξε.

Lines 7, 8 express a single picture of storm as contrasted with the thought of l. 9, in which we have a picture of fair sunny weather: in fact, the contrast is like that in

C. iii. 29. 43–5. It should not be a serious objection to the word Lips that it only appears in Pliny and Seneca. This objection would hold equally against such a word as Apeliotes (Catullus), which is not found again in any writer before Pliny. The Poet like the man of the street did not observe any fine distinctions between Auster, Notus, Lips (Libonotus), Africus. Pliny, *Hist.* ii. 46 speaks of all as south winds: a meridie Auster, at ab occasu brumali Africus; Noton et Liba nominant. He says, also, that south winds caused the greatest storms at sea, that they were unhealthy, and were accompanied by rain and copious dew (*Hist.* ii. 48, xviii. 76, 77). That these rain-bringing winds were undesirable we see from Hor. *C.* i. 17:—

Velox amoenum sæpe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
defendit aestatem capellis
usque meis *pluviosque ventos.*

'Pluvius,' 'umidus' are standing epithets of Auster (*v.* Pliny *l.c.*, Virgil, *Georg.* i. 462, Ovid, *M.* i. 66).

E. H. ALTON.

ON HORACE *EPODE* XV. 5 AND SENECA *HERC. OET.* 335 *sqq.*

I SHOULD leave Mr. Alton's searching criticism of Professor Housman's exposition of Zeugma and his defence of his own ingenious emendation to the reader if I had not long felt that on two of the passages concerned I had a word to say.

On Horace *Epod.* xv. 7 *sq.* I agree with Professor Housman that the commentators' ellipse of *infestus esset* with *pecori lupus* is impossible, and with Mr. Alton that Professor Housman's zeugma, '*Terreret ouilia or what you will*' (my italics), is inadmissible. But for the benefit of those who are not prepared to accept Mr. Alton's correction I would point out that there is an employment of *turbare* which will provide the passage of the conception with the bridge which Mr. Alton most reasonably requires. This is the absolute or intransitive usage of Varro, *R.R.* 3. 17. 7 'cum mare *turbaret*,' of Livy 38. 13. 12 'tum quoque equites in agmen Romanum eruptione facta haud modice primo impetu *turbauere*,' of Lucretius 5. 502–4 'nec liquidum corpus *turbantibus* aeris auris | commiscet: sinit haec uiolentis

omnia uerti | turbantibus, sinit incertis *turbare* procellis' (for further examples see Munro's note on *Lucr.* 2. 126), and of other writers cited in the lexicons. One passage from Virgil has a special pertinence to the present inquiry.

inpastus ceu plena leo per ouilia *turbans*
(suadet enim uesana fames) manditque
trahitque
molle pecus.—*Aen.* 9. 339 *sqq.*

Those then who would keep to the tradition here may do so by assuming that Horace's expression slid from one legitimate use of *turbare* to another. Thus 'dum lupus infestus pecori *turbaret* (neuter, *sc.* 'per ouilia' or 'in ouilibus') et Orion nautis infestus hibernum mare *turbaret*' (active).

Seneca *Herc. Oet.* 335 *sqq.* should on the other hand be struck out of the list of zeugmas, in which it was included because 'It will not do to supply *inficiet*, since *inficere* unqualified does not mean *to bleach* and does mean *to tan*. Horace says "albus ora pallor

inficit" but that is no defence of "polus Indos inficiet" for "inficiet pallore" (*C.R.* xv. p. 405). This argument is disposed of by Tibullus ii. 2. 19 sq. 'uincula quae

maneant semper dum tarda senectus Inducat rugas inficietque comas.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON THE MONTPELLIER MANUSCRIPTS OF PERSIUS AND JUVENAL.

THROUGH the courtesy of the French Government I was enabled in the summer of 1902 to examine the two Montpellier manuscripts of Persius and Juvenal, which were sent for my use to Oxford. As the excellent description by Beer of the MS. No. 125 (Pithoeanus) requires correcting and supplementing in some respects; and as the other MS. (No. 212) has not been fully described, the following observations will perhaps be not without interest.

I.

The Montpellier MS. No. 125 is a vellum manuscript, consisting of nine quaternions: the first is not numbered, the others are (iii Q. etc., but the ninth thus viiii, without Q.). The last quaternion has an extra leaf attached at the end: it seems to have had originally two such leaves, but one was cut off. There are three blank paper sheets at the beginning, none at the end. The pages contain 29 lines of text on a page. The manuscript is written in a fine hand, in caroline minuscules, 'about A.D. 900, and the glosses very little later' (F. Madan). The inscriptions at the beginning of the satires are in rustic capitals. The ruling of the pages is of an uncommon type in two ways: (1) any two pages which face one another are different in rulings, except at the middle of a gathering, and where two gatherings meet, (2) the ruling is to a large extent, perhaps always, done to two sheets at one operation, beyond any doubt at all. The ruling for the scholia is, in places at all events, an afterthought: which may suggest a question whether the scholia were in the original of which the manuscript is a copy. Most probably they were not: but are copied from a distinct but kindred manuscript. The placing of the skins is normal: the outside of any quaternion is the yellow side of the skin. Thus p. 1 is yellow, pp. 2, 3 are white, pp. 4, 5 yellow, etc. I have to thank Mr. T. W. Jackson for assistance towards these observations.

The first vellum page, not counted in

enumerating, is blank: but at the beginning has *P. Pithouj.* On the reverse side are these lines (Beer, *Spicilegium* p. 10) in a fifteenth century hand:

Ad boreae partes arcti uertuntur et anguis.
Post has artofilax pariterq; corona genuq;
Prolapsus lyra auis cepheus et casiepea
Auriga et perseus thelthoton (*sic*) et andromedae astrum.
Pegasus et delphin.

There is a hole in the parchment where e has fallen out. Then follow the Latin prayers, as given by Beer. Then follows fol. 1 (described by Beer p. 10). At the top of the page is

Persius Mathias ix 69
Iuuenalis

in a fifteenth century hand. Then, in a hand contemporary with the MS., but not the same, are given again the lines *Ad boreae —casiephia (sic)*; and pious texts such as *nox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis iustorum*, and the number MD · LXXIII. Then again come the lines *Ad boreae* thus:

Ad boreae partes arcti uertuntur et anguis ·
Post has artofilax pariterq; corona genuq;
Prolapsus lyra · auis · cepheus et casiepia ·
Auriga et perseus theltoton (*sic*) et andromedae astrum ·
Pegasus et delphin · telumq; aquila anguitenensq; (*sic*).
Signifer inde subest · bis sex hunc sydera cōplent ·
¹ hinc Aries · taurus · gemini · cancer · leo · uirgo ·
Libra · scorpio · asbitenens · (*sic*) capricornus · et urnam ·
Qui tenet et pisces · post sunt in partibus austri ·
Orion · pchion · lepus · ardens · syrius argo ·

¹ hinc added in margin by a hand a little later perhaps sec. x.

xiii. 186 ff.

Qui partem acceptae saeva inter uincla
ciuctae.

Accusatori nollet dare; plurima felix

Paulatim uitia adque errores exiit omnes;

Prima docet rectum sapientia; quippe
minuti

Semper et infirmi est animi exiguique
uoluptas

Vltio; continuo sic collige quod uindicta

Nemo magis gaudet quam femina; cur
tamen hos tu

Euasisse putes quos diri conscia facti

Mens habet attonitos et surdo verberare
caedit.

Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?

Diphthongs are usually written in full; sometimes however by means of a cedilla beneath the e, as signatę tabulę (ii. 119), cremereę (ii. 155), lacertę (iii. 231). Sometimes both ways of writing are employed, as mi-eræ magneę (iv. 74). Sometimes the diphthong is not indicated, as saeue (iii. 8), que (iii. 234), Que (vi. 253). Frequently ae is written for e, as praemit (iii. 244), uariae (iii. 264), aepulas (iv. 28), spraeti (vi. 226), dubiae (vi. 375), praessit (vi. 621), adque (x. 295).

Words are frequently wrongly divided, examples are ii. 50 His posubit, vi. 46 pertundit euenā, 101 prandente terrat, 136 Optimas et, 259 cycła dequarum, 352 conducito gulinia, 638 uanis et, vii. 145 basilus arā, viii. 66 epire dia, xi. 17 peritura macessere, xii. 13 laetas et, xiv. 7 raderet ubera, xiv. 113 fortunas eruet, xv. 61 mili/at urbe, 112 retoret hyle, 116 nefandit aurica, 133 par soptima, 167 Adsuetico quaere; Pers. i. 80 quaeris neuende, 93 bere cynthius, 108 ui desis, 113 pueris acer, iii. 15 hunc inererum, 29 censorem uetuum, iv. 14 summane quicquam, 16 anti cycras, 21 pannu ciabaucis, v. 80 Crederet unum mos, 137 iuras et, 183 tum et alba fide liauino, 191 centus eligetur, vi. 33 tabulas et, 71 saturans eris.

The most noticeable confusions of letters are these: (1) a and o, vi. 561 longa for longo, 571 lucra for lucro, conversely x. 326 repulso for repulsa: (2) b and u (v), this confusion is most frequent: iii. 273 inprobidus for inprouidus, vi. 8 turbabit for turbauit, 390 putabit for putauit, 626 benefica for uenefica, vii. 58 uiuendis for bibendis, 153 cantauit for cantabit, viii. 204 bibrata for uibrata, ix. 98 ualbis for ualuīs, 117 uiuebat for bibebat, 128 uiuimus for bibimus, x. 70 probabit for probauit, xi. 187 uilem for bilem, 203 uiuat for bibat, xii. 4 bellus

for uellus, 112 Pacubium for Pacuuium (so 125, 128), xiii. 155 bobis for bouis, 205 probabit for probauit, xiv. 134 negauit for negabit, 163 uina for bina, 296 traubus for trabibus, xv. 21 ueruere for uerbere. 126 rauiae for rabie, 163 rauida for rabida; Pers. ii. 27 uidental (originally) for bidental, iii. 8 uilis for bilis, iii. 93 rogauit for rogabit, iv. 12 curba for curua, 49 uiuice for uibice, 50 uibulas for bibulas, v. 97 uitauit for uitabit, v. 112 salibam for saluam, 168 plorauit for plorabit, 169 obiurgauere for obiurgabere, vi. 16 cur bus for curuus, 55 bobillas for bouillas: (3) c and g, iii. 192 cabiis for gabiis, 199 ucalecon for ucalegon, 204 abagi for abaci, 263 stricilibus for strigilibus, 319 refigi for refici, v. 141 mygale for mycale, vi. 147 emungeris for emungeris; Pers. iii. 104 grassis for crassis: (4) d and t are frequently confused, especially ad for at, e.g. i. 65, iii. 246, adque for atque: (5) d and r are often confused, e.g. reliquid for reliquit (vi. 88): (6) l appears for i, iii. 40 locati for iocati, vi. 64 tucclauē sicāe for Tuccia uesicae, vi. 113 Velento for Veiento.

Lines are transposed at xiii. 139, 140. A line is inserted by mere error vii. 211. Deliberate insertions are found at ix. 134, xiv. 1, 2. A line is omitted x. 67. Among spellings the following may be noted: octoginsima iv. 92, but octogensimus vi. 192, paelex vi. 227. Polio vii. 176, ix. 7, but Pollio vi. 387, xi. 43, brachia vi. 421 and often, but braccia xiii. 45, epistula x. 71, but epistola xvi. 5, formonsa vi. 465, praegnatem vi. 405, praegnas i. 122, coturnus vi. 506, 634, vii. 72, xv. 29, quaerella xiii. 135, xvi. 19, solatia xiii. 179, uultus ix. 12, xiv. 52, but uoltus vii. 238, viii. 205, xv. 170, uulgius ii. 74, iii. 36 etc., but uolgi vii. 85, viii. 44; Pers. vi. 12, pinnis xiv. 76, necegit for neglegit, ix. 92 (though this may be due to confusion of c and g), sequuntur x. 58, fascia xiv. 294, but fascea vi. 263, captiuos x. 136, toruos xiii. 50, but ecus xi. 103, sepulchrum x. 146, but sepulcrum vi. 230, exorbeat x. 223, holuscula xi. 79, but olus Pers. iii. 112, vi. 20, reliquum Pers. v. 87, vi. 68 (bis), urgueat iv. 59, urguet xiii. 220; so also vi. 425, 593, xii. 53, xiii. 48, tinguat Pers. vi. 20, faenus ix. 140, Pers. vi. 67, but fenus xi. 40, 48, 185, sollers ix. 65, Pers. v. 37, 142, vi. 24, but solers vi. 75, decies x. 335, xiii. 136, Pers. vi. 79.

II.

The Montpellier manuscript of Persius No. 212 (Fonds de Bouhier D. 44) in Mr.

Madan's opinion dates from the second half of the ninth century. It is written in caroline minuscules on vellum, and is a small quarto having eight leaves to the quaternion. It contains glosses and a few marginal scholia, but not many. Its contents are (1) Nonius Marcellus, (2) Persius, (3) the verses of Priscian (?) *De est et non*, which are thus introduced: UERSUS · PRISCIANI · ELOQUENTISSIMI · DE · EST · ET · Ñ · INCIP. These verses are printed in Riese's *Anthologia Latina*, No. 645, where they are assigned to Ausonius. As this manuscript was unknown to Riese I subjoin a collation of these verses with his text: the verses are on fol. 79 recto and verso: 2 nichil, 3 Omnia in his ab his, 4 otii quietis, 5 ññūquā sepe seorsū, 6 studiis studiores ingeniumque, 7 Et facilis uel difficilis, 8 interueniens est, 9 Incontrouersum, 10 foras furios sic, 11 cuneati hinc leta theatro, 12 quoque omitted, 14 loquentis, 15 scola, 16 agit at placido certamine, 18 Estne dies est ergo dies, 19 fulgoribus quotiens, 23 sic.

After these verses follows the following INCIPIUNT GRAMMATICAE ARTIS NOMINA GRECE ET LATINE NOTATA, extending from fol. 79^v to 81^r, where the MS. ends. This is a glossary, which begins as follows:

Poeta · uates ·
Grammaticus · doctor liberariū (sic)
Poeticus liber uel cantus ·
Perfora · Interrogatio · Antifora responsio.

The truncated subscriptio (see the note to my edition at the bottom of p. 1 of the preface) in my opinion and that of Mr. Madan relates to Persius, and not, as Lucian Müller has carelessly asserted, to Nonius (Müller, *Nonius* ii. 260). It is not by the hand which wrote the manuscript, but by another contemporary hand, possibly the hand which wrote the scholia and glosses, viz. the contemporary corrector. It was written in the upper half of the page, fol. 66^v, in the margin beside the text of Nonius, simply because there was space for it there, rather than beside Persius. For Persius is enriched with large capital letters at the beginning of each line, which occupy a great part of the margin. Nonius on the other hand has no such capital letters, and the lines therefore begin rather farther back into the page. Further, there are no glosses, notes, etc., on Nonius at all; while there are plenty on Persius. The subscriptio was in my judgement copied from some other MS. of Persius employed for purposes of correction.

Persius begins immediately with Sat. i. 1,

O curas, etc., fol. 66^v. The choliambi are placed at the end, on fol. 78^v. They are preceded by the following in capital letters: PERSII FLACCI SATYRARŪ EXPLICIT VITA EIUSDĒ. There is, however, no Vita in the MS. It stood probably in the archetype; or the expression may refer to the choliambi. Then follows, fol. 79^r, the subscriptio FLAUII · IU · L · TRĒ · ÑÑ · SABINI UT PŌTECTOR DOMES[TICUS TEMPTAUI EMENDARE SINE ANTIGRAPHO ME]Ū ET ADNOTAUI BARCELLONE C^{SS} D^S ÑÑ AR[CKADIO ET HONORIO] Q̄. By adnotauī is meant, I think, 'punctuated': there are stops in the manuscript. The following noteworthy spellings are found: quum (iv. 22), filix (iv. 41), uulpem (v. 117), uulgi (vi. 12), littore (vi. 29), foenoris (vi. 67).

III.

The following notes are necessary to supplement the published collations of Bücheler and myself, which, it will be seen, are not always in agreement. Bücheler's collation of the Pithoeanus was executed with admirable care; but I have had the advantage of being able to revise his work.

MONTEPESSULANUS 125 (P).

Persius i. 34 uanum sic: the n is not 'in rasura' (Büch.) but only rather faded; 57 sesquipedale: the ses is by m 2 in ras.; 72 pallia: the lili is in ras. I think the original word was parilia.

ii. 2 labentis m 1 -es m 2, 47 liquescant m 1 -unt m 2.

iii. 7 ita nec sic: ita and nec both expunged by a later hand, which has written nunc above. 14 quo (ut supra m 2). 17 similes m 1 -is m 2. 80 Obsti//po: in the erasure is, I think, an ill-formed p.

iv. 34 tangat m 1, te contingat sic m 2.

v. 16 ingenuo, I agree with Büch. that the u has been altered from ib. 19 above pullatis is written palliat, a fifteenth century gloss. 159 arrumpit (i.e. arripit): above this is written exit in a fifteenth century hand. 187 infantes.

vi. 16 Cur bus (v supr. m 2) obit (-d m 2), 35 da^{bit} the whole word written in ras. by m 2: da is not, as Büch. states, by m 1.

52 //iusta (x m 2). 65, 66 are thus written Quidquid id est · ubi sit fuge quaere quod mihi

Quondam legerat tadius neu dicta pone paterna

(the a above the line by m 2).

Juvenal i. 45 siccum (c inserted by m 2): m 1 had si cum, not, as Büch. states sitcum or sucum, 67 falsi m 1 altered to falso by m 2,

106 purpuræ ma||or: the e added by m 2: the a above the line also by m 2: further in the erasure i added by m 2. The first hand had purpura maior, which was altered by m 2 to purpuræ amator: this was subsequently altered back to purpura maior, 161 uerym: the vm is by m 3 in ras.: further in marg. is written uel uerbum by m 4, a late hand. The original hand had uerbum not ueruum: this is clear from the shape of the erasure.

ii. 1 glaciale||| (m clear under the erasure), 13 medico ||| ridente, 41 spiranto p||obalsama originally probalsama, I think. 159 arma in ras. added by m 2: what m 1 had cannot be decyphered, 160 ||| iuuerne ||| m 2: what m 1 had underneath it is impossible to see. The scholium is litoralia p. p. idem [not id est] uincendo etc.

iii. 109 stands thus in the MS.

^{est neq.}

Praeterea. sanctum nihil abingwine tutum.

The est neq, above is by m 2. (Bücheler's note is wrong.) 207 opizi (zi m 2 in ras.) opifici seems to have been the reading of m 1, the extent of the erasure corresponds to it. Further it is found in the lemma of the scholium inadequately reported by Büch. Et diuina opifici opizin graeci dicunt etc. 305 deerit.

iv. 9 uittata written quite clearly, not in any way altered (as Büch. states): above it is the gloss redimiculis ligata uittis redimitis (sic) sicut sacerdos, 25 praetios quam e m 1 praetium squame et potuit m 2. Above quam stands the gloss piscis fuit [i.e. hoc pretium piscis fuit], 45 the inter-linear gloss is transmittit propter magnitudinem, not prae magnitudine, as Lommatzsch wrongly, Quaest. Iuv. p. 418. 96 iam ex tam m 2 (m 1 had tam), I regret that there is an error in my note here. 148 et is a mere slip in the MS. for ex; the two words being written much alike by the scribe.

v. 82 despiciat the i has been refreshed (Büch. wrongly reports despiciat), 91 omitted in the text, added in marg. by a hand as ancient as the original and possibly the same, 117 facient m 1 faciunt m 2 (faciunt is erroneously assigned to P in my note).

vi. 129 rigida ||| entigine m 1 (corr. m 2), 151 above in is written sed est by m 2 (Lommatzsch inaccurate here), 153 iasum i by m 1, all the rest by m 2, 187 maera ce cropis m 1 in ras. Over maera is the gloss pura quasi naturalis, over cecropis is uel atheni-

ensis. 224 uiros et m 1 (corr. m 2), 244 formantque (for in ras.), 281 dic || under the erasure is e I think, i.e. dice (Neue II.² 438), 306 Inunget corrected above by erasure not 'in margine' (Büch.), 435 uergilium m 1

uirg. m 2, 548 |||| I think uel was the word erased; being indistinctly written, it was erased and written above by m 2, 549 calidae (ca refreshed merely), 603 petitos (s in ras. m. ead.), 655 et ibi belides (a line is drawn under et ibi by m 2).

vii. 14 || equites, 35 facundae t nupda (the mark of division (Λ), t, and erasure of n by m 2 (Büch. incorrect), 77 lenioribę belua the first be erased: this is quite clear. In mg. uel leuiori belua m 2 (Büch. incorrect), 124 licet m 1 quantum petet mg. m 2 (petet in ras., what was beneath cannot be decyphered, it may have been petit or libet), 145 basilus rara (lus r in ras. m 2: m 1 had basilusr ara wrongly divided), 204 Sicut (cut merely refreshed by the original hand) ||| lisimachi (li m 2 in ras., under the ras. is clearly thra. There is no trace of γ, as Büch. states. 219 palemon || (on refreshed by m 2. Probably m 1 had palemom), 239 coetus (o m 2) m 1 had caetus, not quetus.

viii. 18 funestat (tat in litura), 40 the scholium should read quia blandus rebellius dicebatur superbus. est nobilitate etc., 83 nefas—praeferre refreshed in ras., 97 na||lū (u written in the ras. by an ancient or possibly the same hand), 104 the scholium runs Ra re sine mentore mensae. id est quae a fabro nobili non sunt facte. Rem. sine toreumatae, 148 multo sufflamine in ras.: no doubt the original reading was sufflamine mulio, 162 cyane (e m 2 in ras. Perhaps -is under the ras.; but this is uncertain; the letter may be merely refreshed). 163 dic& (& m 2 in ras., under which clearly is it), 172 om legatum the gloss is damasippum (not damasippi as Lommatzsch states).

a itos gar efed.

ix. 37 thus ΔΥΤΟΣ | ΓΑΡ | ΕΦΕΔ-
kete ianaga sinaidos
ΚΕΤΕ | ΙΑΝΑΓΑ | ΚΙΝΑΙΔΟΣ the Latin
letters above are, I think, by the original hand.
In mg. at top of page m 2 has

ΓΛΙΚΟΣ

Sollicitent ΔΤΗΩC ΓΛΙΥΓΗΥCΙΝ
K

ΔΝΔΡΑ ΓΗΝΕΔΩC i. dulces mores
mollis uiri

40 the scholium is Cumputat: fiat con-
putatio. ceuet crisat.

x. 30 the scholium runs Pro'tuleratque p.

DE AUCTORE CARMINIS *PERVIGILIUM VENERIS* INSCRIPTI.

QUAESTIO, si qua alia, vexatissima semper fuit, praesertim semisaeulo nuper praegresso, de auctore elegantis carminis *Pervigilium Veneris* praetitulati. Aldus Manutius et Erasmus Roterodamensis (aut quia in cod. miscellaneo, olim in Aldi potestate ac Pithoeano perquam simili, ita inscriberetur, aut quia Catulli c. lxii illud praecederet exciperetve, certe propioribus foliis contineretur) Catullo id tribuere non dubitarunt;¹ Catullo mimographo T. Scaliger; alii Africano, alii Siculo poëtae adsignavere; plerique vero critici ex sermonis notis delabentis esse fetum latininitatis agnoverunt; quin etiam existit qui, C. Barthio falsa adfirmanti nimis credulus, carmen ad Th. Senecam Camertem, unum ex illis 'doctis Italis' saec. xv, referre ausus sit!² Nemo adhuc ad certos terminos aetatem poëmatii valuit definire, nedum verum auctoris nomen promerit confideret. Non magni tamen laboris rem criticam exercentibus fuisset utrumque expedire, modo si cum diligentia quadam ac penitiori optutu hos duos versus perscrutati essent, in codd. ita exaratos:

73 'Unde samnes (cod. Salmas.) rames (cod. Thuan.) et quirites proque prole posterum

74 Romuli matrem crearet et nepotem caesarem.'

volgo ab edd. sic impressos:

'Unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum

Romuli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.'

J. Lipsius quidem, jungens 'Romuli' v. praeced., reposuit, 'patrem' J. Caesarem intellegens, nepotem autem Octavianum. Ipse, Sanadonis correctionem 'posterum' in 'postera' recipiens, versus hoc modo rescribo:

'unde Ramnes et Quirites, proque prole postera,

Romuli patrem crearet et Nepotem Caesarem.'

Ut iam liquet, HH. DD. acies falsa est hic eiusdem generis errore, quo Odysseus in spelunca Sicula Polyphemum decepit. Scilicet Romuli pater, seu Pater, designatur Romuli Augustuli, imperatorum Romanorum

postremi, genitor Orestes; *Nepos* vero *Caesar* sive caesar (= der Kaiser) dicitur Julius Nepos, imperator Romanus a die 24 junii 474 ad 31 octobris 475; quo die Orestes filium, vix pueritiam egressum, imperatoria purpura induit, rerum tamen moderamen ipse pro filio in manibus regens. Julius Nepos ab Oreste, quem legatum ac duces militiis contra Vesegothas missis praefecerat, in eum rebellante, die 28 augusti 475 Ravenna pulsus, Salonam in Dalmatiam aufugit, ubi postea, die 9 maii 480, occisus est.

Cum Orestes ab Odoacre Herulorum rege vel, ut alii malunt, barbarorum militum, praecipue ex Norico, duce Ticini (Paviae) obsessus captusque, paullo post, die 28 augusti a. 476, Placentiae capite obruncatus sit, atque carmen, ut e contextu elucet, pridie kalendas apriles scriptum sit, necessario consequitur ipsius anni 476 postrema mensis martii die panxisse poëtam *Veneris Pervigilium*; sin. causa ei nulla fuerit Augustuli Patrem una cum Nepote nominandi. Auctorem autem G. Sollium Sidonium, cui Apollinari volgo patronymicum accedit, esse (praeter quam quod scimus eo tempore nullum alium poëtam vixisse, tam bello carmini idoneum conficiendo), ex duplici adnominatio-
ne in textu obvia pro certo evincimus: nempe 'rosa' atque 'alites.' Certum habemus Sidonio fuisse unam filiam nomine Rosciam; quae utrum una eademque sit cum alia Sidonii filia in eius epistulis memorata. *Severiana*, ambigitur; verum tamen ex 'unica' v. 26 *Perv. Ven.* et quodam epistularum loco una eademque esse videtur, Apollinaris, Sidonii filii, ut Th. Mommsenus³ arbitratus est, fortassis gemella. Hinc explicatur proluxa rosae descriptio vv. 14-26 *Perv. Ven.* Altera adnominatio 'alites' vv. 3 et 84, qui iuxta porendi sunt, respicit *Aethium* (quo de etiam in Sidonii epistulis), istius Rosciae novum maritum, generum Sidonii. Hic proprio cognomine audivit Aleimus, fuitque perprobabiliter patria Burdigalensis.⁴ Pro explorato utique est Rosciam Aleimo nupsisse; Gregorius enim Turonensis sororem Apollinaris, Sidonii filii, Aleimam (consuetudinem nostri aevi praeoccupans) appellat.⁵ Praeterea stilus

³ Vd. huius ad Sidonii opera (Mon. Germ. Histor. Auct. antiq. vol. viii.) praefationem, p. xlix.

⁴ Cf. Auson. xvi, 3 et vd. indicem nominum in edit. Sidon. opp. P. Mohri (Lipsiae, 1895), p. 356, s.v. Aleimus.

⁵ Hist. Francor. iii. 2. 12; Glor. martyr. c. lxiv. vd. indicem, p. 385 s.v. Roscia.

¹ Vd. Anthol. latin. i. 2. A. Riesii, praef. pp. xxxvi. sg.

² Vd. G. H. Heidtmanni De carm. lat. q. P. V. inscrib. dissertationem, Gryphae, 1842, pp. 31 sg.

ac sermo *Perv. Ven.* apprime conveniunt stilo ac sermoni Sidonii, prout id nos docent eius carmina atque epistolae; quod ipse, plurimis locis similibus conlatis, extra dubitationem omnem posui.¹ Est igitur *Perv. Ven.* carmen nuptiale, sive (minus apta locutione) epithalamium, in nuptias Rosciae Severianae,² Sidonii filiae, et Alethii Alcimi, celebratas Avitaci³ kalendis aprilibus anni 476.

Nepotis autem, quamquam omni potestate despoliati ac profugi, nomen facit Sidonius honorifice, cum quia illum summopere colebat,⁴ tum beneficiorum in suos ab eodem conlatorum memor.⁵ Nec, cum tunc temporis Fortunae mutationes occisime verterentur, absonum ei fuit credere vel sperare summam imperii brevi rursus Nepotem recuperaturum fore. Sensus maeroris, quo poetam esse detentum vv. 89–92 ostendunt,

¹ Judicium de Sidonii scribendi genere severius vd. in egregio S. Dillii opere 'Rom. Society in the last cent. of the west. emp.'² London. 1899, pp. 448 sq.

² Duplex nomen mulieres quoque, inde a Julia Agrippina, insignivisse non pauca testantur exempla e.c. ex Historia Augusta. Itaque Ausonii sorores.

³ Cf. carmen cum epp. ii. 2, 3 sqq. ubi Avitacum describitur. Pro Hybla vv. 51 et 52 reponendum est Villa; pro Hyblaëis v. 49 villicis vel villaribus cum vocalis syncope.

⁴ Cf. epp. viii. 7, 4.

⁵ Cf. epp. v. 16, 2.

causam Sidonii vitae vicissitudines aperiunt. Etenim, paullo antea ex Gallo-romano Vese-gotha factus, vix tunc '*moram moenium Livianorum*'⁶ et Eurici regis aulam, qua contemptum habitus fuerat, reliquerat. Quod vero epp. ix, 12, 1 ipse fateatur: *ab exordio religiosae professionis huic (artis poeticae) principaliter exercitio renuntiavi*—licet hoc cum *αἰθηντῖα Perv. Ven.* conciliare ita ut Sidonius carmen familiarem eventum celebraturum germanum ac proprium magnique ponderis Musarum fetum non existimaverit; certe neque ipsemet umquam edidit nec suis operibus interseruit. Denique, quod et christianus et episcopus in poetico opusculo, in nuptiali carmine, Venerem concelebret,⁷ admirari nolent ii qui recordentur deos deasque gentilium ne nostra quidem aetate e poetarum campis emigrasse; ac dissidium inter litteras ad mentis culturam in totum ethnicas et habitum christianae religionis omnes eruditos Medii Aevi homines majori minorive molestia adfixisse.

L. RAQUETTIUS.

⁶ Epp. viii. 3, 1.

⁷ 'Down to the end of the century [and after, nam Innodius episcopus Ticinensis eo non abstinuit!], marriages in Christian families were still celebrated by an epithalamium in the old pagan manner. Sidonius has left two of these pieces, in which his taste is probably seen at his worst.' S. Dill. o. c. p. 446.

REVIEWS.

SOME RECENT WORKS ON ARISTOPHANES.

Aristophanis Plutus. Ed. J. VAN LEEUWEN. Lugd. Bat. 1904. Pp. xxvi. + 182. Fl. 2.90.

Essai sur la composition des comédies d'Aristophane. Par PAUL MAZON. Paris, 1904. Pp. 181. 4 fr.

Aristophane. La Paix. Par PAUL MAZON. Paris, 1904. Pp. 119. 4 fr.

THERE is not much that requires special notice in Mr. van Leeuwen's *Plutus*. In general execution resembling the earlier volumes of his *Aristophanes*, it presents certain changes in the text, some of a bolder kind than most editors would venture to adopt. I will give the most noticeable of them 115 ἀπαλλάξας . . ποιήσειν for ἀπαλλάξαι ποιήσας: 119 ὁ Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν τάχιστα ἂν ἐπιτρέψειέ με, ὦ μῶρ', ἐπεὶ πύθοιο

for ὁ Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν εἰδὼς τὰ τοῦτων μῶρ' ἔμ' εἰ πύθοιτ' ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν: 267 ψωρόν (Herwerden) for ψωλόν: 368 ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐπίδηλον ὡς τι πεπανουργήκωτος: 631 πρὸ τοῦ for σαυτοῦ: 727 γέροντι (Karpeyne) for Πλούτωνι: 891 εἴθ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ πάνιν for ὡς δὴ 'π' ἀληθεία: 969 ὄντως for εἶναι: 1036 διεκκύσειας ἄν (Karpeyne) for ἐμέ γ' ἂν διεκκύσαις: 1130 ὦν κατεβρόχθιζον τότε for ὦν ἐγὼ κατήσθιον. Between 770 and 771 he inserts 782–788 with a line of his own added at the end. The verse given in the MSS after 805, but usually omitted by editors, he has placed after 818, and 897 between 957 and 958. 1028–30 he has cut down by changes to two lines. It will be seen that some of these innovations require a good deal of defending—more, perhaps, than they can receive in a short note—and

can indeed, however wrong we may think the text, hardly be justified. Nothing but great real or supposed probability can justify an editor in actually introducing something into his text. Let him quarrel with the traditional text in a note as much as he pleases. Let him suggest by all means the kind of thing he supposes that his author may have said. But he ought not to make an actual change unless he feels pretty sure that he can restore the actual word or words, and Mr. van Leeuwen would hardly say that in some of these cases he feels that.

It has usually been held, on the ground of tradition, that our *Plutus* is a revised version, dating from some twenty years after the first appearance of the play. This tradition the present editor rejects, maintaining that matter and language alike point to 389 as the time of composition, and that there is nothing to suggest different dates for different parts. Certainly the weakness of the play and the general nature of it agree better with the later date. It is difficult to think it earlier than the *Frogs*, as according to tradition it must in substance have been. The tradition cannot however be traced up beyond a time many centuries after the poet's death.

Mr. Mazon's *Essai* is an interesting and fairly readable book, inspired by Zielinski's *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*. But, though it adopts the main lines of Zielinski's work, its object is not only to supplement, but in some respects to correct Zielinski's conclusions. In one way he argues for more liberty than Zielinski allowed, in another for more regularity.

'En réalité,' he writes, 'il y a à la fois une certaine *liberté* dans les cadres eux-mêmes et un certain *ordre* dans la façon dont ils se succèdent. En d'autres termes, la comédie grecque est faite d'une succession régulière de cadres souples et non d'une succession incohérente de cadres rigides.'

After some preliminary remarks ('postulates et définitions') he goes through the eleven plays in turn, carefully analysing their structure and making many remarks of interest on a number of points. The last chapter generalises what has been observed in detail and lays down what he conceives to be the principles always or almost always followed in an Aristophanic comedy. Readers of Zielinski will recognise a good deal as coming from him, but he is so little known at present in England that I cannot do better than summarise them almost in Mazon's own words.

Every comedy has a prologue of three parts: (1) some comic 'business,' followed by (2) jocose lines which begin the spoken part of the play, and then (3) by the entrance on the action properly so-called. This entrance on the action made, comes the second part of the play, the *πάροδος*, or appearance of the chorus and the scene, always of some length, which follows it. It assumes very various forms and is couched in very various metres, but yet exhibits a certain regularity of presentation. The chorus is almost always in halves. After the *parodos* the *agon* or contest, on which Zielinski lays such stress: and this is not dialectical only, an argument *pro* and *contra* (e.g. that in the *Wasps* on the *dicasteria*), as Zielinski maintained, but also sometimes involves a real conflict of physical force; sometimes one succeeds the other, e.g. in the *Birds*, and we get both a battle and a debate. Then comes usually a short iambic scene, which terminates the first half of the play and points to the second which will begin after the *parabasis*. This first half is essential and original, the second of subsequent growth and often much less an integral part. The *parabasis* Mr. Mazon holds—perhaps not quite consistently—to have come always in the middle, never, as Zielinski says it once did, at the end, nor at the beginning. The second part of the play consists always of a series of scenes divided by *chorica* (such as we never find in the first part) and these scenes are not unfrequently parallel in pairs, e.g. the two scenes of the Megarian and the Boeotian in the *Acharnians*. The chorus is an actor in the first part of the play, only a spectator in the second. The second *parabasis*, when found, is only an *intermezzo*. The *exodos*, last scene and exit of chorus and actors, is always of the nature of a *κῶμος*. Comedy originated in the *agon*, as an imitation of the conflicts of one kind or another connected with real *κῶμοι*, and the looser scenes developed out of this as a pendant.

No doubt there is much truth in this general account of the structure of Old Comedy. But there are many details in particular plays which it is hard to fit into this framework, as Mazon himself has to admit. He has to ask, for instance, on *Peace* 603 foll. whether a simple dialogue can constitute an *agon*, and he is actually forced to describe the iambic dialogue beginning there at 658 as an *antepirrhema*, and to give the name of *parabasis* to *Lysist.* 614–705, which is part of the regular course of the play and has nothing of the *parabasis*

about it. It is safer, I think, to say, as did Mr. Mazon's eminent countryman, H. Weil, in a review of Zielinski's book in the *Journal des Savants* (since reprinted in a volume of his *Études*) that we must allow more liberty and variety to have existed and that what Aristophanes did very often he was not obliged to do always. Mazon does not indeed have recourse to Zielinski's violent hypotheses as to changes that have been made in the comedies and have obscured their original outlines, and he grants more liberty of construction to the poet, but not enough to preclude the necessity of explaining away some things in a very unsatisfactory manner.

But the general thesis of the book is important and well argued, and many incidental points made in it deserve attention. It may therefore certainly be recommended to students of Aristophanes.

The same scholar's edition of the *Peace* does not aim at being more than a school-book. It has a good introduction and short

notes, shorter and fewer than those in the familiar school editions of Dr. Merry, to whom he expresses his obligations, as he does also in a marked manner to Dr. Blaydes. There is nothing, I think, novel in the way of readings, unless it be that he gives the whole of 834-837 to Trygaeus, reading *καί τις γε* (*τις* enclitic), and elsewhere has some similar redivisions. We may doubt whether he is right in making *μεμφόμενον* (924) passive and = *μεμπτόν*, or in taking *ἔτερον δ' ἔτερω* (940) together in the tragic construction of the dative. His adherence to *ἕως . . . λάθης* (32) and *μη . . . ὀρχήσεσθε* (329) is too conservative, and in the notes on 21 and 49 his Greek is not faultless. It may be worth mentioning that in his opinion the actors were in the orchestra (as he says also in the other book, following Dörpfeld) and the entire action took place there, Trygaeus being lowered into it again at 172; and that he disbelieves in any second edition of the play.

H. RICHARDS.

EDMONDS' AND AUSTEN'S *CHARACTERS OF THEOPHRASTUS*.

The Characters of Theophrastus. Edited by J. M. EDMONDS, M.A., and G. E. V. AUSTEN, M.A. With Illustrations. Blackie and Son, 1904. Pp. xl + 171. 4s. 6d.

If there is any meaning left in the hackneyed phrase about a 'felt want,' it might surely have been adopted by Messrs Edmonds and Austen to justify their excellent edition. It is thirty-five years since Prof. Jebb published his well-known work, and since then the Sixth Form master, in whose armoury the *Characters* are an incomparable weapon, has had to content himself with the almost illegible and wholly untranslatable Tauchnitz text. We are peculiarly grateful then for this new edition, which seems in all respects well suited to its purpose. The introduction is sufficient to explain the nature of Theophrastus' work and the circumstances in which it took its shape; the text is readable and not overburdened with notes; the illustrations, indispensable to the modern school-book, are judiciously selected; and last, but not least, a useful 'Sachregister' is appended.

With regard to the original form of the book, the editors preserve an open mind, though they incline to Jebb's view of the

separate and intermittent production of the *Characters*. The text, which omits the proem and the spurious additions, differs from Jebb's in about 200 places, and follows almost uniformly the Leipzig edition of the *Philologische Gesellschaft*, to which the editors acknowledge their indebtedness throughout the book. It might indeed have been better to indicate that the reading *συνδιοικῶν αἰτήσασθαι* in *xxi. 39* and the insertion of *παραινεῖν* in *xxvii. 20* are also derived from the same source: the notes, by an oversight, do not make this clear. Perhaps the editors have sometimes followed their guides too slavishly. In *xxii. 1* they even adopt Holland's reckless change *περιουσία τις φιλοχρηματίας ἀπὸ ἀφιλοτιμίας δαπάνην ἐλλείπονσα*. What can *δαπάνην ἐλλείπονσα* mean? The editors courageously translate 'which shuns expense.' While he was about it, Holland might have inserted *πρὸς* before *δαπάνην*. What is one more change among so many?

Nothing is easier than to overweight Theophrastus with commentary. The editors are to be congratulated on the restraint which they have shown. If occasionally their notes contain unnecessary matter, any one will forgive them who reflects what

might have been done, for instance, by an enthusiastic anthropologist to illustrate *δεισιδαιμονία*.

Having said so much in praise, we may venture to point out one or two slight blemishes. In iv. 24, if *ἄμα* is kept, which Jebb found an insuperable difficulty, it should be explained that it must be taken as corresponding to the following *καί*. The critical note on xi. 22 is not quite correct. On xvi. 21 more might have been added to justify the reading and the interpretation. It is the Munich Epitome that makes it clear that the days are both unlucky and the rites apotropaic. Is anything gained in xvi. 27 by joining *τελεσθησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστάς* to the previous clause? A monthly initiation is awkward, but not.

more so than an initiation 'whenever he has a dream,' which might occur even more frequently. The passive participle may serve as a middle. We observe that Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, p. 517) finds no difficulty in the ordinary interpretation. The notes on xvii. 14 and xxvi. 20 would seem to imply that 500 was the invariable number of an Athenian jury; while the note on xxiii. 10 is inconsistent with that on xiii. 9. On xxx. 9, Dem. *F. L.* 158 implies, but does not mention, 1 drachma as *ἐφόδιον*; and on xxviii. 8, Byron's *Maid of Athens* does not illustrate the use of *ψυχή* as a term of endearment. The care of the editors has extended to the proofsheets, and the book is remarkably free from misprints.

J. H. VINCE.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Beiträge zur genaueren Kenntnis der attischen Gerichtssprache, aus den zehn Rednern.

Von KONRAD SCHODORF. (Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache herausgegeben von M. v. SCHANZ, Heft 17.) Würzburg, 1905. Pp. 114.

At first sight this discussion of the most important technical words of Attic jurisprudence, being devoted chiefly to terminology—the terminology in contests for inheritance, in connexion with the acts of adoption, of marriage, etc.—seems hardly in place in the well-known series of Contributions to Historical Syntax, but the author discusses the syntactic as well as the juristic usage of these words. *E.g.* he explains the familiar 'genitive of cause with verbs of judicial action' as derived from an original *διώκω τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν τοῦ δέινος*, or the like, which by an 'interchange of cases' became *διώκω τῆς ἱεροσυλίας τὸν δέινος*, and from this genitive with *διώκω* is explained that with *ἀμφισβητεῖν* and similar verbs. Analogy with *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι* is made to explain also the rare genitive with *ἐπιτροπέω*, although this genitive is easily construed with the *ἐπίτροπος* contained in *ἐπιτροπέω*. That the author should speak of *imesis* in *καθ' οὐ μαρτυροῦσι*, seems rather old-fashioned.

The list of words examined does not aim to be complete, but perhaps no other publication is more convenient to have at hand in reading the forensic speeches of the Attic orators. In some details the author does not

adopt the ordinary view. Probably he does not derive from extant orations his statement that *διαμαρτυρία* 'means 'eine Einrede . . . bei der beide Parteien [*italics* are his] . . . Einspruch erheben, der Beklagte, dass die Einführung eines Processes nicht zulässig sei, der Kläger, dass sie es sei' (p. 81). Curiously he assigns the care of the clepsydra and the ballots to officials (*Beamte, Unterbeamter Diener*, pp. 30, 105, 107), although Aristotle clearly declares these services to be rendered by members of the court, chosen by lot. To refer to Photius, Suidas, and Pollux, instead of to Aristotle, for the *ἐφόδος*, seems odd, too; and to say that no definite statements can be made with regard to the time allowed for speeches, without at least a reference to Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, page xxxiii, and to Keil's discussion in *Anonymus Argentinensis*, 236 ff., seems to indicate unfamiliarity with the literature of the subject.

T. D. S.

Appendix Lexici Graeci Suppletorii et Dialectici. Scripsit H. VAN HERWERDEN. Lugduni Batavorum. Apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1904. Pp. vi + 262. 10 m.

THE *Lexicon Suppletorium et Dialecticum* has already been noticed in these pages. Since the date of its publication in 1902, new material has been published, and more continues to come forth, so that occasional

supplements are a necessity. We may grumble at the necessity, but can only be grateful for the supplement. The compiler has added also a large number of references which do not come under the head of new material, but had escaped his notice before. In this volume are included the word-store of Timotheos, the Tebtunis and Cairo Papyri, Nicoli's collection of Papyri, the third and fourth volumes of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, with a few others; and use has been made of the third edition of Meistershans, Rutherford's *New Papyri*, Thumb's *Hellenistic Griechischen Sprache*, and more fully of Meister's *Griechische Dialekte*. The work is indispensable.

W. H. D. R.

Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Liber III.
 Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by W. C. SUMMERS, M.A. 1904.
 University Press, Cambridge. Pp. xxii + 160. Price 2s. 6d.

ANOTHER of the small, cheap, and useful instalments of the classic writers for which the Pitt Press Series is honourably noted. Mr. Summers has produced a little edition for which both boys who have to read Book III of the Histories and their masters who wish to complete their reading of that most impressive work will be thankful. The introduction is especially noticeable because of

its bright and distinct sketch of Silver Age Latinity. Short as it is, it yet finds room for clear and telling illustrations from other authors as well as Tacitus, notably from Seneca; and, if the student will take the trouble to work these out, it will be much to his advantage. The other half of the Introduction is a Historical Summary of the events which from B.C. 44 led up to what is told us in this one book by Tacitus. Some of the sequel also is given in a final note: so that the main events are not at all isolated. The analysis of the history is brief and business-like: but it is surely an oversight to say that Nero was caught in the country-house of one his freedmen and put to death.

The text used is Halm's, with few variations.

The notes are good, but err, if anything, on the side of fewness. There is a handy special note on the army. But, after some experience in teaching the Histories, I am convinced that if more than the mere Latin is to be learned, one of the most useful appendices which could be given to students working for an examination would be a brief and probably a tabular statement of which side each legion fought for in the campaigns of 68-69, and of which emperor or pretender was served by each distinguished officer.

F. T. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IMPERATIVE IN ST. JOHN XX. 17.

IN connexion with the articles in your number for February last on the Greek present imperative let me call attention to St. John xx. 17 where Jesus says to Mary Magdalene μή μου ἄπτου, οὐπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. I have long thought that a great deal of mystical interpretation has sprung from misunderstanding the present imperative and comparing ἄπτομαι with θιγγάνω. What Jesus says is 'do not keep

clinging to me, *i.e.* you need not cling to me, for I have not yet ascended to my father, *i.e.* I am still here on earth and the time for ascension is not yet come.' I presume that Mary Magdalene had clung to his dress or feet.

H. J. ROBY.

LANCRIGG, GRASMERE.
 17 April, 1905.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1905.

ON February 3rd Mr. POWELL read notes on the following passages of Sophocles:—

Trach. 116. May βέπει be suggested here for τρέφει, in a transitive sense? Cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 405 and ἐπιτρέπω and κατατρέπω.

Oed. Col. 1453. Again βέπει, transitive, for ἐπέ? The sentence is broken off with ἔκτυπεν αἰθῆρ, ὦ Ζεῦ in 1456. Cf. a possible recollection of the passage, both in sentiment and construction, Eur. *frag. Bellerophon*, 306 Nauck (Dindorf. *frag. Bellerophon*, 24) ποῦ δὴ κ.τ.λ.

Electra 709. Perhaps βῆ σφᾶς.

Antig. 211. Perhaps σοὶ ταῦτ' ἀρσέκει δρᾶν, Μενοικέως Κρέον. For the genitive, cf. *Aj.* 172, 1302; *Iliad* 2. 527; Kühner ii. 1. 333.

Oed. Rex 1264. Perhaps τεταργανωμένην: vid. Hesych., cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 789; *Lycophron* 748. Then correct and repunctuate thus:

οὐ δὴ κρεμαστὴν τὴν γυναικ' εἰσείδομεν
πλεκταῖς ἐώρας· ὁ δὲ, τεταργανωμένην
ὅπως ὄρᾳ νιν, κ.τ.λ.

Oed. Rex 1031. Perhaps τί δ' ἄλλος ἴσχον ἐν Κιθαριῶνος πτυχαῖς; Kairos of L is an example of word-mutilation, of which a conspicuous instance is seen in *Oed. Rex* 896 ποεῖν ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς, and 134. The Laurentian MS. seems prone to this: *Phil.* 1407, *El.* 856, *Trach.* 98, al. For confusion between ο and ω (*ἴσχον* and *ἴσχων*) in this MS., exx. in Wecklein, *Ars Soph. Emend.* 54. For the contemptuous repetition of phrases (see 1026), a characteristic of Oedipus, cf. *Oed. Rex* 341 and 342; 344 and 345; 337 and 339; 358 and 359; 444 and 445; 575 and 576; 547 to 550 (bis).

Oed. Col. 1323. Perhaps του for τοῦ.

Aj. 1141. Perhaps ἐν ἀντακούσει. The apparent difficulty of the two accusatives is explained by the double correspondence thus given to the form of the previous line. ἀλλά in L comes from ditto-graphy.

Frag. 587. 5. Dindorf. Perhaps σταθεῖσα. 'Stops, and reflected by the river-water, sees.' Connect ποτῶν and ὑπό.

Vita Sophoclis in Dindorf,⁵ p. 12, line 66. Perhaps

εἰ μὲν γάρ εἰμι Σοφοκλέης, οὐ παραφρονῶ.

The suggestion of Prof. Jebb in *Soph. O.C.* preface, pp. xl. + xli. n. παραφρονομί' ἂν οὐ, is hard to accept, because of this form of the optative.

On February 10th Mr. HADOW read a paper entitled 'Some remarks on Aristotle's theory of ἀκολασία.' In *N.E.* Bk. III. is sketched the gradual degeneracy of the character under the influence of bodily indulgences. At first the desires are not incapable of control, but ἡ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐνέργεια αὖξει τὸ συγγενές (III. xii. 7) and resistance becomes more and more difficult until at last the state is like a bodily disease which cannot be shaken off: τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξὴν αὐτῷ μὴ νοσεῖν προεμένω δὲ οὐκέτι ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἀφέντι λίθον ἔτ' αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν. . . . Οὕτω καὶ τῷ ἀδίκῳ καὶ τῷ ἀκολάστῳ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐξὴν τοιοῦτοις μὴ γενέσθαι. . . . γενομένοις δὲ οὐκέτι ἔξεται μὴ εἶναι (III. v. 14, cf. ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρρωστίων III. v. 22). The implication is that, when a certain

stage of vice has been reached, the power of rational direction becomes atrophied, the man has no longer any reasonable purpose but ἀγεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας which, we are told in *N.E.* III. ii. 5 προαίρεσι ἐναντιοῦται. Such cases, attested by the pathological accounts of the influence of drink or opium, seem to be wholly incompatible with προαίρεσι which is μετὰ λόγου καὶ διανοίας (III. ii. 17), and which is a βουλευτικὴ ὄρεξις (III. iii. 19). Cf. ἡ ὀρεκτικὸς νοῦς ἢ ὄρεξις διανοητικὴ (VI. ii. 5).

Again in *N.E.* III. xi 5-6 there is a distinctive statement as to the part played by λύπη in the life of the ἀκόλαστος. The mark of ἀκολασία is not refusal or inability to bear pain, but the excessive pain felt when the craving for pleasure is not satisfied: οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῷ ὑπομένειν λέγεται σῶφρων, ἀκόλαστος δὲ τῷ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀκόλαστος τῷ λυπεῖσθαι μάλλον ἢ δεῖ τῶν ἡδέων οὐ τυγχάνει. This again is precisely attested by the pathological evidence: so that in two important respects (perhaps the two most important) the account of Bk. III. gives a true psychological analysis.

Both these are contradicted by the account in Bk. VII. (a) The ἀκόλαστος ἀγεται προαιρούμενος, οἰόμενος δεῖν τὸ παρὸν ἢδὲ δῶκεν (VII. iii. 2, a very strong statement): he δῶκεν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἡδέων ἢ ὑπερβολὰ καὶ διὰ προαίρεσιν (VII. vii. 2): he does not even need any strong desire (μὴ ἐπιθυμῶν ἢ ἡρέμα VII. vii. 3): he acts πεπεισμένος διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτος εἶναι (VII. viii. 4) and once more he pursues pleasure οἰόμενος δεῖν (VII. 9. 7). (b) We read in VII. vii. 3 ὁμοίως (ἀκόλαστος ἔστιν) ὁ φεύγων τὰς σωματικὰς λύπας μὴ δι' ἤτταν ἀλλὰ διὰ προαίρεσιν: and even if we accept the interpretation of μαλακίας εἶδος (an interpretation which I venture to regard as extremely doubtful) this does not reconcile the contradiction, for the only allusion to μαλακία in *N.E.* III. treats it as a form of cowardice (III. vii. 13). Thus the ἀκόλαστος of Bk. VII. is deliberate, strong willed, intentional, pursuing his excesses not under stress of appetite but οἰόμενος δεῖν. His view of the ἀρχή is distorted (δυστρέφει ἢ μοχθηρία καὶ διαψεύδεται ποιεῖ περὶ τὰς πρακτικὰς ἀρχάς, VI. xii. 10), but he holds to it with entire and whole souled conviction. It may be doubted whether such a character is psychologically possible: at any rate it is totally different from that described under the same name in *N.E.* III.

The explanation of this discrepancy must in any case be conjectural; but it may be worth noting (1) that from the account of ἀκολασία in *E.E.* III. ii. all the distinctive points quoted from *N.E.* III. v. and xii. are omitted, (2) that the account in *E.E.* III. ii. does not seem to be incompatible with προαίρεσις, (3) that it promises a completion of the sketch ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ὕστερον περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀκρασίας (*E.E.* III. ii. 18), a promise to which there is no parallel in *N.E.* III., (4) that in style and phraseology the chapters of Bk. VII. have more affinity to the early Eudemian than to the early Nicomachean books.

On February 17th Mr. WARDE FOWLER read a paper on 'A new fragment of the *Laudatio Turiae*.' [The paper will be published in the *Classical Review*.]

On February 24th Mr. CLARK read a paper on 'Zielinski's discovery of the metrical law regulating the Ciceronian *clausula*.' [The paper has been published in the April number of the *Classical Review*.]

On March 3rd Mr. ROSS read a paper on 'The structure of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.' [The paper will be published in full.]

On March 10th Mr. BEASLEY read a paper on 'The *kýrios* of the woman at Athens and elsewhere.' The paper dealt with three main questions: (i) the prevalence of the *kýrios* in Greece, (ii) the person upon whom the office devolved, (iii) the variations in the functions of the *kýrios* and the causes for those variations. As to the first point, the texts alleged in support of the theory that at Athens the consent of the *kýrios* was not a necessary condition of the formation of a contract by a woman, are barely worth the refutation given them by Beauchet. That the *kýrios* was found all over Greece, assisting in all manner of contracts, is shown by the inscriptions. But of these contracts there are two classes in which the woman is not assisted by a *kýrios*—manumissions and religious foundations. Of this divergence Foucart has given the most satisfactory explanation, viz. that they were either actually or originally to the profit of a religious corporation. The only state of which the existence of the *kýrios* in the full sense of the word can be denied is Gortyn.

As to the person upon whom the charge devolved: so far as Athens is concerned, by the most satisfactory interpretation of the law cited in *Dem. c. Steph.* ii. 18 (1134), in cases where neither father, nor brother, nor grandfather is alive, the unmarried woman, who is not *ἐπίκληρος*, does not fall under the power of her nearest *ἀγχιστεύς* but is assigned a *kýrios* by the archon.

In the case of the married woman, the view of Hruza that the husband is not as such necessarily *kýrios* must be adopted, though at variance with that of the overwhelming majority of writers on Greek law, who seem for the most part to have accepted a tradition without inquiring into the soundness of its foundations. For Greece other than Attica? we have no definite statement of the law, but there is nothing to show that it varied from the Athenian, if the views stated above be accepted. Not only is there no proof that the husband was as such *kýrios*, but there is even proof that he was not.

As to divergence of character in the functions of the *kýrios*, it may be said that at Athens the *kýrios* is the 'lord' of the woman, elsewhere he is rather the 'ratifier' of her acts; and this difference in the woman's position is due to the difference in the law of inheritance, a difference marked also by the prevalence of *θυγατροποιία* in the islands and Asiatic Greece.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE,
Hon. Sec.

VERSION.

SONG.

TO THE EVENING STAR.

Star that bringest home the bee,
And sett'st the weary labourer free!
If any star shed peace, 'tis thou,
That send'st it from above,
Appearing when heaven's breath and brow
Are sweet as hers we love.

Come to the luxuriant skies,
Whilst the landscape's odours rise,
While far-off lowing herds are heard,
And songs when toil is done,
From cottages whose smoke unstirred
Curls yellow in the sun.

Star of love's soft interviews,
Parted lovers on thee muse;
Their remembrancer in Heaven
Of thrilling vows thou art,
Too delicious to be riven
By absence from the heart.

T. CAMPBELL.

O qui duces apes domum
Fessosque agricolas, Hesperæ, liberas,
Tranquillissime siderum,
Tu, tu das requiem, grata silentia
Tu stillas, simul ac polo
Nigrescente procul uisus es: haud secus
Tum fragrat Notus ut genæ
Formosæ redolent oraque uirgini.
Iam caelum pete lucidum,
Vespertinus enim spirat ager, greges
Mugitus iterant procul,
Cantant ruricolæ iam uacui, quibus
Fumosis natat aureo
Tinctus sole vapor plurimus e focus.
Tu, tu reddis amantibus
Horam compositam: te Corydon sua
Semotus procul a Chloe
Spectans a! meminit colloqui simul
Furtiui, meminit miser
Acceptæ fidei non sine sauiis,
Qualem ne rabidi quidem
Fluctus Oceani dissociabiles
Fido pectore diluant,
Nec Lethes ualeant demere pocula.

R. QUIRK.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

PLATNER'S *ANCIENT ROME*.

The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1904. 8vo. Pp. xiv + 514. Eighty-nine Illustrations, nine Maps and Plans. Price \$3.

IN this book Mr. Platner has brought Roman topography as nearly up to date as the subject, in the present state of archaeological activity in Rome, admits. His aim is to give in a compact form the best-attested results of the most recent investigations, and he has for the most part succeeded admirably. He shows an intimate acquaintance with the literature, sifts large masses of material with nice discrimination, and in deciding between conflicting views generally gives good reasons for the faith that is in him. His preface acknowledges indebtedness to Hülsen, Richter, Lanciani, Ashby, and other prominent investigators. To Richter his debt is especially large. The influence of the *Topographie der Stadt Rom* is manifest not only in the accounts given of many sites and monuments, but also in the general plan and arrangement of the material. The requirements of the series to which the book belongs precluded the possibility of any very lengthy exposition of the author's own views, and, as we should expect, the element of original matter is smaller than in Professor Richter's work. Mr. Platner's book is on the whole less suggestive. On the other hand, it is better balanced, safer, more reliable. Students will be grateful for the references given in foot-notes to ancient writers and to modern journal articles. These add materially to the value of the book, and there is no sign of that inaccuracy of citation which makes Richter's work so exceedingly treacherous as a book of reference.

After brief chapters on sources, general topography of Rome and the Campagna, building materials, etc., Mr. Platner gives an account of the development of the city (pp. 32-75). In the subsequent chapters the different regions of the city and their principal monuments are discussed. The author has done his best work in his treatment of the Palatine (chap. viii), the Forum (chap. ix), and the Imperial Fora (chap. x), although he himself complains of the unsatisfactory condition of the topography of

the Palatine (p. 127), and the problems presented by the Forum are more numerous and more intricate than in any other part of the city. A good feature of the book is the presence of such passages as that on pp. 52 ff., giving a general sketch of the appearance of the city at different periods of the Republic; the similar section on Rome during the Empire, pp. 70 ff.; the characterization of the population of the Velabrum, Forum Boarium (pp. 373 ff.), and Subura (p. 435); the account of the streets of the different parts of the city, the private houses, and the belts of gardens on the east, north, and west sides. These descriptions are invaluable in a book intended as an introduction to Roman topography, for they bring home to the reader, as nothing else could, the value and significance of the study of the subject. By means of them Mr. Platner has been able to vitalize his work. He shows Rome to us not as *disiecta membra*, but as something organic.

It remains to note points in which the treatment might have been improved, or in regard to which the author's conclusions may reasonably be questioned. For example, in the account of the Septimontium (p. 40) it is stated that Festus and Paulus Diaconus tell us that 'the seven *montes* were the three parts of the Palatine, Palatium, Cermalus, and Velia; the two spurs of the Esquiline, Oppius and Cispius; the northern spur of the Caelian, which was called Sucusa; and the Fagatal.' This is a somewhat heroic treatment of the two much-disputed passages (Fest. 348 M; Paul. Diac. 341 M), in which a list of eight *montes* is given. Moreover, the name Sucusa is not mentioned in either passage, and the brief statement that 'Sucusa was confused with Subura, and so appears in our sources,' hardly disposes of the difficulty in a satisfactory manner. Mr. Platner is here following Richter and Wisowa (*Satura Viadrina*), and contrary, it must be said, to his usual custom, has swallowed his authorities whole. Apart from these details, the theory that the Septimontium, as described, was the second stage in the city's development might well have been given a more detailed treatment than has been accorded to it. Mr. Platner has, to be sure, given the current view, and, if he is in error, errs in exceedingly good company. Yet this theory is based on extremely meagre evidence. It is certainly

not topographically 'inevitable' that the first extension of the Palatine city should have been towards the Esquiline, and not towards the Capitoline. Furthermore, the existence of the festival known as the Septimontium does not necessarily imply the political unity of the inhabitants of the different hills. The relation of the Capitoline to the early settlements is left in as unsatisfactory a condition as ever.

In his discussion of the Rostra (pp. 214 ff.) Mr. Platner takes the position that the existing remains of *opus quadratum* date back to the restoration of Trajan; but that the hemicycle behind belongs to the age of Severus. From his preface, however, it would seem that since writing this part of the book he has changed his opinion on the question of the relative date of these two monuments. For he expresses his regret (p. vi) that Richter's monograph *Die römische Rednerbühne*, 1903, reached him so late that he was not able to incorporate its conclusions in his text. In this monograph Richter, abandoning his old view, contends that the hemicycle is earlier than the present remains of the Rostra. He even goes so far as to state his belief that in the hemicycle we have the Rostra of Caesar. Whether Mr. Platner's conversion is as complete as Prof. Richter's, or whether he agrees with him only in giving the hemicycle an earlier date than the Rostra is left in doubt. Even in regard to the latter point it is curious that our author was not able to arrive at what certainly seems to be the natural conclusion without the aid of Richter's latest article. For the belief which Prof. Richter now professes has long been held by Nichols, Ashby, and others.

Mr. Platner is too good a topographer to be dogmatic in discussing the monuments beneath the *lapis niger*. The explanation that the pedestal group did represent the supposed tomb of Romulus or Faustus seems to him to be 'the least open to objection.' On the question whether the cippus, cone, and platform had any connection with the pedestal group, he declines to commit himself. His most adventurous statement on this point is 'it may be that either the platform of the cippus or that just behind the pedestals belongs to the earliest Rostra of the Republic.' In dealing with the *lapis niger* itself he has unfortunately not shown the same caution. He gives with considerable confidence Hülsen's view (*Mitt.* 1902, 30-31) that the black pavement was laid at the time of the revival of the cult of Romulus in the reign of Maxentius; and it is, in

his opinion (p. 240), 'practically certain' that Maxentius laid it to reproduce the original *lapis niger* of the tomb of Romulus. The arguments which he adduces are anything but convincing, and it is difficult to understand how Mr. Platner can regard this section of pavement as an attempt to reproduce a monument which he is inclined to believe was 'a cone-shaped stone' (p. 239). Nor can the statement (p. 239) that 'its level and workmanship prove its late date' be accepted without demurrer. In his recent article on the different strata of the Comitium (*Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Arch. Instituts*, vi. 146 ff.), Studniczka places the *lapis niger* on the same level with the pavement of the Comitium of Caesar, and argues convincingly for the connection of the two. Mr. Ashby assigned it to this level as far back as 1900, *C.R.*, p. 237. Petersen in his book *Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus*, 1904, is of the same opinion.

Excavations carried on during April of last year enable us to supplement the statement on p. 256 that 'the so-called lacus Curtius was probably somewhere in the middle of the area.' Remains that probably belong to it have been discovered about twenty yards to the northwest of the base of the statue of Domitian.

What are apparently misstatements occur here and there. For example, on p. 95 it is said that the Anio vetus entered the city *ad Spem veterem*, and followed the line of the Servian wall to the Porta Esquilina. A glance at the map will show the inaccuracy of this. On p. 124 we find the statement that the via Latina branched off to the right from the via Appia. The loose use of the terms north, south, etc. sometimes leads to inconsistencies. On p. 127 the Cermalus is described as being on the north of the Palatine hill, the Palatium proper on the south; yet on p. 33 we read that the term Palatium seems to have been applied to the settlement on the eastern half of the hill, while the western part was called Cermalus. On p. 40, in the description of the Fagatal, *eastern* seems to be a slip for *western*. The site is correctly described on p. 422.

In his incidental references to questions of Roman religion Mr. Platner is not so happy as on the purely topographical side. Far too little is known about Caca to justify her being called 'the goddess of the hearth and the fire' (p. 35), and it is certainly not 'quite probable' that she had a shrine near the southwest corner of the Palatine hill, and was displaced by Vesta. On p. 40 the author speaks as if Agonia or Agonalia

were a special title of the Septimontium, and not a generic term applied to more than one festival. On p. 51 we have perhaps the one passage in which Mr. Platner is completely abandoned by that sobriety of judgment which characterizes his work as a whole. For there is something almost oriental in the imagery of the paragraph in which he favours the theory that 'the Romans applied the name Janiculum to the ridge in the west, because Janus the Sun-god was seen each night to sink behind it, entering his own abode at the close of the day, just as the shepherds themselves entered their own city, the Palatium.' Of the many views advanced concerning Janus, that which regards him as a sun-god is the least likely, and it is indeed now generally discredited. Nor is there justification for the assertion on p. 45: 'the word Argei is evidently a Latinization of Ἀργεῖοι.' Where there is such divergence of opinion as there is on this point, it should at least be indicated. On p. 128 the shields of Mars are said to have been kept in the Curia Saliorum on the Palatine. They were, however, kept in the sacrum Martis in the Regia, as is correctly pointed out on p. 204. From the account given on p. 282 Mr. Platner apparently believes in the separate existence of a god Terminus at an early period of Roman religion. There is much more to be said in favour of Wissowa's theory that there was no independent cult of Terminus before imperial times, and that originally the boundary stones were under the protection of Jupiter Terminus. This being the case, the presence of the stone in the middle cell of the Capitoline temple had its own appropriateness. On the same page it is stated that the statue of Jupiter was 'clothed with the attire of a Roman triumphator.' It was the other way: the garb of the triumphator was modelled on that of the god. On p. 375 the casual reference to human sacrifices might lead one to suppose that these were of frequent occurrence among the Romans.

The illustrations are well chosen, some of the restorations being especially good, e.g. that of the Area Palatina, p. 143, and that of the Domus Flavia, p. 147. There are also a number of useful maps and plans, but many others might have been added with distinct advantage to the book, e.g. a map of the Campagna, showing the courses of the aqueducts; a map of the Campus Martius, and one of the Caelian. If the drains of the Forum merited the detailed description given on pp. 252-255, they certainly deserved a plan. Maps of ancient and of

modern Rome are given at the beginning and end of the volume, but they are on too small a scale to be satisfactory. Sites mentioned in the text cannot always be identified on them. The typographical work is excellent; I have noticed only one error: 'aleriae' for 'Valeriae' on p. 488.

G. J. LAING.

University of Chicago.

PROFESSOR FURTWÄNGLER, AGE- LADAS AND STEPHANOS.¹

I ASK to be allowed to advert briefly to Professor Furtwängler's reply (*J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 336) to my strictures on his style of controversy. He would have his readers believe that my arguments were limited to *one* point (*ibid.* p. 336), and would have me assert that 'my (Furtwängler's) whole stylistic comparison, including the hypothesis suggested about Ageladas, was founded on a mistake in a drawing.' This is distinctly not the case. Every reader of my article will see that more space is devoted to other arguments of style than to the question of the false drawing—itself of considerable importance. He now admits that the drawings are wrong; but here too he throws the blame on other shoulders—namely upon the artist who made them, Herr Max Lübke. Even if the artist working from photographs is the immediate cause of the mistakes in the drawings—made for purposes of stylistic comparison—this does not remove the responsibility of the archaeological writer who accepts them and bases conclusions upon them. Next he endeavours to show how the mistakes in the drawings do not affect the main points of his comparison, and makes this remarkable statement: 'The sole object of the drawing, as I distinctly stated in that place [the italics are mine], is to show clearly how the *motif* of the Ligurio bronze is related to the so-called Stephanos type.' It is hardly credible; but I am bound to state, that *there is not a word* to that effect in his publication of the fiftieth *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* to which he refers. What he does say, on the other hand (p. 137), in commenting on the points which the statues are supposed to have in common, is, that the drawings there given are capable of demonstrating his point more readily than words (*die bestehenden Skizzen vermögen dies rascher als*

¹ See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxiv. pp. 129-134.

Worte zu veranschaulichen). In this connexion he dwells upon points of proportion, width of chest, size of head, etc., etc., for several pages, and not only on the *motif* or scheme, by which I suppose he means the attitude and action.

Even if it were the attitude and action alone upon which he bases his comparison and his momentous conclusions, I defy any trained archaeologist not to see how strikingly different these are. I could indicate a number of statues and statuettes in which there is greater similarity of *motif* (without such great differences in other respects) on the one hand, to the Ligurio bronze, on the other to the Stephanus ephebus, than these two works show between each other. *Motifs* of this kind, in the centuries that elapsed between the making of the Ligurio bronze and the Stephanus ephebus, became so diversified, while in their respective periods themselves so many statues by different schools and artists had the same or similar attitudes, that no scientific conclusions of value can be based upon even greater similarity of *motif* than they possess. Moreover I consider the principle involved of such wide and fundamental importance for the general method of archaeological study, that I should like to give all possible emphasis to the following statement: It may be interesting and instructive in the early stages of the development of plastic art (the archaic and the transitional period), to pursue carefully the advance in freedom of *motif* and attitude. But when sculpture has passed beyond these elementary stages, a similarity of 'motif,' where there is not similarity of style — especially when the 'motif' is a simple, almost a universal one — is not of much use in establishing a relationship of school. This rule would strikingly apply to the case of the two works compared by Prof. Furtwängler even if there was greater similarity of *motif* between them.

Prof. Furtwängler ends his short article with an appeal to archaeological authority. 'Any one,' he says, 'who has made a serious attempt to grapple with the problem will agree with me.' I do not see how such an appeal helps argument and proof which both he and I ought to be able to produce without support of 'authority.' As he does so, I may say that I have received numerous letters from colleagues at home and abroad accepting my evidence against his; while the only publication which has appeared since this discussion has been before the public which is concerned in this

question is W. Klein's *Geschichte der Griechischen Kunst*, vol. i. (1904). On p. 385 this author distinctly rejects Furtwängler's view of Ageladas and Stephanos and accepts mine. His words are: *Aber noch weit weniger kann die Stephanosfigur mit Hagelaidas, dem sie derzeit zuversichtlich zugeschrieben wird, etwas zu thun haben. Gerade der Vergleich mit dem argivischen Ballspieler ergibt dies als sicheres Resultat.* The footnote to this passage runs: *Ihre richtige Beleuchtung erhält die Konstruktion Furtwänglers durch Waldstein im J.H.S. xxiv. (1904), p. 129 ff.*

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

THE third open meeting of the British School at Rome was held in the Library of the School on Monday April 3. The chair was taken by Prof. H. F. Pelham, President of the Managing Committee of the School, and among those present at the meeting was the British Ambassador, Sir Edwin Egerton.

The Acting Director (Mr. T. Ashby, junr.) read a paper on Monte Circeo, the solitary promontory which is seen from the Alban Hills rising from an otherwise uniformly flat coastline. Tradition has identified it with the magic isle of Circe, and M. Bérard in his recent work, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, fully accepts this identification, which he supports by the statement that *Αἰαίη*, the name of the island of Circe, is the exact transcription of the Semitic equivalent for the island of the hawk (*κίρκος*).¹

The fact that the promontory is not an island, and apparently was only one long before any period to which the Homeric legend may be assigned, is no bar to the identification; for Procopius well remarks (*Bell. Goth.* i. 11) that it has the appearance of an island from a distance, whether seen from the land or from the sea.

The promontory next appears in the early history of Rome, when we hear of the foundation of the colony of Cercei (this is the older and better orthography according to Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenk.* iii. 2565), according to some authorities, in the time of Tarquinius Superbus, according to others, at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. It was at that time the frontier of the Roman dominion against the Volscians. The site of this colony is not certain: for, though upon the promontory itself there are considerable remains of Cyclopean walls,

¹ As to this and similar derivations see Prof. W. M. Ramsay's remarks in *C.R.* 1904, p. 168.

belonging undoubtedly to a fortified enclosure, this may or may not have been pre-Roman; and it seems clear, that, at any rate at the beginning of the Imperial period, the Roman town stood by the shores of the Lago di Paola, not on the promontory at all, but on the flat ground to the north-west of it. Considerable remains of it exist, though it seems to have been a place of subordinate importance; but the promontory was always, owing to the beauty of the scenery, a resort of the wealthier Romans, and several villas may be found upon it, though their owners cannot be identified. Mr. Ashby's paper will shortly appear in the *Mélanges de l'École Française*.

Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley followed with a paper upon a large villa at the Colle di S. Stefano, to the south-east of the villa of Hadrian, of which it has been until recently considered to form a part.¹ A fragmentary inscription discovered by him (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 32) makes it extremely probable that it belonged to the Vibii or Plancii Vari: and it is certainly a distinct building, of considerable size and importance, though practically coeval with the villa of Hadrian.

A marble tablet, found close to the villa only a little while back, which Mr. Baddeley exhibited, bears the words

LVCV | SANCTV

The form and wording are alike remarkable, for *sacer* would be the more natural adjective; and the tablet must have served as a sign to mark the actual confines of the grove. An isolated building near to it may perhaps be the temple with which the sacred grove was connected.

Note.—It may be interesting to add that Baron Barracco's well known collection of classical sculptures, which have been represented by him to the city of Rome and placed in a museum specially constructed for it, is now open to the public.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Aphrodisias (Caria).—M. Paul Gaudin carried on excavations here in Aug.—Sept. 1904. The temple, a building of fine Ionic style, had been transformed into a Byzantine church, whose floor was paved with the

remains of ancient sarcophagi. Some interesting types were discovered. In the neighbourhood of the temple several architectural fragments from the Propylaea have been found. A frieze representing mounted Cupids, hunting-scenes, etc. deserves special mention. Near the Agora a building, which had previously been taken for a Basilica, proves to belong to public baths; excavations have brought to light fragments of the architectural decoration of the portico of the baths. Some of the sculptures found show a distinct relation to those of the Didymeion (ca. first century B.C.). On the site of the Gymnasium a frieze representing a Gigantomachy has been discovered. It formed the decoration of a fountain, and appears to be an imitation of the great frieze of the altar at Pergamum. It is of early Imperial date.¹

GREECE.

Delos.—The following is a short summary of the results of the excavations carried on by the French School from April to October, 1904. The gate giving access to the north-east part of the temenos of Apollo has been cleared, together with a staircase by which descent was made from the street behind. Exploration of the street situated east of the Peribolos led to the discovery of a stèle of white marble *in situ*. It is decorated with low reliefs on three of its sides. The subjects represented are of a Dionysiac character, and an epigram of two lines records a victory gained by an inhabitant of Delos in a Dionysiac contest. Near this monument two large statues of Silenos in white marble, a mutilated statue of Dionysos, and several Dionysiac symbols were discovered. All this would seem to show that there was a *ἱερόν* of Dionysos at this spot. At the western terrace of the temenos three archaic torsos ('Apollo' type), early vases, and other archaic objects have been found. North-west of the Agora a bilingual inscription of the second or first century B.C. has revealed the presence of a bathing establishment and, in particular, of a *laconicum*. The Agora itself was bordered by shops. One of these evidently belonged to a sculptor, for in it were found about thirty works of sculpture, for the most part only roughly sketched out, some statuettes, and some funeral stelae. About sixteen yards south of the Schola Romanorum is a large semi-circular enclosure of granite blocks. Against the convex wall are leant four stelae, on

¹ Winnefeld (*Villa des Hadrian*, 24) does not agree with the ordinary view.

¹ *Compte-rendu de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, Nov.—Dec 1904.

three of which is inscribed in large fifth century letters: ABATON—'no admittance.'

The building of the Syrian merchants of Berytos—the *Ποσειδωνιαστὰς*—has been entirely cleared. At the north-east angle is a large court surrounded by a portico of the Doric order. On the epistyle are engraved dedicatory inscriptions, the gift of benefactors of the society.

In the South Merchants' Quarter another warehouse has been excavated. The finds made here include a white marble banquet relief of the Alexandrian period and a large number of pottery fragments which range in date over all periods, beginning with the archaic. Another building appears to have formed part of a *συνοικία*.

Thanks to the work carried on in the neighbourhood of the theatre, it is now possible to form a fairly exact idea of the appearance of a Delian street and the more modest class of houses. The water supply was furnished by numerous wells which opened into the court of each house. One house, called the House of Dionysos from the large mosaic of Dionysos on a tiger, is the most spacious yet discovered in Delos. Eight rooms open on the court, and all have painted wall-decoration. This decoration is analogous to that of the 'first' style at Pompeii, but is of earlier date. Whereas the Pompeian house spread over a wide area, the Delian house developed in height.

Noteworthy finds were not numerous. A

torso of Poseidon in white marble, perhaps of the 4th cent. B.C., a marble statuette of a goddess seated on a cushioned arm-chair (2nd-1st cent. B.C.), and a female head in white marble may be mentioned. One hundred and seventy-four inscriptions were obtained. Among them are two decrees of the Island Confederacy, an Athenian decree in honour of the priests of Delos, and a double dedication of the Syrians of Berytos in honour of Antiochus VIII. and the people of Athens.¹

ITALY.

Rome.—As a result of excavations on the Clivus Palatinus, a pavement of basalt with slabs of travertine on either side has been discovered. This probably formed the foot-path. Excavations round the foundations of the Arch of Titus show that the Clivus ran below it in a slanting direction. This fact would seem to indicate that the Arch of Titus was moved to the present spot at some date subsequent to its original erection, unless indeed the pavement was covered at the time of Nero's building operations. In the angle formed by the Clivus Palatinus and the Nova Via are the remains of a building which Com. Boni considers to be the Aedes Larum in Summa Sacra Via.²

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ *Compte-rendu de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, Nov.-Dec. 1904.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1st April, 1905.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxv. No. 4.

The Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs, Edwin W. Fay. *The Authorship of the Greek Military Manual Attributed to Aeneas Tacticus*, T. Hudson Williams. *The Recession of the Latin Accent in connection with Monosyllabic Words and the Traditional Word-order*, R. S. Radford. *The Influence of the Infinitive upon Verbs Subordinated to it*, Tenny Frank. Reviews, etc.: Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages*, George L. Hamilton. Zielinski's *Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden*, Kirby Flower Smith. Murray Bradley and Craigie's *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, James M. Garnett. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention: Diels' and Schubart's *Didymos*, Leo's *Festrede on the Originality of Roman Literature*, Butcher's *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects*, W. A. Merrill's *Latin Hymns*. Retrospect. Recent Publications, etc.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 28, No. 4.

On the Fragments on Music attributed to Philolaos, Paul Tannery. *On the Declaimer Alpius Flavius*, H. de la Ville de Mirmont. *De Xenophontis Anabasi*, Mortimer Lamson Earle. *Isocrates Pan.* 149 alludes to *Anab.* 2. 4. 4. *On Plautus*, L. Havet. Emendations of unmetrical lines: *Men.* 219; *Merc.* 602; *Mil.* 790, 1168, 1402; *Most.* 1047, 1046 and 931; *Persa* 556, 566, 570-572, 630; *Poen.* 294, 309-311, 365-366 and 383-390, 370, 873, 921; *Pseud.* 614, 625, 734, 1174; *Rud.* 777-778, 1069, 1247; *Stich.* 75, 147, 293, 374, 376; *Trin.* 1059. *Metrologica*. *Unpublished Fragments of Florentinus*, Daniel Seruys. *A New Manuscript of Sedulius' opus paschale*, J. Candel. The MS. is No. 303 in the library at Orleans, and belongs to the tenth century. A collation is given. *On Anulularia* 156, Georges Romain. His emendation as proposed on p. 208 of the *Revue* has been anticipated by L. Havet, *Revue de Philologie*, 1887, p. 148. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

- Cicero.* Courbaud (Edmond) Oeuvres de Cicéron. De Oratore liber primus. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. lxxxviii + 217. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1905. 7. 50 fr.
- Docbrütz* (Rudolphus) De Artemidoro Strabonis, auctore capita tria *Dissertatio inauguralis*. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Lipsiae, Typis Roberti Noske Bornensis. 1905.
- Geffcken* (Johannes) Das griechische Drama. Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides. Mit einem Plan des Theaters des Dionysos zu Athen. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 113. Leipzig und Berlin, Theodor Hofmann. 1904. M. 2.20.
- Georgius* (Monachus) Chronicon edidit C. de Boor. Vol. II. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ Pp. 383-804 (and Pp. i-lxxxiv. of Band I.). Leipzig, Teubner. 1904. M. 10.
- Homer.* Zuretti (C. O.) Omero. L'Iliade. Vol. VI. Libri xxi-xxiv. (*Collezione di Classici Greci e Latini con note Italiane.*) $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$. Pp. xi + 212. Torino, Casa editrice Ermanno Loescher. 1905. 2. 40 lire.
- Hommel* (Dr. Fritz) Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients. Erste Hälfte. Ethnologie des alten Orients. Babylonien und Chaldaea. (I. von Müller. *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.* Band 3. Abt. 1. Hälfte 1.) $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. vi + 400. München. Oskar Beck. M. 7.50.
- Lavisse* (Ernest) Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution. Mariéjol (Jean H.) Tome vi. Henri IV. et Louis XIII. (1593-1643). $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 493. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1905. 6 fr.
- Pascal* (L'Abbé André) Pierre Julien, Sculpteur (1731-1804). Sa vie et son oeuvre. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 188. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1904.
- Plessis* (Frédéric) Poésie latine. Épitaphes. (*Collection 'Minerva.'*) $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. lxii + 305. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1905. 4 fr.
- Preuss* (Sigmundus) Index Isocrateus. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 112. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1904. M. 3.
- Proclus Diadochus.* In Platonis Timaeum commentaria ed. E. Diehl. II. (*Bib. Script. Graec. et Rom. Teubn.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ Pp. vi + 334. Leipzig. 1904. M. 8.
- Rainfurt* (Dr. Adam) Zur Quellenkritik von Galens Protrepitkos. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ Pp. 60. Freiburg im Breisgau, B. Herder. 1905. M. 1.50.
- Sophocles.* Blaydes (Fredericus H. M., M. A., etc.) Sophoclis Antigone denuo recensuit et breui adnotatione critica instruxit F. H. M. B. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 104. Halis Saxonum in Orphanotrophi Libraria. 1905.
- Virgil.* Wetmore (Monroe Nichols, Ph. D.) The Plan and Scope of a Vergil Lexicon with Specimen Articles. (*A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.*) $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 128. New Haven Conn. Published by the author. 1904.

The Classical Review

JUNE 1905.

THE PLACE AND TIME OF HOMER.

THE January number of the *Edinburgh Review* contains a striking article entitled 'Homer and his Commentators: a review of modern researches in the pre-historic Mediterranean.' As the writer does me the honour to refer to the views I have expressed regarding the conditions of place and time under which the Homeric poetry arose, I may be allowed by your kindness to offer a few remarks in continuation of so interesting a discussion, in particular on the main issue involved—the question whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* originated in European Greece or in the Asiatic colonies.

I am quoted by the *Edinburgh Reviewer* as basing my preference for the former of these alternatives on two arguments. 'The first describes the Homeric dialect as the *vulgare illustre*, the poetical language of the Mycenaean Greeks, from whom both Ionians and Aeolians subsequently inherited it.' On this 'argument,' or rather illustration—it was not put forward as anything more—the *Reviewer* says that the 'abrupt reduction in value of the Mycenaean Age which is necessitated by Mr. Arthur Evans' revelations in Crete should sufficiently contradict it, even if the dialect itself appeared more suitable to European Greece than to the Asiatic colonies, which will not be generally believed.' My courteous critic must allow me to say that I cannot quite follow his reasoning. I know that Mr. Arthur Evans has added enormously to the materials for the study of the Mycenaean, or as he prefers to call it, the 'Minoan' Age; and that he has made notable progress in distinguishing the

several periods to which the Cretan remains are to be assigned.

But what is the nature of the 'abrupt reduction in value' which according to the *Reviewer* excludes the possibility of a Mycenaean *vulgare illustre*? Surely the latest and most decadent Mycenaean were at least the heirs of a great once dominant civilisation. So much indeed the *Reviewer* himself seems to admit. On the next page we read that Schliemann revealed a civilisation which, if not contemporary with Homer, was that from which Homer's heroes sprang. But if this can still be said, even after Mr. Evans' discoveries, it is a very easy further step to infer that such a civilisation—call it Homeric, or late Mycenaean, or late 'Minoan' as we choose—must have possessed a common language of government and literature, analogous to the Tuscan of Dante's time. But we are not left to inference. Homer himself describes for us in one of his most impressive passages the silence and discipline of the Greek host, with their one language, in contrast to the noisy babel of the Trojans and their allies—οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμῶς θρόος, οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς (*Il.* iv. 438). So in Crete, according to a well-known passage of the *Odyssey*, (xix. 175), there was a language of the Ἀχαιοί, and others of other races: ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί, ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες κ.τ.λ. This language then—the language of the Ἀχαιοί of Homer, of the chiefs and their followers before Troy, of the singers described in the *Odyssey*—I venture to identify in the last resort with the dialect of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which was the

dialect of all Greek literature down to the beginning of lyric poetry.

On the question whether the Homeric dialect is more suitable to European Greece or to the Asiatic colonies, the Reviewer appeals to common opinion. Is that opinion supported by any evidence? What evidence indeed can be adduced? Are there inscriptions of the Homeric age which can be compared with the language of the poems? Are there any other sources from which we can re-construct the Ionic of the ninth century B.C.?

I turn to the second argument, which is based on considerations about which the Reviewer seems more at home than he is in linguistic enquiries. It turns on the close acquaintance which the poet shows with the geography of the Peloponnesus—'an acquaintance,' says the Reviewer, 'which no other critic seems to have been able to prove before M. Bérard's work appeared, and which most commentators have hitherto explained as non-existent.' The words which I have italicised surely supply the answer to the Reviewer's argument. If M. Bérard is right, as he seems to hold, the poet shows all the geographical knowledge which I claimed for him, and the other critics to whom the Reviewer now appeals may be neglected.

The Reviewer goes on to ask how I explain the poet's description of Euboea as the 'farthest island of the sea' (farthest, *i.e.*, from Scheria). This, he argues, implies a point of view which can only be suitable to a spectator from the shores of Asia Minor. I must beg to differ. Euboea may be the most distant island from Scheria, whether with M. Bérard we place Scheria in Corfu or not. But it is not the most distant from Asia Minor. Is the Reviewer not aware that Mt. Ocha in Euboea can be seen from the island of Chios? If the passage proves anything (which I doubt), it proves that the poet was not a Chian (which the best ancient authorities make him), and probably not an Asiatic Greek. And as an illustration of the comparative nearness of Euboea from the point of view of an early Greek sailor looking from the opposite coast of Asia Minor this passage does not stand alone. When Nestor is relating the sufferings of the Return from Troy (*Od.* iii. 169 ff.) he tells how Menelaus found him and his companions in Lesbos debating whether to pass to the north of Chios, keeping it on their left, or to sail round the south end of the island. Eventually they asked a god to give them a sign: he bade

them take the middle course, right across to Euboea—*ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπέκ κακότητα φύγοιμεν*. It surely follows that a poet who imagined Euboea as most distant must have done so from a point of view which was not that of the Asiatic colonists.

There is still, no doubt, the often quoted argument which Robert Wood based on the passage in which Boreas and Zephyrus are said to blow from Thrace (*Il.* ix. 5). I may refer to a curious parallel to the mistake (if it is one), which I pointed out in a passage of Pausanias (x. 17. 6), where he says that Sardinia is sheltered by the mountains of Corsica from these same two winds: see the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xiii. It may well be a question, however, whether the passage is really Homeric. The form *Βορρέης* which is required by the metre here (and in *Il.* xxiii. 195) is supported by the Attic *Βορρᾶς*. And in any case the passage must be set against other local indications: *e.g.* *Il.* vi. 457, where Hector dwells upon the image of Andromache as a slave in Argos drawing the water *Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης*. Cp. too the picture of Artemis and her train as they pass along *ἢ κατὰ Τηύγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐπίμανθον* (*Od.* vi. 103). And, as Professor Geddes long ago pointed out, the *Iliad* shows familiarity with the north of Greece and in particular with Thessaly.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning a piece of local colour which I was led to observe on the way from Greece a few days ago. The voyage of the Cretan ship round the Peloponnesus and so to Delphi is described in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (409 ff.), and part of it is the same as the voyage of Telemachus from Pylos (*Od.* xv. 295-8). Adopting in the Hymn the order of the lines which I believe I have shown to be the right order in the *Odyssey*, we read that the ship passed *Θρύον* and Pylos, then *Κροννοί* and the mouth of the *Χαλκίς*, then the coast of Elis, after which—*καί σφιν ὑπέκ νεφέων Ἰθάκης τ' ὄρος αἰπὺν πέφαντο*. What was this mountain of Ithaca? Not the modern 'Ithaca' or *Θιάκι*, which is considerably lower than Cephallonia, and quite overshadowed by it. Could it then be *Λευκάς*, the island in which Prof. Dörpfeld finds the Ithaca of Homer? I enquired at Patras whether the lofty hill of Santa Maura (*Λευκάς*) can be seen from that place. The reply was that it is not ordinarily visible, but is seen occasionally in the early morning.

It will be objected here that the Ithaca of the Homeric Hymn must be the modern

island so called, the change of name having taken place (if at all) at or before the time of the Dorian invasion. I venture to think it probable that we have here a survival of the old name. People in Elis went on asking, what is the distant mountain just showing from under the

clouds in the clear morning air? and the old answer was given: that the distant mountain was the Ithaca of Ulysses, while the nearer islands, *Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε*, were other parts of his kingdom.

D. B. MONRO.

ON *ILIAD* I. 418—A REPLY.

IN the April number of this *Review*, p. 147, Mr. R. C. Seaton falls foul of my conjecture of τῶς for τῶ in Hom. A 418. He confesses that he does not find any difficulty in the ordinary reading and says that he is not aware that the commentators do either. The value of such an argument as this, if argument it should be called, ought to be so well known to Mr. Seaton that he should have refrained from making use of it. Besides he has just said that Dr. Leaf, a very eminent commentator, has approved of my conjecture. But these are not matters to insist upon. In the next sentence Mr. Seaton writes thus: 'No doubt the remark of Mr. Earle that "therefore ill-starred did I bring thee forth in the hall" (τῶ σε κακῆι αἴσῃι πέκον ἐν μεγάροισι) is "not what we expect here" is true, but then I fear that he is not giving the correct interpretation of the sentence.' Mr. Seaton then asserts (expecting apparently that the bare assertion will suffice) that the true interpretation of the words in question is 'therefore to an ill lot it was that I bore thee (as I now know).' In his third and last paragraph Mr. Seaton calls attention to E 204 *sqq.*, where we read, in v. 209 *sq.* τῶ ῥα κακῆι αἴσῃι ἀπὸ πασσάλου ἀγκύλα τόξα | ἤματι τῶι ἐλόμην ὅτε κτέ. He concludes that 'Mr. Earle is logically obliged to read τῶς here as well as in i. 418.' Mr. Seaton thus besets me behind and before. If I do not accept his interpretation of A 418, I defend a false interpretation of that passage; and I must then either corrupt another passage or be guilty of false logic. This is truly hard. But perhaps Mr. Seaton's own logic will not bear looking into. I

might with a good show of justice say that he is logically obliged to translate E 209 *sq.* 'Therefore to an ill lot it was that I took from the peg the crooked bow on that day'—meaning, of course, that the 'ill lot' was that of the bow. Mr. Seaton might hesitate at that. Again the ῥα in E 209 clearly shews that τῶ means 'therefore.' There is no ῥα in A 418. Again, to shift our ground a little, what does Mr. Seaton's 'ill lot' mean but 'ill life' or 'evil condition of life' (αἴσα = *sors*, as used *e.g.* in Hor. *S.* l. 1. 1.)? But, if Mr. Seaton will examine Homeric usage by means of an Index Homericus, he will find that αἴσα (a word closely parallel in meaning with μοῖρα) means either 'part,' 'portion,' 'due,' or, when used of human life, 'doom' (personified twice, γ 127 and η 197, as 'Doom-goddess'). Barring metre, δίζυι is the expression that meets the requirements of Mr. Seaton's translation. It may also be safely asserted that κακῆι αἴσῃι as used in A 418 is a comitative dative—as Mr. Seaton would probably admit it to be in E 209 and in the passage that is the real mate to that, τ 259. I cannot help feeling that I have offered tolerably good reasons for thinking that not only is my remark about A 418 true (as Mr. Seaton admits), but that my interpretation of the traditional reading in A 418 is not incorrect. I venture, therefore, to say of Mr. Seaton

τῶ ῥα κακῆι αἴσῃι χάρτην ἔλε χειρὶ βαρείη
καὶ κάλαμον γράφων ἀνεμῶλια σήματα λυγρὰ.

I hope the shades of the ancient αἰδοί and ῥαψωιδοί will forgive me.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

NOTES ON CERTAIN FORMS OF THE GREEK DIALECTS.

- 1.—LESBIAN εἴκοιστος = εἰκοστός.
- 2.—ARGOLIC ἀλιάσσιος, στεγάσσιος, ETC.
- 3.—THE ELEAN ACCUSATIVE PLURALS IN -αις, -αιρ, -οιρ.
- 4.—ARCADIAN διακωλύσει, AN ALLEGED AORIST OPTATIVE.
- 5.—CRETAN ἄτι = ἄτινα.
- 6.—THE ORIGIN AND DIALECTIC SCOPE OF DATIVES LIKE πόδεσσι.

1.—LESBIAN εἴκοιστος = εἰκοστός.

The inscription from Mytilene published for the first time in *I.G.* XII. ii. 82,¹ adds materially to our knowledge of the Lesbian numerals. It contains the ordinals from 13th to 23rd, each followed by χρ. and numeral signs denoting the amount. Of these latter the only one of interest is the sign for 100, namely E, not H which is otherwise universal even in the dialects in which the spiritus asper had long ceased to be pronounced (e.g. East Ion. ἐκατόν but H). The ordinals from 13th to 19th, e.g. ἑπτακαίδέκοτος, show the formation which is unknown in Attic inscriptions until very late (Meisterhans-Schwyzler, p. 163), but is found in Herodotus and in East Ionic inscriptions (Schweizer, *Grammatik d. pergamen. Insch.* p. 165), and also in Boeotian, e.g. τρισκηδέκατον, πεπταρεςκηδέκατον, etc. (*B.C.H.* xxi. 553 ff.). For 21st, etc. the system is the same as in Attic, namely εἰσκαικεκοιστός, but δεύτερος καὶ εἰκοιστός, etc. (so also in Boeotian, e.g., ἕνα [κῆ] Φικαστόν, δεῦ[τερον] κῆ Φικαστόν, etc., *l.c.*).

Unfortunately the first part of the ordinal 13th has to be supplied, and it is uncertain whether to read with the editor τρισκαίδέκοτος or τρησκαίδέκοτος. The former gains no support from τρισκαίδεκα of No. 14, which is accusative, but is possible in view of nom. pl. πόλις (*i.e.* πόλις) of No. 1 and the use of the accusative for the nominative elsewhere (e.g. Heracl. τρίς nom. and acc.). The latter would contain the proper nominative form, the phonetic equivalent of Attic τρεῖς, and τρησ is actually cited as Aeolic by Choeroboscus (cf. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. p. 542), though not yet met with in inscriptions. The τρεῖς occurring several times is of course the κοινή form.

The ordinal 14th, whether we read with the editor πεσ[υ]ρεσκαίδέκοτος (Hesych. π[έ]σ-συρες, Balbilla π[έ]σνυρα) or π[ε]σ[υ]ρεσκαίδέκοτος (Hom. π[έ]σνυρες, etc.), is the first trace on inscriptions of the true dialect form for 'four,' τέσσαρα, etc. being κοινή forms.

¹ The new numbering of the volumes of the Greek Corpus is followed throughout this paper.

Similarly πεμ[π]εκαίδέκοτος is the first inscriptive example of πέμπε, quoted as Aeolic by Hesychius and confirmed by Thess. δεκάπεμπε.

The ὀκτώ of ὀκτοκαίδέκοτος, standing in the same relation to ὀκτώ as δύο to δύο, was previously known only in Boeotian.

All the forms thus far cited confirm the δέκοτος of Balbilla (cf. also Arc. δέκοτος).

But the most interesting form is εἴκοιστος, which occurs four times and confirms Kiepert's reading of εἰκοῖσται in No. 639, which had not been credited (corrected to εἰκόσται by Bechtel; Hoffmann εἰκῖσται; Hicks εἰκν[ύ]σται; Meister in SGDI., after Blass, εἰ[κ]κ[λ]η[σ]ί[α]). What is the explanation of the οι? The only comment which I have seen is that of Solmsen, *Rh. M.* lviii. p. 614, footnote, who says 'Diese Form [εἴκοιστος] . . . bildet einen neuen, grade für das kleinasiatische Aeolisch sehr werthvollen Beleg für die Entwicklung von ι aus σ vor Consonant; man halte dazu das neugefundene böotische αῖσται = ἄσται und sehe die Bemerkung von Danielsson *Idg. Forsch.* xiv. 378 f. Anm. 2 ein. Zu einer Aenderung der bei Brugmann *Gr. Gr.*³ 74 f. codificierten Lehre von den lautgeschichtlichen Schicksalen von ν vor σ + Consonant giebt die neue Form, wie mir scheint, keinen Anlass.' I do not believe that this is an adequate explanation. The examples of the phenomenon referred to, for which see especially G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 176 and Danielsson, *Eranos*, i. p. 82 ff., are all, like the Boeot. αῖσται, of sporadic occurrence. The physiological explanation is indeed simple enough. The position of the organs of speech in pronouncing an s is nearer to the i position than to that of any other vowel. In passing from a vowel more open than i to an s, the speech-organs pass through the i position, and if the transition is slow and the vibration of the vocal chords is kept up until the tongue is completely in the s position, an i is distinctly audible, as may be tested by experiment. That this should occur only before σ + consonant is of course due to the fact that in this case σ was in the same syllable as the preceding vowel.

But the fact remains that such a pronunciation was only occasional, or, to put it in another way, the *i* was so evanescent that it rarely was felt enough to affect the spelling. Out of the hundreds of words containing such combinations as *αστ*, *ασκ*, *αζ* (i.e. *αzd*), *οστ*, *οζ*, etc., there are hardly more than half a dozen, from all dialects and periods, in which the diphthong is known, and in these only as the abnormal spelling, sometimes purely ephemeral, sometimes showing more or less persistency. In the latter case one may be certain that some other factor has contributed to this result. For *παλαιστή*, which, though *παλαστή* is the only form found on inscriptions, was a common enough spelling to elicit the reproof of Phrynichus, (Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 356), and to find its way into our texts, the obvious influence of *παλαίω*, *παλαιστής*, etc. has already been pointed out; similarly, the influence of *γεραιός* in the case of *Γεραιστός* beside *Γεραστός* (Riemann, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. 497). *Τροζήνιοι*, which does not appear in inscriptions until imperial times for the earlier *Τροζάνιοι*, *Τροζήνιοι*, perhaps owes its further vogue to a fanciful resemblance to *Τροία*.¹

Αίσκλαπιός beside *Ἄσκλαπιός* is a rare spelling, though the *Αίσχλαβιοῖ*, quoted by G. Meyer, *l.c.* is now supplemented by three other examples of *Αἰσ-*, one from Troizene (*I.G.* iv. 771) and two from Epidaurus (*I.G.* iv. 1202, 1203). That this spelling was the one adopted in Latin (*Aesculapius*, early *Aisclapī*) is quite likely due to the influence of a group of words for 'god,' 'divine,' etc. which was widely current in Italy, e.g. Etruscan *aisar* 'deus,' Marrucian *aisos* 'dis,' Oscan *aisusis* 'sacrificiis,' etc.²

The other examples that have been cited are *αἰζηνεία* = *Ἄζηνεία* quoted by Danielsson, *Eranos*, i. 82, from Hyper. Euxen. 28 where Blass supposes a simple error, and the recently found *αἰστέα* in a poetical inscription from Acraephiae, though not in the Boeotian dialect (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xxiv. 70, here read as *ἀστέα*; for *αἰστέα* = *ἀστέα*, see 'Atticaster,' *Rh. M.* lviii. 315, and Danielsson, *Eranos*, iv. 188). An exceptional case would be *αἰζήος* according to Danielsson's etymology (*De voce αἰζήος quaestio etymologica*), which for this reason, if for no other, seems to me more than doubtful.³

¹ Since writing this I find that the same suggestion has already been made by Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* iii. 427.

² This is probably what is suggested by Lattes in a work cited by G. Meyer *l.c.*, but inaccessible to me.

³ In Boeotian *Θιόφειστος* beside *Θιόφρεστος* and

With such material as the preceding it does not seem to me reasonable to compare the Lesbian *ἔκοιστος*, which was evidently the normal form of this dialect. At the least one would have to suppose that the spelling was supported by some analogical influence, and in that connexion I may mention that my own first notion in meeting the word was that it was formed after superlatives in *-ιστος*, the intimate relation of suffix in superlatives and ordinals being well known. But this idea speedily gave way before the impression that it could not well be accidental that a formation which is believed to go back to an earlier **-κοιστος* (e.g. Brugmann, *Grd.* ii. p. 490) should appear as *-κοιστος* in the one Greek dialect in which *ονσ* regularly yields *οισ* (acc. pl. *-οις*, 3 pl. pres. *-οισι*, etc.). But there are chronological difficulties, and this is evidently what has led Solmsen to look elsewhere for an explanation. It is commonly assumed that in the ordinals from 30th-90th *-κοιστος* in place of *-καστος* (cf. Skt. *trīṅśattamas*) arose after the analogy of *-κοντα* in proethnic Greek, either directly, the vowel only being affected (cf. *ποιμέσι* for **ποιμάσι* after *ποιμέν-*), or through a **-κοιστος*. See Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 215, *Grd.* ii. p. 490 (otherwise *Hist. Gr. Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 318, who regards *-κοιστος* from **-κοιστος*, **-κοντ-τος* as the normal formation). Its appearance in *εἰκοστός* is a later, dialectic, extension (cf. Boeot. *Φικαστός*), but whatever is said of its history of course applies to it in this form also, so that the fact that we are dealing with Lesb. *ἔκοιστος* and not with a **τριάκοιστος* has no special bearing on the argument.

Θεισπιεύς beside *Θεσπιεύς*, which were formerly cited in the same connexion, the *ει*, as is now clear, represents not a diphthong but a close *ε*, the sound intermediate between *ε* and *ι* for which the sign *ι* is also used. This is in itself no bar to assuming connexion with the phenomenon in question. For that the evanescent *ι*, which with a preceding *α* or *ο* may produce the effect of a diphthong, should with a preceding *ε*, so near itself in quality, only make it somewhat closer, is just what we might expect from the relation of *θῆνω* (*θείνω*) from **θε'ν'ω* to *βαίνω* from **βα'ν'ω* (see Goidanich, *Le Sorti dei gruppi I.-E. -nj-, -mj-, -rj-, -lj- nell'Ellenismo*, p. 20 ff.). But whether the *ει* in these cases is actually due to the following *σ* + consonant is rendered somewhat uncertain by the fact that such an *ει* is also found in other combinations, e.g. *Ξεναπέτω*, *Κλισθελνιος*, etc., indicating that a close pronunciation was characteristic of the Boeotian *ε* in general. See Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 28; Meister, *Ber. sächs. Gesell.* 1899, p. 146; Sadée, *De Boeotiae titulorum dialecto* p. 80. *Θεισπιεύς*, which is the regular spelling in inscriptions of Thespieae, is thought by Dittenberger to be a case of original *η*. See Sadée, *l.c.*

The current doctrine as to the treatment of the combination $\nu + \sigma$ + cons., I am no more disposed to question than is Solmsen (see above), and admit at once that, even if we adopt the second of the alternatives mentioned, this proethnic *-κονστος, would become -κοστος, and could not be used in connexion with the specifically Lesbian change of σ to $\sigma\iota$. But there are still two possibilities. One is that the analogical form is not proethnic, but arose independently in the several dialects. The possibility of this no one can deny in view of well-known instances where a form is shared by related dialects but cannot have arisen in the predialectic period. But the view which seems to me more probable is that, assuming a proethnic -κοστος after -κοντα (whether or not through -κονστος), the analogy of -κοντα made itself felt anew in prehistoric Lesbian giving rise to a new -κονστος, which then underwent the regular Lesbian change of $\nu\sigma$, yielding -κοιστος. The relation of this to the -κοστος seen elsewhere would be parallel to that of Attic gen. sg. -ου in masc. \bar{a} -stems to - $\bar{a}\sigma$, - $\epsilon\omega$ of other dialects (Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³).

That this view cannot recommend itself for its simplicity I am well aware. But it has the merit of accounting for the existence of the form in Lesbian and Lesbian only.

2.—ARGOLIC ἀλιάσσιος, στεγάσσιος, ETC.

The material upon which previous discussions have been based consists of the following Argolic forms: Argive ἀλιάσσιος *I.G.* iv. (*Ins. Argolidis*) 554, Epidaurian στεγάσσιος *I.G.* iv. 1485, Troizenian ἀποστεγάσσιος, ἔρμάσσιος, ἱμασσιάν *I.G.* iv. 823. To these is to be added Boeotian ἀγόρασσιν *Rev. Ét Grec.* xii. p. 69 ff.

The Argolic forms were first thought to be simply examples of that secondary doubling of consonants which appears sporadically in various quarters and has to do with the matter of syllabification (see Solmsen, *Untersuch. z. griech. Laut- und Verslehre*, p. 162 ff.). So Fröhner, *Rev. Arch.* 1891, p. 54; Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, p. 543. But this view took no account of the fact that the forms in question are all, except the obscure ἱμασσιάν, from -αζω verbs, while other nouns in -σις in the same inscriptions show only one σ , e.g. καταθέσιος, θέσιος, ἀναίρεσιος, ἀποφορήσιος, etc.

The $\sigma\sigma$ has also been attributed to the influence of the aorist of -αζω verbs, e.g. Epid. ἐργάσασθαι, just as the ξ in Locr.

ψάφις, Cret. ἀπ]ολαγάξιος, etc. (cf. also Epid. στεγάξιος in the same inscription with στεγάσσιος) is connected with the ξ of the aorist which in so many dialects is extended from guttural to dental stems (Thess. ψάφιξασθαι, etc.). So von Friesen, *Über den argeischen Dialekt*, in the *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets förhandlingar*, 1894–1897, p. 146. This explanation answered for the Argolic forms, the only ones then known, but is out of the question for Boeot. ἀγόρασσιν, since in Boeotian the aorist of dental stems has regularly ττ, not σσ, e.g. ἀπολογίττασθη in the same inscription with ἀγόρασσιν.

According to Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 66, the $\sigma\sigma$ is to be assumed as once existing in all such derivatives of -άζω and -ίζω verbs. That is, to στεγάζω was formed *στέγαστις, parallel to στεγαστός, etc., whence στέγασσις, later στέγασις. In assuming this development he abandons the generally accepted view that τ when preceded by σ is entirely exempt from the change to σ (*Gr. Gram.*² p. 57, Kretschmer *K.Z.* xxx. p. 565), and sees another Lesbian example of the same change in the Lesbian ἔσσι (Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* ii. No. 135) which he takes to be a third singular from ἔσσι. But the usual form in Lesbian is ἔσσι as everywhere else, and this ἔσσι, if not simply an error (so G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ 567), is more plausibly explained as a third plural with Hoffmann, *l.c.* p. 475. Certainly all other evidence is in favour of the earlier view, and I am not ready to believe that the preservation of τ in ἔσσι in contrast to τίθησι, and in πίστις, πύστις, etc., has nothing to do with the preceding σ.

My notion of the history of these nouns in -σις beside verbs in -άζω, -ίζω, is that they are not actually formed from the dental stems seen in the latter, but have rather adopted their type from words the formation of which antedates the notoriously secondary extension of dental stems in Greek. Thus κτίσις is certainly κτί-σις from κτί-τις (Skt. *kṣi-ti-s*, Av. *si-ti-š*) and has never passed through any such stages as *κτιδ-τις, *κτισ-τις with the secondary dental stem which appears in κτίζω, κτίστης, κτίσμα, etc. Cf. κλί-μα, κλί-σις, etc. from κλι- (ἐκλίθην, ἐκκλίμαι), not from the secondary κλιν- (ἐκλίθην, ἐκλίνα) like κλινητήρ. After the relation of such a form as κτίσις to κτίζω would be formed ψάφισις to ψάφίζω (or *ψάφιτις after *κτίτις if one prefers to go further back), etc. Similarly δάμασις (*δαμα-τις) does not contain the dental seen in δαμάζω any more than does ἐδάμα-σ(σ)α,

Cret. *δαμάσαιτο*.¹ Cf. also, from dissyllabic root forms in *-α*, *χάλα-σις* (cf. *χάλα-ρός*), *κρέμα-σις*, *κατα-κέρα-σις*, *σκεδα-σις*, *δίνα-σις* (cf. *δυνα-τός*, *δυνά-της*), beside derivatives with secondary *σ* (Solmsen, *K.Z.* 29, 111 ff.) such as *κρεμαστός*, *κέρασμα*, *σκεδαστός*, *δυνάστης*. After the analogy of a form of this kind, come to be associated with a form with secondary dental, e.g. after *δάμασις* beside *δαμάζω*, was formed *στέγασις* to *στεγάζω*, *ἀγοράσις* to *ἀγοράζω*, etc., where of course there is no inherited root form in *-ῦ*. A parallel case, I believe, is *ἐργάτης*, for which I find no explanation suggested anywhere. It is obviously an early formation for which the apparently normal *ἐργαστής* is only a very late substitute.

I have tried to show that there is no necessity of deriving a form like *στέγασις* from an earlier **στέγαστις* and so assuming a change of *τι* to *σι* after *σ*. But it is not unnatural that the *σ* which appears before other suffixes in derivatives of dental stems and is even extended from these and from *σ*-stems to vowel stems (see above) should sooner or later appear also before *-σις*. And this is what I assume to be the case in Epid. *στέγασσιος*, Boeot. *ἀγορασσιν*, etc., namely that the first *σ* is due to the analogy of *στέγαστός*, *στέγασμα*, *ἀγοραστής*, *ἀγορασμα*, etc. The relation of *στέγασσις* to *στέγασις* is then the same as that between *ἐργαστής* and *ἐργάτης*, *δυνάστης* and *δυνάτης*, *κτίστης* and *κτίτης*. It would not be inconsistent with my view to assume that this took place in the predialectic period, only after the change of *τι* to *σι*. But so long as the evidence of *σσ* is confined to two dialects I prefer to regard it as a later dialectic phenomenon. Observe also that in *I.G.* iv. 823 *ἐργασίας* occurs five times, never with *σσ* in spite of *ἀποστεγασσίας*, etc. Apparently the *σσ* had come into the *-σις* nouns but not to those in *-σια*. But for the precise scope of these *-σσ* forms we must await further evidence.

3.—THE ELEAN ACCUSATIVE PLURALS IN *-αις, -αιρ, -οιρ.*

There is still no general agreement as to whether the Elean accusatives in *-αις, -αιρ, -οιρ* are real accusatives in origin, like Lesbian *-αις, -οις* from *-αις, -οις*, or

¹ Schulze, *K.Z.* 33, 126 ff. In this connexion note that Hom., Lesb. *ἐκάλε-σσα* for *ἐκάλε-σα* after *ἐτέλεσ-σα* is now found in Boeotian also (*συνκαλέσαντες* in the same inscription which contains *ἀγροασσιν*; see reference above), another example of the Aeolic constituent in Boeotian.

dative forms used as accusatives. On the whole the latter view seems to be more widely held at present. First asserted by Wilamowitz, *Zeitschrift für d. Gymnasialwesen*, 1877, p. 649, it was adopted by Solmsen, *K. Z.* 29, p. 34 ff., and by Dittenberger, *Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 6. The forms of the new amnesty decree are accented as datives by most of its editors, namely Szanto, *Jahreshefte d. oesterr. archäol. Instituts*, i. p. 197 ff., Meister, *Sitzungsber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1898, p. 218 ff. (in contrast to his treatment in his *Griech. Dialekte*), and by Danielsson, *Eranos* iii. p. 129 ff., who however says p. 132 '*ταῖς γενεαῖς* (bzw. *ταῖς γενεαῖς*),' thus leaving the question open. Keil, *Gött. Nachr.* 1899, p. 136 ff. accents *ταῖρ γενεαῖρ*, but only to show that they are used as accusatives. He says (p. 153): 'Die Formen *ταῖρ γενεαῖρ* habe ich als Accusative accentuirt, nicht als ob ich damit sagen wollte, dass sie das seien, sondern weil sie das bedeuten; und das anzudeuten, ist ja doch auch die Accentuation da, namentlich für uns heut. Ich sehe keine Möglichkeit zu entscheiden, ob es katachrestisch verwendete Dative oder in äolischen Art gebildete Accusative sind; denn das letztere ist nicht ausgeschlossen.' Keil then goes on to suggest, apropos of the early forms in *-Oς* and *-Aς*, that the pronunciation may have been *-o's* and *-a's*, the weak nasal of which was not expressed in writing but nevertheless affected the pronunciation of the preceding vowels, until *-οις* and *-αις* were plainly heard and expressed in writing. That the early forms in *-Oς, -Aς* and **-Oις, -Aις* represent simply different spellings of the same sound is entirely in line with the orthographical inconsistencies of early Elean, and is altogether more probable than that they represent sentence doublets according to the well known theory of Osthoff, *Geschichte d. Perfekts*, p. 26 ff. Only, since the diphthongal spelling is as early as the other, I should prefer to assume as the pronunciation thus variously represented, *-o's, -a's*, with

² *-Aις* occurs in *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 2, 3, which Dittenberger (p. 4) regards as somewhat earlier than Nos. 4, 5, which have *-Aς*. I have no hesitation in assuming *-Oις* beside *-Aις* for the early period. Dittenberger's statement (p. 6) 'Erst in dieser (i.e. the Democrates bronze of the first half of the third century) erstreckt sie (the diphthongal formation) auf die *ο*-stämme der zweiten Deklination' is verbally accurate, but gives a wrong impression of what the facts show. For it must be noted that there are no occurrences of *ο*-stem accusatives in those inscriptions which have *-Aις* not *-Aς*. There is then not the slightest ground for assuming that the conditions were different in the two declensions.

incipient diphthongs, which later became fully developed diphthongs. The existence of the double spelling in the accusatives explains the occasional appearance of -Ος in datives, as in *Insch. v. Ol.* Nos. 10, 11, which Dittenberger (p. 27) attributes to syntactical confusion. Against the assumption of a phonetic development of -ovs, -avs like the Lesbian has been urged the fact that Elean has *πάσα* not *παῖσα* like the Lesbian, and that everywhere the history of secondary intervocalic vs as in *πάνσα* and that of final vs as in *ράνvs* run parallel. But what is a parallel development in most dialects need not be such in all (e.g. Ion., etc. *θάλασσα, μέσος*, Boeot., etc. *θάλαττα, μέττος*, but Att. *θάλαττα, μέσος*), and, while breaks in a parallelism hitherto regarded as complete may occasion some surprise, we must be prepared to accept them, as nearly every important addition to our dialectic material makes the more evident.

I can see then no cogent objection to regarding the Elean forms as genuine accusatives, and fail utterly to understand how anyone who holds this view can, as does Keil himself, regard as equally credible the idea of syntactical confusion with the dative, in support of which nothing adequate has ever been adduced. To be sure Wilamowitz referred to the conditions in the first declension in Modern Greek as parallel (wie denn bekanntlich das Neugriechische genau dieselbe Erscheinung in der ersten Declination, nur entsprechend fortgebildet, zeigt), but he would surely withdraw this now that the true history of the nom.-acc. forms in -εs (commonly spelled -ais) is understood (Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, p. 138 ff.). As to the use in Elean and elsewhere of nominatives in -εs (-ερ) as accusatives, to which Wilamowitz also refers, confusion between nominative and accusative is on quite a different footing, owing to the fact that the forms are the same in the neuter, and moreover has in this instance a more specific explanation, as shown by Wackernagel *I.F.* xiv. p. 368. Dittenberger, *l.c.*, alludes to a general breaking down of the feeling for case distinctions in the Roman period, referring to his note to *I.G.* vii. 1713 apropos of the confusion of dative and genitive after *ἐπί*. But the phenomena of case confusion in this late period, for which cf. especially Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griech. Sprache*, p. 149 ff., are in part the result of phonetic processes characteristic of this period, and, even where mainly syntactical, as in the general-

ization of the accusative with prepositions, offer no parallel for a substitution of dative for accusative.

Above all no one has even raised the question why the alleged confusion of dative and accusative in Elean is unknown in the singular, or in the plural of the third declension. If it were a purely syntactical phenomenon, a general confusion of the two cases, we should certainly expect to find some traces of it in these forms.

4.—ARCADIAN *διακωλύσει*, AN ALLEGED AORIST OPTATIVE.

Arcadian *διακωλύσει*, which occurs in a conditional clause co-ordinately with an optative *φθέραι*, is generally taken as an optative, although there is no other evidence of the existence of such an optative form in Greek. The sentence, from the Tegean building-contract SGDI. 1222 = Hoffmann i. No. 30, reads as follows: *εἰ δὲ πόλεμος διακωλύσει τι τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐσδοθέντων, ἢ τῶν ἡρρασμένων τι φθέραι, οἱ τριακάσιοι διαγνόντω τί δεῖ γίνεσθαι*. Of the earlier commentators on this inscription, Bergk (cf. *Kl. Schriften*, ii. p. 337) took *διακωλύσει* as future indicative, and remarked 'neque offensioni erit diversos modos consociari, plane sic est in titulo Teio,' quoting then a passage from the Teian Curse (Hoffmann ii. No. 105), which however owing to the condition of the text, is best left out of account. But other scholars, from Michaelis, *Jhb.* 1861, p. 395, on, have assumed that the form is optative, e.g. Curtius, *Verbum* ii.² 293, Brugmann, *M. U.* iii. p. 66, Meister, *Gr. Dial.* ii. p. 112, G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 662, Kühner-Blass, ii. p. 74, Wackernagel, *Vermischte Beiträge*, p. 46. Hoffmann alone of recent writers has regarded with favour the idea of a shift in mood. Cf. *Gr. Dial.* i. p. 261 'Indessen kann *διακωλύσει* (nach *εἰ*) auch als Indikativ des Futurs gedeutet werden, da ein Wechsel des Modus nichts Anstössiges bietet.' It seems to me that an interchange of moods is not only possible here, but far less surprising than would be an interchange, within the same sentence of a prose inscription, of two such different formations as -σει and -σαι, even if the former were a well known variant of -σειε. And when it becomes necessary to assume a formation which is not otherwise attested, the chances of our having to do with different formations rather than with different moods drop to about zero.

I cannot put my hand on an example of such shifting from indicative to optative in

literary Greek, and it is possible that one might search long without finding one. But if so, I should attribute this to an artificial regularity, such as is sometimes to be observed in the literary language, and from which the dialect inscriptions are comparatively free. For there is nothing really anomalous in such a change. It would occasion no comment if one should say in English 'If war *interrupts* (present in future sense) the work contracted for or *should* (even) *destroy* what was already completed.'

5.—CRETAN $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota = \acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha$.

Cretan $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota = \acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\upsilon\alpha$ (*Gortynian Law-Code*, iv. 32, etc.) was first regarded as a form with second element undeclined, but to this view has generally been preferred the explanation of Solmsen, *Bz.B.* xviii. p. 145 ff., according to which it contains $\tau\iota$, an isolated relic of the accusative plural neuter in $-\tau\iota$ such as is found in Sanskrit and elsewhere, but for which in Greek we find otherwise only $-\iota\alpha$, $-\iota\alpha$ ($\tau\rho\lambda\iota\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ from $^*\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\alpha$). So, though somewhat doubtfully, G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 465, Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 235, Kurze, *Vergl. Gram.* p. 394. Still otherwise, but most improbably, J. Schmidt, *Sonantentheorie*, p. 24 ftm.

Apart from any scepticism of the survival in this one form of $-\tau\iota$ beside $-\iota\alpha$, which as I believe with others is not a Greek analogical substitution for $-\tau\iota$ but an inherited by-form, this explanation must definitely yield to the older view of an undeclined $-\tau\iota$, as soon as we are convinced of the existence of a genitive singular in $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota$ such as is assumed by Blass in his edition of the Cretan inscriptions in *SGDL*. In the Law-Code, ii. 48 ff. we read $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\upsilon$, $\alpha\acute{\iota} \kappa' \acute{\epsilon}\iota \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon \text{ } \acute{\omega}\nu \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, $\kappa\omicron\tau\iota \kappa' \acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu [\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\upsilon\alpha] \nu \acute{\alpha}\tau\iota \kappa' \acute{\epsilon}\iota$, $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ $\kappa\omicron\tau\iota$ l. 50, which has generally been taken as = $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omega}\tau\iota$, Blass interprets as = $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omega}\tau\iota$, i.e. $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omega}\tau\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$. If the accusative $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota$ is not impossible, it is nevertheless true that the genitive by attraction gives us a more normal syntax. Blass also reads genitive singular $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota$ ($\acute{\omega}\tau\iota$) in i. 5, but as to the advantage of this over $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ I am not clear.

The objection which Solmsen raised to the view here preferred was the unlikelihood of there being still a third type of inflection in addition to the two which were already known elsewhere and actually found in the Law-Code itself, e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$ with both parts declined, and $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$, $\acute{\delta}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ with only the second part declined.

And it must be admitted that the existence of three types through the whole paradigm would be surprising. But just as we see the two well known types partially differentiated in various dialects, e.g. in the Attic inscriptions gen. sg. m. or n. $\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ never $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$, but gen. sg. f. $\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$ (see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, p. 156), so we may surmise that the third type was used only in certain forms. So long as so few of the case-forms are quotable from early Cretan, any suggestion along this line must be purely tentative, yet I venture to offer one, namely that the forms in $-\tau\iota$ were used only in the neuter, thus effecting a distinction from the masculine forms, which in certain cases, as the genitive singular, was not effected by the mere inflection of the first part. Note the various ways of distinguishing the feminine from the masculine, which again would in the genitive singular, etc. not be effected by the ordinary inflection of the second element, e.g. in Attic by inflection of the first element ($\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$, $\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ being thus reserved for the masculine or neuter), but in Cretan by the substitution of a feminine (adjectival) form for the second member ($\acute{\delta}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$, etc.).

6.—THE ORIGIN AND DIALECTIC SCOPE OF DATIVES LIKE $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$.

The old explanation of datives like $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, as representing an extension of $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ from $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, etc., has survived more than one attack even in recent years, but many will conclude that it has at last received its death blow at the hands of Wackernagel in *Idg. Forsch.* xiv. p. 373 ff. For this eminent scholar's contributions are so justly regarded as models of minute learning and acute linguistic method that there is perhaps danger that his conclusion in this matter will be accepted too lightly. Yet it is only common courtesy to an explanation which has served us so long and faithfully, to make doubly certain that it is doomed before consigning it to the rubbish heap. And let us observe at the outset that no satisfactory successor has yet been found. For, not to mention earlier and impossible theories, Wackernagel's suggestion that after the analogy of the relation of the dative to the nominative plural in the first and second declensions arose the dative $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ beside the nominative $-\epsilon\varsigma$ ($-\alpha\iota$, $-\omicron\iota$: $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$, $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ = $-\epsilon\varsigma$: $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$) seems to me at least to lack the element of probability. At all events everyone will agree,

I think, that the older explanation is simpler and more attractive on the face of it, so that the question comes back to the cogency of the objections which are believed to make its acceptance impossible. Blass, in Kühner-Blass, *Gr. Gram.* i. p. 418, after some remarks on the lack of proof (and why may not the chronological steps in the development for which he demands historical evidence have been completed in prehistoric times in Aeolic?), makes the point that the σ -stems are not numerous enough to make probable such a far reaching extension of their ending, and moreover are mostly neuters. But how often has attention been called to the fact that, while, other things being equal, the numerical strength of a formation adds to its power of affecting others, even the smallest number of forms, less than half a dozen for example, has sometimes been sufficient to impose their type, which for one reason or another met with favour, upon hundreds of others. And the number of σ -stems is assuredly not so excessively small. As to their being neuters, their first extension may have been to neuters like $\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha$, without necessarily stopping there. But see below. Van Leeuwen, *Enchiridion dictionis epicae*, p. 209 f., ridicules the notion that $\pi\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ is formed after $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ and then reacted on the latter giving rise to $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota$, and considers it fortunate that there did not spring up even longer and worse forms such as $\pi\acute{o}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota$ or even $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota$. Passing from joking to seriousness (so he says), he makes the following remarkable comment: 'Nempe labis tam late gliscentis ipsoque nervos linguae afficientis nullum exemplum in lingua Homericæ extat.' He cannot believe that the poets used their language so faultily, especially as the forms in $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ are neither rare nor confined to unusual words or proper names, nor demanded by the metre. He concludes therefore that the explanation in question should be consigned to oblivion as soon as possible ('quam primum oblivione est premenda'). I have cited this criticism at perhaps unnecessary length, for it is of course quite impossible to argue with one who is still in the bonds of that notion which the unfortunate term 'false analogy' (*pravum analogiae studium*) fostered, that the force of analogy is something abnormal and depraved, instead of one of the fundamental linguistic factors. Anyone who can derive so much amusement from the suggestion of analogy in $\pi\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota$ might easily become

hysterical over some of the best attested phenomena of modern languages.

We come now to the more serious strictures of Wackernagel, which are briefly as follows. Firstly, there is no opportunity for proportional analogy. ' $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ zu $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\nu$ nach $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma$: $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\nu$ versteht jeder; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ zu $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\nu$ nach $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$: $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ist unbegreiflich.' Secondly, while inflectional endings are also transferred without the help of proportional analogy, provided the words are construed together or are associated in meaning, there is no special bond of association between $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, etc. 'Es darf hier auch betont werden, dass sich die neutralen Stämme durchaus nicht durch Gebrauch der Endung $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ auszeichnen. Im Gegenteil. Thessalisch ist $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ nur in Maskulinum und Femininum belegt; die einzige Neutralform (*Inscr. von Kierion*, Z. 4) lautet $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$. Daneben allerdings $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ und $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ bei Sappho, $\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ in den delphischen Labyadeninschrift usw.'

As to the Thessalian $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$, it lacks $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ not because it is a neuter but because the inscription of Cierium is in the dialect of the Thessaliotis, not in that of the Pelasgiotis. It is only one of several peculiarities of this inscription as compared with those of the Pelasgiotis, differences which were at once pointed out by Meister and by Danielsson in their respective commentaries, but which have been treated most luminously in their broader relations by Solmsen in his article 'Pelasgiotis und Thessaliotis,' *Rh. M.* 58, p. 528 ff.

So far as I can see, there is nothing in the facts at hand to either prove or disprove the assumption that the neuters were the first to adopt $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, whence it was extended later, but still in prehistoric times (in Aeolic), to masculines and feminines. If we start from substantive σ -stems, leaving the adjective σ -stems out of account, such an assumption is a likely one, but even then not a necessary one. For it must be seriously doubted whether Wackernagel is right in implying that an extension of inflectional endings can take place only through the medium of proportional analogy, or else (aside from the interchange of nominal and pronominal inflection, etc.) within the limits of congeneric groups. It is true of course that the more circumscribed the group of words and the more intimate the psychological association between its members, the greater will be the tendency to analogical influence within it. Yet we cannot lay down narrow limits as

to the degree of psychological association which is prerequisite to the operation of analogy. All members of a given syntactical category, for example all dative plurals, form eo ipso a psychological group, large indeed, but not so large that it may not be pervaded by the force of analogy. We may assume theoretically, if we like, that the analogy works within smaller groups at first, spreading from group to group within the larger group. But the progress may be so rapid as to leave no more trace historically of such stages than do the hypothetically assumed intermediate stages in a phonetic development. There is no reason to doubt the existence of purely functional analogy, or, to use Wundt's term, external grammatical analogy, not confined within limits narrower than that of the syntactical category itself and not due to a specific proportional analogy. It is altogether improbable, for example, that proportional analogy has had anything to do with the extension in English of the genitive ending *s*, or of the plural *s*, or of the preterite *-ed*. Nor do I believe, to return to Wackernagel's argument, that the agreement of *ἄγων* and *λόγος* in the genitive plural was an essential factor in the creation of the N.W. Greek *ἄγωνοις*, though it is commonly so stated. That we have *ἄγωνοις*, but not also *ἄγωνοι*, *ἄγωνοις*, is of course due to the fact that the dative is the one case of the plural in which the stem, if ending in a mute or nasal, was not kept intact. A uniform stem form is not essential, but the tendency in favour of it is notorious. A new formation, from whatever source, which presented the same form of stem as the other cases, would be the more likely to win its way. In the N.W. Greek dialects the *-οις* form supplied the want; in the Aeolic dialects, whence its appearance in Homer, the *-εσσι* of *σ*-stems. Why not? *-εσσι* is just as much the apparent ending of *σ*-stems as is *-οις* of *σ*-stems. That vague but real thing which we call linguistic sense analyzes forms in various ways according to the momentary point of view. Such a form as *ἔπεσσι* may be felt as *ἔπεσσι* from the point of view of the other datives in *-σι*, as *ἔπεσσι* from the point of view of *ἔπεος*, *ἔπεα*, *ἔπέων*, etc., or as *ἔπεσσι* from the point of view of what is the only invariable element in all the case-forms, namely, *ἔπ-*. The extension of this *-εσσι* is precisely parallel to what is so often seen in the history of suffixes, e.g. Lat. *urbānus* after *Rōmānus*. It was first employed in consonant stems, where it was preferred to the older forms in which the stem was

not kept intact (*πόδεσσι* in place of *ποσσί*), and thence extended to vowel stems as in *πολίεσσι*. It was of course these latter forms, in their relation to *πόλιος*, *πολίων*, etc., which reacted on *ἔπεσσι*, leading to the epic *ἑπέεσσι* beside *ἔπεος*, *ἑπέων*, etc.

I have spoken of forms like *πόδεσσι* as arising in Aeolic, and it is an undoubted fact that they are primarily characteristic of the Aeolic dialects, and that, as far as their appearance in the Epic is concerned, they are to be reckoned among the Aeolic elements, for they are unknown in Ionic. But it is commonly believed that Aeolic is not the only home of this formation. It is recognized as Doric and N.W. Greek by Ahrens, *De dial. dorica*, p. 229, Kühner-Blass, *Gr. Gram.* i. p. 417, G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 473, Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 239. The facts are briefly as follows. *-εσσι* is the regular formation in the three Aeolic dialects, Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelasgiotis), and Boeotian. It is also Phocian; some examples have long been known, and since the discovery of the Labyadae inscription it is clear that this was the regular form of the dialect, though later replaced partially by *-οις* of the N.W.-Greek *κοινή* or *-σι* of the Attic *κοινή*. But there is no doubt that Phocis was Aeolic before the West Greek migrations, and while there was no such residue of Aeolic elements as in Boeotia, there are still some probable traces of it. See especially Solmsen, *K.Z.* xxxiv. p. 554 ff., xxxviii. p. 213 ff. To these might be reckoned the forms in *-εσσι*. But Keil, *Hermes* xxxi. p. 516 note, thinks this unlikely, adding 'nachgerade haben wir Beispiele genug, um zu erkennen, dass *-εσσι* auch dor. alt und weit verbreitet war.' Similarly Solmsen, *K.Z.* xxxviii. p. 214. In the case of *-εσσι* in Eastern Loeris there is the same possibility of its being an Aeolic relic. In Elean too, which usually has *-οις*, *-εσσι* is now quotable in *φυγάδεσσι* of the amnesty decree, of which Keil, *Gött. Nachr.* 1899, p. 153, remarks 'Auf den ersten Blick scheint *φυγάδεσσι* äol. zu sein; allein wir haben jetzt so viele solche dorische Bildungen dass man sein Urteil zurückhalten muss.'

In other words Keil, who is a believer in an Aeolic element in Elean, and Solmsen, who is a believer in an Aeolic element in Phocian, are both deterred from reckoning *-εσσι* among these elements by the belief that *-εσσι* is common to Doric¹ also. Yet

¹ That is, as throughout in this paper, Doric in the narrower (and, still, more usual) sense, exclusive of N.W. Greek or 'North Doric.'

it is surprising to find how restricted is the evidence to support such a statement as Keil's that '-εσσι auch dor. alt und weit verbreitet war,' or that of Blass (Kühner-Blass i. p. 417) that '-εσσι im Norden (Delphi, das östliche Lokris), sowie in Peloponnes und in den meisten westlichen Kolonien herrscht (italics mine), daher auch bei den italiotischen und sicilischen Schriftstellern.' I find just three examples from Doric inscriptions cited in the various works referred to above (Ahrens, G. Meyer, Kühner-Blass, etc.), namely Megarian λαγόνεσσι, Syracusan δέεσσι, Corcyraean Ἀρμάτεσσι. Meg. λαγόνεσσι (*I.G.* vii. 117) is from a metrical inscription of the *fourth or fifth century A.D.* in the ordinary Epic dialect, without a trace of Doric. Syrac. δέεσσι (*I.G.* xiv. 10) is from an inscription known only through early copies, and the reading of this particular word rests on an emendation of Scaliger. Blass in *SGDI.* 3235 reads (τ)έ(λε)σι or τέ(λ)εσσι, which suits the copy (ΤΕΕΣΣΙ Nicotius; see *I.G.* l.c.) and gives a better sense. The one example left is Corcyr. Ἀρμάτεσσι (*I.G.* ix. i. 694 = *SGDI.* 3206), the designation of some locality (the inscription has otherwise the usual formation, as χρήμασιν). But to this may now be added νομιζόντ[ε]σσι, νικών-τεσ[σι], [νικώ]τεσσι, from a decree of Epidamnus, Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, no. 46; further Παιδεσσι, Παιδεσι, a name applied to certain female divinities in a series of inscriptions from Acrae, in Sicily, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1899, p. 452 ff. = *SGDI.* 5256-9. Unless I have overlooked some other recent discovery, the inscriptional evidence for Doric -εσσι is confined to Corinthian colonies. The same is true of the literary evidence, which, except for πολίεσσι in Thucydides' text of the Spartan decree (v. 77) to which it is impossible to attach much importance, is entirely Syra-

cusan. -εσσι is found not only in Epicharmus and Sophron, but is also the prevailing form in the Doric prose of Archimedes, who seems to have followed pretty faithfully the Syracusan dialect of his time, a so-called Doric κοινή, in reality a mixture of Doric and Attic κοινή.

It is evident that the usual statements as to the prevalence of -εσσι in Doric are too broad, and that the only Doric dialect for which it is attested, according to our present evidence both inscriptional and literary, is that of Corinth as represented by the colonies. Now it is beyond question of course that the same process which led to -εσσι in Aeolic might have operated independently in Corinthian or any other dialect. Nevertheless I venture to suggest another possibility, namely that in the cases mentioned we have to do with a popular adoption of the Epic form. It is among the Corinthian colonies that we find the most numerous examples of the popular adaptation, in metrical inscriptions, of Epic to the native Doric, resulting in that sort of 'Doric Epic' of which the well known Menecrates epitaph of Corcyra and the Procleidas epitaph of Northern Acarnania (*I.G.* IX. i. 521) are typical. Why may not the Epic -εσσι have found its way even into the prose of everyday speech?

It is only fair to add that -εσσι is perhaps to be recognized in Pamphylian, which however is not a Doric dialect in the narrower sense and is still too little known to be precisely classified. In the latest discussion of the difficult inscription of Sillyon, Meister, *Ber. sächs. Gesell. Wiss.* 1904, p. 3 ff., reads [έπ]ι δ[ικ]αστέρεσσ[ι], formerly taken as [κα] δ[ικ]αστέρες.

CARL DARLING BUCK.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
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DEMOSTHENES'S NICKNAME ἀργᾶς.

In Plutarch's *Demosthenes* we read (4. 5) : 'Ὁ δὲ ἀργᾶς—καὶ τοῦτο γάρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι παρωνύμιον—ἢ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ὡς θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη· τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἐνοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργᾶν ὀνομάζουσιν· ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὡς ἀνιῶντα τοῖς ἀκροαμένους· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργᾶς τοῖνομα ποιητῆς ἦν νόμων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀργαλέων. Both these explanations of the nickname I believe to be wrong, and

I also believe that the right explanation is to be found in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, where we now read in v. 114 sq.—thanks to the acumen of Blomfield and Hartung—these words : οἰωνῶν βασιλεῖς βασιλεῦσι νεῶν, ὁ κελαινὸς ὁ δ' ἐξόπιον ἀργαῖς, which description of the two eagles is equivalent to : ὁ μὲν μελάμπυγος ὁ δὲ πύγαργος. Now what more natural than that some witty—or

would-be witty—Greek should from this passage take a synonyme of *πύγαργος* (which, as opposed to *μελάμπυγος*, was used to describe a weakling) to throw at the head of the weak and frail Demosthenes?

If my explanation of the origin of the nickname is right, we should, of course, write it not *ἀργᾶς* but *ἀργᾶϊς*.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

A NOTE ON THEOCRITUS I. 51.

ἀκράτιστον (or *ἀκρατιστόν* or *ἀνάριστον*) ἐπὶ *ξηροῖσι καθίξει*.

There are, so far as I am aware, two explanations of this line: A. Taking *ἀκράτιστον* as a noun (= breakfast), and ἐπὶ *ξηροῖσι καθίξει* as equivalent to ἐπὶ *ξηρῷ ποιεῖν* and meaning 'land' or 'wreck.' But even supposing that *ξηροῖσι* (plural) could replace *ξηρῷ* singular, would not the phrase mean neither 'land' in the sense of 'capture' nor 'wreck,' but simply 'put on dry land' or 'beach'? And what does 'beaching a breakfast' mean?

B. Taking *ἀκρατιστόν* ἐπὶ *ξηροῖσι* as meaning 'breakfasted-off-wine-sopped-bread on dry bread,' i.e. having no breakfast. But would not *ἀκρατιστόν ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι* mean rather 'having taken unmixed wine with one's dry bread' (cp. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 2. 11 *πίνειν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ* and Aristoph. *Eq.* 707), which is just the opposite of the sense required?

I propose to read *κρατιστόν ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι*. *κρατιστόν*, which is actually read in one MS. according to Wordsworth, I take to be from a verb *κρατίζω* (= *κραστίζω*, *γραστίζω* = 'feed on green grass'). The evidence for the forms *κράτις* and *κρατίζω* as existing alongside of *κράστις* and *κραστίζω* is given by Pierson on Moeris s.v. *κράτις*. Briefly it is this. (1) All the MSS. of Moeris give *κράτις* (Attic) and *γράφτις* (Hellenic) and not *κράστις* or *γράφτις*. (2) Though the MSS. of Hesychius give *κράστις*, the order of the words shews that Hesychius wrote *κράτις*. (3) The Scholium on Nicander *Theriaca* 861 gives *κρατίζεται* from the Sicilian Sophron (whom Theocritus is known to have read). (4) And the MSS. of Pollux VII. § 142 give *κράτις* and not *κράστις*.

κρατίζω then would seem to be a variant

form of *κραστίζω* (= to feed on green grass). Eustathius on Iliad xxi. says *γράφτις ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ζῴων χλωρὰ ἐσθιομένη*. *Αἴλιος . . . φησι*. 'Κράστιν Ἀττικοὶ τὴν πόαν.' *Κρατιστός* then would mean either (1) 'to be fed on grass,' e.g. of a horse, 'put out to graze,' or (2) 'grass fed.'

Ξηρός in Theocritus *Id.* viii. 44 means 'dried up,' 'parched,' and applied to pastures, as those who have seen meadows in summer know, would mean 'burnt up,' 'grassless.'

The whole phrase *κρατιστόν ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξει* then would mean either (1) 'set him down on grassless meadows to get his grass feed' (cp. Hom. *Iliad* v. 36) or (2) 'make him (cp. Plato, *Ion* 535 ε *καθίζων τινὰ κλαίοντα*) grass fed where everything is grassless,' if we take *κρατιστόν ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι* closely together, and ἐπὶ in the sense not of 'on,' but 'on the condition,' or 'in the circumstances of,' grasslessness (= ἐπὶ *ξηροῖσι οὔσι τοῖς λειμῶσι*).

The second of these two alternatives seems the preferable: for so the reading *ἀνάριστον* would be explained as a gloss on the three words *κρατιστόν ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι*, which would be a bucolic phrase (= faring very poorly), and as such much more in keeping with the character of the speaker, a goat-herd, than the traditional explanation of *ἀκράτιστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι*.

If the evidence given above for the forms *κράτις* and *κρατίζομαι* appears too weak, we should still, I think, read *κρατιστόν* with the same sense; if *κράστις* could so often be corrupted to *κράτις*, surely *κρατιστόν* could be corrupted to *κρατιστόν*. But are there any other instances of *στ* being corrupted into *τ* so often in one word?

A. R. AINSWORTH.

ON DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

In the following notes, which deal mainly with the *De Compositione Verborum*, I have followed primarily the new Teubner text of Usener and Radermacher (referred to as U. R.), of which vol. 1 appeared in 1899, vol. 2 in 1904.

1. 5 εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ πᾶν . . . λέγειν μηδ' εἰκῆ συνθήσειν.

Considering (1) the rarity of such a mixture of tenses, (2) the frequency in MSS of this particular error, the writing of present for future when they are very similar, we should probably read λέξειν.

ibid. εἰς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὃ δεῖ πρῶτον νέους ἀσκέσθαι.

Write νέους. The dative with the passive present, though of course possible, is unlikely in Dionysius. ἀσκῶ can take two accusatives.

ib. 6 εἰ δ' ἐγγένηται μοι σχολή.

Probably εἰ δὲ γένηται. Is there any parallel for such a use of ἐγγίγνεσθαι?

ib. 7 ποίαν κρατίστην αὐτῶν εἶναι πείθομαι.

21. 146 τὰς μέντοι γενικὰς αὐτῆς διαφορὰς ταύτας εἶναι πείθομαι μόνας.

I suspect πείθομαι in both these places—in spite of θήσεται following almost immediately in the latter—should be τίθεμαι, as in 21. 145 εἰδικὰς μὲν διαφορὰς πολλὰς σφόδρα εἶναι τίθεμαι. Schäfer in this third passage would substitute πείθομαι for τίθεμαι (see his note), but it seems more natural to say 'I make three classes,' 'I lay it down that there are many distinctions,' than to say warmly 'I am convinced' that there are. Such uses of τιθέναι, τίθεσθαι are very common in Plato and Aristotle. So again in 26. 215 γέλωτος ἄξιον τίθεμαι.

4. 29 τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίοις ὀλίγον δεῖν πᾶσι πολλῇ ἐπιτήδευσις ἦν αὐτοῦ . . . χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον παντάπασιν ἡμελιθῆ καὶ οὐδεὶς ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ εἶναι.

For δεῖν, which can hardly be right, U. R. rather strangely suggest λοιπόν now. The error seems very unlikely. It is more probable that δεῖν represents an infinitive governed by α. εἶναι, and itself governing αὐτό, e.g. οὐδεὶς ᾤετο ἐπιτηδεύειν α. αὐτὸ εἶναι. ἐπιτηδεύειν suggests itself from ἐπιτηδευσις preceding, and the partial similarity of ᾤετο might occasion the mistake; but no doubt various verbs would do as well.

6. 39 ἰδεῖν τί μετὰ τίνος ἀρροζόμενον πέφυκε καλὴν καὶ ἡδεῖαν λήψεσθαι συζυγίαν.

It is very improbable that anyone would put a future infinitive after πέφυκε. Scores of infinitives must be found after it in Greek literature: is there another case of the tense being future? Perhaps we should read τί μετὰ τίνος α. <ὡς> πέφυκε κ. κ. ἢ. λήψεται σ. Two or three times over in this chapter we have both λήψεται (πότερον λήψεται and κατὰ ποίας ἐγκλίσεις . . . λήψεται), and πέφυκε with present infinitive.

ib. 40 I think πῶς must be repeated before ἀποκροῦσαι, or some equivalent in its place. With καὶ τρίτον εἰ κ.τ.λ., we cannot carry on the force of the πῶς above.

A few lines below (41) I cannot see why U. R. should alter πῶς οὐκ ἄμεινον to πῶς εὖ ἢ ἄμεινον. οὐκ ἄμεινον is a familiar expression, practically = *undesirable, to be avoided, better not*, and gives just the sense here required in contrast with ἐπιτηδείως.

9. 50 τελεῖα γὰρ ἂν ἡ λέξις ἦν . . . τὸ δὲ μέτρον ἡδίκητο καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔσχεν ἦν νῦν ἔχει χάριν.

After ον in μέτρον has not ἂν fallen out?

11. 55 τὴν πείραν αὐτὴν παρέξομαι μάρτυρα ἦν οὐχ οἷόν τε διαβάλλειν τοῖς κοινοῖς πάθεσιν ὁμολογουμένην.

Schäfer expresses διαβάλλειν by *reicere*, agreeing with the old translation *quam arguere potest nemo*. This may be right, but ἦν may also be the subject and δ. mean, as it sometimes does, *deceive*.

13. 71 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡδεῖα τις γίνεται λέξις, οὕτω γενναία τις ἄρα.

For ἄρα U. R. suggest ἐτέρα. Perhaps ἄλλη, as ἄλλα and ἄρα are certainly sometimes confused.

15. 87 μείζων . . . ἔσται . . . καὶ ἔτι βραχεῖα μένει.

Obviously μενεῖ. So too probably five lines above.

ib. 89 οὐ τὴν αὐτήν.

MSS vary between οὐ and οὔτε. Perhaps οὐ τι.

18. 112 τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα κείται τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς ἔτιχεν.

The MSS have ἔκκειται and ἔγκκειται. Perhaps ἐπί- or even σύγκκειται, as there was probably some reason for the ἐκ and ἐγ.

ib. 118 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτέρωθί μοι δηλοῦται σαφέστερον.

δεδηλωται may be conjectured.

ib. 126 In the quotation from Hegesias a man is stripped naked and dragged about rough ground: πιλούμενος δὲ κακοῖς περὶ πολλὰς τραχύτητας ἔκραζεν. πιλούμενος κακοῖς seems possible in itself, but strange in combination with περὶ πολλὰς τραχύτητας. Is it too bold to suggest that it stands for an earlier εἰλούμενος κακῶς?

20. 136 ὥσπερ ὅταν ἐνθυμώμεθα μηδὲν ὄλως ἡμᾶς ταραττεῖν μηδὲ παραλυπεῖν.

So the MS which U. R. call F; others have ταραττη and παραλυπη. I am inclined to suggest ταραττον and παραλυποῦν.

22. 167 γενομένη should be γινομένη, I think, as twice above τὴν γινομένην and αἱ γινομέναι.

25. 198 By another trifling change μέλλοι should be written μέλλει.

ib. 199 and 203 Is ἐξ ἀναπαίστων ῥυθμῶν really right, or should it be ἀναπαιστικῶν?

ib. 204 Did D. mean to call the *De Corona* the finest of speeches or the finest of Demosthenes' speeches? In the second case read ὃν ἐγὼ κράτιστον ἀποφαίνομαι πάντων <τῶν> λόγων.

26. 213 ἔγγιστα φαίνεται λόγοις τὸ . . . πεπλαιημένον.

τὰ πεπλανημένα?

ib. 214 ὡς δὲ ἀξιώ διατρεῖν κ.τ.λ.

As there is a ὡς just before, it would be neater to write φ̄ here.

ib. 224 In the last words of the book ἄν seems entirely out of place, and U. R. ought not to have introduced it. It is easy to see how σπουδαίαν grew out of σπουδαῖα.

I add a note or two on the other writings.

De Imit. 428 οἰκονομίας <ἐνεκεν> or <χάριν>? Cf. 430 lines 3 and 7. Otherwise the various genitives seem without construction.

Ad Pomp. 1. 750. Probably ἐπ' (for ἐν) αὐταῖς going with διατιθέμενος.

ib. 3. 766. γράψαι μέ <τι> περὶ αὐτῶν?

ib. 3. 776 The λείπει inserted by the edd. should surely be λείπεται, if they mean *is left, remains*.

ib. 6. 783 Slightly alter the order and read δημαγωγοῖς τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς.

ib. 6. 785 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ πως . . . ὁ μνθεόμενος ἐν Ἄιδου . . . ἐξετασμός ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δικαστῶν οὕτως ἀκριβῆς εἶναι ὡς ὁ διὰ τῆς Θεοπόμπου γραφῆς γινόμενος.

A pointed sentence has lost its point here by an unlucky accident which does not seem to have been detected. We have to read <οὐχ> οὕτως ἀκριβῆς.

Ars. Rhet. 1. 1. 225 οἰκτειράντων τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐπίπονον <ὄν> γένος? Otherwise the words are more like poetry than prose.

2. 1. 233 Read γε for τε after ψυχαῖς.

7. 6. 277 ἴνα μὴ καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ἀλλὰ τύχη μᾶλλον δοκῶσιν τῇ ἡττῇ κεχρησθαι. Sauppe may have been right in omitting καὶ before ψυχῇ. In any case should not μᾶλλον be μόνον? The same correction seems very probable (Pflugk) in Dio. Chrys. 45. 10.

9. 1. 322 ἀπέχει <τοῦ> ὀρθῶς λέγειν?

ib. 5. 331 λέγουσιν μὲν τὰ ἐναντία, πράττουσιν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.

ἐναντία so repeated is hardly Greek. The first seems an accidental anticipation of the second, representing some such word as προσήκοντα.

ib. 8. 348 τοῖς δὲ δήμοις πικρότερον.

It is hard to believe this should not be δημόταις or τῷ δήμῳ (made plural by the influence of τοῖς βασιλεῦσι). D. could scarcely follow the use of *Il.* 12. 213.

de Or. Ant. 1. 446 I incline to think οὐσίας should be οἰκίας, to which ἄρχειν is more suited. So διοικεῖν πόλεις in the corresponding part of the next sentence. The same confusion occurs in MSS of Lysias and Isocrates.

Lysias 3. 459 περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑταιρικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

Surely ἑρωτικῶν, as Sylburg suggested long ago. Well known from the *Phaedrus*.

4. 462 ὅς γε (ὅς τε. ὥστε) οὐδὲν τοῖς διὰ χειρὸς ἔχουσι τὸν ἄνδρα οὔτε ἀκαιρολογίας οὔτε ἀσαφείας δόξαν λαβεῖν.

U. R. conjecture and read δόξειεν ἄν for

δόξαν. δόξαν λαμβάνειν is a good Greek expression (e.g. Xen. *Cyrop.* 1. 6. 22 εἰ δὲ πείσεις ἐπαινέειν σε πολλοὺς ὅπως δόξαν λάβοις), but λαμβάνειν τι (μηδὲν) ἀκαιρολογίας is perhaps more questionable. In any case I would suggest retaining δόξαν and inserting something, e.g. δόξαν λαβεῖν <δίκαιος ἂν δοκοίη>.

Isaeus 4. 592 παντὸς μάλιστα ought, one would think, to be either πάντων μάλιστα or παντὸς μᾶλλον.

Demosth. 2. 956 ἢ δ' ἐτέρα λέξις ἢ λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ δοκοῦσα κατασκευὴν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν τὴν πρὸς ἰδιώτην ἔχειν λόγον καὶ ὁμοίότητα πολλοὺς μὲν ἔσχε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας. προστάτας.

As this stands, πρὸς is unintelligible nor can κατασκευή, ἰσχύς, and ὁμοιότης really be coordinated. A little reflection however suggests that after λόγον another word parallel to ὁμοιότητα, probably οικειότητα, has fallen out. What D. says of this style is that its affinity and similarity to ordinary speech is its κατασκευή and ἰσχύς. For οικειότης πρὸς cf. e.g. *Ar. Pol.* 1262 b 19 τὴν οικειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

ib. 23. 1026 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκλέγειν . . . εἶ τι κάκιστον εἶρηται . . . οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον τὸ δ' ἐξ ἄμφοτέρων μάλιστα εὐδοκιμούντων, ταῦτα παρ' ἀλλήλα θεῖς ἐξετάζειν τὰ κρείττω τοῦτο ἔδοξα εἶναι δίκαιον.

There seem to be two mistakes here. First κάκιστον should be κάκιον (like μᾶλλον perhaps for μάλιστα above). The superlative is too strong, and the confusion of the two forms is by no means uncommon. Secondly τὸ δὲ κ.τ.λ. yields no proper sense or construction. U. R. cite the conjectures παρ' ἄμφοτέροις and παρ' ἄμφοτέρω, but these do not really mend matters. I would read τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄμφοτέρων μάλιστα εὐδοκιμούντα, ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. The participle was probably miswritten under the influence of the genitive preceding it. The nominative θεῖς is not strictly grammatical with τοῦτο εἶναι δίκαιον, but this irregularity occurs elsewhere.

Thuc. 2. 813 καὶ οὐδ' οὗτος ἡμᾶς ὁ λογισμὸς <οὐκ> εἰσῆλθεν?

ib. 9. 826 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ . . . ἢ κατὰ τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἢ κατὰ χρόνους εὐπαρακολουθήτους.

Perhaps the adverb εὐπαρακολουθήτως. So in 37. 908 ἡρμηγεμένον οὐκ εὐπαρακολουθήτως.

ib. 51. 940. For the οὕτω and τοῦτο of the MSS I suggest αὐτό. οὕτω leaves ποιούντες without any proper object.

ib. 52. 942 παράξομεν καὶ παρεξόμεθα? Future tenses seem called for.

H. RICHARDS.

LONGINUS ON THE RHYTHM OF DEMOSTHENES.

(*De Sublimitate*, CHAP. XXXIX § 4, *De Corona* 188.)

ὑψηλὸν γέ που δοκεῖ νόημα καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι θαυμάσιον, ὃ τῷ ψήφισματι ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπιφέρει· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῆ πόλει περιστάνα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡσπερ νέφος· ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆ ἁρμονία πεφώνηται· ὅλον τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν εἶρηται ῥυθμῶν· εὐγενέστατοι δ' οὗτοι καὶ μεγαποιοί, διὰ καὶ τὸ ἠρῶν, ὃν ἴσμεν κάλλιστον, μέτρον συυστᾶσι· τότε *ἐπέτιοιγε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτὸ χώρας μετάθεσ, ὅποι δὴ ἐθέλεις, 'τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, ὡσπερ νέφος, ἐποίησε τὸν τότε κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν,' ἢ νῆ Δία μίαν ἀπόκοψον συλλαβὴν μόνον 'ἐποίησε παρελθεῖν ὡς νέφος,' καὶ εἶρη τὸσον ἢ ἁρμονία τῷ ὕψει συνηχεῖ. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ 'ὡσπερ νέφος' ἐπὶ μακροῦ τοῦ πρώτου ῥυθμοῦ βέβηκε, τέτρασι καταμετρούμενον χρόνοις· ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ τῆς μίας συλλαβῆς 'ὡς νέφος' εὐθὺς ἀκρωτηριάζει

τῆ συγκοπῇ τὸ μέγεθος. ὡς ἔμπαλιν, ἐὰν ἐπεκτείνης 'παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὡσπερὶ νέφος,' τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει, οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ἔτι προσπίπτει, ὅτι τῷ μήκει τῶν ἄκρων χρόνον συνεκλύεται καὶ διαχαλαῖται τὸ ὕψος τὸ ἀπότομον.

If any satisfactory explanation of this passage has been suggested, it has escaped (which does not seem likely) the diligence of Professor Rhys Roberts. In his translation the words ὅλον ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν εἶρηται ῥυθμῶν are represented by 'the thought is expressed throughout in dactylic rhythms'; and in the critical appendix he cites, but apparently without faith, a proposed interpretation of this statement. Plainly, if this or anything like it is what the Greek critic means, there is, between his notion of rhythm

and ours, an impassable gulf. The statement, according to our notions, is simply absurd and untrue.

Now in general we do not find any such gulf to exist. Rhythms which pleased the Greeks generally please us, and their remarks on such matters are generally at least intelligible. To assume such a total discord in a particular case cannot therefore be either satisfactory or probable.

Let us notice then first, that the translation, as such, is dubious, if only because it disregards the article: ἐπὶ δακτυλικῶν εἴρηται ῥυθμῶν might perhaps bear the sense supposed, 'is expressed in dactylic rhythms', but not ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν. The dactylic rhythms in Demosthenes' sentence, are the two dactyls, τὸν τότε and -περ νέφος.¹ For this use of ῥυθμός see the sequel, where the spondee ὡσπερ ('measured by four times', that is to say, equivalent to four 'shorts') is called a *rhythm*. The question then is, what is the thing which is said ὅλον εἰρήσθαι ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ῥυθμῶν, 'these two dactyls'; and in what sense is this said of it. I would answer, (1) the thing is 'that which Demosthenes attaches to the ψήφισμα' or predicates of it, ὃ τῷ ψήφισματι ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπιφέρει, that is to say, the whole sentence in one view, but in another view more particularly the predicative part of it, τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάνα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡσπερ νέφος. And (2) this sentence or predication is said ὅλον εἰρήσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν ῥυθμῶν, in the sense that 'its pronunciation rests' or depends for its effect 'wholly upon the dactyls'. The preposition and case have nearly the same sense as in ὄρμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀγκύρας of a ship, or as in the ἐπὶ μακροῦ τοῦ πρώτου ῥυθμοῦ βέβηκε of the critic himself, where the words ὡσπερ νέφος, considered separately and differently, are said to 'stand', that is, to depend for their effect, upon the fact that ὡσπερ is used, and not, for example, ὡς or ὡσπερεῖ. In this sense it is, I think, intelligible and true to say that the correspondence of thought and rhythm in the sentence of Demosthenes rests upon the facts (1) that there are but two dactyls in it, two places only where two short syllables come together, the second syllable of ἐποίησεν being taken as long, and (2) that the dactyls are placed where they are, at the beginning and at the end of the predication. That Demosthenes is careful of his dactyls, and about the concurrence of short syllables generally, is notorious; his

practice in this respect has even been raised into a rule and a critical test. Here the first dactyl (τὸν τότε) catches the ear; and since that rhythm does not recur till the end (-περ νέφος), the hearing is suspended and waits for it, so that when it finally comes, it gives a sort of physical relief, answering to the emotional relief experienced when 'the danger passed away as a cloud.' To reproduce this in another language, and especially in one which has not *quantity*, is impossible; but I find no difficulty in understanding what is meant, or in assenting to it. We see that in the experimental re-arrangement which the critic suggests,² this effect wholly disappears, and also that this must, as he says, be the result of any change in the order whatsoever. His remarks upon the superiority of ὡσπερ to ὡς or ὡσπερεῖ are more subtle, and perhaps not every Greek would have gone so far, but even here one can feel and recognize that ὡσπερεῖ would be comparatively clumsy; the cloud would dissolve, so to speak, not quick enough. The objection to ὡς νέφος I should not have anticipated, but here we are especially at a disadvantage in having (I speak for myself) no living notion of an *enclitic*.

It remains to consider how, upon this view, we should correct the defective τό τε. Several suggestions are possible, nor is it necessary to choose between them. (1) We may still suppose, with Professor Rhys Roberts, that τέλος (or something more) is lost after τό τε, the point then being that, as the whole depends on the dactyls, so especially does 'the close.' In that case αὐτό in ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτὸ χώρας μετὰθες will be τὸ τέλος, the close or final dactyl. But since in reality both dactyls are necessary to the effect, and the critic says so, he would rather spoil than improve his statement by drawing attention separately to the second. Perhaps then (2) it would be better to omit τό τε, and for ὅλον τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ. to read ὅλον τι γὰρ κ.τ.λ., 'for it (the sentence) is pronounced wholly, as we may say, upon the dactyls', or 'rests wholly in a manner' upon them, the addition of τι qualifying the statement, particularly the word ὅλον, and showing, as the fact is, that ὅλον εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν ῥυθμῶν is to be understood in a special limited sense. The insertion of τό τε (properly τότε or τὸ τότε) may be due to a marginal or interlinear explanation of αὐτό, the dactyl being indicated by the

¹ Whether the critic is right in counting -περ νέφος as a dactyl, we need not consider. It is clear that he does.

² Here we should insert dots to represent the words omitted (thus, τὸν τότε . . . κίνδυνον), the omission being merely for brevity.

distinctive part of it, the two short syllables. But *αῖρό* does not want any such explanation. When the critic speaks of 'shifting it from its proper place,' he means by *it* the relative position of the two dactyls, their relation to one another. This, and not either dactyl, or even both, is the essential matter. The use of the neuter pronoun is loose, but idiomatic and economical.

The exact reading, however, is of no

importance in such a case, if we know the general sense; and about this I do not feel any doubt. The interest of the conclusion is chiefly negative; we have no ground here for attributing to the author of the treatise conceptions of rhythm or a use of metrical terms unintelligible to us, or substantially different from our own.

A. W. VERRALL.

GREEK *κίγχαρ* AND HEBREW *KIKKAR*.

THE texts of Josephus *Antiq. Jud.* iii. 6. 7 (Niese 144) give the form *κίγχαρες* (*κιχαρες* O, *cinchares* Lat.) for the Hebrew name for 'talent.' The sentence runs in Niese's text: *ἴσταται λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ κεχωνευμένη διάκενος σταθμὸν ἔχουσα μνᾶς ἑκατόν*. Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι *κίγχαρες*, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶτταν σημαίνει *τάλαντον*. Some texts insert *ἄς* after *ἑκατόν* (Lat. *centum quod*), in the attempt to make the sentence run more smoothly. The form *κίγχαρες* can be neither a Greek acc. plur., nor a transliteration of the Hebrew plural *kikkarim*; further, a singular is required, as is shown by the number of the verb in the

second clause. The inference seems obvious that the last two letters of *κίγχαρες* are due to a dittography of the preposition which follows. As regards the form, the nasalisation of the former of the two k's is paralleled by many similar cases in transliteration from Semitic forms; Isidore Lévy (*Rev. Archéol.* 1904, iv. p. 388) has given a list, from which I instance only *Σαγχουνιάθων* = *Sakkuniaton*. But even in Attic we have *ἐγκαίδεκα* instead of *ἑκκαίδεκα* (Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. Att. Inschr.*³ p. 158-9, note 1344).

G. F. HILL.

ETYMOLOGICA.

Αἰών.

THAT *αἰών* 'time' or 'life' was also used by poets and in Ionic prose in the sense of 'backbone,' 'spinal marrow,' may perhaps be taken as proved. The grammarians preserved the tradition, and a linguistic parallel is to hand in the Italian *vita*, which means the back (*quella parte del corpo umano che è sopra l' anche fino alle spalle*, Fanfani).

I wish to carry the parallel between Greek and Italian one step farther. *Vita* means not only life, and waist or back, but also the clothing by which the torso is covered (*quella parte dell' abito che veste questa parte della persona*, Fanfani), i.e. the 'body' or bodice of a dress. Now if *αἰών* passed through the third stage of meaning as well as the two first, we are able to interpret *Bacchylides* xvi. 112

ἃ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν αἰόνα πορφυρέαν

where Blass (ed. 2. 1899) says *αἰόνα vestimentum quodcunque significat, sed prorsus ignota vox est*. For *αἰόνα*, *αἰόνα*, cf. the case of *πρωῶν*, Kühner-Blass i. p. 511.

I can find no other text in Greek where *αἰών* is used in this sense, but for instances of abstracts solidified into signifying articles of clothing I need only mention *consuetudo* and *habitus*. The history of the English *dress* too is somewhat analogous.

Ὀρσοθήρη.

This word in antiquity was derived from *ὄρνημι* etc. in the sense more or less of *θήρα ὑψηλή* 'a raised door'; and this meaning is usually accepted now and may be found in the latest editions of the *Odyssey*. The archaeologists have in consequence arranged

for a raised door in the wall of the Homeric megaron, and for a passage at a higher level to which this raised door gave access.

Compounds of *δρννμι*, however, whether in *δρσι-* or *δρσο-*, appear to have an active sense: so the only real instance of *δρσο-*, Pindar's *δρσοτριάννα*. Döderlein therefore seems to have formed the word more easily when he took it as = *δρροθύρη*. "*Ορσος* appears not to be found, but the compound *δρροπύγιον* occurs in an inser. ap. Hoffmann, *Ionie*, No. 169, p. 72 as *ορσοπυγια*, and the *ρσ* is of course guaranteed by the cognates in English and German. A good parallel to *δρροθύρη* both as to formation and meaning appears to be *δρρόβηλος* (*όδός*: *Ἰταλιώται*, Hesych.). Till some inscription yields this word we cannot be certain of its meaning; but whether it means 'back-step' or 'back-

way' (*όδός* is given by Hesych. as a meaning of *βηλός*), it illustrates *δρροθύρη*. Further the ambiguous use of the word in Simon. Amorg. 17, with the parallel adduced by Bergk and the Latin equivalent which I need not quote, are inconsistent with any reference to *δρννμι*.

Like the Latin *posterula*, *postica*, *posticum* the word meant simply 'back-door'; and lest Mr. Myres should be unable to locate one in the Odyssean house, I may point out that as a 'postern' is not confined to the back of a building, so *δρροθύρα* may have early come to mean merely a postern; and indeed Simonides' *τῆς ὀπισθεν δρροθύρης* shews that this was so.¹

¹ *Ὀρσόλοπος* has been explained, and *δρροδάκνη* may be, on the same system.

T. W. ALLEN.

PHARSALIA NOSTRA.¹

sero iam emendatur antiquitas.

CICERO *Orator* § 155.

Classical scholars, it is notorious, are often accused of pedantry; and it must be owned that there is something incidental to these studies that develops a small and inconsequent precision. Why otherwise are we breaking with the traditions of our literature to put an *e* for an *i* in the English name of the poet of the Aeneid while on the other hand we spell the Latin name with a letter that no Roman used? And for a similar reason the battle of Pharsalia is being erased from the pages of history and over it a multitude of scribes are writing the battle of Pharsalus. To discover whether this change of name has the merit of a mere exactness may now seem a trivial and a not altogether novel investigation²; but it is one that may at least be brought to a conclusion. For though, *pace* Baron Stoffel and Mr. Peskett, the place of the great engagement will never be ascertained until the tumulus that holds the bones of the Caesarians has yielded to the excavator's pick, its proper name or names there is, and has been, ample evidence from contemporary witnesses to determine.

¹ With apologies to the shade of Lucan, ix. 985, and Professor Housman, *Classical Review*, xiv. p. 129.

² I have indicated its lines in the Historical Introduction to my edition of Book VII. pp. xxxv. sq.

To clear our ideas of confusion, let us examine the expressions used for another conflict which Lucan (7. 408) asserts to have been a less disaster to his country. *Cannae* was to the Roman imagination the central spot in the scene of that great defeat. And the connexion takes three alternative forms in Roman writings. The battle is called

1. *Cannense proelium* or the like.
 2. *Cannarum pugna* or the like.
- or 3. simply *Cannae*.

Now *Cannae* was a town, and *Pharsalus* (by which we understand the new *Pharsalus*) was a town, and if the latter had been associated with a battlefield in the same manner as the former, the uses of the town-names should reflect this correspondence. In other words we expect to meet *Pharsali pugna* (2) and *Pharsalus* (3) as equivalents of *Pharsalica pugna* (1).

Caesar and Cicero may be cited first. Do they, these witnesses of the first order, use a single expression to link the battle to the town *Pharsalus*? Not one. For Caesar it is the 'proelium in *Thessalia factum*' (*B.C.* iii. 100. 3, 101. 5, 111. 3). For Cicero it is the *Pharsalicum proelium*, the *Pharsalica acies*, the *Pharsalia pugna*, the *Pharsalia fuga*, and so on. It has been observed that Caesar's expression is 'singular.' Singular indeed it is, if the proper

name of his great victory was the battle of Pharsalus.

With Caesar and Cicero we place another contemporary witness whose location of the site of the battle is more precise. The author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* states in c. 48 that the *proelium Pharsalicum* (as he calls it in c. 42) was fought at *Old Pharsalus, Palaepharsali*. His statement, repeated in Frontinus *Strat.* 2. 3. 22, Eutropius 6. 16 and Orosius (inf.), who no doubt got it from a good and ancient source, conflicts with nothing that we learn from elsewhere and may be, as hitherto it has been, unhesitatingly accepted. If now we only knew where Old Pharsalus was! But we do not. Baron Stoffel, who is quite certain where the battle was fought, is only 'tempted' (vol. ii. p. 244) to identify Old Pharsalus with some ruins which he found near the site which he fancies. He helps himself towards this conclusion by the following argument :

De tous les auteurs anciens Appien est celui qui fixe le mieux l'emplacement du champ de bataille. 'Pompés, dit-il, rangea ses troupes en bataille dans la plaine entre la ville de Pharsale et le fleuve Enipée' (*Guerres Civiles*, ii. 75). Longtemps avant Appien l'auteur de la *Guerre d'Alexandrie* avait déjà dénommé la bataille une première fois d'après la ville de Pharsale et une seconde fois d'après celle de la vieille Pharsale 'Octavius ex fuga Pharsalici praelii' (*Guerre d'Alexandrie* 42) et 'Iis temporibus quibus Caesar ad Dyrrhachium Pompeium obsidebat et Palaepharsalitem feliciter gerebat' (*Guerre d'Alexandrie* 48). Cette double citation montre clairement que les deux Pharsale étaient peu éloignées l'une de l'autre, opinion confirmée d'ailleurs par le témoignage de Strabon écrivant que le Thetidium se trouvait près les Pharsale.—*Histoire de Jules César, Guerre Civile*, vol. ii. p. 244.

Appian apart, Baron Stoffel relies on a 'clear proof' from a contemporary Roman writer and a corroboration from a Greek one. The proof I must pass over for the moment; but the corroboration may now be examined.

The geographer says ix. c. 5 § 6 οἱ δ' ὕστερον τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ μὲν εἰπόντες χώραν διατετασθαι φασίν <eis> τὰς Θῆβας τὰς Φθιώτιδας ἀπὸ Παλαιφάρσαλου, ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετιδαῖον ἐστὶ πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας καὶ τοῦ Θετιδαίου τεκμαιρόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μέρος εἶναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν. 'In this district is the Thetideum which is near to both Pharsaluses, the Old and the New.' Upon which it is observed that it confirms the opinion that 'les deux Pharsale étaient peu éloignées l'une de l'autre.' Things, that is to say, that are near to the same thing are near to

one another; and, so since St. Denis and Versailles are both of them near to Paris, St. Denis must be near to Versailles.

Of later writers the poet Lucan, whom Baron Stoffel, and not without a certain justice, ranks among the historical authorities for the Civil War, demands a special mention. He makes more frequent reference to the battle than any other extant writer and his nomenclature is most instructive. The noun *Pharsalia* occurs 15 times in the poem. Twice it means the district, 7. 175 and 535 (seemingly), once, 9. 985, Lucan's own poem or a portion of it. In the other 12 places it is the name of the battle. For Lucan the poet the word *Pharsalia* was practically a monoptote. The laws which regulated his verse confined his use of it to the nominative or vocative case. To eke out the declension, did he turn to what we are required to regard as the proper name of the battle? Does he who uses *Utica Munda* and *Cannae* for the battles summon to his aid the obvious and convenient *Pharsalus*? He does not dream of it. Pharsalus he mentions once 6. 329 'melius mansura sub undis | Emathis aequorei regnum Pharsalos Achillis.' That Pharsalos here is not the battle needs of course no demonstration. It may conceivably be a town or its site. In that case it is of course Old Pharsalus. But it is far more likely to be the district used deliberately by Lucan in order to avoid the use of *Pharsalia* in application to Achilles.

In Lucan's metrical declension, as we may call it, of *Pharsalia* the cases are N.V. *Pharsalia*, G.D. *Thessaliae*, Acc. *Thessaliam* Abl. *Thessalia*. I cite two or three examples: 7. 164 'usque ad *Thessaliam* Romana et publica signa'; 8. 45 '*Thessaliam* nox omnis habet' (of Cornelia in Lesbos); *ib.* 510 '*Thessaliae*que reus,' 10. 412 '*Thessaliae* subducta acies.' And so with the corresponding adjectives: 8. 507 '*Thessalicas*—uolucres'; *ib.* 516 '*Pharsalica* fata'; *ib.* 529 sq. 'cineres—*Thessalicos*,' just as the metre requires. Lucan then agrees with Caesar in thinking that our battle may be appropriately called the Thessalian battle or the battle of Thessalia.

This is a convenient place to enumerate the admitted or reputed significations of *Pharsalia*. It means (1) the country of Pharsalus, *i.e.* the district in which lay the two Pharsaluses, Old and New: (2) the battle whose title we are investigating. (3) It is said also to mean the town of New Pharsalus, modern Fersala. For this third use I can find no evidence. Two places of

Pliny *N.H.* 7 § 94 'captis *apud Pharsaliam Pompeii Magni scriniiis* and *ib.* 26 § 19 'cur Caesaris miles famem *ad Pharsaliam sensit?*' have been cited; but here the word clearly means no more than the place of the battle. Florus also is pressed into the service. But his evidence tends to show the exact opposite. In *iv.* 2 §§ 66 and 89 *Pharsalia* is the battle and is contrasted with 'Thapsus,' 'Munda,' and so forth. In § 64 '*in Pharsalia*' (the place) is opposed to '*in Africa*'; and Florus' idea of the battle's place is made evident from § 43 '*proelio sumpta est Thessalia*' immediately followed by '*Philippicis campis*' with the common substitution of *Philippi* for *Pharsalia*.¹ The notion then that *Pharsalia* might be employed as a loose substitute for *Pharsalus* receives no countenance from the actual usage of Latin authors.

One possible objection it yet remains to consider. It might be argued that the adjectives *Pharsalicus* and *Pharsalius* must mean 'belonging to *Pharsalus* the town,' and that this ends the matter. No doubt *Pharsalici Campi* means 'the plains of *Pharsalus*.' But derivatives of this kind have an elastic meaning. *Romanus* is the adjective of *Roma*; yet no one contends that *Romana virtus* means 'the valour of the city of Rome.'

Baron Stoffel's use of the language of the author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* to bring the two *Pharsaluses* close together is an odd variety of this argument. The '*Pharsalian plain*' was so named from old *Pharsalus*. The foundation of a new town could only effect its sense of '*Pharsalian plain*' to the extent of giving it the meaning 'the plain in which were both *Pharsaluses*.' But Baron Stoffel, in the words which I have put into spaced type, would limit its reference to the newer *Pharsalus*, and this in a writer who shows that he was aware of the existence of both and for whose purpose only the first was of the slightest importance. The true significance of the variation, which occurs again in Orosius 6. 15. 27 '*ad Palaepharsalum*,' *ib.* 25 '*in campis Pharsalicis*,' is pointed out below.

No Roman writer that I have examined affords any indication whatever that he placed the battle at or near *Pharsalus* or *Fersala*. You have to go to late Greek writers such as Plutarch, Appian, Dio

Cassius, and Polyænus, to find this town expressly associated with the engagement.² Appian *Civil Wars* *ii.* 75 ventures on the statement that the opposing armies were ranged *ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ*. But the rest do not go beyond such vague phrases as *ἡ κατὰ Φάρσαλον μάχη* (or *ἡττα*) or *οἱ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀγῶνες* Plutarch *Cic.* 39 fin. or *περὶ Φάρσαλον* (Plutarch *Caesar* 62, Polyænus 8. 23, 25). Plutarch in two places (*Caesar* 51 and *Ant.* 8) and Polyænus in one (8. 23. 29) have the inaccurate expression *ἐν Φαρσάλῳ*. The circumstance that in the narrative of the Greek writers their town emerges into prominence is of course just what we should expect.

In the Roman view of the engagement then it was either (1) the battle at *Palaepharsalus*, or (2) the battle of the *Pharsalian* or of the *Thessalian* district. These two latter designations were less definite than the former one, but they were not less correct. Let me illustrate by an assumed analogue from English. Suppose the plain in which lies the modern city of *Salisbury* and, at a distance from it of six or seven miles, the site of the ancient city, *Old Sarum*, had been designated by a special name, say, *Sarisberia*. Then a battle fought at *Old Sarum* would be correctly called the battle of *Old Sarum*, the battle in the *Salisbury Plains* or the battle of *Sarisberia*, but not with the same correctness the battle of *Salisbury*.

Among the facts to which I have drawn attention are two which may seem to call for further explanation. The first is the use of *Thessalia* as an apparent synonym of *Pharsalia*. When *Caesar* says that the battle was fought on the plains of *Thessalia* he does not mean, I take it, that it was fought on the plains of *Thessaly* (he might almost as well have said that it was fought on the plains of *Greece*); but that it was fought on the plains of the district that we know otherwise as *Thessaliotis*, in which were *Pharsalus*, *Metropolis* and other places. This district is called the *Thessalian plain* by *Strabo*: *ix. c.* 5 § 3 *ἔχει δ' ἡ μὲν Φθιώτις τὰ νότια τὰ παρὰ τὴν Οἴτην ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ Ἰνυλαικοῦ μέχρι τῆς Δολοπίας καὶ τῆς Πίνδου, πλατινόμενα δὲ μέχρι Φαρσάλου καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν*.

The second is the rather curious punctiliousness of the Roman usage. Why should mention of the town have been eschewed,

² The passages are cited in Pape's *Dictionary of Proper Names*, s.v. *Φάρσαλος*.

¹ The origin of this confusion I have discussed at length in my note on *Lucan vii.* 872. It is possible that amongst the contributory causes was a misunderstanding of the restricted meaning of *Thessalia*, for which see below.

almost studiously one might suppose, in the designations of the battle? The question is as natural as the answer is easy. The silence of our authorities shows that the town itself had no connexion with the battle with the operations that preceded it or with the operations that followed it. Had an earthquake swallowed it up, its disappearance would not have made a jot of difference to a single combatant on either side. This surely is a fact which should be noted by our historians, and, if noted, then not obscured by the invention of a battle 'of Pharsalus.'

This punctiliousness of usage warrants yet another deduction. When the freemen of Old Salisbury or Sarum met under the trees which marked the place of the ancient borough to elect their parliamentary representatives, the election might properly be described as taking place in the Salisbury district, and when the same battle is represented as being fought now at Old Pharsalus and now on the Pharsalian plain, we may conclude without rashness that this Old Pharsalus was then no more than an insignificant hamlet.

The noteworthy alternation of *Pharsalia* and *Thessalia* in the hexameters of Lucan provokes a further observation. There are three verses in Roman poets where a scribe's *Pharsalia* makes the metre halt.

Catullus 64. 37 :

Pharsaliam coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant.

Here Professor Ellis in his commentary defends the MS. reading by the statement, already refuted, that 'Pharsalia is the name of both a town and a district.'

So then the acknowledged sense of the verse requires the change to 'Pharsalum' or 'Pharsalon.'

Statius *Achilleis* 1. 152 :

nunc illum non Ossa capit, non Pelion ingens
Pharsaliae niues.

This is the reading of the best MS. (P); but the others are united on *Thessaliae* which we have seen may stand for its equivalent. Baehrens' *Pharsali* would also remove the difficulty, were it necessary to resort to conjecture.

The third passage is

Calpurnius Siculus 4. 101 :

Pharsaliae soluerunt sibila cannae.

The allusion here is to Pan; and *Parrhasiae* 'Arcadian' is the easy and necessary correction of Heinsius.

This trio of cripples a number of scholars have propped back to back in the hope that they might thus retain their position. If this gallant endeavour is to be successful, it must in addition be provided with an answer to the question: 'If it is allowable to force the syllables *Pharsali-* into a single foot of a hexameter, why has Lucan studiously avoided the forms *Pharsalia* and *Pharsalius* in such a position and used instead *Thessalia* and *Thessalius*?'

Note.—The above article is a development of a paper read before the *Cambridge Philological Society* on May 7, 1903. A brief abstract of it was published in the *Society's Proceedings* in 1904.

J. P. POSTGATE.

VIRGIL AEN. IV 225.

Vade age, nate, uoca zephyros et labere
pinnis,
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine
qui nunc
expectat fatisque datas non respicit
urbes,
adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per
auras.

'*expectat*, moratur, deterit tempus' says Seruius; and the context will allow the

verb no other meaning. But from Seruius' day to ours there has been no authority forthcoming for this use of *expectare*, and, what is a graver matter, there is no affinity between this use and its established use, nor even any road discernible by which it could arrive at a meaning so unlike its own. Its own meaning is here out of the question, for Aeneas was not *waiting* nor *awaiting* anything; 'qua spe inimica in gente moratur?' asks Jove in 235, 'qua spe Libycis

teris otia terris?' asks Mercury in 271: 'nulla spe' is the answer; his delay was purposeless.

If, instead of *expectat*, there were a gap at the beginning of the verse, we should fill it with no verb (for even *cunctatur* would be inconsistent with *non respicit*) but rather with some accusative meaning *Italiam*. At v 82 we read 'finis Italos fataliaque arua,' at iv 355 'quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus aruis,' and here we might expect to find

Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
Hesperiam fatisque datas non respicit
urbes.

The difference in look between *Hesperiam* and *expectat*, though slight compared with the difference in sense between *expectat* and *moratur*, is nevertheless, I daresay, more quickly and sharply perceived. Our bodies are much superior to our minds; and the human eye, though severely criticised by Helmholtz, is at any rate an instrument of greater precision than the average human brain. Few eyes are so dim as to see little

difference between *expectat* and *Hesperiam*; but many brains are cloudy enough to think *expecto* much the same as *moror*, because, I suppose, it is possible to connect both the one verb and the other with the notion of doing nothing. From *Hesperiam* to *expectat* there is a more practicable route. The mispronunciation of *hes-* as *ex-* which so often confounds *hesternus* with *externus* is as old as Virgil's MSS: viii 543 *hesternum* P, *externum* MR. This has converted *Hesp-* to *exp-* in Sil. i 4 *Hesperiae*] *experie* LV and Luc. ii 57 *Hesperium*] *experium* Taurinensis Dorvillii. The further change of *experiam* through *expertam* (georg. ii 382 *ingeniis* R, *ingentis* MP) to *expectam* (georg. iii 369 *conferto* MP, *confecto* RV) recurs at Stat. Theb. xi 339 *experiare*] *expertare* P, *expectare* P²; and from *expectam* nothing could issue but *expectat*. The chain of errors is no longer than at georg. ii 315: *persuadeat auctor* M, then *persuadeat author*, then (three changes) *persuadiacanthor*, then finally *persuadit acantho* P.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON THE NEW FRAGMENT OF THE SO-CALLED LAUDATIO TURIAE (C.I.L. VI. 1527).

ALL students of Roman law know the inscription which goes by this name; and that part of it which raises a complicated question of legal inheritance is to be found in the later editions of Bruns' *Fontes Juris Romani*. The whole surviving fragments, partly preserved in the Villa Albani in the original marble, partly in the form of copies made long ago of fragments now lost, contain a record of domestic life of exceptional human interest; the heartfelt utterance of a husband on the death of a wife absolutely devoted to him for forty-one years, and addressed, unlike all other *laudationes*, to herself and not to an audience. The portrait which he draws of her is no rhetorical exaggeration, but mainly a record of facts, and she lives in it for ever as a woman of extraordinary energy, ability, and good sense, yet a real tender-hearted unselfish woman, devoted to her household duties and to the interests of her husband and her relations, unfortunate only in having never borne him a son. The most touching pas-

sage in it is perhaps that in which, apparently after the death of an only daughter,¹ he records how she implored him to divorce her and raise up seed by another wife; he breaks out into a passionate protest against the very thought of such treachery to one who had rescued him by her prudence and self-devotion from imminent dangers, and had lived with him in unbroken harmony for so many years.

For the study of this famous inscription, which may count as a fragment of Roman literature, something had been done before 1863 when Mommsen took it in hand, and for the first time made it intelligible as a whole. He read a paper on it to the Berlin Academy, which was published in a separate form, and is now reprinted with the addition of the new fragment which is chiefly the

¹ This is a conjecture of Mommsen's based on the fact recorded in the *laudatio* (Part II. line 53) that according to her wishes he adopted a daughter after her death, his own having presumably died. It cannot, however, be regarded as certain.

subject of this paper, in the first volume of his *Gesammelte Schriften*. This fragment was found in 1898 near the Via Portuense, and was first published in the *Notizie dei Scavi* of that year by Vaglieri: it has since been printed with a short commentary by O. Hirschfeld in the *Wiener Studien* for 1902, who has also inserted it in its proper place in the whole inscription as we have it, as editor of the volume of Mommsen's works just mentioned. There can be no doubt that it belongs to the *Laudatio Turiae*. Though it consists of only ten lines, none of which seem to contain more than about three quarters of the original ones, *i.e.* the latter part of each line, it seems to fit very naturally into a large gap in the middle of the whole inscription though without filling it up. It gives us the only letters we possess of the original heading, which can be completed as (V)XORIS; but unluckily the wife's name is not preserved with it. We must therefore wait for further discoveries in order to make absolutely sure of the identity of this wonderful woman. Meanwhile, however, it may be as well to see whether any new light is thrown by the fragment on the question of identity. Both Vaglieri and Hirschfeld insist that it puts out of court the theory of Philipp della Torre, accepted by Mommsen and most scholars up to 1898, that the lady was Turia, wife (as we know from Val. Max. 6. 7. 2) of a Q. Lucretius, whose romantic adventures in the proscriptions of B.C. 43 are recorded by Appian 4. 44.

In order to explain the place which the new fragment should take in the inscription as we have it, it is necessary to understand that the *Laudatio* obviously consisted of two parts, roughly answering to the two parts of the surviving fragments, which are divided, as has been said above, by a gap which may have been a considerable one. In the first part, which is mutilated at the beginning, the chief topics are the prudence, energy, and unselfishness of the wife in rescuing her father's will from an attack made on its validity by her relations, and the way in which she and the speaker dealt with the *patrimonium* they thus inherited; these matters are only interrupted by two paragraphs in which he speaks of the long period of their happy married life, and of his wife's many domestic and other virtues. This digression looks to me as if the speaker thought that he was getting too legally technical, and that the *laudatio* proper was not sufficiently obvious. However this may be, it is, I think, quite clear that in this

first part of the document he never really travels beyond the beginning of their married life: according to an almost certain completion of the text¹ (line 3) the marriage had not taken place when the parents of the wife were suddenly murdered together (perhaps by their own slaves as Mommsen suggested), and the affair of the will must have happened soon afterwards, whether when the speaker and his wife were still only betrothed or actually married is uncertain. But before we reach the end of Part I, the details of the management of the *patrimonium* clearly indicate that the marriage has been completed; and then comes the gap of which I have spoken. The question of the approximate date of the marriage I must postpone till we have considered the contents of Part II.

This second part, before the discovery of the new fragment, began with a mutilated passage which seems to refer to a return from absence or exile, which the husband owed quite as much to the energy and *pietas* of his wife, as to the clemency of someone in power; and as the well preserved succeeding paragraphs tell the story of a wonderful escape, of the vain efforts of the wife to persuade Lepidus to carry out the restitution accorded to her husband by Octavian (Caesar Augustus as he is called by anticipation), of the brutal conduct of Lepidus, and the final *clementia* of Caesar, it has been assumed, and perhaps rightly, that this powerful person was Octavian himself.² The *laudatio* then proceeds to the happy time of peace after Actium (*pacato orbe terrarum, restituta republica*), the want of children, the proposed divorce and the speaker's horror at the bare idea of it, and the death of the wife: ending with words which in a religious sense have not obtained the attention they deserve, *te di Manes tui ut quietam patiantur atque ita tueantur opto*.

I now give the new fragment; though it does not join on with any of the others at any point, it will be obvious where it should come in the whole inscription.

¹ Orbata es re(pente ante nuptiar)um diem utroque pa(rente in penatium soli)tudine una oc(cisis). It is difficult to see how the first five words can be otherwise completed.

² As will be seen later on, it is just possible that this may refer to an earlier exercise of clemency by Julius; but if so, the paragraph which follows, and which clearly refers to the proscriptions of 43, comes in rather awkwardly. In my opinion there is a considerable gap still to be filled up between the new fragment and these mutilated words.

V X O R I S

subsi DIA·FVGAE·MEAE·PRAESTITISTI ÓRNAMENTIS·
 CVM·OMNE·AVRVM·MARGARITAQVE·CORPORI
 trad IDISTI·MIHI·ET·SVBINDE·FAMILIÁ·NVMMIS·FRVCTIBVS
 6 a D·VERSARIORVM·CVSTODIBVS·APSENTIAM·MEAM·LOCVPLETASTI
 ITIS·QVOD·VT·CONARERE·VIRTVS·TVA·TE·HORTABATVR
 VNIBAT·CLEMENTIÁ·EORVM·CONTRA·QVOS·EA·PARABAS
 v QX·TVA·EST·FIRMITATE·ANIMI·ÉMISSA·
 RTIS·HOMINIBVS·Á·MILONE·QVOIVS·DOMVS·EMPTIONE
 10 EXVI·BELLI·CIVILIS·OCCÁSIONIBVS·INRVPTVRVM
 NDISTI·DOMVM·NOSTRAM

From the position in this fragment of the word (v)XORIS, the only one we as yet possess of the original heading of the inscription, and obviously the last one, it is plain that the fragment must be placed (as has been done by Hirschfeld in Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. i. p. 403) in the big lacuna between the two main portions of the laudatio as we have it. But what was the size of the gap between the end of this and the beginning of the next fragment we cannot tell for certain: that fragment begins with the words 'me patriae redditum a se, [na]m nisi parasses quod servar[et] . . . inaniter opes suas polliceretur': and this seems to me to suggest a considerable lacuna, but not a very big one, between the two. The one ends with a fairly clear indication of an attack on a house belonging to the pair, warded off by the wife in her husband's absence: the other begins with an allusion to a return of the husband from exile or enforced absence. But it has been assumed both by Vaglieri and by Hirschfeld that they follow close on one another and refer to the same circumstance, viz. the escape of the husband from the proscriptions of 43. This seems to me to be quite impossible. It has arisen, I think, simply from unconscious prepossession in favour of the story as it was formerly known to us. They refer, I think, to quite different times and events.

Let us consider this fragment a little more closely: in spite of the loss of a considerable part of each line, its general bearing is pretty clear. First, we have a *fuga* of the husband: secondly, at his departure the wife gave him as *subsidia* all the gold and pearl ornaments she had about her. Hirschfeld would connect this with the story of an Acilius told by Appian (4. 39), who, when proscribed in 43, persuaded the soldiers to whom he was betrayed to take a communication to his wife, on promise of

rich reward: this they did; she gave them all her jewels, and they procured his escape to Sicily. But the resemblance is only a superficial one: the words *tradidisti mihi* (of the correctness of the completion there can surely be no doubt) in the fragment cannot be reconciled with the giving of the jewels by Acilius' wife to the soldiers,—*not to him*—to procure his release and escape. Thirdly, we find her sending him slaves (*familia*), money, and *fructus* in his absence. This is quite out of keeping with the hairbreadth escapes of 43, and would have been apt rather to attract attention to the man than to effect his security. In one case, it is true, an intended victim escaped suspicion by openly travelling with a train of male and female slaves (App. 4.40); but as we read through the long list of escapes in Appian, it is clear that it was with the utmost difficulty that the proscribed eluded notice, hiding themselves,—and often ineffectually,—in all sorts of holes and corners; and of those who reached Sicily safely we are told that they were glad to receive food and clothing at the hands of Sextus Pompeius.¹ I may add that the words 'apsentiam meam locuple-tasti' also seem to me ill suited to a time of such imminent peril for the fugitives, when hardly any part of the empire was without its spies and assassins.

Again the words that follow in lines 6, 7, 8, though they are by no means clear in detail, evidently refer to some effort on the part of the wife undertaken on behalf of her husband; and if this is to be explained of the part she played after he was proscribed, the speaker has told the same story twice over in a most unnatural way. If on the other hand we could explain it of some earlier danger and escape, the order of events in the *laudatio* would be

¹ Appian 4. 36.

sufficiently preserved, which is in the main presented through all that remains of it.

But the most effectual proof, as I think, that he is here speaking, not of 43 B.C. but of an earlier time, lies in the mention of Milo in line 9 as if he were alive at the time spoken of. Milo was killed in the spring of 48 B.C. after being recalled by Caelius Rufus from his exile at Massilia in order to join him in a mad sedition against Caesar's government and legislation (*Caes. Bell. Civ.* iii. 20–22). Caesar's own account of this miserable business is unluckily very corrupt, but the story can be made out in outline with the help of Dio Cassius (42. 24). It would seem that when Caelius was ejected from Rome, he went to Campania where he was joined by Milo, who still had in his pay the remains of gladiatorial bands which he had formerly collected there; that they made a combined attempt on Capua which failed, and that Milo was then sent south to the region of Thurii 'ad sollicitandos pastores,' while Caelius attacked Casilinum. Or it may be, if we follow Caesar's confused sentences at the end of ch. 21, that Milo had left Campania before the attempt to surprise Capua. But in any case it is clear that Milo, as Dio Cassius says, gathered a band of desperadoes together,¹ and roamed southward seeking whom he could devour; in Bruttium he began to open the *ergastula*, and met his death in an attempt on Cosa.

It seems to me hardly possible to refer the imperfect lines 9, 10, 11 of the new fragment to any other event than this. The wife is in a country house, as we are entitled to guess from the fact that she supplied her husband with *fructus* as well as with slaves and money. Milo may have had a grudge against the pair for having bought cheap either this identical villa or some other house which had formerly belonged to him and was sold cheap after the forfeiture of his property by exile. (For information about these sales see *Asc. in Mil.* p. 54: *Att.* 5, 8: *Fam.* 8, 3.) He attacks the house, which is successfully defended by the wife.²

On this interpretation the whole of the new fragment would refer to the events of 49 and 48 B.C. But if so, it will be asked

¹ Ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς μὲν βίου δεομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμαρίαν τινὰ δεδιότας, συλλέξας τὴν τε χῶραν ἐκακούργει κ.τ.λ.

² I use the word wife for convenience: but, as will be seen directly, it is not clear whether the marriage had as yet taken place. The completion (defe)ndisti is almost certain.

what was the *fuga* of line 2, for which the husband received from his wife so much provision in the form of jewels and gold, and during which she supported him with slaves, money, and *fructus*? Let us notice 1, that in line 5 she is evidently represented as having eluded or corrupted 'adversariorum custodes,' and that *adversarius* is exactly the word which would be used of one side at the opening of a civil war, not of assassins going about to catch and slay the victims of a proscription³: 2, that in lines 4 and 5 of Part I, the husband is spoken of as being in Macedonia soon after the sudden murder of the parents of the wife, while her sister's husband Cluvius had gone to Africa: 3, that if this fragment refers to the events of 49 and 48, the *clementia* spoken of in line 7 can hardly be other than that of Julius himself, of whom the word is so often used from the very outset of the civil war. Putting these things together, we may divine,—not with certainty, but with great probability, as I think,—that the *fuga* was nothing more than a flight of the husband from the country house at which they were staying when the war broke out: if it was the one attacked by Milo in the following year, it would probably be between Campania and Bruttium, and open to Caesar's troops marching after Pompey to Brundisium. The husband we may guess reached Brundisium safely, and crossed with Pompey to Macedonia: the wife remained, and was treated with courtesy by Caesar's orders, after a display of the spirit and courage that was natural to her (*quod ut conarere virtus tua te hortabatur: vox tua est firmitate animi emissa*). This is indeed guesswork; but it is entirely in keeping with the part of the lines left to us, and inconsistent with nothing that is recorded in the rest of the *laudatio*.

In any case, if it be true that this fragment refers to events having nothing whatever to do with the proscriptions of 43, and can be itself referred with confidence to 49 and 48, we are now in a position to recast our ideas both as to the date of the marriage and the identity of the pair.

On both these points we may now, in my view, safely return to the conclusions of Mommsen in the paper of 1863. As regards the first, Mommsen put the marriage between 48 and 42 B.C.: the pair were certainly

³ It is interesting to find that the word is used no less than four times by Pompeius himself in the dispatches to Domitius preserved in *Cic. Att.* 8. 12; *i.e.* it is used of the opposite party and its leader in Jan. 49, the very time to which I believe the first lines of the fragment refer.

married at the time of the proscriptions, which took place in the autumn of 43. At the time of the murder of the parents they were probably not married but only betrothed; but the condition of the first few lines of Part I, on which this conclusion is chiefly based,¹ is not such as to make it quite certain. If however it is correct, the marriage remained uncelebrated while the future husband was in Macedonia, and the legal defence of the will, as well as the defence of the house alluded to in the new fragment (a house perhaps left them by her father) took place also during the period of betrothal. As Mommsen assumes, on the return of Caesar from the East in the autumn of 47, the affianced husband received a free pardon, like Cicero and so many others (p. 477); or possibly after the battle of Pharsalia. The marriage would naturally follow, and we shall not be far wrong in putting it at the end of 48 or some time in 47. As they were married for 41 years, this would bring the date of the death of the wife, and of the *laudatio* itself, to 7 or 6 B.C.

Secondly, as regards the identity of the husband, we may return to the hypothesis, recently discarded by Vaglieri and Hirschfeld, that he was that Q. Lucretius Vespillo whose adventures in the proscription of 43 are recorded by Appian and Valerius Maximus: for what the *laudatio* tells us of these adventures is not changed, according to my view, by anything in the new fragment. It may be as well to recapitulate the evidence for this identification, especially as the story of Lucretius' escape is incidentally of singular interest.

Caesar in *B.C.* iii. 7 mentions that on arriving off Oricum from Brundisium he found Lucretius Vespillo, and another man in command of eighteen ships from Asia, *i.e.* a part of Pompey's fleet; and this exactly suits the statement of the *laudatio* that the speaker had gone to Macedonia while his wife's husband C. Cluvius had passed to Africa—the two provinces where operations were being carried on by the Pompeian party in 49–48 B.C. This however is rather a confirmatory point than a matter of substantial evidence.

The real argument lies in a comparison of the accounts of Appian and Val. Maximus of the escape in 43, with the hints afforded by the *laudatio*.

What the *laudator* tells us is this: 'Why,' he says, 'should I pluck from my inmost

thoughts once more the story of my rescue? how you sent me a sudden message of warning, how you repressed my *audacia*, and when I yielded to advice, you prepared *fida rece(pta)cula*, with the knowledge only of Cluvius and your sister.'

Appian's story is as follows: Lucretius was wandering in the country, with two faithful slaves, and being in difficulty for provisions was trying to return to his wife in Rome, and had actually arrived at the gate when he saw a troop of soldiers coming out. It suddenly occurred to him that this was the very place where his father had been caught in the Sullan proscription,² and he slipped into one of the tombs which there lined the road. One of his slaves had hurt his leg, and he was leaning on the arm of the other when this happened. While they were hiding here, they were surprised by some tomb-wreckers (what a picture here of the insecurity of the times!) and to these the slave gave himself up to be stripped while Lucretius fled to the gate—the soldiers having now presumably disappeared. At the gate, one reads with astonishment, he waited for the slave, shared his clothes with him, and reached his house in safety. There his wife hid him between the ceiling and the roof of a chamber until the storm had passed over. Valerius Maximus, who gives the name of the wife as Turia, merely tells how he was hidden 'inter cameram et tectum cubiculi' at the great peril of his wife, who shared the secret with one handmaid only.

Now the only contradiction between these combined accounts and the story of the *laudatio* is in the statement of Val. Max. that no one knew of the hiding-place but the maid, while the *laudatio* speaks of Cluvius and his wife as in the secret. This however is not a serious difficulty: we may assume that the maid was the only person *in the house* who knew, but that Cluvius and his wife were acquainted with the fact also, as being either in Rome or not far away. In any case Valerius Maximus

² These words of Appian suggest a slight difficulty which does not seem to have been noticed. If Lucretius' father was killed in 82 B.C., his son must have been forty when he himself was proscribed, could not have been married till he was about thirty-five, and delivered the *laudatio* when he was nearly eighty. But none of these things are impossible; and one might suppose, from the energy of the wife's character even before they were married, that at that time she, and therefore presumably her husband, were comparatively mature in years. It is to be noticed, too, that Appian does not say that the elder Lucretius was killed in 82, but only that he was taken.

¹ See above, note 2.

was careless in regard to detail. Appian's account coincides strikingly with that of the *laudatio*, if we may assume that Lucretius was making for Rome on the advice of his wife, instead of exposing himself to his enemies in the country districts. She sent him a sudden warning, and repressed his *audacia*, preparing meanwhile *fida rece[ptacula]* in their house in Rome.¹ The return to the city was obviously made by night and in disguise: this is suggested by the mention of the tomb-wreckers, and the changing of clothes with the slave at the gate; thus though the peril was great no doubt, it was less exactly to be described by the word *audacia* than the attempt to escape from Italy, which brought so many to their end.

This identification is of course by no means certain, but it may hold the field until another fragment is discovered. No other of Appian's many stories of wonderful escapes tallies in any degree with the *laudatio*; and the whole tenor of the document shows that the speaker was a sufficiently important person to have been included in such a collection of stories. If he was Lucretius Vespillo, he was consul in 19 B.C.: and here Hirschfeld has raised the objection that there is no mention of the consulship in the *laudatio*. But with singular and touching delicacy, the speaker throughout the *laudatio* keeps himself in the background, attributing his wealth, his safety, his happiness entirely to the wonderful woman he celebrates. Once indeed, when he is speaking of their joint management of their property, he breaks off with the words, 'of this I will say no more, lest I should seem to be claiming a share in your praises' (Part I line 40). Could such a man have dreamt of referring to his consulship while recalling the happiness of his domestic life?

Supposing that my reasoning holds good, I would reconstruct the whole astonishing story of the pair as follows:

Turia's parents were murdered at the very outbreak of the Civil War in Jan. 49, at a time when we might naturally expect such things to happen. Shortly afterwards, Lucretius, then affianced to her, had to leave Italy and act under Pompey in Epirus. Turia, left behind in Italy, with only her sister to help her, whose husband Cluvius had gone to Africa, also to fight on the

Pompeian side, had now to face a series of dangers and difficulties, all of which she overcame by her wonderful courage and address; she traced out the murderers of her parents and secured their punishment: she obtained the protection of Caesar during his march through Italy to Brundisium: she contrived to smuggle supplies to the absent Lucretius: and resisted and finally defeated an attempt to upset her father's will, under which she and Lucretius were the chief if not the only inheritors. The next year 48, during the attempted revolution of Caelius and Milo, she was attacked by the ruffianly following of the latter in a villa in the country, and contrived to beat them off. At the end of that year, or some time in 47, Lucretius returned, like Cicero, to Italy, and obtained a pardon from Caesar. The marriage was now celebrated, and until Caesar's assassination they presumably lived in tranquillity.

When the second triumvirate was formed and the proscriptions began, Lucretius' name appeared on the lists, whether at the instance of Octavian or Lepidus is not clear: the restitution came from Octavian, but the conduct of Lepidus looks as if he had a personal spite against the pair. Then followed the extraordinary escape I have already described, which must have happened at the end of 43 or beginning of 42. For some months Lucretius must have been kept in concealment of some kind, for when at last an edict was obtained for his restitution, Octavian the author of it was absent, *i.e.* he had gone to the campaign of Philippi, and his departure seems not to have taken place till the summer of 42. Turia took this document to Lepidus, who was consul and in charge of Rome and Italy, and was received, according to her husband's account, with insults and even with blows. The return of Caesar at the end of the year set this matter right: and Lucretius hints that Lepidus' brutality was not forgotten by Octavian.

The rest of the story, which is of unique interest as a picture of Roman domestic life, does not properly belong to the subject of this paper. It is to be hoped that other fragments may be discovered which may help to complete it, and to afford us a more certain identification of the husband and wife; and this is not impossible if, as Vaglieri thinks, the original site of the inscription was in the locality where this new fragment was found, *viz.* the Via Portuense on the right bank of the Tiber.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

¹ The marble gives '*fida rece*.' (Part II. line 7), and the next line begins '*sociosque consiliorum suorum ad me servandum*'. . . . It is difficult to see how else the line can be completed.

NOTE ON TACITUS, *AGRICOLA*, 46

Admirazione te potius immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine decoramus.

So read A, B, and the Toletan (though T may have *decoremus* with Orsini). Furneaux, following Muret, reads *colamus* for *decoramus*; Prof. Gudeman has proposed *te colamus*, deleting the previous *te* (and I had followed him).

But whether we choose *decoramus* or *decoremus* the MSS. are certainly right in the word. The language here is a direct allusion to Ennius' *nemo me lacrimis decorat*, and any Roman I think, at least any Roman familiar with Cicero's *de Senectute* (ch. 20), would have expected the word, especially as we have echoes of Cicero's own language in the words *lamentis*, *lugere*, *immortalis*.

The whole chapter 46 is, as Prof. Gudeman

ghoulishly indeed but with some truth has said, 'a veritable mosaic of stereotype ideas'; we have more of the tone of the *de Senectute* (chs. 21 and 22) at the beginning; and to the other passages quoted by the commentators might be added the words of Horace *Ep.* II. i. 247-9,

*nec magis expressi uultus per aenea signa
quam per uatis opus mores animique uirorum
clarorum apparent,*

which Tacitus seems to have had 'at the back of his mind' when he wrote in § 3 *non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed ut uultus hominum, ita simulacra uultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis.*

W. C. F. WALTERS.

REVIEWS.

JACOBY'S *MARMOR PARIUM*.

Das Marmor Parium. Herausgegeben und erklärt von FELIX JACOBY. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1904. 8vo. Pp. xviii + 210. Mit drei Beilagen. M. 7.

At last we have an adequate edition of the *Parian Marble* in octavo form and alone! If Dr. Jacoby had merely republished the work of his predecessors in this convenient little volume, he would have deserved the thanks of scholars. But he has given us much more than that, and his own contribution to the study of the document is no less solid and valuable because it more often shows itself in compilation and criticism than in divination and conjecture. Mutilated and corrupted in text, of uncertain purpose and origin, arbitrary in scope and method, sometimes without parallel, often unorthodox, ranging in subject over the whole of Greek history and literature down to the third century B.C., the *Parian Chronicle* confronts its editor with problems of the utmost difficulty and variety. No edition can ever be final, but Dr. Jacoby has done his work well and carefully, and substantially fur-

thered the interpretation of many obscure passages.

The book contains (1) a brief, perhaps too brief, introduction dealing with the Marble and its history, the chief editions, and the authorities which the Chronieler may have used; (2) a revised text with apparatus criticus and catalogue of restorations proposed by various scholars; (3) an ample commentary; (4) a chronological canon in which the dates are discussed and compared with others; (5) an index of names; (6) transcripts, drawn from the best available sources, of the three parts into which fate has divided the inscription.

Dr. Jacoby is little interested (it would seem) in the earlier interpreters of the Marble, whose achievements are quite overshadowed by the mighty work of Boeckh. Le Paulmier wins from him a somewhat ambiguous compliment. But Selden, whom Boeckh hailed as *vir magnus*, meets with scant justice. Surely it shows some lack of historic sense to treat his amateur essay in epigraphy as if it were the work of a modern expert, and one cannot but regret that the

latest editor persists in counting his dots while proclaiming the futility of the enumeration. Selden probably did not count them, at all events beyond three or four, and it would be more reasonable to measure his gaps, but any one who has had experience of compositors, even in establishments accustomed to the printing of inscriptions, must be aware that it is almost impossible, however many proofs are corrected, to get a text rightly spaced. Nor will anyone who thinks himself back into Selden's place, confronted with a worn irregular script under a London sky, without practice or such aids as cross-ruled paper, be surprised that he made mistakes in his copy. So, too, it is scarcely fair to reproach Prideaux and Chandler for neglect of the evidence of the stone. One has to picture it built into a shady wall, or buried in the gloomy basement of the old Schools at Oxford, and then conjecture how much could be seen on it! Even now in the sunk court, where the University is constrained by lack of space to stow its inscriptions, it is difficult by the diffused top light from the north to read anything but the obvious.

A fuller account would have been welcome of the editor's critical methods, for which he is content to refer us elsewhere (*Rhein. Mus.* lix). One principle which he has applied more thoroughly than any of his predecessors, and often with useful results, is the approximate equality of adjacent lines in number of letters. But it must be remembered that the value of this test is mainly negative. It may be used to refute restorations which are too long, but cannot tell us what to supply in a gap. Dr. Jacoby has sometimes been tempted into padding out a restoration with irrelevant details simply in order to fill his line.

The editor wisely allows great critical weight to the usages of the document, its forms of expression and arrangement. But even he occasionally offends against his own canons—*e.g.* in discussing the desperate passage in Ep. 17 he contemplates the possibility of the letters ΑΦΟΥ being a repetition of the opening formula ἀφ' οὐ. But although ἀπό with a substantive may be followed by another ἀπό with a substantive or by ἀφ' οὐ with a verb (*e.g.* B. Ep. 12), ἀφ' οὐ never recurs after ἀφ' οὐ. Nor can the alternative suggestion that ΑΦΟΥ may be a corruption of ΑΟΥ and the sentence have run somehow like ἀφ' οὐ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ὁ γυμνικός [ἀγὼν ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ τοῦ ν]αοῦ [καθίδρυσις] be

admitted, for the normal word would be ἐτέθη, not ἐγένετο, and the Chronicler (if he used the word ναὸς at all) would have written καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἰδρύθη, cf. Ep. 4.

A very valuable feature of the edition is the list of parallel passages prefixed to the notes on each Epoch. Some of these passages are, to be sure, rather remotely connected with the particular matter in question, but over-completeness is a fault on the right side. Many of the most difficult problems in the criticism of the text are concerned with the relative importance to be attached to orthodox tradition on the one hand, and to the readings, especially Selden's readings, of the inscription on the other. Dr. Jacoby is on the whole scrupulous, even superstitious, about orthodoxy. Thus he rejects τὸν ἀγῶνα from Ep. 6, and ΘΑΙΑΥΛΗΤ from Ep. 34, because he cannot bring them into harmony with the tradition. But his boldest profession of faith is his proposal, well worth making in spite of its audacity, that the ancestors and dates of Phidon and Archias ought to be transposed, and Ep. 31 precede Ep. 30. Similarly he will not hear of Le Paulmier's ἐμ Παρα[στ]ᾶδι in Ep. 9, which is epigraphically convincing and supported by the analogy of Iasos, but approves Boeckh's ἐμ παρά[πλω]ι, which is improbable in view of Selden's express observation and difficult to reconcile with his own remark 'nach dem Marmor scheint es als ob die sechs mädchen als priesterinnen auf der insel zurückgeblieben sind.' In Ep. 42 Κροῖσον ἵπο[πρ]ῆσ[α]ς [ῆ]φά[νισεν] is outside the pale of discussion in spite of the half-way house offered by Bacchylides. In Ep. 8 [Σπαρτοὶ Λακω]νικῆς ἐβασίλευσαν is to my mind postulated by the context and adequately confirmed by external evidence, but it offends against orthodox Dorian tradition, so Dr. Jacoby resuscitates the Agenoridae and Phoenicia. It is the more surprising that he will not admit Προτιδῶν in Ep. 16, for epigraphically it is quite on a par with Boeckh's suggestion and has much better support in the authorities. In general, however, the present reviewer has reason to be grateful for Dr. Jacoby's remarks, and readily admits that some of his criticisms have converted him from error (*e.g.* on Ep. 17 and Ep. 74). Among many just observations scattered through the book may be quoted the notes on the restoration of Epp. 10, 14, 25, and 34.

It is perhaps in the 'higher criticism' of the document that the editor's treatment is

slightest and least satisfactory. He seems sometimes to get out of touch with his author. His interpretation strikes one here and there as frigid and recondite, where the chronicle is popular and superficial. He attributes to the compiler too much antiquarian and mythological interest, whereas his list of facts or subjects may have been taken from any handbook of useful information or guide to culture, and he is concerned with the remote past less for its own sake than as giving some account of the origin of existing institutions and the like. The speculations on the sources are not convincing, the classification is too artificial, and the conclusions are hard to reconcile with the editor's own restoration of the first line of the Marble. The net result amounts to little more than the suggestion, worth consideration but capable of quite simple statement, that the Chronicler may have drawn upon Ephorus and Aristoxenus. It is a temptation of *Quellenkritik* to be too confident that we know all the possible sources, but every fresh discovery shows more clearly that the common stock of classical tradition was less dependent on particular works, and individual diversity more frequent, than was supposed. There is enough in the Marble itself that is unique to warn us how little we really know.

One cannot but wish that Dr. Jacoby had given us some general discussion of the chronology. To those who are inclined to believe that the received system is a comparatively late reconstruction begun in the 4th century B.C., still in progress when the Chronicler wrote, and not finally accepted till long after him (cf. Diels, *Die Olympionikenliste*

aus Oxyrhynchos, in *Hermes* xxxvi), the variations of the Marble from chronological orthodoxy are profoundly interesting. Are they mere mistakes, or do they preserve traces of rival versions, and indicate joints and sutures in the fabric? Are the problems as to the Pythiads for example, or the Sicilian dates, or Melanippides, or Simonides, ultimately chronological? Is the Athenian archon-list of even the fifth century above suspicion? I regret that Dr. Jacoby has seen fit to retain the theory of the double *computus*, which seems to me scientifically improbable and an easy evasion of a real difficulty. I am surprised that he is naively ready to admit an otherwise unrecorded seizure of Delphi by the Phocians in 366/5 on the strength of Ep. 75, especially as the variation in date is closely related to a well known problem in the chronology of the Spartan kings (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen* ii. pp. 502-11).

Perhaps, however, these large questions lay outside the scope of the edition, and certainly Dr. Jacoby within his limits has produced a thoroughly serviceable book. Without detracting from its solid merits a foreigner may be allowed to enter a mild protest against a style so overloaded with parenthesis, so careless of the art of composition, and so indifferent to capitals, stops, and paragraphs, as to double his labour in reading it. Misprints, moreover, are too abundant, although not many of them are serious. But it is a pity that so scholarly a work should not have been turned out in better form.

J. A. R. MUNRO.

TWO ANTHOLOGIES.

Myths from Pindar. Chosen and Edited by H. R. KING, M.A. Geo. Bell & Sons, 1904. Pp. xii + 96. 2s. 6d. net.

Florilegium Tironis Graecum. Simple Passages for Greek Unseen Translation chosen with a view to their Literary Interest. By R. M. BURROWS and W. C. FLAMSTEAD WALTERS. Pp. ix + 271. Macmillan & Co., 1904. 4s. 6d.

COMPULSORY Greek has been supposed to narrow the intellect by concentrating it on the minutiae of grammar and verbal accuracy. To parody Newton's words, the schoolboy

or the passman is like a child picking up unfulfilled conditions on the seashore, while the great ocean of Greek literature lies all undiscovered before him. It is to supplement this deficiency that these two books have been compiled.

Mr. King has produced an elegant book, in which good paper and print, a rubric margin, and full page illustrations combine to please the eye. He has made a judicious selection from an author who lends himself readily to the process. If Pindar's words are often *φωνάεντα συνετόισιν*, he grows comparatively easy when he comes to his myth. It would be difficult to improve on

the selection made. The greater part of the 4th Pythian is here and the whole of that fine poem, the 9th Pythian. The beautiful Castor and Pollux myth of the 10th Nemean is included, and the famous eagle and volcano passage from the 1st Pythian. If a boy can be taught to appreciate, even partially, the merits of such passages, he will have learned much. Mr. King has provided substantial help in the notes by means of frequent and careful translations, while he keeps his aesthetic object before the reader by quotations from English poetry—not indeed always accurate, as when Milton is made to write ‘Adam, the wisest man of men since born.’

With the difficulties of the text the editor does not much concern himself, and in some cases cannot be acquitted of shirking his responsibilities. For example, on xii. 16 (=Nem. iii. 96) ἀγλαόκαρπον Νηρέος θύγατρα he remarks, ‘Both reading and interpretation are disputed in the second part of the compound, so I leave the word.’ It would have been bolder to read ἀγλαόκρανον, which is accepted by both Bury and Fennell, and can be supported from Bacchylides. In another note we are sorry to see the old heresy of ἀλλὰ γάρ surviving: ‘but (in vain) for’ etc. Truly of this ellipse it may be said that age cannot wither it nor custom stale its infinite variety. The editor disclaims any attempt to elucidate the metrical schemes; in which case it seems superfluous to add, as he occasionally does, to the heading of his selection, ‘The rhythm is Dorian,’ or what not.

One last criticism we have to make. The illustrations, beautiful in themselves and satisfactorily reproduced, might have been, as indeed the editor seems to admit, more suitably chosen. Nor has sufficient care been exercised in describing them.

The object which Profs. Burrows and Walters have in view is clearly stated in their preface. ‘Can it be made possible for him [*i.e.* the average schoolboy or passman], while reading as a set book a single play of Euripides or a single book of Homer, to form a conception of Euripides as a poet,

or of the general outline of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*?’ To secure this end, some sacrifices have been made: ‘We have, wherever necessary, omitted lines and phrases; we have occasionally adopted the *facillima lectio* without regard to the weight of evidence; in a few cases . . . we have, preferred making some slight simplification or modification in an important piece to omitting it altogether.’ The plan is excellent, and the sacrifice needs no apology. Eighty-four passages from Homer, containing about 1,500 lines, are sufficient to indicate the course of the story and to illustrate the character of the poetry. Each reader will of course miss some favourite passage, but on the whole the selections have been made with very great skill. It has been more difficult to give the substance of a Greek play in three or four short passages, but here again it is surprising how much can be done in a little space. To take for example the *Philoctetes*: we have a few lines of the hero’s greeting to his visitors, a few lines of his description of his solitary life, the short invocation to sleep by the Chorus, the burst of indignation at ὦ πῦρ σὺ καὶ πᾶν δαίμα, and lastly the dialogue in which Neoptolemus restores the bow and is interrupted by Odysseus: and there is the tragedy in eighty-seven lines!

With Herodotus, Plato, and the Orators the editors have been equally successful, but the selections from Thucydides seem to suffer from divided aims. In their anxiety to supply the salient points of the narrative, they have failed to bring out the literary characteristics of their author. What shall we say of a selection which contains no specimens from the Funeral Speech of Pericles or the description of the battle in the Great Harbour? The editors can hardly plead that these are too hackneyed to give, seeing that they print the *θάλαττα* passage from the *Anabasis* and the *ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν* from the *De Corona*.

With this slight reservation, we have nothing but praise to bestow on a book which seems likely to be of the very greatest value to teachers.

J. H. VINCE.

MARX'S *LUCILIUS*.

C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae. Recensuit, enarravit FRIDERICUS MARX. Volumen prius: Prolegomena, Testimonia, Fasti Luciliani, Carminum Reliquiae, Indices. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. Pp. cxxxvi+169. M.8.

Sospitator Lucilii—that is the title which Prof. Marx has won for himself by this edition, and especially by the Preface, with its Biography of the poet. Lucilius was previously little more for us than a name. We knew that he came from Suessa Aurunca, that he was a close friend of Scipio Aemilianus, that his house in Rome was the one that had been built for the hostage-son of Antiochus the Great (Ascon. in *Cic. Pison.* p. 12, 9), and that he satirized Metellus Macedonicus, Mucius Scaevola, and Lupus. Also that the philosopher Clitomachus dedicated a book to him (*Cic. Acad.* ii. 32, 102). But now, thanks to this Preface, we seem to know as much about Lucilius as about the other Satirists. It gives us a wonderfully clear and detailed picture of the wealthy young Campanian, who, after serving as 'eques' under Scipio in the Numantine War, settled in Rome and took up the pen in support of his old commander's political career. Metellus Macedonicus, Scipio's rival, was censor in the year 131 B.C., shortly after the return of Scipio and Lucilius to Rome, and used all the influence of his office to encourage matrimony. Lucilius in his first publication, Book XXVI in the re-arrangement of the Satires, ran a tilt at matrimony:

Homines ipsi hanc sibi molestiam ultro
atque aerumnam offerunt,
Ducunt uxores, producunt, quibus haec
faciant, liberos.

Metellus made Lupus 'princeps senatus.' Lucilius turned his lance against Lupus and attacked him as violently as his patron. Horace speaks of the delight of Scipio and Laelius over:

laeso . . . Metello
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus.

After the publication of Books XXVI-XXX and the death of Scipio, Lucilius desisted from writing, until the death of Lupus gave him opportunity of resuming. Book I, which opens with a meeting of the gods to discuss the death of Lupus, was the
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first book of his second venture: Book II deals with the prosecution of Q. Mucius Scaevola by T. Albucius for 'repetundae'; Book III with a journey to Capua and the Sicilian straits; and so on, until Book XXI, the last of the series. Books XXII-XXV were a later publication and seem to have been concerned with Lucilius' slaves. The second line of this epitaph on an old retainer is quoted by Martial:

Servo' neque infidus domino neque inutili'
quaquam,
Lucili columella hic situst Metrophanes.

These four books were apparently in Elegiac Metre, while Book XXX and Books I-XXI were in Hexameter Verse. Books XXVI-XXVII were Trochaic Septenarii, and Books XXVIII-XXIX a patchwork of Trochaic Septenarii, Iambic Senarii, and Dactylic Hexameters. In other words, the Satirist began with Trochaic Metre, then tried a combination of this with Iambic and with the Dactylic Hexameter, and finally adhered to the last. His Elegiac compositions may have been mainly epitaphs and the like.

Lucilius' niece was the mother of Pompey the Great, so that the Satires were a family possession and pride of the Pompeys, and were edited by learned men of the Pompeian circle, Pompeius Lenaeus, Valerius Cato, and others. No doubt, Horace, in pointing out the faults of Lucilius, had the additional zest of political opposition.

Marx ingeniously suggests that it may have been Valerius Cato who arranged the Books in their present un-chronological order, and that the reason for the re-arrangement was the fashion of Cato's time, and later, to make Hexameter Verse precede Elegiac and to put both before Iambic, etc. This is the order in which the three metres are treated in the *Ars Poetica* and in Quintilian's textbook. The interpolated preface to Horace's *Satire* (I 5):

Lucili quam sis mendosus teste Catone
Defensore tuo pervincam, qui male factos
Emendare parat versus, etc.,

he ascribes to a grammarian of Suetonius' time and supposes it to refer to Valerius Cato's edition and to Cato's disagreement with his teacher, Nettius Philocomus. But it is impossible to give more than

a brief outline of the wonderful reconstruction of the biography of Lucilius and the history of his writings, which this fascinating Preface offers us. We owe to its author hearty thanks.

Prof. Marx has, it must be added, 'the defects of his qualities.' For here and there one cannot but feel that the foundation is too insecure to support the fabric of conjecture which has been raised upon it. Let me give an example. The extant fragments of Lucilius come mostly from Nonius' *Dictionary of Republican Latin*. Nonius possessed and excerpted Books I-XXI and XXVI-XXX, but not Books XXII-XXV. He found in glossaries and scholia some quotations from Lucilius (including Book XXII) which he has added to his own collections. Now he used some Books more carefully than others. There is a large mass of excerpts from Books XXVI-XXX, a fair number from Books I-XI, XIII-XV. There are only three from Book XII, none from Book XVIII (for the two citations come from glossographical works consulted by Nonius) and none from Book XXI. The lines preserved by other grammarians, Priscian, Charisius, Diomede, etc., are insignificant in number compared with Nonius' excerpts, and do not always specify the Book from which the quotation comes. They add nothing to the couple of lines preserved by Nonius from Book XVIII, but they increase the fragments of Book XII from three to six. They offer no fragments of Book XXI. Marx is bold enough to infer from the silence of Nonius and of the other grammarians that Book XXI, the last book of this division of the *Satires*, had been lost from some imaginary unique copy before the time of Nonius and the others. And he goes on in the next sentence to make a similar inference regarding an early edition of Plautus. The *Vidularia* is not cited by Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, nor by Verrius Flaccus. *Therefore* it had been lost! I wonder whether these unsupported conjectures will find their way into future textbooks of Latin Literature.

Again, his argument on p. lxxxiii regarding the quotations from Horace in Nonius is very strange. He has noticed that the five quotations (there are no more) from Horace appear in this order:—

In Chap. II	Section H	<i>Sat.</i> II	4, 73.
" II	" L	" I	3, 81.
" III	" C	" I	2, 89.
" III	" D	<i>Odes</i> IV	14, 28.
" IV	" C	" I	18, 5.

What inference does he draw? That Nonius, after finishing his Dictionary, added a few quotations from Horace, and, for this purpose, excerpted a volume of the *Odes* and another of the *Satires*, commencing at the end of each volume and working back to the beginning. It is so wrong-headed an inference that one can scarcely believe it to be really intended by the author. Suppose that it were found that in Johnson's Dictionary five quotations from Pope's *Rape of the Lock* appeared in this order, namely, one from the end of the poem to illustrate let us say the word 'abandon,' another from the middle of the poem to illustrate 'alone,' another from an earlier part to illustrate 'amount,' and so on. Could one infer from this that Johnson excerpted this poem of Pope's backwards? Why should the first quotation which Johnson selected for use stand first in his dictionary? Its place is surely determined by the order of the word which it illustrates. If the first appropriate quotation that caught his eye were a line containing the word 'amount,' it would of necessity stand on a later page in his dictionary than the quotation illustrative of 'alone.' Has not Prof. Marx fallen into some curious mental confusion? Or do I misapprehend his meaning?

His use of the quotations in Nonius from Cicero's *Academics* to prove this favourite theory of his, that Nonius excerpted authors, in crab-like fashion, backwards, is still more extraordinary (p. lxxxiv). But really I am unwilling to dwell longer on this part of the Preface. It was written before the nature and origin of the 'extra-quotations' (as they are called) in Nonius' Dictionary had been rightly explained; and the account which it gives of Nonius' method of compiling his materials from Lucilius seems to me quite untenable. I hope that in his second volume Prof. Marx will have a word to say on this point. Unfortunately he has arranged the Lucilius fragments in accordance with this ill-conceived theory, so that the error of the Preface pervades the whole presentation of the text.

Marx's emendations of the fragments are often brilliant and convincing. But since the second volume is to contain critical and explanatory notes, it will be well to reserve until its appearance a discussion of the new readings. Of misprints I have only noticed '301' for '300' in the note on XXVII 698.

W. M. LINDSAY.

GIARRATANO'S VALERIUS FLACCUS.

C. Valeri Flacci Balbi Setini. Libri Octo. Recognovit CAESAR GIARRATANO. Apud Remum Sandron. 4to. Pp. lvi + 82. 15 lire.

THE apparatus of Thilo's edition of Valerius has for some time ceased to be adequate. It represents a period when our knowledge of the St. Gall MS. was not so good as it now is, and much has been done to improve the text by emendation since 1863. The excellent commentary which the late Dr. Langen published in 1897 was devoted mainly to matters exegetical: critical points were handled only where such a course was inevitable. Bury's apparatus in the *Corpus Poetarum*, whilst thoroughly up-to-date, is of necessity limited in scope. The book before us is carefully and clearly printed, and gives practically all the readings of the important MSS., practically all the emendations that have been proposed from the Renaissance down to our own times. The Prolegomena enable a reader who comes for the first time, or after a long interval, to the study of Valerius to master in a very short time the present position of the various problems connected with the poet and his work. The book therefore is one that was distinctly needed, and its author has done a service to the lovers of this Flavian poet. As one of these, I am grateful to Signor Giarratano and trust that he will understand that any criticism I have to pass on his book is intended only to help him to bring to perfection the good work which he has begun.

After a most useful list of the dissertations, etc., which, from 1724 onwards, have dealt with Valerius, the Prolegomena proper begin. Chapter I deals with the various editions. G. soon reveals his stand-point by complaining of the excessive part played by emendation in recent editions. Baehrens' Valerius is of course notorious in this connexion. It was probably the worst of his works: it is ludicrous to picture to oneself how great would be the surprise of anyone who first read the poet in Baehrens' edition, without any knowledge of the MSS. readings, and then re-read him in such an edition as Langen's or Bury's. But even these more sober scholars are not conservative enough for Signor Giarratano, who speaks meaningfully of 'quasdam praesertim doctorum Anglorum coniecturas' contained in the Corpus text. Of this more anon. The

chapter ends with a list of the translations that have appeared in France, Germany, Spain, and Italy— but 'never a one' in this country. At least our editor names none, and none figures in the lists of omnivorous Bohn. Chapter II deals with the poet's personality. There is of course little opening here for innovation. G., like Thilo (but on different grounds), distinguishes Martial's friend Flaccus from our poet. He points out that Mart. i 61, 76; ix 55; x 48 obviously refer to one and the same Flaccus: the last two epigrams, however, belong to books published at a time when, as we know from Quintilian, the poet Valerius Flaccus was dead. Chapter III describes the famous Vatican MS. and the mysterious codex Carrionis. A very full account is given of the errors of these MSS.: it is unfortunate that G. has been content to enumerate cases where consonants or vowels are confused in the order in which the reader of Valerius will meet them. Thus the first three are: i 58 *iuuenti* (for *iubenti*), 63 *libentia* (for *liuentia*), 76 *mentemque* (for *mentesque*). The first two of these are of course closely connected, but the third is an example of quite another order. Classification was essential here. Carrio's MS. is favourably judged and traced back to V's archetype, or a twinbrother thereof: the obvious cases of emendation are explained by assuming that the copyist had some knowledge of Latin and abused it. In deciding the relative merits of V and the St. Gall MS. the author follows closely on the steps of Clark and Bury, arriving (after examination of the good readings presented by each MS. alone) at the same result. 'S et V ex eodem archetypo ipso haud mediocriter mendoso descriptos esse censeo,' says Bury (p. xi), and G. concludes: 'V et S ex eodem libro haud leuiter corrupto fluxisse arbitror.' In Chapter IV a number of more or less difficult passages are briefly annotated. Two characteristic defects here make their appearance. First, excess of detail obscures facts. Thus, in i 23 *grauis* is differently interpreted, 'by some as = 'old,' by others as = 'hateful.' G. gives us no reason for his preference of the latter opinion, but simply enumerates the authorities for the two views. So in many of both these and the critical notes. The fact that a scholar of repute held such and such a

view is always of interest, often instructive. But the indiscriminate loading of the scales with the names of Heinsius and Huguet, etc. etc. on the one side and those of Burmann and Bendicho y Quilty, etc. etc. on the other surely helps us little in the weighing process. Nor indeed do all the points deserve a place here at all: so notably with this very example, the interpretation of *gravis*—certainly no serious *crux Valeriana*. On the other hand, as I shall have to shew further on, one misses a statement of Signor Giarratano's views on several important passages. The other defect—and it is a rather serious one—is that the editor, whilst displaying for the most part excellent judgment in deciding between alternative renderings or readings, does not support his views by any new arguments: there is not a parallel passage cited throughout the whole chapter. By a curious slip in the notes on i 755, 780 the mother of Jason is misnamed Alcimedes. Chapter V opposes the view that Valerius did not complete the poem. The various arguments which have been alleged in favour thereof are set forth and dealt with in turn. Signor Giarratano will, I hope, pardon my answering him on one or two of the instances which I urged in my 'Study of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus.' I grant that I was wrong in thinking that Hercules' words in ii 381 *dum spes mihi sistere montes | Cyaneos* implied knowledge on his part of that of which the heroes are still ignorant in Bk. VIII—the ordinance which decreed that the rocks should cease clashing as soon as a ship had passed between them. But I do not think G. fully understands the passage, when he says 'Hercules sperat fore ut rupes sistant, non in aeternum, sed quantum satis est ut Argo navis praeteruehat (*sic*).' I take it that Hercules means he had hoped to be able by sheer force of muscle to hold the rocks apart for the vessel's passage—a kind of doublet to his feat at Gibraltar: he goes on to say *vigilemque alium spoliare draconem*, 'repeat what I did in the garden of the Hesperides.' Langen, too, has missed the point, content to reproduce my remark *l.c.* p. 3. If Signor G. has helped me to the right interpretation here, he has, on the other hand, been a little unfair in his criticism of certain evidence which I tried (pp. 4 *sqq.*) to draw from the works of Statius. I noted that this poet, whilst referring with remarkable frequency to incidents of the Argonautic expedition, does not mention a single episode of the return voyage. I suggested that this might

be because he had not read them in Valerius. G. objects that he could have done so in Apollonius. Of course he could. But how explain his neglect of them? If he knew his expedition chiefly from Apollonius, we can only attribute the omission to accident. But I shewed that it was not unreasonable to think that his most recent knowledge of it came from reading Valerius. I referred to the resemblances in thought and language between the two poets, of which I gave (pp. 8 *sqq.*) a good list, though I could have made it much longer had I included parallels noted by my predecessors, and repeated reading of Statius has enabled me to add to it a considerable contribution of my own. All this seems, and still seems, to me to make it at least probable that Statius owes to Valerius' influence his numerous allusions to the subject of Valerius' poem, and more than possible that his neglect of the later episodes is due to his not having recently read them—in other words, to the fact that his copy of the Latin Argonautica went no further than does our precious V 3277. I pointed out at the time certain considerations which prevented my attaching great importance to the matter: it is, however, the cumulative evidence of a number of such minutiae which alone can guide us to form an opinion on the by no means unimportant question at issue. The chapter concludes with tables shewing Valerius' usage as regards (1) proportion of dactyls and spondees in the first four feet, (2) hexameter-endings, (3) elision, (4) caesura, on the strength of which G. refuses to accept Peters' statement that the last book shews signs of not having been revised.

There follows the text, printed in two columns, in a manner quite reminiscent of the new Corpus—save that the odious *v* is admitted and no use made of italics for letters not represented in the MSS. As hinted above, the notes are extensive, ranging from 20 to 40 lines and more of small print to each page (of about 80 lines of text). Their bulk could have been reduced, with much gain in clearness and usefulness, had the editor exercised more restraint in the matter of citing authorities. It is certainly most desirable that we should know who, or what edition, first adopted a given reading. But such notes as that on i 15: '*illa* NBT, Bon. I, II Ven. I, II Junt. II, Parrhasius Pius Eng. Colin. Gryph. Delam.' or that on i. 20: '*seu* Frenzelius Slothouwer Lennep Wagner Weichert Haupt Thilo Ph. Wagner Schenkl Damsté Samuëllson Bury' seem anachronisms in these bustling times.

Curiously enough, by some oversight I suppose, in spite of this fulness (or because of it), some important readings of V or S are not recorded—readings of great value in deciding between the relative merits of those MSS. and given a place even in the abridged apparatus of Bury's edition: e.g. mistakes of V's at i 232, 527, 608, ii 167; of S's at i 633, 769, ii 200, 219, etc. All these are of course duly cited in the chapter of the Prolegomena dealing with this question, but G. tacitly admits that that does not suffice, by repeating in his apparatus the great majority of the examples there cited. A reference to the Prolegomena was perhaps all that was necessary. This would have been useful in other places: e.g., at i 383, where Kennerknecht's transposition of vv. 403–410 is adopted, a reference to p. xli, where the reason for the change is explained, would greatly help the reader. An example where wealth of detail has obscured facts is iii 121 where the note runs: '... *inque omen* Caussin Baehr. Ellis Koestlin Bury... *sinistrum* Postgate Bury.' Who would guess, after the omission of Postgate's name in the list of authorities for *inque omen*, that his conjecture for the end of the line assumes the adoption of the other at the beginning? It is rather questionable, too, what is the advantage of the arrangement by which, in corrupt passages, the MS. reading comes first, then the various emendations, and last of all the particular emendation adopted in the text. However, that is, after all, a detail. The editor deserves high praise for the thoroughness with which he has done his work: the only reading which I have noted as omitted is the conjecture *usus* in iv 754 *lege occidit ultus | ipse sua*. Langen's extraordinary conjecture (actually admitted by him to the text) for vii 343, *qui rogat te nostro qui primam in litore uidi*, is, however, given without comment.

The text itself is extremely conservative. I have compared it with Bury's, and find in each book some 30 to 40 variants, half at least of which are due to G.'s return to the MSS., whilst in only two or three cases in each book is the reverse the case. Now conservatism with regard to such a text as that of Valerius is by no means a bad tendency. Still, when an editor retains MS. readings which all, or practically all, modern editors have rejected, it is his duty to inform us how he proposes to explain them, and why the objections which others have raised do not affect him. Take such passages as iii 39 *atque illum non ante sopor luctamine tanto | lenit agens diuum*

imperii, 150 *taboque labantia terga*, 197 *extrema sonuit cita cuspede cassis*; iv 365 *quos inuentus timuisset Iuppiter astus?* vi 31 *tunc et quaeque suis commisit proeliaterris*, vii 420 *nec pater ille tuus tantis me opponere monstis etc.*, viii 365 *iam tamen errat*. In all of these the majority of editors have deserted the MSS.: in iii 197 for instance *casside cuspis* appears to have been read by everyone from (and including) Carrio onwards, except Heinsius who had other remedies for the passage. Yet G. keeps to his codices, without a word of explanation, although Chapter IV of the Prolegomena obviously offered scope for this. In some of the cases I believe he may well be right in retaining the MSS. reading; in others he may at any rate plead that editors agree only in emending but cannot agree on what is to be substituted. This is certainly not the case with such passages as ii 61, v 371, vii 230, 318, 375 where the conjectures *arsque* for *atque*, *tantum* for *tanto*, *metis* for *mensis*, *dein negat* for *deneget*, *ubi primum* for *supremum* are surely as certain as conjecture can ever be. On the other hand some very dubious specimens are allowed admission to the text: cp. e.g. i 420 *celer aspera*, iii 223 *abitus* (only a degree better than Bury's *arctus*), vi 170 *Typhoea reuerberat*. So far as I can see, all the editor's emendations have received this privilege. I am not sure, as I cannot claim to have read through the whole apparatus and the editor gives no separate list of them. The nine I have discovered are these: ii 643 *populisque* (an impossible inversion of *que*), v 670 *fas aliqua nequeat?* (which I do not understand any the more from the author's remark on p. xliv: 'totius loci haec est sententia: nihil ius poterit?'), vi 209 *contigit* (nothing really satisfactory yet suggested. Bury curiously enough keeps the MS. reading without stating his views on the matter), 344 *promptus* (perhaps as good as anything yet suggested, but not in the least satisfactory), vii 171 *tum uero* (for *tum Venus* which is almost certainly right), 244 *arida febris* (which seems to me inferior to other suggestions), viii 161 *reges* (really only an adaptation of Koestlin's suggestion), 286 *perque ratis supplee regis uox illa magistris* (which I do not understand: is *uox* subject of *it* in both clauses, or only in the second?), 328 *infra* (refuted by the next line: *uasta rursus desidit hiatu*).

In the text, which I have examined closely, I have noted the following misprints (apart from one or two cases of

omitted stops or inverted commas, as *e.g.* i 167, iv 519, v 285): ii 174 *maestae* (*maesta*), the figure 641 standing opposite l. 639; iii 232 *ulalantia*; iv 159 *ad oris*, 294 *Oebalibes*, 387 '*quoque*' for '*quo*' *que*, 525 *Harpyae*, vi 542 *Prixi*; vii 130 *mecum* (*meum*), 506 *flamina* (*flamma*), 623 *Tyrinthius*, viii 456 *uelut* (*ueluti*). In the apparatus I have found only iv 633 *uerque* for *uerone*; vi 344 *super* for *nuper*: most of the note on l. 661 belongs to l. 666.

Numerous dissertations on Valerius have been published in the ten years that have passed since the publication of my little monograph, to say nothing of the fact that the edition before us is the third that has appeared during the last eight years. All this shews that there are not wanting those who read, and read carefully, a writer whom I do not hesitate to rank as the second of Rome's epic poets. Much of what I wrote ten years ago needs revision, addition, excision: to the high opinion I then professed for Valerius' literary qualities I still adhere, regretting only that I did not bring out more clearly the independence and originality of thought which make so great a difference between him and the other epic writers. Nothing, to my mind, can be more unsatisfactory than his treatment in the literature-histories. Mac-kail for instance gives him half a page where Phaedrus Manilius and Silius receive at least double that amount of space. His very first sentence, coupling Valerius and Silius in contrast to Statius, is unfair. Between Silius and Valerius there can be no comparison at all. It is hard to find a redeeming point in the *Punica*. It is verse, not poetry; cumbersome and unwieldy to a degree; full of feeble or ridiculous episodes; devoid of anything in the way of *lumina* which could vary its monotonous trickle—the kind of epic for which Swift offered a well-known recipe. The superiority of Statius over Valerius is by no means an axiom to me. This is not the place to dwell on the matter, but I may perhaps be allowed to draw attention to two characteristic merits which Valerius has. First, the gift of painting with a single stroke. I mean what we see in such passages as i 805 where Aeson prays that Pelias may live in continual terror of Jason's return

reduces iam iamque uiros auroque
coruscum
cernat iter;

ii 453 where Hesione's voice is heard fitfully, in the stillness between each wave,

flebile succedens, ubi fracta remurmurat
unda;

iv 225 where Jason and several other heroes leap up to meet the challenge of Amycus

sed nudo steterat iam pectore Pollux;

and vii 106 where the lovesick Medea watches Jason flinging himself out of her father's presence

respexitque fores et adhuc inuenit euntem.

A second merit of Valerius' is his appreciation of the power which the simple and direct have to move our imagination. I must content myself with two examples of the trait, in which this Flavian poet seems to touch the great poets of the Republic. Night falls on the Argonauts at sea for the first time:

auxerat hora metus iam se uertentis Olympi
ut faciem raptosque simul mentesque locos-
que

ex oculis circumque graues uidere tenebras.
ipsa quies rerum mundique silentia terrent
astraque et effusis stellatus crinibus aether
(ii 38 *sqq.*).

Such a passage reminds one of Lucretius—*cp.* especially the lines of the fifth book beginning *nec plangore diem magno* (973 *sqq.*). The other example recalls Catullus. Medea and Jason have met in the grove of Hecate.

perstant defixus uterque
et nunc ora leuant audaci laeta iuuenta,
ora simul totiens dulcis rapientia uisus,
nunc deicit uultus aeger pudor et mora
dictis
redditur (vii 511 *sqq.*).

Is it just to say of the author of these lines that he 'comes as near destroying the perennial charm of the story of the Golden Fleece as is reasonably possible' and that 'incidents and persons are alike presented through a cloud of monotonous and mechanical rhetoric'?

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Sheffield.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Xenophontis Opera Omnia. Recognovit E. C. MARCHANT. Tomus III *Expeditio Cyri*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 3s.

In his preface Mr. Marchant to some extent takes up the cause of the *codices deteriores* against C and its copies. Besides general considerations he points out that the third century papyrus fragment of vi. 6. 9-24 has readings in common with the former class of MSS which are in themselves as good as those of the latter class, just as the *deteriores* and the papyrus are also free from some undoubted mistakes which deface the better class. He has therefore by no means neglected to cite them in his critical notes, which are considerably fuller than those of his former volumes. An Eton MS, not well collated before, he has carefully recollated and finds to be directly or indirectly another copy of C. The readings of C itself, a fourteenth century MS, he takes from Hug and Gemoll. There are few, if any, really difficult passages in the text of the *Anabasis*. Mr. Marchant seems to have maintained a sound judgment and may be congratulated on producing a very careful and useful text, though in a few places it is hardly possible to be satisfied with what he gives us. In l. 4. 15 *ὑμῖν . . πιστοποιαίς χρήσεται* cannot mean 'use you as most faithful,' the sense required. 4. 3. 26 is there any parallel for *πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι*? 4. 5. 15 *οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι* is certainly not Greek for 'refused to proceed,' nor 6. 6. 25 *βία πάσχειν* for 'suffer through force' or 'suffer forcible treatment.'

It is to be hoped Mr. Marchant will now be able to do good service to the text of the *Cyropaedia*.

H. RICHARDS.

The Euthydemus of Plato. By E. H. GIFFORD, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. Pp. viii + 184. 3s. 6d.

It may be doubted whether Dr. Gifford is right in thinking that schoolboys and undergraduates will enjoy the *Euthydemus*. They are not fond of logic, even though it be logic at play. But in any case they may as well have a fair edition to read it in, and this Dr. Gifford's is. In respect of arrangement, completeness, and lucidity of expression it leaves perhaps something to be

desired, and on a few points of syntax— notably the question of optatives without *ἄν*—I think the editor's views untenable. The notes do not always agree with the text. Thus in 286E *οὐδ' ἄρα ἐκέλευον* is printed as a question but translated as a statement: 291A is cited in a note (271C) as having *τό γε*, but in the text Dr. Gifford prints *τόδε γε* without comment. 286A again text and note are at variance. The phrase *ὅ τι μαθῶν* (283E, 299A) greatly needs explaining, and on its first occurrence it is odd to quote the *Apology* and yet not refer to the other passage in the *Euthydemus* itself. On 291A the reader should be told that *οἱ κρείττους* is a regular term for the gods. The sign < >, which most scholars employ to indicate an insertion, is oddly used to mark conjectural emendations, and only some of these. In 293C *ἐπίστασθαι* is an awkward misprint for *ἐπίστασαι*. The book will however be found serviceable.

Two new readings of Dr. Gifford's own are printed in the text: *κατὰ* in 271C *καθ' ἃ* (to which the passages he quotes are not really parallel) and for *οὐδὲ κελεύεις* in 286E *σὺ δ' ἐκέλευες*.

After a long active and distinguished life Dr. Gifford has died within a few weeks of these words being written.

H. RICHARDS.

La Jeunesse d'Ovide. Par H. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT. Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1905. Crown 8vo. Pp. 291. 3.50 fr.

LITTLE need be said of this work. There is nothing in it at all so startling as its cover and title. It is a plain story expanding Ovid's early life from the thirty pages which might seem a generous allowance to nearly three hundred, and this is how it is done.

The author takes the year of Ovid's birth and gives a short sketch of the history that culminated in the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa. He does not think that the events of the year affected the development of the poet's genius—'rien de ce que dit Alfred de Musset. . .' Then he deals with his author's native land, though, unlike other Latin poets, whose cases are discussed, it did not greatly touch Ovid—he was a 'déraciné.'

We pass to Ovid's mother—reviewing as we go the fathers and mothers of Agricola, Horace, and Propertius—and decide that Ovid's poems bear witness to no maternal inspiration. Thence it is one step to school, with glimpses of Virgil and Horace at their schools, and of Pliny interrogating the Como boy who went to school at Milan. The school of rhetoric follows, and here thanks to Seneca, there is something to say about Ovid, and the chapter is an interesting one. A profession has now to be chosen after some discussion, and we then go abroad with Ovid on the grand tour—with considerable deliberation as to routes. When we have circumnavigated Greece and Sicily and seen a good deal of Asia Minor, we find that in general Ovid's descriptions of scenery are after all 'jolies mais banales.' No personal note permits us to admit that Ovid drew any of them after nature. The poet returns to Rome and in the last few pages of the book shews signs of writing elegies. These, we learn, will form the subject of another volume with a still more startling title.

Here and there are flashes of criticism—'Cicéron était né professeur'; the Gigantomachy was a poem 'mort-né'; and so forth. But on the whole the volume is not much more exhilarating than Teuffel, though it is certainly more clearly designed to be read and is indeed readable for a person of patience. It is, as will have been seen, a magazine of facts and references and as such will be useful. It should have had an index.

T. R. GLOVER.

Laute und Formen der Magnetischen Inschriften. Von ERNST NACHMANSON. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1903. Pp. xvi + 199. M.6.

IN this work, Mr. Nachmanson classifies and discusses the sounds and forms of the Magnesian inscriptions published by Otto Kern (*Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1900); at least he so deals with the Magnesian inscriptions proper, taking occasional note of the foreign inscriptions which were inscribed in Magnesia by native stonecutters, which now and then offer a peculiarity from which some inference can be drawn for the native dialect. It may here be said that inferences of this sort are dangerous, and more than one scholar has fallen into pitfalls by as-

suming too much. After all stonecutters sometimes make what in ordinary men are called blunders. The contents of the book are: Sources, Phonetics, and Morphology. The results of the study are summed up at the end in a brief chapter. A bibliography and fairly full indices complete the work. The author is wordy and wastes a good deal of space. Thus half of page 19 is taken up with discussing forms of *ἔνεκα* which are not to be found in the inscriptions: one might fill many books in this way. His general style is also inflated. Setting aside this fault, the book is excellent. Attention may be called specially to the final summary of results, which set forth the relation of this dialect to Ionic Attic and the *κοινή*.

W. H. D. R.

The Teaching of Latin. By W. H. S. JONES, Glasgow and Dublin: Blackie and Son, 1905. 80 pages. Price 1s.

THIS little book is worth reading. It is an attempt 'to show what a classical course can do for a boy, even though, the time devoted to it be strictly limited,' and certainly a teacher who, with only six hours a week at his disposal, can cover in three school years the course sketched out by the author, has a right to claim that his pupils have made good use of their time. The book was written at the suggestion of the Staff of the Cambridge Day Training College, presumably for the use of their students, but it is full of valuable hints for experienced teachers. It consists of four chapters, the main interest lying in Chapters II, III, and IV, which discuss methods of Latin teaching throughout the three years' course and are obviously based on practical experiment as regards the earlier half of the course. The author bases his method on oral teaching in the first instance and boldly commits himself to the statement that 'if a boy never hears a false quantity, he will not be tempted to make one.' He emphasizes the importance of translation as the main factor in the formation of a 'grammatical conscience,' and has much that is sensible to say on the use of paradigms. In the early stage he would avoid much translation from English into Latin but would introduce 'free' composition in the second year. His remarks on the choice of a first reader (Chapter III.) are especially suggestive: so

too his decision in favour of extracts from Catullus and Martial, and his scheme for the teaching of syntax in the same chapter. The chief work of the third year would be the study of authors, the list of those the

boys are now fit to tackle including Tacitus and Lucretius! The ages of the pupils vary from twelve to fifteen according to the year of the course in question.

ETHEL GAVIN.

VERSION.

FROM *PARADISE LOST*.

So spake our mother Eve ; and Adam heard
Well pleased, but answered not : for now
too nigh
The Archangel stood ; and, from the other
hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended ; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening mist
Ris'n from a river o'er the marish glides,
And gathers ground fast at the labourer's
heel
Homeward returning. High in front ad-
vanced,
The brandish'd sword of God before them
blazed,
Fierce as a comet ; which with torrid heat,
And vapour as the Libyan air adust,
Began to parch that temperate clime ;
whereat
In either hand the hastening Angel caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eastern
gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as
fast
To the subjected plain ; then disappear'd.
They, looking back, all the eastern side
beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Waved over by that flaming brand : the
gate
With dreadful faces throng'd, and fiery
arms :
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wiped
them soon ;
The world was all before them, where to
choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their
guide :
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps
and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

MILTON, *Paradise Lost* : Conclusion.

Sic hominum genetrix, affatu laetus at ille
Ore nihil contra ; neque enim non commi-
nus ales
Nuntius hinc adstare, hinc clivi vertice
iussos
Sponte locos acie telisque instructa coruscis
Caelicolum visa ire cohors—terrestre per
aequor
Sublimi allapsi motu, ceu vespere sero
Obrepat tacitas ortus vapor amne paludes,
Densaturque magis magis, et pede tecta
petentem
Agricolam iam iamque premit. Supra arduus
instans
Ante oculos rutilat veluti fax dira cometæ
Quassaturque Patris gladius : qui torridus
aestu,
Commixto quali Libya aere fervet adusta,
Temperiemque loci mitesque incenderat
auras.
Cunctantes exinde manu dum prensat utra-
que
Stirpis avos nostræ præses deducit Eoam
Protinus ad portam, nec per iuga secius imi
Planitiem campi petit ; inde evanuit. Olli
Respiciunt totamque vident quæ prospicit
ortus
Elysii partem suaque heu ! felicia nuper
Regna coruscantem super intentarier ensem ;
Stant diræ in portis facies et flammea tela.
Tum vero attoniti (quis enim non talia
fleret ?)
Dant aliquid lacrimis, tamen ocuis ora
serenant.
Tota per immensum nullo prohibente patebat
Terra novis dominis, ubi iam monstrante
deorum
Numine tranquillos vellent optare penates.
Vix tandem incedunt, iunctis per mutua
dextris,
Incertumque secant saltus iter inter amoenos.

W. J. GOODRICH.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MISS RANSOM'S *STUDIES IN
ANCIENT FURNITURE.*

Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans. By CAROLINE L. RANSOM. 12 in. x 9 in. Pp. 128 + 30 Plates. Chicago: The University Press, 1905. \$4.50 net.

SPECIALIZATION in the field of Classical Archaeology would seem to be reaching a highly advanced stage when we find a good-sized volume devoted entirely to a study of ancient beds. But *homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto* must ever be the motto of the archaeologist. And indeed much insight into the character of a people may be gained by a study of their furniture. The contrast between an Attic couch and the four-poster of recent times supplies much food for reflection.

Miss Ransom has done her work thoroughly and well. She has searched the principal museums for any object likely to throw light upon her theme. Very few actual beds of early date have been preserved. There is a seventh century bronze bed in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican; parts of a third century couch from S. Russia and a second century couch from Priene have also been preserved. From this time onwards to the second century after Christ extant beds are numerous. It will be seen from these facts that much of our knowledge concerning early beds must be derived from vase-paintings, terracottas, etc. Vases are especially useful in supplying evidence for the appearance of beds in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. In the case of Greek beds, Miss Ransom thinks that the artistic taste displayed in them is open to criticism, mainly on the score of apparent structural weakness. The chief innovation made by the Romans was one characteristic of their practical mind, viz. the introduction of a back.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of the ancient couch are the *fulcra*, or curved end-rests. The true meaning of the word was long misunderstood. It was first made clear by Professor Anderson in vol. iii of the *Classical Review*. These end-rests, which are in many instances wrongly restored as parts of seats, often possess considerable artistic merit. See, for example, the bronze mule heads from the upper, and

the satyr medallions from the lower ends of *fulcra* in the British Museum (*B.M. Bronzes*, 2561).

A brief reference may be made to some specially commendable features of the work. Such are the working drawings for the construction of beds of Greek and Roman type, the table of Greek and Latin terms for beds and their different parts, and, above all, the illustrations, which call for emphatic praise. The indexes are very full and helpful.

The book as a whole deserves high commendation. This being understood, a few criticisms of detail may be made. The most serious is that which concerns the style of writing. Expressions such as 'aside from' instead of 'apart from,' 'to produce out of only ivory a high support,' 'belong on,' etc., may possibly be considered good American. They are certainly not good English. Many sentences, too, are involved and obscure. *Attalicus vestis* on p. 71 is a curious blunder. The 'Phineus' vase (p. 22) is too confidently called 'Chalcidian.' It is rather Ionic with a mixture of Chalcidian and Attic elements. Misprints are rare. I have noticed only 'above' for 'below' on p. 77, and 'Athanaeus' for 'Athenaeus' on p. 125. Dr. Postgate points out that *grabatulus* may be added to the list of Latin diminutives on p. 109.

F. H. MARSHALL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Arcadia.—Excavations were carried on in 1903 on Mt. Lycaeus. The rounded hill known as *Ἄη Διά* was found to be covered to the depth of about 5 feet with ashes and small bones, the remains of sacrifices to Zeus. This accumulation, strengthened by a series of heavy stones, formed the altar of Zeus. No finds of importance were made here. Coins discovered date back to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. No objects of a date later than the fourth century B.C. came to light. East of the altar are the bases of two columns, almost certainly those mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 38. 7) as bearing upon their summits gilt eagles. A drum

from one of the columns (Doric with twenty flutings) is still remaining.

Of far greater importance are the discoveries made within the *τέμενος*. There were no painted vases and practically no terracotta statuettes. On the other hand nine complete bronze statuettes and several other objects in bronze were found. (1) A primitive statuette of Zeus, nude and bearded: his raised r. arm holds a thunderbolt, his l. hand an eagle (ca. seventh century B.C.). (2) Another statuette represents Zeus advancing, with r. hand raised to hurl the thunderbolt and with l. hand outstretched. Archaic. (3) A third bronze (also archaic) represents Zeus draped and seated, holding in the r. hand a *lituus*-like object, in the l. a thunderbolt. (4) Zeus standing in long chiton which leaves the r. shoulder bare. He holds a thunderbolt in his r. hand. (5) Beardless figure of Hermes, wearing *πίλος*, short chiton, *chlamys*, and winged sandals (first half of fifth century B.C.). (6) Nude figure of Hermes holding *κηρύκειον* in r. hand (a Polycleitan type). (7) Another statuette of Hermes with *chlamys* over l. shoulder. This also shows Polycleitan influence. (8) Statuette of a youth wearing *petasos*. His r. hand is raised in the act of throwing and his face is upturned. He wears a *chlamys* over his l. shoulder. The face shows traces of archaism, but the body is finely executed. (9) Archaic statuette of a nude runner (badly preserved). (10) Fragments of a greave, decorated with swans and serpents in relief. At the lower edge is an inscription in lightly engraved characters: . . . ΕΛΙΔΑΣΑΝΕ . . . ΔΙΑΘΑΝΑΙ = (probably) *Ἐστ' ἐλίδας ἀνέθρηκε τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀθάναι*. About the beginning of the fifth century B.C.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Revue Numismatique. Part 4, 1904.

Maurice. 'L'iconographie par les médailles,' etc. Maurice continues his interesting study of the portraits of the Roman Emperors on coins of the third and fourth centuries. This part, illustrated by three plates, deals with the portraiture of Galerius, Severus II., and Maximinus Daza. The great difficulty in the study of the coins of this period (as Maurice has previously pointed out) is that the name written round a portrait-head does not always, necessarily, identify that head. Thus, the inscription 'Fl. Val. Severus' (Severus II.) accompanies a portrait-head of

Galerius.—J. De Foville. Notice of L. Homo's monograph on Aurelian (1904), which contains a well-informed chapter on the coins.

Part 1, 1905.

R. Jameson. 'Quelques pièces de la série des Séleucides.' Rare Seleucid coins from the writer's collection. Among them is a good specimen of the very rare and fine portrait-coin of *Alexander I. and Cleopatra Thea*, an example of which was acquired for the British Museum in 1903. Also a tetradrachm of *Achaeus*, whose portrait was only known previously from a gold stater at Munich. Also a pleasing tetradrachm of Alexander II. with *rev.* 'autel de Zeus Dolichenos' (Sandan type).—J. De Foville on an archaic intaglio lately presented to the Cabinet de France by J. De Rothschild, and representing a satyr carrying a small human figure. The Thasian coin-type of a satyr carrying off a nymph is compared.—A. Dieudonné. 'Choix de monnaies du Cabinet de France' (Magna Graecia).

Journal international d'archéologie Numismatique (Athens). Parts 1 and 2, 1904.

A. D. Keramopoulos. On coins of Lower Moesia, being additions to Pick's *Corpus* of Dacia and Moesia. D. Philios. 'Ἐλευσινιακά μελετήματα (not numismatic). Svoronos. *Δανάκη καὶ Ἀθηναϊκὴ δραχμὴ ἀνεκδότων σειρᾶς νομισματικῶν ἀρχόντων*.—J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie.' Coinage of Tyre (continued).—Svoronos. *Νομισματικὸν εἶρημα Ἐλευσίνος*. On a find at Eleusis of Athenian bronze coins of Roman Imperial times. There are two plates containing many excellent specimens from this large hoard.—Svoronos. *Θησαυροὶ Βυζαντινῶν χρυσῶν νομισμάτων ἐκ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀσκληπείου*. Svoronos has found time to give a detailed description of the gold coins discovered in the Asklepion during the excavations of 1876-7. An occasional paper of this kind would appear very suitably in this periodical, and would do something to revive an interest in the Byzantine coinage, a series now almost entirely neglected by numismatists. The coins described by S. are of the seventh century, Phocas to Constans II. and family.—K. M. Konstantopoulos on leaden seals in the National Museum, Athens.—G. Dattari. 'Tre differenti teorie sull' origine delle monete dei nomi dell' antico Egitto.'—Τὸ ἐξ Ἀττικῆθέρων ἄγαλμα τοῦ ἀμνομένου καὶ ἀττικῶν μολύβδινων σύμβολον. On an Attic lead ticket, of the fourth century B.C., which S. compares with the crouching marble figure from Cerigotto.

Parts 3 and 4, 1904.

E. Babelon. 'Les origines de la monnaie à Athènes.' The first part of an important essay in which Babelon examines the annals and traditions of Athenian coinage, and especially the passages in the *Ath. Pol.* chap. x. He denies the possibility of attributing the familiar 'owls' to the time of Solon, on grounds of style, technique, etc., and would recognize as the earliest money of Athens various coins of Euboic (not Aeginetic) weight usually found in Attica and Euboea, and all having an incuse square on the reverse. These coins have the types, owl, horse, amphora, wheel, and astragalus, and there is a critical discussion of them and of other kindred types of early date. The principal difficulty that strikes one in this arrangement is that it provides Athens with a multiplicity of coin-types, though, as a rule, in the earliest periods of coining, each city had only a *single* type. Perhaps in the second part of his article M. Babelon will address himself to this point.—K. M. Konstantopoulos on leaden Byzantine

¹ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1905, part 1.

seals in the National Museum, Athens. — E. D. Dutilh. On ancient forgeries of tetradrachms of Athens, the Ptolemies, etc., found near Alexandria. — Svoronos writes on the recent acquisitions of the Athens coin-cabinet, and gives a descriptive catalogue of 283 select coins from the Soutso collection, illustrated by ten plates. — Svoronos. *Μέθανα ἡ Ἀρσινόη τῆς Πελοποννήσου*. The Peloponnesian town Arsinoe mentioned in an inscr. (*C. I. G.* Ins. iii. 466) has been conjectured to be identical with Methana in Argolis. This identification is now rendered practically certain

by the finding at Methana of a bronze coin reading *ΑΡΣΙ*: *obv.* female head (Arsinoe? wife of Ptolemy IV. Philopator), *rev.* hero standing holding spear and shield. Similar coins have long been known, though they were attributed to the Cretan town Arsinoe. But it was always a difficulty that these coins had never been discovered in Crete. The coins that belong to the Cretan town are those with Athena and dolphin types, which are known to be of Cretan provenance.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, 1905.

1 Mar. S. H. Butcher, *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. A. Janke, *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden* (R. Oehler), favourable. R. Laqueur, *Kritische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Makkabäerbuch* (W. Bauer). 'Very solid investigations.' *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, coll. J. ab Arnim. III. *Chryssippi fragmenta moralia. Fragmenta successorum Chryssippi* (A. Bonhöffer), very favourable. N. Terzaghi, *Index codicum Latinorum classicorum, qui Senis in bybliotheca publica adservantur* (C. W.). *Wie studiert man Archäologie?* (O. Weissenfels). 'The writer is at home in his subject.'

8 Mar. R. Weill, *Recueil des inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinaï* (A. Wiedemann). D. M. Sluys, *De Maccabaeorum libris I et II quaestiones* (W. Bauer). 'Does not further our knowledge.' K. Dieterich, *Kulturbilder von den kleinasiatischen Inseln* (G. Lang), favourable. B. Hauréau, *Notices des manuscrits latins 583 etc. de la bibliothèque nationale* (C. W.). C. C. Rice, 1. *The etymology of Italian greggio grezzo*. 2. *The etymology of the Romance words for 'to go'* (H. Ziemer). *Die Philosophie im Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*. Festschrift für Kuno Fischer. Herausgeb. von W. Windelband. I. (O. Weissenfels).

15 Mar. *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. by E. E. Sikes and T. W. Allen (R. Peppmüller), favourable. *Untersuchungen zur älteren griechischen Prosalitteratur*, herausgeg. von E. Drerup (G. Thiele), unfavourable. *Tacitus*, erkl. von K. Nipperdey. I. Band. *Ann.* i.-iv. 10. Aufl. von G. Andresen (Ed. Wolff), very favourable. *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny*, ed. by E. T. Merrill (Th. Opitz), favourable. J. v. Rozwadowski, *Wortbildung und Wortbedeutung* (O. Weise). A polemic against Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*. A. Hemme, *Was muss der Gebildete vom Griechischen wissen?* 2. Aufl. (O. Weise), favourable.

22 Mar. N. Terzaghi, *Prometeo*, N. Terzaghi, *Creonte* (H. Steuding), favourable. R. Dahms, *De Atheniensium sociorum tributis quaestiones septem* (Schneider), favourable. Th. Zielinski, *Das Klauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden* (May). 'Too bold in conclusions.' W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (A. Zimmermann). I. 'An epoch-making work.'

29 Mar. H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (H. Steuding), very favourable. Lucian, *Der Traum oder Lucians Lebensgang und Ikaromenipp oder die Himmelsreise*, erkl. von K. Mras (P. Schulze), favourable. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (A. Zimmermann). II.

5 Apr. H. B. Wright, *The campaign of Plataea* (H. Gillischewski). 'A respectable performance.' N. Terzaghi, *Di una rappresentazione della lotta tra Pelco e Tetide e delle relazioni di questo mito con le nozze sacre* (H. Steuding). Γ. Ν. Τσερέπης, *Τὰ Σύνθετα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης* (Bartholomae), very favourable. C. H. Sturtevant, *Contraction in the case-forms of the Latin io- and ia- Stems and of deus, is, and idem* (Bartholomae), favourable. C. Brakman, *Sidoniana et Boethiana* (Th. Stangl), favourable on the whole.

12 Apr. H. Hirt, *Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Bartholomae), unfavourable. A. Taccone, *Antologia della Melica Greca* (J. Sitzler), favourable. W. Barthel, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Städte in Africa* (R. Oehler), favourable. H. Halke, *Einleitung in das Studium der Numismatik*. 3. Aufl. (K. Regling), favourable.

19 Apr. Fr. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographic und Geschichte des alten Orients*. I. *Ethnologie des alten Orients, Babylonien und Chaldaea*. 2. Aufl. des 'Abrisses der Geschichte des alten Orients' (J. V. Prásek), favourable. A. G. Laird, *Studies in Herodotus* (H. Gillischewski), unfavourable on the whole. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Éléments de la Grammaire Celtique* (Bartholomae). R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latin*. Supplément à la troisième édition. 'Very welcome.'

26 Apr. *Euripidis fabulae*, rec. G. Murray. II. (K. Busche), favourable. R. H. Woltjer, *De Platone, prae-socraticorum philosophorum existimatore et indice* (H. Schenkl), favourable. *Pseudacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, rec. O. Keller. II. *scholia in sermones, epistulas artemque poeticam* (J. Endt). H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (F. X. Funk), favourable. L. Bellanger, *Recherches sur Saint Orens*. Note sur la légende de Saint Orens. Note sur *Orentius et Colomban* (C. W.).

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. xv. 2. 1905.

O. Dittich, *Die Grenzen der Sprachwissenschaft*. Combats view that 'Science of Language' means 'History of Language,' and divides the former into (1) Morphological, (2) Chronological-Topographical, and (3) Rational branches. The History of Language forms a section of branch (2). O. Schroeder, *Binnenresponson in den Singversen der Griechen*. O. Waser, *Das hellenistische Reliefbild* (with four plates). Tendency of Hellenistic relief to adopt methods of the painter: perspective, background, etc. Classification of extant reliefs (based largely on Schreiber's plates) as Mythological, Allegorical, Historical, Genre, and Literary. W. accepts the Alexandrine origin of the

tendency. O. Ladendorf, *Wielands Cyrus*. *Anzeigen*: A. Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*: 'may be strongly recommended to classical students' (C. Fries); A. Janke, *Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden*: 'the sites of Issus and Granicus, etc., definitely fixed: less successful with the actual tactics' (E. Lammert); A. Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet*, very favourably reviewed by W. Ruge. [In xvi. 2 R. Methner, *Der sogenannte Irrealis der Gegenwart im Lateinischen*. Impf. and Plpf. in conditions both refer to past time: the difference between them is that impf. simply denotes an action, and plpf. marks that action as complete.]

xv. 3. 1905.

W. Nestle, *Anfänge einer Götterburleske bei Homer*. The instances (5 from *Iliad*, 3 from *Odysssey*) belong to portions generally admitted to be of late origin. The tendency can be traced through Homeric hymns and parody-epic to Epicharmus and Aristophanes. A. Müller, *Sterbekassen und Vereine mit Begräbnisfürsorge in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Two kinds of society, according as provision for burial is or is not the main *raison d'être*. The latter class the more numerous. The rules, etc. as revealed by C.I.L. xiv. 2112, vi. 10234, iii. pp. 924 sqq. H. Blümner, *Die Maltechnik des Altertums*. Deals with E. Berger's book of that title, in which, on the strength of experiments made by the author and others, Donner's view that the Pompeian wall-paintings were frescoes is combated. They were executed *a tempera* on dry or wet ground, γάνωσις with Punic wax being applied in general, not merely in the case of cinnabar. An excursus by Mayhoff suggests that in Pliny's description of Encaustic (35 § 149) we may read *duo fuere genera*: *causterio* (sc. on wood) *et in chore cestro*. H. Beschoner, *August der Starke als Soldat*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: H. Lamer reviews *Mitteilungen des Kaiserl. Deutschen archäol. Inst., Athen. Abt. xvix. etc.*, dealing with Pergamum excavation (especially the great gymnasium and a Hermes after Alcamenes), I. Ilberg E. Förster's *Kaiser Julian in der Dichtung alter und neuer Zeit*. 'Shews an extraordinarily wide range of reading; valuable for the history of the mind as well as that of literature.' [In xvi. 3 R. Methner, *Der sogenannte Irrealis der Gegenwart im Lateinischen* (contd.). Neither in the subjunct. expressing a wish, nor in such uses as *poteram, debbam* does the imperfect lose its past force.]

xv. 4. 1905.

T. A. Meyer, *Schiller als tragischer Dichter*. K. Hartmann, *Arrian und Epiktet*. Mainly devoted to a consideration of the approximate date to be assigned to the Diatribes (? 112/113-114 A.D.). J. Ilberg, *Aus Galens Praxis*. Much light thrown on G.'s life and methods: e.g. his rise to fame at Rome, his departure thence in 166 (explained as due to the unsuitability of Rome as a place of residence during the plague), his correspondence with patients, etc. [In xvi. 4 E. Rosenberg, *Aus Goethe für Horazens Lieder* (parallelisms in thought and construction), K. Lehmann *Die Feldherrnkunst im Altertum*.]

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. 60. 2. 1905.

M. P. Nilsson, *Κατάπλοι*. This word, used by Arist. Rhetor 1, p. 440, N. takes to denote versified works describing harbour-entrances, etc., composed in Ionia during the 7/6th century. An attempt is made to collect the *disiecta membra* of the Ionic didactic poem, with frequent reference to the Homeric Catalogue and Hesiodæa. E. Bickel, *Zu Senecas*

Schrift über die Freundschaft. Attempts to fill the gaps in the first ten lines of 44^v of the palimpsest Vat.-Pal. 24. M. Manitius, *Lesarten und Scholien zu Juvenal aus dem Dresdensis D^o 153*. The MS. gives a number of readings that point to a separate tradition and are not found elsewhere. Certain of the scholia printed as (1) varying from Cornutus-scholium and the other collections, or (2) showing interesting agreement therewith. K. Dieterich, *Bedeutungsgeschichte griechischer Worte* (contd.). III. Modern λαλῶ, ὀμιλῶ, κελα(ῖ)δῶ, τραγουδῶ = λαλῶ, φημί, κελαδῶ, ᾄδω. IV. Modern στεγνός, ξερός = ξηρός, σκληρός. L. Radermacher, *Interpretationes Latinae*. Mainly Quintilian, Seneca (Epp.), and Cicero's Orator. In *Juv.* 1. 126 *noli uxare*: *quiescit* is assigned to the *patron*, who declares himself satisfied: the future is imperative. In *Quint.* 3. 5. 59 the *grammaticus ueterum amator* is Val. Probus. C. Thulin, *Minerva auf dem Capitol und Fortuna in Praeneste*. *Minerva* on the Capitol represents Etruscan *tesum*, a Fate-goddess (mother of Juppiter and Juno). The Etruscans had other Fate-divinities, *children* of Juppiter, and in Praeneste the one name Fortuna was used for the two forms. F. Skutsch, *Firmiticus de errore profanarum religionum*. Emendations, etc., based mainly on (1) verbal borrowing from older authors; (2) expressions, etc., in the Mathesis; (3) 'rhythmical' clausulae. K. Ziegler, *New Firmiticus-Lesungen*. The author, a pupil of Skutsch's, has examined Vat.-Pal. 165 and claims to have deciphered much of the original writing which baffled earlier collators. K. Tittel, *Der Pinienzapfen als Röhrenschmuck*. 'The matter does not help the dispute as to the origin of Christian mediaeval art.' W. Kroll, *Randbemerkungen*. Mainly on Minucius Felix: e.g. Harnack's view that he is later than Tertullian supported by parallel passages which reveal Minucius as the borrower. In *Miscellen* L. Radermacher deals with the folk lore of Lucian Philopseudes 11 and 24, E. Bickel cites reminiscences of Seneca in Merobaudes, F. Buecheler discusses *iugmentum, ofimentum, detramen*.

Mnemosyne, 33. 2. 1905.

H. T. Karsten *Commentum Aeli Donati ad Terentium* (from vol. 32) 3. Comparison of the rhetorical scholia of Donatus, the *magistri*, and Euphrasius. Those of D. may be divided into really rhetorical and semi-rhetorical (mainly exegetical) notes. M. L. Earle, *ἵπποταυροῦν*. In *Thuc.* 6. 101 read *ἵπποταύρου* for *ἄπ.* J. H. Leopold, *Ad M. Antonini* ix. 42. For *τί γὰρ πλέον θέλεις εἰ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπον* read *τ.γ.π.θ.ε.π. ἄνθρωπος* (or *ἄνθρωπε*). J. v. Leeuwen, *TO T̄ ATTIKON*, etc. Corrects scholion on *τῆμερον* (*Nub.* 699): especially for *καί ἐστι τεταγμένον ἐπὶ σώματος 'καί ἐστι τὸ τ̄ ἄττικόν ἀντι σίγματος'*. S. A. Naber, *Ann. Crit. ad Antiphontis, Aeschinis, Hyperidis, Dinarchi orationes*. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Apollinarem Sidonium*. In Ep. 6. 12. 6 for *conciat* read *confirmat* (cp. 7. 7. 1 where read *cuius, ut fama confirmat, <infirma> minus fuit sub bello quam sub pace condicio; ib. 8. 2 for mercatoribus mercatiorem* (and perhaps *seti sptus for saepe*); 1. 5. 5. read *oppidum duplex pars interluit Padis, tertia* (for *certa* of MSS.) *pars alluit*. C. G. Vollgraf, *Ad epigramma Delphicum*. Work of no literary hand. In 4th couplet read *'Ἀσίαν* for *'Ἀσίαι*. J. J. Hartman, *De Ovidio poeta commentatio* (contd.) 7 Emendations, etc. of passages from *Metamorphoses* i.-iv. H. v. Herwerden, *Varia*. Emendations of inscriptions, *Dionysius periegetes*, etc. H. J. Polak, *Ad Libanum*. Defence or emendation of text of certain passages.

Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie, etc.
xiv. 1. 1905.

J. Wackernagel, *Zu den lateinischen Ethnika*. Sometimes the notoriety of a city or the closeness of its relations with Rome leads to the Latinising of its Ethnicon: e.g. Syracusanus, Alexandrinus. Special investigation of names in -tanus. S. Schlossman, *Tributum, tribucere, tribus*. The verb originally = 'divide.' *Tributum* then is the total sum to be raised by taxation, divided into the quotas of the taxpayers. *Tribus* may be explained in various ways: e.g. it may signify a block of conquered territory, divided among the citizens. C. Weyman, *Sprachliches und Stilistisches zu Florus und Ambrosius*. Mainly on the rhetorical character of F.'s work and of the Latin version of Josephus. G. Landgraf, *Bemerkungen zum sog. poetischen Plural in der lat. Prosa*. In many examples quoted the plural is not absolutely equivalent in meaning to the singular (e.g. it often denotes frequency, continuousness) or is due to love of symmetry, analogy (*epistulae*), etc. K. E. Götz, *Waren die Römer blauäugig?* Examination of the use of *caeruleus* shews that blue is always meant except in the cases (barely five per cent. of the whole number) where it refers to the lower world. J. C. Jones, *Simul, simul ac und synonyma*. 1. *Simul, simul ac, simul atque*. The decline of the use of *simul ac* as a temporal conj. connected with the growth of its use as an equivalent of $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota$. 2. *Quom extemplo*. O. Hey, *Zur Enallage adiectivi*. Rejects some stock examples. E. von Wölfflin, *Nach zwanzig Jahren*. *Miscellen*: W. Heraeus, *Zur Sprache der mulomedicina Chironis und Sueris*; T. Sinko, *Lucricupido*; A. Klotz, *Nochmals equus = equus*; E. Löfstedt, *Glossographische Beiträge*; A. Döhning, *Vindex, iudex und Verwandtes*. *Litteratur* 1903, 1904.

xiv. 2. 1905.

I. Müller, *Lat. Uebersetzungsversuche einiger Briefe Schillers*. J. Denk, *Aspis = scutum*. A. Becker, *Con-*

corporalis Kamerad, Bundesbruder. R. Thurneysen, *Senium und desiderium*. *Senesco* technical for 'waning' of moon; *desiderare* 'faint, languish for,' *sideratus* being the equivalent of ἀσπράβλητος, *sideratio* implying *remissio nervorum*. Ed. Wölfflin, *Improspere*. The lateness of its appearance in Latin an argument for the *pro spero* derivation of *prospere*. J. Cornu, *Zu Lucan* 6. 558. Read *vacabat* with N. F. Glöckner, *Zum Gebrauch von olli bei Vergil*. Used by V. in reproducing certain Homeric phrases. O. Keller, *Cetrus = cetra*. E. Bickel, *Die griech. Fremdwörter bei dem Philosophen Seneca*. A list, with observations on Seneca's use of the Greek alphabet. O. Keller, *Zum Corpus Inscr. lat. vol. I*. A. J. Kronenberg, *Corragare (corrogare)*. G. Lehnert, *Miscrinus*. S. Schlossman, *Stipendium*. Ed. Wölfflin, (1) *Zu Catull*, 101. 2. Read *seras* for *miseras*. (2) *Deus agricola = Priapus* (Tib. 1. 1. 14). (3) *Zum Chronicon Livianum von Oxyrhynchus*. Mainly on (1) principle on which subject matter is selected, (2) style, (3) critical matter. J. O. Jones, *Simul simulac und Synonyma* (continued). E. K. Rand and O. Hey, *Eine Predigt über Christi Höllenfahrt*. A 5/6th century sermon, based on two Greek homilies, giving indirect evidence for the influence of the Nicodemus gospel on mediaeval literature. F. X. Bürger, *Quadrantal*. *Miscellen*: O. Hey, *Atacinus und Präpositus enim* (defending it in Apuleius); W. Heraeus, *Tacitus und Sallust* (*Ann.* 4. 49 sqq. = *Hist. fr.* ii. 87), *Lepeis neben Leptis*, and *Ein vermeintliches Cicerofragment*; J. Denk, *Actna masc. and Zur Italia*; S. Kraus, *Das Teträpylon in Caesarea*; F. X. Bürger, *Penitus ampulare*; B. A. Müller, *Eorum = suus*; O. Keller, *Vertauschung von D und L im Lateinischen*. *Literatur* 1904, 1905: C. D. Buck's *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, H. A. Sanders' *Lost Epitome of Livy*, Kornemann's *Die neue Livius-epitome*, Marx' C. Lucilii carminum reliquiae: vol. 1, *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*: fasc. 4, *Hermes' Senecae dial. libri XII*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

Alciphron. Schepers (M. A.) *Alciphronis Rhetoris epistularum libri iv.* (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxvi + 226. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 3.20.

Apuleius Madaurensis. Helm (R.) *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis pro se de magia libri (Apologia)*. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) Apulei Opera quae supersunt, Vol. II. Fasc. 1. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 120. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 2.40.

Aristophanes. Leeuwen (J. van) *Ecclesiazusae cum prolegomenis et commentariis*. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxii + 160. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1905. M. 5.

Augustine (Saint). Dombart (B.) *Sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi de civitate Dei libri xxii tertium recog.* B. D. Vol. II. Lib. xiv. - xxii. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 636. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 4.20.

Blecher (G.) *De extispicio capita tria scripsit et imaginibus illustravit G. B. Accedit de Babyloni-orum extispicio Caroli Bezold supplementum. (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten heraus. A. Dieterich und E. Wünsch. Band II. Hft. 4.)* 9" × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 171-252. Gieszen, A. Töpelmann. 1905. M. 2.80.

Browne (Henry) *Handbook of Homeric Study*. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 5". Pp. xvi + 333. London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1905. 6s. net.

Cauer (Paul) *Beigaben zu Ilias und Odyssee* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 5". Pp. 78. Leipzig, G. Freytag, Wien, F. Tempsky. 1905. 80 Pf. or 1 K.

Cicero. Cato Major über das Alter, erklärt von O. Drenckhahn. (*Griech. und latin. Schulschriftsteller mit Anmerkungen.*) 8" × 5". Pp. Text 37, Anmerkungen 30. Berlin, Weidmann. 1905. 80 Pf.

— Dougan (Thomas Wilson.) *Tusculanarum*

- Disputationum libri quinque, a revised text with introduction and commentary and a collation of numerous MSS. Vol. I. containing Books 1 and 2. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. lxiv+252. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 6s.
- Collignon* (Maxime). Lysippe. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. (*Les Grands Artistes*). Pp. 128. (With 24 illustrations.) Paris, H. Laurens. 1905. 2.50 fr., relié 3.50 fr.
- Donatus*. Wessner (Paul) Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti. Accedunt Eugraphi commentum et scholia Bemina. Vol. II. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) M. 12.
- Gardner* (Percy) A Grammar of Greek Art. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. xii+267. London, Macmillan and Co. 1905. 7s. 6d. (*Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities*.)
- Gordis* (Warren Stone) The Estimates of Moral Values expressed in Cicero's Letters, a study of the motives expressed or approved. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 102. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1905.
- Herodas*. Crusius (Otto) Mimiambi. 1. Novis fragmentis auctos quartum edidit O. C. Editio minor. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 132. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 2.40.
- Jonge* (Ed. de) Les Clausules Métriques dans St. Cyprien. (*Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie. 14^e fascicule*) $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 155. Louvain, Typographie, Charles Peeters: Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1905.
- Kellerman* (Ivy) On the syntax of some prepositions in the Greek Dialects. (*University of Chicago: Degree Dissertation*) $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 79. Press of the New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa. 1904.
- Lechat* (Henri) Pythagoras de Rhégium. (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Nouvelle Série, II. Fasc. 14.*) $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. vi+133, 18 illustrations. Lyon, A. Rey. Paris, A. Picard et Fils. 1905. 4 fr.
- Livy*. Lease (Emory B.) Titi Livi ab urbe condita libri xxi, xxii. Edited with introduction, commentary, and index, by E. B. L., the College of the City of New York. (*Gildersleeve-Lodge Latin Series*) $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. lxxii+438. New York, Boston, New Orleans, University Publishing Company. 1905. \$1.40.
- Mahaffy* (John Pentland) The progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. vi+154. Chicago, The University Press. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. 5s.
- Mendes da Costa* (M. B.) Index Etymologicus dictionis Homericae. $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xiv+594. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1905. M. 10.
- Mothcau* (Alphée) Œuvres d'Horace traduits en vers français avec préface et notes. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xii+445. Paris: A. Fontemoing. 1905. 4 fr.
- Perrot* (Georges). Praxitèle. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. (*Les Grands Artistes*). Pp. 128. (With 24 illustrations.) Paris, H. Laurens. 1905. 2.50 fr., relié 3.50 fr.
- Petronius*. Buecheler (F.) Saturae et liber Priapeorum quartum edidit F. B. Adjectae sunt Varronis et Senecae saturae similesque reliquiae. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 254. Berolini apud Weidmannos. 1904. M. 3.
- Plautus*. Goetz (G.) et Schoell (F.) Comoediae. Fasc. II. Bacchides Captivos Casinam complectens. Editio altera emendatior. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xviii+161. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1904. M. 1.20.
- Polybius*. Büttner-Wobst (Th.) Historiae editionem a Ludovico Dindorfio curatam retractavit T. B.-W. Editio altera. Vol. I. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 1+361. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 4.40.
- Pottier* (Edmond) Douris et les Peintres de Vases Grecs. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. (*Les Grands Artistes*). Pp. 128. (With 24 illustrations.) Paris, H. Laurens. 1905. 2.50 fr., relié, 3.50.
- Procopius*. Haury (J.) Procopius Caesariensis opera omnia. Vol. I. De Bellis libri i-iv. Pp. lxxiii+552. Vol. II. De Bellis libri v-viii. Pp. 678. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 24.
- Rutherford* (William G.) A chapter in the history of annotation, being Scholia Aristophanica, Vol. III. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xi+494. London, Macmillan and Co. 25s. net.
- Seneca*. Hermes (Emil) Libri xii Dialogorum. (L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt. Vol. I. Fasc. 1.) (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xx+384. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 3.20.
- Sophocles*. Tacconi (Dr. Angelus) Sophoclis Tragoediarum locos melicos e novissimorum de graecorum pocturam metris scriptorum disciplina descripsit de antistrophica responsione et de locis vel dubia vel certa vexatis corruptela disseruit Dr. A. T. (*Accademia Reale delle Scienze di Torino. Anno 1904-5*) $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 151-221. Torino, Carlo Clausen. 1905.
- Souter* (Alexander) A Study of Ambrosiaster. (*Texts and Studies: contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature ed. by J. Armitage Robinson*. Vol. VII. No. 4.) $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xii+267. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 7s. 6d. net.
- Svoronos* (J. N.) Das Athener Nationalmuseum. Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text. Heft 3-4. $13'' \times 10''$. Pp. 87-134. Plates XXI-XL. Athens, Beck and Barth. 1905.
- Thiselton* (Alfred Edward) Notulae Criticae (22-43). $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 27. London, R. Folkard & Sons, 22 Devonshire Street, W.C. 1905. 1s. net.
- Thucydides*. Spratt (A. W.) Book vi. (*Pitt Press Series*) $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xlv+408. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 6s. net.

ADDENDUM TO P. 243 (LESBIAN εἰκοιστος).

Lesbian εἰκοιστος is now supplemented by τριάκοιστος and ἐξήκοιστος, which occur in
 a Lesbian inscription found at Delos, just published in Bull. Corr. Hell. xxix. p. 210 ff.

C. D. Buck.

CORRIGENDA TO THE MAY NUMBER.

P. 229, col. 1 (last line but one). *For 'comparing' read 'confusing.'*
 P. 231 (Version), l. 1. *For 'duces' read 'ducis.'*

The Classical Review

JULY 1905.

THE MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT BRANCH OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

At the invitation of the Editor of this Review I am glad to give a brief report of the formation and work of this Branch of the Classical Association. The success it has had, which has greatly exceeded expectation, will perhaps encourage similar developments in other places and may be of some interest to readers of the *Classical Review* as showing the strength of the hold which Classical studies possess in a typical centre of modern industrial life.

The first step was taken by the Classical Society of the present and past students of the Manchester University (in which the older Owens College is now absorbed), by inviting several hundred people resident in the district and likely to be interested to hear a lecture given on Nov. 15, 1904 by Prof. R. M. Burrows of Cardiff on 'The Art of Translation,' the Vice-Chancellor of the University presiding. At the close of the lecture, which aroused great interest, a resolution establishing the Branch was carried with enthusiasm. The list of the officers appointed at this and the following meeting is as follows :

President :

Prof. A. S. WILKINS, LL.D., Litt.D.

Vice-Presidents :

The Right Rev. THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER ; the Right Rev. THE BISHOP OF SALFORD ; Prof. W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., D.Sc. ; Miss S. A. BURSTALL, B.A. ; E. DONNER, Esq., B.A. ; the Rev. CANON HICKS, M.A. ; the Very Rev. DEAN MACLURE, D.D., Hon. LL.D. ; the Rev. J. H. MOULTON, D.Lit. ; J. L. PATON, Esq. M.A. ; Prof. M. SADLER, M.A., Hon. LL.D. ; Prof. J. STRACHAN,
NO. CLXX. VOL. XIX.

LL.D. ; A. HOPKINSON, Esq., M.A., Hon. LL.D., K.C. (Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University) ; the Ven. ARCHDEACON WILSON, D.D.

Hon. Treasurer :

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Besides professed teachers of Classics the list includes a distinguished group of clergy of different denominations, the leader of the Common Law Bar in the circuit, five Heads of important secondary schools, one of the senior leader-writers of the *Manchester Guardian*, the John Rylands Librarian, and several eminent members of the University Senate and Council, interested though no longer engaged in Classical study. The support of the veteran geologist and antiquarian Professor Boyd Dawkins has proved of particular value.

The constitution of the Branch was adopted at the first regular meeting held in December, at which a paper was read, and followed by a discussion, upon 'The personality of Cicero.' One or two points in the organisation should perhaps be mentioned. Membership is either Regular (with a subscription of 7s. 6d.) or Associate (with a subscription of 2s. 6d.), the former including full membership of the parent Association,

the latter admitting to local privileges only. In eight months the membership has grown to about 180 (of whom about 84 are regular members, the remainder Associates); and it is hoped that it may be steadily increased by the adhesion of Classical students leaving the University to enter professional life. Both classes of members are pledged to the principles of the Association, which, I hope at least, are too familiar to readers of this Review to need recital here; the third 'object' was, however, localised as follows at the suggestion of Canon E. L. Hicks, the well-known editor of the *Inscriptions of Cos*:

- '(c) To encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries on all sides of Classical studies, and especially to promote the excavation, study, and preservation of the remains of the Roman occupation of the district.'

In order to carry out this in a practical shape an Excavation Committee was formed consisting of the Chairman and two other members of the General Committee, with Canon Hicks, Professors Boyd Dawkins and Tait (Professor of Ancient and Mediaeval History in the University), Mr. John Henry Hopkinson (formerly Craven Student), and as Hon. Secretary Mr. F. A. Bruton, of the Manchester Grammar School, who has made a special study of the numerous Roman sites in the district. Before passing to describe the excavation now in progress, I should mention the two other very successful meetings held by the Branch, one at the Rylands Library when Mr. Guppy told the story of the famous Althorp Collection and showed a large number of its early editions (including copies of the *Editio Princeps* of eighteen Greek and Latin authors) besides other rarities now in his keeping; and one at the University, where Professor Ridgeway lectured last month to a large audience on 'The Origin of Greek Tragedy.' The arrangements for next winter include lectures by Professor Butcher and Canon Hicks and a discussion on 'The Teaching of Ancient History.'

The first work of the Excavation Committee was to negotiate a treaty of friendly relations with the Antiquarian Society of Glossop (a branch of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society). This body some three years ago, with great enterprise, had leased from Lord Howard of Glossop and protected by good fencing the site of a

Roman camp known locally as 'Melandra Castle'—the origin of the name has not yet been traced back further than Watkins' *Roman Cheshire*. The heavy cost of the fencing, added to the expenses of three weeks' excavation, ably conducted in 1902 for the local Committee by Mr. John Garstang now of the University of Liverpool, had reduced their work to a complete standstill, save for the private digging of their Secretary, Mr. Robert Hamnett, to whose devoted work is due the excellent preservation of many very interesting relics which have come to light, and which are shortly to be permanently housed in the Glossop Free Library in cases provided by Lord Howard of Glossop. The most interesting of these relics are perhaps the pottery (Samian, Castor and Upchurch), the Roman glass, a complete set of weights, some fragments of dried 'Mare's-tail,' a tough, smooth plant which the soldiers must have used for bedding, a fine signet copied from the first (sphinx) seal of Augustus, and a curious clay model of a horse, with what I am told by archaeologists is an almost, if not quite, unique specimen of an *ephippion*, of course equally in miniature, attached to the horse originally by strings. The Centurial inscription (long known, but only now in safe custody) shows that the camp was built by the First Cohort of Frisiauones, who from other epigraphical evidence are known to have built also Mancunium and to have been attached to the XX legion at Chester at all events in 105 A.D. The coins found are numerous, the earliest is one of Galba, the latest one of Carausius, the insubordinate Admiral of the Romano-British fleet whom Diocletian was forced to acknowledge as a colleague in 289 A.D. It is a problem of great interest to date the camp more narrowly, but I must not yet enter into any of the many different aspects of the question. The site has been visited by both Mr. F. Haverfield and Prof. Ridgeway, who although they have of course taken no responsibility, have materially aided the work by their valuable counsel. And though it has no direct connection with the Association, I may perhaps mention that on the invitation of the Council of the University Mr. Haverfield gave a masterly lecture to Classical and Historical students on 'The Roman occupation of Derbyshire.'

The results of the excavation, which a subscription of some £70¹ will enable us to

¹ This includes a grant of £25 from the University and £2 2s. from the Council of the parent Association.

continue all through the summer, will be fully described in the First Report, which will be published for the Branch, probably by the Manchester University Press, in the autumn, and will contain, besides plans and photographs, special articles on different questions by members of the Excavation Committee and others. In the vacation the work will progress more rapidly, as two members of the Committee will be in continuous charge for a month with a larger number of workmen. So far the work has been directed mainly to clearing the foundations of the walls, gates and towers.

In conclusion I should like to point out

that the Committee has been enabled, thanks to the kindness and enthusiasm of its Honorary Secretary, to put the Excavation to real educational use. Besides visits and lectures for members of the Branch and students of the University, parties from no less than seven secondary schools, and two or three Archaeological Societies have been taken round the camp, and I do not think any one has been there who has not learnt to feel a real interest in this visible and tangible monument of the first civilising power in Britain.

R. S. CONWAY.

June 20, 1905.

ON ILLIAD I. 418.—A REJOINDER.

414 ὦ μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ
τεκοῦσα;
αἴθ' ὄφελος παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ
ἀπήμων
ἦσθαι, ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἶσα μίννυθά περ, οὐ τι
μᾶλα δῆν.
νῦν δ' ἄμα τ' ὠκίμορος καὶ οὐζυρὸς περὶ
πάντων
418 ἔπλεο· τῶ σε κακῆι αἴσῃι τέκον ἐν μεγά-
ροισιν.

The tone of Mr. Earle's reply is decidedly discourteous, but I am willing to believe that it may be unintentionally so and only his way of expressing disagreement. Moreover the greater part of what he has written is irrelevant to the issue, which is simply whether τῶ in 418 means 'therefore' and makes good sense. I never thought anything of τῶς, but I did not thoroughly realise the weakness of the conjecture until Mr. Earle undertook its defence. I make the following remarks upon Mr. Earle's reply.

1. One of Mr. Earle's points is that I said that τῶς has the approval of Dr. Leaf. True: and it was chiefly Dr. Leaf's approval that caused me to write my note.

2. Mr. Earle says that, with my translation, I am 'logically obliged' to refer κακῆι αἴσῃι in E 209 not to Pandarus himself but to his bow. He is mistaken. Whether we translate κακῆι αἴσῃι in A 418 'to an ill lot (or fortune or fate)' and refer to Achilles, or we translate 'with an ill lot (or fortune or fate)' and refer to Thetis (and each view has its advocates) it makes no difference to the parallelism of A 418 with E 209 and τ 259

as regards the reference of τῶ. In all three places the predicate is κακῆι αἴσῃι and the justification of τῶ is to be found not in the preceding line but a little further back. No doubt if we take κακῆι αἴσῃι of A 418 to refer to Thetis, the subject of the verb, the parallelism with E 209 and τ 259 is closer than if we refer these two words to Achilles, and that fact is *pro tanto* a reason for taking them in the former way. On the other hand the reference to Achilles is favoured by αἶσα in I. 416, as Dr. Leaf points out.

3. Mr. Earle writes, 'the ῥα in E 209 clearly shows that τῶ means "therefore." There is no ῥα in A 418.' By this is meant that it is not certain that τῶ in A 418 = 'therefore' because it is not followed by ῥα: but in cases too numerous to quote τῶ by itself *does* mean 'therefore,' and, as 'therefore' gives excellent sense in A 418, why make any change by reading τῶς?

4. Mr. Earle says that 'I admit that his remark about A 418 is true.' I do nothing of the kind, as his own quotation of my words shows, and would show more clearly if he had also given the next sentence which was, "The true predicate is not τέκον but κακῆι αἴσῃι and the sense is 'therefore to an ill lot it was that I bore thee (as I now know).'" I am not concerned to deny that his translation 'therefore ill-starred did I bring thee forth in the hall' may be taken in an orthodox sense. But his objection to τῶ shows that he does not so take it.

5. Finally, I am informed that I do not know the meaning of αἶσα because I translate it 'lot.' By 'lot' I mean 'lot in life,'

'fortune,' 'fate.' Messrs. Lang, Leaf and Myers translate *αἴσα* by 'lot' in l. 416, Monro translates *κακῆι αἴσῃ* 'with evil fortune' and Ameis 'zu einem schlimmen Lose.' At any rate I err in good company. But Mr. Earle tells us that *αἴσα* when used

of human life = 'doom.' Let us apply this to l. 416, 'seeing that thy *doom* is very brief and endureth no long while.' What an improvement!

R. C. SEATON.

NOTES ON HERODOTUS, BOOKS I-III.

BOOK I.

24. 8¹. *τελευτόντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν.*

Probably *τελευτόντα* with the genitive, a well established construction. Herwerden *τελευτήσαντα*, but the present is both nearer to the MSS and better in itself, *just as he finished.*

ib. 11 *ιστορέεσθαι* (not elsewhere used in the passive by H.) should perhaps be changed to *ιστορέειν*, going on from the *ἔχειν* of the sentence before. So in 3. 99. 2 (for instance) R has *διαφθείρεσθαι* against the *διαφθείρειν* of other MSS. Valckenaer proposed *ειρωτέεσθαι* here. Dr. Postgate suggests to me that *ιστορέεσθαι* may be middle. This is possible, but H.'s frequent and consistent use of the active is against it.

27. 4 *νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ . . . λαβεῖν ἀράσθαι Ἀνδρῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ;* (MSS *ἀράσθαι* or *ἀρώμενοι*)

Stein reads the ungrammatical and surely impossible nominative *ἀρώμενοι*. The infinitive is less anomalous, but still awkward. Should we not read *ἀράσθαι*, but omit *εὔχεσθαι*, which may have been put in to fill up the ellipse of *τί δοκέεις ἄλλο ἢ ἀράσθαι*? Cobet approves Toup's conjecture *αἰωρομένων* as answering to *νησιώτας ἱππευομένων ἐν ἡπείρῳ* just before, and it is certainly plausible.

32. 6 *πᾶν ἄνθρωπος συμφορῆ.*

Quotations and A² (Stein) give *πᾶς*. The parallels in Stein's note point to *πᾶσα*, e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 909 *μικκός γε μάκος οὔτος. Δ. ἀλλ' ἅπαν κακόν*: Theocr. 15. 148 *χῶνῆρ ὄξος ἅπαν.*

48. 3 *διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοτρόπους.*

παρὰ (which we should expect to take a

¹ In default of any way universally adopted of referring to specific parts of chapters, I have cited the sections as given in the old *Oxford Pocket Classics*.

personal accusative), probably because the oracle is more or less identified with the god or hero. Thus in 46. 2 *ἐς Δελφούς, ἐς Δωδώνην, παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον.* But *περὶ τὰ χ.* is possible.

59. 1 *τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου.*

As *ὑπό* has nothing to do with *διεσπασμένον*, Herwerden reads *τέως* for *τε καὶ* and has also suggested *τέως διεσπασμένον κατεχόμενον*. We might very well adopt the transposition and read *διεσπασμένον τε καὶ κατεχόμενον*. The Athenians were divided and were under the control of P.

ib. 4 *οὐκ ὦν . . . πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν . . . γενέσθαι <δὲ> οἱ κ.τ.λ.?*

65. 5 *ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλομαι, ὦ Ἀνκόοργε.*

The oracle is in doubt whether to call him god or man. It is hard to see the force of *ἔτι*. Perhaps *ἀλλά τι*. Both *καὶ* and *τι* are sometimes added to *μᾶλλον*.

67. 4 *Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέῃ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χῶρῳ, ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι πνέουσι δύο κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.*

It is surprising that exception has not been taken to the first of these lines. Not only does it make the *ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι πνέουσι* refer to Tegea as a whole, when it ought to be more specific, but the famous city is spoken of as *Τεγέῃ τις* in a slighting manner. Surely it stands to reason that we want 'there is a spot in Tegea where' etc. For the natural expression cf. Herodotus' own way of writing: 160. 4 *χῶρος τῆς Μυθίης*: 2. 75. 1 *ἔστι δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίης.*

The *excerpta* from Diodorus actually give *Τεγέης*, which we should like to make depend on *χῶρῳ*, but this is impossible without some further change. We might think of *Τεγέῃ λευρὸς ἐνὶ χῶρος*. The corruption however is not a likely one, and *χῶρῳ* no doubt comes

from *Od.* 7. 123 τῆς ἕτερον μὲν θειλόπεδον λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ. I suggest therefore that we should read ἔστι τοι Ἀρκαδῆς Τεγέης λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι κ.τ.λ., joining ἔστι with ἐνθα, as in *Xen. Cyrop.* 7. 4. 15 ἔστιν ἐνθα ἰσχυρῶς ὠφελούσι σφειδονῆται. The common Latin *Arcadius* seems to guarantee the use of Ἀρκάδιος as an adjective.

ib. 6 οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσι <οἱ> τῶν ἀστῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἰπέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι?

The article cannot, I think, be dispensed with. The order of the words (instead of τῶν ἀστῶν οἱ ε. or οἱ ε. τ. ἀ.) has many parallels in H., e.g. 53. 3 τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους: 3. 26. 1 οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίου ἀποσταλέντες.

77. 1 (or 76. 5) καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτως ἠγωνίσατο.

Write in accordance with H.'s practice ἠγωνίστο.

78. 2 ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητῶν Τελμησσέων cannot be right, because with such a genitive we can only supply a word like *house* or *temple*, a building, not a country or tract of country. Perhaps τήν has been lost before τῶν. Qy. ἐς τήν τῶν Τ. τῶν ἐ. ? Or ἐς τήν τῶν Τ., omitting ἐξηγητῶν? Scheer proposed ἐς Τελμησσέων, omitting τῶν ἐ., and so too Herwerden.

84. 3 Τελμησσέων δικασάντων being ludicrously unsuitable, surely we should accept Reiske's διδασάντων, or possibly δεξάντων. The notion needed is that of instruction and information. In 6. 139. 3 again δικάσσει is wrong and has been corrected by Cobet to δικαιῶσι.

90. 2 Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἴτεο δόσιν ἦντινα βούλειαι τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα.

There are here at least three difficulties: (1) the genitive absolute referring to the subject of αἴτεο (this however is trifling): (2) the pointless description of Croesus as ἀνὴρ βασιλεύς, which has no bearing on the case and has indeed also ceased to be true: (3) ἀναρτημένου ποιεῖν when ποιήσαντος would be more suitable. Dobree partially restored the passage when he read σε for σεῦ, thus making ἀνδρὸς β. refer to Cyrus, which is obviously the meaning. Cyrus is ready (ἀναρτημένος) to reward Croesus. But, apart from the Zeugma ἔπεα ποιεῖν (more awkward than 3. 135. 1 ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίηε, because there ἐποίηε follows immediately on ἔργα), where is the suitability of χρηστὰ ἔπεα here at all? It is a practical

reward that Cyrus wishes to bestow, a δόσις. He does not ask, What would you like me to say of you? I take it then the χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα must somehow be those of Croesus, the good counsel and services for which the king wishes to make a return. Did H. write something like ἀναρτημένου σε εἰ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως <διὰ> χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν? It might be a participle that has been lost. There is, I think, no objection to the long separation of εἰ and ποιεῖν.

105. 5 ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφας νοσεῖν καὶ ὄραν παρ' ἑωντοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τήν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται.

This may be right, but it seems odd that the last part should be stated as an assertion of the Scythians. One would expect something like καὶ ὄραν πάρα (or παρέστω or παρέχει) αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀπικνεομένοισι κ.τ.λ. (Madvig has suggested παρέστω τοῖσι without αὐτοῖσι.)

116. 3 ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι.

ταῦτα, one would think, ought to be τοιαῦτα, but the same question arises several times in Herodotus' text.

132. 4 μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστῶς ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην οἴην δὴ ἐκείνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τήν ἐπαιδιήν.

If it was always a θεογονίη, why add οἴην δὴ κ.τ.λ.? Nor does the thing seem very appropriate in itself. Is θεογονίην an adscript? Certainly we should not miss it, if omitted. [I see now that Madvig has argued partly to the same effect in *Advers.* 3. 23.]

137. 1 μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύει μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωντοῦ οἰκετῶν ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν.

It is impossible to accept Stein's view that μηδένα does double duty, both with Περσέων and with οἰκετῶν. Herwerden seems on the right track when in his appendix he proposes to insert a τινά. But I hardly think τινά could stand after μήτε, as he suggests. μήτε τινά . . . μηδένα . . . πάθος ἔρδειν is to my mind doubtful Greek. Rather μήτε τ. ἀ. Π. μηδένα τῶν <τινά> ἑαυτοῦ οἰκετῶν. Or we might insert another μηδένα before τῶν ἑωντοῦ.

141. 3 Fable of the piper and the fish. παύσθῃ μοι ὀρχόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αἰδέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχόμενοι.

Anybody's ear can tell him that the

occurrence of ὄρχεόμενοι at the end of two successive clauses is wrong. Moreover the fish would not come out of the water dancing: they would come out and then dance on the shore. Hence Herwerden brackets the word and Cobet wished to read ὄρχησόμενοι. I would rather suggest ἐκβαίνοντες (or possibly ἐκβάντες, but the aorist is not necessary) ὄρχεέσθαι. A good many instances can be got together of two words, as it were, exchanging terminations in this sort of way. Confining myself to verbs and participles, I find in this same book 192. 3 the MSS varying between ἡ δὲ ἀργάβη μέτρον ἔδν Περσικὸν χωρεῖ κ.τ.λ. and μέτρον ἔστῃ Π. χωρέον, while in 2. 64. 6 they vary between ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεύσι and ποιούντες ἐπιλέγουσι. In Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 20 Dobree's ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα seems right for the ἀποθανόντα . . . ἐμβληθῆναι of the MSS. In the following cases the confusion is easier. *Iliad* 8. 526 Aristarchus read εἶχουμαι ἐλπίμενος, Zenodotus ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος. *Od.* 17. 245 one MS has ὑβρίζεις φορέων for ὑβρίζων φορέεις. *Ar. Ach.* 91 R has ἦκοντες ἄγομεν in spite of metre for ἄγοντες ἦκομεν, and it is fairly certain that in *Wasps* 577 τὰγαθὰ . . . ἄχεις φάσκων should be ἄχων φάσκεις, very probable that *Thesm.* 314 φανέντας ἐπιχαρῆναι should be χαρέντας ἐπιφανῆναι. *Plato Alcib.* 2 (beginning) προσευξόμενος πορεύει is a safe correction of πορευόμενος προσεύξει. Cf. Rohde's suggestion in *Sympr.* 174 D, πορευόμενον ὑπολείπεσθαι for πορεύεσθαι ὑπολείπομενον. *Ajax* 1183 the MSS give μόλων . . . μεληθείς, but the *Etyim. M.* has μολών . . . μεληθῶ. The change I would make has therefore plenty of parallels, though it is rather more considerable than most of them. Cf. below on 2. 51. 1.

152. 4 ἔπεμπον . . . ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν . . . μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναιμωρέειν.

Cobet demurs to ῥῆσιν and would read ῥήμασι in the sense, I presume, of 'speaking on behalf of' or 'conveying their command.' But that seems an awkward expression. Does not ῥῆσιν stand for ἀπόρρησιν according to the Greek practice of using the simple word rather than repeat the compound (ἀπερέοντα)? ἀπερέοντα Δ. ῥ. then is to prohibit him in a prohibition coming from the Lacedaemonians. H. might have said ἀπαγγελλέοντα Δ. ἀπόρρησιν. Or ῥῆσιν may be actually a mistake for ἀπόρρησιν, as in 7. 10. 3 ἡγόρευον probably is for ἀπηγόρευον.

160. 4 ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χίῳι (Ηακτύην) ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄταρνεί μισθῷ. τοῦ δὲ Ἄταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσῆς.

The last words are usually taken as a violent anacoluthon, but even so there is nothing to account for the genitive. What was he going to say? Should we not rather suppose something lost, e.g. a verb to the effect that they *wanted* Atarneus? Of course more words than one must be missing. It is hardly satisfactory just to substitute with Krüger ὁ δὲ Ἄταρνέος.

186. 6 Nitocris built a stone bridge in Babylon, ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρα γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιούντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι. τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαειρέεσκον, so that they could not cross.

Inherent probability and the plural ἀπαειρέεσκον make it pretty certain that H. wrote ἐπετείνεσκον. It was not by Nitocris or by orders from her twice a day that the planks were placed and removed.

190. 4 χρόνον τε ἐγγιγνομένου συχνοῦ ἄνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγματῶν προκοπτομένω.

Comparing 3. 56. 1 ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προκόπτετο, we shall be inclined to read προκοπτόμενον.

195. 1 περιβάλλεται for περιβαλλόμενος? If the latter, which is in itself awkward, were right, the following participle ought to have a τε or δέ or καί. Madvig's ἐπενδύνεται καί does not remove this objection, and ἐπενδύνομαι is a dubious form.

196. 5 καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκέρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβῶν συνοικεῖν αὐτῇ . . . τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαίδων παρθένων.

ἂν is in a strange place and should, I have little doubt, be δῆ. χρυσίον . . . τὸ δὲ δῆ χρυσίον is the regular turn of phrase. Hermanson suggested τὸ δὲ αὐ.

ἰβ. 9 The words ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν (read ἀδικέοιεν) . . . ἄγονται make no sense and are omitted by Stein, Cobet, and Herwerden. They would however do well enough if put four or five lines earlier after οὕτω ἀπαγαγέσθαι. The γενέσθαι preceding them is retained by Stein, omitted by Cobet and Herwerden. The latter seem right, but γενέσθαι may be the remains of ἀπαγαγέσθαι, if my suggestion is sound.

207. 9 Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθείες.

Herwerden's κακῶν for καλῶν should certainly be adopted. (1) The antithesis of ἀγαθὰ and κακὰ is much better than the rather unmeaning combination of ἀγαθὰ and

καλά: (2) ἀπαθῆς κακῶν occurs several times in H., whereas ἀ. καλῶν is a questionable phrase altogether: (3) the mistake is a very common one.

ib. 12 Perhaps λείψεται for λείπεται, agreeing in tense with τρέφονται. It is not strictly necessary, but the mistake is extremely common.

210. 2 In the reverse way I have sometimes thought we should read μὴ εἶη . . . ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύει instead of ἐπιβουλεύσει, as the question is of there being someone plotting at that moment. But here again the tense may pass. Stein after Krüger ἐπιβουλεύσειεν, a change not worth making. [Dr. Postgate points out that there is very good authority for ἐπιβουλεύει. Stein's note in his critical edition is 'ἐπιβουλεύει B¹ R, ἐπιβουλεύει d 2.']

BOOK II.

2. 4 παῖδιά δύο . . . διδοῖ ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμίνα.

ἐς τὰ π. is wanting in construction. Perhaps ἄγοντι has been lost.

Just above in Ψαμμήτιχος δέ the δέ should perhaps be γάρ.

3. 4 τὰ μὲν νῦν θεία τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγήεσθαι . . . ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπία πρήγματα κ.τ.λ.

οἷα should probably be ὅσα. Observe the ὅσα following. A common mistake.

5. 1 δῆλα γὰρ δὴ . . . ὅτι Αἴγυπτος ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτίοισι ἐπικητός τε γῆ καὶ ὄωρον ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ταύτης . . . τῆς πέρι ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἐπι τοιονδὲ ἔλεγον.

(1) The Egypt to which the Greeks sailed did not include τὰ κατύπερθε. I conclude therefore that these words are not an accusative, as Stein makes them, but a further subject of ἐστὶ. If this is so, we seem to want <καὶ> Αἴγυπτος or Αἴγυπτός τε. It would at any rate smooth the construction. (2) It is difficult to believe that τῆς can be used with reference to τὰ κ., as though he had written ἡ κ. χώρα. Has an original τῶν been corrupted to τῆς through the influence of λίμνης?

8. 1 τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης οὖρος παρατέταται . . . 3. τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου οὖρος ἄλλο κ.τ.λ.

Stein joins τῆς Ἀραβίης and τῆς Αἰγύπτου with οὖρος. But the expression is very

unlikely, and in 3 it is clear that the genitive depends on τὸ πρὸς Λ., as Krüger says. Perhaps πρὸς has dropped out before τῆς Ἀραβίης. This is more likely than that we should read πρὸς for τῇ, as we also might.

32. 6 ἐπεὶ has been corrected in various ways. I do not find any suggestion that it is itself right, but that an infinitive dependent on it (after they started) has been lost. This is a possibility not to be ignored.

39. 4 For μέλλοι read μέλλει with R. The optative is not really suitable.

43. 3 I should concur with Herwerden in omitting οἶτοι, if I saw why anyone should have interpolated it. Perhaps αὐτοί.

44. 1 ἡ δὲ (στήλη) ἑμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαςθος.

Dubitabundus coniecti εἰμεγάθεος vel μεγάθει μέγαλου. Cf. 1. 51. *An μεγάλως?* says Herwerden, and Krüger in his very useful edition of 1866 'μέγαςθος kann für μέγαςως nicht stehen. Die Stelle ist verfälscht: μέγα φῶς Reiske . . . Vielleicht war die Grösse angegeben.' κατὰ μέγαςθος would give the right sense, nor would it be difficult for κατὰ to fall out after νύκτας. Cf. above on 8. 1. [Dr. Postgate suggests, like Krüger, that a word is lost which gave the actual size.]

51. 1 τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῆος τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄρθα ἔχοντα (so Herwerden for ἔχειν τὰ: perhaps ἔχοντα τὰ) αἰδοῖα ποιέιντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν.

ποιέιντες—μεμαθήκασι is an odd inversion of the natural way of putting it. On the principle illustrated above at 1. 141. 3 I propose to read here ποιέουσι . . . μεμαθηκότες. Cf. the double version of 2. 64. 6 there cited.

86. 4 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδὼν μισθῶ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται.

Krüger μισθοῦ or ἐπὶ μισθῶ. Probably rather μισθόν.

93. 7 καὶ ἀναπλώνοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται (οἱ ἰχθύες) ἐγχριμπτόμενοι . . . ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον.

Stein, whose scholarship cannot always be trusted, detects a subtle justification for the unusual use of the optative. His meaning is not to me altogether clear, but he seems to say that ἀμάρτοιεν ascribes the purpose wholly to the fish, while ἀμάρτωσι might imply that it approved itself also to

the writer. In such fantastic grammar few scholars nowadays will believe. The optative is however a real difficulty. As far as I can see at present, the only explanation possible is that which applies to several well known similar anomalies. The author is thinking, not of the present tense actually preceding, but of a past tense which in his mind it involves. He is thinking of *δαιμονίη τις ὄρμη*, which instigates the fish to act thus. Nature or heaven made the fish in the beginning with this impulse. Cf. in 3. 108. 2 ἡ τοῦ θείου προνοίη as to hares. The parallels referred to are such as Ar. *Frogs* 25: Dem. 22. 11. In 1. 110. 4 κελεύει . . . ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη the present κελεύει really refers to past time. ἐκέλευσε follows.

102. 4 δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

To get over the difficulty of *περὶ*, may we not deem it probable that an infinitive (e.g. ἀμύνεσθαι) has been lost? Cf. on 32. 6 above. In 134. 4 again the easiest explanation would be that a verb governed by ἐπεῖτε is missing.

111. 2 τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε.

Surely *μεγίστον*. The terminations are easily exchanged.

116. 1 Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιξιν κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps *τοιαύτην*. Cf. above on 1. 116. 3. This does not seem one of the cases in which the substantive can be taken as appositional and explanatory. In 135. 4 and the parallel 4. 166. 2 should the same change be made? See Stein on the former of the two.

125. 2. In the building of the great pyramid, when a stone had been raised on to the first step, ἐς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοίχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἴλκετο στοίχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς.

Anyone might think the ἄλλη μηχανή had not been mentioned before, but it is evidently identical with the ἐτέρη μηχανή of the preceding clause. Is not ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς an insertion?

133. 3 συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον.

συνταχύνειν? But the present and aorist are sometimes used of the future in oracular declarations, as though expressing fate rather than foresight.

135. 2 μεγάλη ἐκτίσαστο χρήματα, ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶπιν.

See this *Review* 6. 341 for my suggestion of ὡς δὴ εἶναι, ὡς δὴ being a common enough combination. But I do not now think the accusative can stand, though Cobet was satisfied with it. If *she* is the subject of εἶναι, we should need the nominative. Read Ῥοδῶπιος with Valckenaer and make the money the subject. 8. 4 of this book, οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον, ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, will be just parallel.

146. 2 ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους γενομένους ἀνδρας ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων ὀνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν.

ἄλλους has been found a difficulty. I conjecture αὐτούς, a word elsewhere confused with ἄλλος. 'These themselves too,' like Heracles.

156. 1 οὗτος μὲν νῦν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν ἐστι θωμαστότατον τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νήσος κ.τ.λ.

Read τοῦ δὲ δεύτερον. There would not be a number of things that came second. Gomperz has suggested τῶν δὲ δεύτερον, which I do not quite understand.

172. 2 μετὰ δὲ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἄμασις οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο.

οὐκ ἀγν. is little better than nonsense, and οὐκ εἰγνωμοσύνη, for which there is the authority of the Aldine, is but unsatisfactory. Why should H. carefully distinguish here σοφία and εἰγνωμοσύνη? Keeping εἰγνωμοσύνη, I cannot but think οὐκ a mistake for καί. Perhaps the *εἰ* had something to do with it.

178. 1 τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν (ἐνοικέειν R) αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους κ.τ.λ.

Certainly αὐτοῦ cannot go with a verb of motion. Hence Herwerden conjectures and prints αὐτόσε, but that word is unemphatic and by no means strong enough for the position. αὐτοῦ must go with οἰκέειν and is quite naturally contrasted with the verb of motion: before δέ some other word, e.g. αἰεὶ or πολλάκις has been lost (οἰκέειν αὐτοῦ, πολλάκις δέ).

BOOK III.

10. 4 After saying that Thebes had never known rain before or since, he adds ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι. The editors do not tell us the meaning of καὶ τότε, words which can hardly be divided. Perhaps τότε is out of its place. We might for instance read τότε καὶ ὕσθησαν. At the end of 23 the καὶ before τὸ δεσμωτήριον should probably be omitted altogether.

23. 1 In *ἔτα μὲν . . . ἀπικνέσθαι*, Krüger held that something like *ἔφη* should be inserted. Rather perhaps *φάναι*, corresponding to the infinitives which follow.

25. 2 *ὡς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων*.

Is this Homeric use of *ἀκούω*, *hear of*, with a genitive found elsewhere in H.? Perhaps *περί* is lost.

30. 6 *ὁ δὲ . . . ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι*.

I suspect H. wrote *ἐξαγαγόν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι* being parenthetical as in 2. 181. 2. In the second clause *λέγουσι* steps into the government, but in the first this would be extremely awkward. *ἐξαγαγόν* was then accommodated to *προαγαγόντα*.

34. 4 Are not the words *νῦν . . . νοήμονα* a question?

52. 4 *ἐν αὐτοῖσι*. There is nothing for *αὐτοῖσι* to refer to. Read *τούτοισι*, the mistake being not very uncommon. So in 82. 9 *αὐτῶν* should probably be *τούτων*.

ib. 7 Surely Stein and Herwerden are wrong in preferring *στείλας πλοῖον* to *στείλας πλοῖω*. Cf. for instance 8. 75. 2 *πέμπει . . . ἄνδρα πλοῖω* and *πλοῖω ἀπικόμενος*: 6. 76. 3 *πλοίοισι σφείας ἤγαγε*: 4. 42. 4 and 44. 1: this book 44. 4: etc.

60. 1 *μᾶλλον <τι> ὅτι*, as at the end of the chapter.

71. 7 *ἢ ἴστε ἑμῖν ὅτι, ἣν ὑπερπέση ἣ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος φθᾶς ἐμεῦ* (Cobet *ἐμέ*) *κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ σφεία αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερῶ πρός τὸν Μάγον*.

Is not *ἑμῖν* out of its place? It could only stand where it does, if very emphatic; and that is not the case. It might perhaps follow either *ὅτι* or *ἣν*, unless indeed it is a mere dittograph of the *ἑμῖν* in the line preceding: *σφεία* hardly harmonises with it.

110. 2 *θηρία περωτὰ . . . ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα*.

Stein seems strangely content with the tautology of *ἀλκὴν* and *ἄλκιμα*. Herwerden remarks *quid lateat non exputo*. May it not be *δόκιμα*? *ἀ, δ,* and *λ* are constantly confused. In 7. 129. 3 we hear of rivers, *πέντε τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα*, and *ib.* 162. 3 *ἐν τῷ ἐναντιῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον*. (The question of the authenticity of these words is not material.)

116. 3 *αἱ δὲ ὦν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι . . . τὰ*

κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὐται.

αὐται at the very end of the sentence presents no analogy to the use of *οὗτος* in the middle of a sentence, resuming after a description or semi-digression, to which Stein vainly compares it. Codex R has *αὐτά*, from which Herwerden after Dietsch reads *τὰ αὐτά*, with the strange result that winged snakes would have to be included among the *κάλλιστα*, as they certainly are among the *σπανιώτατα*. Perhaps *αἱ αὐταὶ* might do, that really equalling *καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ σπανιώτατα*.

119. 3 *ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε κ.τ.λ.*

συνέλαβε is the usual word, and *συλλαβῶν* is used three lines later.

128. 4 Bagaeus took some *βιβλία* with him *καὶ Ὀροῖτεω ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθῶν τῶν βιβλίων ἐν ἔκαστον περιαιρέμενος ἐδίδου τῷ γραμματιστῇ*.

It is explained that *περαιρ.*, which ought to refer to the cover, is here applied to the thing covered, *taking off* for *uncovering*. Perhaps H. wrote *προαιρέμενος taking out*, just as in 78. 2 we have *τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, taking down*. Cf. *Ar. Thesm.* 419 *προαιρούσαις*, the active participle, in this sense.

134. 7 *λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε ὄρα νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι ἕασον . . . σὺ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

This use of *ὄρα*, merely introducing another imperative, without there being anything for anyone to 'see', is probably unique, and Stein regards it as doubtful. What if we turned it by a slight change into *δρᾶ* and joined *τάδε* with it, reading *δρᾶ νυν τάδε* or *τάδε νυν δρᾶ*, if it is thought that *τάδε δρᾶ νυν* could hardly be right? For the simple *Ἄτοσσα λέγει* cf. *Chh.* 71-73 of this book in several places (*λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείος*, and so on).

136. 3 *ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστῶνης τῆς Δημοκῆδους Ἀριστοφιλίδης . . . τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν*.

The uncertainty of the text is well known. '*ῥηστῶνης* Weeseling e cod. Cantabr.: *κρότωνος* R, *κρηστῶνης* ceteri' says Stein in his critical edition, and *ῥηστῶνης* is explained to mean good will, kindness to Democedes. Unfortunately there is no evidence that *ῥ.* ever has any such meaning. The three other passages quoted for it by Liddell and Scott exhibit in

reality nothing but the ordinary sense. *χρησιμοσύνης* has been conjectured and read, but is of course not very likely. I am disposed to suggest *ἐς ῥηστώνην τὴν Δημοκίδεος*, to relieve *D.* *ἐκ* and *ἐς* or *εἰς* are very easily mistaken for one another.

137. 6 ἵνα φανῆ πρὸς Δαρείου ἔδων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόκιμος.

I do not know how the editors can have persuaded themselves that this means *appear to Darius, be seen by Darius*. That would require either *Δαρείῳ* with *φανῆ* or with *πρὸς Δαρείου* some other verb. The only sense the text can well bear is *appear, be made out, on D.'s part*, that is, *by D.*, and this is of course quite unsuit-

able. A suggestion which seems obvious, but which does not appear to have been made, is *πρὸς Δαρείου*, with which *φανῆ* might mean *be made out, represented to D.*, much as Clytemnestra says *Agam.* 593 *λόγους τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὐσ' ἐφαινόμην*, only with no suggestion of falsity. *φανῆ* would roughly = *ἀπαγγελθῆ*.

139. 5 ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως.

ἄλλως not *gratis*, a sense for which there is no evidence, but *only, just*, a slight extension of its common idiomatic meaning, *only* i.e. *no more than*. In English *just* has the same capability of meaning.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

PLATONICA III.

THE chief aim of these papers has been to eliminate the Renaissance MSS. particularly *Ξqv*, from the *recensio* of the *Republic*. As the nature of the problem changes completely, so far as *Ξ* is concerned, shortly after the beginning of Book III, it will be well to summarise the results of our inquiry so far.

I.

It is a remarkable fact that Mr. Adam does not quote *Ξ* once for a reading which he adopts in Book II. In Book I he quotes it in support of his own text twelve times; but in one of these cases the reading is also that of *A* (330e *ἠδίκηκεν*), while in three of them it is that of the contemporary diorthotes (duly cited by Mr. Adam as *A*²), and the citation of *Ξ* is quite superfluous.¹ We are left, then, with eight *Ξ* readings, of which, however, four are in *Vind. F.*² Of the remaining four, I believe three to be wrong,

¹ There can be no doubt that *A*² was contemporary; for he added the accents and breathings in the same ink as he made his interlinear corrections, and the accents are as a rule adapted to the corrections rather than to the original text. Indeed it seems most probable that *A* and *A*² are one and the same person. I have examined *A* and the Paris MS. of Maximus Tyrius, written by the same scribe, side by side, and they both present the same phenomenon. See T. W. Allen in *Journal of Philology* xxi. pp. 48 ff. The three readings referred to are 327c *ἐν λείπεται*, 333e *οὐκ ἔν οὖν*, 352b *δὴ καὶ οὐς*. The last is also in *F*.

² These are 339d *δὲ* (for *δὴ*), 346d *αὐτή* (for *αὐτὴ*), 347a *ἄν* (for *ᾶ*), 352d *δ' ἔτι* (for *δέ τι*).

namely 332b *δὲ* (for *δέ γε*),³ 346b *ἐνμφέρειν*,⁴ and 353d *ἐκείνου*.⁵ It is just to keep out such facile corrections that it is necessary to purge the *apparatus*. We are left with 342b, *αὐτὴ* for *αὐτή*, which can hardly be said to count. Even if the three readings which I object to are right, this is a small contribution for *Ξ* to make to the text of two whole books.

Now the reason why *Ξ* is so unfruitful up to this point is that it generally agrees with *A*; it is only after III 389d that it begins to show a tendency to keep company with *F* rather than *A* and so becomes more useful in correcting *A*.⁶ That is because it is copied from *Ven. T* so far as the old part of that MS. goes, viz. to III 389d *σωφροσύνης ἄρα οὐ δεήσει*. After that, it is based upon another MS., which can also be identified.

The external evidence that *Rhosus*, the scribe of *Ξ*, had *T* in his possession is complete. As Bekker saw, the *Timaeus* *Locrus*, the epitome of *Plutarch* *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ*

³ I miss the *γε* here very much. *Polemarchus* is eager and insistent, 'and what is owing from an enemy to an enemy,' etc. On *δέ γε* see the excellent note of *Forman*, *Selections from Plato*, p. 428.

⁴ *C.R.* xviii. 204. Note that the reading *ἐνμφέρειν* is ascribed to *Ξ*², that is, in all probability, *Cardinal Bessarion* himself. It is also in *F*.

⁵ No doubt it is illogical for *ἐκείνης* to take the gender of *ψυχῆ* instead of *ἐσθ' ὄψης*, but see *Campbell*, *Essay on Syntax*, § 56. These 'assimilations' always fall an easy prey to the corrector.

⁶ The change begins to show itself at once. In 389e *Ξ* has the *F* reading *παρ' Ὀμήρῳ* instead of *Ὀμήρῳ* with *ADM*.

ψυχογονίας and the index of Thrasyllus at the beginning of T are in the hand of Rhosus himself, and the evidence that Rhosus made use of T, not only in the *Republic* but elsewhere, is also complete. As, however, the facts about T are still sometimes misapprehended, and as I can add something to what has already been said about them, I must sum them up briefly.

Ven. T is not, as used to be thought, a twelfth century MS. How much older it may be, I cannot say; but, as Schanz points out, it is practically as well written as Par. A itself.¹ Schanz has shown that, in tetralogies i-vii, it is the source of what he calls the 'second family,' which he had already recognised as quite independent of the Clarkianus. He was inclined to believe, however, at one time that, in the *Republic*, it was copied from A, though he expressed some doubts upon the point. Later he announced that a comparison of the scholia in the two MSS. had strengthened these doubts, and he promised a separate discussion of the point.² I cannot find that this ever appeared; but I can state, from my own examination of the MS., what is the essential point. The long scholium on 337a *μάλα σαρδάνιον* appears at full length in T, while A has in it a much abbreviated form. It follows that T is independent of A as well as of B, though it is very closely related to A indeed. The fact that AT have reproduced their common archetype in such a way as to present a practically identical text, speaks highly for both, and raises the value of T immensely. More than ever we can regard it as taking the place of the lost first volume of A.

Turning now to Mon. *q*, we find that, in these books, Mr. Adam quotes it ten times for a reading which he adopts (apart from places where he quotes Δ^2 or Ξ). Four of these readings are in F,³ and two I believe to be wrong.⁴ There remain these four:

337a, b ἀποκρῖνοῖο, ἀποκρῖνοῖτο (for ἀποκρῖνοιο, ἀποκρῖνοιστο).

342a ἐκποριούσης (for ἐκποριζούσης).

370a ῥᾶον (for ῥᾶδιον).

370e ἦη (for εἶη).

All these I believe to be right, though

¹ Schanz, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxiii. 305.

² Cf. *Platocodex*, p. 78, n. 1 and *Rhein. Mus.* xxxiii. 305.

³ These are 333d δέη, 351a ἔφην ('et fortasse Δ' '), 363d ἀποτίνουσι (*C.R.* xix. 100), and 375b ἄλλοις. (Vind. E is apparently a misprint for Vind. F in Schneider here.)

⁴ These are 364c βλάψειν (*C.R.* xix. 100), and 376a οὐδὲν δῆ.

Schneider rejects the first two; but, I observe that they are all corrections of the same type, the type of which Cobet made hundreds, and every scholar makes some. I suspect that they are due to no less a person than Gemistos Plethon; but there is in any case abundant evidence to show that the text of *q* was the work of an excellent scholar who did not scruple to re-write what he did not understand. That is why Mon. *q* will always have a place in the *apparatus*, the same sort of place that Ficino and Cornarius have; for it belongs to the *emendatio*, and not to the *recensio*. For anything that must be a genuine tradition independent of the Π class of MSS., Mon. *q* will be searched in vain.

Besides Ξq Mr. Adam quotes Ang. *v* six times in *Republic* I. II. for readings which he adopts, but it is unnecessary to discuss these. They are, of course, one and all in F.

II.

We come now to the question of the original of Ξ from 389 d onwards. A cursory inspection shows that it now tends to go with F against A, both when it is wrong and when it is right. The received view is that it is derived from Flor. c, and I have no doubt at all that this is correct.⁵ Further, it is generally admitted that Flor. c is a copy of Flor. a, and that too I believe to be the case.⁶ But when I come to the further statement made by Jordan (*Hermes*, xiii, 470 ff.) that, in all the dialogues which it contains, Vind. F is manifestly derived from Flor. a, I find myself face to face with a difficulty. I have been trying to show that F is derived from an early uncial codex, and I have been able to convince Professor Diels and Professor Immisch that this is so;⁷ but here we have a statement by a recognised authority on the subject that Vind. F is derived from another extant

⁵ See Schanz, *Platocodex*, pp. 81, 94, 97 ff. Of course we must remember that Ξ is no mere transcript (see O. Immisch, *Philol. Studien* ii. p. 14); but at the same time there can be no doubt that some one MS. regularly formed its ground-text. This comes out particularly well in the *Critias* where Ξ is really a transcript of c. Bessarion does not appear to have worked over it.

⁶ See Schanz, *Hermes* x. 173 ff., Hiller, *Hermes* x. 325 sqq. (the derivation of c from a holds for Theon of Smyrna and Albinus contained in both), Schanz, *Platocodex*, p. 60.

⁷ I am surprised, however, that Immisch thinks the confusion of $\epsilon\nu \eta$ and $\epsilon\pi\iota$, to which I called attention in *C.R.* xvi. 99, unconvincing. Surely it is only in uncials that $\epsilon\pi\iota$ and $\epsilon\eta\iota$ are likely to be taken for each other.

fourteenth century MS. I have already stated (*C.R.* xvii. 12) that I do not accept Jordan's view, but I have not yet had an opportunity of discussing it. That must be done now. I prefer, however, not to marshal arguments from Schneider's edition of the *Republic*; when once the point has been made clear, anyone can do that for himself. I prefer to give something new. There is no published collation of F in the *Critias*, but I have in my possession a very minute one made by Professor Král. A comparison of this with Bekker's collation of Flor. a (*z*) in that dialogue will be more interesting and will prove all that is necessary.

From Bekker's *apparatus* it is at once evident that all the MSS. other than A collated by him in the *Critias* form a class by themselves and go back to a common archetype. Within this class two manu-

scripts, Ven. 189 (Σ = Schanz's S) and Vat. 228 (a) distinguish themselves, as Schanz has observed, by agreeing more often with A than the others.¹ I believe, however, that this is merely due to their common archetype having been corrected from a MS. of another family, though this probability may be disregarded for our present purpose.² The remaining MSS. Ξ v z (= Flor. a) h (= Flor. x) r (= Flor. c) ri all go together, and with them, as we should expect from the presence of Flor. x Ang. v, goes F.

Now it is certain that F is more closely akin to Flor. a (*z*) than any other of these MSS. except xv, but it is also certain that it is not derived from it. On the contrary, it has a far better text, and is free from many of the corruptions of Flor. a, as the following examples will show sufficiently.

	PAR. A	VIND. F	FLOR. a
Critias 107c	χαλεπότητος μεμνήσθαι	χαλεπότητος μεμμείσθαι ³	λεπτότητος (c Ξ vulg.) μέν μμείσθαι (c Ξ vulg.)
108d	τίς τι οἶδ' ὅτι	τις εἶ οἶδ' ὅτι	τισι (c Ξ vulg.) οἶσθ' ὅτι (c Ξ vulg.)
109d	σέσωται ὄρειον	σέσωται ⁴ ο * * * ρίων ⁵	σέσωσαι (c Ξ vulg.) ράων (c Ξ)
111d	γῆι	γῆ	τῆ (c : καὶ Ξ vulg.)
112a	γενομένου τῆς πυκνῶς	γενομένου τῆς πυκνῶς	om. (om. c Ξ vulg.) πυκνῶς (c Ξ)
112c	καταγῆρωντες	καταγῆρωντες	κατηγοροῦντες (c Ξ)
113c	λαχῶν	λαχῶν	λαλῶν (c Ξ)
114b	εὐαίμονα	εὐαίμονα	εὐδαίμονα (c Ξ vulg.)
114e	τὰ περὶ τὰ	περὶ τὰ	περιττὰ (c Ξ vulg.)
116e	δελφίνων	δελφίνων	δελφικῶν (c Ξ vulg.)

I have kept to the last the two amusing corruptions of c Ξ in the *Critias* discussed by Schanz (*Platocodex*, p. 97), as I can supplement what he says by the readings of F. They are as follows:

116c ἐφίψαν καὶ A (Σ o) : ἔφισαν καὶ F : ἔφισαν καὶ a : ἔφιπ καὶ c : ἔφι Ξ : ἐφικτὸν Ald. (!).

¹ *Platocodex*, p. 90.

² Schanz had seen (*Platonis opera* IX. p. x) that FS were derived from a common archetype in the *Hippias Minor*, *Io*, and *Menexenus*, and I pointed out (*Platonis opera* III praef.) that in S the Homeric citations had been adapted to the ordinary text of Homer, a sure sign of editing. In the *Timaeus*, S represents an entirely different tradition, but it continues to go very closely with F. It is not, however, derived from it, as Schanz supposed (*Platocodex*, p. 105), but from a corrected copy of the same archetype. We have, in fact, two traditions of this archetype, but only that represented by F is free from corrections taken from other families of MSS.

³ In this case A is wrong and F very nearly right. The true reading, *μεμνήσθαι*, is found in Σ o, and the misspelling in F represents an earlier stage of the corruption in a.

121a διὰ πλοῦτον ἀκράτορες αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐσφάλλοντο A : διὰ πλοῦτον ἐσφάλλοντο ἀκράτορες αὐτῶν ὄντες Σ o : διπλοῦ τοῦ ἀκράτορες αὐτὸν ὄντες ἐσφάλλοντο F : διπλοῦ τοῦ ἀκράτου δὲ αὐτὸν ὄντες ἐσφάλλοντο a : διπλοῦ τοῦ ἀκράτου δὲ αὐτὸν ὄντες ἐσφάλλοντο c Ξ : οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου ἀμβλυώπτοντες ἐσφάλλοντο Ald. (!).

⁴ This is specially instructive; for Cobet (*Μητρ.* 1875, p. 196) cites the preservation of *σέσωται* as proof of the unique excellence of Par. A. 'Quis codex, omnium quos habemus,' he says, 'tam bonus testis est ut servet *σέσωται* et *διασέσωται*? Nullum umquam vidi.' The scribe of A was evidently struck by the form; for he repeats it in the margin. The Metropolitan Constantine has of course 'corrected' it to *σέσωσαι* in his ugly hand. Just below in 110a *διασέσωται* appears in F as *διασέσωσαι*, which shows that we have to do with tradition and not grammatical theory in the first passage.

⁵ This is an instructive example in another way. In F the second hand (f) has made *ρίων* into *ρείων*, and in Flor. x we have accordingly *δ * * * ρείων*. Ang. v. has preferred to write *όρίων*. The *ράων* of 'corr. Σ ' which also occurs in ac Ξ looks like an attempt to Atticise *ρείων*!

III.

Failure to understand these things has led to a reading no less arbitrary and absurd than ἐφικτόν and οἶδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου ἀμβλυώττοντες (which I take to be the handiwork of Musurus¹) still standing in the texts of Stallbaum, the Zürich editors, and Hermann.

Critias is explaining how it was that pre-historic Athens was able to conform to the precepts of the Republic by keeping τὸ μάλιστα as a class apart. It was because the soil was so fertile, before the process of denudation set in, that fewer hands were required to till it, and a larger number of the population were free to devote themselves to warlike pursuits. In Par. A the passage runs quite distinctly thus :

ἀρετῇ δὲ πᾶσαν γῆν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνθάδε ὑπερβάλλουσθαι διὸ καὶ δυνατὴν εἶναι τότε τρέφειν τὴν χώραν στρατόπεδον πολλὴ τῶν περὶ γῆν ἀργῶν ἔργων (110e).

As Cobet puts it (*Mnem.* 1875, p. 202) τῶν περὶ γῆν ἀργῶν ἔργων is 'exquisitius dictum pro τῆς γεωργίας σχολὴν ἄγον vel οὐκ ἐργαζόμενον τὴν γῆν,' which is exactly the sense required.

Unfortunately, however, the vulgate text came from Ξ and not from A, and there was already a corruption in the common archetype of F and Flor. a, which grew like the others till it called for desperate remedies. The history of the passage is as follows :—

Σα τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀργῶν ἔργων
 Fx v τῶν τὸν περὶ τὴν γ' ἄρ ὄν ἔργων
 Flor. a τῶν τὸ περὶ τὴν γ' ἄρ ὄν ἔργων

¹ It is true they occur in one MS. (i); but, according to Schanz, that is copied from the *Aldine*. I suggest as a question for further inquiry whether it may not be the press copy from which the *Aldine* was printed.

Flor. c τὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν γ' ἄρ ὄν ἔργων
 Ξ τὸ τῶν περὶ ante lacunam
 Ald. τὸ τῶν περιόικων.

Now Bekker, with his usual acuteness, saw that τὸ τῶν περιόικων was nonsense. It is absurd to identify the Guardians with περιόικοι of any sort, especially as they live on the Akropolis. So Bekker printed the reading of Σα, which is practically right. Unfortunately he said, by some oversight, that περιόικων was the reading of A. This was enough to blind subsequent editors to the absurdity of the text, and Stallbaum, who had never seen A, says 'in A liquido scriptum περιόικων.' He even observes: 'Quod Bekkerus dedit . . . id fateor me non intelligere,' but he does not tell us what he thought περιόικων meant. Still, A was not such a fetish then as it afterwards became, and Stallbaum suggested that there might be something concealed in the readings of the Flor. a group. Winkelman thought he had discovered it, and conjectured τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγρηγορότων περιόικων. Such have been the fortunes of Musurus's desperate shot, and περιόικων held its ground till Schneider tacitly restored the true reading of A in the Didot edition!

Now the moral of this is that, even if περιόικων had been the reading of A, Ξ would have given us no help at all. Unhappily Mon. q does not contain the Critias; for, if it did, we should have had something really clever. Bekker came very near the truth by tapping the stream higher up, and that, I contend, we ought to do in cases where A breaks down just as much as in places where, like the present, it has been misrepresented.

JOHN BURNET.

ON NICOMACHEAN ETHICS VI. 1. 1139^a 3-6.

In the *C.R.* for February last, p. 14, my friend Mr. L. H. G. Greenwood maintains that *N.E.* vi. i. = *E.E.* v. i. 1139^a 3—πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθη δὴ εἶναι μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, τό τε λόγον ἔχον καὶ τὸ ἄλογον· νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διαιρετέον—affords 'a strong but hitherto unnoticed proof' that this book belongs to the Nicomachean treatise: for, 'while the Nicomachean 1st book speaks of τὸ ὀρεκτικόν as ἄλο-

γον in the first place (1102 b 13), and only afterwards allows it, and then with some reservation (οὐ κυρίως), some title to be called part of the λόγον ἔχον, the Eudemian 2nd book on the other hand refers to it from the first as λόγον ἔχον, with only a slight reservation in favour of the Nicomachean view (1219 b 28).' Now in *N.E.* vi. i. = *E.E.* v. i., Mr. Greenwood continues, 'there is no suggestion that the ὀρεκτικόν

could possibly be considered as anything but *ἄλογον*, which goes a little beyond even the Nicomachean passage, but is entirely inconsistent with the Eudemian.¹

I am not able to accept Mr. Greenwood's account either of the statement in *N.E.* I or of the statement in *E.E.* II.

He tells us that 'the Nicomachean 1st book speaks of τὸ *ὀρεκτικόν* as *ἄλογον* in the first place (1102 b 13), and *only afterwards* allows it, and then with some reservation (οὐ κυρίως), some title to be called part of the *λόγον ἔχον*.' I think that the words which I have italicized—'only afterwards'—stand in need of qualification. The sentence to which Mr. Greenwood explicitly refers, 1102 b 13, runs as follows: *ἔοικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογος εἶναι, μετέχουσα μέντοι πη λόγου*. It is then in the very same sentence in which Aristotle for the first time speaks of the *ὀρεκτικόν* as *φύσις ἄλογος*, though no doubt in the second clause of that sentence, that he speaks of this *φύσις ἄλογος* as *μετέχουσα πη λόγου*, that is to say, as he presently explains, *πειθαρχούσα τῷ λόγῳ*.

Mr. Greenwood tells us next that 'the Eudemian 2nd book refers to it from the first as *λόγον ἔχον*, with only a slight reservation in favour of the Nicomachean view (1219 b 28).' The sentence which Mr. Greenwood here cites is—*ὑποκείσθω δύο μέρη ψυχῆς τὰ λόγου μετέχοντα, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον μετέχον λόγου ἄμφω, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῷ ἐπιτάττει, τὸ δὲ τῷ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκούειν πεφουκέναι· εἰ δὲ τί ἐστιν ἐτέρως ἄλογον, ἀφείσθω τοῦτο τὸ μόριον*. In the earlier part of this sentence, the author of the *Eudemians* distinguishes between the *λόγον ἔχον* proper and the other *λόγου μετέχον* in precisely the same way as the author of the *Nicomacheans*: and the latter part in which the author of the *Eudemians* speaks of the *ἄλογον* proper (nutrition, growth, etc.) as *ἐτέρως ἄλογον*, affords clear proof that he regards the *ὀρεκτικόν*, not only as in a qualified sense *λόγον ἔχον*, but also as, except in this qualified sense, *ἄλογον*. Moreover, in the second book, and in the *Eudemian* treatise generally, the *ὀρεκτικόν* is steadily regarded as *ἄλογον*. For example, in the immediate sequel to 1219 b 28 we have 1220 a 10 *αἱ δ' ἠθικαὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου μὲν, ἀκολουθητικῆ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ λόγον ἔχοντι*, and 1221 b 27 *ἐπειδὴ δύο μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ αἱ ἀρεταὶ κατὰ ταῦτα*

διήρηται, καὶ αἱ μὲν τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος διανοητικαί, ὧν ἔργον ἀλήθεια, ἣ περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἔχει ἢ περὶ γενέσεως, αἱ δὲ τοῦ ἀλόγου ἔχοντος δ' ὀρεξίν, κτλ.: and, at the end of the treatise, Θ i. 1246 b 13, 20, 21, the *ὀρεκτικόν* is spoken of as *ἄλογον*, and not as *λόγον ἔχον*.

The fact is that, of necessity, with both authors the *ὀρεκτικόν* is primarily *ἄλογον*. The distinction between the intellectual virtues and the moral, which with both writers is all-important, rests upon the psychological distinction between the *ὀρεκτικόν* and the *λόγον ἔχον*. With both authors, it is only in a special sense of the term *λόγον ἔχον* that the *ὀρεκτικόν* is called by that name: and the recognition of this fact is a declaration that 'primarily' the *ὀρεκτικόν* is *ἄλογον*.

It is easy to see why the special sense of the term *λόγον ἔχον* is taken into account. Plato, in the *Phaedrus* and in the *Republic*, using the word *ψυχῆ* in a narrow sense, had described what Aristotle calls *ὀρεκτικόν* as *ἄλογον*. Hence Aristotle, when he includes under *ψυχῆ*, besides *ὀρεκτικόν*, faculties, such as *φντικόν* or *θρεπτικόν*, which are neither rational nor obedient to reason, of necessity distinguishes between the purely irrational element and the element which, not being rational, is nevertheless obedient to reason. Accordingly, it is at the *beginning* of the psychological statement that the *ὀρεκτικόν* is by both authors admitted to be in a qualified sense *λόγον ἔχον*. When once the distinction between the purely irrational part and the part which is obedient to reason has been established, we hear no more in either treatise about the qualified rationality of the *ὀρεκτικόν*. Henceforward, both in the undoubted *Nicomacheans* and in the undoubted *Eudemians*, the *ὀρεκτικόν* is always *ἄλογον*, in opposition to the true *λόγον ἔχον*. Consequently, when in *N.E.* VI. i. = *E.E.* V. i. the *ὀρεκτικόν* is described as *ἄλογον*, the description is in perfect accord with the doctrine of *both* treatises. So I do not see that Mr. Greenwood's line of inquiry can do anything for the settlement of the controversy about the three books which are common to the two treatises. I am sure that Mr. Greenwood is too good a Socratic to resent this frank expression of opinion.

HENRY JACKSON.

June 2, 1905.

AD MARCUM ANTONINUM.

A, ιζ' (p. 11, 20 Stich). Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα θεῶν βοηθῶν καὶ τύχης δέεται.

Verba 'θεῶν β. κ. τ. δέεται' versus partem constituere apparet, nec inepte sic, postquam ultimo hoc capite quaecumque vitae suae commoda deorum benignitati accepta refert enumeravit Antoninus, liber primus commentariorum concluditur.

Γ, δ' (p. 23, 13). Ὁ γὰρ τοι ἀνὴρ ὁ τοιοῦτος—ἱερεὺς τίς ἐστι καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν, χρώμενος καὶ τῷ ἔνδον ἰδρυμένῳ αὐτῷ—

Corrige: χρώμενος κῶ i.e. κυρίῳ, cf. p. 59, 13 Τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ κυριεῖον τῆς ψυχῆς σου μέρος, p. 30, 16 Τὸ ἔνδον κυριεῖον.

Δ, κ' (p. 36, 15). Πάν τὸ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν καλὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καλὸν ἐστὶ —. Τοῦτό φημι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν λεγομένων οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ἕλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων τό γε δὴ ὄντως καλὸν τίνος (τίνος D) χρεῖαν ἔχει; οὐ μᾶλλον, ἢ νόμος, οὐ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀλήθεια, οὐ μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰνoια, ἢ αἰδώς. Τί γὰρ τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπαινέσθαι καλὸν (κάλλιόν Richards¹) ἐστίν, ἢ ψεγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρον γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπαινῆται; τί δὲ χρυσός, ἐλέφας, πορφύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δενδρύφιον;

Tenebrae quibus huius capituli sententia obvoluta est facile, si quid video, removebuntur, si verba τό γε δὴ (*Codd.* AD, vulgo τὸ δὲ δὴ) correxeris et mutata interpungendi ratione ita scripseris: Τοῦτό φημι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν λεγομένων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ἕλικῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων (τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄντως καλὸν τίνος χρεῖαν ἔχει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλήθεια, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰνoια, ἢ αἰδώς)· τί τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπαινέσθαι κάλλιόν ἐστίν, ἢ ψεγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ e.g.s.

Per ταῦτα (τί γὰρ τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπ. κάλλιόν ἐστὶ) non νόμος, ἀλήθεια, εἰνoια, αἰδώς significuntur sed priora illa, τὰ ἕλικά scilicet et τὰ τεχνικά κατασκευάσματα, quod ex iis quae sequuntur satis dilucide apparet, ubi tam τῶν ἕλικῶν exempla promuntur (σμαράγδιον, χρυσός, ἐλέφας similia) quam τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων, qualia sunt λύρα, μαχαίριον 'λύρα' enim, quod in *Codd.* ADC legitur, omnino adservandum erat.

Δ, λη' (p. 42, 16). Τὰ ἡγεμονικά αὐτῶν διάβλεπε, <ιδε> καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἷα μὲν φεύγουσιν, οἷα δὲ διώκουσιν.

Inserui ἰδέ, quod a librario pro glossemate vocis διάβλεπε falso habitum, omissum est.

E, κγ' (p. 58, 22). Ἡ τε γὰρ οὐσία οἷον ποταμὸς ἐν διηνεκεῖ ῥύσει· καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι ἐν συνεχείᾳ μεταβολαῖς, καὶ τὰ αἷτια ἐν μυρίαῖς τροπαῖς· καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὼς καὶ τὸ πάρεγγυς· τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον τοῦ τε παρωχηκότος καὶ μέλλοντος ἀχανές, ᾧ πάντα ἐναφανίζεται.

Viro clarissimo Hoffmann² καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδ' ἐνεστὼς scribenti de loci corruptione facilius concedo quam de emendandi ratione; nam primum quidem ἐνεστὼς auctori nostro inusitatum est nisi addito articulo, ita ut substantivi nominis vice fungatur significetque τὸ ἐνεστὼς 'tempus instans,' cf. p. 73, 15 τὸ ἐνεστὼς τοῦ χρόνου et p. 86, 14 quem locum ipse Hoffmann citat: Περίγραψον τὸ ἐνεστὼς τοῦ χρόνου: tum, si qui vel concedat ἐνεστὼς idem esse quod ἐστὼς (stans), quis sibi persuadebit Antoninum ita locutum esse 'fere ne stare quidem tempus quod iuxta sit,' cum imprimis et ante omnia hoc dicendum fuerit 'fere ne praesens quidem tempus stare?' Id prius si dixisset, tum postea, si ita libuisset, potuisset adicere 'neque quod iuxta.'

Cum tamen ille significatus qui est in τῷ ἐνεστῶτι vel maxime hoc loco postuletur cumque in verbis turbatis praedicatum aliquod desideretur cui opponatur sequentis enuntiatum praedicatum ἀχανές (ἐστὶ), in hunc modum verba tradita reformaverim:

καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν <τὸ ἐν>εστὼς καὶ τὸ πάρεγγυς, τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον e.g.s. = ac fere nihil est id quod instat et quod iuxta est, infinitum vero praeteriti et futuri vastum quasi chaos est.

ς, ια' (p. 65, 1). Ὅταν ἀναγκασθῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περιστηκῶτων οἰονεὶ διαταραχθῆναι.

Per οἰονεὶ et similia verbi alicuius novitas quodam modo excusari vel audacior metaphora mitigari solet: in oratione communi illa locum non habent. Corrigere διασπαρχθῆναι cf. p. 131, 19 ἐν βίῳ τοιοῦτω σπαράσσεισθαι. Contra in Epicteti *Enchiridio* c. 5 pro vera lectione παρασπόμεθα in uno codice legitur σπαρρατώμεθα.

Z, κγ' (p. 85, 8). Δεινὸν δὲ οὐδὲν τὸ διαλυθῆναι τῷ κιβωτίῳ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ συμπαγγῆναι <ἀγαθόν>.

¹ C.R. vol. xix. 1 (Feb. 1905), p. 13 sqq.

² Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique, F. xlvi. 1 (1904), p. 11 sqq.

ἀγαθὸν addidi coll. p. 101, 6 τί οὖν ἢ ἀγαθὸν τῷ σφαιρίῳ ἀναφερομένῳ, ἢ κακὸν καταφερομένῳ ἢ καὶ καταπεπτακότι; τί δὲ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πομφόλυγι συνεστύωσι, ἢ κακὸν διαλυθείσῃ; τὰ ὁμοία δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λύχνου, p. 118, 21 Τῷ ἀναρρίφθεντι λίθῳ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὸ κατενεχθῆναι, οἷδὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀνενεχθῆναι, p. 43, 13 Οὐδὲν ἔστι κακὸν τοῖς ἐν μεταβολῇ γινομένοις, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑφισταμένοις.

Z, να' (p. 90, 9).

‘Θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντ’ οὖρον
Ἀνάγκη τλῆναι καμάτοις ἀνοδύρτοις.’

His, sive ex Euripidis *Chrysis* sumptis sicut ea quae supra (pp. 89–90) citata sunt, sive aliunde, tamen metrum suum restituitur:

‘Θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντ’ οὖρον ἀνάγκη
Τλῆναι καμάτοις ἀνοδύρτοις.’

Z, νη' (p. 92, 6). καὶ μέμνησο *ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι καὶ διάφορον ἐφ' οὗ ἢ πράξις.

Recte fecit editor quod Gatakeri coniecturam ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων non recepit; haec enim verba in prioribus non habent quo respiciant. Immo in sequentibus lacuna statuenda est, quae si in hunc fere modum expletur, omnia recte procedunt:

καὶ μέμνησο ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι < καὶ μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως ὄρμας > καὶ διάφορον ἐφ' οὗ ἢ πράξις. Cf. p. 30, 19 ἀλλὰ ὄρμα μὲν πρὸς τὰ <προ> γηγόμενα μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως τὸ δὲ ἀντισταγόμενον ἔλθῃ ἐαυτῷ ποιεῖ, ubi hae: ultima = quae in hoc de quo agimus capite p. 92, 4 καὶ ἔλθῃ σοι ἔσται. Cf. etiam p. 78, 9 καὶ μέμνησο, ὅτι μεθ' ὑπεξαιρέσεως ὄρμας et E, κ' p. 57, 21 sqq.

H, α' (p. 96, 18). ἀρκέσθητι δέ, εἰ κὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου, ὅσον δήποτε ἢ σὴ φύσις θέλει, βίωσῃ. Κατανόησον οὖν, τί θέλει—

Verba ὅσον δήποτε cum antecedentibus τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου iungenda esse, in propatulo est; quae sequuntur (ἢ σὴ φύσις θέλει) ut significant quod debent significare ‘quomodo tua natura vult’ sic refingo:

ἢ (vel ὡς, ut coniecit Casaubonus filius,) ἢ φύσις σου θέλει.

Tam ἢ σὴ φύσις quam ἢ φύσις σου Antonini stilo convenit; cf. ex. gr. p. 148, 6.—ἢ = ‘sicut’ invenio p. 108, 8 (ex Gatakeri coniectura pro ἢ). σου restitui ex auctoritate *Codicis* Δ, qui οὐ θέλει exhibet.

H, γ' (p. 97, 12). Ἀλέξανδρος [δὲ] καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πομπήϊος, τί πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Σωκράτην; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς ὕλας, καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονικά ἦν αὐτῶν ταῦτά· ἐκεῖ δὲ ὅσον πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων!

παράνοια Casaubonus filius, ἀγνοια Hoffmann, περινοια Richards coniecerunt. An ὑπόνοια? Cf. p. 133, 20 Τίς ὑπονοίας χρεῖα, παρὸν σκοπεῖν, τί δεῖ πραχθῆναι;

H, κ' (p. 101, 4). Ἡ φύσις ἐστόχασται ἐκάστου, οὐδὲν τι ἔλασσον τῆς ἀπολήξεως, ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διεξαγωγῆς, ὡς ὁ ἀναβάλλον τὴν σφαῖραν.

Comma post ἐκάστου delendum est (= ἀπόληξις, ἀρχή, διεξαγωγή ἐκάστου).

H, λζ' (p. 105, 20). Οὐ καὶ τούτους πρῶτον μὲν γραίας καὶ γέροντας γενέσθαι οὕτως εἴμαρτο, εἶτα ἀποθανεῖν;

Transpono εἶτα οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν; Cf. p. 165, 1 Ποῦ γὰρ ἰδὼν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἢ πόθεν κατεληφός, ὅτι εἰσὶν, οὕτω σέβεις; Cf. Epictet. iv. 8, 40, et imprimis i. 26, 3 πρῶτον οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς θεωρίας γυμνάζουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ὅπου ῥᾶον, εἶτα οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ χαλεπώτερα ἄγουσιν, et i. 13, 29 ἀλλ' ἔδει προὔποσθῆναι σου τοὺς γονέας, εἶτα οὕτω γερνηθῆναι.

H, μέ' (p. 107, 12). Ἄρον με καὶ βάλε, ὅπου θέλεις. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἔξω τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμονα ἔλεων—

Corr. Κἀκεῖ.

Θ, η' (p. 116, 9).—καὶ ἐνὶ φωτὶ ὀρῶμεν, καὶ ἓνα ἀέρα ἀναπνέομεν, ὅσα ὀρατικά καὶ ἔμψυχα πάντα.

θ'. Ὅσα κοινοῦ τινος μετέχει, πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενὲς σπεύδει.

Capitis octavi ultimum verbum reddatur capiti nono: Πάντα ὅσα e.g.s. Cf. p. 122, 22 Πάντα, ὅσα ὄρμα, τάχιστα φθαρήσεται. Dubito an idem remedium adhibendum sit capiti 15 libri x (p. 134, 19) Ὀλίγον ἔστι τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τοῦτο. Ζῆσον ὡς ἐν ὄρει. (Τοῦτο ζῆσον!) Cf. p. 91, 20 τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος ζῆσαι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, p. 96, 18 εἰ κὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ὅσον δήποτε, ἢ ἢ φύσις σου θέλει, βίωσῃ.

I, λδ' (p. 140, 10). Τῷ τεθηγμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογματῶν ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀλυπίας καὶ ἀφοβίας.

Codd.: τῷ δεδηγμένῳ vel δεδογμένῳ vel τῶν δεδηγμένων. Neglectam esse Gatakeri correctionem τῷ δεδευμένῳ!

IA, νη' (p. 151, 23). Δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ μεταδιδάσκων τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντά σε ὑβρίζειν) ποιεῖν, μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδῆκτως (—τῷ Richards) τῇ ψυχῇ· καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐν σχολῇ, μηδὲ ἵνα ἄλλος παραστῆς θανάστῃ· ἀλλ' ἦ τὸι πρὸς μόνον, καὶ ἐὰν ἄλλοι τινὲς περιεστήκωσι. . . .

Vix dubito quin omne vitium in solo ἦτοι lateat neque causa sit cur lacunam suspiceris. Quamquam correctorem me non profiteor, placet tamen huiuscemodi sententia: ἀλλὰ λαλητέον vel ἀλλ' ἰτέον πρὸς μόνον.

IA, λζ (p. 156, 3). Τέχνην δὲ ἔφη (sc. ὁ Ἐπίκτιτος) περὶ τὸ συγκατατίθεσθαι εἰρεῖν,—

Verae lectionis vestigia agnosco in *Col.* A τέχνην ἔφη δὲ et scribo: Τέχνην, ἔφη, δεῖ collati infra p. 156, 9 Οὐ περὶ τοῦ τυχεύοντος οἶν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών,—

IB, ια' (p. 160, 14). Ἡλίκην ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἄνθρωπος μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο, ἢ ὅπερ μέλλει ὁ θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι πᾶν, ὃ ἂν νέμῃ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός.

ιβ'. Τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ φύσει μήτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκόντες ἢ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνουσι μήτε ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ ἄκοντες. Ὡστε οὐδεὶ μεμπτέον.

Τὸ ἐξῆς τῇ φύσει' glossema esse potest ad ea quae antecedunt: at certo certius novum caput sic incipiendum est: Μῆτε θεοῖς μεμπτέον.

A. J. KRONENBERG.

ROTTERDAM.

ON THE APOCOLOCYNTOSIS OF SENECA.

THE verses in c. 15 are surely not in their proper order; but, if we make the fourth verse the first, we shall read smoothly thus:

'Et iam coeperat fugientes semper tesseras quaerere et nihil proficere

fusuro similis semper semperque petenti;
nam, quotiens missurus erat resonante
fritillo,

utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo,
cumque recollectos arderet¹ mittere talos,
deceperere fidem' cet.

After the verses we read: 'apparuit subito C. Caesar' cet. Surely we should expect the words 'Et iam coeperat' cet. to be followed by '<cum> apparuit subito C. Caesar' cet.

There are one or two other places in the Apocolocyntosis about which I venture to offer suggestions at this time. Thus, in

¹ As I would write, with Palmer, instead of the traditional 'auderet.'

c. 5 the sentence that begins 'Tum Hercules' cannot well be right in its traditional form. I offer the following attempt at correction. 'Tum Hercules primo aspectu sane perturbatus est et qui etiam omnia monstra non timuerit,² ut vidit novi generis faciem, insolitum incessum, vocem . . . raucam et implicatam, putavit sibi tertium decimum laborem venis<se>; se<d> diligentius intuenti visus est quasi homo.' Near the beginning of c. 12 we might well expect to find 'Et erat omnino formosissimum et impensa <cum> cura.' Again, in c. 13 the words 'primi omnium liberti Polybius . . . Pheronactus, quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset, praemisera' seem to contain a flaw in the adjective *imparatus*. Can it be that an otherwise unattested *inapparitus* 'unattended' lurks here?

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

² In 'qui . . . timuerit' the corruption probably lies deeper.

ON TWO PASSAGES OF THE APOCOLOCYNTOSIS.

I TAKE the opportunity of the appearance of Prof. Earle's paper to add two suggestions of my own.

Ch. 12. In the anapaests

defete uirum quo non alius
potuit citius discere causas
una tantum parte audita
saepe *neutra*

neutra scans neither as one word nor as two.

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nec utra should be read. Schneidewin has removed the same corruption from Mart. 5. 20. 11 'nunc uiuit *nec uter* sibi'; compare Lachmann's note on Lucr. 5. 839.

In Ch. 13 Prof. Earle, justly dissatisfied with *imparatus*, hazards the 'unattested *inapparitus*.' For the sense thus given to the passage the end of Ch. 3, and, especially the words 'hos' inquit 'tres—mori iubebo nec illum incomitatum dimittam,' might be compared. But I am loth to impute

inapparitus implying as it does a non-extant and ungrammatical past participle from the neuter verb *appareo*, even to the *lingua Claudiana*: Seneca himself could have only used it in ridicule. I believe that here we have no repetition of the gibe of Ch. 3, but a new and a far bitterer one. Comparing Suetonius *Claud.* 29. 1 'his, ut dixi, uxorisque addictus *non principem se sed ministrum* egit, compendio cuiusque horum uel etiam studio aut libidine honores exercitus

impunitates supplicia largitus est et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus,' and *ib.* 25 fin. 'principatum non tam suo quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio administravit,' I propose 'necubi *imperator* esset.' Claudius is said to have despatched these freedmen to the world below in order that even there he might be no *imperator*, but a mere *libertorum seruus* (Plin. *Pan.* 88) as heretofore. What could be more scathing?

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON THE *PERVIGILUM VENERIS*.

THE ingenious paper published in the May number of the *Classical Review* might be more persuasive if the theory did not depend on the emendation *patrem* for *matrem*, which, though accepted by several scholars, is (diplomatically) unconvincing. Before stating my own view of the passage, I take the liberty of making two observations. (1) It is pertinent to the writer's argument to remember that Romulus Augustulus was not recognised as successor of Iulius Nepos, except in Italy. Iulius Nepos was throughout acknowledged by the Emperor Zeno as the legitimate Augustus. He seems also to have been acknowledged as such in Gaul: this is suggested by Candidus, fr. 1 (Müller, *F.H.G.* iv. 136). (2) The proposal to see in *alites* a play on the name Alethius seems extremely unlikely. In the first place, the phrases *nubunt alites* and *canoras alites* would suggest, if they suggested anything of the kind, an allusion to the bride. In the second place, there is a double difference in quantity (*Alēthius* : *alites*). If we were in search of *annominations*, it would be more plausible to discover a play on the bride's name in the dews of verses 11-16 (*Roscia* : *roscida*).

There is no doubt that *matrem* is corrupt, but we must find a correction which will

explain the corruption. I suggest that *mater* solves the problem.

Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias,
Unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole
posterum

Romuli mater crearet et nepotem Caesarem.
That is: *unde* (sc. *Venus*) *mater crearet Ramnes et Quirites et, pro prole posteriorum Romuli, et* (also) *nepotem Caesarem*. But this order of words misses the rhetorical point which is made by the juxtaposition of Romulus with Caesar in relation to their divine ancestress. Nothing was more likely than that *mater* should be altered to *matrem*, through failure to apprehend that *et* meant 'also', opposing *Caesarem* to *Romuli*, and the consequent demand for another, coordinated accusative.

This emendation would not necessarily exclude the Italian scholar's theory, except in regard to Orestes. But I have little doubt that the Caesar meant is either the original Augustus or the original Iulius. No one could be less disposed than I to underrate the merits of Sidonius Apollinaris, but his extant poems do not intimate that he was, at any period of his life, susceptible of the poetical inspiration which distinguishes the *Pervigilium Veneris*, at once so fresh and so artificial.

J. B. BURY.

NOTES.

HERODOTUS VI. 129 AND A BUDDHIST BIRTH STORY.—Hippokleides, who 'danced off the marriage' (Hdt. vi. 129), may be a reflection of the dancing peacock in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, i.

292-3. The king of the birds had a beautiful daughter and called together all the birds that she might choose a husband. Her choice fell on the peacock. When he was told of it, he was so pleased

that he danced in the midst of the assembly and shocked the king by exposing himself. So the king said

'Pleasant is your cry, brilliant is your back,

But to such a dancer I can give no daughter, sir,
of mine.'

BENARES, April 20, 1905.

C. M. MULVANY.

THE IDES OF MARCH.—On the Ides of March the *plebs* celebrated the *Annæ festum geniale Perennæ* (corresponding to the chief day of the Hindu *Holi*) near the banks of the Tiber (Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 523-42, 675-96). Rome was, therefore, empty of the lower classes. Is this why the nobles chose the day for the assassination of Julius Caesar?

C. M. MULVANY.

BENARES, April 20, 1905.

* * *

CICERO, *In Verr.* II. I. § 149.—*Ut uno minus teste haberet, Habonio opus in acceptum rettulit*, etc. 'To have one less witness (against him), he gave H. a quittance for the work.' Prof. Peterson (*supra* p. 160) suggests *ageret* for *haberet*, which *pax* Madvig he thinks 'is an impossible reading.' But Prof. Peterson himself quotes a parallel from the same book, § 117 *uno signo ut sit minus*, 'supposing there be one seal too few.' If *uno signo minus* can be subject of *sit*, why cannot *uno minus teste* be object of *haberet*!

Christ's College, Cambridge.

H. RACKHAM.

* * *

'Hinc subitæ mortes atque intestata senectus.'

The difficulty of explaining the word 'intestata' is well known. It has been pointed out that the meaning required by the context is that the foolish habit of bathing shortly after a heavy meal prevented men from living to old age, and Mr. Housman (*Class. Rev.* vol. xiii. p. 434) tries to force this meaning out of 'intestata' in defiance of Latinity. By the trifling change of one letter I propose to read 'intentata,' *i.e.* 'intemptata senectus,' which seems to give the desired meaning 'old age untried,' that is 'old age unreached,' *i.e.* 'they never reached to old age, but died young.'

E. C. CORELLI.

Pembroke College, Oxford.

REVIEWS.

WYSE'S *ISAEUS*.

The Speeches of Isaeus, with Critical and Explanatory Notes. By WILLIAM WYSE. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1904. Pp. lxiv+735. 18s. net.

It is a matter for congratulation to English scholarship that we have now an edition of Isaeus *τετράγωνος καὶ*—almost—*ἀνευ ψόγου*. Mr. Wyse gives us, besides a text (pp. 1-174), reconstituted on the soundest lines of criticism, an exhaustive commentary (pp. 175-723), indices of proper names, of subjects, of certain Greek words, two pedigree tables, and a Critical Introduction.

To refer first to this, Mr. Wyse sums up (§ 1) the conclusions of modern scholars that all other MSS. of *Isaeus* except Q are derived from A. He then (§ 2) tells the story of this MS., its provenience—to Anglicize a useful French term—in the monastery on Mount Athos, its purchase by Cripps and subsequent fortune till it came to repose in the British Museum. Three more sections describe the MS., its corrections and its faults. Of the other independent witness, Q, Mr. Wyse has been able to pro-

cure photographs, and he demonstrates that, while of inferior value to A, it is nevertheless useful for checking the readings of A. A sketch (§ 7) of the MSS. of Dionysius' rhetorical work, and an exhaustive review of 'editions and subsidia' complete the Introduction.

Mr. Wyse defines the leading purpose of his edition as being 'to show by analysis of the extant speeches that ancient scholars had a juster appreciation of the orator's art than is shown by modern writers on Greek Law, for some of whom his unsupported statements appear to carry the authority of decisions of a Supreme Court.' He undoubtedly does for his author what editors of other orators too seldom attempt: he makes the reader understand that a speech for one party to a suit does not set out to give the arguments for both sides. He quotes Dionysius' words that Isaeus *πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀντίδικον διαπονηρεῖται, τοῖς δὲ δικαστῶν καταστρατηγῇ, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν, ἔπερ ὃν ὁ λόγος, ἐκ παντὸς πειράται βοηθεῖν*. Taking this as his text, Mr. Wyse points out at every opportunity what the other party was likely

to have said, and not content with this, conveys to us generally a suggestion that, had we but got the speech from the other side, we should probably admire Isaeus' unscrupulous skill the more, while siding the less with his client. In all this the thoughtful student cannot but see an example for other editors to consider. Yet, I must confess to grave misgivings when face to face with Mr. Wyse's results in practice. Did Isaeus never have a case in which the jury might equitably have given a verdict in his favour? Are the twelve speeches preserved to us without exception specimens of what he could do in a bad case? If not, ought we not to understand that in most suits there is an element of justice in each side, and that something not merely specious, but sound and equitable can be urged by both litigants? Mr. Wyse writes as though every speech was throughout dishonest, and, without stating so plainly, hints at every point that the fact was otherwise than it is represented, or admitted of another explanation or complexion, that the law was unmistakably against the speaker, and that he is bluffing the jury or inciting them to override it. Reflexion will show that the most straightforward speeches of the most upright orator could not support so riddling an attack.

It would be impossible in the limits of a review to deal satisfactorily with even a tithe of the questions which this monumental work must raise. It will be best to dismiss it with the unqualified judgment that for years it will be indispensable for all who would refer to Isaeus' words for any purpose, and that its general sanity of interpretation will require a dissentient to justify himself by adducing cogent considerations in his favour.

After thus plainly recording my opinion of Mr. Wyse's work, as a whole, I should like to discuss a few of the more manageable topics suggested by a perusal of the book. Solon directed that a man might τὰ ἐαυτοῦ διαθέσθαι, ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ἂν μὴ παῖδες ὄσι γνήσιοι ἄρρενες, ἂν μὴ μανίων ἢ γήρων ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ νόσου ἔνεκα ἢ γυναικὶ πηθόμενος, ἵπὸ τούτων του παρανοῶν, ἢ ἐπ' ἀνάγκης ἢ ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ καταληφθεῖς ([*Dem.*] 46 § 14), where it is at least noteworthy that legacies to daughters in place of male collateral relatives would seem to be always open to attack.

Now, in the first speech of Isaeus we have the case of a man who died *sine prole* leaving a will drawn up some years before by which some distant relatives benefited. Isaeus' clients were less distant relatives who con-

tested the validity of the will. It was admitted on both sides that the testator had intended on the day before his death to make some alteration in the will: the beneficiaries said, to make some obscurity unambiguous, Isaeus argues—very likely, as Mr. Wyse says, διαπονηρούμενος—to leave legacies at least to his neglected clients. Our editor takes occasion from this to criticize adversely the readiness of Athenian juries to set aside wills on any plausible reason. His comments betray a serious limitation in his outlook. He views the whole question as a lawyer would: Solon's law, its meaning once determined, settles for him the issue. But, as has been remarked before now, the legal mind is not the best suited to deal with great questions: a statesman will seldom see eye to eye with a lawyer. And here the Athenian right to cancel a testator's will was but an assertion of the same right which we in England recognized in the Laws of Mortmain and more recently in the augmented scale of Death Duties. That the interference with wills was not severely felt may be inferred from the fact that we hear of no complaints that Athens gave her citizens insufficient liberty in this regard. Disappointed heirs of course affected to think now that wills should hold under all conditions, now that any and every excuse justified their supersession; but a little experience of the world is sufficient to reveal the fact that even Christians today are sometimes dissatisfied with any will under which they do not secure for themselves the whole property of the testator.

A perhaps better known speech is the fifth, which introduces us to so many of the distinguished family of Dikaiogenes. Without recapitulating the incidents which led to the suit, the reader may be reminded that the issue directly involved was whether a written bond had been duly carried out. One side, for which Isaeus advised, declared that the bond was to be understood in the light of certain oral undertakings, given at the time: the other insisted on the letter of the bond. Mr. Wyse here gets little further than to point out that the other side probably had a very different account to offer of the preceding relations between the parties and to exhibit the openings that there were for that other side to make a reasonable reply. The guarantor, 'Leochares,' says he, 'had a reasonable defence.' He exposes with ruthless acumen the places where we, who know nothing more of the case than the speech tells us, can guess that unsupported assertions are made. The in-

disputable facts are scarcely appreciated that Leochares' principal had first inherited a third of his cousin's property under a will produced by his own father, and then after twelve years had taken over the whole property under another will then produced by himself, and that a jury afterwards found that the witnesses who had deposed to this will (or both wills) had been guilty of perjury. Yet these facts properly weighed must make it very doubtful that the bond, whatever its letter, in the spirit directed that Isaeus' clients should receive their share as out of the now diminished estate instead of as out of the estate originally bequeathed. Were not Mr. Wyse possessed by the thought of Isaeus' chicanery, he would recognize that, even with justice on their side, Isaeus' clients would necessarily resort to some such line of argument as we find in the speech when pleading for an equitable decision on the whole case, and not on the written bond alone. Indeed, so far as this case goes, we may accuse the editor of carrying too far his efforts as *advocatus diaboli*: for he writes to instil 'distrust and circumspection' into our minds; that 'Menexenus IV,' Isaeus' principal client, 'was not a novice in litigation,' but he does not do equal justice to the experience on the other side.

On another subject a controversy has raged since 1877, and it is satisfactory to find Mr. Wyse here with unerring prudence, after weighing all that has been written on the subject, pronouncing against a specious novelty. In the third speech, the issue mainly turns on whether one Pyrrhus contracted a full and legitimate marriage with Nicodemus' sister. According to the speaker, the marriage was not regular because Pyrrhus presented no marriage offering (*γαμηλία*). This fact, he argues, shows that neither is Nicodemus' deposition true that Pyrrhus had the lady properly betrothed to him: she must, he declares, have been simply an *εταίρα*. Buermann however thought that he found here evidence for believing that side by side with the legitimate wife, there might be an Athenian woman, *εγγυητή* indeed but only as a *παλλακή*, yet her children legitimate. The theory supplies an interpretation of § 79 neither better nor worse than the orthodox view. 'If,' says the speaker according to Buermann 'Pyrrhus had (as is alleged) been induced to have her betrothed to him, he might have been induced also (his passion for her being as strong as is alleged) to present a marriage offering for

her' (*δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ ἐπέισθη ἐγγυήσασθαι, ἐπέισθη ἂν καὶ γαμηλίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τοῖς φράτερσιν εἰσενεγκεῖν*). So far as this sentence goes, Buermann might still maintain his view, but the general drift of the speech supports Mr. Wyse's contention that the suggested interpretation of § 79 is 'perverse.' In fact, Buermann's *εγγυητή παλλακή* is simply a *γυνή* under another name. As to Müller's ingenious fantasy that, in consequence of the drain on the population caused by the war, the Athenians from 411–403 allowed an otherwise unknown system of what may be called morganatic unions simultaneous with regular marriages, our editor has no hesitation in pronouncing it unproven; a 'coacervation of hypotheses' is his comment.

Mr. Wyse is, undoubtedly I think, right in entering a *caveat* against the prevailing view, derived from Arist. *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 42, that the illegitimate offspring of an Athenian father and mother were admitted to the citizenship. Aristotle's words are *μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες ἀστῶν. ἐγγράφονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες. ὅταν δ' ἐγγράφονται, διαψηφίζονται περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμόσαντες οἱ δημόται, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου. . . . δεῦτερον δ' εἰ ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ἔπειτ' ἂν [μὲν] ἀποψηφίσονται μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, ὃ μὲν ἐφήσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. . . . καὶ μὲν μὴ δόξῃ δικαίως ἐγγράφεσθαι, πωλεῖ τούτον ἢ πόλις, ἔαν δὲ νικήσῃ, τοῖς δημόταις ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφειν*. Mr. Wyse, following up a remark of Mr. W. L. Newman's, interprets *ἐλεύθερος* as 'of citizen birth.' He does not notice that Aristotle undoubtedly means that appeal might be made on the question of *ἐλευθερία* and of legitimate birth. Any one who has made a comparative study of literature will recognize that *μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον* is here the proper abbreviation (to avoid being tedious) for *μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον καὶ γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους*. There can therefore be no question of *νόθοι* who were nevertheless *πολίται*.

I have intimated that as a rule Mr. Wyse errs if at all, in the direction of undue suspicion of his author's statements. But once at any rate this caution would seem to have deserted him. In 3 § 61 the MSS. give a sentence which no two editors dispose of in the same way, viz. :—*ἵνα οὖν μὴ παρὰ τοῦ ἐντυχόντος τῶν κλήρων αἱ λήξεις τοῖς ἀμφισβητεῖν βουλομένοις γίνωνται, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐρήμων τῶν κλήρων ἐπιδικάζεσθαι τινας πολμῶσι, τούτου ἕνεκα τὰς ἐπιδικασίας οἱ εἰσποιητοὶ πάντες ποιοῦνται*. The editor's

note on this covers two pages and chronicles eleven scholars' opinions. He himself remarks 'the seat of all this perplexity is the thought' and builds his imputation of a deliberately misleading and vague sense on the hypothesis that 'sous adopted by will . . . were ordered by the law to submit their titles to the consideration of a court.' For this he quotes *Isaens fr. iii. 6 Saupp. οὐ δέι τὸν ἐπίδικον κρατεῖσθαι κλῆρον πρὸ δίκης*. But after contemplating the many places where Mr. Wyse declares *Isaens'* statements in the complete speeches preserved to us to be dishonest misrepresentations, it is difficult to resist the suspicion that an isolated fragment may be ten times more misleading. Mr. Wyse elsewhere refers to *Lac. 6 § 3, 9 § 3, 10 § 9* and [*Dem.*] *44 § 19* as supporting his statement of the law: but not one of these passages seems entirely convincing. Six lines of *Dobree* are here worth all the other editors' lucubrations put together. 'Sensus,' he says, 'ne, cum a

quovis facta esset ἡ λῆξις, liceret τῷ βουλομένῳ istum in ius vocare, et ab illo in se transferre hereditatem. Anglice, *to prevent a man of straw from claiming the estate, in order that his suborner may prove a better title.* Nempe, cum semel facta esset ἐπιδικασία, non licebat litem possessori intendere, ἀμφισβητεῖν, nisi τῷ παρακαταβάλλειν.'

There are many other questions interesting to the student of Athenian law which Mr. Wyse touches on, but it is impossible in a review to deal properly with them. Even where the reader may not agree with the editor, he is supplied with the materials for forming his own opinion—a not unimportant virtue for a durable edition. Mr. Wyse has, in fact, produced a work which others will be engaged for some time in digesting, criticizing, and incorporating into our schemes of Athenian law; and no greater commendation can perhaps be bestowed upon it.

T. NICKLIN.

LIPSIUS'S GREEK ANTIQUITIES OF SCHÖMANN.

Griechische Alterthümer. Von G. F. SCHÖMANN. Vierte Auflage. Neu bearbeitet von J. H. Lipsius. II. Die Internationalen Verhältnisse und das Religionswesen. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1902. Pp. vi + 644. M. 14.

THIS useful compendium has already established its claims on the student so well as to be now in its fourth edition. It will therefore not need a detailed examination in the present review.

The present volume falls into two unequal parts. The first, which occupies 132 pages, is a brief sketch of the international relations amongst the Greek states. From an early period we find that there was an 'unwritten law' which states felt bound to obey more or less faithfully: a rule of conduct vague indeed, but yet of great value as evidence of that spirit of humanity and justice, which in Greek life was continually striving for mastery over the turbulent passions of our nature. War was then rather than peace the normal state of society: yet in some respects war was subject to more honourable rules than it now is. Jurists tell us that a formal declaration of war is not required by international law; but the Greeks

thought it to be necessary. Rights of sanctuary existed, and under certain circumstances claim might be made for quarter or the right of ransom; the burial of the dead might be demanded also as a right. The person of the herald was sacred. Letters of marque were issued to privateers; and there was a state intermediate between war and peace, when reprisals might be made or the goods of another stolen, resembling the relations between England and Spain in the West for a part of Elizabeth's reign. One amenity of ancient life must have had a powerful influence for good: proxeny and the rights of strangers. But the most powerful influence of all was that of the great sanctuaries, Delphi, Delos, and Olympia, and the international Games. We see in the course of history continued attempts at union: local political unions, such as that of the Amphictyons, leading up to the great idea of racial union, which was never to be fully carried out. The space given to this sketch is too brief to allow of its being more than a sketch; but it is well done.

Religion, which fills the rest of the book is treated in the same general way as the politics. There is no examination of the

separate gods, no attempt to trace them to their original, or to sift the elements of their character and functions, or to assign each to its own time and tribe. The religion is analyzed into its psychological elements. After a general sketch of the characteristics of Greek religion, and its relation to the state, topics such as the following are taken in turn: Cult as 'Idolatry,' Votive offerings, Prayer, Curse, Oath, Prophecy and Oracle, Magic and Sorcery, Purification, the Orphics, the Mysteries, Priests and Officials, Feasts, Religious Associations, Clans and Families, Religion in the home, Burial and Cult of the Dead. Each topic, it will be seen, is wide enough for a volume in itself.

In the author's treatment of early or pre-historic religion there is something to seek. He refers to a time when objects of worship were or may have been fetishes, or such things as stones, trees, and animals; he speaks of the sacred precinct with its taboos and the sacred grove: but having gone so far back we should expect him to do more and recall the practice of propitiating the local spirits by leaving a part of their territory untouched, so that, for example, the sacred grove of an Indian village may be part of the primeval virgin forest. Nor does he touch on the part played in local cults by the accidental predominance of a family; or on their relation to ancestor-

worship, which is treated by itself at the end of the book; or on the relation of family and tribal-cults to the Olympians. The sketch of Votive Offerings is most meagre; it is in fact no attempt after a principle of classification, but a mere chance-medley of examples. Hardly less unsatisfactory is the chapter on Sacrifice: the author actually says that to decide whether bloody or unbloody sacrifice be the older on Greek soil is 'von keinem Interesse.' And yet this decided might also decide the question, what race was the earlier on Greek soil, and what was their general conception of the gods. Very few writers seem to realize how vague is our knowledge of Greek sacrifice; not of its meaning, but of the actual facts. It is a subject which cries out for investigation. And if you believe me, here once more is that unhappy cock of Asclepios! (p. 238) The sections on Prayer, Oath, and especially Divination, Oracles, and Witchcraft are likely to be useful to the student. Of the remainder we would call attention to the account of the mysteries and of private worship in the home. The subject of Public Cults and Festivals is too large to be properly treated here.

On the whole we may say that this is a useful book. It will help the student to classify and clarify his ideas; but it is too sketchy to be sufficient for him in itself.

W. H. D. R.

BUTCHER'S HARVARD LECTURES ON GREEK SUBJECTS.

Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects. By S. H. BUTCHER, D.Litt., Litt.D., LL.D. London: Macmillan and Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904. 8vo. Pp. x+266. 7s. net.

OF a volume the contents of which are in form and substance alike admirable throughout, it would be superfluous if not impossible to offer any detailed criticism. The simpler object of this notice is to give a general account of its scope and to add a few remarks on some of the points incidentally raised in it.

The book consists of six public lectures delivered at Harvard University to a mixed audience, partly of scholars, partly of the general public, and, with some expansion, printed in the form in which they

were originally given. It is seldom that a series of lectures make a satisfactory book, any more than a series of speeches make a satisfactory political or economic treatise. That this volume is a striking exception to the general rule is partly due perhaps to the character of the lecturer's audience, but mainly to his own skill and tact. They read with all the fluency of the spoken discourse, and yet bear re-reading and study as permanent contributions to the literature of scholarship. Mr. Butcher says in his preface that the book may be regarded as forming a kind of companion volume to *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*—a book also consisting of lectures, which has obtained wide circulation and ample recognition among a circle wider than that of professed scholars. The author's reputation

did not stand in need of any enhancement either as a fine scholar or a lucid expounder. But this volume has a greater elasticity and what seems like an easier mastery. The relief from the heavy burden of his Scottish professoriate has had the happiest results. It is to be hoped that in the comparative leisure which he has now secured, Mr. Butcher may find himself able to add more than one such volume to the sum of his contributions towards the study and appreciation of Greek literature and history.

The six lectures or chapters of which this volume consists cover different portions of a wide field, but have a certain underlying unity in the fact that they are all directed towards disengaging, and bringing out on one or another side, the specific and un-borrowed quality of the Greek genius in its application to religion, to life, and to the art of letters. The first two, entitled respectively 'Greece and Israel' and 'Greece and Phoenicia,' deal with the whole theory and meaning of life as understood by the Greek mind in antithesis to those of the two races which stand out from among all the other early Mediterranean peoples in having developed life, the one on its spiritual, the other on its material side. The next is a brilliant study of the specific Greek quality, love of knowledge for its own sake, in virtue of which the Greek race made, for the first time, a serious and not unsuccessful attempt to see life as a whole and to organise it as a continuous and vital structure. In the remaining three lectures, on Art and Inspiration in Greek Poetry, and on Greek Literary Criticism, the Greek mind and method are considered, in a review full of fine suggestion and masterly historical sense, as they manifested themselves in relation to the specific art of letters.

It will be seen that the scope of the volume is thus very wide. It would hardly be possible to indicate in any bald summary the general substance of what is in itself a summary, brief without being bald, and noteworthy for what it discards no less than for what it includes. In reading these lectures one has the sense of perpetual suggestion, of a wider discussion being continually invited or hinted at, yet no sense of anything being slurred or hurried. Such work is in a way the consummation of scholarship: and it is at the same time a guide and a stimulus to the scholars who are working in detail on particular portions of the field of Greek studies, and to those—scholars or otherwise—who desire to understand why Greek life, thought, and art

should be a perpetual object of study, and what they really mean to the whole of mankind.

A fine passage towards the end of the last of the six lectures sums up their conspicuous quality in words which deserve quotation. Mr. Butcher says:—

'The inadequate perception of the correspondence between a writer and his age is closely related to what was perhaps the most persistent defect of ancient criticism—a want of historic imagination, of a faculty for apprehending the whole environment of a bygone time. The critic, as we now understand his office, is an interpreter between the present and the past; he must be imbued with the historic no less than with the literary spirit. Yet it has taken centuries for this idea to be established. Not until recent years has either Greek or English literature been handled in this spirit. Criticism so practised becomes an art of constructive imagination.'

Many examples might be cited from the book of this constructive imagination applied to passages or incidents in themselves familiar—so familiar that they are apt to pass over the ordinary scholar's mind without making much impression on it. It is in truth this blunted attitude towards the classics which, born all but inevitably of the long-continued study that for many generations now has treated the material as mere gymnastic apparatus, not as a living organism, as a drill-ground rather than as a fruitful field, is one of the principal difficulties with which scholars have to contend, and one of the principal dangers which menace the study of the classics itself. One instance may serve as well as another: take these few sentences from a passage in which Mr. Butcher is speaking of the Greek love of knowledge—that disinterested love of knowledge for its own sake which, whether applied to the outer world or to the world of ideas, rises from, and in its turn excites, perpetually fresh keenness of interest.

'A fresh and lucid intelligence looks out upon the universe. There is the desire to see each object as it is, to catch in it some characteristic moment of grace or beauty. And the thing seen is not felt to be truly understood until it has taken shape in words, and the exact impression conveyed to the eye has been transmitted to another mind. A single epithet, one revealing word in Homer will often open up to us the very heart of the object; its inmost and permanent character will stand out in clear-cut outline. Nothing is too great, nothing too trivial, to be worth describing. . . . Again, though each thing, great and small, has its interest, the great and the small are not of equal importance. There is already a sense of relative values; the critical spirit is awake.'

What Mr. Butcher says here of the 'single epithet' is typical of the whole of the message of Greece for us. But even in

its primary bearing it indicates a very insufficiently explored path of study; the attempt to see, with a fresh mind and unclouded eyes, the exact meaning of words, phrases, ideas, which through their very familiarity have ceased to arouse any but vague pictures, or have even disintegrated into mere rubbish, the *epitheton ornans*, the tag, the truism. When Nausicaa or Hera is called *λευκώλενος* by Homer, how many of us even pause to consider what the picture is which is meant to be conveyed, still less whether it is one that, so far from being otiose, brings us vividly and closely before the whole aspect of a simple and yet high civilisation? But take a passage from the most Homeric of modern poets which is little more than an expansion of the single Homeric word:—

—My hands are burned
By the lovely sun of the acres;
Three months of London town
And thy birth-bed have bleached them
indeed,
'But lo, where the edge of the gown'
So said thy father 'is parting
The wrist that is white as the curd
From the brown of the hand that I love,
Bright as the wing of a bird.'

After this, at least one Homeric epithet must be for us, as it probably never was before, what Mr. Butcher aptly calls a 'revealing word.' And this is only one instance out of a thousand.

Or again, one may cite, as an instance of constructive imagination, a sentence which occurs almost casually in a discussion of the internal unity which the Greek critics for the first time laid down as a primary requirement in a writing that claimed to be a work of art:—

'And it may be observed that while in antiquity captious critics discovered all manner of flaws in Homer, one defect alone they never discovered—a want of unity in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.'

This sentence, equally true and pointed, 'gives to think' in many directions; whether as throwing light on the Homeric question, or on ancient literary criticism, or on that secular parallax which is both in itself a study of equal difficulty and fascination, and in its application to the classics a necessity of daily use. 'It is no genuine art of words,' says Plato, in a passage quoted in this volume, 'that he will have who does not know the truth of things, but has tried to hunt out what other people think about it.' But the whole of these two admirable lectures on Greek Literary Criticism goes to enforce the lesson that 'what other people think about it' has a reaction, of a very remarkable and subtle kind, upon the thing itself; so much so that the thing itself, at any particular place and time, might almost be described as the integration of what people have up to that point thought about it.

There is not space here to do more than just call attention to one more instance of this quality, in the really brilliant passage of 'Greece and Israel' where the writer touches on the analogy between Delphic and Jewish prophecy, and on the question of 'larger patriotism' in its relation to the national religion which both the Hebrew and the Hellenic race failed to solve in a way that the modern mind has accepted as satisfactory. The prophets destroyed the kingdom of Israel by effecting the dethronement and extinction of its only capable ruling house. They helped at least, though perhaps not seriously—for nothing could have saved it—to the destruction of the sister kingdom. Both for Greece and for Palestine we possess only one side of the evidence. The diplomatic records of Delphi, if they ever existed, and if they had survived, would be as interesting as those of the chanceries of Samaria and Jerusalem.

J. W. MACKAIL.

LINDSAY'S *PLAUTUS*.

T. Macci Plauti Comoediae, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit W. M. LINDSAY. Vol. I. (*Amphitruo—Mercator*). Oxford: Clarendon Press. 6s. *Ancient Editions of Plautus*. By W. M. LINDSAY. St. Andrews University Pub-

lications, No. III. Oxford: Parker, 1904. Pp. 152. 4s. net.

In criticising an edition of a classical author it is necessary to bear carefully in mind the purpose that it is intended to serve.

Professor Lindsay's *Plautus*, occupying as it does a place in a series of standard Texts, rightly aims not so much at making original contributions towards the improvement of the text as at presenting for general use the well established results of modern criticism. It is from this point of view that his work must be judged. How far does it represent that text to which the judgement of the competent points as well established or at any rate scientifically unimpeachable?

An editor of a 'textus receptus' of Plautus is in a difficult position. On the one hand he must give a wide berth to all that is merely hazardous in the way of conjectural emendation. On the other hand, if he contents himself with giving the *minimum* of emendation, he runs the risk of presenting a text disfigured by frequent lacunae and bristling with 'loci desperati'—a text which is something less than the reader has a right to expect, and which to every subsequent editor who sets a more ambitious ideal before him is merely a point of departure.

One distinct advantage Mr. Lindsay has had over all previous editors of a complete Plautus. The new readings in a number of plays (the *Persa*, the *Poenulus*, and parts of the *Pseudolus* and *Rudens*), which he has the credit of having discovered in the margin of a copy of Plautus in the Bodleian, will enable him to improve the text of these plays in a good many passages; and at these points his edition will be an advance on the rival German editions of Goetz and Schoell (*ed. minor*) and Leo. These 'Fragmenta Senonensia,' whatever their precise origin, bear on their face the stamp of being derived from some ancient MS. source and some of them will be a feature in all future editions of the above mentioned plays.¹ They do not, however, affect Vol. I. of the present edition. For the readings in the *Bacchides* contained in the fragments were all known before from other sources.

¹ Those bearing on the *Rudens* I was able to include in my *editio minor* of 1901. It is worth noting that Lindsay is now inclined to think that Lambinus had access to the *codex Turnebi*; see *crit. note on Bacch.* 736. This is very likely, as is shown by Lambinus' note on *Cas.* 414, where he says he used to discuss Plautine readings with Turnebus (prior to the publication of Turnebus' *Adversaria*, 1564-1573): one of the 'libri veteres' so often referred to by Lambinus may well have been the MS. known as the *Cod. Turn.* But as there is no reason to doubt his word when he says that he used *several* old MSS. (now lost, apparently), it is generally impossible to say from which of them any particular reading comes.

The 'whole duty of an editor of Plautus' is set forth, briefly in the *Praefatio* to Lindsay's edition and fully in his *Ancient editions of Plautus*²—a volume in which some of the fundamental principles of Plautine criticism are discussed, and in particular the relation of the Ambrosian to the Palatine recension. This volume forms a useful pendant to the text, enabling the reader to understand the *modus operandi* of the editor in cases of difficulty. It will be well, then, to discuss it first, especially as one of its cardinal doctrines affects the text in a large number of passages and seems to the present reviewer at any rate open to serious objections. The cardinal idea is 'to adhere to the consensus of *A* (the Ambrosian recension) and *P* (the Palatine recension), unless there is evidence of the scribes having fallen independently into the same error.' This sounds innocent enough at first reading; for *A* and *P* cover all the MSS. of any importance. But what Mr. Lindsay means is that the consensus of *A* and *P* proves a reading to be the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus in nearly³ every case, and that we have no right to go behind a reading so supported except in the case of such obvious or 'inevitable' blunders as all copyists of MSS. are prone to make independently (*e.g.* modernizations of archaic forms, haplography, etc.).⁴ Now this is a startling proposition. Of what classical author can it be said that the consensus of all the MSS. minus the 'inevitable' errors represents the *vera manus* of the writer? Mr. Lindsay has no difficulty in showing⁵ that a large number of the *AP* errors are really of the 'inevitable' order and may therefore be explained without regarding the two recensions as based upon a common source. But where an *AP* reading which looks at first sight like an error cannot be explained as 'inevitable,' he boldly denies that it is an error.⁶ Here he is on dangerous ground: he has to defend as the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus readings like *inde iam a pausillo puero*, *Stich.* 175 (which may conceivably be scanned, but which is strange Latin for *iam inde a*, cf. *Bacch.* 1207), *penitus egredditur*, *Pseud.* 132 (in the sense of *intus egr.*), *fortasse* taking the Accus. with Infin., *Poen.* 1004 f., *in ius uos uolo* (for *uoco*), *Poen.* 1225: in *Poen.* 1051 he maintains that the

² p. 150.

³ The explanation of the word 'nearly' is given on p. 131 (top); viz. that a few errors may have crept into some very early recension from which both *A* and *P* are ultimately derived.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 112. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 104 ff. ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 111 f.

ergo of *AP* (with hiatus in caesura?) points to a trisyllabic *erego*, though there is no trace of such a form elsewhere in Plautus or any other Latin writer, unless indeed we are to regard *erega* (which he suggests as a 'forma antiqua' of *erga* in the critical note on *Asin.* 20) as a parallel.

In *Stich.* 704 he argues that the *in lecticis* of *AP* (*in lectis* edd.) points to 'some Plautine coinage like *inlectice* (adverb), of the type of *accubuo* in *Truc.* 422'; this new-comer would have to mean 'on-couch-ically.' In *Cas.* 571 he defends *contarier* (for *percontarier*) and *pr̄ius*, appealing in support of so intolerable a scansion to a lyrical passage, *Cas.* 839 (where the only change required is to read with Studemund *meus fructus prīor est*, instead of with the MSS. *meis fructust prīor*) and to *Bacch.* 932 (where other modern editors demand emendation in the middle of the line):¹ *contarier* 'to use the punt-pole, hence to enquire' is supposed to be the uncompounded form of *percontarier*; but is there any evidence that such a simple form ever existed? Side by side with *pr̄ius* Lindsay defends *pīus* (though without quoting any passages) and *proprīus* (comparing *Capt.* 862), which he says must have had this quantity originally because it is derived from *pro* and *pr̄ivus*. What has that to do with the pronunciation of the word in Plautus' time? One would imagine that the language of Plautus belonged to some prehistoric stratum of Latin speech. A large number of similar eccentricities are defended on similar lines.² Perhaps the worst case is *Poen.* 331 where *AP* have got the preposition *in* twice over (*in secundo salve in pretio*); here Lindsay suggests that *insecundo* may be the Gerundive (Gerund?) of *insequor*. This not only yields no proper sense, but completely destroys the balance of the sentence.

But if such things are neither Plautine nor Latin, it must be admitted that there are many errors common to *A* and *P* which cannot be explained as 'inevitable,' and which therefore afford evidence of a certain relationship between the two recensions; unless, indeed, we are prepared to admit that these corruptions disfigured the texts of Plautus as early as the 1st century B.C. Mr. Lindsay's conception of the independence of the two recensions from so early a

date will not, I think, be found to hold water. Nor do I think that he is fortunate in the way in which he has presented his case. There is something inconclusive in his whole line of reasoning. Let us consider the passages which are omitted in one or the other recension. Mr. Lindsay argues that where *P* has less than *A* (e.g. in *Most.* 940-5), then we have a case of omission in *P*, due to the desire to shorten a tedious passage for presentation on the stage; but when *A* has less than *P* (e.g. in *Capt.* 1016-22), then we are to regard the case as one of addition on the part of *P*. Such reasoning depends on the assumption of the very point to be proved, viz. that *P* is a modification of the original text, while *A* is not. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; and if (as I fully believe and has been suggested before by Seyffert) the omissions of *P* are sometimes due to stage convenience, precisely the same thing may be said of omissions in *A*. The Palatine archetype *P*, if we possessed it, would be of similar age, character and authority to *A*. At any rate Mr. Lindsay has adduced no evidence to prove the contrary.

It is obvious that a fundamental question of procedure like this is of the utmost importance to the constitution of the text; and I think it unfortunate that Mr. Lindsay has committed himself in his edition to a position held by no other editor of Plautus. It would have been the safer course to submit his new doctrine to criticism before making it the basis of his dealings with the text. In some instances he seems himself to have felt doubts about the genuineness of the *AP* readings referred to above. In his edition he does not venture to print *factis* in *Cas.* 625 (defended in *Ancient Ed. of Pl.*, p. 116), but like other editors accepts the emendation *factu*. But it is ominous to find *pr̄ius et contarier* printed in *Cas.* 571 instead of the obvious emendation *pr̄ius et percontarier*, which by the addition of a simple syllable restores to *pr̄ius* its prosody and to the text a familiar Plautine word. I can only hope that in Vol. II. the offending *AP* readings will have disappeared and left not a wrack behind.

An attitude of severe ἐποχή as to conjectural departures from MS. tradition has, no doubt, its good side. This edition is not disfigured by the sort of 'emendations,' teeming with bizarre words and constructions, which used to be fashionable not so very long ago, but which are now generally

¹ In the metres of dialogue *pr̄ius* is always two short syllables in Plautus, except at the diaeresis and end of a verse. Hence Lindsay's reading in *Cas.* 378 (*pr̄ius quam*) is out of court. My emendation (*pr̄ius est quam mihi*) treats *pr̄ius* as = *prior numerus*.

² Pp. 116-118.

discountenanced. Mr. Lindsay has ruled out a large number of injudicious conjectures, including many of his own.¹ On the other hand his principles have debarred him from accepting or proposing stop-gap readings for filling up lacunae in the MS. tradition, even where plausible suggestions have been offered. Thus we constantly come across passages filled with asterisks, as in the *editio minor* of Goetz and Schoell. No doubt this is because Mr. Lindsay sets up a high standard of scientific probability and is shy of any proposal which cannot be established by evidence as definitely right. For this he deserves all credit. Yet is it not better to supply gaps in the MSS. with conjectures based on the best available knowledge of Plautine usage, even though such additions may not command universal assent, than to give up the problem as insoluble? If they are placed within brackets or printed in italics there is no danger of the reader being misled. For instance in *Merc.* 319, 320, where Mr. Lindsay (adopting Ritschl's suggestion of a lost line) prints

humanum amarest, humanum autem ignoscere est;
<humanum> * * * atque id ui optingit deum,

it seems strange that no one has thought of suggesting

humanum amarest, atque id ui optingit deum;
<humanum *erravest*>, humanum autem ignoscere.²

I have a few other suggestions of a general character to offer. (1) Would it not be well in a future edition to make a more sparing use of obelisks in the text? I find them here frequently used in passages where only a slight emendation is needed to restore perfect sense or metre, e.g. *Bacch.* 592. If *negāto esse ituram* is 'vix ferendum,' why not adopt one of the emendations suggested in the critical apparatus? To obelize the passage is to mark it as corrupt ἀπλῶς or as standing in need of some desperate remedy.

¹ Of the eleven conjectures (in the plays contained in the present vol.) proposed in his *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* (1896) only two find a place in the present text: *Aul.* 406 (*Attatae*), *Capt.* 479 (*ad prandium* deleted). Of the emendations proposed in his edition of the *Captivi* (1900) some are here withdrawn: e.g. *Capt.* 201 (*aitis*), 297 (*sci*); but *scio* will also not do: an imperative is required by the sense), 555 *TY.* for *HE.* There are of course a large number of new conjectures in the present text, of which a few words will be said below.

² The sentiment seems appropriate, and may well have been derived from the Greek original: it is human to be in love, a thing which befalls through divine influence; to err is human, but to pardon is humane (*i.e.* man's prerogative): reproach me not, etc. In 319 we might read *atque id uel optingit deis*; for *A* according to Studemund has *uel*.

(2) Would it not be well to give up the use of square brackets [] to indicate words to be omitted, and to use only the pointed brackets < > for words to be added to the text (e.g. *Amph.* 59)? Words to be omitted can be dealt with in the critical apparatus, and need not be brought prominently before the eye of the reader. (3) I should have liked to see my suggestion³ that *quin* with the imperative is really an interrogative construction taken account of, by printing some at any rate of the instances with a note of interrogation at the end, e.g. *Cas.* 755 *quin tu i modo mecum domum?* This would, I admit, be a departure from current practice; but it would be particularly suitable in *Capt.* 636 (and *Most.* 815), where this construction is preceded by an admittedly interrogative *quin* with the indicative. Otherwise we have to make a separate sentence of the *ac* (or *atque*) with the imperative, and this is unnatural. (4) I doubt whether it is right to take liberties with Latin orthography by omitting final letters (*s* and *e*), e.g. *nimi'*, *sati'*, *magi'*, *meu'*, *tuo'*, *nemp'*, *perg'*, *hercl'*, etc. Such spellings are merely a means of helping the beginner to scan and rest on no MS. evidence. Yet it is on the MSS. that Plautine orthography depends (not on inscriptions); cf. *Praefatio*, p. iv and *Ancient Editions*, p. 141.

It is impossible within the limits of a review of half the text of Plautus to deal with individual passages except in so far as they show the general tendencies of the editor. The following (not mentioned in *Ancient Editions*) are instances of what I cannot but regard as unnecessary awe of MS. tradition. In *Amph.* 634 the MS. reading *ita quoique comparatum est in aetate hominum* seems to me wrong not only in metre, but also in the use of the word *quoique*.—In *Amph.* 672 editors since Bothe have generally agreed in omitting *quicquam* which makes the line too long, and is unnecessary to the construction (cf. *Bacch.* 504, etc., and Palmer's note). Lindsay tries to keep it by omitting *mih*i (which is necessary to the sense, a Dative being always found in such expressions, e.g. *Asin.* 854, *Bacch.* 504, *Poen.* 466) and reducing *diuini* to the dimensions of two syllables by printing it as *dini*. Surely the addition of *quicquam* by some scribe, who did not understand the genitive *diuini* without it, is 'inevitable' enough. In some passages Lindsay shows a tendency to prefer readings which rest on the evidence of grammarians, to those

³ 'Interrogative Commands,' *Classical Review*, 1902, No. 3.

attested by our extant MSS.¹ Thus in *Bacch.* 602 he adopts *scutum*, which appears in the *Fragm. Senon.* and is quoted by Turnèbe in his *Adversaria*, in preference to the *cui tu* of the Palatine MSS. Palaeographically it is tempting; but does it make really good sense? 'The shield *must be* good for nothing?' The sense given by *cui tu* is far better: 'he must be a good for nothing fellow who has *you* as his bodyguard.' In *Asin.* 547 he adopts *ulnorum* from a var. lect. in one of the MSS. of Nonius 262, for *ulmorum* (*P* and most MSS. of Nonius). What is it supposed to mean? Apparently 'arms'; but there is, so far as I know, no Latin word *ulnus*, and *ulna* is not a word that occurs elsewhere in Plautus. The whole passage (545-555) is untranslatable as it stands in Lindsay's text: a lacuna must be recognized somewhere.

Mr. Lindsay's own emendations are largely concerned with metrical points; and it is difficult to discuss them without raising a number of questions on which I have the misfortune of disagreeing with him.² He will no doubt consider me old fashioned; but I should like to say that I have found the introduction and appendix to his edition of the *Captivi* (1900) stimulating and suggestive, even when I could not agree with his doctrine.³ My own position will, I hope, be clearly defined in the work on *Metres and Prosody of Plautus* which I have in hand. But there is one general feature of the present text which calls for comment in this connexion. Firstly the omission of the ictus marks, in which Lindsay has followed the example set by Leo in his edition of 1895-96. The advantages or disadvantages of the innovation depend on the purpose which an edition is intended to serve. But apart from the convenience of these marks as a guide to the scansion, one question forces itself upon the critic. Is it not strange that our editor of all men, holding as he does extreme views as to the coincidence of word-accent or sentence-accent with ictus (*i.e.* with the arses of the feet) in old Latin

verse, should have banished the ictus marks from his text? He ought, on his principles, to have been the first to introduce them, if no one had thought of doing so before; for these marks might have been treated, in strict accordance with his theory, as marks not of ictus but of *accent*. It was just for the reason that Bentley believed in a large measure of coincidence between ictus and accent that he introduced the marks into his edition of Terence. The curious phenomenon of their omission in the present edition is explained in the Preface as due to a desire not to impose on Plautus the appearance of differing from the Greeks in this respect.⁴ But according to Lindsay's own theory Plautus *does* differ from the Greeks precisely in this particular. Why has he not availed himself of so striking a method of bringing his own theory home? The reason must be that every page of Plautus contains instances in which the ictus marks raise awkward questions as to their coincidence with accent—instances in which the coincidence is either not proven or contrary to obvious facts. This is a difficult question which cannot be fully discussed here. But there are two classes of facts which demand consideration: (i) cases where the apparent conflict has nothing to do with the question of 'shortening' of syllables: *e.g.* quite ordinary lines like *Bacch.* 572 (where there can be no question of enclisis), *non manebō, neque tu me habebis falso suspectūm*.—*Sequor*; and less ordinary lines like *Mil.* 502 *nisi mihi supplicium uirgarūm de te datur*, and *Rud.* 513 *piscibus* in alto, *credo, praebent pabulum*; (ii) cases where 'shortening' under the Breves breuiantes law is involved, *e.g.* *Bacch.* 1106 *Philoxēne salve, etc.*, *Cas.* 227 *sed uxor me excruciat, etc.*, *Merc.* 329 *sēd optumē gnatum meum, etc.*, *Epid.* 179 *Hercūli*. I quote from Lindsay's text: and indeed corruption of the MSS. is out of the question in view of the large number of instances involved. A good recent collection is given by Ahlberg,⁵ who finds himself driven (against his own leanings) to admit that in many cases Plautus shortened a syllable which in prose bore the accent.⁶ Now in the first class of instances it would be possible to say with Lindsay that 'Plautine metre is quantitative metre, not accentual metre like ours,' and that 'we

¹ In *Ancient Editions*, p. 150, however, he shows that he is aware of the danger.

² In *Cas.* 814 his attribution of the second half of the line to Chalinus hardly comes under this category. The difficulty is that it involves dividing the line between two scenes:—a thing for which there is no parallel in Plautus.

³ More than a year ago, I am afraid, I undertook at the request of the Editor of the *Class. Rev.* to review Lindsay's annotated edition of the *Captivi* (Methuen, 1900), after another contributor had fallen through. I fear it is too late now to remedy my neglect, which was due to unexpected pressure of work in other directions.

⁴ Praef. p. vi. *Nolui aliam ac Graecis comoediis speciem Latinis imponere.*

⁵ *De correptione iambica* (Lundae, 1901).

⁶ This Lindsay denies; *Introd. to ed. of Capt.* p. 35 f.

cannot look for an invariable adherence to an incidence of ictus which will conform with the accent, but only to a normal adherence';¹ though this admission seriously limits the accentual element in Plautine verse and the statement that Plautus 'scanned as he pronounced.' But in the second class some kind of stress is admitted by Lindsay to be necessary to explain the shortening.² How then does he scan the lines? Accent is out of court and ictus he will not have. Thus he is really left without any explanation at all to offer. This criticism has been well brought out by Prof. Exon.³ In some cases Lindsay silently accepts the readings which involve these scansions, as in the instances quoted above: in others he accepts them with a protest at the foot of the page, e.g. *Amph.* 761 (*dēdisse* suspectum), *Merc.* 988 (*hercl'* suspectum), *Men.* 689 (fortasse *dedistin*): in others he attempts strange ways of scanning, e.g. *Asin.* 372 (*imitabōr*, in order to rescue *cāuēto*), *Capt.* 321 (*ūnicus sūm*, adding 'suspectum' in order to rescue *dēcēre*); in others he attempts or accepts conjectural changes, e.g. *Cas.* 240 (*senēctan*⁴), *Capt.* 431 (*cauē tu*), *Curc.* 572 (omitting *mīhi*⁵), *Aul.* 599 (*eri ille* for *herile*). This riding of several horses simultaneously will never lead to a solution of the problem. What is wanted is a single method of treatment which will cover all the cases.

I will add a few notes on some other metrical points raised by the text. Lindsay has given up his theory that a naturally long vowel cannot be shortened under the law of Breves breviantes (e.g. *pudicitiam, verēbāmini*), though with reluctance.⁶ But he still adheres to his doctrine that a short vowel followed by a mute and a liquid never acts as a Brevis brevians.⁷ This position too is untenable; *quadrīngēnti* is too well attested to be put aside⁸; *ōbscērō uōs ego*

occurs *Aul.* 715 (*ego uos* Lindsay with Peters), *Cist.* 453 (which Lindsay treats as trochaic), and so forth. And in *Bacch.* 404 and 1041 Lindsay himself is constrained to accept *pātrēm sodālis* and *utrām tu accipias uide*, though not without a sigh ('displacet') at the foot of the page; in *Bacch.* 1167 he tries to get over *probrī perlecebrae* by reading with Peters *probriperlecebrae* as a compound word with short *i*. But why should not Plautus have treated a short vowel followed by a mute and a liquid not merely as a Brevis but as a Brevis brevians. Unde illae lacrimae? Cur nobis displiceat quod Plauto non displicebat?

In regard to the spellings *quōius* (to denote the dimoric value, i.e. ◡◡ or ◡) and *quōiūs* (to denote the trimoric value, i.e. ◡◡◡), I do not see why Lindsay calls the former the more usual. The statistics in regard to the whole group (*eius, huius, quōius*) are given by Ahlberg: the trimoric value is twice as common as the dimoric. Is it possible that Lindsay is speaking of *quōius* alone? But here too the facts are against him (trimoric 20, dimoric 15).⁹

The printing is excellent, and the get up of the book attractive. Only the following misprints have caught my eye: *Bacch.* 570 *paruom* (for *paruam*), *Cas.* 803 *iaiuinitate* (for *ieiunitate*); and in the crit. app. *Bacch.* 622 *amens* (for *amans*) and *am.* (for *amens*), 638 (for 637). In *Cas.* 414, the reading adopted is attested by Lambinus as occurring in seven of his MSS., and should therefore not be put down to Pylades. The following are probably not to be regarded as accidental omissions from the crit. app.; its silence, whether justifiable or not, is probably deliberate, the MSS. readings being treated as mere orthographic variants: *Amph.* 199 (*tum*), 658 (*me*), 861 (*cui est, cuius est*), *Asin.* 555, 562, 570 (*periur-*), *Bacch.* 815 (*eo ipso*), 867 (*neve*), 950 (*interiit*), 974 and 1183 (*quadrīngēntos*), *Capt.* 261 (*illie*), *Curc.* 39 (*eueniat*). In *Capt.* 691 the emendation is due to Bosscha (not Bothe); and Ussing might have been mentioned in *Bacch.* 893 (*Lato*).

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his *Captivi* edition and *Latin Language* he says that *quadrīngēnti* is the older form; but even if this be proved, the form may be pre-Plautine.

⁹ I think there ought to have been some acknowledgment to Exon in regard to the method of indicating the quantity by the spelling; see *Hermathena*, xiii. No. xxx. 1904, p. 154. But, as I have said above, the right of an editor to make Latin spelling more phonetic than it actually was is disputable.

¹ Appendix to ed. of *Capt.* p. 373.

² Intr. to ed. of *Capt.* § 23 (p. 35), where the conditions for shortening are declared to be (1) a preceding short syllable, (2) accent on a neighbouring syllable.

³ *Hermathena*, xii. No. xxix. (1903), 'On the relation of metrical ictus to accent and quantity in Plautine verse'; pp. 493-495.

⁴ Note that this reading, even if it can be said to justify the short syllable (as due to the enclitic -n), produces a false stress on the next word (*āctate*).

⁵ This omission introduces a breach of the dipody law (*Sē pergēs*).

⁶ Intr. to ed. of *Capt.* p. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 38.

⁸ *Bacch.* 934, 974, 1183, *Irud.* 1324. These MSS. readings are silently ignored in the crit. app. In

BUTLER'S *PROPERTIUS*.

Sexti Properti opera omnia. With a commentary by H. E. BUTLER, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1905. Cr. Svo. 1 vol., pp. vi + 415. 8/6 net.

PALEY'S Propertius, described by Haupt on its first appearance as 'liber uulgaris ac futillis', has now long been antiquated; and Mr Butler has produced a commentary which will generally displace it in the hands of English students. His book, like Paley's, is a compilation, and neither in illustration nor exegesis nor criticism does it add anything of moment to the work of his forerunners. But the performance has much more life and heartiness than Paley's, and will prove of much more service to the readers for whom it is designed. Mr Butler has made himself acquainted with a great deal that has been written on Propertius in the last five-and-twenty years, and has taken pains to set out his matter with clearness and precision, qualities which are seen at their best in his treatment of the question whether ii 29 is one poem or two and whether iv 8 19 sq. are in their proper place. He brings to his task independence, common sense, intelligent interest, and an open mind: not steady judgment, not sustained attention, and not a sufficient knowledge of Latin in general or of Latin verse in particular or indeed of Propertius himself.

For example, one does not expect an editor of Propertius to alter the text in i 20 17-20 'naualibus Argo | egressam . . . scopulis applicuisse ratem' with the remark that 'the ship Argo . . . could hardly be said *applicuisse ratem*', nor to accept at i 7 16 a conjecture which makes Propertius use *euoluisse* in the last half of a pentameter. A scholar is not much at home in metre who at i 10 23 *petiit ingrata* talks about 'the short syllable lengthened in arsis' and compares *vincishaec* and *ingenuus aut* and *fuit externos*; or who writes at ii 28 53 (et quot Troia tulit uetus et quot Achaia formas) 'the awkwardness of the order of the words might perhaps be avoided by the transposition of *Troia* and *Achaia*, making both words trisyllables', and expresses doubt about *Troia* as a dactyl but none about *Achaia* as an amphibrachys; or who says at ii 32 5 that to reject *curue te* in *Herculeum* as unmetrical 'is perhaps to go too far, in view of lines such as 25 9 *at me*

ab amore tuo.' To render '*temi unda*' (i 11 11) as 'shallow', '*excussis lumbis*' (ii 16 27) as 'exhausted', '*recludor*' (ii 29 4) as 'I am mocked', '*cur luna labore*' (ii 34 52) as 'why the moon waxes and wanes', '*solitum ducite munus*' (iii 4 8) as 'ply your accustomed task', '*nullo facto*' (iii 6 21) as 'without any acts of love having passed between us', '*moribus*' (iii 6 25) as 'manners, accomplishments', '*uenumdata*' (iii 19 21) as 'won', and '*alio pectus amore terat*' (iii 20 6) as 'torment', reveals unfounded opinions concerning the sense of Latin words and phrases. Knowledge of Latin again is not the strong point of a commentator who thinks at iii 13 56 that the use of the possessive pronoun in the sense of *faustus* has yet to be proved; and resorts to conjecture at iv 2 28 '*corbis in imposito pondere messor eram*' because of 'this extraordinary use of *in*'; and says that *Graeca* at iv 8 38 is 'a unique instance of this adj. in poetry'; and at i 11 30 '*Baiae aquae*' writes 'this is the regular form'—*Baianus* and *Troianus* then are irregular—'for adj. formed from nouns ending in *-ius, -ia, -ium*', and quotes as parallels *Veius*, which is a dactyl, and *Tarpeia*, which was an adjective before ever it was a substantive.

At i 8 36 '*quas Elis opes ante pararat equis*' I find '*pararat* has the force of a perfect', then a list of references and a remark on 'this curious Propertian use.' *pararat* has the force of a past aorist, and this use is no more Propertian than Plautine. The pluperfect never has the force of a perfect except in the 3rd person plural, as at ii 8 10 *steterant*, iii 24 20 and iv 7 15 *exciderant*; a restriction which the editors who accept these readings can, I hope, explain, though they never attempt to do so.

I do not know what to make of the note on iii 13 7, where '*Tyros Cadmea*' is rendered 'Phoenician', or on i 4 24, where *qualis ubique* (such as one finds everywhere) is explained 'sc. of whatever shape or sanctity'. There are other strange misapprehensions of the author's meaning. *moraturis* (which would otherwise have tarried, nisi sedula fuisset) at i 3 32 is translated in a way which leaves no sense to the passage. ii 24 40 '*ferre ego formosam nullum onus esse puto*' is interpreted, perhaps in jest, 'sc. quia tam leues sunt'. ii 32 3 '*num quid, else why*': read the preceding lines and try to imagine what 'else'

can mean. iii 1 6 (quoue pede ingressi?) 'pede, an allusion to the metre of their poems': conceive Propertius asking Callimachus and Philitas what metre they wrote in. iii 11 29 'quid. sc. illam raptem etc.'; as if Cleopatra, like heroes and gods and Jove, were the slave of a woman. iv 6 21 *Teucro Quirino*, 'the Trojan Quirinus = Octavian': then who is the British Shakespeare?

Even where Mr Butler chooses, as he much oftener does, the right interpretation, he sometimes seems to be guided rather by a vague rectitude of feeling than by any firm apprehension or distinct perception of the truth. For instance at ii 4 9 'quippe ubi nec causas nec apertos cernimus ictus | unde tamen ueniant tot mala caeca uia est' he rightly sees and states the general sense, and avoids the error of comparing the *tamen* of ii 5 5; but he wrongly says 'there is an ellipse here', and he punctuates the distich so that it cannot be construed. The construction is 'quippe caeca uia est unde tot mala, ubi nec causas nec apertos cernimus ictus, tamen ueniant'.

An editor of Propertius is occupied half his time, or ought to be, in settling the text and discussing questions of criticism. Here again Mr Butler shows independence but not stability of judgment, and a brisk but not a penetrating or comprehensive intelligence. His work, as I said before, deserves much more praise than Paley's; and yet, if anyone desired to stock a museum of absurdities, Mr Butler's edition would yield far more treasure to the collector. But Mr Butler must not bear the blame for this; on the contrary, it is a surprise and pleasure to find that the absurdities are so much fewer than might have been anticipated. His defects are due to his environment: he has the misfortune to have been born in an age which is out of touch with Latinity. Propertius in i 2 9-14 is maintaining the superiority of nature to art: 'aspice quos summittat humus formosa colores, | ut ueniant hederæ sponte sua melius, | surgat et in solis formosius arbutus antris, | et sciat indociles currere lympha uias. | litora natiuis *persuadent* picta lapillis, | et uolucres nulla dulcius arte canunt'. Down to the new Pentecost, which happened somewhere about 1880, no one,—not even Vulpius and Hertzberg, who could understand most things,—could understand *persuadent*. Since 1880 everyone can understand it; but no two persons understand it alike. One scholar says that the meaning is 'litora *persuadent* se natiuis lapillis picta esse'; another that

it is 'persuadent naturam arte potio-rem esse'; a third supplies *dulcius* from below and interprets 'persuadent ut diutius commoremur et commodius acquiescamus'; and now Mr Butler explains as follows:

persuadent. 'persuade us', i.e. 'beguile the heart and eye'. The phrase though bold is most expressive. There is no real difficulty in such a use of *persuadeo*, and the emendations proposed [*præfulgent* is one of them] are neither particularly probable in form nor do they give any improvement in point of sense.

The mixture of mirth and horror with which such notes as this would have been read by critics in the past, and are likely to be read by critics in the future, is an emotion of which we in these times are fast ceasing to be capable. 'Direness, familiar to our slaughterous thoughts, Cannot once start us.' And notes of this sort, common almost everywhere, are common in Mr Butler's Propertius. It is true that he often revolts against the fashion, and says of the MS lections defended by his contemporaries that they are impossible or that they possess no meaning; and he adopts conjectures¹ such as ii 30 8 *ipsa*, iii 2 16 *nec defessa*, iv 8 48 *totus*, whose merit and probability would be invisible to a dull man. But when one reads on, and comes to some other emendations which he rejects, and to some other MS lections which in his eyes possess a meaning and are possible, one attributes his occasional recalcitrancy less to any virtue of his own² than to the sudden and violent intervention of his guardian angel.

i 6 4 cum quo Rhipaeos possim conscendere montes | ulteriusque domos uadere Memnonias. '*ulterius* is used as preposition = further beyond'. Further than what?

i 8 27 hic erat! 'She was here all the time!' Of course she was, or not a word of lines 1-26 could have been written. If a man who had been talking to Mr Butler for the last five minutes should suddenly burst out 'you were here all the time', it would surprise him; because the only people who say such things are live madmen and dead classics.

ii 18 9 sq. illum . . . fouit in ulnis | quam prius adiunctos sedula lauit equos. '*quam prius* = priusquam. Cf. Tib. iv 7 8 *ne legat id nemo quam meus ante, uelim*.' Then here-

¹ The following conjectures should have been assigned to their true authors thus: ii 6 41 *seduct* Birt, iii 18 24 *atrocis* Leo, iv 1 81 (*fallitur* . . . *Iuppiter*) Tyrrell, iv 3 55 *Craugidos* Bergk.

² At iii 1 27 he rejects the words *cunabula parui* as interpolated, but in a note of twenty lines he does not even mention the one decisive argument which proves them so.

after we will say *qui is for is qui*, and defend ourselves by quoting ii 32 1 *qui uidet, is peccat*.

ii 28 19 Ino etiam prima terris aetate uagata est. 'The reference seems to be to her wanderings after she leapt into the sea.' In other words, *terris = mari*.

ii 32 33-8 are printed and punctuated thus: *ipsa Venus fertur (N, quamuis most MSS and editors) corrupta libidine Martis, | nec minus in caelo semper honesta fuit. | quamuis Ida Parim pastorem dicat anasse | atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam, | hoc et Hamadryadum spectauit turba sororum | Silenique senes et pater ipse chori.*

Oenone . . . was a Naiad, and may therefore be correctly styled *deam*. Objections have been raised to the reading *Parim* owing to a misconception of the reference of *deam*. The majority of editors take *deam* to refer to Venus, and then assert correctly enough that Venus had no love affair with Paris. Hence we get emendations such as *Phrygem* (Schrader) and *palam* (Haupt), and the passage is made to refer to the loves of Venus and Anchises. . . 37, 38 *The nymphs and satyrs saw and approved*. Cf. Verg. Ecl. iii 9 *sed faciles nymphae risere*.

Mr Butler has here attained the two chief ends of the modern editor of Propertius: he has stuck to the MSS where others desert them, and he has followed N where others follow FDV.¹ Consequently he is pleased with himself; and his natural elation finds vent in this little sally: 'The difficulty is of the editors' own making.' Most true: the editors have wilfully and without provocation paid heed to the context; which an editor, as Mr Butler proves, is not obliged to do. I neither criticise the meaning he assigns to *spectauit* nor enquire what meaning, if any, he assigns to *quamuis*: I only point out what it is that he has made Propertius say. The subject of the poem is Cynthia's infidelity, which her lover here seeks to palliate by precedents from ancient story. These precedents, according to Mr Butler, are three: the adultery of Helen, the adultery of Venus, and—the blameless and honourable union of Oenone and Paris.

iv 1 81 sq. nunc pretium fecere deos et (fallitur auro | Iuppiter) obliquae signa

¹ I do not know what he means by saying 'It may reasonably be objected [to *quamuis* in 33] that we should require *non minus*, not *nec minus*'. *nec* is indispensable and *non* would be inadmissible. He adds 'the presence of *quamuis* might be explained on the hypothesis that *fertur* had been accidentally omitted'; and at iii 14 19, desiring to read *capere arma* with N, he says 'supposing *capere* to have been accidentally omitted (as perhaps in L), *arma* would easily be expanded into *armata*'. I wonder what the patrons of N would think if anyone invoked these hypothetical accidents to save the credit of another MS. Fortunately no one ever does.

iterata rotae. 'Now they have turned the gods to profit and—Jupiter the while is duped to blindness by their gold—to profit have they turned the oft-scanned constellations of the slanting zodiac.' It is not possible that Mr Butler should attach any meaning to his own words: he has never heard of an astrologer duping Jupiter to blindness by his gold.

iv 3 49 omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in coniuge maior. 'Love is ever a mighty power, but mightier far where the beloved is one's lawful husband'. No student wants to have the verse translated, for its words and construction are both quite simple: what he wants is to be told the reason why Propertius puts into Arethusa's mouth a statement which is both false and irrelevant.

iv 7 69. Andromeda and Hypermetra tell over their sad histories to Cynthia in Elysium: 'sic mortis lacrimis uitae sanamus amores'. Mr Butler defends *mortis*, but says nothing about *sanamus*; he merely translates 'the tears of sympathy and remembrance that we shed in the world beyond heal the wounds love dealt in life'. What wounds did love deal in life to Andromeda?

If I wished to lengthen out a series of adverse comments I might examine Mr Butler's notes on ii 3 45, 7 15, 8 31, 10 22, 15 28, 16 12, 28 33, iii 16 19, iv 1 142, 8 60, 9 60. But there are other places where what invites comment is the absence of notes. At i 5 3 '*meos sentire furores*' anyone who reads the next five lines will find that *meos* must mean *Cynthiae*, which seems a strange sense for the word to have; yet Mr Butler is silent, and silent at ii 19 5, where *nulla* means *ulla*, and at ii 19 29, where *sic* means heaven knows what. ii 27 9: is *flere domibus flammam* Latin? ii 29 27: what does *hinc* mean? iii 5 6: what does *miser* mean? iv 5 40: does wordy warfare leave bites on the neck? iv 7 81: do boughs grow out of the ground? No reply from Mr Butler. In ii 26 31 sq. a voyage over the high seas, '*mare per longum*', is signalled by these unusual incidents, '*unum litus erit sopitis unaque tecto | arbor, et ex una saepe bibemus aqua*'; then we proceed, with disappointing tameness, '*et tabula una duos poterit componere amantes, | prora cubile mihi seu mihi puppis erit*'. Mr Butler writes '*tabula*, the planking of the deck', but of *litus* and *arbor* and *aqua* he says not a word. Here I think he has missed an opportunity: the next commentator will explain that *arbor* means the mast, *aqua* the water-cask, and *litus* the side of the ship, because *litus = ora* and *ora = extremitas*.

Mr Butler seems to share with the majority of conservative critics one of their favourite fancies,—that the chief merit of an emendation is closeness to the MSS, and that conjectures are probable in inverse proportion to the number of letters which they alter. Hence it naturally happens that he adopts some very bad conjectures. At i 19 22 he reads with Aldus ‘abstrahat *ei!* (*e* MSS) *nostro puluere*’, though the classical poets never employ *ei* without a dative. At ii 12 18 he reads with Lipsius ‘*alio traice duella* (*puella* MSS) *tua*’. Think what this means: that Propertius, instead of *bella*, chose the form *duella*, which he never elsewhere uses, in order to make *traice* a trochee, which it never elsewhere is. At iii 9 44, where the MSS have ‘*dure poeta*’, he accepts Scriuerius’ *Dore*, and explains ‘*Dore poeta* = Philetas. He was a native of Cos, which was colonised by Dorians’. *Dore* is not Latin for Dorian, nor Greek either; and ‘O Dorian poet’ can no more mean Philitas than ‘O Scotch poet’ means Alexander Smith. At iv 3 38 he adopts Prof. Ellis’s proposal ‘*qualis et educti* (*haec docti* MSS) *sit positura Dai* (*dei* MSS)’ and translates *educti* as ‘elevated, because they dwell in the northern heights of Scythia.’ The word has no such meaning: it would signify ‘tall’.

The editor has accepted six of his own conjectures. His proposal to assume a lacuna between iii 15 10 and 11, instead of transferring 43–6 to that spot, is possibly right; and against his conjecture of ‘*corbis at* (*ab DV, in N, om. F*) *imposito pondere messor eram*’ at iv 2 28 there is nothing to be said except that it is needless and does not account for the variants. The remaining four are all quite impossible.

At i 21 7–10 he writes ‘*ne soror . . . sentiat . . . Gallum . . . effugere . . . non potuisse . . . ; | nec* (*et* MSS) *quaecumque super dispersa inuenerit ossa | montibus Etruscis, haec sciat esse mea*’. These are the words of a dying soldier whose last thought is of his sister, and Mr Butler thus translates them: ‘nor let her ever know that whatever bones she may find on the Tuscan hills are mine’. Certainly the discovery that her brother had 1000 skulls, 2000 femora, and 26,000 vertebrae, would be at once a painful shock to her affections and an overwhelming addition to her knowledge of anatomy.

At ii 17 15 he writes ‘*nec lubet* (*licet* MSS) *in triuiis sicca requiescere luna, | aut per rimosas mittere uerba fores*’, which he renders ‘I care no more to lie at your threshold waiting in vain for admission’, and says ‘*nec licet* is wholly pointless: there was nothing to prevent his going to Cynthia’s door to demand admission.’ This is the same misapprehension which led Beroaldus to conjecture *nunc licet*. The couplet is severed from its context by 13 sq., but its sense is evident, and is very different from Mr Butler’s paraphrase. *requiescere* means here what it means in ii 22 25 ‘*Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieuerat Arctos*’, and the words refer to the stolen interviews of iv 7 19 ‘*saepe Venus triuio commissa est*’ and 15 sq. ‘*uigilacis furta Suburae | et mea nocturnis trita fenestra dolis*’.

At iii 6 9 he punctuates ‘*sic, ut eam incomptis uidisti flere capillis, | illius ex oculis multa cadebat aqua?*’ and translates ‘Did her tears fall even so when you beheld her weep?’ That would be *cum uideres: ut uidisti* means ‘as soon as you set eyes on her’, and will not consort with the imperfect *cadebat*.

At iv 11 53 sq. he writes ‘*uel cui, iuratos* (*cuius ramos* MSS) *cum Vesta reposeret ignes, | exhibit uiuos carbasus alba focus*’. The reader wonders what *iuratos* means, and he will never guess. Mr Butler renders it ‘the sacred fire which she had sworn to keep’, and then, instead of supporting his translation, subverts it by confessing the true sense of the word, ‘lit. by which she had sworn’.

I suppose that this is hardly what would be called a favourable review; and I feel the compunction which must often assail a reviewer who is neither incompetent nor partial, when he considers how many books, inferior to the book he is criticising, are elsewhere receiving that vague and conventional laudation which is distributed at large, like the rain of heaven, by reviewers who do not know the truth and consequently cannot tell it. But after all, a portion of the universal shower is doubtless now descending, or will soon descend, upon Mr Butler himself; and indeed, unless some unusual accident has happened, he must long ere this have received the punctual praises of the *Scotsman*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Exilium Trias sive De Cicerone Ovidio Seneca exulibus. Specimen litterarium inaugurale quod ex auct. rectoris magnifici in Academia Rheno-Traiectina, etc. By H. M. R. LEOPOLD. Pp. viii + 264. Goudae: Koch et Knuttel, 1904.

DR. LEOPOLD compares Cicero, Ovid and Seneca in reference to their times of exile. Thus, he notes that Cicero and Ovid, whilst they pay grateful tributes to their native towns, reserve their praises mainly for the Capital; that Cicero troubles little, Ovid much, about the locus of his exile, and Seneca, as a philosopher, has to assume 'exilium nihil esse nisi loci commutationem, rem minimi momenti.' All this takes a whole chapter of twenty-seven pages, and none will wonder, when he finds the investigation in reference to Ovid carried on with a minuteness of which a brief extract from p. 100 will give a good idea:

2° Boreas tam vehementer flat ut aedificia alta subvertat et tecta domibus abripiat.

(*Tr.* iii. 10. 17, 18 quoted in full)

3° Incolae praeter faciem totum corpus pellibus tegunt.

(*ib.* 19-22 quoted in full)

4° Vinum in amphoris congelatur.

(*ib.* 23-24 quoted in full)

Even more heroic is the scale of chapter 7, in which after a perusal of 60 pp. (mainly extracts from Cicero's and Ovid's letters to friends, to a large extent in alphabetical order) we are rewarded with the discovery 'verum esse quod scribit Reichart,' viz. that Ovid's exile did not spoil the mildness of his temper, etc., etc., and Cicero's did. Dr. Leopold's Latinity is excellent and his accuracy unimpeachable; the book itself is by

no means uninteresting. But I do not think that he has contributed anything original to the subject he treats. There is some vigour in his refutation of Boissvain's silly remarks on the Apocolocyntosis—but then what right has that work to a place in the chapter *de Fontibus*: how does it help us 'ad (exulantis Senecae) tam facta quam affectus cognoscenda'?

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Was muss der Gebildete vom Griechischen wissen? Von Prof. Dr. ADOLF HEMME. 2e auflage. Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1905. 4to. Pp. xxxii + 156.

THIS book (the editor tells us) was suggested by the widespread belief that antiquity has nothing to teach modern Germany, as remodelled under the refining care of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Yet unfortunately there are in the German language embedded many thousands of words which cannot be understood without some knowledge of Greek. This is even the case in science and industry; so that the editor has asked himself the question, Is it necessary to study Greek in order to understand technical terms? To this he replies No; and that there may be no place of refuge left for those who are fighting with this last weapon, he has compiled this book. It contains an 'Introduction to the Practical Understanding of the Foreign and Borrowed words derived from Greek,' a short Greek Grammar in fact, with most of the Greek words transliterated; and a list of important Greek words, with meanings, each followed by a list of German derivatives, with explanations. Their large number will surprise everyone.

W. H. D. R.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—EASTER AND TRINITY TERMS, 1905.

ON May 19th Mr. ALLEN read a paper on Theopis, in which, while accepting Mr. Harrison's view of the authenticity of the entire collection, he maintained, with Mr. Hudson Williams, the traditional sixth-century date. [The paper will be published in the *Classical Review*.]

ON June 2nd Prof. COOK WILSON read a paper upon 'The idea of κάθαρσις in Aristotle's definition of tragedy.' Accepting the view of Bernays and others that the metaphor was the medical one of purgation, an analysis was offered of what the main elements in such a metaphor applied to the emotions

must be. It was contended that the essentials of this analysis were in complete agreement with the passage on the subject in Aristotle's *Politics*, and showed that the metaphor of purgation was entirely inapplicable to the true effects of tragedy, and that the attempts of commentators, e.g. Bernays, to give it a meaning of aesthetic value were a manifest failure. Reasons were given for thinking that the formula was not originally applied to tragedy, that this application of it was inherited by Aristotle from others, and that there were possibly indications that he was uneasy about it.

On June 16th Mr. L. DYER read a paper on 'The Olympian treasures and treasuries in general,' some points of which had been briefly given in Athens at the Archaeological Congress in April before the section of Classical Archaeology.

He began by advocating the reconsideration of currently accepted identifications on the terrace of the Olympian treasures, and followed one of the alternatives suggested by Dr. Dörpfeld in urging that No. VIII should be not a treasury at all, Nos. II and III should be counted as seen by Pausanias, and the confused text of Pausanias VI xix 5 should be dealt with accordingly, and not as Boeckh dealt with it before such a thing as a treasury had been unearthed either at Delos, at Olympia, or at Delphi. Pausanias saw eleven treasures. The name to be attached to No. III has fallen out of his text, at the beginning of § 5, and his first and chief allusion to the Byzantines' treasury (No. V) has fallen out of the same section at the end. The order in which the foundations *in situ* on the terrace appear to have been laid was, he maintained, VIII, XII, X, XI, VII, VI, V, IX, IV, II, III, and I. All but I and XI were colonial foundations, excepting possibly the unknown No. III. All but I and possibly III were built before or upon occasion of the Persian wars, and I was presumably built to represent a far older Sicyonian foundation. There was much evidence connecting the Olympian treasures in particular with a happy enlistment of local and colonial particularism in the service of Olympian Zeus. Thus a pan-Hellenic consciousness was awakened so that, after the Persian wars, further foundations of treasures could be, as in fact they were at Olympia, completely dispensed with.

Turning then to treasures in general, he intimated that the term *θησαυροί* was on the whole a misnomer, giving rise to misapprehensions only to be removed by a careful scrutiny of the monuments themselves with the inscriptions relating to them. 'Call such buildings *θησαυροί* with Herodotus and Pausanias, use, with the expert antiquarian Polemo, one word, *θησαυροί*, at Delphi, and another, *ναοί*, at Olympia,' said the lecturer, 'or take from *Delian and Delphian inscriptions* the sacred term *οίκος*: two things are true of all treasures like the Olympian ones,—they are built for worship of a god, they stand for the glory not of any one dynast, but of every member of some one *δῆμος*.' Strabo's, Baehr's, and Herodotus' views expressed and implied about treasures were also discussed along with W. J. Fischer's Olympian investigations of 1853, and the account of such monuments in Bötticher's *Tektonik*, written before Olympian excavations.

Then followed an account of the various motives assigned by Pausanias and others for the foundation of treasures, and a consideration of their limited use as *θησαυροφυλάκια*. These last properly speaking were entirely different from the Delian, Delphian, and Olympian 'treasuries' which should be termed communal houses. Abundant evidence from inscriptions was here discussed and the very clear usage in Delian inventories was appealed to. Reasons of various kinds were adduced for believing that a people founding a communal house had certain exceptional rights and duties in connexion with their house. The consecrated character of all such houses was also insisted upon, especially in connexion with the Plutarchian *De defectu oraculorum* and the 'Lesche' at Delphi, called by Pausanias not the 'Lesche of the Cnidians,' but the 'Lesche of the Delians,' a nickname for which Pausanias somewhat elaborately apologizes. Various proofs were given in connexion with Polygnotos, Micon, and Aristocleides, for making quite sure that what Pausanias carefully describes as an *οίκημα, ἀνάθημα τῶν Κνιδίων*, and is currently known as the Lesche of the Cnidians, was strictly and properly speaking the Delphian treasury of the Cnidians.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE,
Hon. Sec.

VERSION.

FROM HEINE.

Es stehen unbeweglich
Die Sterne in der Höh'
Viel tausend Jahr und schauen
Sich an mit Liebesweh'.
Sie sprechen eine Sprache
Die ist so reich, so schön ;
Doch keiner der Philologen
Kann diese Sprache verstehn.

Ich aber hab' sie gelernet
Und ich vergesse sie nicht ;
Mir diente als Grammatik
Der Herzallerliebsten Gesicht.

HEINE.

Ἄστέρες οὐρανίνην ἔλαχον στάσιν ἤματα πάντα,
οὐδὲ τις ἦν ἔλαχεν τάξιν ἔβη προλιπών.
ἀλλ' ἀστήρ αἰεὶ ποτιδέκεται ἀστέρ' ἀγῆρωσ,
μυριετῆ θ' ἄμ' ἔρωτ'—ἀλλ' ἀτέλεστον—ἐρᾶ·
μίσγοντες δὲ γέλων ψιθυρίσματά θ' ἱμερόεντα
θανμάζονσι βροτῶν βαρβαρόφωνον ὄπα.
οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀρίσταρχος μονοσύλλαβος, οὐ σοφὸς
ἔσμος
γωνιοβομβύκων, ῥήματ' ἐκεῖν' ἔμαθεν.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξέμαθον, τὸν Φρίνιχον οὐ πεπατηκῶς·
ἐξέμαθον· καὶ πῶς τῶνδ' ἐπιλησόμεθα ;
ἢ ζητεῖς ὁπόθεν ; φαύλως πάνν καὶ γὰρ ὀδηγοῖς
χρῶμεθα—τοῖς λαμπροῖς ὄμμασιν Ἄστερῆς.

JOHN JACKSON.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ΚΛΕΙΤΩΝ = ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ.

IN the *Memorabilia* iii. 10, Xenophon enumerates three instances in which Socrates conversed with artists. He introduces this group of conversations with the following statement: Whenever he conversed with any man of those who followed the τέχναι as their vocations, to these also he proved himself useful.

I take it that this group ends at iii. 11, as the business of the beautiful Theodote can hardly be classed as a τέχνη in that sense.

The first conversation is that with the painter Parrhasios. Herein Socrates insists that the depicting of the nature of the soul, in so far as it is expressed in the look and the features, must be one of the duties of the painter.

The second conversation begins thus: πρὸς δὲ Κλείωνα τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν εἰσελθὼν ποτε. Once going in to the atelier of the sculptor Kleiton he conversed with him, showing that it is one of the duties of the sculptor to vary the expression of his statues, both in form and face, to suit the mental and spiritual condition called forth by the particular activity which is to be portrayed.

In the conversation with Pistias, the armour-smith, the thought is developed that a coat-of-mail may have εὐρυθμία, if it fits well and so best serves the purpose for which it is made.

The only other conversation in which sculptors or painters are mentioned is i. 4. 3: ἐπὶ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπὼν ποιήσει Ὀμηρον ἔγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα, ἐπὶ δὲ διθυράμβῳ Μελανιππίδην, ἐπὶ δὲ τραγῳδίᾳ Σοφοκλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνδριαντοσίᾳ Πολύκλειτον, ἐπὶ δὲ ζωγραφίᾳ Ζεῦξιν.

In painting Zeuxis and Parrhasios are mentioned, of sculptors Polykleitos and Kleiton. Who is this Kleiton, mentioned in such company, into whose atelier Socrates drops in this familiar fashion? That he is an artist of mark is evidenced by several facts: first, that the conversation with him follows immediately upon that with the great Parrhasios. Socrates himself states that Kleiton is well known for his statues of athletes. 'That you, Kleiton, make statues of runners, wrestlers, boxers, and pancratiasts, I see and know.' This he sees, no doubt, in the various statues round

about the studio, and he was aware of it before, knowing the reputation of the sculptor.

The third and most conclusive reason for considering Kleiton a sculptor of some reputation is the following. In the talks with Parrhasios and Kleiton there is an implied censure of their work on the ground that τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα, or τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος, is not sufficiently expressed. The criticism does not need to be formulated in words in order to be felt. If Kleiton is not a well-known and talented sculptor, especially when he is mentioned immediately after the great Parrhasios, the criticism has no force. One does not expect to find soul expressed in the works of an artist of second or third rank. Nor does Socrates go about criticising the output of inferior talent. He may talk with the hetaira, the baker, and candlestick maker, but it is not upon stony ground that he chooses to sow.

It is from these reasons that I am led to the conclusion that Κλείτων is nothing more nor less than an ὄνομα ὑποκοριστικόν, a shorter form for the longer Πολύκλειτος.

There are three ways, in Greek nomenclature, of forming the shorter name from the original longer name of two parts. Of the two stems, the first and the beginning of the second may be run together: Ἐπαφρόδιτος: Ἐπαφράς. Or either of the two stems may be used alone: Τηλυκράτης: Τῆλυς, Δαμάρμενος: Ἄρμενος. Cf. Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*, p. 36.

It is with the last of these methods that we have here to deal. The historically attested examples of persons who are called by their full names and are also called 'for short' by the use of the latter stem of the compound form, are given on page 35 of Fick-Bechtel. In the *Anthology* of Bergk-Hiller, in fragment 77 we find the maiden Δίκα, who is the Μνασι-δίκα of fragment 75. Πολυφράδμων, father of the poet Phrynichos, in Pausanias, is called Φράδμων, Meineke, *Frag. Com. Græc.* i. 536.

The pet-form of the original two-stemmed name often terminates in -ων. This and the ending -ην are the most usual endings of the hypokoristika.¹ For the ending in -ων I need only cite Ἄδμων, formed from Ἄδμητος; Ἡράκων, name of the father of the philosopher Ἡράκλειτος; Ἀντίμων, which is found with Ἀντίμαχος; Ἀρίμων, which is found

¹ Cf. Fick-Bechtel, p. 28.

beside Ἀρίμαχος. Beside -γείτων in Ἀριστογείτων the form Ἀριστόγειτος occurs. For a further discussion of the subject I refer to the introductory pages of Fick-Bechtel.

There can be no doubt that the name Κλείτων is a legitimate reduction of the longer Πολύ-κλειτος. The question immediately arises whether we have any proof that the Argive Polykleitos remained for any long period of time at Athens, or set up a studio there.

In the case of the Ephesian painter Parrhasios this is evident from the conversation which Socrates holds with him: εἰσελθὼν μὲν γὰρ ποτε πρὸς Παρρήσιον τὸν ζωγράφον καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ.¹ Indeed, by the Roman writers he is sometimes called 'Parrhasius Atheniensis.'²

There are no inscriptions extant which can serve to connect Polykleitos with Athens. The only notice in the literary tradition which tends to do this is to be found in Aelian, xiv. 16: 'Hipponicus, son of Kallias, desired to erect a statue as a memorial to his father. When some one advised him to have the statue made by Polykleitos, he refused to think of any such votive statue, from which the artist, not the subject, would have the glory. For it was clear that those who saw the skill of the work would admire Polykleitos rather than the man depicted.'

This can be no other than the Hipponicus, the Athenian strategus, who was killed at Delium in 424. The anecdote, like so many of those told in regard to the ancient artists, seems to have little value either from the standpoint of criticism or of history. Despite the lack of information which we have to prove it, it is a fair assumption that Polykleitos, next to Pheidias the most famous sculptor of his time, would have made himself known in Athens by an occasional sojourn there. For even before the Peloponnesian war the artistic activity in that city, fostered by Perikles, had given Athens first rank as an art centre. Nor could the habit of travelling about from place to place for the purpose of exhibiting the fruits of one's labours have been confined to the authors of the period. The case of Parrhasios will serve to prove this point.

We must next consider whether the remarks and criticisms which occur in the conversation with the artist Kleiton will

apply to the work of Polykleitos as we know him. The general criticism that τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη, the inner feelings of the subject, must be brought out in a great work of art, is 'one which can be applied equally to all the art of the period. The development during the fourth century of the art of realistic portraiture in marble, as opposed to the idealized portraits represented by the Perikles of Kresilas, must have had a powerful influence upon the art of the time. To this must be ascribed to some extent the development of that πάθος characteristic of Skopas, and that interest in individualized types which produces the genre work of the succeeding period. The implied criticism of Socrates must be interpreted therefore as a general criticism upon the 'grand style.' It applies about as well to the Diskobolos of Myron as to the Doryphoros or the wounded Amazon ascribed to Polykleitos. The pain of the Amazon's wound does not distort one feature of her beautiful face, nor disturb at all the harmony and symmetry of her exquisite pose.

We must look more closely at the passage: ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Κλείτων, ἀλλοίους ποιεῖς δρομεῖς τε καὶ παλαιστὰς καὶ πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς, ὀρῶ τε καὶ οἶδα· ὃ δὲ μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖ διὰ τῆς ὀψεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι, πῶς τοῦτο ἐνεργάζῃ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; 'Kleito, that you make runners and wrestlers and boxers and pancratiasts in various attitudes (ἀλλοίους, different from one another), I perceive and know. But what especially touches men's feelings through the sense of sight, namely, the lifelike appearance, how do you accomplish this in your statues?' When Kleiton was perplexed and did not straightway answer, he asked: 'Do you make your statues more lifelike by copying the forms of living men?' 'Exactly,' he said. 'Then by copying the muscles drawn down or drawn up in the body by the particular attitude, those compressed and those extended, those at a tension and those relaxed, do you make them more realistic and more convincing?' 'Certainly,' he said. 'The imitation of the effect which any particular form of activity produces upon the body, gives a certain pleasure to the beholders, does it not?' 'It certainly looks reasonable,' he said. 'And so the eyes of those fighting must be represented as threatening, and the look of exultation in the case of victors must be imitated, must it not?' 'Assuredly,' he said. 'The sculptor then,' said Socrates, 'must copy the workings of the soul in addition to the form.'

¹ *Memorabilia* iii. 10. 1.

² Acron, upon Horace *carm.* iv. 8. 6; cf. Seneca, *Controv.* x. 34, and Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 36, 'pinxit demon Atheniensium, argumento quoque ingenioso.'

We know that Polykleitos, as well as Myron, especially devoted himself to the casting of statues of athletic victors. We have knowledge of six of these: the boxer Thersilochos the Corcyraean; the boy-athlete Aristion of Epidaurus; Kyniskos the boy-boxer from Mantinea; Pythakles the Elean pentathlete; a certain Xenokles; and Antipatros the Milesian.¹ These works were all at Olympia. The Doryphoros and Diadumenos can also be ranked in the general class of athletic statues.

This conversation is applicable to the work of Polykleitos in every particular excepting one. Notoriously his statues tended to follow a certain schematic attitude, the pose of the Doryphoros, of the Diadumenos, of the wounded Amazon, of the 'Idolino' in Florence. With this feature of the art of Polykleitos, the *ἀλλοίους δρομείς* does not at all correspond, especially if it be translated, as is usually done, 'in various postures.'

Quite apart from the present discussion this word has been a cause of trouble and various emendations have been suggested. *ἀλλοίους*, often followed by *ἦ* because of its comparative force, means 'different in kind,' and would be a sensible reading were it not for the antithesis, *ὅτι μὲν ἀλλοίους ποιεῖς δρομείς. . . ὁ δὲ μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖ*. The antithesis here is not at all evident. The simplest and best emendation is that ascribed to Dindorf: *ὅτι μὲν καλοὶ οὓς ποιεῖς δρομείς*. 'That the runners, boxers, etc., which you cast are beautiful, I perceive. But the appearance of life, the realistic quality which especially charms the observer, how do you bring that about?'

With this emendation the antithesis is perfectly clear. The formal, canonical beauty of the Doryphoros is apparently opposed to the *ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι*, which in Polykleitos is confined to the form and does not extend to expressing the inner feelings in the face. From the evidence which I have been able to gather it seems that my conclusion in regard to the identity of the sculptor Kleiton, with whom the editors of the *Memorabilia* have always had difficulty, is a sound one.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

University of Missouri.

¹ Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, p. 170.

THUCYDIDES, PAUSANIAS, AND THE DIONYSIUM IN LIMNIS.

THE determination of the site of the Dionysium in Limnis is one of the great desiderata in the topography of Ancient Athens. Upon this depend the many problems involved in the so-called 'Enneacrurus Episode.' For in the discussion of this much mooted question there have developed in primitive settlements of Athens—one adjacent to the Acropolis, the other along the Ilissus—two Callirrhoes, two sanctuaries of Zeus, two of Apollo, two of Demeter, two of Gē, but only one Dionysium in Limnis. As ancient writers give us the relative location of these sites, if we can definitely fix the single Dionysium in Limnis, we have the key to the solution of the whole topographical situation.

When doubt prevails in topographical problems owing to the conflicting theories of archaeologists, it is well at times to see what can be learned from a new interpretation of the ancient authorities, irrespective of all archaeological investigation. Dr. Verrall (*Classical Review*, June, 1900) thus attacked the much disputed Thucydides ii. 15, upon the assumption that the sites mentioned are unknown, and sought to ascertain, as far as possible without reference to anything now disputed, the view of the historian respecting the limits of primitive Athens. I wish to apply this principle of interpretation to passages bearing on the Dionysium in Limnis to see whether the literary references are not sufficiently clear and explicit to determine beyond a reasonable doubt the site of this sanctuary.

Our two chief ancient authorities on the topography of Athens are Pausanias and Thucydides. Fischbach (*Wiener Studien*, vol. xv. pp. 161–191) has shown conclusively that Pausanias was thoroughly acquainted with Thucydides and made extensive use of the historian in his description of Athens, so much so that he appropriates words, phrases, and turns of expression found in Thucydides. These stylistic resemblances exclude the acceptance of an intermediate channel. Pausanias had also the benefit of a tradition handed down by local guides respecting important sites. Hence when he makes a statement manifestly based on Thucydides, the presumption is that he understood his authority and interpreted him correctly.

To come now to the statements bearing on the site of the Dionysium in Limnis.

I. Thucyd. ii. 15. Thucydides is presenting proofs that what is now the Acropolis was in primitive times the city, together with the ground lying under it, especially to the south. He first notes that 'other deities (besides Athena) have their sanctuaries on the Acropolis' (Τεκμήριον δέ τὰ γὰρ ἱερά ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἔστι). Καὶ τὰ ἔξω, proceeds the argument, πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἴδρυνται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ψ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνί Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομιζουσιν. 'And the sanctuaries outside are situated toward this part of the city rather, as that of the Olympian Zeus, and the Pythium and that of Gē, and that of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις where the more ancient Dionysia are celebrated on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion, etc.' 'Furthermore,' he proceeds, 'in the same quarters are other ancient sanctuaries' (ἴδρυνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα).

Note (1) that Thucydides uses throughout the term ἱερά, sanctuary, a holy or sacred place, including both the temenos and the shrine or shrines within the sacred enclosure, though at times applied merely to the shrine. This is the regular Greek usage of Herodotus and Thucydides, as well as of Pausanias.¹

(2) That Thucydides states that these shrines are located in a certain portion of the later city, namely, the Acropolis and vicinity, especially southward.

(3) That in reference to the Dionysium in Limnis he adds that here are celebrated the more ancient rites of the Anthesteria, —ἀρχαιότερα being used to contrast them with the more imposing festivals of later origin, of the Lenaea and the Greater Dionysia.

II. This latter statement is more fully made in Ps.-Dem. lix. 76, a speech usually attributed to Apollodorus. Here in mentioning certain duties of the wife of the Archon Basileus he adds: καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Λίμναις . . . καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγιοτάτῳ ἐν Λίμναις ἔστησαν, ἵνα μὴ πολλοὶ εἰδῶσι τὰ γεγραμμένα· ἀπαξ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ἀνοίγεται, τῷ

δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός. 'Having inscribed this law on a stone *stèle*, they placed it in the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις beside the altar . . . And for this reason they put it in the most ancient and most sacred sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, in order that not many might know the inscription. For it is opened once each year on the twelfth of the month Anthesterion.'

Note (1) that the hieron of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις is here referred to as the most ancient and most sacred in Athens (ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγιοτάτῳ).

(2) That Ps.-Dem. alludes to the same fact as Thucydides, the festival of the 12th of Anthesterion.

(3) That the second use of ἱερόν is limited doubtless to the shrine, which was opened only on the day mentioned.

(4) That taking the two passages together it follows that the sanctuary ἐν Λίμναις where τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια (Thucyd.) were celebrated was τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν τοῦ Διονύσου (Ps.-Dem.).

III. Coming now to Pausanias, we must first of all admit that he does not mention the Dionysium in Limnis by name. Yet he apparently refers to it when in describing the theatre site he adds (I. 20. 3.): τοῦ Διονύσου δέ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν· δύο δέ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ . . . ἐστι δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα κ.τ.λ. 'Adjacent to the theatre is the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus. Within the enclosure there are two temples and two images of Dionysus, one surnamed Eleutherian, the other made by Alcamenes of ivory and gold. Near the sanctuary and the theatre is a structure,' etc., describing the music hall of Pericles.

Note (1) that Pausanias doubtless had the Thucydides passage in mind. Even Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (*Hermes*, xxi. p. 621), who locates the Dionysium in Limnis outside the city, admits that Pausanias copied from Thucydides, but states that Pausanias here mistook the historian and applied to a sanctuary at the theatre, a statement which Thucydides made about the sanctuary ἐν Λίμναις. Is not the more natural inference that Pausanias is correctly using Thucydides as an authority and that τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια (Thucyd.) were celebrated in τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν τοῦ Διονύσου (Paus.)? Certainly the Pseudo-Demosthenic passage serves as a connecting link to justify this interpretation.

¹ Cf. Th. iv. 90. 2 τάφρον μὲν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἔσκαπτον. Th. v. 18. 2 τὸ δὲ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν νεῶν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Herod. v. 119 ἐς Διὸς στρατοῦ ἱερόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἕλσος πλατανίστων.

Observe (2) that Pausanias here uses *ἱερόν* of both *τέμενος* and shrine, and that *περιβολός* refers to the whole sacred enclosure of this primitive sanctuary, containing the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus and the temple in which was the statue of Alcamenes and possibly other structures.

In locating the music hall of Pericles *πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου*, *ἱερόν* certainly refers to the enclosure, not to a building.

(3) The *ἱερόν* of Dionysus could contain several temples and buildings. We have a parallel instance in Pausanias' account of the sacred precinct of Olympian Zeus. Cf. xviii. 6. 7: Πρὶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου . . . Ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαία ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς ἐπέκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. Cf. xix. 1; xxi. 4; xxii. 3; xxiii. 4.

(4) Our conclusion then is that Pausanias definitely locates the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus, namely that of Dionysium ἐν Λίμναις as evidenced by Thucydides and Pseudo-Demosthenes, adjacent to the well-known theatre of Dionysus, on the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis.

The objections which have been raised to the identification of the Dionysium in Limnis with the Dionysus precinct south of the theatre are as follows: 1. That this site is not in or near marshy ground. True; but the danger of forming inferences from the literal meaning of names of places has frequently been pointed out. To add to instances illustrating this, cited by Gardner and Verrall,—Rhode Island is not an island, Oxford was never an ox-ford, nor Washington a washing town; Cinque Ports, in place of five, now embraces seven townships. 2. That the Dionysium in Limnis could not be either of the Dionysus temples lying near the theatre, as one was the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus and the other was not older than the fifth century. True; but as we have seen, these two temples were within the sacred precinct of the primitive *hieron* of Dionysus. We have no reference to a *ναὸς* of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, nor to a *ἱερόν* of Dionysus Eleuthereus.

3. That the temple ἐν Λίμναις was open only one day in the year, whereas the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus must have been open at the time of the Greater Dionysia in Elaphebolion and on the days when, as Paus. 1. 29. 2 says, its statue was carried in procession. True; the primitive shrine of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις was open only one day in the year, but the sacred enclosure and the other temples in the precinct, as we

have interpreted *ἱερόν*, could be opened whenever desired.

4. Finally that Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις was connected with the celebration of the Anthesteria, while Dionysus Eleuthereus was connected with the Great Dionysia. True; there were different festivals of Dionysus, the Anthesteria, the Lenaea, the Greater Dionysia, celebrated at different times in honour of the same deity under different surnames, but this does not preclude the shrine connected with these different festivals from being in the same sacred enclosure of the primitive Dionysium in Limnis.

In conclusion I would briefly sketch the historical development of the Dionysus precinct. Already in prehistoric times Dionysus had a definite seat in Athens in a stretch of ground just south-east of the Acropolis. This seat was called Dionysium in Limnis and contained the primitive shrine. Possibly its name was due to the existence of stagnant pools in this region formed by streams trickling down the Acropolis slope, which became the haunt of frogs, who proclaim their relation to Dionysus worship in a celebrated chorus (Ar. *Frogs*, 210-219). Here from early times was celebrated the primitive festival of the Anthesteria, consisting of rude jokes and dances and songs. Later during the supremacy of the Archon Basileus (752-682 B.C.), the Dionysus of Eleutherae was transferred to Athens and received a sanctuary in the already existing enclosure of Dionysus. This cult developed in time the dramatic tendency inherent in Dionysus worship, and a circular dancing place or orchestra was formed within the peribolus of the wine-god. Pisistratus embellished the sacred enclosure, erected the first temple to the Eleutherian Dionysus and rendered the crude choral performance more artistic by encouraging musicians and players, of whom Thespis in 534 celebrated the first *τραγωδία*. Meanwhile the Lenaeian festival had been developing the comic farce (*κῶμος*), and whatever theory we may hold as to the site of the primitive Lenaeum, it is clear that from 499 on (*Haigh, Attic Theatre*, pp. 37, 110) the three festivals of Dionysus were celebrated in the sacred enclosure south-east of the Acropolis—the Anthesteria in Anthesterion, the Lenaea in Gamelion, and the Greater Dionysia in Elaphebolion.

If the sacred precinct south of the theatre is accepted as the site of the Dionysium in Limnis, it follows that all the sanctuaries mentioned by Thucydides are adjacent to the Acropolis, not in the region of the Ilissus,

and thus the problems involved in the Enneacrurus investigation find adequate solution.

MITCHELL CARROLL.

*The George Washington University,
Washington, D.C.*

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1905, P. 74.)

SINCE my last report no discovery worthy of notice has occurred in the Forum.

The new museum is still in course of construction, and excavation is confined to the neighbourhood of the Arch of Titus, the Nova Via, and the Basilica of Constantine. In the former place, some more traces of the supposed external colonnade of the temple of the Lares have been discovered, and also some remains of earlier structures, of which but little can be made out, owing to their fragmentary character and their differences of level and orientation. One wall in *capellaccio* (an inferior kind of tufa, in use especially in early times) resembles that in the Comitium mentioned in *C.R.* 1904, 141: the joints are not vertical, and the style of construction may thus be fairly considered archaic.

There is also a box drain formed of slabs of tufa, running parallel to the road ascending to the Palatine, which, when it reaches the Sacra Via, is crossed by another roofed by slabs meeting in a point.

But on the whole there is but little going on, and the few workmen that there are do not seem to the casual observer to be exerting themselves to any great extent.

The literature of the subject has not been increased notably, except by an Italian edition of Prof. Hülsen's work on the Forum, and the official reports consist of the publication of a single inscription (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 106). But Comm. Boni's idea of forming in the new museum a reference library and a collection of photographs of Roman monuments from all parts of the Roman world is a good one. Such a collection will be of very considerable use to students, if it can combine completeness with simplicity of arrangement. There will, of course, be plans and photographs of the Forum itself, and of drawings and views, from the fifteenth century onwards, relating to it, many of which are of the greatest value for the study of the subject. Comm. Boni's appeal to those who are interested in it to contribute any books,

publications or photographs that have any bearing upon it, has already met with a favourable response, and it is to be hoped that further help will be forthcoming towards the formation of this collection.

Discoveries of some interest have recently been made on the Caelian Hill, immediately to the south-east of the church of S. Stefano Rotondo, where English nuns are building a new convent and nursing-home. A large new hospital to the north-east occupies the site of the Domus Valeriorum (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 347) and during its construction, in 1902, the house came to light once more (*Bull. Com.* 1902, 74 *sqq.*, 145 *sqq.*). But the building of which remains have more recently been found to the south-east of the church seems to be more probably a portion of the Castra Peregrina, the site of which has hitherto not been absolutely certain. Prof. Lanciani (*op. cit.* 339) is inclined to place them on the site of the military hospital north of S. Stefano Rotondo and the aqueduct of Nero, while Prof. Hülsen favours a site to the north-north-west of S. Maria in Domnica (*Forma Urbis Romae*, ii., cf. Richter, *Top.* 337), the marble ship in front of which is by some said to be a copy substituted by Leo X. for that which formerly stood there, and which was an *ex voto* for a safe return set up by one of these peregrini.¹ As a matter of fact, however, the earliest mention of the church under the name of S. Maria della Navicella dates from about 1484, and the 'navicella' itself is ancient, though altered by Leo X.'s orders, his arms being placed upon its base (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 16, 83). The plan of the newly-found building, which is constructed in brick and opus reticulatum, is not yet complete, and as the excavations have been casual rather than scientific (though all the remains that have been met with have been carefully noted), the whole arrangement will, very likely, never be recovered.

Enough is visible, however, to show that the identification is not an impossible one: but the main argument in its favour is to

¹ Ugonio, *Historia delle Stazioni di Roma*, 120, says 'Papa Leone X. . . vi fece una Navicella di marmo nova drizzandola sopra una bella base dianzi alle sue porte. La vecchia si vede quivi appresso mezza rotta, à lato del portico': but it does not follow that he is right in supposing that there was but one ship and in denying the antiquity of that at present in front of the church. Nardini speaks of others in the Villa Mattei, according to the authors of the *Beschreibung Roms* (iii. 1. 491), who saw one still preserved there, though damaged and put on one side: and there is in fact a small one now in the villa, used as a fountain basin.

be found in the character of the inscriptions which have been discovered in the building. In a semicircular space ornamented with niches, which may well have served as a shrine, were found two small altars, and a fragment of a third, of which a considerable portion came out some distance off under a later floor. The first had no inscription, and was entire; the second, broken in half vertically, bore a Greek inscription, apparently a dedication to Pallas;¹ while the third, again broken, was erected in fulfilment of a vow to a divinity whose name is not preserved.

[Mercur]io? Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Deme-
trius quod mil(es) fr(umentarius) leg(ionis)
xv Apol(linaris) vovit > fecit (cf. *Not. Scav.*,
1904, 272).² Fragments of other inscrip-
tions have also been discovered— one, in
letters 10 cm. high, on a white marble slab,
has the letters [I]ovI c[*ptimo maximo*],
another³ the letters . . . RVM | . . . PEREGR.
while the lower part of another small altar
bears the inscription :

CVL LEG
M · GORD
IANAE · RESTIT
VIT

The fact that all these⁴ inscriptions have
been found in pieces would seem to indicate
that the place had been entered by the
Christians, and all traces of pagan cults
destroyed.

There was also discovered the impression
in plaster of part of an inscription which
had been used for building material, and
which gives the name of Septimius Severus
(198 A.D.), a *tabula lusoria* of the usual type
(*Not. Scav.* 1904, 296), and two sepulchral
inscriptions, one a fragment (*Not. Scav.*
1904, 225), the other entire—a travertine
cippus with the inscription :

¹ The text is given in *Not. Scav.* 1904, 365.

² The identity of the *frumentarii* and *peregrini*
(the latter being the collective term) is proved by
Henzen, *Bull. Inst.* 1884, 21 sqq. : see Mommsen in
Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad. 1895, 495 sqq.,
where he points out that it was into the charge of the
princeps peregrinorum that St. Paul's fellow-prisoners
were handed over on their arrival in Rome (so *Cod.*
Gigas lat. Stockholm.), he himself being permitted to
live in the city under the charge of a soldier—a
frumentarius, no doubt (*Acts*, xxviii. 16).

³ The first of these is published in *Not. Scav.* 1904,
225, but the conjecture as to its meaning is incorrect.

⁴ It is impossible to tell which legion is meant—
either the xii Fulm(inata) the vii, xxiii, and xiv
Gem(ina) or the xxii Prim(igenia)—for the name of
the reigning emperor was, from Caracalla's time
onwards, taken by all the legions without distinc-
tion (Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* ii. 455). The first line
should be restored [corni]cul(arius).

⊙
SEX · SELIVS · SEX · L
EPAPRODITVS
SEX · SELIVS · SEX · L ·
NICEPORVS
SELIA · SEX · L · NICE
INFR · P · XIII
INAGR · P · XX

In February I was present at the dis-
covery of three skeletons, two of them
buried under tiles, and the third apparently
in the virgin soil. The tiles bore no stamps,
and no coins were found with the bodies :
but one would be inclined to believe that
these interments belonged to a comparatively
late date in the history of the building,
were it not for the fact that they lay under
the foundation wall of a line of columns,
and also under a drain running parallel to
it. The colonnade, however, need not have
been erected at a very early period. The
style of the composite capitals and bases
points perhaps to the third century A.D.
Of each of these, three have so far been
found : the capitals are 37 cm. in diameter,
and 41 cm. high, the bases 43 cm. in
diameter and 21 cm. high : while only two
columns have come to light, each 2·94
mètres in length. Bases, columns and
capitals are all of white marble. The extent
and form of the colonnade has not yet been
ascertained.⁵ The discovery of these tombs
is of importance in connection with the
question as to the course of the Servian
Wall, which, inasmuch as the tombs were of
course outside it, must have kept along the
edge of the hill, not very far from the
church of S. Stefano Rotondo (see Lanciani,
Forma Urbis, 36). A small mosaic pave-
ment, with circles in black on a white
ground, was found in a portion of the
building not far from these tombs : but in
general the pavements have been plain
black or white.

The fragments of sculpture that have
been discovered are few, but interesting.
A life-size marble head, the original of which
may go back to the first half of the fifth
century B.C., resembles that of the Eros of
S. Petersburg (Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 1355),
and was probably, like it, turned upwards,
though the sex in this case is not certain.
The other piece of importance is a large

⁵ Close to them, a little further south-east, a tufa
sarcophagus with part of its flat covering slab was
discovered, which I saw only after it was brought to
the surface. It measured 68 cm. high and 62 cm.
wide inside, and one end was broken off, so that the
length could not be determined, and nothing was
found in it.

plaster head of a bearded Heracles, about three feet in height, which was decorated with colour and gilding, and which, as only the front part of it exists, must have served for the decoration of a wall. Such an object is of considerable rarity.

A considerable number of brick-stamps, dating from the end of the first to the beginning of the third century A.D. (with an isolated example of the time of Constantine), have been found, and a number of fragments of Aretine ware with stamps.

I may conclude by mentioning that further excavations have recently been carried on by the Italian Government in the neighbourhood of Norba, in a locality known as Rava Roscia, on the mountain side above the abbey of Valvisciola. The site is briefly described in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 564 (cf. fig. 1, p. 517). The remains consist of several terraces of 'Cyclopean' masonry of rough blocks of limestone, the lower of which probably belonged to the road leading up to the rest, which being more or less parallel to one another, and not connected by zig-zags, must have served to support the terraces upon which were built the huts of a pre-Roman village. Some of them rise to a height of some fifteen feet. The excavations made here have confirmed this hypothesis, having led to the discovery of pre-Roman pottery, including specimens both of native manufacture and of Greek type. In one place a large number of small votive objects were found, though no traces came to light of the sanctuary the existence of which their presence implies.

THOMAS ASHBY (JUNIOR).

POSTSCRIPT.

The appearance of the last four numbers of the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1904 and of the first number of the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1905 enables me to add some further details. The inscription . . . RVM | . . . PEREGR. is discussed in the latter (p. 109) and completed either thus, [*castro*]rum peregr(inorum), or, with more probability, having regard to the spacing of the letters, in some such form as this, [*>f*]rum(entariorum) [*v(ices) a(gens) princ(ipis)*] peregr(inorum). The sepulchral inscription of the Selli is also given.

There is no further information as to the progress of the Forum excavations; but there is a preliminary report of work at Rava Roscia (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 407) which is of considerable interest.

The pottery found in the earth behind

one of the terraces, and among the stones of the supporting wall itself, proved to belong to the first Iron Age: and in one place an inhumation burial was found in the space between the back of the terrace-wall and the rock, belonging therefore clearly to an earlier date than the terrace.

The tomb contained the skeleton of a woman lying on a shelf of rock with pottery of the Villanova type, which, like the other objects found in the tomb, shows that it is coeval with the earlier tombs of the necropolis of Caracupa, in the valley below, close to the railway station of Sermoneta, i.e. it dates from the eighth century B.C. (*Not. Scav.* 1903, 342 sqq.). A *terminus post quem* seems to be given by the fact that nothing has been found of later date than the fine *bucchero*, of which a fair quantity was discovered near the walls: so that they may come down to the sixth century B.C. In fact, this settlement seems to end where Norba begins (*Not. Scav.* 1901, 558; 1903, 261).

Recent excavations along the Vicolo del Mandrione have brought to light the paving of the ancient road (the line of which the modern lane follows), which runs for some part of its course between the aqueduct of the Aquae Iulia, Tepulla, and Marcia, and that of the Claudia and Anio Novus; and on the south-west edge of this road a *cippus* of the former group has been found, bearing the number 71, and precisely similar to others already known (*C.I.L.* vi. 31561).

The distance between each *cippus* was 240 feet, and this, if checked against the position of the two bearing the number 103, which were discovered in 1890, works out correctly. The numbering, as is well known, started from Rome, not from the springs.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Kos.—A preliminary report of the German excavations in 1904 describes the principal results of the season's work. In the neighbourhood of the Great Temple several architectural fragments, inscriptions, and sculptures were found. Some further evidence was gained concerning the internal arrangement of the building and the position of the surrounding porticoes. East of the temple known as c a fresh building (E) has been discovered; it is at the latest of Hellenistic date. In an inner room of this building was a series of statues, the bases

of which still remain ranged round the walls. Further east is the site of Roman baths of late date. The most important of the single finds was that of a youthful colossal head in marble. It is helmeted, and may perhaps represent Alexander the Great. The date of this head, which was found near the Great Temple, is about the end of the fourth century B.C. Other sculptures of importance are a colossal torso of Asklepios, statuettes of Asklepios and Hygieia, and a fine archaic head of Athene of half life-size. About 100 new inscriptions were obtained, including (1) a law of the fifth century B.C. forbidding the felling of cypress trees in the *τέμενος* under penalty of a fine of 1,000 drachmae. (2) Fragments of another decree of the fourth century B.C., which make it probable that the *τέμενος* was originally dedicated to Apollo. (3) Answer of Kamarina to a Koan embassy (date about 250 B.C.). It appears from this that the Koans were *συννοκισταί* of Kamarina. (4) Answer of the Koans to an invitation of the Knidians to a newly instituted festival of Artemis *Ἰακυνθοτρόφος* (date about 200 B.C.). (5) Decree of Miletos inviting the Koans to the festival of the *Didymeia*, which had been changed to an *ἄγων στεφανίτης*. This inscription is important for the history and mythology of Didyma and Miletos. (6) Beginning of a letter of King Antiochos III. recommending Apollonphanes (no doubt the physician of that name) to the Koans. (7) Decree in honour of a *δικασταγωγός* (second century B.C.). This inscription sheds light upon judicial procedure.¹

ITALY.

Pisticci in Lucania.—Several more painted vases from a tomb at Pisticci have been acquired for the museum of Taranto. They include (a) A large Campanian krater of the fifth century B.C. with red figure designs of a youth pursuing two maidens, and of an ephebos between two *ραβδοφόροι*, with a pair of *ἄλτῆρες* in the field. (b) A krater with the design of a man wearing a *pilos*, who shows a casket of jewellery to a woman working at the loom in a house. Behind the man stands a youth. (c) A kotyle with designs of Seileni. (d) An oenochoe with design of Eos pursuing Kephalos. From another tomb comes an Attic red-figure peliké of the fifth century showing a lady seated and approached by two servants carrying a mirror and a casket respectively. Several vases have been found which must

belong to a local fabric. They are of yellow clay with linear ornamentation in brown and red.²

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. xxv. Part 1. 1905.

1. J. Six: The Pediments of the Mausolleum. (Seven cuts.)
Corrections of Adler's restoration, introducing sculptured pediments.
2. E. N. Gardiner: Wrestling. I.
Examination of literary evidence for details of contests, regulations, etc.
3. M. N. Tod: Notes and Inscriptions from South-Western Messenia.
Publishes thirteen inscriptions.
4. F. W. Hasluck: Inscriptions from the Cyzicene district, 1904.
Publishes about thirty (see also Wiegand in *Ath. Mitt.*, *infra*).
5. P. Gardner: Vases added to the Ashmolean Museum. II. (Four plates, twenty-one cuts.)
Later R. F. vases and porcelain ware.
6. A. J. B. Wace: Hellenistic Royal Portraits. (Three plates and cut)
List of previous identifications of various heads, with comments and suggestions.
7. D. G. Hogarth, H. L. Lorimer, and C. C. Edgar: Naukratis, 1903. (Three plates, fourteen cuts.)
Hogarth's explorations described; pottery discussed by H.L.L., miscellaneous finds by C.C.E.
8. W. W. Tarn: The Greek War-ship. I. (Two cuts.)
Combats the received ideas of the Greek trireme; not superimposed banks, but rowers seated side by side, sometimes more than one man to an oar; names (*εuryitai*, etc.), refer to longitudinal not vertical arrangement.
9. K. A. McDowall: Heracles and the Apples of the Hesperides, a new type. (Two cuts.)
A Polycleitian type, H. holding up the apples.
10. W. M. Ramsay: Topography and Epigraphy of Nova Isaura.
Supplementary to *J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 260 ff.; forty-nine new inscriptions.
11. Notices of Books.

American Journal of Archaeology. ix. Part 1. 1905.

1. E. Pais: The Temple of the Sirens in the Sorrentine Peninsula. (Two cuts.)
The finding of a fragment of an archaic female head has made it possible to locate the site at Fontanella near the ancient Massa Lubrense.
2. A. Marquand: The Palace at Nippur not Mycenaean but Hellenistic.
Plan not specifically Mycenaean, but follows ordinary Greek arrangement; architectural features not Mycenaean but Hellenistic.
3. W. Dennison: A new Head of the so-called Scipio Type, an attempt at its identification. (Plate, twelve cuts.)

¹ *Arch. Anz.*, 1905, part 1.

² *Notizie degli scavi*, 1904, part 5.

Publishes a head at Boston; type not individual but generic; probably represents priests of Isis with shaven heads; mark on head not a wound but a cult-sign.

4. B. Powell: The Temple of Apollo at Corinth. (Two plates.)
Discussion of history of temple and of architectural details.
5. Editorial notes.
6. Proceedings at meeting of Archaeological Institute, December, 1904. (Abstracts of papers.)
7. Archaeological news, July-December, 1904 (H. N. Fowler).

Jahrbuch des deutschen Arch. Instituts.
xx. Part 1. 1905.

1. O. Rubensohn: Graeco-Roman houses in the Fayûm. (Three plates, eighteen cuts.)
Describes houses at Batn-Harit with many interesting features, especially wall-paintings of various deities, and paintings on wooden panels like those found by Petrie; date of houses, second century after Christ.
2. A. Mahler: Nikeratos.
Discusses literary notices of this sculptor, showing that in Pliny *H. N.* xxxiv. 88, *et Demaratum* must be read for *Demaraten*, indicating two works, not one group.
3. E. Assmann: The ship at Delphi. (Three cuts.)
Discusses metope from Sicyonian Treasury (date about 560 B.C.); uncertain whether ship is *μωήρης* or *διήρης*.
4. E. Jacobs: New information from Cristoforo Buondelmonti.
Shows that this traveller was also a cartographer, and made all the maps of Mediterranean islands in the Escorial.

Anzeiger.

1. Coan expedition of 1904 (R. Herzog).
2. The Lipperheide collection of helmets.
3. Meetings of Societies.
4. Bibliography.

Mittheilungen des deutschen Arch. Instituts (Athen. Abth.). xxix. Heft 3-4. 1904.

1. A. Rutgers van der Loeff: Sepulchral Relief from Pherae. (Plate.)
Local work, but on a high level, almost equal to the Eleusis relief; date about 460-450 B.C.
2. G. Weber: Topography of the Ionic coasts. (Seven cuts.)
Sites and remains of Lebedos and other places.
3. C. Watzinger: Herakles *Μηνητής*. (Two cuts.)
Publishes a torso of about 400 B.C. from the W. side of the Acropolis at Athens, where H. *Μηνητής* was worshipped; original may go back to Myron.
4. J. Kirchner: Attic Bouleutae-lists of 335-4 B.C. (Plate.)
An inscription with list of 153 *δημῶται* and their fathers, arranged by tribes in ten columns; some names new.
5. Th. Wiegand: A Journey in Mysia. (Four plates, forty-seven cuts.)
A journey from Adramyttion to Kyzikos by the Euenos and Aisepos valleys; much detail of sites and finds (sculpture, inscriptions, early pottery).
6. Ph. Négris: Ancient Submerged Remains.
Discusses various places which have been partly submerged, where moles still remain under water, as at Rheneia, Leucas, etc.
7. W. Kolbe: Boundaries of Messenia under the early empire.
New details derived from an inscription at Mavromati.

8. Στ. Ν. Δραγούμης: Epigraphical considerations.
Comments on *Rev. des Études Grecques*, xvi. p. 154 ff. (religious decrees of Arkesine, Amorgos).
9. Br. Keil: Literary evidence relating to Pheidias.
Evidence from a Byzantine writer about the Aphrodite Ourania, supporting the statement that it was chryselephantine.
10. Bibliography. Finds (Pergamon, etc.). Miscellanea.

H. B. W.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1905. Part. 1.

H. B. Earle-Fox. 'Some Athenian problems.'
An interesting paper on the earliest bronze coins of Athens. A comparison of these with the silver coins of similar types involves, according to the writer, some important readjustments of the chronology. Thus the coins of B. M. Cat. *Attica*, class iv. (earlier coins) must be assigned to the 4th cent. instead of to the end of the 5th cent., and it is further contended that there was no break in the coinage between B.C. 322 and B.C. 220, but that a small issue of silver coins took place and also an issue of bronze pieces. George Macdonald. 'A recent find of Roman coins in Scotland.' Thirteen denarii (M. Antony-M. Aurelius) found in a well at the Bar Hill Fort among miscellaneous débris of the Roman period. Nearly all the coins were cast and made of tin. It is unlikely that they were ancient forgeries intended to pass current for money, but they were probably votive offerings—sham coins—of the kind that it was customary to offer to the divinities of springs and rivers. Sir J. Evans. 'Rare or unpublished coins of Carausius.' No. 3 has FEDES (sic) MILITVM. No. 8 IMP. C. M. AV. M. CARAVSIVS. A coin belonging to M. L. Naville reads IMP. C. M. AVR. M. CARAVSIVS.—M. AV. therefore = Marcus Aurelius, the second M. (according to R. Mowat, 'Mausaius') is here interpreted as 'Magnus' or 'Maximus.' There are further some remarks on the legendary types of Carausius. G. F. Hill. 'Roman coins from Croydon.' A hoard of at least 2796 bronze coins discovered in two pots at Croydon, Surrey, in March 1903. Two hundred and ten specimens have been kindly presented to the British Museum by the Corporation of Croydon. The coins of this hoard are of Constantius II., Constans, Magnentius and of the Caesar Constantius Gallus, and thirteen mints of the period are represented. The date of its deposit was, apparently, A.D. 351. Full lists are given of the types and—what describers too often omit—of the mint-letters.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin). Vol. xxv. Parts 1 and 2. 1905.

H. Gaebler. 'Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens.'
The second part of this minute study of the coinage of Macedonia in the Imperial Age (38 pp. with 3 Plates). The coins with the head of Alexander the Great—taking the place of an Emperor's head—have been carefully arranged in several groups.—K. Regling, 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde.' On coins of Thera, Bithynium, and Lycia. The archaic silver coins with *obv.* Two dolphins, many of which occurred in the well-known Santorin find, are assigned to Thera.—R. W. Weil. 'Das Münzmonopol Athens im ersten attischen Seebund.' An interesting article on a fragmentary inscription from Siphnos (Inscr. Ins. Mar. Aeg. No. 480, Fasc. V) which can be supplemented by a replica found at Smyrna. This inscription throws light on the policy that Athens, towards the end of the fifth century, adopted with regard to the coinage of the cities subject to

its ἀρχή—a policy probably effective chiefly in the Aegean islands, though even there carried out only with difficulty, especially after the disaster in Sicily. The autonomous coinage is prohibited, as also the use of 'foreign' money; and all such coins are to be surrendered at the mints. At the same time the use of the coins, weights, and measures of Athens is enforced. Weil further comments on the free use of Cyzicene electrum coins at Athens previous to the year 407-6 when the Athenians established a gold coinage of their own, probably because the Peloponnesian fleet had now made communication with the mint of Cyzicus somewhat hazardous. Weil suggests that two types of Cyzicene staters—the Harmodius and Aristogeiton and the Kekrops—were specially struck for Athens. The Cyzicene 'types' have been considered hitherto as enlarged magistrates' symbols and probably in the main this is what they are. If Weil's theory is correct, I would also point to the Triptolemus stater and the Gaia and Erichthonius as especially Athenian.—J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire de Cyzique pendant la période Constantinnienne.' The mint of Cyzicus is always indicated by the letters

κ or κV to which are added the numeral of the officina (from A to Θ), the letters SM (Sacra moneta), and various symbols (star, crescent, etc.).

The Athena-statue at Priene. Dr. Dressel (in *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. preussischen Akad. der Wissensch.* xxiii. 1905, p. 467 f.) discusses in detail the representation of the cultus-statue of Athena as it appears on the Imperial coins of Priene. Orophernes the Cappadocian king, *circ.* B.C. 158, is generally supposed to have erected the first statue of the goddess in her temple, but it is *a priori* likely that there was a cultus-statue long before the time of Orophernes, and Dressel well reproduces the various fine heads of Athena which occur on the autonomous Prienian coins (from *circ.* B.C. 350 onwards) and points to one of these types (B in his plate) as probably representing the head of a statue of Athena set up by Alexander the Great.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1905.

3 May. W. F. Cornish, *Studies on Hesiod*. II. *The shield of Hercules* (R. Peppmüller), favourable. Fr. Bucherer, *Anthologie aus den griechischen Lyrikern* (J. Sitzler), very favourable. M. Philipp, *Zum Sprachgebrauch des Paulinus von Nola*. I. (A. Huemer). 'After this instalment we expect the remainder with interest.' O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit* (P. Stengel), favourable on the whole.

10 May. A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. I. *Das Altertum*. 7. Aufl. von A. Michaelis (A. S.). 'Belongs to the best of its kind.' N. Terzaghi, *Ad Hesiodi Theog.* 535 sq. (R. Peppmüller). R. Ellis, *Catullus in the Fourteenth Century* (K. P. Schulze). 'A careful little work.' *Florilegium patristicum digessit vertit adnotavit G. Rausehen*. III. *Monumenta minora saeculi secundi* (J. Drüseke), favourable. P. Rasi, *Saggio di alcune particolarità nei versi croici e lirici di S. Ennodio*. (I. Hilberg), very favourable. K. Lübeck, *Adoniskult und Christentum* (A. Mayr). 'Results good, but polemical style objectionable.'

17 May. Euripide, *Hippolyte*, par H. Weil. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée (K. Busche), favourable. J. Vendryes, *Traité d'accentuation grecque* (H. Hirt), favourable. *Caesars Bürgerkrieg*, bearb. von H. Kleist (Ed. Wolff). 'Excellent for school use.' Seneca, *The tragedies, rendered into English verse* by Ella Isabel Harris (W. Gemoll), favourable. H. Reich, *Der König mit der Dornenkrone* (V. Schultze), very favourable.

24 May. F. W. von Bissing, *Geschichte Ägyptens im Umriss. Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden* (J. Krall), favourable. H. Winckler, *Die Weltanschauung des alten Orients* (O. Meusel), favourable. O. Berg, *Metaphor and comparison in the dialogues of Plato* (H. Blümner). 'A very useful contribution.' E. Kornemann, *Die neue Livius-*

Epitome aus Oxyrhynchus. Text und Untersuchungen (G. Reinhold).

31 May. R. Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*. I. (A. Fick), favourable. Sophokles, *Oedipus Rex*, denuo rec. F. H. M. Blaydes, *Oedipus Coloneus*, denuo rec. F. H. M. Blaydes (H. G.). 'No doubt there is much good and worthy of consideration amid the multitude of conjectures.' *A catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum; catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus*, by G. F. Hill (K. Regling). E. Petersen, *Comitium Rostra, Grab des Romulus* (A. S.).

7 June. Euripides, *Iphegenia bei den Tauriern*, herausg. von W. Böhm (G. Schneider), very favourable. R. S. Radford, *Personification and the use of abstract subjects in the Attic orators and Thucydides*. I. (Helbing). 'Can be recommended.' J. Samuelsson, *Futurum historicum im Latein* (H. Blase), favourable. A. Audolent, *Carthage Romaine 146 a. J.-Chr.—698 après J.-Chr.* (J. Ziehen) I. A Profumo, *Le fonti ed i tempi dello incendio Neroniano* (G. Andresen), 'of excessive length.'

14 June. *Römische Elegiker*, in Auswahl von A. Biese. 2. Aufl. (K. P. Schulze). J. Geffcken, *Aus der Werdezeit des Christentums* (W. Soltau), favourable. *Galeni de causis continentibus libellus a Nicolao Regino in sermonem Latinum translatus*, primum edidit C. Kalbfleisch (R. Fuchs). 'An excellent work.' J. Bidez, *Notes sur les lettres de l'empereur Julien* (R. Asmus), very favourable.

21 June. H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*. I. *Altertum und Mittelalter bis 1450*. Part I. (H. G.), favourable on the whole. A. Audolent, *Carthage Romaine 146 a. J.-Chr.—698 après J.-Chr.* (J. Ziehen) II., very favourable. W. Wundt, *Völkerversychologie*. I. *Die Sprache*. 2. Aufl. Part II. (M. Schneidewin), very favourable.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

- Aristophanes.* Graves (C. E.) The Acharnians. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi+144. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 3s.
- Sharpley (H.) The Peace. Edited with introduction, critical notes, and commentary. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. ix+188. Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons. 1905. 12s. 6d. net.
- Bloomfield* (Maurice) Cerberus, the Dog of Hades, the History of an Idea by M. B., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Johns Hopkins University. 7" \times 5". Pp. 41. Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1905.
- Bonner* (Robert J., Ph.D.) Evidence in Athenian Courts. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 98. Chicago, University Press. 1905. 75 cents net.
- Burger* (Franz Xaver) Minucius Felix und Seneca. 9" \times 6". Pp. 65. Munich, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oskar Beck). 1904. M. 1.50.
- Eitrem* (S.) Kleobis und Biton (*Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling* for 1905, No. 1). 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 14. Christiania, In Commission bei Jakob Dybwad. 1905.
- Ferrara* (Prof. Giovanni) Calpurnio Scילו e il panegirico a Calpurnio Pisone. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 46. Pavia, C. Rossetti, libraio editore. 1905.
- Della voce 'scutula,' nota di Semantica Latina letta nell' adunanza del 23 marzo al R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 19. Milano, Tipo-lit. Rebeschini di Turati e C. 1905.
- Gunnerson* (William Cyrus) History of U-Stems in Greek. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 72. Chicago, University Press. 1905.
- Homer.* Blakeney (E. H.) The Iliad of Homer. Book xxiv. Translated into English prose by E. H. B. (*Bell's Classical Translations.*) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 39. London, G. Bell and Sons. 1905. 1s.
- Horace.* The Works of Horace. The Latin text with Conington's translation. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 197 (Odes) and 307 (Satires, etc.). London, G. Bell and Sons. 1905. 5s.
- Lechat* (H.) La Sculpture Attique avant Phidias. (*Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.* Fasc. 92.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 6". Pp. viii+510. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1904. 20 fr.
- Long* (F. P.) Outlines from Plato. An introduction to Greek Metaphysics. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5". Pp. iv+95. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell. 1905. 2s. 6d. net.
- Mark St.* Drew (William Prentiss) The Gospel of Mark. Edited with notes and vocabulary by W. P. D., Professor of Greek in Willamette University. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5". Pp. 133. Boston, U.S.A., B. H. Sanborn and Co. 1905.
- Meister* (Karl) Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetivs in den kretischen Dialektschriften (Inaugural-Dissertation). *Sonderabdruck aus den Indo-Germ. Forschungen, Band xviii.* 9" \times 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 134-204. Strassburg, K. J. Trübner. 1905.
- Tibullus.* Némethy (Geyza) Albi Tibulli carmina. Accedunt Sulpiciae Elegidia. Edidit adnotationibus exegeticis et criticis instruxit G. N., Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae Sodalit. 9" \times 6". Pp. 346. Budapest, sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae. 1905. 6 kron.
- Walker* (R. J.) Septem Psalmorum Poenitentialium versio elegiaca [Hebrew and Latin]. 5" \times 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 47. London, venit apud Samuel Brewshier, Scholae Paulinae Bursarium. 1905.
- Wisén* (Mayne) Cicero. De scholiis rhetorices ad Herennium codice Holmiensi traditis. Accedunt annotationes in Ciceronis de Inventione libros criticae codicis Corbeiensis nitentes collatione quae adiecta est (*Degree Dissertation*). 8" \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 130. Stockholm, ex typographia Iduns Tryckeri, A.-B. 1905.

CORRIGENDA IN THE JUNE LIST.

- Cicero.* Dougan (T. W.) Tusculanarum Disputationum libri V. The price is 10s. net.
- Thucydides.* Spratt (A. W.) Book vi. The price is 6s. (not net).

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1905.

DR. F. G. KENYON'S paper recently published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* upon 'The evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual Criticism' should have a special interest for readers of the *Classical Review*. An estimate of the available evidence leads him to conclude that on the whole the papyri confirm the 'vulgate texts' and discountenance critical conjectures. Those who are disposed to carry these conclusions beyond the sphere of Dr. Kenyon's investigations will however do well to remember that there are texts and texts; and that the discovery of an early and good papyrus of, say, Aeschylus might cause us to open our eyes. They do not anyhow apply to the Latin classics of whose history a continuously living vulgate forms in most cases no part.

In the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* no. 160 Professor K. Bruggmann draws attention to a practice which he justly denominates 'Eine typographische Torheit.' This is the renumbering of the pages of an article in a learned publication when separately published. These extracts, he points out, form a very important portion of a scholar's library and the change of the authorised pagination is a serious inconvenience, when references have to be given or verified. This objectionable practice is not common in England; but there are nevertheless some learned

societies who might take the lesson to heart.

Classical Associations continue to be formed. A meeting for the foundation of a Birmingham and Midlands Branch has been arranged for October 5th, the Bishop of Birmingham to preside. In America we have the recently formed Classical Association of the Middle West and South with, we understand, a roll of already 600 members. Its organ is to be a new periodical, called the *Classical Journal*, beginning in November and appearing eight times in the year.

By the death of D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel, in August last Oxford has lost one of her most distinguished scholars, Homeric linguistics and criticism its foremost British exponent, and the cause of progress in classical Scholarship and education an enthusiastic and enlightened, if somewhat silent, friend. Dr. Monro's interest and activity were not limited to the province of Greek learning which he had made peculiarly his own, as his work upon ancient music is sufficient to show. His austere and fastidious judgement did something no doubt to check his productiveness. But the stores of his learning were always at the disposal of other students, as personal experience enables us to testify. It may be added that his last contribution to classical learning was sent to the *Classical Review*.

ON ODYSSEY XXIV 336 sqq.

IN the April number of the *Classical Review* Prof. J. Cook Wilson makes an able and argumentative attempt to prove that a suggestion of mine on *Odyssey* xxiv 336–344 in the current volume of the *Journal of Philology* ought not to be accepted. He admits that at first he was disposed to agree with me, but second thoughts have caused him to be a determined opponent. I have carefully considered his objections, and although I have perhaps some ground to complain of the way in which he so often seems to wish to make me responsible for what is in no wise an innovation of mine, and occasionally ignores what I have said, yet if he had established his case, I should be prepared to pass over these shortcomings, and to thank him not only for enlightening the readers of this paper and myself in particular, but also for real service done to the Homeric text. Unfortunately, I can only thank him for raising the question, for I must confess that the arguments he has brought to bear against me, however ingenious, quite fail of their purpose and, for the most part, can be easily refuted.

With these arguments I now propose to deal, and the reader can judge for himself.

Mr. Wilson tells us that his second thoughts have led him to find two preliminary difficulties, which he duly sets forth before discussing the proposed text taken in itself. They are enough, he thinks, 'to vindicate the text against the argument before us.' If so, I cannot pass them by.

The first he really might have spared us. It is rather hackneyed, quite an old stager, and has often been trotted out. Thus it runs:—'If the story in the text is so absurd, how can we account for the fact that it should have been deliberately substituted' for the supposed original? Now, though in my criticism I did not actually say that the story was 'absurd,' Mr. W. does say that my proposed text—the supposed original—is 'open to graver objection than the old one from the point of view of common sense and from that of philology.' Therefore I would reply:—If what I have proposed be so full of difficulties as he tries to make out—more absurd in fact than its rival—how could the Greeks, who presumably had common sense and knew their own language, do otherwise than accept at once the present text in preference to it, as soon as they got the chance?

This first objection, to use his own words, really seems to defeat itself, and I think my critic is sufficiently answered by this reply. But for those who do not accept his general conclusions, I may add here the answer already given in the *Journal of Philology*, which surely ought not to have been left unnoticed by him. The rhapsodist would think he was improving the passage by making Laertes a generous and free-handed prince. This advantage would outweigh in his mind and in that of the audience the defects which even now Prof. Wilson himself thinks may be overlooked and excused. We have this notable result: my critic, who sees the *absurdity* of the received text will nevertheless accept it, yet he finds fault with the rhapsodists and their audiences for accepting it, though they almost certainly saw a gain of princely generosity in it and, so far as we know, no absurdity at all.

His second preliminary difficulty is less comprehensive, and undoubtedly a little more novel than the first. It seems the guilty rhapsodist ought to have altered *δνόμηνας*, while he was altering *δείξας* into *δώκας*, etc. Mr. W. is very strong, very insistent, on the duty of the rhapsodist here. He gives him no quarter. He goes so far as to say, 'it cannot be replied that he could not find a word suitable, for he would not on that account have left something which, if the critic is right, is not Greek.' This is a very austere and arbitrary dictum; it is, moreover, an utterly illogical dictum. There is nothing else to be said of it. Mr. W. can be logical enough, when he is using logic illegitimately as the touchstone of poetry. I must challenge this amazing statement. If the rhapsodist could not find a word suitable, I should say he was bound to leave something unsatisfactory, though it might not be so bad as to be 'not Greek.' In such circumstances this is a necessary consequence, and fortunately, being of common occurrence, often enables us to detect these would-be improvers, as in this instance.

I do not really see why I should be charged with saying that *δνόμηνας δώσειν* is 'not Greek.' My critic should quote me fairly. There is no such violent assertion in my discussion of the passage; neither is it 'part of my case' that *δνόμηνας* 'must' be translated 'didst promise.' I expressly

stated that it might be reduced to 'didst say,' and that would serve my purpose equally well. Mr. W. should remember that, apart from single words, many expressions or combinations of words pass muster and are applauded as triumphs of ingenious locution in later times, which two generations previously would be without appreciation, and in fact could not possibly appear. Much that is right and admirable in the Greek of Sophocles could not possibly have been written or said in earlier days.

So much for the preliminary objections. I now come to the main argument, the difficulties in the proposed text taken in itself.

(1) The first is an important one, and I avoid it, he says, by rendering *ὀνόμασας* and *ὀνόμηνας* inconsistently 'you told me the names of' and 'you counted up.' That there is a difference I freely admit; yet it must not be supposed that I have here introduced any innovation in the rendering of these verbs to support my suggested text. The fact is the difficulty, such as it is, hardly belongs more to my proposed text than it does to the tradition. Mr. Wilson fails to see this or leaves it unnoticed; but it is true all the same. I should certainly have given this rendering without hesitation to the received text, if I had had occasion to translate that text myself. Whether the translation is right or wrong is another question.

A word of explanation may be offered upon the character of the alleged inconsistency. My critic with logical precision treats 'I count' as if it were entirely dissociated from the usual meaning 'I name,' and had become a technical term in arithmetic. Clearly this is not so. *ὀνομαίνω* in Homer means 'I count,' only because one very natural method of counting was by telling over the names of the individuals or items, by naming them in fact. This is all that the Lexicons mean. The two things, counting and naming, are still recognised as one and the same. Otherwise *ὀνομαίνω* (*ἀριθμεῖν κατ' ὄνομα*) does not mean 'to count' at all. *ἀριθμέω* and *πεμπάζομαι* are the proper terms. Consequently I may have erred in using 'count up' to render *ὀνομαίνω*, but the difference is merely one of laying greater stress on one aspect of the same process, and by no means the unqualified and absolute inconsistency that my critic imagines. The trees are named and so counted: the vines are named and counted by rows. In general the method of dealing with vines and trees is the same.

There happens to be more of the naming required for the trees and more of the counting for the vines. My translation indicates this, and that is all.

Division of labour is a gradual development that requires time. It is not confined to industrial production, but touches also the complexities of language. Words are relieved, as time goes on, of double duties. My critic requires that this division of labour should be fully developed at the very outset. He cannot have it so.

However, if my opponent still thinks the translation wrong, as he must do, or his argument is nipped in the bud, I will not dispute it further. Let us adopt instead the consistent translation recommended by himself:—'You named for me and pointed out for me fifty rows of vines.' Against this he launches his logical thunderbolt:—'To point out and tell the name of so and so many objects naturally implies that the objects have different names, or, if they all have the same name, that the name of each has for some reason to be given singly.' He considers this a demonstration of the impossibility of using 'tell the name of' for *ὀνόμηνας* in connection with the vines, and though I do not agree with him, yet I am willing to admit that it was to avoid the possibility of such perverse criticism that I chose the alternative rendering, which for the reason just given I considered I could fairly adopt here without offence.

Now I will leave this argument temporarily triumphant, until I have dealt with an extension of it, which deserves notice, if only because it shows the danger and futility of this purely logical method of examining poetical or even ordinary language. He says, 'the same difficulty exists in the first statement (*ὀνόμασας κ.τ.λ.*), though it may be obscured by an arrangement of the words, as in the translation offered for the new text.' The translation is: 'You told me the names of each and all. You showed me thirteen pear-trees, ten apple-trees, and forty fig-trees.' Then he proceeds fortunately to give his own translation thus, 'you named for me and told me each one; and pointed them out to me, to wit, thirteen pear-trees, etc.'

The 'obscuration' apparently is that I have not brought out with sufficient clearness that the names have to be given singly. He says it is part of my view that the child must not be supposed to be so young as to make it necessary that the names should be given singly. This is an inference from my statement that the boy is not a prattling

baby, etc., but the inference is unwarrantable. Almost any boy between the ages of four and eight might require that the information should be so conveyed, so that, after all, the explanation, *if I wished*, might reasonably be given, and the difficulty would disappear so far as the first statement goes. My critic indeed seems to have some suspicion that his argument here is rather flimsy; for he proceeds to drag in the vines again, 'and in any case such an explanation would not suit for the vines,' forgetting that he started to prove that the difficulty existed apart from the vines and was only obscured by my translation. So much for this argument, which really seems to bear a strong family resemblance to some of those which Mr. Caudle used to hear from his better half.

We will now return to the vines. Here Mr. Wilson is kind enough to help me a little. He suggests very reasonably as the real meaning, 'you pointed out the vines to me, told me their name, and that there were fifty of them.' So far so good; but he stops short just when he was becoming interesting and valuable. For he remarks that this could have been said so simply, and when I was expecting to find a beautifully lucid and rhythmical Greek verse, to treasure for ever, behold! there is nothing. Let him produce the verse (*ἔπος τεκέτω*), establish his statement, and acquire fame as a poet at one stroke. He has let slip a golden opportunity. Meanwhile, is he quite sure that the words

ὄρχους δέ μοι ὦδ' ὀνόμηνας
δείξας πεντήκοντα

do not suffice to convey this very meaning?

Suppose his argument were granted, would it not be an extreme measure to press a point like this—that the vines should be named singly—against one whom he condemns as an inferior sort of poet? Moreover, the argument tells not only against my supposed original, but also against the vulgate. What great difference, I would ask, is there between telling the names of the vines and 'specifying' either *each one* of the vines or *each one* of the rows of vines? Taking the most feasible alternative, fifty specifications would be necessary; and my critic cannot eliminate the 'each one' or reduce the process to merely 'counting.' Furthermore, he does not say how you are to specify without 'naming,' and any such specification would not be expressed by *ὀνομαίνω*. Not by pointing, I presume, for that would be to borrow *δείξας* from me and

to give up *δῶσειν*. Clearly, if there is anything in this objection at all, it is equally fatal to both the suggested reading and the traditional text.

But now, having discussed these points quite as fully as they deserve, I think I shall surprise my critic by telling him that his argument is naught, and he has simply been floundering in a morass of his own making. His difficulties have arisen simply from the fact that he has made an error, an excusable error perhaps, but still a manifest error in his translation. The Greek affords no basis at all for all the display of dialectics and subtle argumentation about telling the name of each tree singly. If he had attended to the exact words of the text, he would never have advanced this argument at all. Homer says *ἕκαστα*, not *ἕκαστον*, and this twice over: he says in fact 'each kind,' not 'each individual member of each kind.' When in l. 342 he uses *ἕκαστος* of the vines he means 'each single plant': but when he uses the plural, the case is as I have said. There is no occasion to adduce proof, unless the position is contested. It is almost self-evident, and I venture to say it will not be disputed, and if so, my critic's first argument is an utter and irretrievable ruin.

(2) The second is a common sense argument, that the boy would have known the trees in his father's orchard and needed not to be told which were apple-trees, etc. Of course this is very much in the same strain as what I have just replied to. Because the boy is not a prattling baby, he is ever so big and ever so old. So I must reply again. This might be the very first introduction of a boy of five or six years of age to the orchard. Does my critic suppose that in the heroic ages children were released from the charge of their mothers and the women servants earlier than in later times? If so, on what ground? As a common sense argument this seems to me singularly weak.

(3) Now we come to my critic's philological difficulty, and if I can dispose of this, I really hope to make a convert of my opponent. He maintains that *ὀνόμασας* and *ὀνόμηνας* cannot mean 'you told the names of.' Here he sails very near the wind indeed, and in his eagerness to confute me seems quite unconscious that he is running counter to everyone else who has dealt with this passage. Messrs. Butcher and Lang translate l. 339 'thou didst tell me the names of each of them'; and I very much doubt whether Mr. W. can produce the name of any previous writer or critic who is of his opinion that

this translation is wrong. Still, if he be right, he deserves all the more credit for his originality and for his singular modesty, which allows him to confide to the world this great discovery without the slightest hint that it is due to himself alone and was never revealed before to any human being. However, I am perfectly sure no one will ever challenge his title. Mares'-nests are seldom subjects of disputed ownership.

Let us see how he tries to establish his position. He says the two verbs have normally two main meanings, (1) to give a thing or person a name, *i.e.* impose a name upon it, call it so and so, or (2) to mention by name, and then he forbids any one to say that 'to call a thing so and so' or 'to mention by name' is practically the same thing as 'to tell what the name of a thing is.'

This Thrasymachean attitude is disconcerting, for 'to call a tree an apple-tree' certainly seems very like 'telling what the name of a thing is', unless the thing happens to be a gooseberry bush or something else. And the same may be said of 'mentioning a tree by name.' Does Mr. W. intend to maintain that the use of the verb by the speaker depends upon whether the hearer knows the name beforehand or not? Apparently he does; for in the case of δ 551 he says that *σὺ δὲ τρίτον ἄνδρ' ὀνόμαζε* 'may be rightly enough translated "tell me the name of."' But yet, strange to say, no one must translate it so, for *ὀνομάζω* does not mean to tell what a person's name is—to inform anyone what is a given person's name. Menelaus knows that already: he knows that the son of Laertes is named Odysseus.

Let him try to apply this curious reasoning to Hym. Aph. 291:—

σὺ δ' ἴσχεις μῆδ' ὀνομαίει

where Aphrodite forbids Anchises to tell her name. The supposed hearer in this case would certainly not know that the given person, the mother of Aeneas, who corresponds to the *εἰς δ' ἔτι πού ζωδς κατερύκεται εὐρέ πόντω*, was named Aphrodite. Very similar is λ 251, where, however, the case is not quite so clearly apparent, and it would be possible to say that *ὀνομαίει* does not explicitly refer, as in the other passage, to the name, *i.e.* Poseidon. The fact of the matter is that δ 551 proves the case against Mr. W. up to the hilt. Conf. Hdt. iv 47 *τούτους ὀνομαίνω*—*Ἴστρος μὲν κ.τ.λ.* 'I will tell the names of them.'

But even if it did not, his philological difficulty collapses like a pricked bubble. I

have another surprise in store for him. He has failed to notice that neither Messrs. Butcher and Lang, who are older offenders, *i.e.* earlier offenders, than myself, nor indeed any one else, except my critic himself, have been guilty of the supposed enormity of translating *ὀνόμασας*, 'you told the names of' in this passage at any rate. What we did so translate was the combination

ὀνόμασας καὶ ἔειπες,

a very different matter, as is obvious at a glance.

So, although I think it is fairly certain that *ὀνόμαζε* in δ 551 does mean 'tell me his name'; yet they might grant him his argument and still maintain in security that *ὀνόμασας* conjoined with, and qualified by *ἔειπες*, is a legitimate poetical equivalent of *ὀνόματα ἔειπες*.

That this explanation is reasonable and will commend itself to scholars I feel assured, and shall therefore leave it without further illustration, only remarking that the strictly logical method of examining words is here again carried too far by my opponent. He would deprive language of all its flexibility and confine it in a strait-jacket. Strict logic must be tempered with common sense, otherwise the most astonishing results are attainable. For example Ψ 90 *καὶ σὸν θεράποντ' ὀνόμηνεν* undoubtedly means, 'called him thy henchman', as Mr. W. sees, and logic would warrant us in concluding that Κ 522 *φίλον τ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον* must mean 'called him dear comrade.' Common sense tells us the meaning is 'he called, or shouted the name of his dear comrade,' *i.e.* Rhesus, and no logic in the world can avail to convince us that it is not so.

I now submit to the impartial reader that I have fully and fairly met all the objections taken to my proposed reading.

It only remains to make a few remarks on the defence offered by Mr. Wilson for the vulgate. He seems to argue that *ὀνομάζω*, being 'common form,' as he calls it,—Yet how can just three instances, two of them in the same book, constitute 'common form'?—for the specification of intended gifts, may mean 'I promise.' Now I cannot for a moment admit this unwarrantable assumption. In connection with gifts the explanation of this verb, which he quotes from Eustathius, is simple and satisfactory, *ἀριθμεῖν κατ' ὄνομα*. Let my critic adopt 'specify' for these passages and be satisfied with it: but he must remember that you can 'specify' unpleasant things, punishments and penalties, as well as pleasant things,

gifts and presents, and in itself 'specify' is no nearer to 'promise' in connection with gifts, than it is to 'threaten' in connection with penalties. I look upon such an idea as contrary to both logic and common sense. It is, however, not improbable that it was this fortuitous conjunction of *ὀνομάζω* and *ὀνομαίνω* with *δῶρα* in these three passages (I 121, 515, Σ 449) that first suggested to the mind of the reciter or rhapsodist the bright idea that gifts might be introduced into our passage with advantage, the supposed advantage which I have already pointed out. The improver thus goes one better, in common parlance, than the original poet. Perhaps he was the very same enterprising gentleman, who on similar principles introduced a line of his own, η 94, into the description of the palace of Alcinoüs.

The further suggestions, that *παιδὸς ἐὼν* intimates that the request was childish, though the gift was in earnest, or that the gift was not in earnest, or that because the Greeks in the islands now spoil their children, therefore in this passage Odysseus represents himself as a spoiled child (Mr. J. L. Myres), or that a bad poet was here exhibiting a want of taste, or that ten apple-trees are not enough of the kind for an orchard, all seem to me mere trifling, destitute of every element of probability. If I were to hazard a counter suggestion to all this, it would be to this effect:—The occasion was probably one of importance, marking a stage in the boy's life. It is the 'beating of the bounds' of the orchard. The boy is the human document used for recording facts. He is the schedule of the trees; he is *μνήμων ἀλωῆς* (cf. θ 163).

Some of the greatest critics have differed from Aristarchus in his condemnation of the concluding part of the *Odyssey*, notably Sainte-Beuve: but leaving that question aside I should think there are few—and until I see that remarkable verse, I shall be constrained to believe that my critic is one of the few—who can fail to see that the passage in which Odysseus reveals himself to his father is of the highest poetic quality. In it the inferior poet, if we are to speak of him as such, has quite risen to the level of the writer he was supplementing, and save for the one blemish, which I argue has been superinduced later, has produced a strikingly beautiful and interesting picture, a picture that almost deserves the eulogium of Thiersch:—*Sprache Schilderung und die ganze Seele des Gedanken macht die Stelle zur seelenvollsten der ganzen Odyssee.*—*Ich wollte lieber die Hälfte der Ilias und Odyssee verlieren als diese Scene.*

It seems to me distinctly unfair to Dr. Monro, whose sudden death we have now to deplore as an irreparable loss to Homeric scholarship, to quote his criticism on the concluding battle, as if it specially referred to this particular scene.

Finally I would like to assure Prof. Wilson that, although in controverting his arguments I have been obliged to treat them polemically without much respect, I am very far from intending to be in the least degree discourteous to himself personally. On the contrary I tender him my best thanks for his remarks, and say in all sincerity:—

εἶ πέρ τι βέβακται
δεινόν, ἄφαρ τὸ φέροιεν ἀναρπάξασαι ἄελλαι.

T. LEYDEN AGAR.

NOTES ON HERODOTUS, BOOKS IV—IX.

BOOK IV.

1. 4 The words *Κιμμερίους . . . Ἀσίην* seriously interrupt the sequence where they occur, as *καταπαύσαντες* cannot be joined to them. It must go with *ἤρξαν*. They cannot very well be made parenthetical, nor can they be put anywhere else, and finally they hardly do more than repeat *ὅτι ἐκείνοι . . . Μηδικήν*. Ought they not then to be omitted?

11. 3 In this troublesome passage it seems to me pretty certain that something like Herwerden's *μηδὲν πρὸς πολλοὺς δεομένων*

should be accepted. See his text, and his argument in *Mnem. N.S.* 12. 419. *δεομένου* or even perhaps *δεομένην* would also be possible. I desire only to add that he makes out a less good case than he might for his own view, because he fails to point out that *δέομαι* comes often to = *βούλομαι*. Just as in English we say *I want* or *I don't want* instead of *I wish (to do so and so)*, so with *δέομαι* in Greek. The use is not recognised in Liddell and Scott, but it is not uncommon. [I find it now illustrated in Wyse's *Isaeus*, p. 261.]

18. 1 *ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένα ἀπὸ*

θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἢ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης
ἄνοι οἰκέουσι Σκῦθαι γεωργοί.
ἄνθρωποι

These are the two readings of the MSS. Valckenaer's ἄνω or Herold's ἄνω ἰόντι is usually accepted. No doubt ἄνοι accounts for ἄνθρωποι, of which it often stood (ἄνοι) as an abbreviation: but of ἄνοι itself I would suggest that ἄλλοι is perhaps as likely to be the original as ἄνω.

ib. 2 νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ.

Stein's parallels for the genitive ὁδοῦ ought not to mislead us. They all occur in sentences where a genitive is called for by some external reason, and it will be found on examination reasonable to think that in all of them the ὁδοῦ or πλόου does not depend on the ἡμερέων or whatever it may be, but *vice versa*. Even in 2. 11. 2 ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου this is the case. There is no passage, I think, where there is any occasion to depart from this common and well recognised construction, which follows immediately here in πλόου ἡμερέων ἕνδεκα. The ὁδοῦ in the present passage has no parallel. It may be the case that ὁδοῦ is *journeying* rather than *journey*, or again that τρεῖς ἡμέρας is used loosely with a genitive as expressing an amount of time = an amount of distance. Krüger reads ὁδόν, but does not say in what exact construction. The only alternative that suggests itself is ἐπὶ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδόν, in which I think ἐπὶ would have been dispensed with, nor is the inversion (see on 1. 141. 3) as likely in this case as in some others.

36. 1 τὸν περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον . . . οὐ λέγω, λέγων ὡς τὸν οὐστὸς περιέφερε.

Editors read λέγοντα for λέγων after Schweighäuser. Is λέγων for λέγειν (a not infrequent exchange) and λέγω for θέλω (οὐ θέλω λέγειν)?

53. 6 οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγὰς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδ' <ἄλλος> οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων?

Perhaps ἄλλος might even take the place of Ἑλλήνων, as ἄλλων and Ἑλλήνων etc. sometimes get confused.

76. 2 ἦν σόος καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἔουτοῦ.

Not his own house but his own land is meant (ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν immediately follows): read therefore ἐς <τὴν> ἔουτοῦ. So in 95. 1. In 125. 2 we find ἐπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην

συμμαχίην, πρώτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίων τὴν γῆν, but τὴν γῆν goes with both genitives.

79. 3 οὐ φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους.

τοιούτων? Cf. above on 2. 135.

85. 4 ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἕντα στεινότημα μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίου, μήκος δὲ τετρακοσίου.

All MSS except R have στεινότητι, the change of which to an accusative seems to have been accepted by editors since Schweighäuser. R however has στεινότατα. Such an affected expression as *seven stades narrow* or *in narrowness* for *in width* would be almost intolerable in anyone and is quite incredible in Herodotus. Το στεινότατα we need only prefix τά, easily lost after ἕντα, and the real sense and construction are at once apparent.

99. 7 δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι οἶκε ἢ Ταυρκίη.

λέγω, if right, must mean *I mention by implication*: i.e. mentioning two is equivalent to mentioning many. But is it? 'σιγάω *vel* ἐῶ *malim*' observes Herwerden. I should suggest ἔχω, which is known to be sometimes confused with λέγω. It will mean partly *I have in reserve* or *in store*, partly ἔχω λέγειν. With τοῖσι ἄλλοισι = ἄλλα τοῖσι cf. Dem. 18. 204 ἐτέρω δ' ὄτω κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν, though not precisely parallel.

119. 5 ἦν μέντοι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρξὴ τε ἀδικέων, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα.

It is quite certain that the future of πάσχω cannot be thus used, like *patiēmur* or English *suffer it*. Neither can I think (with Gomperz and Herwerden) that we may take πεισόμεθα as future of πείθομαι and translate *non parebitur*. 'Obey' is not a suitable word here, for no command is referred to: and should we not instead of καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ have οὐδ' ἡμεῖς? The last objection tells also against some of the conjectures, e.g. Cobet's *περιοφόμεθα*. Bähr's note gives a long list of suggested emendations. Before seeing there that Valckenaer had thought of it long ago, I had myself hit upon *τεισόμεθα*. But for οὐ I would read, not σφε, as he wished, which has no palaeographical probability, but αὐτόν, which word in an abbreviated form has elsewhere been known to exchange with οὐ. The whole change of οὐ π. to αὐτόν τ. is so small, the sense so appropriate, and τίνομαι so common a word in Herodotus (e.g. the opening of this book), that it seems extremely probable.

138. 1 *έόντες* <τεό> *λόγου πρὸς βασιλέος*?

The genitive *λόγου* can hardly stand alone. Stein *λόγου* <πολλοῦ> or *έν λόγῳ*.

157. 3 *αἱ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύαν μαλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον, μὴ ἔλθῶν ἑλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίαν σεῦ.*

The hiatus in *μὴ ἔλθῶν* is very improbable. Should we write *οὐκ*? As far as grammar goes, it would be quite admissible, and more easily so than *οὐ βουλόμενοι* in 7. 172. 6, where we must say that *οὐ βούλομαι* forms one expression.

159. 3 *ὃς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύαν πολνήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ γὰς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἷ ποκά φαμι μελήσειν.*

I suspect *ὑστερον* should be the neater and more usual adjective, *ὑστερος*.

198. 3 *ἔπυδρος πίδαξι.*

Herwerden *ὑπυδρος*. Is not *εὔυδρος*, which occurs two or three times in H., more likely?

BOOK V.

3. 2 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορον σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται.*

As both Stein and Herwerden allow this to stand in their text, it may be worth while to urge the impossibility of its being right. Stein takes *ἄπορον καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ* together, a quite unknown construction which he supposes to be similar to *δεινὸν μὴ*. There is however no analogy, since *μὴ* and subjunctive go naturally with words of fear etc. but have no sort of connection with those expressive of difficulty and impossibility. There is fear *lest* a thing happen: no one could speak of there being an impossibility or great difficulty *lest* it happen, especially if he meant a difficulty of its happening, and not one that, if it were to happen, would arise in consequence. If again *μὴ ἐγγένηται* is quite independent of the adjective, their construction without an *έόν* is dubious and *μὴ* for *οὐ μὴ* is not legitimate. I infer that the words cannot be right as they stand. We might add *έόν* and *οὐ* (*ἀμήχανον έόν οὐ μὴ*), but perhaps it is simpler to insert *οὐδέ* only (*οὐδέ μὴ*). *τοῦτο* <τὸ> *ἄπορον* . . *οὐ μὴ* is less likely.

9. 3 *ἀρματηλατίειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους* is not the only passage in H. that would run a little more naturally if *δέ* were turned into *δή*. In 28. 2 for instance *κατύπερθε δή* would seem better.

13. 5 The last words, *αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὦν τοῦτο εἵνεκεν καὶ ἐποιέετο*, seem to suffer from the want of a definite subject for the verb. Is not some word like *τάδε* or *πάντα* missing? Should *πάντα* be written for *αὐτοῦ*? See on 8. 99 below.

18. 3 *ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐπέαν δέϊπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους.*

Perhaps *προθώμεθα*. The women would not appear till the *δέϊπνον* proper was over.

24. 1 *ἔπειθε* should probably be *ἔπεισε*. The mistake is very common.

28. 1 *μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις* (*ἄνεως* MSS) *κακῶν ἦν, κ.τ.λ.*

A good many years ago I proposed *ἀνανέωσις* as an alternative emendation, not knowing then that it had been already suggested. It seems to me now that the two conjectures are just equally probable. They give virtually the same sense, the meaning and construction of *οὐ π. χ.* varying in the two cases, and either corruption is an easy one. I have sometimes thought *κακά* at the end of the sentence might be omitted with advantage.

42. 1 *ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανῆς τε.*

It is not only that the first *τε* is oddly placed (in Stein's parallel, 11. 3 *οἶά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε έών*, I take it that *οἶά τε* go together as elsewhere), but the second ought, one would think, to be *δέ*. Did H. write *ἦν τι οὐ φ., ἀ. δέ?* A few lines below the MSS vary between *τε* and *τι*. Perhaps in 11. 3 *δημότης δέ* should be read, but the need there may be less.

50. 3 *οὐδένα λόγον εὐπέα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὀδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.*

ἀπάγειν Naber. Is not *ἀνάγειν* probable, as *ἀνά* so often = *ἀπὸ θαλάσσης*?

εὐπέα does not seem an appropriate word. I suggest *εὐπρεπέα*.

76 H. says the Dorians invaded or entered Attica four times, twice *ἐπὶ πολέμῳ* and twice *ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων*. He goes on to give the four occasions, the second and third being to expel the Pisistratidae, i.e. *ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ*. Of the first he says *πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλείοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς ἂν καλεῖτο*. Krüger takes *καλεῖτο* to mean *be placed, dated*, which

seems hardly possible; Stein as giving a name to the war, which is right enough in point of Greek, but otherwise unlikely, as it did not especially need a name and nothing is said about names for the other expeditions. The real point being the hostile character of the movement, it seems probable that <πολέμιος> καλείτο is what H. wrote.

79. 3 τί <δη> δεί?

80. 4 συμπέψειν for συμπεμπειν?

92. 5 ἐξεδίδουσαν for ἐδίδουσαν?

99. 1 οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων.

τὴν (*suspectum* Herwerden) being unknown with χάριν, except when possessive pronouns are used (τὴν ἐμὴν χάριν), we may perhaps conjecture that the first here stands for τῶν and that the second should be omitted or should stand after αὐτῶν in the shape again of τῶν. If the first corruption occurred, the second might easily follow.

BOOK VI.

47. 1 τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἦτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τοῦτου . . . τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχε.

ἔχει or ἔσχηκε Herwerden. Why not ἴσχει?

52. 5 ἀμφοτέρα τὰ παιδιά ἡγήσασθαι βασιλείας.

Cobet στήσασθαι, as ἡγήσασθαι is plainly wrong. Better perhaps ποιήσασθαι, as in § 3 of this very chapter βασιλεία . . . τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι.

ib. 7 In this *Review* 16. 394 I have proposed ἕτερον for πρότερον. πρότερον occurs more reasonably a few lines below, which has perhaps caused the mistake.

57. 5 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι (the kings to the senate), τοὺς μάλιστα σφί τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑνωτῶν.

In this there are three difficulties. First comes the irreconcilable contradiction between H. and Thucydides, since the latter explicitly brands as an error the idea that a Spartan king had two votes. Second is the want of clearness in the statement, as pointed out for instance in Stein's note. The third has not, I think, been sufficiently recognized. It is that H. does not tell us directly that among other γέρεα a king had the right of giving two votes, but

only implies this incidentally in saying what happened when the king was absent. To my mind this is very important. It seems most unlikely that he would have brought in the point in so irregular a way.

I do not know whether the suggestion will be thought at all plausible that τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑνωτῶν is the insertion of a later hand. To get rid of those words is to get rid of all three difficulties at a stroke. If they are removed, H. does not make this casual reference to a remarkable privilege which he ought to state directly and positively: he does not affirm at all that a king had more than one vote: and the statement is quite reasonably clear. The nearest relatives of the king had their privileges and gave two votes, that is, each kinsman gave his own vote and that of one king. Does H. mean the absolutely nearest relative or the nearest of the γέροντες? Probably the latter, for in the former case not only would a non-member have been admitted to the Senate, but he would have had really two votes, his own and the king's, while the king himself would only have had one. If the king had two, then the non-member in giving three would still have had the advantage, which is unreasonable and unlikely.

I suggest then that H.'s statement, stopping at τιθεμένους, though it in no way implied or was meant to imply two votes, did not absolutely exclude that interpretation, and that someone, who adopted the view contradicted by Thucydides or who only thought that H. meant to do so, added the final words to make it plain.

64. ἔδεε . . . ταῦτα καταπαῦσαι Δημάρηρον τῆς βασιλείης διὰ τὰ Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μεγάλως, πρότερόν τε κ.τ.λ.

διὰ τὰ has been altered in one or two ways. Has διότι been suggested? Cf. e.g. 7. 197. 4: 205. 2.

98. 5 Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἄρτοξέρξης μέγας (Bekk. μέγα) Ἄρήιος.

H. is interpreting the Persian names. To match the compound Ἄρτοξέρξης should we not read the compound μεγαρήιος?

107. 5 ἡ γῆ ἦδε οὐχ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ οὐδὲ μιν δυνατόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι.

One would think ἐστὶ should be ἔσται. In 109. 8 the same correction has been made.

121. 1 θῶμα δέ μοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχομαι τὸν

λόγον, Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἂν ποτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα.

ἂν seems out of place here, and it should be observed that in chapter 123, where the words recur, θῶμα ὦν μοι, καὶ οὐ προσέ-μαι τὴν διαβολήν, τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, no ἂν is used. We might perhaps write Ἀλκμεωνίδας δὴ, the participle emphasizing the name as in 1. 4. 1 τοὺς Ἑλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι. Cobet, followed by Herwerden, has made this change in 124 οὐτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρεῖ ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ γε ἂν (read δὴ) τούτων ἀσπίδα, where ἂν is wanting in A, B, and perhaps C (Herwerden). Cf. on 1. 196. 6 above. It should be noticed, however, that in the tractate *De Herod. Malign.* 862 F ἂν appears in the quotation of these words (121. 1). Perhaps we should make the same change in 129. 5 ἀποστνυέων γαμβρόν ἂν οἱ ἐπι γενέσθαι Ἰπποκλείδην, where ἂν cannot be right and is omitted by Cobet along with A, B, and C.

BOOK VII.

10. 13. ὄρας τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδ' ἐὰ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κνίζει; ὄρας δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ, κ.τ.λ. ;

I am not prepared to suggest any alteration of ζῶα, but two things strike me about it. (1) I do not know any parallel for the idea of animals having thunderbolts thrown at them. (2) Animals are somewhat oddly joined with buildings: trees or mountains might be more naturally mentioned, as in *Hor. c. 2. 10. 9-12.*

23. 4 The whole of this § (ἐνθαῦτα . . . ἀληθινός) is singularly inapposite to its immediate context. If genuine, it looks like a detached note.

In § 1 (or 22. 6) is αἰ a dittograph of the last letters of αἶται? and in 37. 1 on the other hand should χντοὶ be χντοὶ οἱ?

65 In the first words of the chapter ἦσαν or some other verb should be added.

106. 1 κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον.

He goes on to explain τοιόνδε γ., which refers to what M. did afterwards. Should we not therefore insert a ὕστερον, as in 62 Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλωνίους ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα? Cf. Goodwin *M.T.* 152. The text as it stands could hardly be understood except of something then past.

143. 2 εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημέ-ων ἐόντως (so Reiske for ἐόντως).

Stahl's view that εἶχε and εἰρημένον go together cannot be accepted. What he calls the 'much commoner' use of ἔχω with an active participle is the only such use known. He gives no example of a passive participle so used with εἶχω and I do not believe that there is any. Even his parallel from 3. 48. 2 (where the participle is not passive) is not actually parallel, for in ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον it is plain that εἶχε does not go with γενόμενον: γ. goes only with ἐ.τ.Σ. Both there and here moreover εἶχε has to be joined closely with ἐς and its case in the common Herodotean sense of εἶχε ἐς, which would be out of the question if a participle like εἰρημένον or γενόμενον formed one phrase = εἶρητο or ἐγεγένητο with εἶχε.

It looks as though τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον were a mixture of two readings, τὸ ἔπος and τὸ εἰρημένον. One of the two words therefore should be struck out. This seems better than taking the participle to mean when uttered, which is feeble.

157. 3 σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε ἦκεις μεγάλης καὶ κ.τ.λ., βῶθει τε κ.τ.λ.

Apart from a γάρ which seems needed after δυνάμιός τε to lead up to βῶθει, εἶ has also been added to ἦκεις to make up the common εἶ ἦκειν τινός Stein however would read μεγάλως with Reiske. μεγάλως ἦκειν is a phrase unknown. Herwerden accepting εἶ brackets μεγάλης, but in view of 8. 111. 3 θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκειν εἶ this seems unnecessary, μεγάλης not being more objectionable than χρηστῶν. Read therefore δυνάμιός τε γὰρ εἶ ἦκειν μεγάλης.

170. 6 οὗτος ὅσπερ. οὐτὸς ὅσπερ?

173. 2 τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦπερ . . . ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξύ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε οὐρέος ἐόντα (ρέοντα Herwerden) καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης.

Editors are inclined to omit δέ. May we not read δὴ, which would seem half to explain, half to appeal to general knowledge?

191. 2 καταειδόντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι . . . ἔπασσαν.

The chief objection to γόησι seems to me that stated by Bähr, that the Magi were themselves γόητες and did not need to employ γόητες for their purpose. Cf. 1. 132. 2. But this is hardly conclusive. As for the personal dative, it seems sufficiently defended by such passages as *Thuc. 1. 25. 4*

ἀνδρὶ Κορινθίῳ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν (construction however disputed) and 8. 82. 3 τῷ μὲν Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φοβεῖν, ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν Τισσαφέρην: Dem. 21. 224 οἱ νόμοι τε ὑμῖν εἰσὶν ἰσχυροὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς νόμοις: Antiphon 6. 41 ταῦτα μάρτυσιν ὑμῖν ἀποδείξω: Eur. *Bacch.* 1309 ᾧ δῶμ' ἀνέβλεπε: and best of all perhaps *Il.* 22. 176 ἧέ μιν ἤδη Πηλεΐδῃ Ἀχιλλῆι δαμάσσομεν ἐσθλὸν ἔοντα. Good Latin parallels might be quoted too, e.g. *Aen.* 10. 93 aut ego tela dedi fove Cupidine bella? 2. 352 di quibus imperium hoc steterat: *Lucan.* 5. 264 animasque effundere viles quolibet hoste paras: *Cat.* 14. 5 cur me tot male perderes poetis: *Hor. Ep.* 1. 19. 13 exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem: *Tac. A.* 2. 79. 4 ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet: 4. 3. 4 seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat. Indeed this construction, like some others, is carried further in Latin than in Greek.

203. 4 ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα ὡς ἔοντα θνητὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν.

Herwerden follows Krüger in bracketing ἄν. The particle is no doubt wrong here as in many other places, but it is seldom satisfactory just to omit it without being able to account for its appearance in the text. Stein suggests ἀνὰ χρόνον, which seems to me unlikely. Others may think the same of what I would suggest, namely ἤδη. δῆ and ἄν are often confused (cf. above on 6. 121) and the η might come from the ν of πεσεῖν, as ν and η (N H) are also liable to confusion. But perhaps something more convincing may be found.

220. 5 ὑμῖν δ', ᾧ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυ-
χόροιο,
ἧ μέγα ἄστν ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι
Περσεΐδῃσι
πέρσεται ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, κ.τ.λ.

There have been various suggestions for getting over the metrical difficulty of ἄστν ἐρικυδὲς. Is it possible that ἄστν is a gloss on another word? In *Soph. O.T.* 29 the city of Thebes is spoken of as δῶμα Καδμείων. If δῶμ' ἐρικυδὲς stood in our text, it might well be glossed with an ἄστν.

229. 3 εἰ μὲν νυν ἢ (most MSS ἦν, but some omit: ἦ Stein) μοῦνον Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα (the best MSS ἀλογήσαντα) ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἄν σφι Σπαρτιότηας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσ-
θῆσθαι.

There is no reason to think that in H.

ἀλογήσαντα can mean *in infatuation* (Stein), nor does that yield a good sense. If the Spartans would have excused him, returning would hardly have been an infatuated act. ἀλγήσαντα, with which μοῦνον is closely joined, and which refers of course to ὀφθαλμῶντες above (cf. 4. 68. 3 ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεύς), is much better. ἦν would give an impossible construction, and ἦ may certainly be accepted. But then it is hardly possible to take the infinitives as due to a confused government by δοκεῖν, because they precede that word instead of following it, and it therefore seems necessary to insert some such word as συνέβη to govern them.

BOOK VIII.

69. 1 ἐτέρποντο τῇ κρίσει (R ἀνακρίσει).

Neither κρίσει nor ἀνακρίσει (which Krüger translates *Erörterung*, Stein *Einrede*, *Widerspruch*) is satisfactory. For the natural use of τέρεσθαι τῇ κρίσει cf. 3. 34. 6. Perhaps ὑποκρίσει, *answer*, for in 68. 1 εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόnius. So in 3. 53. 2 most MSS have ἀνακρίσιος, R ἀποκρίσιος, and ὑποκρίσιος is no doubt the right word.

70. 1 παρήγγελλεν would more naturally be παρήγγειλεν, especially after ἐπειδή.

74. 2 σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.

Surely περί should be παρά. The same states urged the same views. But this cannot be expressed by περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. παρά is common with λέγεσθαι and similar verbs.

80. 1 ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μῆδων.

Cobet and Herwerden ταῦτα for τά: Krüger τάδε. I should prefer to insert ἔοντα before τά. Having εὐ before it and τα after it, it would easily be lost. In 6. 13. 1 μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γιγνόμενα the τά must be omitted with Cobet, but the case is a little different.

86. 3 ἐδόκέε τε ἕκαστος ἐωντὸν θεήσασθαι τὸν βασιλέα.

Stein justifies in vain the θεήσασθαι of the MSS. It cannot possibly be either present or future in meaning, but can only signify 'had watched him,' which is inappropriate. The Aldine θεήσεσθαι, approved by Cobet, approves itself also to common sense, and surely nobody need stickle at one of the commonest of corrections. Herwerden's maintenance of the aorist and

ignoring of the Aldine future must be an accident.

99. 1 τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιάματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσιῇσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείησι.

There is no point in αὐτοὶ (as though it contrasted the men with their roads and their incense), and Herwerden omits it. Perhaps it represents πάντες. See 17. 146 of this *Review*.

111. 2 I pointed out a long time ago that θεοὺς μεγάλους, Πειθῶ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίην, ought to be θεοὺς μεγάλας. Cf. Stein's parallels, adding Theognis 1137. So in 4. 180. 3 τῷ αὐθιγενεὶ θεῶ . . . τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν has been altered to τῇ αὐ. θεῶ, and 6. 91. 2 R has τὸν θεόν for τὴν θεόν. Cf. Eur. *I.T.* 390.

120. 2 καὶ πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὀπίσω.

I had noticed that an adverb meaning *there* was needed with the first words of this before I knew that Herwerden inserted αὐτοῦ after ἐλύσατο. This is however a misuse of αὐτοῦ. αὐτόθι would be right.

142. 2 οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ κ.τ.λ.

οὔτε γε is impossible, and the suggested οὐ τί γε very unlikely. Either we have to read οὐδέ γε, which would be the slightest change and quite good Greek, or a word is lost corresponding to κόσμον φέρον or to κόσμον only.

ιβ. 6 τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα <τὰ> οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα!

The article can hardly be dispensed with and the reason of its loss is obvious. Cf. 4. 85. 4 and 8. 80. 1 above.

BOOK IX.

7. 1 ἄμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφί τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε.

Schäfer καὶ δὴ. Perhaps ἤδη καί. But καὶ δὴ occurs in § 5 and in 6. 1.

ιβ. 5 ἐπιτεῖ ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως ὅτι οὐδὰμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὅτι τεῖχος ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαινόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιήσθε.

The second ὅτι seems to me a mistaken repetition of the first. Either omit it or read τό. ἐστί depends on ἐπιτεῖ.

9. 2 πρίν ἢ τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

<ἐς> σφάλμα φέρον, the common Herodotean expression? So in 8. 137. 5 R alone writes φέροι ἐς μέγα τι, while other MSS have lost the ἐς.

16. 9 ἤκουον . . . ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι . . . τὴν μάχην.

Perhaps πρὸς ἀνθρώπους <πολλούς>. Valckenaer ἄλλους for ἀνθρώπους.

27. 6 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμενησθαι.

As this is a unique use of προέχειν, the conjecture προσήκει may be admissible (προσήκει—προήκει—προέχει: προς and προ constantly interchanged in compounds). Cf. on 92 below.

51. 2 διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὄσονπερ τρία στάδια.

Perhaps ὄσον περὶ τρία στάδια. Stein suggests the more usual ὄσον τε.

52. 2 ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χώρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον κ.τ.λ.

It is difficult to understand ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι with ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες. Has an infinitive, such as ἵεναί, been lost?

74. 2 Sophanes literally anchored himself in battle, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσῃαι μὴ δυναίατο.

I can see no point in ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος. If they came in their τάξις, it would still be the same thing. Herodotus wrote ἐμπίπτοντες and meant ἐκ τῆς τάξιος to go with μετακινήσῃαι.

92. 1 ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσήγε.

'προῆγεν Rs. . . . *Mihi neutra lectio satisfaci'* Herwerden. Feeling the same I have thought doubtfully of τῷ ἔργῳ προσείχε. The next sentence, in which not Leotychides but the Samians are the subject, is perhaps against it. Ar. *Plut.* 553 τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχοντα. Cf. on 27 above.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON THE TEXT OF THE Εὐβοικός OF DION CHRYSOSTOM.

THE text of the passages following is that of von Arnim's edition (Berlin 1893-6).

§ 52. *init.* The huntsman is defending himself against the charges brought by a demagogue of the worst type, who accused him of making a base profit from the wreckage cast upon the shore. καὶ τοὺς λάρους, he says, οὓς ἀπαξ εὐρόν ποτε ἐκβεβρασμένους, καὶ τούτους ἀνέπηξα εἰς τὴν δρῦν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης.

Λάρους can hardly be right. Jacobs conjectured λάρκουσ or ταρρούσ, of which von Arnim says with reason 'neutrum placet.' Charcoal-baskets are not likely to have been mentioned in such a context, and I venture to think that ταλάρους is more suitable in meaning, and perhaps in palaeographical probability, than either of the words suggested by Jacobs.

§ 63. The citizens, pleased with the honesty and mother-wit of the huntsman, clothe him in a χιτῶν and a ἱμάτιον, much against his will. He would fain get back his leather coat, but they would not allow him. This must be the meaning of the passage, but in von Arnim's text we find ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνωθεν βαλεῖν ἐβουλόμην τὸ δέρμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶων.

The required meaning cannot be got out of these words, and it seems almost certain that we must read ἄνωθεν λαβεῖν, and take ἄνωθεν in the sense 'again,' 'once more,' which is not uncommon in late Greek.

§ 92. ἀνδρὶ δὲ πένητι μὴ φαύλῳ τὴν φύσιν ἀρκεῖ τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετριῶσ ἀσθενήσαντι, τοιούτου ποτὲ νοσήματος ξυμβάντος οἴαπερ εἶθε γίνεσθαι τοῖς οὐκ ἀργοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐμπιμπλαμένοις, ἀνακτήσασθαι κτλ.

The words in spaced type seem to have no possible meaning. Perhaps ἀναπιμπλαμένοις ('infected') should be read. As οὐκ ἀργοῖς forms one idea, οὐκ will, of course, stand; but I cannot help suspecting that the correct reading is τοῖς αὐτουργοῖς. It is particularly of those who are willing to work with their hands that Dio is thinking. Cf. § 125 τοῖς αὐτουργεῖν βουλομένοις.

§ 114. We must pay no heed to those who reproach us with low parentage ἄντινος ἔριθος ἢ μήτηρ ἢ τρυγήτρια ἐξελοῦσά ποτε ἢ μισθοῦ τιθεύση παῖδα κτλ.

'ἐξελοῦσα suspectum, latet coniunct. aor. in -εύση (Wil<amowitz>).' Von Arnim's *arr. crit.*

But the simplest remedy is probably to insert ἦ between μήτηρ and ἢ.

§ 118. τὸ δὲ * ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ διορίσαι κτλ. Probably we should read ἡμέτερον for ἡμῖν.

§ 124. κηρυγμάτων ἐνίων. Read κ. ὠνίων. Cf. § 123 κήρυκας ὠνίων.

The Κυνηγός has its fair share of *crucis*; with some of them I may attempt to deal at another time, but I trust that these few suggestions, which are confined to a single *Oratio*, will serve to show that there is still plenty of room for work upon the text of Dion.

Before closing this paper I may perhaps express the hope that the forthcoming revision of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon will take more account of Dion than preceding editions have done. It is easy to point to words or to notable constructions which the Lexicon ignores.

W. B. ANDERSON.

THE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE, OPTATIVE, AND IMPERATIVE IN GREEK.¹

THOSE of us who have conscientiously, in our devotion to philological studies, read all the contributions which our Latin colleagues have made recently to linguisticscience, know that the perfect subjunctive in Latin is a sad reality. The Greek perfect subjunctive, on the other hand, is a myth; and our future gram-

¹ A paper read before the American Philological Association in St. Louis.

mar, when compared with those of to-day, all of which give great prominence to this form in the paradigm of the verb, will be found to have made a tacit recantation:

οὐκ ἔστιν ἔνμος λόγος οὗτος.

Take, for example, the most recent grammar (and *ab uno disce omnes*) from which we should expect the most light (Sonnen-

schein), but in which, in this respect, even more dark spots appear than in some of his predecessors. In this manual the perfect subjunctive active is made particularly conspicuous both by the arrangement of mood and tense and by the remark in the adjoining column (the imperative and subjunctive forms are juxtaposed) that the perfect imperative is rare, which leads the beginner to believe that the *subjunctive* perfect is a common form. Our pupils expend as much mental energy in the effort to imprint on the tablets of the mind the forms of the perfect subjunctive (which they may never see again) as the forms of the perfect indicative—

οὐκοῦν οἶσθ' ὅτι ἀρχὴ παντὸς ἔργου μέγιστον,
ἄλλως τε καὶ νέψ ;

In these days of peril,¹ it would seem the part of wisdom to cast overboard all the useless lumber, so as not to endanger the ship by carrying in the cargo material that is worthless. Instead of putting obstacles in the way of the beginner by compelling him to learn such mythical tenses as the perfect subjunctive, the perfect imperative, and the perfect optative active, we should, if we wish to revive the study of Greek (and by so doing preserve high culture),² help the tyro on his way by excising everything in our manuals except essentials both in form and syntax.³

The persistence of the forms under discussion in our grammars, I apprehend, is due to a belief (almost a prepossession), not

¹ And these are days of peril. Does not John Brisben Walker, in a recent number of the *Cosmopolitan*, declare that one of the great facts with which he was impressed by his visit to the Universal Exposition at St. Louis, one of the great lessons he learned was: 'That the so-called classical education, where persisted in, as in Great Britain and Spain, tends to place in the background even the most powerful nations'?

² *παίδεσις χρηστὴ σφρομένη φύσει ἀγαθὰ ἐμποιεῖ* (Plato, *Republic* 424A).

³ Indeed Sonnenschein in his preface claims that he has done this very thing. He has taken 'great pains to secure brevity and accuracy in the rules. Matter which is of secondary importance is excised.' His 'scheme dispenses with a large number of unnecessary paradigms' (!). In the advertisement of the authorized English translation of Kaegi's grammar there is an extract from the *Dublin Review* (1904), one sentence of which is worth quoting in this connexion: 'Father Kleist . . . claims as his justification that Kaegi's work is the successful result of a very close and accurate study of the Greek authors generally read in a school course, conducted with this special purpose of either omitting entirely or of relegating to an unimportant place in his grammar all peculiarities or irregularities rarely met with in these authors.'

yet died out in certain quarters, that Latin syntax and Greek syntax run on strictly parallel lines. Indeed, it is on this very principle that Sonnenschein's grammar was written. The first sentence of the preface reads: 'The main object of this book is to turn to account for teaching purposes the close relation which exists between Latin and Greek, not merely in vocabulary, but also in what is practically of more importance—grammatical structure.'

To the Roman the perfect subjunctive was indispensable: for the Greek, the present and aorist sufficed.

We have all heard of Bullions' immortal τύπτω's to which the last sad rites have long since been said; but how many of us, who smile complacently at the errors of the older grammarians, realize that we are guilty of sins similar to those which made Bullions the butt of the satirist, and that much we find in Krüger and Kühner and Kaegi, as well as in our own native grammars with their πεπαύκω's and παιδείκω's and λελύκω's and βεβουλεύκω's would have made Sophocles and Thucydides open their eyes in wonderment?⁴

In Plato *παιδεύειν* occurs hundreds of times, and forms of the perfect of this verb (indicative, participle, infinitive—Isocrates II. 30 even the adverb *παιδευμένως*) can be counted by the score, but not a solitary example of any part of the subjunctive, optative, or imperative, which are so conspicuous in the paradigm of Kaegi and Kleist (who should say, with Euripides, οὐκ ὄντα λόγον περὶ τῆς Φαίδρας [*παιδευέκης*] *ξυνέθηκα*) and Romana—

οἶδοι γάρ που μύθους τοῖς παισὶ ψευδεῖς συντιθέντες ἔλεγον τε καὶ λέγουσιν.

The perfect subjunctive practically does not exist in the Greek language. To show how vague ideas of commentators and grammarians generally on this subject are, I will quote a single note: 'the perf. subj. and opt. act. mid. and pass. are usually expressed periphrastically by means of a partic. and εἰμί . . . Rarer is the use of the periphrastic conjugation for the remaining persons of the perfect. Goodw. *Gr. Gr.*' (Hadley, *Eur. Alc.* 122). Goodwin in his revised edition comes nearer the truth than any of his predecessors or successors. Following the first word of the paradigm (λελύκω) is the number 720 in

⁴ Jelf writes βεβουλεύκω. So Kühner, who translates *ich habe graten*. Krüger gives λελύκω and translates *ich habe gelöst*, and λελύκοιμι *nüch gelöst haben*; Croiset and Petitjean (Paris 1896) λελύκω, *Que j' ai fini de délier*.

parenthesis. This is to warn the unwary pupil to be on his guard. Perhaps the exceptionally bright boy would take the trouble to read section 720; though even so he would simply steer clear of Scylla to fall into Charybdis. But how many would even take cognizance of the marginal reference? Most of them would commit the form to memory first and look up the explanation that their labour had been in vain afterwards. The note in Hadley-Allen (457), to which there is no reference in the paradigm, is even more misleading: 'The subjunctive, optative, and imperative can be expressed by the perfect participle with a form of εἶμι.' Goodwin is a little more explicit with reference to the imperative (472): 'The paradigms include the perfect imperative active, although it is hardly possible that this tense can actually have been formed in any of these verbs.' As Ruskin says in a different connexion: 'Absolutely right no one can be in such matters; nor does a day pass without convincing every honest student of antiquity of some partial error, and showing him better how to think, and where to look.'

In another section Goodwin speaks of the forms κέχρησθε and κεκράγατε (748) as occurring in Aristophanes. But these verbs are present, not perfect, as the following examples clearly show: *Ach.* 29 f. στένω, κέχρηνα, σκορδινώμαι, πέρδομαι, *Eg.* 1115 f. εὐπαράγωγος εἶ . . . πρὸς τὸν τε λέγοντ' αἰεὶ κέχρηνας, *Av.* 20 καὶ νῦν τί κέχρηνας; 308 f. κέχρησάν γέ τοι | καὶ βλέπουσιν εἰς σέ κάμῃ, 1671 τί δῆτ' ἄνω κέχρηνας αἰκίαν βλέπων; *Cr.* *Ach.* 10 ὅτε δὴ κέχηρη προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον. So in Modern Greek, as for example in Bikelas' *Ἡ Ἀσχημη Ἀδελφή*, ch. 2. Πλατέας, κέχρησῶς, δὲν ἐγνωρίζε τί νὰ ὑποθέσῃ. See also *Ar. Pax.* 341 ff.

If it is claimed that the perfect subjunctive might have occurred, we may say τὸ μὴ γεγονέναι τι τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι λέγειν αἰθαδες πάνυ καὶ οὐ πόρρω μανίας. But the important thing for us to note is that in the whole range of classical literature from Homer to Demosthenes, the few examples that do occur can hardly be called perfects. Take, for example, those found in the *Republic*, 614A ἵνα τελείως ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀπειλήφῃ (a Platonic idiosyncrasy)¹, and 376A ὃν μὲν ἂν ἴδῃ ἀγνώτα χαλεπαίνει, οὐδὲν δὲ κακὸν προπεποιθῶς· ὃν δ' ἂν γνώριμον,

ἀσπάζεται, κὰν μὴδὲν πώποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθη (Platonic ποικιλία). In the latter passage προπεποιθῶς is first employed and then the same idea repeated later in another form of expression, the perfect subjunctive πεπόνθη with εἰν being substituted for the perfect participle προπεποιθῶς. The temporal priority is expressed in the first instance by the preposition, which is omitted when the verb is used a second time—a common Platonic device to effect variety.² Moreover, the whole tendency of πάσχω is toward the perfect. Hence the pluperfect in such examples as Thucydides 6. 88 οἱ δὲ Καμαριναῖοι ἐπεπόνθησαν τοιούδε, Plato, *Rep.* 329 B κὰν ἐγὼ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐπεπόνθη. One does not suffer all the time, but feels as the result of previous influences (ἔχω πεπονθῶς *Soph. Ant.* 995). Hence the frequency of the perfect in the orators in their addresses to the juries; hence the perfect in the first sentence of the *Apology*. In Plato particularly the verb has a predilection for this tense. Any dialogue will furnish abundant examples. The *Parmenides* contains twenty-two πέπονθα's and only two πάσχω's. Furthermore, nearly one-fourth of the periphrastic perfect optatives (in the active) in the extant literature are found in this verb. Indeed, one of the very few perfect optatives in Greek occurs in this dialogue (140A ἂν πεπόνθοι), and this in a swarm of πέπονθα's, where a lapse into the non-periphrastic form would be excusable. Just below, however, (147C) we find ἂν πεπονθότα εἶεν, and in the next section (148E) ἂν πεπονθὸς εἴη.³

The next example of the perfect subjunctive active I shall cite is Demosthenes 19. 3 δέδοικα μὴ τινα λήθην ἢ συνήθειαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑμῖν πεποιήκη. Two facts (in the light of what I shall say hereafter) are to be observed: that the verb is ποιεῖν and the object λήθην. There are only three examples of πεποιήκοι in Greek literature, as this is the only instance of πεποιήκη. Next to πέπονθα this verb is most frequent of all in the periphrastic form; and there is a certain affinity between the two. *Cr.* [Andocides] 4. 22 τοὺς μὲν πεποικέναι, τοὺς δὲ πεπονθέναι. As with πάσχειν, so with ποιεῖν, the perfect in all forms is common.⁴

² *Cr.* *Crilo* 43B ἐπήγειρας . . . ἤγειρον, *Charm.* 153B ἤγγελται . . . ἀπήγγελται, *Protag.* 329A ἐπερωτήσῃ . . . ἐρωτηθέντες, *Euthyd.* 276B ἀνεθορήσαν . . . ἐθορήσαν, *Phaedo* 84C ἀποκνήσῃτε . . . δκνεῖν, *Rep.* 545C ἀποβλέψαντες . . . βλέποντες, *Legg.* 847E διανομῆς . . . νομῆ.

³ *Cr.* *Hipp. Maj.* 301A ὀτιοῦν πεπονθῶς ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν εἴη . . . οὐ καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἂν τοῦτο πεπόνθοιμεν.

⁴ See the dialogues of Plato, particularly the *Hippias Minor* and *Ion*.

¹ So once in Dinarchus (3. 2) εἰν εἰλήφῃ τι. Be it added, however, that εἰληφα is a very common form in prose. When it is employed by other writers in the other moods it is regularly periphrastic: *Xen. Hell.* 4. 8. 16 συνειληφῶς εἴη, 4. 8. 35 προσειληφῶς εἴη, 5. 2. 35 μετειληφῶς εἴη.

The Greek rhetoricians spoke of ῥήματα ποιητικά and ῥήματα παθητικά (verbs active and passive). Note also the similarity in meaning of πράξις and πάθος, as used by the tragedians: Αἴαντος πράξιν (Soph. *Ai.* 790), πράξιν Ἰούδ (Aesch. *Prom.* 695). The noun πράξις in these passages is equivalent to τὸ πεπραγέναι (= κατάστασις) Cp. *Winter's Tale* l. 2 'What case stand I in?' So δρᾶν (frequent in the perfect) and πράττειν are often used for πάσχειν.¹

These constitute all the examples of the perfect subjunctive active in prose, except κεκοινωνήκωσι (Plato *Leg.* 753 B) combined with a present, but the aorist 881 E with aorists, if we exclude ἂν λελήθης (Xen. *Hipparch.* 4. 15), which has its counterpart in λελήθου (Plato, *Symp.* 3. 6)—another case of ποικιλία (the optative following the indicative). The perfect of λανθάνειν is a present and the pluperfect an imperfect in feeling. Cp. Ar. *Ach.* 822 πολὺν με χρόνον καὶ νῦν ἐλελήθεις, *Nub.* 380 τοῦτέ μ' ἐλελήθει, Soph. *O.T.* 366 f. λεληθέναι σε φημί . . . οὐδ' ὄρᾶν, *Thuc.* 8. 33. 2 καθωρμίσαντο καὶ ἐλελήθεσαν ἀλλήλους, Xen. *Oec.* 18. 10 ἐλελήθειν, *Cyrop.* 2. 4. 25 λεληθέναι δὲ δεῖ. What might be considered the earliest example of a perfect subjunctive is προβεβήκη (Π 54), but this is not a perfect; nor is the same verb in Sophocles, *El.* 1057: ὅταν γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς | ἤδη βεβήκης, τὰμ' ἐπαινέσεις ἔπη. Cp. 1093 f. ἐπεὶ σ' ἐφηύρηκα μοῖρα μὲν οὐκ ἐν ἐσθλῇ βεβῶσαν, *Phil.* 493f. δέδοικ' ἐγὼ | μὴ μοι βεβήκη. One has only to recall the Homeric βεβήκειν, *O* 90. Cp. δ 400 ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκη, θ 540 ἄχος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν, ι 198 ὃς Ἴσμαρον ἀμφιβεβήκειν, μ 74 νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφιβέβηκεν. There are almost a hundred cases of the perfect indicative of βαίνω in the dramatic poets, and a mere glance at these will convince one that the emphasis is on the present sphere of action instead of the past.² A few examples will suffice: Aesch. *Suppl.* 471 ἐσβέβηκα, *Ag.* 36f. βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας | βέκηκεν, Soph. *O.T.* 802 f. κατὰ πωλικῆς | ἀνήρ ἀπήνης ἐμβεβῶς, *O. C.* 52 τίς ἐσθ' ὁ χῶρος δῆτ', ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν; (to which the stranger replies ὄνδ' ἐπιστείβεις τόπον κτέ.), 610 ff. φθίνει . . . θηήσκει . . . βλαστάνει . . . βέβηκεν, 1358 ff. ἐν πόνῳ | ταῦτῳ βεβηκῶς τυγχάνεις, 1684 νῦν ἐπ' ὄμμασιν βέβακε, *Ani.* 67 τοῖς ἐν

τέλει βεβῶσι, *Tr.* 40 f. ὅπου | βέβηκεν οὐδεὶς οἶδε, Eur. *Hel.* 617 βεβηκυῖαν μυχοῦς, 1613 βεβᾶσι δ' ἐκ γῆς (= οἰχονται), *H. F.* 880 βέβακεν ἐν δίφροισιν, *I. T.* 1289 βεβᾶσι φροῦδοι, *Or.* 971 βέβακε γὰρ βέβακεν, οἰχεται, 1044 θανάτου πέλας βεβῶσι, *Tr.* 289 βέβακα δύσποτμος, οἰχομαι, 1078 οὐράνιον ἔδρανον ἐπιβεβῶς, *Fr.* 196 ἐν ὄλβῳ μὴ σαφεῖ βεβηκότες. The form κεκλάγγω in Ar. *Vesp.* 929 (onomatopoeitic) is not a perfect. In the next verse we read κεκλάγγομαι, which bears the same relation to κέκλαγγα as τεθνήξω (654) to τέθνηκα, and as κεκράξομαι (*Eg.* 285) to κέκραγα, κέκραχθι.³

It remains to consider a perfect subjunctive form in Ar. *Av.* 1350: ὃς ἂν πεπλήγγῃ τὸν πατέρα νεοττὸς ὦν. Here the relative subjunctive clause is equivalent to ὁ πεπληγῶς (generic), the perfect being used to emphasize the character of the criminal, who is not a πατροκτόνος, but a πατροτύπτης.⁴ But the form may, after all, be a present. The idea was usually expressed by the phrase πηλγὰς ἐντετακέμαι. The indicative πέπληγα in classic Attic is very rare.⁵

Even the quasi-perfects (the periphrastic forms) are confined to one or two authors (mostly in Xenophon—one or two in Plato, one or two in the whole Demosthenean corpus). That the participles generally have the force of adjectives is evident from such examples as the phrases in Xenophon ἐπειδὴν σαφὲς ἦ, ἐπειδὴν ἐσθηκότα ἦ, and *Cyrop.* 4. 2. 3 ὅτι νῦν τεθναίῃ . . . ἤττημένοι δ' εἶεν . . . φόβος δ' ἐνείη, *Hipparch.* 2. 3 ὅταν τό τε ἡγούμενον τοῦ τομῶς ἐρρωμένον ἦ καὶ τὸ ἐπελανυόμενον ἱκανόν (cp. 5. 3), Plato, *Anterast.* 132 B ἡρόμην ὅ τι ποθ' οὕτως ἐσπουδακότε τὸ μειρακίῳ εἶτην (where the dual subject is thrust in between εἶτην and the dual participle). Cp. *Rep. Lac.* 12. 7 ἐπειδὴν ἄσωσιν εἰς θεοῦς οἷς ἂν κεκαλλιεργήκότες ᾖσιν, Dem. 19. 224 ἀναπεπτωκότες ἦτε, 23. 94 ἦ τοῦτ' ἀποπεφευγός.

In οὐδ' ἔστιν ἄθλου τέρμα σοι προκείμενον; (Aesch. *Prom.* 257) the participle is an afterthought, the predicating idea re-asserting itself. If the verb and participle had been juxtaposed (as *Persae* 371 ἦν προκείμενον) the verbal element in the participle would have vanished, being neutralized by ἐστίν, and the participle

³ Cp. § 30 κεκλήγοντες, Callim. *Iou.* 53 πεπλήγοντες, as if from present πεπλήγω. In Xen. *An.* 6. 1. 5 πεπληγῆναι is passive.

⁴ Cp. Soph. *Ani.* 483 τοῦτοισι ἐπαυχεῖν καὶ δεδρακυῖαν γελᾶν.

⁵ Socrates quotes an epigram which contains the form τεθλήη (Plato, *Phaedr.* 264 D). For Ar. *Av.* 1457 see below.

¹ Cp. Soph. *O. C.* 266 f. τὰ γ' ἔργα μου | πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μάλλον ἢ δεκρακτότα and *Ai.* 347 τὰ τοῦδε πράγη, καὶ τὸς ὡς ἔχων κυρεῖ. Cp. also Plato, *Rep.* 603 C.

² Cp. γέγονα in contradistinction to γενένημαι, and see Isoc. 4. 150 τοῦτων οὐδὲν ἀλόγως γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντ' εἰκότως ἀποβέβηκεν.

would have become merely adjectival.¹ The perfect participle is often associated with other adjectives (seldom the other tenses): Aesch. *Prom.* 819 λοιπὸν ἢ παρεμείνον, Plato, *Gorg.* 502 B ἡδὺ καὶ κεχαρισμένον, *Phaedo* 108 B τὴν μὲν ἀκάθαρτον καὶ τὴν πεποιτικῶν τοιοῦτον, ἢ φόνων ἀδικῶν ἡμμένην ἢ ἄλλ' ἅττα τοιαῦτα εἰργασμένην, Lycurg. 68 ἀνόητος καὶ καταπεφρονηκώς.²

Forms like δλώλη (Δ 164), μεμῆλη (353), δεδίη (*Rep. Athen.* 1. 11), ἐφεστήκη (Plato, *Sympr.* 175 B), ἐστήκωμεν (*Xen. An.* 6. 5. 10), ἐπανεστήκη (*Ar. Av.* 554), though not common, are found (inasmuch as they are virtual presents) in all periods of the literature. Occasionally they occur in periphrastic form, as Isoc. 5. 8, Plato, *Leg.* 714 C καθεστηκῶς ἢ. The periphrastic perfect subjunctive passive on the other hand is confined practically to three authors—Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes. In the former there are only fourteen examples: *Cyrop.* 1. 6. 41 ἡσκημένα ἢ, μεμελετημένοι ὦσιν, 4. 2. 37 παρεσκευασμένα ἢ (merely the present subjunctive, as can be seen by a comparison with *Xen. Mem.* 3. 4. 11 εἰς ἀπαράσκευον ἢ), 5. 3. 40 συνεσκευασμένοι ὦσι, 7. 1. 30 ἡθροισμένη ἢ, *Mem.* 3. 8. 6 πεπονημένος ἢ, *Cypr.* 8. 3 ἐπηλλαγμένα ἢ, *Hipparch.* 2. 1 ἐξἡσκημένοι ὦσιν, 4. 8 εἰσηγγεμένοι ὦσιν, *Sympr.* 5. 4 εἰργασμένα ἢ, *Hell.* 6. 1. 15 ὄρημένοι ἢ, *De Re Equestr.* 10. 15 ἀφικνήμενοι ἢ, 12. 2 εἰργασμένοι ἢ. In Plato there are thirteen, e.g. *Meno* 97 D δεδεμένα ἢ, *Hipp. Min.* 363 D παρεσκευασμένοι ἢ, *Rep.* 361 C ἢ βεβασανισμένος, *Tim.* 83 B διεφθαρμένοι ἢ, *Leg.* 850 D γεγραμμένοι ὦσιν. *Cr.* *Dem.* 14. 19 ἢ συνταγμένα, 18. 178 ὦμεν διωκόμενοι, 18. 228 ἢ πεπραγμένοι, 58. 21 ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἢ, 58. 59 ἢ καταλειμμένοι, *Prooimion* 37 ἀπηλλαγμένοι ἢ. *Cr.* 42. The remainder are *Ar. Lys.* 567 ἢ τεταραγμένοι, *Eccl.* 274 ἢτε περιηροσμένοι, *Hdt.* 3. 130 ἢ ἀπεστερημένοι, 4. 46 ἢ ἐκτισμένα, 4. 66 κατεργασμένοι ἢ, *Isoc.* 5. 11 ἢ γεγραμμένοι. It will have been observed that the same participle reappears several times in these combinations. *Cr.* *Lys.* 15. 5 οἰδέεις πω . . . ἢν παρεσκευασμένος (*bereit, pronto, paratus, ready*), Plato, *Rep.* 601 D ἢ πεπονημένοι ἢ πεφυκός, *Leg.* 829 D εἰς πεφύκη, *Soph. Tr.* 663 ff. δέδοικα μὴ π' ἀριστερὰ | πεπραγμέν' ἢ μοι πάνθ' ὄσ' ἀρίτως ἔδρων.

Even the periphrastic active, which is given prominence in most grammars and commentaries, is very rare, and is confined to one or two verbs. The participle is felt as an adjective, separate and apart from the

verb, just as the perfect participle passive loses its verbal nature when juxtaposed to the verb, whereas this nature reasserts itself when the participle is removed to a distance; but in both cases εἶναι is generally felt to be independent of the participle, and not a part of a compound verb. So the present participle in *Lysias* 12.6 expresses a supplementary idea: ὡς εἶέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι = εἶέν τινες οἱ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθουτο.

The grammarians cannot escape criticism for giving such a prominent place to the perfect subjunctive in the paradigm by saying that it was intended to be a model for such forms as ἐστήκη, πεποιθῶ (ω 329), for they invariably—German, French, Italian, English—attempt to give the *force* of the perfect in translation. The regular form of the subjunctive in *Xen. Cyrop.* 8. 7 (ἐστηκότα ἢ) is ἐστήκη; but this is not a *perfect* any more than ἦκη is a *present*. Both verbs have the same termination as the present and aorist subjunctives.

There are two examples of the periphrastic active subjunctive in *Herodotus* (3. 119 πεπονηκότες ἔωσι, 4. 66) and five in *Xenophon* (*Cyrop.* 3. 3. 50 ἡσκηκότες ὦσι, *Cypr.* 6. 18 ἐαλωκώς ἢ, 6. 19 προειληφύϊαι ὦσι, *διημαρτηκώς ἢ*, 6. 24 ἢ ἐαλωκώς).

In the orators one appears in *Lycurgus* 116 (εἰληφότες ὦσι), one in *Pseudo-Demades* (ἢ παρηκολουθηκώς), three in *Demosthenes* (19. 2 δεδωκότες ὦσιν), 19. 16 βεβοηθηκώς ἢ, 25, 71 ἡδικηκώς ἢ), and two in *Plato*, *Gorg.* 481 A ἡρπакώς ἢ, ἡδικηκώς ἢ).

Practically the same remarks apply to the perfect optative active as to the perfect subjunctive. There are very few examples in the extant Greek literature ending in -κοι. The first occurs in *Hdt.* 1. 86 ἀποβιβήκοι, the second in 1. 119 βεβρώκοι and the third in 3. 75 πεποϊκοι. *Cr.* 6. 49 πεποϊκοιεν. After my manuscript went to the printer I found another (*Pausanias* 2. 3. 11 ἡμαρτήκοι). But this paper has to do with the classical literature, and takes no account of the writers of the later period. Even here I have met with but one example in many thousand pages. The first and last of these are the very verbs which barely emerge in literature in the subjunctive perfect. For a discussion of the subject see pp. 349, 350. Next to πέπονθα there is no verb that appears so often in periphrastic form as πεποϊήκα, and just as πεπονθώς εἶη glided into πεπόηθοι,³ so πεπονηκώς εἶη could, under pressure, yield πεποϊήκοι. In *Xen. An.* 5. 7. 26 we read ἐμπεπτώκοι.⁴ But

¹ *Cr.* 755 οἰδέεν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον.

² Periphrases in any mood with the aorist participle are rare; with the perfect frequent.

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³ See p. 349 b.

⁴ But ἐμπεπτωκώς εἶη in *Plato*, *Rep.* 569 c.

ἐμπέπτωκα, like πέπονθα, was felt as a present, as is shown by abundant examples, not only in Xenophon (who has a predilection for perfects and pluperfects—see the *Cyropædia* passim), but in other authors as well. The same may be said of the verb which serves as an active of ἐμπίπτω, which appears in *Thuc.* 2. 48. 2 in the perfect optative: ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκειον ἐς τὰ φρέατα. Cp. 2. 54. 5 ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, 2. 81. 1 αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ τε γῆν πολλὴν στρατιᾶν ἐσβεβληκῆσαν, 4. 1. 3 ἐσβεβλήκεισαν ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ἑργίτων οἱ Λοκροὶ πανστρατιά, 4. 24. 3 ἐσβεβλήκεισαν πανδημί. Only one other example is found in Thucydides, and this one requires only a passing notice (8. 108. 1 πεποῖηκοι). Xenophon has ἀποστεροῖη followed by ἐξήπατῆκοι in *Mem.* 1. 7. 5 and ἀποκεχωρήκοι in *Hell.* 3. 5. 23 (preceded, however, by τετελευτηκῶς εἶη). This optative is simply equivalent to οἴχοιτο. Cp. *Cyrop.* 2. 3. 16 προκεχωρήκει. So in the modern literary language this tense is occasionally found in the participle (εἰς προκεχωρηκῆσαν ὄραν). Yet the perfect active participle is not regarded by the grammarians as a regular Modern Greek form. The solitary remaining example in prose is Lysias 23. 3 ὠφλήκοι. A comparison with *Dem.* 40. 34 is instructive: δίκην δὲ ἐξούλης ὠφληκῶς ταύτην οὐκ αὐτὸς ὠφληκῆναι φησίν. This verb in the perfect stands on the border land of the present, and the orator does not hesitate to use the perfect form of the optative any more than he would have hesitated to use πεποιθῆκοι (*Ar. Ach.* 940), or πεποῖηθης (v. 344). Cp. *Ar. Av.* 1457 ὅπως ἂν ὠφλήκη. An instrument of marvellous flexibility, the Greek language responds to all demands made upon it. 'Mobile et variée à l'infini, tout en restant la même, cette langue fait, par son apparente indiscipline, le désespoir des grammairiens rigides et les délices des esprits qui savent la goûter.'¹

In poetry there are no perfect optatives ending in -κοι. Of other endings there are only three in prose (excluding λελήθοι and πεπόνθοι already discussed) and one in poetry: καταλελοίπειον (*Xen. Hell.* 3. 2. 8), προεληλυθούης (*Cyrop.* 2. 4. 17), περιεληλυθού (*Hdt.* 3. 140), ἐκπεφενγούην (*Soph. O. T.* 840).

The perfect optative, middle and passive, was not used by the Greeks. True, there is one example in all the grammars (διαβεβλήσθε); but as this is the only example in Greek literature and occurs in that un-rhetorical orator Andocides (2. 24), I am inclined to think it should not be cited at all. When other writers desire to employ

¹ H. Weil in *Journal des Savants*, May 1901.

the tense, they use the periphrastic form: *Xen. An.* 7. 6. 44 διαβεβλημένος εἶη, *Plato Phædr.* 255A εἰαν διαβεβλημένος ᾗ. Present optatives in perfect form occur as early as Homer (Ω 745 μεμνήμη), and are found in all departments of the literature. Cp. κεκτώμεθα (*Eur. Heracl.* 282), κεκλήμεθα (*Ar. Lys.* 253), μεμνήτο (*Plut.* 991), μεμνήσθε (*Andoc.* 1. 41), τεθναίεν (*Xen. Agesil.* 7. 5), κεκτῆτο (9. 7); but τεθνηκότες εἶεν (*Thuc.* 2. 6. 3), and τεθνεὺς εἶη (*Hdt.* 4. 14).

Even the periphrastic forms of the optative are very rare in the earlier language, and are frequent only in Plato, Xenophon, and Demosthenes. There is only one example in Thucydides (1. 67 λευκότες εἶεν). Herodotus shows examples in two passages of the 'active' and 'passive' verbs already discussed (1. 44 πεπονθῶς εἶη, 3. 119 πεπονθότες εἶησαν . . . οἱ ἐξ πεποιηκότες ἔωσι ταῦτα . . . εἶη, ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς) and two of other verbs (3. 64 ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, 7. 214 ὠμληκῶς εἶη). In the orators there are very few examples: one in Andocides (1. 63 πεποιηκῶς δὲ οὐκ εἶην, where the insertion of δὲ οὐκ indicates that the participle is substantival), two in Lysias (1. 1 εἴητε τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες, 12. 81 τί γὰρ ἂν παθόντες δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν εἶησαν τῶν ἔργων δεδωκότες = πεπονθότες), Isocrates four (12. 30 εἶην εἰρηκῶς, 14. 6 εἶη συμβεβηκῶς = γεγονός, 17. 11 δεδωκῶς εἶη, 21. 3 πεπονθῶς εἶη), Isæus two (6. 42 ἐνηροχότες εἶεν, 8. 23 εἶη καταλειπῶς), Aeschines one (2. 155 εἶη διημαρτηκῶς). In the Demosthenean corpus there are fifteen examples, mostly with verbs already cited: 18. 22 κекωλυκῶς εἶην, 19. 32 συμβεβηκῶς ἂν εἶην, 19. 71 πεποιηκότες εἴητε, 19. 134 δεδωκότες εἶεν, 20. 82 εἶη πεπονθῶς (followed by ἀφαιρεθείη),² 21. 196 εἶης ἂν εἰρηκῶς (followed by εἰ δύναιο), 23. 86 ἂν εἰρηκῶς εἶη, 24. 4 εἶης πεπονθῶς (preceded by δούης δίκην), 30. 2 εἰληφῶς εἶη, 30. 11 εἶεν οὐκ εὐθὺς δεδωκότες, 34. 49 εἶη εἰρηκῶς, 35. 31 ἀπολωλότ' εἶη, 35. 36 δεδανεικῶς εἶη, and ἀπολωλός εἶη, 47. 38 εἶη γεγαμηκῶς, 39. 15 εἶη ἐγγεγραφῶς, 48. 19 ἀποδεωκῶς εἶη, 52. 8 ἐπιδεδημικῶς εἶη, 52. 19 τετελευτηκῶς εἶη, and καταλειπῶς εἶη,³

² Cp. 20. 133 δεινότατ' ἂν πεπονθῶς ὁ Χαβρίας φανείη, where the aorist optative of φαίνεσθαι shows clearly that the participle is not felt altogether as a part of a compound tense; *Isoc.* 12. 149 ταῦτ' ἔμοι φανείην ἂν πεπονθότες, 12. 172 φανείην ἂν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων γεγραφῶς, 12. 209 φανείην πολλῶν ἐρημάτων καὶ μαθητῶν καὶ διδασκαλοῦ γεγονότες. Cp. the Italian 'rimase ferito in una gamba,' 'la questione va studiata,' 'veniva cantato dal popolo.' Cp. also *Xen. Cyrop.* 1. 6. 22 ἐξεληλεγμένους ἂν προσέτι καὶ ἀλαζῶν φαίνοιο.

³ Sonnenschein's paradigm on p. 66 is as follows: λέλοιπα -ω -ης -η, -οιμι -οις -οι. True, we find καταλειπόμενοι once (*Xen. Hell.* 3. 2. 8) in *oratio*

53. 18 ἀπεκτονῶς εἶη, 57. 44 πεποιθῶς εἶην, 59. 69 ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, Prooimion 24 εἰρηκῶς εἶη.

Plato has just as many examples as Demosthenes, but ten of these are with γερονός and πεφυκός, and many of the remainder are from verbs that have constantly recurred in the examples already cited: *Phaedo* 109C and *Rep.* 493C ἑωρακῶς εἶη, *Tim.* 68D ἡγνοκῶς ἂν εἶη, *Meno* 85D εἰληφῶς εἶη, *Menex.* 140B ἀποπεφευγῶς εἶη, *Hipp. Min.* 364E πεποικῶς εἶη, *Phaedr.* 262D ἐπιπεπνευκῶς ἂν ἡμῖν εἶεν, 263B ἂν εἶη κατανενοκῶς, *Gorg.* 522 βεβοθηκῶς εἶη, *Rep.* 569C ἂν ἐμπεπτωκῶς εἶη, *Crito* 120A παραβεβηκῶς εἶη, *Leg.* 658D ἂν νενικηκῶς εἶη, 698D ἀποπεφευγῶς εἶη, 896C εἰρηκῶς ἂν εἶμεν, *Erist.* 2, 339B ἐπιδεδωκῶς εἶη. Xenophon has only half as many examples as Plato and Demosthenes: *Cyrop.* 1. 6. 22 ἐξῆπατηκῶς εἶης ἂν,¹ 1. 6. 26 ἡσκηκῶτες εἶεν, 3. 3. 50 μεμελετηκῶτες εἶεν, *Hell.* 1. 4. 2. πεπραγῶτες εἶεν, 1. 5. 2. πεποικῶς εἶη, 4. 3. 1. πεπτωκῶτες εἶεν, 6. 5. 52. παρεληλυθῶτες εἶεν, *An.* 5. 6. 35 ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, 6. 6. 25 πεποικῶς εἶη, *De re equestr.* 7. 4 ἀναβεβηκῶς ἂν εἶη, 7. 5 ἂν διαβεβηκῶς εἶη, *Rep. Lac.* 2. 3 ἡσκηκῶς εἶη.

The periphrastic perfect optative passive is not so common as might be supposed. Barring such forms as κεκλημένος εἶη (ζ 244), there is only one example in Homer (τετελεισμένον εἶη, ο 536 and ρ 163). The lyric poets do not know the form. The same may be said of the tragic poets, with the exception of Euripides.² Aristophanes has just one example: *Plut.* 680 εἶ που πόπανον εἶη τι καταλελειμμένον, where both the word and the interposition of τί indicate that the participle is adjectival. Cp. *Soph. Ai.* 740.

Of the historians Xenophon is the only one in which the form is often found. Herodotus shows nine examples, Thucydides two, one of which is active in meaning

obliqua. So nearly all the other perfect optatives active that appear in the extant literature are found in this construction; but the usual change is to the periphrastic form. Considering the vast number of perfect indicatives (and infinitives), the absence of the perfect optative active appears all the more remarkable, since it had the same opportunity to develop, when once started, as the *future* optative, which, though a mere mechanical addition to fill out the scheme (like Sonnenschein's λελοίπομαι), grew apace (after Pindar) until it flourished in Plato, in the orators, and particularly in Xenophon. Perhaps the perfect optative was felt to be too cumbersome.

¹ But ἐξῆπατῆκοι in *Mem.* 1. 7. 5, see above.

² Of the *active* no tragic poet shows a single example. In *Soph. Phil.* 550 editors read εἶεν συννευστοληκῶτες, but all the manuscripts have οἱ νευαστοληκῶτες.

(8. 51. 1 πεπυσμένους εἶη, 6. 11. 4 ἐκπεπληγμένοι εἶεν). Xenophon has about forty examples; Plato about twenty-five.

In the orators there are very few instances of the perfect optative middle and passive, even including Demosthenes. Andocides has two (1. 39 εἶεν περιεκομμένοι, 1. 41 δεδογμένον ἡμῖν εἶη), Lysias seven, Isocrates three, Isaeus three, Demosthenes seven.

But the strictures I have made on our manuals with reference to the perfect subjunctive and optative apply with still greater force to the imperative. Of a score of grammars I have examined, Krüger and Goodell alone bracket, or omit, the perfect imperative active, the only grammarians that are careful enough to indicate (in the paradigm) to the learner that this form is not in use. That the passive is employed by many writers is well known. But even this form is rare except in Plato (*Laws* and *Republic*). Even the inevitable εἰρήσθω of Herodotus and the orators is not so frequent as we might fancy from its appearance in speeches that are usually read in the class-room; and few verbs besides εἰρήσθω are found in the perfect imperative from Antiphon to Demosthenes.³ Plato, on the other hand, who uses more imperatives in the third person than all the other prose writers combined (hundreds in the *Laws* alone), naturally makes use of a goodly number of perfects, and we are not surprised to find ὠμολογήσθω, τετολημῆσθω, ἀπειργάσθω, πεπλάσθω, ἀπολελογίσθω, ὀνομάσθω, δεδόσθω, λελέχθω, πεφάσθω, ἠρωτήσθω, κεχηρησμηδῆσθω, ἐπιδείξεισθω, πεπειράσθω, γεγράψθω, ἡτιμάσθω, δεδόχθω, νενομοθετήσθω, ὠρίσθω, ἐπιτετράφθω, πεποιήσθω, κεχαρίσθω, πεπαίσθω, εἰστιάσθω, ἀναβεβλήσθω, τετάχθω. But very rarely in the poets, as *Ar. Vesp.* 1191 πεπειράσθω, *Theogn.* 681 ἡνίχθω. The meaning is unmistakable. The action belongs to the same sphere as the future perfect passive; one is a statement, the other a command. When Ajax says τὰ δ' ἄλλα τεύχη κοῖν' ἐμοὶ τεθάψεται (*Soph. Ai.* 577), he is simply making a declaration; if he had used the perfect imperative, he would have issued an order; but in both cases it is the voice of doom. When Glaukon says μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται. . . . ἀνασχνδυλευθήσεται (*Plato Rep.* 361E), there is no possibility of misdoubting the meaning he desires to put in δεδήσεται—ὁ δίκαιος is to be kept in prison.⁴ Similarly

³ Except, of course, δεδέσθω in the spurious νόμοι.

⁴ Cp. δεδέσθω *supra*.

when Hephaestus says ἀνεσταυρώσθω (Lucian *Prom.* 186) Prometheus is to be left on the stake. Cp. the Platonic question 'εἰρήσεται;' to which the interlocutor replies εἰρήσθω: and Isocrates 7. 76 εἰρήσεται γὰρ πᾶληθές.

Next to Plato, Herodotus has the greatest number of perfect imperatives, but they are all with the verb *to say*, except one (8. 8 ἀποδεδέχθω): 1. 92; 2. 34; 2. 76; 3. 113; 4. 15; 4. 45; 4. 127 (all εἰρήσθω): 2. 125; 3. 81 (λελέχθω). Xenophon comes next with five, four of which are in the tract on horsemanship (2. 5 προστετάχθω, 6. 9 δεδιδάχθω, 10. 17 γεγράφθω, 12. 14 γεγράφθω) and a solitary εἰρήσθω in *Mem.* 4. 2. 19. Thucydides shows three examples (1. 71. 4 ὀρίσθω, 1. 129. 3 κεκωλύσθω, 5. 91. 1 ἀφείσθω). In the orators the form is very rare, and even so always εἰρήσθω (Lys. 24. 4, Isoc. 4. 14, Isae. 5. 12, Aeschin. 3. 24), except δεδόσθω (Dem. 20. 149) and ψείσθω, Aeschin. 1. 162. Presents in the perfect form are, of course, frequent: Δ 189 ἀνώχθω, μ 51 ἀνήφθω, Soph. *El.* 362 κείσθω. The second person of the perfect passive and middle

imperative is very rare (Dem. 24. 64 πέπανσο, Ar. *Thesm.* 1208 λέλυσσο), except the virtual presents (Ar. *Ach.* 985 κατάκεισο, Soph. *Phil.* 84 κέκλησο). In Υ 377 I take δέδεξο to be an aorist. Cp. δέξο in T 10, λελαθέσθω in Π 200; but τετράφθω M 273.

By the time our next grammar makes its appearance scholars will be ready to give up the old familiar mythical forms; and they will rest content to see the rare formations relegated to a foot-note, transferred from the conspicuous paradigm to the bottom of the page. Kaegi's contributions 'zur Verminderung des Lernstoffes' have been a boon to beginners; and I cannot refrain, in concluding this paper, from referring to Professor Lanman's story of the boy whose soul had been tried in his endeavour to master the paradigm of the verb in a grammar of the old type, in which, in the blank space beneath the forbidding FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE, was printed the word 'omitted,' beneath which again, the duly grateful learner had written: 'Omitted. Thank God!'

J. E. HARRY.

ON THE TUNICA RETIARII.

(JUVENAL II. 143 ff.; VIII. 199 ff.; VI. BODLEIAN FRAGMENT 9 ff.)

IN each of these three passages the *tunica* is mentioned in connexion with the *retiarius*. They are discussed by Mr. Housman in the *Classical Review*, xviii. 395 ff. He there draws attention to the fact that (as far as is known) in only one other passage of Latin literature, Suet. *Calig.* 30, is the *retiarius* described as wearing the *tunica*, while in the monuments (of which, however, there are few) he usually has no *tunica* but only a *subligaculum* or waist-cloth. The *tunica*, Mr. Housman thinks, is mentioned for a special reason: its presence importing to the popular opinion the moral degradation of the wearer. Though it may be granted that persons of scandalous or broken character may often have adopted the degraded calling of the gladiator, either like Gracchus, apparently for choice, or, like the rival of Propertius, because they had no choice in the matter (Prop. iv. 8. 25 qui dabit immundae uenalia fata saginae, | uincet ubi erasas barba pudenda genas), one may well ask why the wearing of a *tunica* by a gladiator, the bare statement that he is *tunicatus*,

should be sufficient in itself to convey the imputation of a vile effeminacy. Effeminacy might be suggested by an abnormally long *tunica* (Plaut. *Poen.* 1303, Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 25, Cic. II. *Ferr.* v. §§ 31 and 86): it might be suggested by a sleeved *tunica* (Cic. *Cat.* ii. § 22, Verg. *Aen.* ix. 616, Gell. vi. (vii.) 12 Lamprid. *Heliogab.* 26): but, to say nothing of the fact that the *tunica* was the dress of young Romans when taking vigorous exercise in the Campus Martius (Cic. *Cael.* § 11), when we remember that further it was the ordinary dress of the Roman citizen, the *tunicatus populus* (Tac. *Dial.* 7) or *popellus* (Hor. *Epp.* i. 7. 65: cp. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* ii. § 94), and that a short *tunica* was worn by that virile class the centurions (Quintil. xi. 3. 138), and that it was worn in general by slaves (Juv. i. 93), it is surely impossible to believe that the mere wearing of a *tunica* would suggest the imputation of lewdness. At any rate we know that such suspicion was usually conveyed in far other language. Take, for example, Phaedrus app. 8. 1 ff. magni Pompei miles uasti corporis | fracte

loquendo et ambulando molliter | famam cinaedi traxerat certissimam; or take Seneca *Epp.* 52 § 12 impudicum et incessus ostendit et manus mota et unum interdum responsum et relatus ad caput digitus et flexus oculorum.

If then the wearing of the *tunica* by a *retiaris* did not indicate what Mr. Housman suggests, what did it indicate? Here it must be remarked that though existing monuments show the *retiaris* more often wearing the *subligaculum* than the *tunica*, they are few in number, and as a fact a *retiaris tunicatus* is depicted more than once, notably in the Albani mosaic (Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Pl. 197), where the *retiaris* Kalendio with bare head wears a *tunica*, which just covers his middle and part of his left arm, and has a shoulder-guard. I am inclined to conjecture that the *tunica* was worn by free Romans, when serving as *retiaris*, to distinguish them from the ordinary gladiators, who were slaves, prisoners, criminals, and such like, who fought *nudi* wearing only the *subligaculum*, which Martial calls a cheaper form of dress (*Mart.* xiv. 153). The many free Romans who fought as gladiators, either voluntarily (*Tertull.* *ad nat.* i. 18 *gladius quot et quantos viros uoluntarios!* *Suet.* *Calig.* 27; *Mau.* *Pompeii*, E. Tr. pp. 224, 225; *Dill*, *Roman Society*, p. 242) or under compulsion of the emperor (*Tac.* A. xiv. 14; *H.* ii. 62; *Suet.* *Nero* 12), might naturally have elected to wear some distinctive dress. This explanation fits in very well with the evidence of the monuments, which show the *retiaris* more often dressed in the *subligaculum*, since gladiators of free status were presumably less common than constrained professionals. It also makes intelligible the passage of Suetonius, *Calig.* 30, which does not afford any support to Mr. Housman's theory, and which he terms obscure. The words are: 'retiaris tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes, sine certamine ullo totidem secutoribus succubuerant: cum occidi iuberentur, unus, resumpta fuscina, omnes victores interemit. hanc, ut crudelissimam caedem, et defleuit edicto, et eos, qui spectare sustinuissent, execratus est.' Suetonius in this chapter is illustrating the *saevitia* of Caligula against all classes alike, senators, equites, and the mass of common people. Five *retiaris*, he says, who had been conquered by as many *secutores*, were on the point of being killed, when one of them recovered his trident and despatched all the five victors. Now why did Caligula protest against this as cruel butchery? Be-

cause he hated the free Romans, of whom he said 'utinam populus Romanus unam ceruicem haberet!' and so we learn that in outrage to Roman feeling he exposed masters to informations by their own slaves (*Ioseph.* *Antiq.* xix. 1. 2). Because he would have preferred that the free Romans should be killed by the professionals. Because, as was often the case with the emperors, his sympathies were with the worthless class who ministered to the public pleasures, the actors, circus-riders, and gladiators: it is said that of these he specially favoured the Thraeces (*Suet.* *Calig.* 55), and that he even appeared himself as a gladiator (*Dio*, lxi. 5). So understood the passage makes sense. There is certainly nothing in it to suggest that Caligula deplored the survival of these *retiaris* as being immoral persons. That would have been rather a recommendation in his eyes.

Now if we consider in this light the Bodleian fragment of vi. 9 ff.

quid quod nec retia turpi
inunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem
munimenta umeri pulsata arcaque tridentem
qui nudus pugnare solet?

the words become intelligible. *Turpis tunica* means what it ought to mean, the *tunica* worn by a person who is *turpis*. By *turpis* is meant a person of scandalous character or who followed a scandalous profession. The expression often occurs in connexion with *infamis* and *infamia*. Gladiators, as is well known, were *infames* (*Lex Iulia municip.* 113; *Tertull.* *de spect.* 22; *Daremberg* and *Saglio*, iii. 1574; *Roby*, *Roman Private Law*, ii. 328): they were *infames* as being *turpes* on account of their calling: they belonged to that class of *infames* whose legal disabilities were due to their conduct (*quos scelus aut uitae turpitudine inquinat*, *Cod.* XII. 1. 2): their vileness caused them to be classed with prodigals and spendthrifts, and as such for example they were excluded from the benefits of the edict *de dolo malo* (*Dig.* iv. 3. 11 non dabitur—luxurioso atque prodigo aut alias uili aduersus hominem uitae emendationis). When Prudentius speaks of a gladiator as vile, he means that he is *turpis* in this sense (*Prudent.* *peristeph.* vi. 65 uilis gladiator ense duro | percussus cadit). The meaning then is that the ordinary *retiaris*, 'qui nudus pugnare solet,' does not put his arms—his net, shoulder-guard, and trident—in the same closet and chest with the *tunica* of the *retiaris tunicatus*, a vile amateur gladiator 'qui se ad gladium locat' to use the words of Seneca

(*Ep.* 87 § 9), whose mode of life has rendered him legally infamous. This does not of course imply that the ordinary *retiarium* is not himself also *turpis*, but by *turpis tunica* is meant the *tunica* of one who is *turpis*, as distinguished from the *tunica* of those who are not.

I may here remark that line 11 appears thus in the Bodleian manuscript corruptly :

munimenta umeri pulsatamque arma tridentem.

For this my emendation *pulsata arcaque tridentem* seems to me preferable to Mr. Housman's *pulsata hastamque tridentem*. The error, I imagine, arose from transposition: *arcaque* became *que arca*, which gave rise to *que arma*. The *arca* in question I take to have been a chest for holding gladiators' arms and dress. In the excavations of the barracks of the gladiators at Pompeii 'in the same room with the daggers and the sword were the remains of two wooden chests containing cloth with gold thread: this may have been used in gladiators' costumes' (Mau, *Pompeii*, E. Tr. p. 163). I suggest that the gold thread belonged to embroidered *tunicae*.

Turning to the passage ii. 143 ff. it now seems pretty obvious why Gracchus fights *tunicatus*. Gracchus was a noble, a senator, a member of the august priestly college of *Salii*, and as such we are told had carried the holy *ancilia* (ii. 125). But not content with the unnatural union described in 117 ff., which was an offence against morality, he increased the scandal of his immoral life by entering the arena as a *retiarium*, which was an offence against religion. And the *tunica* which he wore, as we shall see later, would appear to have been the official *tunica* of the *Salii*. The spectacle of a venerated functionary of Mars, the tutelary god of Rome, appearing in his sacred dress to exercise the most degraded of callings may well have shocked Roman feeling. It is not necessary to insist, as Mr. Housman does, that, because effeminacy is the subject of the satire, Juvenal cannot have strayed from the subject of effeminacy, but that by the cryptic word *tunicatus* here also he is suggesting it. Juvenal is often discursive (see notably xiv. 240 ff., *C. R.* ix. 348); and moreover there have always been persons sufficiently old-fashioned to regard flagrant offences against religion as worse even than those against morality: which is just what Juvenal is here saying. Gracchus begins with

secret immorality and ends with shameless blasphemy.

The chief difficulty centres round the interpretation of viii. 207 :

credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea cum se porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.

Here the obscurity of the words very early gave rise to divergent views as to the meaning, which may be seen from the confused and contradictory notes of the Scholia Pitheoana. The *tunica* has been taken to mean an ordinary *tunica*; and to mean the *tunica* of the *Salii*. The *spira* has been understood as a cord by which the *retiarium* recovered his net when thrown; and as the strings of the cap of the *Salii*. The *galerus* has been interpreted to be the shoulder-guard worn on the left shoulder of the *retiarium* (see G. Garruci, *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano*, N. S. 102-104); and to be the cap worn by the *Salii*.

The balance of modern opinion inclines to the former of these alternatives in each case: so Friedländer, Mayor, H. Meier, *De gladiatura Romana*, 1881, p. 31 ff.; and so I understood the words in my published translation: 'there is no mistaking his doublet, when the golden cord dangles from his neck and flutters from the long guard.' This interpretation of *spira* rests upon the scholium on 208, 'huiusmodi aliquid, quo citius sparsum funem uel iactatam retiam colligat:' the *spira* then is the cord (of gold, *aurea*, because Gracchus was a noble) employed to draw in the net when thrown, and fastened to the net at one end, and, as would appear from this passage, to the *galerus* at the other. The interpretation of *galerus* rests on the scholium on the same line, where, as an alternative explanation, is given this 'galerus est umero inpositus gladiatoris.'

Now, though *spira* may mean a cord (*Festus*, p. 330 M. *spira*—*funis nauticus in orbem conuolutus*), there is no corroborative evidence that it was applied to this particular kind of cord; there is no evidence that such cords could be of gold; no monument, as far as I know, shows the net of the *retiarium* attached by a cord; and in no other passage in Latin is *galerus* used for the shoulder-guard (called *munimenta umeri* in the Bodleian fragment, line 11) which was worn by *retiarium* on the left shoulder (*Daremberg*, p. 1586). It can hardly, then, be maintained that this interpretation is certain.

An alternative and quite different idea appears in the scholia on 207, 'de faucibus]

alii qua Salii utuntur in sacris in modum organi utrimque decrescentibus uirgulis purpureis;’ and on 208, ‘pilleo quem habent retiarii.’ The view here suggested was adopted by many of the older commentators, and is accepted by Forcellini under *galerus* and *spira*.

Following this hint it seems natural to suppose that the Gracchus of *Satire* ii. and *Satire* viii. are the same person, since it is Juvenal’s manner to indicate the same person by the same name (Friedländer, *Introd.* p. 100). If then he is the same person, we find him again in *Satire* viii. appearing in the arena in his Salian tunic: a tunic he wears as being no common gladiator but a noble: a Salian tunic as belonging to the college. The meaning then is ‘there is no mistaking his tunic, for it puffs with its gold embroidery from his neck, and the string dangles from his peaked cap.’ By *aurea tunica* is meant the *tunica picta*, the purple tunic with gold stripes (Dion. Hal. iii. 61 *χιτῶνά τε πορφυροῦν χρυσόσημον*), which was worn by the Salii (Liv. i. 20. 4, Salios item duodecim Marti Gradio legit tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit. Dion. Hal. ii. 70, of the Salii *χιτῶνας ποικίλους*. Marquardt, *Staatsv.* iii. 432). A satisfactory meaning is now found for *galerus*, which should mean a cap in shape resembling the pilleus (*Corp. gloss. Lat.* iv. 240, *galerum pylleum pastoralem de iunco factum*; iv. 586, *galerus calamaucus*); and is used specially of the priestly cap, made of skin, worn amongst others by the Salii (*Dict. A.* i. 898; Daremberg, p. 1168), which was termed sometimes by *synecdoche apex*, and sometimes *pilleus* (Minuc. Felix, Oct. 24. 3, Salii [alii MSS.; see Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 47] *incedunt pileati*).

The *galerus*, which is often represented in the monuments, was high (*‘assez élevé,’* Daremberg, p. 1168), which I take to be what Juvenal means by *longo*. It was furnished with straps or strings, which in the well-known coin of the Licinii (Roscher, p. 1546; *Dict. A.* ii. 590) hang down. These were used to tie it round the chin; and were called *offendices*, which Festus (p. 205) defines as ‘*nodos, quibus apex retineatur, et remittatur,*’ or ‘*coriola, quae sint in loris apicis, quibus apex retineatur et remittatur.*’ These strings, the *nodī* of Festus, appear to be designated by *spira*: thus we find *spira* defined by the word *nodus* more than once in the *Corp. gloss. Lat.* IV. 174, 393, V. 393: and the word *nodus* is used of these strings in a glossary, Löwe,

Prodr. Corp. gloss. p. 16, ‘*nodus quo apex flaminum retinetur et premitur.*’

The conclusion seems to be inevitable; *spira* and *galerus* thus, and thus only, have a meaning that can be supported. The reason why Gracchus as a *retiarius* wore his *galerus* has probably been rightly conjectured to be that as one of the Salii he was not allowed to appear in public without it: this was at any rate the rule as regards the flamen Dialis (Gell. x. 15–16, *sine apice sub diuo esse licitum non est*. Val. Max. i. 1. 4).

The difficulty as to the meaning of *credamus tunicae*, etc., raised by Mr. Housman thus seems to disappear. What (he asks) are the spectators bidden to believe? that the gladiator is Gracchus? but they know it already by his upturned face. If they are not convinced by this, nothing will convince them, not his *tunica* and so forth. And he concludes that what the *tunica* compels us to believe, and what so direly humiliates the *secutor* at encountering Gracchus, is that the *tunica* suggests that his life is indescribable.

This seems to me to miss Juvenal’s meaning, which is as follows. Not only on the stage but among gladiators you find our city disgraced (*illic dedecus urbis habes*, 199) by a noble Gracchus, who, regardless of shame, fights not with honest arms, but as a *retiarius*, his face uncovered by a helmet; and so discloses his features to the spectators as he casts his net and flies. But though we might doubt the evidence of our eyes as to his face, we must believe the evidence of his Salian *tunica* (*credamus tunicae*), which puts beyond doubt the affront he offers to religion. The ‘*dedecus urbis*’ consists in the noble Salius demeaning himself to fight as a gladiator, and not even as an ordinary gladiator, but as a *retiarius*, in whose case there could be no concealment of identity.

Ergo ignominiam grauiorem pertulit omni uulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare secutor.

Therefore (continues Juvenal) the degradation (*ignominiam*—by his profession he was *infamis*) incurred by the *secutor* through his following the profession of a gladiator is as nothing compared with the degradation he incurs by being pitted against this vile lord, this unskilled pretender to the gladiator’s art, who is no adversary worthy of his steel. Senec. *Dial.* i. 3. 4, *ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore componi et scit eum sine gloria uinci, qui sine periculo uincitur.*

S. G. OWEN.

SOME EMENDATIONS OF SILIUS ITALICUS.

i. 613.

hirtaeque comae (†togae) neglectaque mensa.

togae is the reading of Cm and of editors. Retaining *mensa* it is no doubt to be preferred to the *comae* of S. But Silius is thinking of 'barbati illi ueteres Romani'; and he wrote, I believe,

hirtaeque comae neglectaque menta.

iii. 328-329.

mirus amor populo: cum pigra incanuit
aetas
imbellis iam dudum annos praeuertere
†saxo†.

For *amor* in 328 read *mos*, and in 329 for *saxo* (= *faxo*) read *fas est* (= *fas ē*).

v. 101-104.

Talia Coruinus, primoresque addere passim
orantum uerba et †diuisus quisque timori†
nunc superos, ne Flaminio, nunc deinde
precarī

Flaminium, ne caelicolis contendere perstet.

In 102 the words *diuisus quisque timori* are clearly and obviously corrupt. The two lines that follow, however, give a fair clue to the idea which the corruption must conceal. The 'chiefs' are afraid of the demeanour both of the gods and of Flaminius. Following this clue, I would suggest that the corruption in the text is due to a confusion of contractions, and that Silius wrote

diui sunt uirque timori.

I imagine that *diui sunt*, written *diui s̄*, was mistaken for *diuisus* written *diuis̄*. *uirque* might easily pass into *uisque*, and the correction to *quisque* would then be inevitable. (I note from Statius, *Achill.* ii. 123, an interesting example of confusion due to the use of *s̄* for *sunt*: *tristes turbare Po triste suntur bare E.*)

v. 619.

antiquum expauere diem.

What they were alarmed at was the sudden near proximity of the upper to the lower world. Read

contiguum expauere diem.

The confusion (beginning with loss of initial letter) was perhaps assisted by such Biblical associations as *antiqui dies, antiquus dierum*.

vi. 459.

ad solitam sedem et uestigia nota uocabant.

They led him to his accustomed consular seat.

To describe this as *uestigia nota* is a very queer piece of diction. *uestigia* must, I think, have been caused by the presence of the same word in the same part of the line at 438 and 458. I would replace it here by *fastigia*—the consular dais.

H. W. GARROD.

YEWES AND SUICIDE.

As Mr. Garrod has called attention to Silius iii. 329, I should like to say a word for Rupert's correction. If, as we may well contend, *saxo* is a scarcely possible condensation for the 'horribilis de saxo iactu deorsum' of Lucret. iii. 1016, then much the most probable emendation, whether we retain the *amor* of the MSS. in 328 or accept Mr. Garrod's attractive *mos*, is the change of a single letter to *taxo*. Only this must not be understood, as in xiii. 210 'letum triste ferens auras secat Itala taxus', but referred to the deadly yew leaves with which the aged and desperate Catuulcus poisoned himself after the defeat of Ambiorix. 'Catuulcus—aetate iam confectus cum

laborem belli aut fugae ferre non posset' (= *imbelles annos* here) 'omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem qui eius consilii auctor fuisset *taxo*, cuius magna in Gallia Germanique copia est, se exanimauit.' Caesar *B.G.* vi. 31. 5.

Here, it is true, we are dealing with Cantabri. But the yew of Spain was the most deadly of all; Pliny *H.N.* xvi. § 50 'mas noxio fructu. letale quippe bacis in *Hispania praecipue* est; uasa etiam uiatoria ex ea unis in Gallia facta mortifera fuisse compertum est.'

An occurrence chronicled in the daily papers affords an interesting parallel. I quote from the *Globe* of August 17, 1905.

SUICIDE WITH YEW TREE LEAVES.

William King, a Northampton butcher, has committed suicide in an extraordinary manner. His mind having become deranged, he was admitted to St. Andrew's Hospital Asylum. Here in the course of walks with other patients and warders, he, unseen, took leaves from yew trees, ate them quickly and died. It was explained at the inquest that

in consequence of an imbecile some years ago having accidentally eaten yew leaves, the yew trees were removed from the part of the ground where dangerous patients walk. The medical superintendent now promised to have all the yew trees removed from the grounds.

J. P. POSTGATE.

REVIEWS.

HENNING'S ODYSSEY.

Homers Odyssee. Ein kritischer Kommentar.
Von Prof. Dr. P. D. CH. HENNING.
Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
1903. Pp. vii + 603. M. 12.

THIS is a book which it is difficult to do justice to: 603 closely printed pages, no index, and a paper wrapper which breaks when the first page is cut. The 'critical commentary' is in other words a collection of the opinions of the author's countrymen upon the genuineness of the text of the *Odyssey*. The work is done with diligence and minuteness, and those who desire information about this particular province of the human intellect will find it ready to their hand. The work is done, and may it never be done again. The persuasion is growing in English-speaking countries and in France that 'criticism' has had its say. I do not mean the comparison of the Homeric poems with any external standard which may exist, with language, so far as it extends back, with monuments, works of art, natural features of the globe; but the detection of discontinuity and heterogeneity in the poems by means of the aesthetic and logical impression excited in the reader. It is not true that such a method has no foundation at all: it was the method followed by the Alexandrians, as far as we can tell; and it presupposes a belief on their part that the poems were not entirely as they had left their author's hand. The case is analogous to that of the additions made by actors to tragedy; this tradition is preserved to some considerable extent in the Euripidean scholia and cannot be overset; it was naturally far more verifiable. Further I am inclined to believe—though my opinion is still unfixd—that the omissions of lines in the MSS. of the *Odyssey* are frequent in comparison to those in the *Iliad*. The

method, however, though it may possess a general foundation, meets obvious difficulties when it is applied in particular. So much depends on the operator. The Alexandrians had little historical sense, and later scholars, such as Plutarch, had none. Their taste and standard of propriety was that of their own time. But their operations were restricted, their ambitions modest, and the damage they did negligible. The modern critic worse equipped than they—for it is a commonplace that the professor is the last man to comprehend the literature upon which he operates—and with a congenital belief in the corruption of antiquity, wields his weapon in a different spirit. Were they united, the ancient world were gone; but like the Sparti, happily they rend each other and the texts evade intact. I opened Book 8, so interesting and well-filled, thinking to combat some of these atheteses where they are most dangerous: but the professor's own statement disarms me—'In θ von 586 Versen, so viel ich sehe, nur 58 unbeanstandet geblieben sind' (p. 230). What a quaint nucleus, the Phaeacians in a nutshell!

Surely if these methods are to continue, Philology is a *disciplina esaurita* and our new Universities are right to insist on feeding their charges on the strong meat of English and Elementary Botany in preference. Let us hope that it is not the case, and that the 'German period' has come to a head in this book and will burst. The sounder and truly fruitful method may be seen in Victor Bérard's delightful book on the *Odyssey*, which, though one may not accept its general thesis and may object to particular statements and even to some concessions to the enemy, has shewn us the Phaeacians (literally) in their habit as they lived.

T. W. ALLEN.

EARLE'S *MEDEA*.

The Medea of Euripides. Edited by MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE, Professor of Classical Philology at Columbia University. New York: American Book Company, 1904. Pp. 300. \$ 1.25.

THE researches of a well-read scholar in a well-wrought field cannot fail to be interesting and instructive to those who are acquainted with the ground. Both lovers of antiquity and lovers of novelty will find food for their taste in this edition of the *Medea*, bearing the name, familiar to our readers, of Professor Earle.

To a book of this kind, in which hundreds of often-mooted questions are reconsidered by a competent judgment, a reviewer can do little service by the desultory record of a few assents or disagreements. One seeks rather some general suggestion for improving, if it may be, the manner in which the results are presented. And frankly, there is a point in which Prof. Earle's method seems open to objection, there is a change of practice which one would gladly persuade him to make in future works or in a revision of this. It is in the treatment of conjectural readings.

In the *Medea* there are not a few places where, the tradition being either ambiguous or, if consistent, clearly unacceptable, provisional corrections are established by common consent. But, beyond these, upon a text so incessantly edited, there has been piled an ever-growing heap of the species *fortasse*, suggestions often instructive in themselves, but without necessity, without proof, not entitled and scarcely pretending to acceptance as if from the hand of the author. The way in which these are handled in this volume seems inconvenient, and injurious to its utility. The plan adopted is the defensible and not uncommon plan of relegating all textual questions to an appendix. It is followed here with uncommon thoroughness; for, as a rule, neither text nor footnote marks a departure from the tradition in any way, not even by a reference to the appendix. Now this may or may not be a good plan in itself; but surely, if it be adopted, the appendix and nowhere else is the place for the whole class of conjectures *fortasse*. Surely it is not convenient to make in the text, and assume in the commentary, without any warning except a separate and remote document, changes which, whether

right or wrong, are neither necessary nor provable nor established. But here both text and footnotes abound in such changes, with the result that a student, who would use the book safely and comfortably, must begin by transferring much of the appendix to the main body, by inserting critical marks and a select apparatus with his own hand. Otherwise, unless he happens to know the play and the variants by heart, he will be at sea. He cannot tell whether what he reads is the tradition of twenty centuries, or an untested surmise, a shot from the quiver of Kuip or Kviçala, or Prof. Earle, or perhaps myself. Let us take a few examples.

547 ὁ δ' ἐς γάμους μοι βασιλικὸς ἀνείδισας
ἐν τῷδε δείξω πρῶτα μὲν σοφὸς γεγώς,
ἔπειτα σὺφρων, εἶτα σοὶ μέγας φίλος
καὶ πασι τοῖσι σοῖσιν,

says Jason according to the text and also the footnote. Who could reasonably suspect that every *Medea* in the world, except this, presents *πασὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν*, a not immaterial difference? The change may be desirable, but surely it is and always must be a *fortasse*. To what kind of reader or student—this is the question which I would respectfully press—can it be advantageous or useful to read *σοῖσιν*, without instantly, or rather previously, weighing its merits against *ἐμοῖσιν*? And if to none, why should we be left to seek *ἐμοῖσιν* in a distant page?

Then at 560 the text gives

γινώσκων ὅτι
πένητα φεύγει <N> πᾶς τις ἐκποδὼν φιλεῖ,

and the note takes the reading for granted. That *φεύγειν* is a substitute for *φεύγει*, this and no more is indicated by the critical mark; and the reader upon this representation would naturally accept it as obvious and necessary. Should it be left to the chance of his going, undirected, to the appendix, whether he shall discover that everyone, except the editor, has been content to read, with the MSS., *πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἐκποδὼν φίλος*? Perhaps they are all wrong, but no one can wish that this should be assumed without reflexion.

Then the text continues thus—

παῖδας δὲ θρέψαιμ' ἀξίως δόμων ἐμῶν
σπίρας τ' ἀδελφῶν τοῖσιν ἐκ σέθεν τέκνοις
ἐς ταῦτό θείην καὶ ξυναρτήσας γένη
εὐδαιμονοῖμεν· σοὶ τε γὰρ παίδων μέλει,

ἐμοί τε λῦει τοῖσι μέλλουσιν τέκνοις
τὰ ζῶντ' ὀνήσαι.

Here Elmsley's *εὐδαιμονοῦμεν* (for *εὐδαιμονοῖν*), having received much approval, might perhaps pass *sub silentio*, though not unquestionable; but surely his change of *τί δέϊ* into *μέλει* is emphatically a *fortasse*, a query, a hint to be weighed, not swallowed, a proposal from which, unless we ponder it, we shall not learn anything useful. Surely the remarkable reading of the tradition is the point from which study should begin, and if any part of the criticism is to have the secondary position of an appendix, there and not before we should find *μέλει*.

All this occurs within a score of lines, nor would it be easy to find a score which do not exhibit something of the same kind. To make our objection clear, let us contrast some cases where the like treatment is not so unsuitable. In *v.* 151, Elmsley's *ἀπλάτου κοίτας* (for *ἀπλάστου* or *ἀπλήστου*) may not improperly be given and interpreted as *textus receptus*. Though it would not be irrational or inconceivable to defend *ἀπλήστου*, a reader who takes *ἀπλάτου* for traditional is not materially deceived; and of course not a few conjectures stand on the same footing. Even beyond these there is a class, which may by courtesy be admitted on the same terms: I mean where, though there is no accepted correction, it is plain, or at least agreed, that some correction is necessary. For instance, in *v.* 13 the editor exercises, I should say, a permissible discretion in printing *αὐτῶ*, though but his own conjecture, for *αὐτῆ*, and commenting on it in the note without suggestion of a doubt. That the passage seems defective has been noted repeatedly; Professor Earle's improvement is as good as any, perhaps better; and since, whatever we print, we must leave a substantial doubt, no great harm is done if *αὐτῶ* has the advantage of a clear start. For a like and stronger reason it will be thought, I hope, that no harm is done by printing *v.* 234 in the form suggested by me (*λαβεῖν*—*<λαβεῖν>* γὰρ οὐ, τόδ' ἄλγιον κακόν). The MSS. are here divergent and plainly untrustworthy, and the editor's critical mark, though it does not exactly convey the state of the evidence, at any rate warns the reader that the ground is uncertain. Warning is indeed desirable in all cases, even, as some will think, in so well approved a conjecture as the *ἀπλάτου* of Elmsley. Even here a 'See appendix' might be useful and could not be troublesome. In such cases, however—

and they are many—the editor's plan, I would repeat, is not open to grave objection.

But on the other hand, what good purpose can it serve, that in *v.* 470 the text should present *φίλους κακῶς δρῶντ' εἴτ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν*, that the note should comment upon the tense of *δρῶντα* exactly as if that participle were an unquestionable datum, and that, unless we keep a finger in the appendix, the aorist of the MSS., *φίλους κακῶς δράσαντ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν*, should remain invisible and unsuspected? The reading *δρῶντ' εἴτ'*, as the appendix reveals, is conjectured by Wecklein 'to avoid caesura media.' But the question, whether such a caesura ought to be so avoided, is of extreme delicacy; no one, except professional scholars, has any business with it, and these will find the conjecture if put in the appendix. Surely then the inexperienced or uncritical reader should be allowed first to become acquainted with the tradition. Why, again, should he be led to suppose that in *v.* 635 *στέργοιμι δὲ σωφροσύνα <ν>* gives, in all but the final *ν*, what we have received as the writing of Euripides? The tradition is for *στέργοι δέ με σωφροσύνα*, and to this interesting, though undoubtedly questionable, version every student should be directed at once, that he may properly weigh the suggestion of Herwerden, and perhaps others. In *v.* 705 Aegaeus is made to say *τόδ' ἄλλο καινὸν αὐ λέγεις ἐμοί*, and the note says that *καινόν* implies *κακόν*. But why hold in reserve, to be revealed 100 pages later, the information that, according to the testimony, Euripides wrote *κακόν* instead of *ἐμοί*, and therefore used *καινόν* here simply in the sense of *new*? The reading *ἐμοί* is the conjecture of the editor himself, interesting and perhaps right; but is this an appropriate or advantageous way of presenting it? A few lines later (713) we read *δέξαι δὲ χώρα καὶ δόμων ἐφέστιον*, without a hint that the testimony, ascending here to the age of the papyri, is consistent for *δόμοις*, and that almost all editions agree in retaining it. All the scholars of both hemispheres might debate for ever, without settling, whether the conjecture *δόμων* (Wecklein) is commendable or mistaken. Why then should the ordinary reader, the sort for whose benefit alone critical questions are relegated to an appendix, be invited to accept *δόμων*, rather than *δόμοις*, as a matter of course? So also τοῖσι σοῖς (for τοῖς ἐμοῖς) in 596, σωτηρίας ναύκληρον (for ναυκληρίας σώτειραν) in 527, αὐτόν (for αὐτῆ) in 483, τοῖς . . . δοκοῦσιν in 300, πάρεμι in 275, ἀντομαι in 336,

τινα in 343, and scores of other readings presented without sign of suspicion, are really queries, well worth recording, but proper (if appendix there is to be) to the appendix. This is a proposition which in no way affects or impugns the editor's opinion on the conjectures. With his opinions I can generally agree, and almost always find them instructive. But they are not here presented in a convenient way, and it would be well on another occasion to amend the form.

Whether the 'critical appendix' is in itself a convenient form, may be doubted. Personally I do not think that, in books meant for study, it is. But this is clear, that it implies, or should imply, what is called a 'conservative' text. Otherwise we get, what cannot be desirable, a book from which we dare not copy the simplest quotation without checking it by a double or triple reference. Such a book, to speak frankly, this is. Not a line of Euripides can be cited from it safely for any purpose (unless, as was said, you know the variants by heart) without a look at the appendix. If Prof. Earle will realise this, he will surely see reason for a change not of the substance but of the form.

This matter appears to me so much the most important which here calls for criticism, that I am scarcely willing to notice any other. In substance the book is, as a whole, acceptable and praiseworthy. The notes are terse, the introduction full—perhaps a little too full, unless indeed it is meant to introduce rather Euripides as a whole than this particular tragedy. It contains among other things a complete though summary account of all the extant plays, in which the unlucky *Orestes* comes in for a scourging upon the usual, and some unusual, conceptions of its purpose. 'The play reads in the assembly scene like a prophecy of the infamous execution of the victors of Arginusæ.' That is to say, the forms of procedure are violated in order to procure the easier condemnation of persons possibly innocent of what is laid to their charge. How, I would ask, does this appear? But the question takes us somewhat far from the *Medea*. Before long I hope to discuss the *Orestes* at length, and with it many other things, such as the dragon-chariot of our heroine, which come up for judgment in the editor's copious and agreeable essay. Archaeology has its turn, and I may perhaps venture to commend to those, who will judge them better than I, the points which he makes (p. 61) upon the Canosa Vase.

His opinion here seems to me correct, and certainly has solid support.

But to return yet once more to the text of Euripides, our primary business: there is no objection, let me say again and emphatically, to the *fortasse* as such, and in its own place. It is most useful. To take an extreme case, at *v.* 178 the MSS., according to the editor (I write without a library), are practically unanimous in favour of the common reading *μή τοι τό γ' ἔμδν πρόθυμον φίλοισιν ἀπέστω*. This gives a good sense, which the footnote rightly explains; and unless we discover some fresh document, it never can be drawn into serious suspicion. But for all this, when we consider the general quality of the tradition, it is worth while to note, as a *parergon*, that *μή μοι τό γε σὸν κ.τ.λ.* would also be sense, and perhaps simpler. So we are told in the appendix, and that is quite right. But we are also there told expressly, that if only the possibility of change had occurred to the editor before the text was struck off, the guess would have held both text and commentary, exactly as if it had been read and passed by everybody from Lycurgus downwards, while the authorised reading would have been dismissed to lie in a corner, without distinction, among all the foliage which we guessers have scattered between Byzantium and Colorado. Now I say, with all deference, that this would have been a disguise of the facts, and an injury *pro tanto* to the edition.

And now, to propitiate the gods of *peradventure*, and for the better increase of appendices, I will add a *fortasse* or two of my own. Here is one which, if I mistake not, has been printed by me or somebody before, but may deserve to get its head out of the dust-bin. *Ζεὺς σοι τὰδε συνδικήσει μή λῆν τάκου δυρομένα σὸν εὐνάταν*, says the Chorus to *Medea* at *v.* 157 (Prof. Earle prints, as if certain, the guess of Nauck, *Ζεὺς τοι σύνδικος ἔσται*, but let that pass); and she answers from within, according to the MSS., *ὦ μεγάλη Θέμι καὶ πότνι Ἄρτεμι, λεύσσεθ' ἂ πάσχω*. The invocation of Artemis might rouse suspicion *per se*, and the comment of the Nurse—*κλύεθ' οἷα λέγει κάπιβοῦται Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζήνά τε*;—proves error in the invocation, as all agree. The editor gives the rough restoration of Weil, *ὦ μέγαλε Ζεὺ καὶ Θέμι πότνια*, warning us in the appendix, but there only, that it is merely possible. But more than this might be pleaded for the correction

ὦ μεγάλη Θέμι καὶ πότνι, ἄρτι με λεύσσεθ' ἂ πάσχω;

O mighty and reverend Themis, do ye now at last see how I am treated? Here ἄρτι, now at last or only now, is a reproach to the tardiness of the avengers, both Themis and also Zeus, who, though not named, is included by the plural λείσσετε, as this plural is explained by reference to the preceding words of the Chorus, Ζεὺς σοι τάδε συνδύκησει; and therefore the comment of the Nurse, 'she invokes Themis, and Zeus' (note the order of names), is justified.

The grant to Medea of a day's delay in Corinth is worded by King Creon as follows (350)—

καὶ νῦν ὄρω μὲν ἐξαμαρτάνων, γύναι,
ὄμως δὲ τεύξῃ τοῦδε προννήσω δέ σοι,
εἴ σ' ἢ ἐπιούσα λαμπρὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ—
καὶ παῖδας—ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός,
θανῆ· λέλεκται μῦθος ἀψευδῆς ὅδε.
νῦν δ', εἴ μένειν δεῖ, μίμν' ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν,
οὐ γάρ τι δράσεις †δεινόν† ἢ φόβος μ' ἔχει.

The last verse, as all agree, does not give any suitable sense. For, we expect him to say, *within that time you will not accomplish what I dread.* So much respite will not be dangerous. But this he does not say; the limit of time, the very point, is omitted. Several expedients have been proposed, but none which is effective and accounts naturally for the error. The editor, with others, takes refuge in omitting the verse and the verse before, but acknowledges in the appendix that this is not satisfactory. The fault lies *prima facie* in δεινόν. Is it then possible

that this familiar word has replaced the unfamiliar δειλον (= δειλεων, cf. δειλη afternoon), agreeing with τι, and signifying (cf. the similar use of ἔφος, χθιζός, and adjectives of time generally) *in the noon, in broad day?* Creon will then say, *For the things I fear are not such as you will accomplish in an afternoon.* This would be sense, and good sense. For Medea is a witch, whose chief assistant is Hecate (397), and she is feared by Creon for this reason. Naturally then he may persuade himself, being as he says (348) inclined by temperament to compromise, that the night season only is the witch's opportunity. And if so, his concession of a day would be harmless. If the dawn finds Medea in Corinth, she is to die. She must therefore leave the city before sunset, since from sunset to dawn the gates would of course be closed and impassable. I give this as a mere *fortasse*, but think that it might figure without shame in any place proper for suggestions of that class.

In conclusion let me say, in clear and strong terms, that nothing in the foregoing criticism is meant to impeach the substantial merit of Prof. Earle's book. I think it a good and interesting book. But I submit that its utility might be greatly improved if the matter were otherwise and more conveniently disposed. And I have some hope that upon reflexion the editor himself may come to the same opinion.

A. W. VERRALL.

VENDRYES, AND THE ANCIENTS, ON GREEK ACCENTS.

Traité d'Accentuation Grecque. Par J. VENDRYES, Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1904. Pp. xviii + 275. 3 fr. 50 c.

THERE is nothing that hampers the modern European aspirant to Greek scholarship more than his utter disregard of the realities of the accentuation and his profound ignorance of its history. If we cannot or will not remove the weight thus hung round the neck of Greek study, let us at least welcome every lightening of the burden and render to M. Vendryes our heartiest thanks for a whole-hearted and in the main a successful endeavour to bring order and intelligence into this chaos.

The prime merit of his book, and the one for which we recommend it warmly to every teacher and serious student of the subject is that it is, so far as we know, the first to recognise the practical value of the results of philological research. As M. Vendryes most truly says, preface p. xi, 'Il est impossible de comprendre l'accentuation grecque sans remonter à ses origines et le grec lui-même ne fournit à ce sujet que des renseignements insuffisants.' The use of different sizes of type enables the author to cater for the wants of two different kinds of readers. The larger print presents 'un exposé complet et suivi des règles pratiques d'accentuation grecque.' In small print are introduced 'des renseignements scientifiques pour lesquels

la grammaire comparée a été mise à profit autant que le comportaient les dimensions restreintes du volume.' M. Vendryes is clear concise and methodical, and he finds space within the narrow compass of his volume for a summary treatment of topics which are not touched upon in Chandler's large octavo. His general outline is not a naked series of statements: the chief ancient authorities are quoted and, where needful, explained. Points upon which his remarks will be found both stimulating and instructive are the meaning of the reversion of the oxytone to barytone in the middle of a sentence, and of the barytone accentuation of prepositions, and the interpretation of the celebrated anecdote about the unfortunate actor who in declaiming Euripides' iambic *ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐ γαλήν'* ὄρω turned the 'calm' into a 'weasel' *γαλήν* (Aristophanes *Frogs* 302). Here a very simple matter has been obscured by the scholiasts who, in their ignorance of the long lost pitch accent of classical Greek, perceived no difference between the circumflex and the acute, and thus were driven to suppose that Hegelochus ran short of breath or neglected to mark the elision, neither of which would have availed the least to produce the confusion. The truth is that he put the *ὀξεία* on the wrong half of the long vowel. 'La différence entre *γαλήν* et *γαλήν* tient à ce que dans un cas c'est la seconde partie, dans l'autre la première de la longue qui est accentuée.'

The utterances of M. Vendryes on the theory of Greek accentuation are so far as they go correct. He does not however appear to have gone deep enough down or got to grips with its ultimate problems. It is not enough to show that the Greek accent was musical, not intensive, in its nature, or that the maximum range was a fifth, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus records. To form any idea of it we need to know a good deal more, and some of this we have been told or can infer.

First, it is important to observe that in Greek speech as also in Roman¹ the musical movement of the voice was *συνεχής* and not *διασηματική*, Aristoxenus *Harmonics* i. cc. 8, 9: in other words that the rise and fall of pitch was a gradual slide (*portamento* in modern musical terminology) and not, as in singing, a leap through an interval.

Secondly, some valuable inferences may

¹ Vitruvius *Archit.* v. 4 translating Aristoxenus proves this incidentally.

be drawn from the statements of a commentator on Donatus often called Sergius in Keil's *Grammatici Latini* iv. p. 529 to which M. Vendryes refers without however appreciating their importance.

Certains grammairiens postérieurs en ont jugé le nombre trois insuffisant. L'auteur de l'*Explanatio ad Donatum* (iv. 529 Keil) rapporte par exemple que Tyrannion en comptait quatre: *βαρεία, μέση, ὀξεία* et *περισπωμένη*. Nul ne sait en quoi consistait la *προσφωδία μέση* de Tyrannion: il est peu vraisemblable en tout cas qu'elle ait représenté la même chose que le *μέσον* d'Aristote qui a été expliqué au § 45. Glaucus de Samos allait plus loin encore et distinguait six accents: *ἀνειμένη, μέση, ἐπιτεταμένη, κεκλασμένη, ἀνανακλαζόμενη, νήτη*. Mais dans le nombre il n'y aurait eu que trois accents simples *βαρεία, μέση* et *ὀξεία* de Tyrannion; les trois autres auraient été simplement des variétés du circumflexe. Il est inutile de s'arrêter à ces subtilités, qui datent d'un temps où la nature musicale de l'accent grec était déjà sans doute fortement altérée (p. 51).

In this passage M. Vendryes has, as is shown by his last sentence, confused the authority of the reporter, on a matter of this kind doubtless nil, with the authority of those whom he reports. But these, like Varro, whom our grammarian is quoting, belong to periods from which M. Vendryes cites witnesses himself. Of Tyrannion of Amisus I need say nothing. The actual date of Glaucus of Samos is, it is true, unknown, but the grammarian cites him before Hermocrates of Iasus (see below) whom we know from Suidas to have been a teacher of Callimachus. The profound change in the Greek accent to which M. Vendryes refers, is presumably the change from pitch to stress which he has traced on pp. 29-32. Is it likely that an age in which the musical character of the accent had been effaced altogether was an age in which fresh musical distinctions or subtleties would have been evolved? Though the passage which deals with Glaucus of Samos is corrupt and the name of one of his accents lost, 5 out of the 6 and all of Tyrannion's 4 may I think be identified with fair probability. Analogues to all the various tones are at hand in English, although the purposes which they serve is different. I cannot do better than quote from Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics* (§§ 162 foll.) his brief but sufficient account.

'There are three primary 'forms' or 'inflections' of intonation

level —
 rising / [
 falling \]

(') and (') are, strictly speaking, symbols of voice-glides only, though in practice they

are used to denote voice-leaps also, whose proper symbols are (Γ) and (↓).

The level tone, or an approach to it, may be heard in *well* as an expression of musing or meditation; the rising in questions or doubtful hesitating statements, as *are you ready?*; the falling in answers commands or dogmatic assertions, as in *yes, I am*. Besides the simple tones there are compound ones, formed by uniting both in one syllable:

compound rising (∨)
 compound falling (^)

The compound rise may be heard in such a sentence as *take care!* when uttered warningly; the compound fall in *oh!, oh really!* when implying sarcasm.

It is also possible to combine these tones in one inflection. Thus we can have (^ ∨) which has the effect of (∨) being only more emphatic." (Sweet has no name for this, but we may call it the 'compound falling-rising tone.')

The MSS. of the grammarian give his words as follows: 'nec desunt qui prosodias plures quam quattuor putauerint ut Glaucus Samius, a quo sex prosodiae sunt sub hisce nominibus *ansimenhimesipetamene* (*or pentamine*) *cecasmen antunaca homenehe* (or *homenech*). sed hic quoque non dissentit a nobis. nam cuius ex ipsis nominibus intellectu procliuē est tres primas esse simplices et non alias quam βαρεϊαν μέσην ὀξεϊαν postremas autem tres duplices et quasi species unius flexae quae est genere una. hanc enim flecti non uno modo omnes putauerunt: Eratosthenes ex parte priore acuta in grauem posteriorem, Theophrastus autem aliquando etiam ex graui in acutiorem escendere, ceterum Varro in utramque partem moueri arbitratur, neque hoc facile fieri sine media eamque acutam plerumque esse potius quam grauem.¹ sed hoc <de> media prosodia satis, quo quis sciat esse quaerendam. ceterum qui hanc ignorant quia sola nouerunt quae <in> scholis studuerunt non sunt culpandi, sed nec magistros qui tres solas demonstrant erroris arguerim si modo hoc docendi causa faciunt cum ipsos quarta non lateat.'

There is no doubt about the restoration of the first four words of the corrupted Greek ἀνεϊμένη μέση ἐπιτεταμένη κεκλασμένη (the *he* at the end I take to have come from the η(H) in κεκλασμένη) and a fifth I imagine must be the ἀντανακλωμένη of F. Schöll²

¹ Omitting with Keil the senseless accretion 'quod ea propior utramque est quam illa superior, et inferior inter se.'

² *De accentu ling. Lat.* (*Acta Societatis Philologae*

(for ἀντανακλαζομένη is impossible). If now we suppose that ἀντικεκλασμένη has fallen out after κεκλασμένη through 'homoio-graphon,' we have a series of accents which will be found to agree remarkably with the distinctions in actual living speech.

The βαρεϊα and the ὀξεϊα are of course the falling and the rising tones () and () of the συνεχῆς κίνησις, not ↓ and Γ which belong to the διασηματικῆ κίνησις. The μέση requires a word of preface. Aristoxenus lays down that the movement of speech is a continuous slide until it ends in silence; but inasmuch as his object is to make a sharp distinction between the voice-glide and the voice-leap, what he says does not exclude the voice in speech pausing, as it were, in its upward or downward movement upon an intermediate level. Such pauses, in which there is no *per saltum* element to break the line of the movement itself, save the marking of every grave accent, once apparently the rule, from being a meaningless practice. For if the descent was absolutely and uniformly continuous, there would be no reason for marking anything but the rise, since a long continued fall would have nothing in it to catch a hearer's attention. Now for a 'level' tone, at any position intermediate between the summit of the ὀξεϊα and the lowest point of the βαρεϊα, μέση would be a not inappropriate term. This 'level tone' (perhaps we should say rather this species of level tones), I find not only in the μέση προσωδία of Glaucus and Tyrannion but also in the μέσον of Aristotle *Poetics* xx. 4, p. 1456 b 33 to which M. Vendryes vainly assigns the sense of μικτόν in order to identify it with the circumflex. This account of the μέση is strongly supported by the name μονότονος, bestowed on it by Athenodorus: Sergius, *op. cit.* (p. 530, 9) 'scire enim oportet rationis huius recens non esse commentum sed omnium qui ante Varronem et Tyrannionem plurimos et clarissimos quosque mediae huius fecisse mentionem, quos omnes sibi fuisse auctores Varro commemorat: grammaticos Glaucum Samium et Hermocratem Iasium item philosophum Theophrastum peripateticum cui divina facundia nomen adsciuit. nec non eiusdem sectae *Athenodorum* summi

Lipsiensis, tom. vi.) p. 81, where ἀνακλωμένη is proposed for the missing fifth accent. Considerations of sense and palaeographical probability require the perfect participle; and ἀνακεκλασμένη may be read. But ἀντικεκλασμένη is better. Schöll's discrimination of the three varieties of the circumflex is quite correct so far as it goes; but he does not seem to have realised the great importance of the grammarian's whole account.

acuminis uirum qui quandam prosodiam μονότονον appellat quae uidetur non alia esse quam media licet diuerso uocabulo.'

Next comes a composite accent which, thanks to the arresting contrast presented by its constituents, has been accorded altogether factitious importance in the treatment of the subject. Of Greek circumflexes very few are original, the vast majority are due to recession or contraction. The circumflex is the 'compound falling tone' (^) and its nature is clearly indicated by its various names *δίτονος*, *δξύβαρεια*, *σάμπλεκτος*, *περισπωμένη* and the *κεκλασμένη* of Glaucus. It was the peculiar acoustic effect of its musical rise and fall on one and the same vowel that marked it off from another compound accent which was honoured by no special symbol, the 'compound rising tone.' The accents of εἰς (^), θεῖς (v), and θείς (') were all different but the mark of the *βαρεία* was suppressed in the second case in accordance with the general practice, (ἵνα μὴ καταχαράσσωνται τὰ βιβλία) θεῖς = θεῖς being treated just like ἰδέ. This accent which we may call the 'anticircumflex' would be excellently expressed by the term *ἀντικεκλασμένη* but not so well by the term *ἀντανακλωμένη* with a meaningless *ἀνά*. If *ἀντανακλωμένη* does not mean the 'compound rise,' the only thing left for it to mean is a triple conjunction of tones such as (v) which we have called a 'compound falling-rising tone.'

It remains to point out how closely these three terms and their natural explanations from phenomena of existing speech correspond to the language used in the sequel of the grammarian's descriptions. That (^) (v) (v) are, as he says, varieties of the *flexa* or modulated intonation is obvious at once. Further the descriptions given follow the natural order of the accents and the order that I have assumed. First the formally recognised circumflex *κεκλασμένη* of which an exact description is given in the words of Eratosthenes, then the no less common but unnoted 'anticircumflex' (*ἀντικεκλασμένη*) described no less exactly in the words of Theophrastus, and lastly an accent for whose description Varro himself is cited. This accent is stated to be a combination of the two previous ('*in utramque partem mouetur*'), that is it rises and falls and rises again, which is the very phenomenon observed in the 'compound falling-rising tone' and indicated in the name of the accent not only by the double preposition for the double flex but by what is not less

significant—the employment of the present participle (*ἀντανακλωμένη*). Where such an accent was heard it is idle, with our present knowledge, to inquire. But it may be remarked that there was room for it in diphthongs with a long first component such as in the Ionic *νηῦ*.

The length to which this vindication of most ancient and valuable evidence has necessarily extended allows but two or three observations more. A feature in the book is the chapter of thirty-five pages devoted to enclitics. Amongst these figure a group about which modern editors hardly trouble their heads at all—the plural forms of the first two personal pronouns. But M. Vendryes' statement helps us little here. If *ἦμων ἦμιν ἦμας* etc. are the enclitic forms of *ἡμῶν ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς* etc., then the enclitic forms of *ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς* should be *ἦμιν ἦμας*, not *ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς*. M. Vendryes, however, inverts the relation, appealing to Apollonius Dyscolus p. 48 c Bekk. *πᾶσα ἀντωνυμία ἐγκλινομένη δξύτονός ἐστιν ἢ περισπωμένη*. But if there is one thing certain in the history of Greek accentuation, it is that recession (such as *ἦμιν* would show) is a natural development of enclisis, the passage, which should have been quoted in full, is probably spurious (Schneider following Skrzeczka) and Apollonius elsewhere (124 A) recognises the properispomenon forms as enclitic.

One of the dark places in Greek accentuation lighted up by comparative philology is the 'anastrophe' of prepositions. We know now that the 'anastrophic' accent of the adverb-preposition is its original one, and that the accent which the grammarians put on disyllabic 'prepositions' in the weak or proclitic positions as in *παρὰ τὸν νόμον* is no true oxytone at all. When a preposition was really oxytone, there was no anastrophe; *ἀμφί* is cognate to the Sanskrit *abhi*; and *ἀντί* too no doubt keeps the original accent.

The only two 'prepositions' of pyrrhic scansion which do not 'take anastrophe' are *διά* and *ἀνά*. This is not difficult to explain. *διά* is a false disyllable. It is for *διά* (*dyā*); compare the Aeolic *ζά*. It therefore keeps its original oxytone accent in the strong or anastrophic position. Similarly *ἀνά* is not anastrophic because it is for *νά*. Compare the Slavonic *na* (Lithuanian *nū, nù*) and Delbrück *Vergleichende Syntax* i. pp. 734 *sqq.* The *ā* is due to contamination with cognates from the same root as *āv* (cf. Latin *an-helo*), *āvō*. *āvā* is certainly found in the sense of *up!* But this very fact should have aroused suspicion; for the use is quite unique in

Greek. English, it is true, like other modern tongues, has plenty of examples of prepositions, that is adverbs, functioning as verbs in commands. 'On, Stanley, on!' 'Out, damned spot!' 'Off with his head!' But in Greek the 'prepositions' are only used thus in statements—*δομοὶ πάρα ἀνα* is therefore as anomalous in its use as in

its accent. The latter should be compared with the accent of $\hat{\omega}$ ($\hat{\omega}$, for ω $\hat{\omega}$ is the cry of pain) and of the vocative in which the pitch of the voice is 'raised' as near the beginning of the word as possible in order to arrest a hearer's attention.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

LYCAONIAN AND PHRYGIAN NOTES.

I.—ZIZIMA AND THE ZIZIMENE MOTHER.

SEVERAL dedications to the goddess Meter Zizimene or Zizimmene have been found in the south-eastern region of Phrygia (the part which afterwards was merged in Lycaonia) about Laodiceia Katakekaumene and Iconium, since the first known was published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 237: it was found at Laodiceia, but erected by Alexander of Dokimion, a settler in Iconium (*Δοκιμῆος* δ [κ]αὶ *Κλαυδεῖ[κ]ονεύς*, see below § viii). Three others have been found in Iconium, so that this goddess seems to have been specially Iconian: two are published by Mr. Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1902, pp. 341 f. (from the writer's copies),¹ one bilingual in *C.I.L.* iii. 13638. A bad copy of a similar dedication was given me by a Greek workman, who said he had brought it from a village 12 hours north of Iconium (Cronin, p. 342). He refused to tell the name of the village, wishing to be hired as a guide. But, judging from the seventh case, the village was perhaps Sizma or another place in the hill-country between Konia and Ladik.

A sixth dedication was found by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson at Seuwerek (Psebila or Psibela), 12 hours N.N.E. from Iconium, and 6 N.E. from Laodiceia, raised to *Μητρὶ θεῶν Ζιζιμμηνηῆς*, by Dada, foundling or adopted son of Attalus, an archigallus. The peculiar priesthood (which occurs also on the Tekmoreian estates, § viii) marks the goddess as specifically Phrygian.²

The seventh dedication is now published here. It is at Sizma, which lies about 5

hours north of Iconium among the hills, and about 3 hours S.E. of Laodiceia. It is now an important mining centre. The quicksilver mines in the neighbourhood have been worked from a remote period (as is plain from the extensive shafts), and working was recently begun anew, and a second enterprise is projected, as the productive region is extensive. It is evident that the modern name Sizma is the Turkish representative of the old name Zizima, and that the goddess had her home, where Cybele ought to reside, among the mountains. She had revealed her sacred place by the underground wealth there offered to the use of man. An *aurarius* at Laodiceia (*Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 261, No. 85: badly in *C.I.G.* 3990 d) may indicate that gold mines also existed in the district: see Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgesch.* pp. 76, 77. No better example of the character of an Anatolian Hieron is known.

In four of the six dedications the spelling is Zizimmene, and one is defective. But the modern form shows that the local name was pronounced Zizima, not Zizimma. The double mm in the ethnic is caused by the stress of the voice on the second syllable (on which the secondary accent falls). The Mother who dwelt at Zizima is mentioned alone in five of the dedications, while in one she is in the Latin version united as Minerva with Jupiter Optimus Maximus and in the Greek with the Tyche [of Iconium];³ here evidently Jupiter and Minerva are Latin representatives of a pair of Phrygian deities, while in the Greek she is herself expressed in two forms as the [Mother] and Hellenized as the Iconian Good Fortune. The purely native Phrygian forms of the deities associated with her in her own home are given in the following inscription.

³ Reading *Τύχη τῆς πόλεως* in *C.I.L.* iii. 13638.

¹ One published previously by Dr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien* p. 174.

² Mr. Anderson's statement, *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 281, ll. 1-3, founded on Cument in Pauly-Wissowa ii. 484, must therefore be corrected: see Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.* No. 380.

In publishing the first of those dedications *Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 237, I suggested that Ζιζιμηνή could hardly be distinguished from Διδυμηνή, strictly a local epithet which passed into a noun and changed its accent, and also that the Didyma of Apollo bore fundamentally the same name as the Dindymos of Cybele. The co-existence of nasalized and simple forms is common, and also the equivalence of z and d, in Anatolia: we notice also that forms in z seem to be east-Anatolian, forms in d west-Anatolian, as Ariandos Lydiae, Arianzos Cappadociae, Dindymene and Zizimene, Didyma and Zizima (*Histor. Geogr.* pp. 285, 348, and below, § II.).

1. (R. 1905). Sizma: copied first by Mr. John Garstang of the Liverpool Museum, who showed it to me. Seeing its interest and hearing that many traces of the worship of the goddess were preserved there, I visited the village eight days later.

(Side A) *Βουλευτής*
 'Ι[α][τ]ροκλ[η]ς [Μ]ενεμ-
 άχου 'Ορέστου εύχην
 'Απόλλωνι Σώζοντι

Defaced Relief: man either riding on horse or standing by it. Line 1 is complete, and separated from the rest of the inscription.

(Side B) *Ανγισι επ[η]κόψ

Defaced Relief: horseman to left.

(Side C) 'Η[λί]ου

Defaced relief.

(Side D) Μητρι Ζιζιμηνη

Defaced Relief: deity enthroned facing.

If we have rightly argued from the inscriptions that the goddess was Iconian, *i.e.* that Zizima was on Iconian soil, Iatrokles was a senator of Iconium. In that case the inscription must be older than the foundation of the Colonia (see below, § IV.). On this small altar, the subjects of three of the reliefs are well-known Anatolian types: the fourth is utterly lost.

A. The principal side, with the chief inscription, is dedicated to Apollo Sozon, common in Pisidia and Phrygia, and regularly represented as a horseman: see *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia* i. pp. 262 ff. Mr W. R. Paton, however, sends me note of a coin of Mastaura Lydiae: ΣΩΖ[ΩΝ], nude Apollo, leaning on column, holding plectrum r., lyre l.

B. The side next on the right is dedicated

to Angdisis, more commonly called Angdistis or Agdistis. The usually accepted derivation from Phrygian agdos, Greek ὄχθος, does not sufficiently explain the nasalizing of the first syllable. Probably Angdisis was a real Phrygian form, and not a mere fault of engraving. Perhaps Ardistama, now Arissama, the ancient Hittite city, discovered in 1904 by my travelling companion, Professor T. Callander, derives its name from Angdisis or Angdistis: I have noted the remarkable transformations to which ng is exposed, in the case of Sinethandos (native form Siñrad) in *Annual of Brit. School Ath.* 1902-3, p. 273. The epithet ἐπήκοος is given to many Anatolian deities.

C. The back is hopelessly defaced, but probably the name was 'Η[λί]ου: ου for ω in dative is common in later Greek inscriptions of central Anatolia.

D. On left of the principal side was enthroned in rude form the Mother-Goddess, with the dedication Μητρι Ζιζιμηνη. She was not flanked by her lions in the usual schema: the stone is too small for the very unskilful artist to represent so many figures. But in several other half-defaced works at Sizma, the lions appear in typical schemata. The Meter Zizimene is clearly proved to be purely a local envisagement of Cybele. The dedication to Minerva Zizimene, *C.I.L.* iii. 13638, shows that on coins of Iconium the common type of Pallas Athena must be interpreted as merely a Hellenized form of Meter Zizimene; and the city Tribe 'Αθηνᾶς [Ζιζιμηνης?], which is mentioned in an unpublished inscription of Iconium (copied by me in 1905),¹ was in all probability the Phyle in which the Phrygian section of the population was enrolled.

It cannot be doubted that the Mother Zizimene, must have possessed considerable property in land and persons attached to the hieron (ιερόδουλοι or ιεροί). That was always the case at the great Anatolian Hiera. In several other cases I have argued that such property was as a rule taken possession of by the kings of the Hellenistic period, and passed from their possession to that of the Roman Emperors. That the property at Zizima formed an Imperial estate may be inferred from the following inscriptions.

2. (R. 1905.) Sizma. Under a relief, now lost,

αὐτοΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ

¹ I received a copy of this inscription in January 1905, and copied it myself in May 1905, and sent it to Dr. Wiegand, as stated in § IV. (e).

This word stood alone or nearly alone, marked off by lines above and below: possibly the word *θεῶν* was added. Such marked devotion to the cult of the Emperors, as lords, suits an Imperial estate.

3. (R. 1891.) In a bridge over the Sizmana-Su, 1½ hr. from Ladik on road to Konia. Under the inscription is a bull's head in relief. In 1905 I was informed that the stones in this bridge had been brought from Sizma, which is a few miles higher up the stream. The inscription is complete. It is perhaps sepulchral; but the omission of all statement of the intention of the tomb is so unusual, as to suggest that the stone had some different character. Only one face of the stone, which has the form of an altar, was visible; and there may have been inscriptions on the other sides, which would make the purpose clear.

II. Αἴλιος, Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀπελ(εῖθερος), Φαῦστος ἀνέστησε.¹

P. Aelius Faustus was a freedman of Hadrian, which proves that the date of erection was about 130–160 A.D. Faustus was probably in charge of the Imperial property at Zizima.

Other slight indications of the Imperial property at Zizima and its officials are found at Laodiceia Katakekaumene, the nearest city to Zizima, situated on the great trade route from the East to Ephesus and Italy. Formerly, when Laodiceia was believed by the numismatists to have been a Colonia, I explained the appearance of Roman officials and organization there by its colonial character. It is now known that Laodiceia never was a Colonia, and the supposed colonial coins are now assigned to Pella.² The traces of Roman character at Laodiceia are far better explained as due to the officials connected with the estate; partly they lived in or passed through Laodiceia, partly the stones may have been carried from some of the villages on the estate. There were several centres of life at Zizima, as on other great estates; and one of these was at Nevinni, an hour north of Sizma (where remains have been reported to me often during the last five years). The largest

collection of Laodicean inscriptions is in my article in *Ath. Mitth.* 1888, pp. 235 ff. (written while the colonial error was universally accepted). Among these the following (along with *C.I.G.* 3987 to 3990 m.) serve our present purpose:

(a) dedication no. 4 θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς εὐεργέταις by Theseus, evidently a slave of Caesar.

(b) epitaph no. 5 Φλ. Ἀφανος ἀ(ὑ)γουστάλιος: there need be no doubt that (T.?) Flavius Aphanus was a Greek-speaking freedman of the Flavian house, who was an Augustalis: in his Greek epitaph the praenomen is omitted: Greeks never properly understood the Roman system of nomenclature, and make numerous technical errors in writing them.

(c) Romans often occur, L. Tittianus Carbo; P. Aelius Sosthenes (freedman of Hadrian); T. Laurentius; P. Calvisius Proclus (named after P. Calvisius Ruso, governor of Galatia about 106 A.D.);³ L. Calvisius Proclus;⁴ P. Naevius Epagathus; L. Septimius Appianus (freedman? of Severus) who had a *pragmateutes*⁵ under him, as manager, and may therefore have been a *misthotes*;⁶ P. Caetranus. We may at present omit several persons with the names Aurelius and Aelius and Flavius used without preceding praenomen,⁷ as being probably of the third century or later, when Roman citizenship was no longer distinguishing.

(d) T. Aelius Amiantus Aug. lib. proc (urator), *C.I.L.* iii. 287, was doubtless in charge of the mines and estates under Pius. P. Aelius Sosthenes (Greek), *C.I.G.* 3990 h, similarly under Hadrian.

(e) [P. or T. Ae]lius Tertius, Aug. lib. (Greek), similarly under Hadrian or Pius: no. 20.

(f) Seleucus verna Augusti (Greek, incorrect in Latin usage) cancellarius, door-keeper in the court of justice: his mother was a slave of the Emperor, and his father a free citizen of Laodiceia later than A.D. 211; the son followed the station of the mother, as the law was: no. 24.

³ A man named after a governor is not likely to be his freedman, but a distinguished citizen who gained the civitas in his time.

⁴ Perhaps about 220–250 A.D., see *Ath. Mitth.* 1888, p. 244.

⁵ Taking ΙΑΙΟΝ for Πόπλιον in *C.I.G.* 3990 b.

⁶ See below §§ VII., VIII.

⁷ In the cases which are referred to, it is not merely that the *praenomen* is omitted by the Greek carelessness about Roman names; but that Aur., Ael., or Fl. is used after the late fashion as a sort of *praenomen*.

¹ This inscription is strangely misunderstood by M. Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Min.* (1905), pp. 434 f.

² ELLA, *i.e.* [P]ella, had been misread CLAUDIA LAODICEA by Waddington. The almost total absence of Latin among the great number of Laodicean inscriptions known would alone be a sufficient proof that it was not a Colonia.

(g) Asclepiades, verna Augusti (Greek): no. 25.

(h) Marcus verna, married to a free woman of Laodiceia, after A.D. 211, was probably a slave of Caesar: οὐέρνας having become stereotyped in that sense: no. 23. So also Cosmus verna ἱππεύς (Greek) and [—] verna ἱπ(π)εύς (Greek) were probably Imperial slaves managing the horses bred on those fertile hill-glades (*saltus*), or else managing the horses used in transport: nos. 21, 22.

Further, Felix the freedman who made the Latin dedication at Iconium *C.I.L.* iii. 13638, was doubtless *libertus Augusti*; this inscription has perhaps been carried from Sizma in recent time.

4. (R. 1905.) On the bridge east of the village Sizma stands a remarkable little altar, unfortunately defaced cruelly. The principal side shows a male deity leaning with his left elbow on a smaller archaic statue (if I interpret the defaced object correctly) and stretching his right hand down towards an animal, which sits at his feet, and turns its head back over its shoulder towards him. Above is inscribed in letters faint and worn

ΡΕΩΝΔΗΜΟΥΔΙΟCΜΕΓΙCΤΟ
ΝΠΙΟΥΙΥΩΔΙΟΝΥCΩΙ
ΗΤΩΝΤΑCΛΟΥΤCΟCΚΑ
ΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥΝΕΟΥ

.]ρέων δήμου Διὸς Μεγίστο[
'Ολυ]νπίου Ἰνφ(?) Διονύσφ Ν[?
]η ΤΩΝΤΑCΛΟΥΤCΟC Κα[ρ-
ικο ?]ὸ οἰκονόμου νέου.

The last letter in 2 is either I or N. There cannot be more than one or at most two letters lost at the left side of I. 1; but there may have been a line higher up giving the date, perhaps, with [ἔπέρ—]ρέων δήμου. Apparently the demos of Zeus Megistos Olynpios is intended. The dedication is to Dionysos with an epithet, apparently IYΩ and another Ν[?]η, or Ν[?]ητῶν. The name of the dedicator is hopeless. His father Κα[riko]s (?) was a vilicus, probable steward of the estate and an Imperial slave.

The number of officials at Laodiceia, contrasted with their paucity among the numerous inscriptions of Iconium, shows that the administration of the mines was situated at Laodiceia. The produce of the mines was transported to Rome, and Laodi-

ceia lay on the great trade route to Ephesus and Rome. The cinnabar of the Zizimene mines was used to make a vermilion pigment; and the natural sulphide was heated in the process till it sublimed. If the furnaces were situated in the Laodicean country, the meaning of the epithet Katakekaumene, which is applied to the city, becomes obvious. The Lydian district Katakekaumene derived its name from the funnels or volcanos and the rivers of black lava, and Laodiceia was called Katakekaumene from the furnaces, used for treating the ore. The statement that Laodiceia had suffered from a conflagration is only a false inference from the epithet.

II.—ARIANDOS.

A hitherto unpublished inscription, which is quoted in § I. may be given here.

5. (R. 1884.) Ala-Agatch-Tchiftlik, north of Injikler in the territory of Saittai Lydiae.

ἔτους τζ', μη(νὸς) Δαισιού¹ ζ', Βάττος Ρούφου | Σαίτηνός μετὰ τῶν γονέων τὸν | Ἀσκληπιὸν μετὰ τῆς Ὑγείας | ἀνέστησεν ἐν Ἀρι[ά]νδφ ἱ[s] ναὸν | Διὸς Ἀγοραίου. ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιῶ. A.D. 223 (Sullan era) or A.D. 277 (Actian).

The date must remain uncertain, but probability is in favour of the earlier year from the want of anything markedly late in character. The inscription belongs to a village of the Saittan territory, and it is remarkable to find Greek written with comparative correctness in what must have been a remote and secluded village; but Battos was a priest and presumably more educated than the common villagers. His priesthood, omitted in its proper place, is added at the end of the inscription.

On Ariandos, Cappadocian Arianzos (the estate of Gregory, near the village Karbala or Kaprala (modern Gelvere), in the territory of Diocaesareia-Nazianzos, *Histor. Geogr.* p. 285. See above § I.

Into the temple of Zeus Agoraios the priest of Asklepios introduces statues of his own deities, Asklepios and Hygieia. Compare the inscription of Koloe in Wagener *Inscr. Rec. en Asie Min.*, no. 1.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ Perhaps Δαισίω on stone.

(To be continued.)

TRIREMES.

How did the ancient Greeks row their triremes? A score of scholars have in modern times answered the question in as many different ways, and the Germans have come to speak of it as 'the trireme-puzzle' (*das Trierenrätsel*). This divergence of opinion is of course due to the inadequate nature of the evidence available. The monuments, including bas-reliefs, vase-paintings, and coins, are, in view of the comparative importance of the subject, not only scanty but also singularly inconclusive: their value is, indeed, largely destroyed by the undoubted presence of those elements of uncertainty—artistic convention and artistic ignorance. Literary allusions escape the first, if not the second, of these drawbacks, but only to suffer from other and perhaps worse defects: for a literary allusion is, in the nature of the case, partial and incomplete—no merely verbal description of a vessel can ever make us realise what she looked like when afloat; besides, nautical language abounds with terms that are peculiarly apt to be misunderstood by the landsman, and the well-meaning historian (let alone the scholiast or lexicographer) is likely enough to use words that will prove at best ambiguous, at worst misleading, to his readers. All these sources of error have combined to vitiate ancient testimony with regard to the rowing of the trireme. Fortunately, however, there is in addition to the witness of the monuments and of literature a third order of facts, which may be termed evolutionary evidence. And I venture to hold that those who have had recourse to it, those who have argued back from what mediaeval triremes were to what classical triremes *must have been*, of course at the same time keeping their eyes open for the monuments and their ears for the literature, have, in point of fact, come nearest to a solution of the problem.

In this brief paper I do not propose to investigate a score of different theories. For practical purposes they may be grouped under three heads according to the main principles involved:

- (1) The trireme was rowed by three superimposed (or at least superposed) tiers of rowers, every rower pulling a separate oar through a separate port.
- (2) The trireme was rowed by a single tier of rowers, every oar being pulled by three men.

- (3) The trireme-rowers were so arranged that every three men sat on one bench (stepped or otherwise) pulling three oars, attached to three tholepins, through one common rowlock-port.

The first of these views must be called the orthodox view; for it is still given in the handbooks and taught in the schools, so that most educated persons, indeed most scholars, if asked 'How were triremes rowed?' would reply 'By three tiers of rowers, one above the other.' Nevertheless this opinion is the least tenable of the three, simply because a vessel so constructed could not answer its purpose. Any practical boat-builder would scout the idea. And it needs but a few moments' reflection to convince the veriest land-lubber that the difficulties inherent in this solution are insurmountable. To begin with, if there are three superposed tiers of oars, by which I mean tiers separated by a height of two or more feet, either the lowest tier must consist of oars that are very short or the highest tier must consist of oars that are very long. But oars that are very short would be of little or no use for rowing a vessel as big as a trireme; and oars that are very long could only be rowed with a long slow stroke, whereas it is known that trireme-rowers could manage a short quick stroke, in fact could make an effective spurt.¹ Hence it should be inferred, on the one hand that the three tiers of oars cannot have differed greatly from each other in point of length,² and on the other hand that even the longest of them cannot have been much longer than modern racing-oars.³

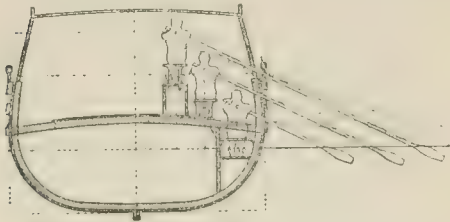
Again, if we assume three superposed tiers, either the lowest tier must be so near the water as to be constantly in danger of shipping a sea, or the highest tier must be so far above the water as to be worked at a most unmanageable angle. Dr. Assmann, for example, on the strength of a very debatable Greek relief and a quite impossible Roman one, would have us believe

¹ This is shown by Mr. W. W. Tarn in an interesting and valuable paper on 'The Greek Warship' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1905 xxv. 151 n. 56).

² On this point see further Dr. A. Bauer in I. Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft* iv. 1. 3 p. 368 f.

³ Triremes carried certain supplementary or spare oars called *περίπλεα*. These were 9 or 9½ cubits long in 373-372 B.C. (*C.I.A.* ii. 789a 14, 22, 51, 55). Of other oars no exact measurements are recorded.

that the lowest tier of a sea-going trireme was only nine or ten inches (0.25 m.) above the water.¹ This, even if we grant a rather problematical leather-bag protection for the port-holes,² implies a decidedly narrow free-board. Others prefer Scylla to Charybdis. M. Lemaître, for instance—and he is by no means an extremist in the matter—thinks that the oars were worked at an angle of 27 degrees as shown in the annexed cut.³ In opposition to this and other such



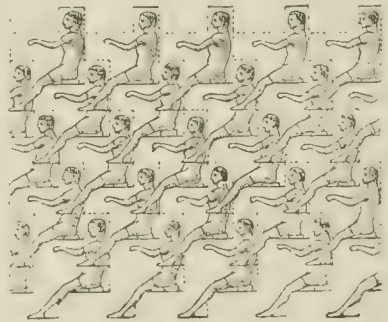
SECTION OF LEMAÎTRE'S TRIREME.

speculations Dr. Bauer rightly protests⁴ that the oars should make with the surface of the water as acute an angle as possible, a requirement frankly incompatible with any theory that separates the three tiers of rowers by a considerable vertical interval.⁵

Dr. Assmann⁶ states that triremes and the like 'were built mainly for smooth, calm water.' But, even if we may postulate halcyon weather, the rowing of a ship with superposed tiers must have been a precarious business. The slightest irregularity on the part of any individual oarsman might involve his neighbours of another tier, and so reduce the whole broadside to confusion. *A fortiori*, if the wind got up, the best-trained crew in the world would soon be floundering in inextricable chaos.

Moreover, with oars of markedly different length and therefore of markedly different sweep, the simplest operation would be much complicated. Imagine, for example, the difficulty of keeping time—a point first

made by Barras de la Penne, who commanded the fleet of Louis XV.⁷ Dr. Breusing,⁸ director of the Naval Academy at Bremen, shows that, if we assume (as we have a right to do) an angle of 20 degrees between oar and water, an allowance for each oar of a quarter length inboard as against three-quarters length outboard, and a sweep of some 60 degrees, then a minimum vertical interval of 2 feet between the tiers of rowers will demand oars of 8, 16, and 24 feet in length; and consequently (a), while a rower in the lowest tier pulls his oar-handle 2 feet, a rower in the middle tier must pull 4 feet, and a rower in the upper tier 6 feet, which means that the lowest rower must sit, the second stand, the third pace to and fro; (b) further, while the lowest moves his oar-blade 6 feet, the second must move his 12, and the third 18! Nor can



ARRANGEMENT OF MEN IN GRASER'S QUINQUEREME.⁹

this logic be evaded by supposing either that the two upper tiers reduced their sweep from 18 and 12 feet respectively to 6 in order to suit the lowest tier, or that the lowest tier rowed 4 strokes and the middle tier 2 while the highest rowed 1. Both these assumptions, as Dr. Bauer¹⁰ has proved, only lead to further mechanical difficulties and disabilities.

But nothing daunts the faith of the arm-chair navigator. Not only does he suppose that triremes were rowed on this preposterous system, but he proceeds to deal in similar fashion with vessels of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, etc. tiers. The thing becomes humorous. Life on board Graser's quin-

¹ See his article 'Seewesen' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*. iii. 1609.

² On which see e.g. J. Kopecky *Die attischen Trieren* Leipzig 1890 p. 67 f.

³ From the *Revue archéologique* 1883 III. i. pl. 7, fig. 2.

⁴ In I. Müller's *Handbuch* iv. 1. 3 p. 365 f.

⁵ E.g. the theories of Graser *de veterum re navali* 1864, A. Cartault *La trière athénienne* 1881, E. Assmann 'Seewesen' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* 1888 and 'Zur Kenntniss der antiken Schiffe' in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1889, E. Lübeck *Das Seewesen der Griechen und Römer* 1890, J. Kopecky *Die attischen Trieren* Leipzig 1890, C. Torr *Ancient Ships* Cambridge 1894 and 'navis' in Daremberg et Saglio *Dict. des ant.* 1904.

⁶ In Baumeister's *Denkmäler* iii. 1609.

⁷ See A. Bauer in I. Müller's *Handbuch* iv. 1. 3 p. 364.

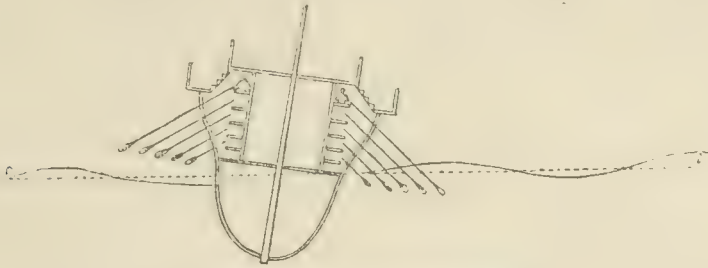
⁸ A. Breusing *Die Lösung des Trierenrätsels* Bremen 1889 p. 113 ff.

⁹ From M. le Contre-Amiral Serre *Les marines de guerre de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1885 p. 69, fig. 18.

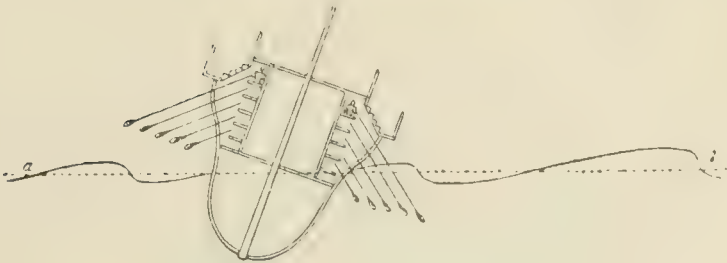
¹⁰ See his argumentation in I. Müller's *Handbuch* iv. 1. 3 p. 366 f.

quereme, even with a sea like a mill-pond, must have been full of incident. But fancy a capful of wind, perhaps with the added

Some critics,³ disgusted at such puerilities, have gone to the opposite extreme and maintained that Greek war-ships never had more



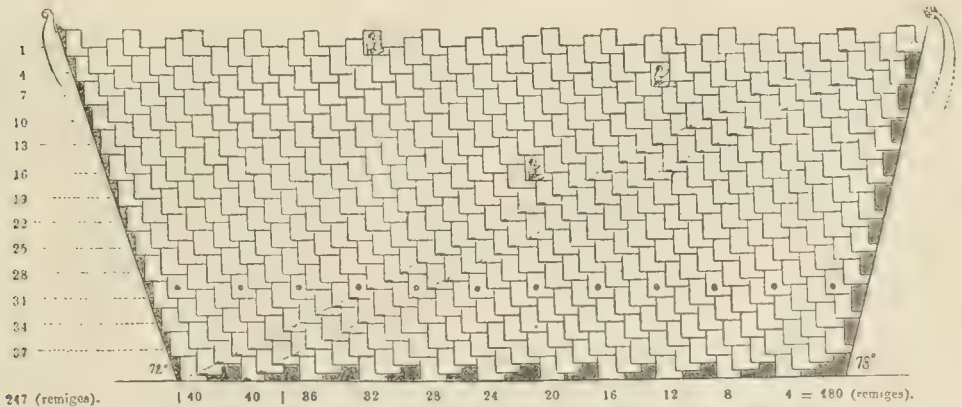
GRASER'S QUINQUEREME AT SEA.



GRASER'S QUINQUEREME IN A GALE.

excitement of a sea-fight. Weber's sketches,¹ of the result are decidedly charitable! The climax of absurdity is, however, not

than a single tier of oars. The trireme, quadrireme, quinquereme, etc. were rowed, they say,¹ by means of large sweeps each



ARRANGEMENT OF MEN IN GRASER'S 40-TIER VESSEL.

reached till we try to picture Graser's 40-tier vessel, bearing in mind the fact that, as built by Ptolemy Philopator (222-204 B.C.), she drew less than 4 cubits of water!²

¹ L. Weber *Die Lösung des Trierenrätsels* Danzig 1896 p. 4 figs. 14, 15.

² This is implied by the contemporary author Callixenus of Rhodes, as quoted by Athenaeus 5. 37,

pulled by 3, 4, 5, etc. men, as the case might be. Now this theory is far from improbable when applied to vessels of the 6-fold, 7-fold, 8-fold, etc. type, which were

—a point to which Mr. C. Torr *Ancient Ships* 1894 p. 9 justly called attention.

³ E.g. L. Weber *Die Lösung des Trierenrätsels* Danzig 1896, Speck *Handelsgeschichte* 1900.

all built by the Ptolemies, or by those who had come into frequent connexion with them, and may therefore have been mere adaptations of the ordinary Nile-berge.¹ Even the 40-fold vessel becomes credible, if we can assume that its enormous sweeps, the largest of which measured 38 cubits, were each worked by a team of 40 men, of whom 20 pulled while 20 pushed.² But this conveniently simple theory cannot be made to cover the case of triremes, at any rate during the best days of Greek independence; for Thucydides³—an unimpeachable authority—definitely asserts that on one occasion (in 429 B.C.) the Peloponnesian crews marched overland from Corinth to Megara, ‘taking every man his oar, his cushion,⁴ and his thole-bight.’ It would need a mental acrobat to dodge the implication that, at the time of the Peloponnesian War, Greek triremes had one man to each oar. Further, Mr. W. W. Tarn,⁵ following Böckh, has pointed out that according to the Athenian dock-yard lists, the oars of a trireme could form part of the equipment of a quadrireme, those of a quadrireme part of the equipment of a quinquereme. Mr. Tarn reasonably concludes that quadriremes and quinqueremes, at least of the fourth century B.C., had likewise one man to one oar, being in fact wholly analogous to triremes.

But if the theory of three superposed tiers, in which each oar is pulled by one man, and the theory of a single tier, in which each oar is pulled by three men, are alike discredited, we must commence *de novo* our attempts to answer the question—How after all were triremes rowed? It remains to attack the problem, so to speak, from the opposite end; and this is what several writers have done with no small measure of success.

Rear-admiral Fincati⁶ of the Italian fleet

¹ This argument is developed by the present writer in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies* 1905 p. 490 ff. See also the weighty considerations adduced by Mr. W. W. Tarn in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1905 xxv. 150-156.

² Vice-admiral Jurien de la Gravière *La marine des Ptolémées et la marine des romains* i. 6 assigns to each oar of this leviathan a team of 20 men, 10 pulling and 10 pushing. But the title *τεσσαρακοστήρις* can only be justified by doubling these numbers.

³ Thuc. 2. 93.

⁴ I follow the scholiast *ad loc.*, who states that τὸ ἐμπέσιον meant ‘the fleece on which rowers sit to avoid abrading their persons’—a notion ridiculed by Breusing *Die Lösung des Trierenrätsels* p. 109 ff.

⁵ *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1905 xxv. 149.

⁶ L. Fincati *Le triremi* ed. 2 Rome 1881. I have used both the original book (kindly lent to me by my friend Mr. Wigham Richardson) and the French translation of it given at the end of Rear-admiral

has, by the aid of documents in the archives of Genoa and Venice, proved that mediæval galleys called *triremi* were from the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century very commonly equipped a *senzile*, i.e. with a system of grouped oars, three oars and three oarsmen being assigned to each bench. The official descriptions leave no room for doubt (*galee armate ad tres remos ad bancho*—*galie armate a tre remi per bancho*—*galie da tre ordini di remi*—*galie da tre remi e tre homeni per bancho*); and contemporary paintings agree with them. Fincati was indeed able to produce detailed drawings and a model of a Venetian trireme of the year 1539. He did more than that; for he took a long-boat from his arsenal, fitted it out with 10 benches each accommodating 3 rowers, who pulled their 3 oars attached to 3 thole-pins through a common aperture, and so demonstrated to the satisfaction of all and sundry the principle on which the triremes of mediæval Italy were rowed. Arguing (and the argument is sound) that nautical traditions are handed down with little alteration from century to century, he concluded that the triremes of the ancients did not differ essentially from those of Sicily, Genoa, and Venice—a conclusion in which Pantera, captain of the Papal galleys, had long since forestalled him.⁷ Fincati further proved that in the course of the sixteenth century this system of grouped oars (*a senzile*) was gradually replaced by a system of large sweeps (*di scaloccio*) rowed by several men each—in fact that mediæval galleys underwent precisely the same evolution which we have already noticed in the case of ancient Greek vessels.

Fincati's views have commended themselves to more than one recent writer on the subject.⁸ But, while a general adhesion to the principles that he enunciated may, perhaps must, be granted, there is still room for some differences of opinion. Indeed that astute mariner himself contemplated the possibility that an ancient trireme *a senzile* might have its oars grouped in several distinct fashions. Mr. Tarn, for example, holds that the terms *thranite*, *zygite*, *thalamite* had nothing to

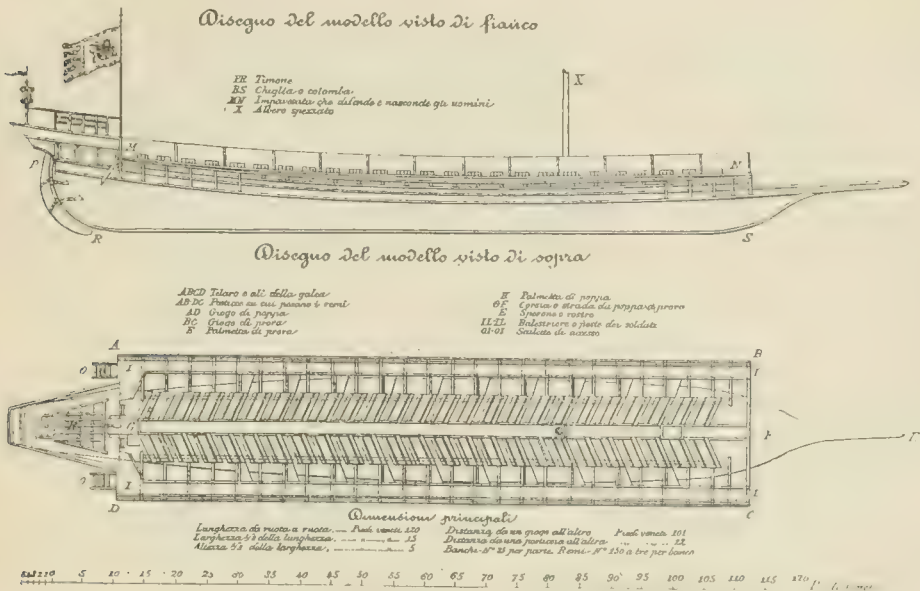
Serre's *Les marines de guerre* Paris 1885 p. 154 ff. Fincati's work is that of a scholar and an enthusiast.

⁷ Pantera *Armata Navale* Rome 1614. See Fincati *op. cit.* p. 58 f., Serre *op. cit.* p. 198.

⁸ E.g. Mr. H. F. Brown in *The Academy* Sept. 29, 1883, p. 219 f., myself in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies* Cambridge 1905 p. 486 ff., Mr. W. W. Tarn in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1905 xxv. 139.

do with the horizontal rows or banks of oars, but denoted three divisions or squads of rowers, the *thranites* being astern, the *zygites* amidships, the *thalamites* in the bows. He refers the words *τρίκροτος*, *δίκροτος*, and *μονόκροτος* primarily to these squads,

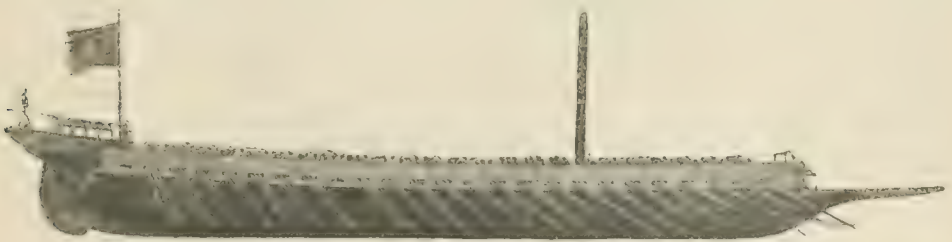
presuppose that many of the most learned Greeks (grammarians, scholiasts, and lexicographers) were wrong in what they said about these matters. Personally I am not prepared to abandon Pollux, Eustathius, Hesychius and Co. without an effort at



ELEVATION AND PLAN OF FINCATI'S VENETIAN TRIREME.

denying that they are equivalent to *τρίρης*, *δύρης*, and *μονήρης* respectively. He further interprets *κάτω* and *ἄνω* in relation to the *carago* as 'fore' and 'aft,' and apparently supposes that the three rowers of each group of trireme-oars sat on a single

reconciliation. Mr. Tarn agrees that in the Venetian trireme a *renzile* three men sat 'one a little astern of the other,' *en échelon* in fact. This, as I have elsewhere pointed out, explains the statement of the scholiast on Aristophanes *Frogs* 1074: 'The *thranite*



FINCATI'S MODEL OF VENETIAN TRIREME.

bench at the same level. I confess I am not convinced by the arguments that he adduces on any of these points, though to attempt a refutation of them would exceed my present limits. But this at least may here be said: Mr. Tarn's views admittedly

then is the rower towards the stern; the *zygite* the rower in the middle; the *thalamius* the rower towards the prow.' If now we further suppose that the rowers' bench was in three steps or levels, we satisfactorily account for all passages cited

in proof of superposed tiers, e.g. the scholiast on Aelian quoted by Graser¹: 'A vessel is called *μονήρης*, *διήρης*, etc. according to the number of her banks rising one above the other' (*κατὰ τοὺς στίχους τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ὕψος ἐπ' ἀλλήλους*). Besides, it is easy to explain the terms *θαλαμίτης*, *ζυγίτης*, *θρανίτης*: the *thalamite* was the man who rowed nearest the port-hole (*θαλαμιά*); the *zygite*, he who sat next him, originally on the beam (*ζυγόν*); the *thranite*, he who worked the longest oar by rising on a stool (*θράνος*) to gain force for his stroke.

I believe, therefore, that the trireme-problem was in effect half-solved by Rear-admiral Fincati who first established the analogy of the Venetian trireme *a zenzile*, and half-solved too by Dr. Bauer who rightly insisted that the three banks of a trireme must be but a very slight distance apart (certainly less than two vertical feet).² It will only be completely solved, when an adequate and indisputable representation of an ancient trireme is discovered. In default of that much-to-be-desired solution it seems worth while to attempt a reconstruction along the lines here laid down. But at this point I resign my pen in favour of Mr. Wigham Richardson, whose theoretical knowledge and practical experience qualify him for the task in a quite unusual degree.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MODEL AND REMARKS.

The half model as photographed was made by Mr. Thorup of the Neptune Works to a scale of one inch to the foot. It represents a section, for a length of 6 rowers, of a trireme as interpreted by Mr. A. B. Cook. It is a *sectional half model* so as the better to show the internal structure and arrangements (Figs. 9, 10, 11).

I entirely agree with the learned author of the foregoing article that the usual description of triremes cannot be regarded seriously. His explanation is the only one I have met with which seems to solve the problem, and my firm (Swan, Hunter, and Wigham Richardson) have had great pleasure in making a model to represent his views.

From a shipbuilder's point of view there seem to be no two ways about the problem.

¹ Graser *de veterum re navali* § 4.

² A. Bauer in I. Müller's *Handbuch* iv. 1. 3 p. 368.

Granted that the sheds at Munychia were about 150 ft. long and 20 ft. wide, we may assume that the triremes built in them were from 140 to 150 ft. long and about 16 ft. beam.

We also know that they used to be beached, so that probably their draught of water was from 4 to 5 ft.

Further, the seats of row boats cannot be spaced less than about 3 ft. apart, but by placing them stepwise an extra man can be got in between each, without fouling each other. I confess that even this arrangement does not give the 85 rowers a side in a length of 150 feet, but it nearly approximates to that number. Moreover, the said number of 170 rowers is named at a

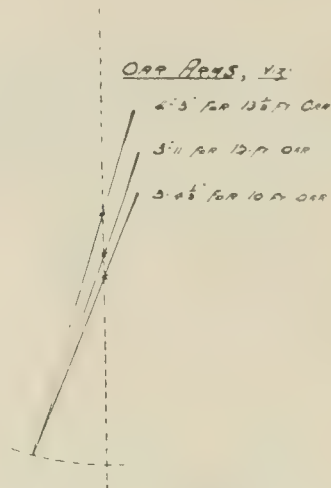


FIG. 8.—DIAGRAM TO DETERMINE THE POSITION ON THE RAIL OF THE THOLE PINS.

later date than the Battle of Salamis, and the triremes may then have been somewhat longer.

Again, oars must be nearly horizontal, so in the model the gunwale is 12 inches above the water line.

The middle oars are 12 ft. long, which is about the length for the racing boats at Oxford and Cambridge; the shorter are 10 ft., and the longer oars are 13½ ft. In the modern lifeboat the oars are up to 16 ft. in length, and this length would be equally suitable for a trireme as interpreted by Mr. Cook.

In order to give each rower the same stroke, whatever the length of the oar, the centres of the thole-pins must be shown *on the model*, and this arrangement leads to a wide gunwale-rail, which doubtless was



[See page 376.]

FIG. 9.—THE HALF-MODEL SEEN LONGITUDINALLY FROM THE INSIDE.



FIG. 10.—CROSS-SECTION OF THE HALF-MODEL.



[See page 370.]

FIG. 11.—THE HALF-MODEL WITH THE UPPER PLANKING REMOVED.

considered important for strength, see Fig. 8.

Mr. Cook has expressed a doubt whether or not there was a complete deck, but doubtless such an obvious feature would be adopted sooner or later, for, to say nothing of largely increasing the longitudinal strength, it provides a shelter for the rowers as well as a fighting platform for soldiers, or, as we should style them, marines. The Cross-Section, Fig. 12, shews a *partial* upper deck. This arrangement is a very probable one, and it has the further advantage of allowing the main deck to be raised to the level of the gunwale so that it would free itself at once from any sea coming

The first sketch of the model was submitted to my old friend Sir Gainsford Bruce, a scholar and an accomplished yachtsman, and he wrote with reference to the representations on ancient monuments as follows:—

‘I think it quite possible that the ancient artists who depicted ships, like the old heralds who drew lions, had never seen what they professed to represent.’

In conclusion, may I note that in all ages it has been a question how to secure the greatest possible power in a ship. In the large Cunard steamer now building at Wallsend this problem has involved many

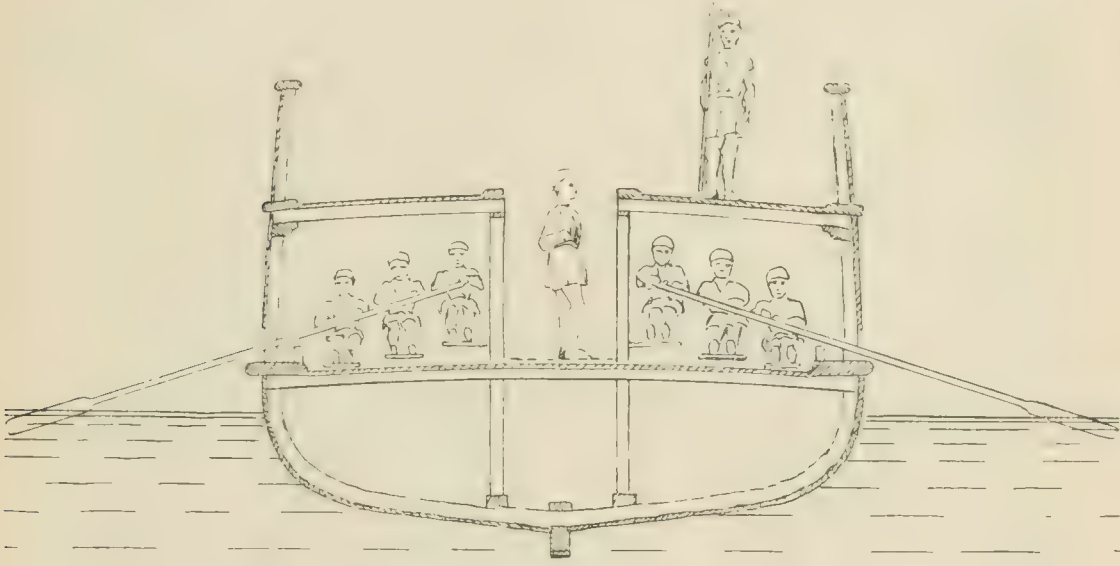


FIG. 12.—CROSS-SECTION OF TRIREME WITH PARTIAL UPPER DECK.

aboard. Nautical readers will appreciate this point. Mr. Cook thinks that originally three oars (thranite, zygitai, and thalamite) were arranged between every two ribs or uprights, as in the case of the Venetian galleys, but that when the trireme came to be completely decked more numerous supports for the deck may have become necessary.

The nomenclature of modern ships is notoriously erratic. For example, a *double banked launch* would hardly suggest to the uninitiated that the phrase indicates a large ship's boat with two men to each oar! If the Greek nautical terms were similar, the task of the commentators must be arduous indeed.

months of laborious calculation, but if we consider 5 men as equal to 1 horse power the steamer of to-day is more than two thousand times more powerful than the Athenian trireme.

WIGHAM RICHARDSON.

POTTIER'S *DOURIS*.

DOURIS et les Peintres de Vases Grecs (Les Grands Artistes). Par EDMOND POTTIER. Paris: Librairie Renouard. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 128. 25 illustrations. [1905.]

M. POTTIER'S monograph in the French series of Great Artists demands more than a

'brief notice,' for though written as he says for a wider circle and not for professional archaeologists, even the latter will find in it many luminous suggestions and much useful material. He apologises for devoting a monograph on Greek painting to a representative of the humbler branch of the art instead of taking Polygnotos or Parrhasios as his text, on the very reasonable ground that of the great masters we have no monuments but only literary records, and that it is impossible to base an artistic criticism on the latter alone, still more if the subject is to be properly illustrated. Vase-paintings are really our only source of knowledge for Greek painting of the best periods of art; and if a vase-painter must accordingly be selected, Douris is more representative than Euphronios because (1) we have thirty-eight vases signed by him against ten by the latter, (2) in his case we know from the signature *εγραψε* that all the vases bearing his name were really painted by him.

After dealing in the introductory sections with the social condition of Athenian vase-painters, the conditions under which they worked, and their technical equipment, M. Pottier discusses in detail the various works from the hand of Douris, treating successively of his mythological, heroic, military, and genre subjects, concluding with an artistic estimate of his work. Douris does not of course reflect the style of any great master, except perhaps Kimon, but of the *spirit* of Greek painting his work may be taken as typical.

The monograph is one that should be read by all to whom Greek art in any way appeals, and is admirably calculated to awaken an interest in the study of vase-paintings in particular; few writers succeed as M. Pottier does in combining charm of style with scientific accuracy and breadth of knowledge. There is a useful bibliography, and the illustrations are uniformly excellent. The ingenious procedure by means of which M. Devillard has overcome the difficulty of photographing the curved surface of the vases should in particular be noted.

On p. 19 M. Pottier speaks of Brygos as a Macedonian name; but has not Kretschmer (*Gr. Vasenschr.* p. 81) definitely shewn that he was of Scythian origin?

H. B. W.

BRIEF NOTICE.

Anakalypteria. Vierundsechzigstes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste. By ALFRED BRUECKNER. Berlin: Reimer, 1904. 11½ × 9 in. Pp. 22. With two plates and eight cuts. M. 4.

THE author discusses three vases in the Berlin collection, all of the same class, 'aryballi' of the fourth century with figures in relief, the subjects of which throw light on Athenian marriage customs. He also publishes a clay mould at Athens shewing (as does one of the vases) the nuptial pair on a couch. The three vases all appear to have reference to the *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* or presents received by the bride from the bridegroom at her first unveiling, and may in fact have been actually given as such presents.

H. B. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Peloponnese.—Excavations were commenced at Tiryns in Jan. 1905 by the German Institute. The main object in view was the study of the earlier strata beneath the Palace. As a result remains of an older palace were found, immediately preceding in date that of Schliemann. Much early pottery was unearthed, and will be published in the forthcoming numbers of the *Mitteilungen*. An examination of the sacrificial pit in the large court showed that it concealed a circular altar. In May work was begun on the ruined church of Hagia Sophia in the village of Kalywia Sochiotika, near Sparta. Several inscriptions of the Roman Period had been built into its walls. A stone with a dedication to Demeter and Kora served as a threshold. It is probable that there was a sanctuary of the goddesses in the neighbourhood.¹

Thessaly.—In June the excavation of a beehive tomb in the neighbourhood of Volo was commenced. The tomb, which lies in the plain, resembles those of Menidi and Dimini. The interior has not yet been excavated, but beads of Mycenaean type have already been found.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesos.—The library founded by Ti. Jul. Celsus Polemaeanus (cos. 92 A.D.) has been completely excavated. Niches for the reception of the book-cases have been discovered,

¹ *Athen. Mitt.*, 1905, Heft 2.

as well as a small funeral chamber containing the sarcophagus of the founder. To the E. of the Library, a list of members belonging to a sanctuary of the Curetes has been found. The British Museum excavations have led to the discovery of gold ornaments and ivories of great interest.²

Miletos.—The work in 1904 was chiefly directed towards an examination of the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios. In addition, a cemetery of the Hellenistic Period and early temple of Athene were discovered.²

S. RUSSIA.

Kuban District.—Two tombs were opened in the neighbourhood of Stanitzka. A bow-case decorated with reliefs of stags and panthers in gold, a silver rhyton with figures of Centaurs and the Persian Artemis engraved upon it, and a gold girdle, made up of plates decorated with heads of rams and lions and inlaid with amber, were found in these tombs. Other noteworthy objects discovered were a gold diadem with rams' heads and corn-seeds as pendants, and a silver mirror with engraved designs of the Persian Artemis and heraldically grouped animals. All the above objects appear to be of early Ionic workmanship. Another tumulus in the Kuban district contained a series of horse graves in which were found various trappings in gold and iron; in human graves from the same tumulus many stamped gold dress-ornaments were obtained. These finds are approximately dated by the presence of r.f. vases of the late fine style.²

Panticapaeum.—The most important discoveries in 1904 were of objects of the so-called 'Gothic' style, i.e. objects of bronze, silver, and gold with inlaid decoration. They include a funeral crown, a massive necklace and armet, the latter ending in heads of animals, and sheaths with inlaid ornamentation in garnet and glass. With these objects were found coins of Constantius II (324–361) and of contemporary Bosporan Kings, as well as two silver dishes with busts of Constantius and the inscription D(omini) N(ostri) Constanti Augusti votis xx.²

Beresanĵ Island.—Prof. E. von Stern's excavations have yielded rich discoveries of objects of the archaic period. None are later than the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Large quantities of Rhodian, Corinthian, Naukratite, and Fikellura vase fragments, Attic b.f. fragments, and a few r.f. fragments were found. In many cases bronze

fish-coins of Olbia were discovered in the hands of the dead. Many of the large bronze pieces of Olbia were also found, a fact which gives a clue to their date. A r.f. kylix in the style of Epiktetos has an inner design of a woman standing over a kylix and holding two phalli in her hands. The vase is inscribed Ἰππαρχος καλός.²

EGYPT.

Alexandria.—Excavations in a Ptolemaic necropolis on the sea-coast brought to light much Hellenistic black-glazed ware, decorated in some cases with flutings, in others with tendrils in white paint. A noteworthy series of terracottas, chiefly of a *genre* character, was found. All the objects discovered are now in the Museum at Alexandria.

At *Oxyrhynchos* and *Eshmunein* considerable finds of papyri have been made. They are for the most part of a non-literary character, though some interesting fragments of literature have been obtained.

Among antiquities that have recently come into the market in Egypt, the following deserve special mention: (1) A bronze statuette of Alexander riding (ca. 8 in. high): the horse is wanting. (2) A small marble head of Alexander, helmeted. (3) A marble statue of Nemesis. (4) A bronze vase with a revel scene realistically depicted in relief.²

NORTH AFRICA.

Carthage.—Considerable labour has been devoted to clearing up the topography of the harbours. An interesting find of stone ammunition for *ballistae* was made. Its probable date is the second century B.C. Great progress has been made in determining the plan of Roman Carthage, and several important details as to dwelling houses have been obtained. The site of the theatre has been located, and a large stone mask and a colossal statue of Apollo leaning on a tripod have been found in its neighbourhood. A mutilated mosaic of about the fifth century represents a female figure crowned with a nimbus and holding ears of corn in her hands. She is probably a personification of Carthage.

At *Bulla Regia* a mosaic representing Amoretti hunting a panther, bear, and boar was found. *Thina* (on the Syrtis Minor) has yielded a mosaic depicting a race of four chariots drawn by fishes instead of horses. A relief (probably from a well) found at *Zaghuan* shows Leander on a tower lighted by Hero with a torch. It is inscribed *Leander alluco cere uno it, esse barosa*

² *Arch. Anz.*, 1905, Heft 2.

(? = *Leander ad lucem unius cerae it; est barosus*, i.e. *stultus*).²

ENGLAND.

Caerwent.—The S. gate was uncovered in 1904. A peculiarity of it is that it does not exactly face the N. gate. Near the gate was found an inscription belonging to a sculptured group, of which only traces, viz. the feet of a man and a bird, remain. The

inscription runs: [deo] Marti Leno [si]ve Ocelo Vellaun(o?) et num(inibus) Aug. M. Nonius Romanus ob immunitat(em) collign. [= colleg(ii) ?] d(onum) d(e) s(uo) d(at) Glab(ri)on(e) et H(om)ulo cos. X. K. Sept. (= 152 after Christ).²

F. H. MARSHALL.

² *Arch. Anz.*, 1905, Heft 2.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxvi. No. 2.

Ecclesiastes, Paul Haupt. *A Semantic Study of the Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs*, Edwin W. Fay (Part II.). *Note on the Hispanica Famina*, H. A. Strong. *Reviews*, etc. *Platner's Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* and *Huelsen's Das Forum Romanum*, Charles Knapp. *Root's Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*, Wilfred P. Mustard. *Summaries of Periodicals*. *Brief Mention*. *Preuss's Index Isocrates*. *Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar* (Translation by Crickton). *René Cagnat's Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*. *Recent Publications*, etc.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 29, No. 1.

The lex Rhodia, R. Dareste. *Historical introduction*, Greek text and translation. *Études Latines VII. The supposed iterative subjunctive in Plautus Bacch.* 420-434, Felix Gaffiot. *Cicero Orator* 30. For 'ita multas' read 'multas ita,' Mortimer Lamson Earle. *Critical Notes on Lucretius*, v. 568 (read 'nil illi his interuallis'), 574 (keep 'fulgent'), 585 sqq. (594, 5 should be placed after 585, not after 589), A. Cartault. *De Horatii satira prima*, l. 27 insert 'ut' after 'amote,' l. 71 read 'inhians, set.' ll. 80-91 should be re-arranged, and l. 113 transposed to follow l. 116. Mortimer Lamson Earle. *Horatianum carm.* l. 6. *fin.* Read 'graves.' The same. *Eur. Bacch.* 294. For Διόνυσον read διδλωσιν, Georges Dalmeida. *Metrical clausulae in Cicero Orator*. *Enumerations, statistical tables and conclusions*, Henri Bornecque. *Tacitus Annals xi.* 4 (put a comma after 'praebuisse'), *xii.* 65 'coniunctam Messalinam — meritum' 'Britannico successor' should be read, and the passage repunctuated. *xiii.* 26, for 'ut inter paucos' 'egit inter p.' is read, for 'uine an aequo' 'ut ne iam aequo,' and the passage is repunctuated, René Waltz. *On 'pompa diaboli'*, A. d'Alès. *Tertullian's language favours the ordinary interpretation*, and not Mr. Reinach's 'retinue.' *Bulletin Bibliographique.*

Mnemosyne. 33. 3. 1905.

H. T. Karsten, *Commentum Aeli Donati ad Terentium* (contd.). 4. *Rhetorical scholia of the interpolators.* 5. *Scholia of uncertain authorship.* S. A. Naber, *Adn. criticae ad Andocidis orationes.* J. v. Leeuwen, *Ad schol. Aristophanica* (on Pax 31 sqq.). H. v. Herwerden, *Ad Sophoclis Antigonom.* Based on Blaydes' new ed., enumerating (1) emendations of Blaydes' own accepted by v. H., (2) emendations by Dutch scholars (esp. v. H.) adopted by Blaydes, (3) points of difference between Blaydes and v. H. *Idem, Tentatur Horatii Carm.* l. 6. Read *is* for *quis* in l. 13. J. v. Wageningen, *De Damoclis gladio.* (1) Cicero's account (*Tusc. Disp.* v. 61) due to Timaeus. (2) No trace of the

proverbial expression before the eighteenth century. J. v. Leeuwen, **BAPBAPICTI?** In *Schol. Aristoph. Pac.* 459 read τοὺς βάρος τι (for τοὺς βαρβαριστὶ) ἐξέλεκτορας. S. A. Naber, *Ad Plauti Rudentem.* A Greek version of ll. 1235-1253 by Macaulay. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Boethium.* *Cons.* iv. 7. 43: read *proclium cum omni fortuna animis ac re* (for *aere*) *conseritis.*

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. xv. 5. 1905.

A. Gercke, *Telegonie und Odyssee.* Our knowledge of the Sophoclean *Niptra* helps towards a reconstruction of the *Telegony*. Much of this poem was incorporated in the *Odyssey*: from it comes the winning fan prophecy in λ, the oldest portion of τ, perhaps the whole of ε. E. Stemplinger, *Martin Opitz und der Philosoph Seneca.* O. borrows, not only in his *Vesuvius* from *Quaest. Nat.*, but elsewhere from the moral writings. K. Reuschel, *Goethe und die deutsche Volkskunde.* H. Schwartz, *Ein Führer durch Kant. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* G. Lafaye's *Les métamorph. d' Ovide et leurs modèles grecs* very favourably reviewed by R. Ehwald.

xv. 6. 1905.

A. Thumb, *Griech. Dialektforschung und Stammesgeschichte.* An account, with criticism, of R. Meister's *Dorer und Aeläer.* Accepts his distinctions between the dialects of Central Crete and the rest of the island, but not those between the dialects of the Perioeci and Spartans. Much that M. regards as specifically Dorian may be pre-Dorian: e.g. Laconian σ. A. Gercke, *Die Einnahme von Oichalia.* Attempts, with the aid of extant lit. (esp. *Soph. Trach.* 248 sqq.), to reconstruct the old poem (? of Creophylus) on the fall of Oechalia. Maintaining that it contained (1) a contest with the bow for the hand of a woman, (2) a victory by a person who at the time of the contest is regarded as contemptible, (3) a battle in which the victor destroys his foes, G. sees reason to believe that the end of the *Odyssey* is borrowed hence. T. Clausen, *Griechische Elemente in den romanischen Sprachen.* Importance of Romance philology to classical scholars. The particular facts here dealt with enable us e.g. to form more definite ideas of certain Greek sounds, to decide whether such a word as *malum* (apple) is a true Latin word or derived from the Greek. H. von Petersdorff, *Friedrich Wilhelm I. und Leopold von Dessau.* H. Fischer, *Schiller der Dichter des öffentlichen Lebens. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen:* B. Delbrück, *Einleitung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachen:* 'We lay it down with a feeling of lively gratitude for all that it offers us' (H. Meltzer).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. $\frac{1}{4}$ inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

- Abbott** (Edwin A.) *Johannine Vocabulary*. A comparison of the words of the fourth Gospel with those of the three. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xviii+364. London, Adam and Charles Black. 1905. 13s. 6d. net.
- Aetna**, see *Vesuvius*.
- Blass** (Friedrich) *Die Rythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa* (Paulus, Hebräerbrief, Pausanias, Cicero, Seneca, Curtius, Apuleius). $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. iv+222. Leipzig, A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (George Böhme). 1905. M. 6.
- Boas** (M.), see *Simonides*.
- Bourget** (Emile) *L'Administration financière du Sanctuaire Pythique au IV^e siècle avant J.C.* (*Bibl. des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*. Fasc. 95.) $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 186. Paris, A. Fontemoing. 1905. 5 fr.
- Brunn** (Heinrich) *Kleine Schriften gesammelt von Heinrich Bulle und Hermann Brunn*. Band II. Zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte. $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 532. Mit 69 Abb. im Text und auf einer Doppeltafel. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 20.
- Bünger** (Dr. C.) *Auswahl aus Xenophons Hellenika für den Schulgebrauch bearb.* Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xviii+144. Leipzig, G. Freytag. Wien, F. Tempsky. 1905. Geb. M. 1. 60. or 2 K.
- Christ** (A. Th.) *Homers Ilias in verkürzter Ausgabe für den Schulgebrauch*. Dritte, durchgesehene Auflage mit 17 Abb. und 2 Karten. $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xxiv+416. Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1905. Geb. M. 2. 50.
- Diodorus**. Fischer (C. Th.) *Bibliotheca Historica editionem primam curavit Imm. Bekker alteram Ludovicus Dindorf recog.* C. Th. F. Vol. IV. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 426. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 6.
- Donatus** (Tiberius Claudius). Georgii (H.) *Tiberi Claudi Donati ad Tiberium Claudium Maximum Donatianum filium suum Interpretationes Vergilianae etc.* Vol. I. Aeneidos. Libri i-vi. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xli+620. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. Geb. M. 12. Geb. M. 13.
- Gaspar** (Camille) *Olympia*. Par C. G. Docteur en philosophie et lettres. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 93.
- Gasquet** (Abbot) *Henry the Third and the Church*. A study of his Ecclesiastical policy and of the relations between England and Rome. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xvi+448. London, George Bell and Sons. 1905. 12s. net.
- Giarratano** (C.), see *Tyrtacus*.
- Helbig** (W.) *Sur les Attributes des Saliens* (*Extrait des Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres. Tcm. XXXVII*). $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9''$. Pp. 72. 37 cuts. Paris. 1905. 3 fr. 20 c.
- Hense** (Otto) *Die Modifizierung der Maske in der griechischen Tragödie* (2nd edition). $11'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Freiburg, Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1905. M. 2. 40.
- Hirschfeld** (Otto) *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. x+514. Berlin, Weidmann. 1905. Geh. M. 12. Geb. M. 14. 40.
- Horace**. Rouse (W. H. D.) *Q. Horati Flacci Carmina*. Edited by W. H. D. R. vols. i, ii, iii, iv (*Blackie's Latin Texts*). $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xiv+36, xiv+37-58, xiv+59-98, xiv+99-124. London, Blackie and Son. 1905. Each 6d. net.
- Judeich** (Dr. Walther) *Topographie von Athen* (*Dr. Iwan von Müller: Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft. Band III. Abt. 2. Teil 2.*). $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xii+416. 48 Abb. im Text und 3 Plänen in Mappe. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oskar Beck). 1905. Geh. M. 18. Geb. M. 20.
- Kenyon** (F. G.) *The evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual criticism*. $9'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 28. *From the Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. I. London, Henry Frowde. 1905. (Read January 27, 1904.) 2s. net.
- Klouček** (W.) *Vergils Aeneis für den Schulgebrauch*. Dritte Auflage. $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xiv+364. Wien, F. Tempsky. Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1905. Geb. M. 2. 50 or 3K.
- Lchmann** (Konrad) *Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{8}''$. Pp. x+310. Mit 4 Uebersichtskarten, 5 Plänen und 6 Abb. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. Geh. M. 10. Geb. M. 13.
- Leo** (Friedrich) *Der Saturnische Vers* (*Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Neue Folge. Band VIII. Nro. 5.*) $11'' \times 9''$. Pp. 80. Berlin, Weidmann. 1905. M. 5. 50.
- Lipsius** (Justus Hermann) *Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren mit Benutzung des Attischen Processes von M. H. E. Meier und G. F. Schömann*. Band I. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. iv+234. Leipzig, O. R. Reisland. 1905. M. 6.
- Livy**. Mitchell (Robert Henry) *Livy Book xxvi*. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by R. H. M., M.A., First Classical Master, Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. $5'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxviii+182 (1 Map). London, Edward Arnold. 1905. 2s. 6d.
- Longinus**. *Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου περὶ ὑψους*. De sublimitate libellus. In usum scholarum edidit Otto Jahn. Tertium edidit Johannes Vahlen. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xx+92. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 2. 80.
- Lucilius**. Marx (Fr.) *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae rec. enar. F. M. Volumen posterius Commentarius*. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxii+433. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 14.
- Magie** (David) *De Romanorum Juris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. vi+184. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. Geh. M. 6. Geb. M. 8. 60.
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- Otto** (Walter) *Priester und Tempel im Hellenistischen Aegypten*. Band I. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xiv+418. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 14.

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[Owing to pressure on our space the acknowledgments of a number of books are held over till the next issue.—Ed. C.R.]

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1905.

THE USE OF APOSTROPHE IN HOMER.

HAVING previously made some notes on the subject of apostrophe in Homer, and having found reason to believe that metrical convenience played an important part in the use of the figure, I was surprised to see no mention of this phase of the question in Mr. R. M. Henry's article on the use and origin of apostrophe in Homer in *Cl. Rev.* Feb. 1905. And yet I find that the opinion that metrical necessity had something to do with the use of the apostrophe is not a new one. In Ameis-Hentze's *Anhang* on § 55 (ed. of 1895), after an enumeration of the examples of apostrophe to a character in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, this sentence occurs: 'Aus allen diesen Beispielen erhellt, dass an die Stelle des gemüthlichen Grundes, wie er bei Eumäos und Patroklos in Wahrheit besteht und schon von den Scholiasten zu II 787 hervorgehoben wird, zugleich auch das Bedürfnis des Verses getreten ist.' The editors refer (*Anh.* § 55, II 20) to some writers that have discussed the Homeric apostrophe—Liesegang and Nitzsch in *Philologus* VI and XVI respectively, Hess, *Ueber die Komischen Elemente in Homer*, Goebel, *Homeric Blätter*, and Bergk in his *Griech. Litteraturgeschichte*.

The earlier volumes of *Philologus* and the articles of Hess and Goebel are, unfortunately, inaccessible to me, and I do not know with what degree of thoroughness they have treated the subject. Bergk (*op. cit.* I. pp. 615 f.), discussing II, remarks that in previous books of the *Iliad*, the use of apostrophe has been associated with the work of the diaskeuast, a circumstance that

might be considered as throwing suspicion on II, which contains several examples of the figure. He concedes, however, that this figure, with its lively, sympathetic effect, is not foreign to the epos and may be a part of its inheritance from the older lyric poetry. Bergk notes also that apostrophe in the *Odyssey*, where it occurs only in connection with Eumaeus, is a mere metrical convenience, and even in II the use of the figure is to some extent influenced by metrical considerations.

In discussing the effect of metrical convenience upon the language of a poet, there is of course danger of magnifying the influence of the metre and underestimating the resourcefulness of the writer and his skill in coping with the restrictions imposed by the verse. Let us then examine the passages in which apostrophe occurs, and determine, as far as possible, to what extent its use is due to metrical reasons. If it be found that most of the cases were made necessary, or even suggested, by the metre, we can hardly accept a theory that seeks the origin of the figure in the primitive lyrical foundations of the epic, whether *αἶνοι ἐπιτύμβιοι* or otherwise.

I agree with Mr. Henry that the only cases that need explanation are those of his Class A, that is, cases of apostrophe to a character in the story. Among these the cases in the *Odyssey*, for which Mr. Henry finds no explanation, are just the ones that should have given him the needed clue. All fifteen cases are in the formula *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαίε σὺβῶτα*, with only a few

insignificant variations in the first half of the lines. Of course the nominatives Εὐμαιος συβώτης cannot be used together. Even Εὐμαιος ὑφορβός, which occurs at the end of π 156, would be unsuitable after προσέφη because the hiatus would be objectionable in a line destined to recur so frequently. The poet does employ other formulas, as τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε διος ὑφορβός (ξ 401), τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα συβώτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν (ξ 121), τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε συβώτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν (ο 351, 389, π 36). But it is to be observed that in order to bring together in a typical formula of address what one would naturally expect—the name of the speaker and a distinguishing characteristic—the poet is obliged to use the second person of the verb and the vocative of the noun. In cases like these, to call the figure sympathetic, with the scholiasts (cf. schol. Δ 127, Π 787), or *gemütlich*, with Ameis-Hentze (on ξ 55), seems making a virtue of necessity.

Examining the use of apostrophe in the *Iliad*, we find that three of the cases (19 in all) are in formulas of address ending προσέφης, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεύ. Bergk remarked (*l.c.*) that metrical reasons for the apostrophe here were not absolutely cogent, as the verse could have been written προσέφη Πάτροκλος ἀμύμων. But Homer's usage should be taken into consideration. The epithet ἀμύμων does not occur with the nominative Πάτροκλος. Twice, indeed, we find Πατρόκλοιο ἀμύμονος, with an intervening word—πεσόντος (P 10), θανόντος (P 379). It is perhaps significant that the nominative Πάτροκλος is rarely associated with any descriptive or identifying word. Of 44 instances, all but three stand alone. The exceptions are Πάτροκλός τε Μενoitιάδης (Π 760), and Πάτροκλος θεόφιν μῆστρω ἀτάλαντος (P 477, γ 110). There being, then, no familiar combination of Πάτροκλος and an epithet, with which to close the verse, the device of the apostrophe suggested itself more readily than the making of a new formula. Similarly in Π 584, the absence of a familiar nominative close leads to the use of the convenient vocative—ὡς ἰθὺς Λυκίων, Πατρόκλεες ἱπποκλέυθε | ἔσσο. Again in Π 754, the nominative Πάτροκλος, the one thing needed, does not suit the verse; hence ὡς ἐπὶ Κεβριόνη, Πατρόκλεες, ἄλσο μεμαώς.

Especially important for the understanding of the use of the apostrophe is Π 692—ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ἴστατον ἐξενάριξας | Πατρόκλεες κτλ. Here one would naturally think the choice of the figure due merely to

rhetorical considerations—the poet appealing to the hero himself, instead of to the Muses, to tell the story of his deeds. But when we find that three similar rhetorical questions, two of them couched in exactly the same language as the above, employ the nominative of the noun and the third person of the verb (see E 703, Θ 273, Δ 299), we are forced to consider the apostrophe in Π 692 as one of those suggested by the metre.

Two cases remain in which Patroclus is apostrophized. The first is Π 787, ἐνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή, where as Bergk suggests, ἐνθ' ἄρα Πατρόκλω ἐφάνη κτλ. might have been written. The other is Π 812, ὅς τοι πρῶτος ἐφήκε βέλος, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεύ, | οὐ δ' ἐδάμασσε. Here also it can hardly be maintained that the apostrophe was forced by the metre. A little experimenting will show that two or three passable lines can be made with the dative Πατρόκλω. Yet even in these two cases it may be said that although the metre did not force the apostrophe upon the poet, perhaps the preference for one rhythm over another prompted the use of the already familiar figure.

In seven cases the apostrophe occurs in connection with the name of Menelaus:

- Δ 127. οὐ δὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες
λελάθοντο
ἀθάνατοι.
Δ 146. τοιοῖ τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνην αἵματι
μηροῖ.
Η 104. ἔνθα κέ τοι, Μενέλαε, φάνη βιότοιο
τελευτή.
Ν 603. τὸν δ' ἄγε μοῖρα κακῆ θανάτοιο τέλοσδε
σοί, Μενέλαε, δαμῆναι ἐν αἰνῇ δημοτῆτι.
Ρ 679. ὡς τότε σοι, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὅσσε
φαεινὸν
πάντοσε δινέισθην πολέων κατὰ ἔθνος
ἐταίρων.
Ρ 702. οὐ δ' ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ἦθελε
θυμὸς
τειρομένοις ἐτάροισιν ἀμννέμεν.
Ψ 600. ὡς ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε, μετὰ φρεσὶ θυμὸς
ἰάνθη.

Here it will be seen that the vocative takes the place, not of the nominative, but of the dative, or in one case, of the genitive. In all these examples the use of the genitive or dative would have been difficult, and, without considerable recasting of the passages, impossible. Besides it seems that the use of the gen. and dat., with the rhythm $\cup \cup - \cup$, in the first half of the verse (where all these seven cases of apostrophe occur) was felt as objectionable from

the point of view of the metre. The forms *Μενελάου*, *Μενελάω* occur 39 times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In 16 cases they stand at the end of the verse, in 18 before the bucolic diaeresis (chiefly in the phrase *Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο*), in 5 within the first half of the verse. But in 4 of these 5 cases the dative *Μενελάω* is shortened before a vowel, and the scansion thus becomes $\bar{\text{v}} \text{ } \bar{\text{v}} \text{ } \bar{\text{v}}$. In one case only does the dat. appear without shortening— δ 128, $\delta\varsigma$ *Μενελάω δῶκε δὲ ἀργυρέας ἀσαμίνθους*. Even here van Leeuwen and da Costa restore the augment against the MSS. A parallel case may be noted in the nominative of *Διομήδης*, which occurs 45 times, always at the end of the verse except in one instance, where it stands before the bucolic diaeresis. Of 100 cases of the nom. *Ἀγαμέμνων*, only one (H 57) stands in the first half of the verse. Perhaps the rhythm $\bar{\text{v}} \text{ } \bar{\text{v}} \text{ } \bar{\text{v}}$, with diaeresis after the second foot, was avoided at the beginning of the verse for the very reason that it was regular at the close.

Another passage that testifies to the influence of the metre is O 582, $\omega\varsigma$ *ἐπὶ σοι, Μελάνιππε, θόρ' Ἀντίλοχος μενεχάρμης*. *ἐπὶ* with the dative of the proper name would have to be placed after it, and the *ι* would have to be lengthened by position; cf. Δ 94, *τλαίης κεν Μενελάω ἔπι πρόεμεν ταχὺν ἰόν*. (So Aristarchus; MSS. *ἐπιπροέμεν*.) The apostrophe offered an easier expedient.

Three other examples of the figure remain to be mentioned: in two *Apollo* is addressed, in the other *Achilles*.

O 365. $\omega\varsigma$ *ῥα σὺ, ἦε Φοῖβε, πολὺν κάματον καὶ οἴζιν*

σύγχεας Ἀργείων.

Υ 2. $\Omega\varsigma$ *οἱ μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιοι θωρήσσοντο*

ἀμφὶ σέ, Πηλεὺς υἱέ, μάχης ἀκόρητον Ἀχαιοί.

Υ 152. $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ *δ' ἐτέρωσε καθίζον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι Καλλικολώνης*

ἀμφὶ σέ, ἦε Φοῖβε, καὶ Ἀρηά πολίπορθον.

In view of the numerous expressions that might have been used in referring to *Apollo* and *Achilles*, the necessities of the metre can hardly be alleged in explanation of the apostrophe in these three cases. But it is not necessary to show that this figure was the only resource open to the poet. Once established as a mechanical convenience, it might be used upon slight provocation.

The above discussion shows, I hope, that the needs of the metre furnished the occasion for the apostrophe in all the examples

from the *Odyssey* and in most of those found in the *Iliad*. It may, of course, be asked, what justified the use of the figure as a metrical convenience? Must there not have been something to prevent the shifting of the narrative to the second person seeming forced and unnatural? Mr. Henry finds this saving influence in the ancient *αἶνοι ἐπιτύμβιοι*, which probably contained direct addresses to the dead, and it is to these *αἶνοι* that he appeals for an explanation of the origin of the apostrophe. But this theory would hardly have suggested itself if the largest number of examples of the figure had not occurred in connection with *Patroclus*, the only one of the leading Greek heroes that was slain in the fighting described in the *Iliad*; and as is shown above, metrical considerations play so important a part in the apostrophes to *Patroclus* that their relatively large number need not be regarded as significant. The unfortunate hero is the frequent object of apostrophe not because the story of his exploits and death stands closer in character and time to ancient *θρήνοι* that antedate the epic than do other parts of the poem, but because certain cases of his name do not fit well into the passages in question. It would be as reasonable to seek the origin of the figure in primitive hymns to the gods as in *αἶνοι ἐπιτύμβιοι*, and in fact we have two cases of apostrophe to *Apollo*, *ἦε Φοῖβε*. The circumstance that this adjective occurs only in the vocative and only in these two passages might be thought to indicate that it was a survival from a kind of poetry in which the form of address was more natural than in the narrative epic.

But there is no sufficient reason for seeking the origin of the apostrophe outside the epic itself. Rhetorical embellishments are not rare in Homer, and even though a direct address from the poet's lips is more natural to the lyric style than to the epic, we need not hesitate to consider the apostrophe to a character as a rhetorical device that suggested itself to Homer or earlier narrative poets in the course of the development of the epic. It is probably significant that, as Mr. Henry has pointed out, several instances of the apostrophe occur at critical moments in the narrative, when some character is in peril. In such passages it is natural enough that the poet should heighten the interest by addressing the endangered hero directly. Examples of this are perhaps not uncommon even in English poetry. One such suggests itself to

me—a familiar passage in Scott (*Lady of the Lake* V, 16):

. . . Full at Fitz-James's throat he sprung ;
Received, but reck'd not of a wound,
And lock'd his arms his foeman round.—
Now, gallant Saxon, hold thine own !
No maiden's hand is round thee thrown !
That desperate grasp thy frame might feel,
Through bars of brass and triple steel !

The feature of the Homeric apostrophe that attracts attention is that often the use of the figure does not seem warranted by the interest of the situation, and in many of these cases we may safely appeal to the metre. To sum up, the apostrophe sometimes has a certain rhetorical value where metrical reasons for its use are not cogent (cf. II 787); in other cases (as Δ 127, H 104) metrical and rhetorical reasons cooperate; again there are cases where the figure is of no rhetorical value, while metrical convenience did not compel, even though it may have suggested, its use (cf. Y 2). There remains an important group containing all the instances of apostrophe in a formula of

address, most of those at the conclusion of a simile, and some others (perhaps II 692); and with regard to these it can be confidently maintained that the needs of the metre had great weight, and rhetorical considerations none at all, in prompting their use.

In closing I cite from Scott another passage closely adjacent to the preceding (V, 18), which may be instructive as an example of the manner in which a rather frigid rhetoric cooperates with the stress of the verse to suggest the use of the apostrophe:

They bathe their coursers' sweltering sides,
Dark Forth! amid thy sluggish tides,
And on the opposing shore take ground
With splash, with scramble, and with bound.
Right-hand they leave thy cliffs, Craig-
Forth!

And soon the bulwark of the North,
Gray Stirling, with her towers and town,
Upon their fleet career look'd down.

CAMPBELL BONNER.

*Peabody College for Teachers,
Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A.*

THEOGNIS.

THE importance of Theognis, if we take him at his face-value, is very considerable. He is the first author, after Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns, who has an independent tradition. He is the only extant sixth century literature. It seems sometimes forgotten how little early Greek literature has survived in comparison with what has been lost. To judge from the current canons of philologists, one would think the field of their induction was fairly complete. We can say what 'Homeric' is, if we understand by the word the usage of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; we can say of a new line or a variant offered by a papyrus or a quotation that it is 'unhomeric'; but we cannot say what is 'Hesiodic,' much less what is 'Epic.' The Cycle has perished entirely: what do we know of the vocabulary or the metrical tastes of Aristæus of Proconnesus? Those late-epic documents which do remain, the Hymns, are condemned to a vague date because there is no external evidence by which to control their linguistic peculiari-

ties. They have been styled, by vigorous critics, Attic, Alexandrian, and even Byzantine, when all that the data permit is the assertion that they are later than the *Odyssey*. Even in the next century, the bloom of the Greek spirit, how wanting our literary evidence is! What is 'Tragic,' what is 'Comic'? I defy Porson or Meineke to say. Aeschylus wrote 72 plays; we have 7. Of Sophocles' 84 there are also 7. Fate has saved 19 of Euripides' 92. There were other tragedians too. In Comedy where is Cratinus? Where is Eupolis?

If then we find a writer reputed of the sixth century with 1300 verses preserved, not like those of Solon, in quotations, but in a well-founded family of Byzantine MSS. dating from the tenth to the fifteenth century, we have a treasure of language and ideas not easily to be overestimated.

But before we can enter into our inheritance, Criticism with flaming brand stands in the path and denies Theognis' century and the homogeneity of his poem. Two

recent English works (Mr. E. Harrison's *Studies in Theognis*, Cambridge, 1902, and Professor Hudson Williams' article, *J.H.S.* 1903, 1 sqq., *Theognis and his Poems*, and a separate tract, 'A Discussion of Some Questions raised in Mr. E. Harrison's *Studies in Theognis*,' 1903) have revived these questions and suggested to me the observations which follow. If I have named no other critic beside these two gentlemen it is not that I am unaware there are such.¹

The first question which must occur to anyone who considers the age and authenticity of *Theognis* is this:—if *Theognis* is genuine, on what ground is Phocylides, to whom Suidas gives the same *floruit*, and who is propagated in the same MSS. as *Theognis*, rejected? and why is Anacreon also merged in the epithet Anacreontea?—In the former case the versification and the subject-matter are palpably late; the tone of Phocylides is usually considered Jewish. Moreover there are two 'Phocylides': the Phocylides of the mediaeval MSS. and the Phocylides of classical quotation. These two do not coincide. There is therefore independent reason, apart from the analysis of the verses—however palpable this may be in this case—for separating the two sources; and naturally the quotations must be the true, the MS. document the false Phocylides. The same is the case with the Anacreontea; the quality of the literature apart, and the possibility admitted that there may be genuine elements in the mass (handed down only in the *Anth. Pal.*), the ancient quotations do not agree with the MSS. evidence; and we have again two Anacreons, a true and a false.

Theognis is not open to this objection: the quotations from him which we find in the classical period are in our MSS. I give the evidence shortly:

22	is quoted by	Xen. ap. Stobaeum.
33-6	Plato and Musonius.
35, 6	Xenophon <i>bis</i> , Aristotle.
77, 8	Plato.
109	Teles.
119-24	Clem. Alex.
125, 6	Aristotle.
147	Aristotle.
153	Clem. Alex.
173	Lucian, Ammian.
175, 6	Plutarch <i>bis</i> .

177, 8	is quoted by	Aristotle, Plutarch, Libanius.
183-90	Xenophon ap. Stob.
215, 6	Plutarch, Athenaeus.
255, 6	Aristotle <i>bis</i> .
425-8	Sextus Empir., Clem. Alex.
432	Clearchus ap. Athen., Plutarch, Dio of Prusa.
457-60	Athen., Clem. Alex.
477-87	Athen.
500	Athen.
509-10	Aristotle, Artemidorus, Galen, Clem. Alex.
535, 6	Philo.
605	Teles.
993-6	Athen.

BOOK II.

252, 3 Plato (without author's name.)

I do not mention lexicographers, grammarians, or compilers like Stobaeus. The MS. collection therefore is confirmed by literary testimony from the fourth century downwards, and the testimony is ample considering the importance of the author, and relatively as good evidence as can be shewn for the Homeric text. Against this agreement of MSS. and quotations we have to set three couplets quoted by Stobaeus and a riddle preserved by Athenaeus. These lines, numbered in the editions 1221-1230 are not in our MSS.; the collection however we know not to be complete, and these nine lines were among the 2800 to which Suidas testifies and may have come from Book II. Our MS. *Theognis* therefore stands on an entirely different basis from the similar collections of Phocylides and Anacreon.

A more serious attack however is made upon the MSS. Several passages in our MSS. are quoted by writers such as Stobaeus and Plutarch under the names of other authors—Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and especially Solon. In all, nine passages from the *Theognidea* occur in the works (known of course only from quotations) of other authors: viz.

227-232,	315-18,	585-90,	1253, 4,	as Solon's;
795, 6,	1017-22,	as Mimnermus';		
933-8,	1003-6,	as Tyrtaeus';		
472	is called by	Aristotle Euenus'.		

This is a total of 41 verses out of 1389—not a large proportion. But it is true, as Mr. Hudson Williams remarks, that if we

¹ A *résumé* of earlier opinion may be found in Mr. H. W. Smyth's careful review of Mr. Harrison's book, *C.R.* 1903.

had Solon, Mimnermus, and Tyrtaeus entire, there might be more coincidences. Still it is fair to remark that fate has given us a good deal of Solon—271 verses, out of which Theognis has appropriated 18, less than 7 per cent. The circumstances clearly require explanation.

I have examined the sources of the quotations of Solon, Mimnermus, and Tyrtaeus, thinking that possibly the compilers had been misled by the resemblance of language into ascribing Theognis' lines to other poets, especially to Solon, so well-known and authoritative. There does not seem to be anything to be done on this side. Stobaeus is the principal source of these fragments; there are no variants in his lemmata (as there are for instance in the *Anthology*), and Stobaeus is supported in one of his quotations by Aristotle and Plutarch. Moreover, if we consider these coincidences more closely, we find that while Stobaeus gives a long poem, 76 lines, as by Solon, two passages of this, 71-6 and 65-70, are found separately in Theognis; similarly out of a poem called by the name of Tyrtaeus of 44 lines, two passages, of 6 lines and 4 lines respectively, are found separately in Theognis.—Had the reverse been the case, had Stobaeus excerpted portions of Theognis' longer pieces and called them by the name of Solon or Tyrtaeus, we might have imagined a mistaken attribution, based on similarity of style; but seeing the long passages occur under the name of Tyrtaeus, etc. and the short under the name of Theognis, we must believe that the longer ones in any case are rightly ascribed. There is nothing to shake the accuracy of Stobaeus, and we have still to account for the presence of these lines in the Theognidean corpus.

Mr. Harrison believes, and this is the novelty of his book, that these passages were selected and inserted by Theognis himself, with more or less variation, into his book; and that he intended thereby to approve, combat, or criticize these utterances of his predecessors and contemporaries. *E.g.* when Tyrtaeus says

ἦ δ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέω,

and we find the same maxim in Theognis but with ἀνδρὶ σοφῶ for ἀνδρὶ νέω, this is an act of criticism and emendation on Theognis' part. He says in effect 'I accept Tyrtaeus' statement, but with this modification.'—This view is one which would take a good deal of proof, and among the mere floating wreckage of sixth century literature no di-

rect proof is forthcoming. It is true that the literature of the last century or two had been tolerably personal. Heliconian epos, the Cycle and the Hymns did not attain to Homer's reserve, and in what remains of sixth and fifth century work there are personal references. Pindar and Simonides quote Homer by name: ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ (Sim. 85); Solon 'replied to Mimnermus' in the words of Diog. Laert. i. 60 φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν Μιμνέρμου γράψαντος . . . ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν, or in Plutarch's *Comp. Sol. Poplic.* 1 τοῖς περὶ Μίμνερμον ἀντιπῶν; and in the lines quoted by Diogenes addresses him by name—καὶ μεταποίησον Διγναστάδῃ, ὧδε δ' αἰεῖδε. We know also of the exchange of compliments, no names mentioned, between Pindar and Bacchylides. If we had the whole elegiac literature—an informal and semi-pedestrian style—we might find more personal notes. So it is possible, that Theognis—whose Muse partook of a diary and a commonplace book (no doubt if he had written a hundred years later, like Ion of Chios, he would have used prose)—may have incorporated into his collection prominent and disputable sayings of his contemporaries and predecessors, or simply what suited his thought. He may have emended them too, though the verbal variants between Stobaeus and the MSS. of Theognis in these passages are rather slight to build upon; they bear *prima facie* the look of natural variants of tradition, and resemble the variants in different quotations of the same passage of Solon.—Some passages however do fairly suggest adaptation: cf. Theog. 793-6: 795, 6 are the same as Mimnermus quoted by the *Anth. Pal.*, but Theog. has added 793, 4 to give a different tone to the passage. Similarly at 1017-22 he takes 3 lines of Mimnermus and prefixes 3 of his own; again Theog. 933-8 is a contraction of a much longer passage of Tyrtaeus. These differences seem to go beyond the natural variations of tradition.

Mr. Harrison has further succeeded in adducing two pieces of positive evidence, of which the first is the more important, as it purports to be Theognis' own view of the office of a poet.

769-772

χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον εἶ τι
περισσόν
εἰδεῖν, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέειν·
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα
δὲ ποιεῖν·
τί σφιν χρῆσθαι μῶνος ἐπιστάμενος;

Mr. Harrison has some doubt about the meaning of line 3, but the sense is surely clear: 'the servant or newsman of the Muses, if he know aught more than other men, must not hoard his skill; no, this he must seek, that present, and that compose; to what profit is his sole knowledge?' The poet is the interpreter or messenger of the Muses and has three provinces: to collect (*μᾶσθαι*), to offer or present (*δεῖξαι*), and to invent (*ποιεῖν*). Where we expect a poet to be original throughout, Theognis' view was otherwise; he was, as part of his function, to select, and to present his selection; and this appears to be what he did in these cases with Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and Solon—*ἔδειξε*. He does not call these favoured authors by their names: that may have been his pride. Θεῦργιδος ἐστὶν ἔπη was his main prepossession. He had done enough honour to the other servants of the Muses by giving a few of their lines a place with his.

Another text on which Mr. Harrison relies is in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 2. 8

Σόλωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος
τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν ὅτ' ἂν πολὺς ὄλβος
ἔπηται,
ἀντικρὺς ὁ Θεόγνις γράφει
τίκτει τοι (γες) κόρος ὕβριν ὅτ' ἂν κακῶ ὄλβος
ἔπηται (153).

'Theognis says the flat contrary'—in his view the saying was right as applied to the *κακός*; it was only the clown who could have too much wealth. This shews that a wellread ecclesiastic like Clement regarded a literary duel in the sixth century as likely—that Theognis was accustomed to repeat, with an alteration, his contemporaries' maxims in order to criticize and improve upon them. Clement we may suppose repeated the tradition to which he was accustomed, and, with Greek literature still intact and Herodian perhaps alive, this tradition must represent the view of antiquity. It seems almost idle to go behind it. I will note that it agrees with Plutarch's and Diogenes' language when they introduce Solon's lines, which were quoted above, in which he replies to Mimnermus, and with the fact that one passage in our collection, 315-19, is quoted by Stobaeus as from Theognis, by Plutarch from Solon. The experienced anthologist therefore was not deterred from quoting verses as Theognidean because they occurred in another extant author. He took the same view as Clement.

Literary relations in antiquity are obscure to us on many points, and especially on what we call copyright or literary property. It is plain that in this matter ancient ideas were not ours. Aristophanes it is true charges Eupolis with theft; but Comedy was a vulgar noisy branch of art where advertisement and personalities were called for. In polite letters a charge of plagiarism was rarely, if ever, made. Quintilian does not allow Persius' wholesale appropriations from Horace, which enrage modern scholars, to interfere with his approbation; what is the explanation of the coincidences between the *Oedipus Coloneus* and the *Phoenissae*? Was the author of the hymn to Hermes a thief when he warned the tortoise in Hesiod's words

οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν ?

Is this line therefore unoriginal? I would not dogmatize in a matter where there is so little evidence, but it is plain the ancients did not make it a point of honour to give the author's name when they used something that had been said before them; and that where we talk of plagiarism, they at most said *παρωδία*. I may quote as a coincidence these words from *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, ii. p. 584; M. Bérard is dealing of course with an entirely different set of facts.

'Les Hellènes, qui se connaissaient en œuvres d'art, pensaient que la création n'est pas le don primordial ni le premier devoir du grand artiste. Ils mettaient dans l'arrangement, dans la combinaison, dans la logique et l'harmonie, le premier mérite d'une œuvre d'art.—Ils n'avaient aucune honte à reprendre les idées, les types, les plans de quelque devancier, pour les amener à une perfection plus grande, pour les fixer en une forme définitive.'

We may wish for more Clement, for Alexandrian scholia on Theognis; but what remains may serve as a specimen of much that is lost and point the lesson of which modern philology is in need—that ancient documents should be taken at what they profess to be, at their face-value.

This will appear more clearly when we consider the alternative explanation of these coincidences between the Theognidean text and these three authors. The alternative is that if these 41 verses were not unintentionally gathered by Theognis, they were inserted by others—in other words that the corpus is a collection, under the name of

Theognis but of far later formation and containing elements from all sides. This vague subversive hypothesis has found favour with critics—with everyone except Mr. Harrison. The modern philologist falls a ready victim to any theory which tends to eviscerate a literary document and to prove that things are not what they seem.

We may consider what analogies there are to such a collection in antiquity. On the one hand we have the genuine collections, which announce themselves as such, the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus and the *Palatine Anthology*. The extracts are classed according to subject and given their authors' names. On the other hand there are the Pseudepigrapha, works written in the manner of a master and given his name. Antiquity recognized a number of cases of this sort, usually the product of a 'Scuola,' literary or scientific. To take no ambiguous instances, ancient criticism denied the authenticity of the Cycle, the Shield of Hercules, one or two plays, Thucydides Book viii, a few speeches, a few dialogues of Plato, works of Aristotle and Hippocrates. Many isolated examples may be gleaned from later literature. Diogenes and Athenaeus are full of stories of forgeries:—how Pythagoras' works were written by Lysis of Tarentum who taught Epaminondas, how Heraclides of Pontus forged Thespis, Homer, and Hesiod, but was himself deceived by a brother-artist who wrote a play the *Parthenopaeus* and ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. Even Panaetius, who should have known better, wrote a Platonic dialogue. The Theognidean corpus belongs to neither of these species. The whole collection bears the name of Theognis: it is therefore no declared anthology. On the other hand a considerable proportion of it is guaranteed by authors of a good age, and practically the whole of Bk. I by Stobaeus, who must have had great experience. It is not, like the Phocylidea, an original late composition given the ἐπιγραφή of Theognis. It remains that it is a *tertium quid*; that the genuine verses of Theognis have been amplified by the insertion of couplets and short extracts from other elegiac poets of about the same age. It is difficult to understand the motive for such a compilation, or the purpose it served. We are familiar with the procedure of the real Anthology-makers, Stobaeus and Cephalas. They select pieces long or short, and assign them to their authors. The free forger again, the Pseudo-phocylides, writes from the fulness of his heart, hopes the exercise is a good copy, and gives it the name

of Sophocles or Phocylides or Thespis. But why should any learned soul have taken Theognis' 1340 verses and interlarded them with 41 new ones, or with more than 41, if there were more loans? This is a general objection, but one may give a more specific negative. These supposed additions are portions of poems actually and overtly excerpted by others: 227–232, are the last six lines, and 585–590, the last six lines but one, of an elegy of Solon's which in Stobaeus runs to 76 verses. We see the difference between the real and the hypothetical excerptor. Stobaeus chose a poem of 76 verses, the Pseudo-theognis culled the tail of the same poem, further bisected that, and inserted the halves in reverse order 350 lines off. Again, the real compiler Stobaeus took 44 lines of Tyrtaeus to illustrate a moral quality; the Pseudo-theognis let in lines 37–42 between 932 and 939 of his author, and lines 13–16 between 1002 and 1007. *Cui bono?* we may fairly ask: since, if the artful feeder-up of the lean Theognis belonged to the classical period, Tyrtaeus was accessible, like Solon, in all his original beauty; and if he were a magistellus Byzantinus, there was the ample, well-arranged, and aboveboard collection of Stobaeus. For the anthologist and the imitator ancient literature offers a wide place; but this combiner of Theognis with his rivals has neither name nor century. He has been too lightly accepted by those *qui nigra in candida vertunt*, for whom no stick is too weak to belabour an ancient document. It is difficult one must allow to discover a completely satisfactory motive for Theognis' procedure, if these appropriations are due to Theognis; but at all events on this hypothesis we deal with an individual, a sixth century literary man, an artist. His train of thought, his relations, the relations between writers in his century, his pride, vanity, eccentricity, all these personal and incalculable factors attenuate the ἄλογον, the irrational element, the difficulty of our apprehension. But with the other hypothesis the case is different. Anthologies and compilations are not conditioned by individual genius or idiosyncrasy. They are subject to laws of demand and supply, which are obvious and permanent. It is difficult to see what publisher or what schoolmaster at any period of the ancient world could have planned or commissioned our Theognidea.

Before I leave this topic, I must refer to Mr. Hudson Williams' curious statement: 'the first book is very different from what passed under the name of Theognis in the days

of Plato and Isocrates.' This assertion is made as regards both authors partly, and as regards Isocrates entirely, on moral grounds. To these we shall come later. But as to Plato, I venture to ask the professor what he wants. Plato quotes two passages of Theognis no more, and both these passages are in our MSS. A philosopher is not bound to quote anybody. If when he does so and for his own purposes, his quotations coincide with another document, the presumption in favour of the identity of that document with the author quoted by the philosopher may be designated by the strongest figure known to actuarial tables. We are in fact apt, I am afraid, to demand too much of quotation, and forget how little literature has survived in which we have any right to expect quotation.—People on the look-out for difficulties have been offended at Plato's expression (*Meno* 95E) *ὀλίγον μεταβάς*, by which he connects his two quotations. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Seymer Thompson have been seduced into translating 'in somewhat different theme.' Philology should not strain at these gnats, especially when literary history waits on the result. *μεταβαίνειν* is the equivalent of Strabo's *ὑποβαίνειν*, and can only mean 'a little further on.' (So Mr. Hudson Williams.) *μεταβαίνειν* is possibly the older Greek word, but it is used equally of change in position. When the rhapsode says *μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον*, he means literally, 'I am now going on to another hymn.' The whole phrase of course means, if you like, 'change of theme,' but only when the verb is qualified.

'*Ὀλίγον*, 'this little step' which represents just 400 lines, is relative. In Strabo, who employs *ὑποβάς* or *ὀλίγον ὑποβάς* six times (47, 297, 352, 366, 422, 599, cf. *Diog. Laert.* viii. 52), his longest interval, where we possess his authorities, is 26 lines. But Strabo is a scientist, to all intents and purposes a grammarian and gives chapter and verse; Plato is an elegant writer, where all is make-up. He is speaking in character, and the personage is represented as quoting from memory. He was in his right in calling 400 lines, half a book of the *Iliad*, *ὀλίγον*. I will not attempt to describe the seismic convulsions which this passage has set up in the history of Theognis' text, but I will conclude this part of my paper by saying that the hypothesis that the Theognidea are due to Theognis and to no one else, though it be destitute of definite proof, appears preferable to that according to which they are the work of a compiler. Mr.

Harrison deserves the thanks of the educated public for putting these facts in their true light.

I come next to the date of the poems. Suidas gives Theognis' date as ol. 58, i.e. 548 B.C. He repeats this date under Phocylides, whom he calls Theognis' σύγχρονος, and clinches the matter by observing that they both lived *μετὰ χυζ' ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν*. This guarantees the figures. Suidas' date is reported to be confirmed within a year or two, by Eusebius, Cyril, and the Chronicon Paschale. These five quotations establish that in post-classical and Byzantine times Theognis was given a date in the middle of the sixth century. The chronology of Suidas and his sources is recognized to be in no sense due to them themselves. They drew eventually from Apollodorus and Eratosthenes. The dates given by the Alexandrians to literary persons have been examined (in the case of the Ionic philosophers) by Diels, *Rh. Mus.* xxxi. 1 sq., and appear substantially accurate. In the case of Theognis it is of course impossible to say what evidence exactly they had before them, but it must have been traditional, and not the result of the collation of references in the poems themselves. This latter method of enquiry was no doubt pursued by the ancients: we find Philochorus (*D. L.* ii. 44) denying the application of lines of Euripides to the death of Socrates by proving that Euripides died before Socrates; Favorinus, the grammarian of Arles, rejected the speech of one Polycrates against Socrates, because the walls set up by Conon were mentioned in it, 'which,' as he observes, 'happened six years after Socrates' death' (*ib.* ii. 39). Had the Alexandrians and Peripatetics applied this method to Theognis, the most obvious historical reference in him, that to the Persians, might have exercised the same effect upon them as it has on moderns, and induced them to set him in the fifth century. His floruit is *pro tanto* an argument that the date they gave him was traditional, that is rested on public documents. For when Mr. Harrison says 'the Greek scholars loved to push back the dates of the old poets as far as they could,' he appears to me to be airing a vulgar error, if indeed it is vulgar. When Herodotus gave Homer 400 years, was he pushing him back as far as he could? The historical Greeks were on the contrary jealous of their famous predecessors; Thucydides' attitude is in point; antiquarians like Pausanias are very happy to exalt obscure ritual literature, Orpheus and Musaeus, at the

expense of real epos. The chronology of Old Comedy was established by the Alexandrians on the sound basis of the *διδασκαλῖαι*, not on the allusions in the plays (about which, if we believe the scholia, they were often at sea); and though the evidence may have been slighter for earlier and non-Athenian writers, one extant *ἀναγραφὴ*, the Parian marble, gives us the floruits of Hesiod, Homer, Terpander, Sappho, Thespis, and Hypodocus, all before 500 B.C. Moreover we have direct evidence that Theognis' life occupied the attention of the Augustan grammarians. Didymus (schol. *Luvs* 630) and Harpocration (*s.v.*) fall foul of Plato (*ἐπιφύομενος Πλάτωνι*) for calling Theognis a Sicilian; and we may presume that his date as well as his birthplace passed under their eye. In Didymus we may have confidence. A date deriving from such a period, when the whole of book and epigraphic literature was in existence, and oral tradition still alive, must stand unless its falsity can be positively made out.

I will therefore run over the allusions to external events in Theognis, and ask if any of them clash with a sixth-century date:

(1) 5-7: the *τροχοειδῆς λίμνη* at Delos. This is the first mention of it, the next is in the *Eumenides* and Herodotus. No date can be assigned for the establishment of the *sagri luoghi* of which this was one. The absence of allusion to them in the Apolline hymn is an argument for the antiquity of that poem. Lapse of time is needed to account for the celebrity of the pond by the time of Aeschylus and Herodotus. Its vogue dated at least from the sixth century.

(2) 603, 4

Τοιαῦτε καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσεν ἔργα καὶ ὕβρις
οἷα τὰ νῦν ἱερὴν τήνδε πόλιν κατέχει.

'Magnesia,' I read in Mr. Harrison, p. 120, '(was taken) by the Cimmerians not long after (the beginning of the seventh century).'

(3) 763, 4

πίνωμεν, χαριέντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες
μηδὲν τὸν Μῆδων δευιδίτες πόλεμον.

773, 4

Φοῖβε ἄναξ... αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ἰβριστὴν Μῆδων
ἀπέρυκε
τῆσδε πόλεος—

These couplets, everyone knows, have been much discussed and interpreted in the

most opposite senses with equal certainty by different critics. Mr. Harrison thinks nothing short of Datis and Artaphernes could cause Theognis to drown his terrors. Mr. Hudson Williams replies that Cyrus at Sardis was alarming enough for the Spartans to send to warn him to come no farther.

I will say nothing about the history,¹ but I wish to declare emphatically that the language of 763, 4 is too simple and too brief for any conclusion to be built upon it. In any century in which there was a Persian war these lines might have been written, sixth, fifth, or fourth. Philology should not offer such rotten foundations to history as the pages of special pleading which have been spun out of these lines.

(4) 807

φῶνί κεν Πυθῶνι θεὸς χρήσας ἱερέα
ὀμφήν, σημήνην πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου.

The MSS. vary between *θεοῦ* and *ἱερέα*, but as the latter word can only mean 'beasts,' the dative seems necessary. This will be the first mention of the Pythia in a contemporary writer. The date of the institution of the Delphic priestess is unknown; her absence in the Apolline hymn is a sign of the antiquity of that document.² Herodotus of course implies her existence in the sixth century.

(5) 891 *sq.*

οἶμοι ἀναλκείης· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος ὄλωλεν,
Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον, κτλ.

The reference in these interesting lines is for historians to determine. It is admitted there is nothing in them to lower Suidas' floruit.

(6) 1103, 4

ὕβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως, Κύρνε, καὶ ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

The judgments that fell upon Magnesia, Colophon, and Smyrna, were not fifth century visitations.

Book II. contains no historical or geographical allusions.

So far therefore as the content of the poem goes, there seems to be nothing to

¹ It has been suggested to me that 776 *sq.* ἴνα σοι λαὸν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ | ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμψωσ' ἐκατόμβας | τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ καὶ ἐρατῇ θαλίῃ | παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῆσι τε σὺν περὶ βωμόν· imply a state of things where it seemed likely the Persians might prevent access to Delos, and were not yet threatening Europe.

² The Pythia may go to join the chasm; see Mr. Oppé *J.H.S.* 1904, 214 *sq.*

invalidate Suidas' date of B.C. 548, and only two passages have been seriously relied upon to do so. Since then the Suidean epoch appears to be a chronological and not a critical date, and the poems do not contradict it, it may, pending the resurrection of more elegy from a sandy grave, be accepted, and we may take the Theognidea as evidence of the mind and feelings of the Greece of Pisistratus.¹

We may next consider the poems as we have them. There are two books: the first of 1220 lines is contained in all the MSS., a considerable mediaeval series. Theognis is presented in a volume with Phocylides, Theocritus, parts of Homer, and other poets. The second book of 157 lines is contained only in the oldest MS., Paris *suppl. grec.* 388 of the tenth century. Book II. on the face of it might be supposed to be a fragment.

But there is evidence that the poems once were longer. Suidas in his notice says *Γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη βω'* (2800), that is a little more than double our total. (Suidas' numeral is repeated and therefore confirmed by Eudocia, even if her authority, as it appears, is *nil.*)

Ancient literary collections shrink in two ways: (a) by deliberate pruning or compression. The Epitomes of Livy, Athenaeus, Strabo, and I know not who else, are cases. The four dramatists, it is well known were well on their way to being represented by two or three plays apiece. (b) Secondly ancient documents shrink by reason of attrition, mechanical loss, the bursting of wrappers, the snapping of thread. This is how Juvenal stops at line 60 of *sat.* xvi; this is why the oldest MS. of the Homeric Hymns opens with the last twelve lines of a hymn to Dionysus. There are many other parallels. I wish though to dwell on the case of the Homeric Hymns. We find a tendency in scribes, when they had before them a plainly fragmentary archetype, to leave off at a natural stopping-place before the fragment began, so as to leave a clean end. Thus while in Homer the Mosquensis opens abruptly with the end of the hymn to Dionysus, and follows with that to Demeter, the other MSS. have swept away all this rough stuff, and begin comfortably with the hymn to Apollo. If we substitute 'end' for 'beginning,' this seems a good parallel to what has happened in the MSS. of Theognis. One

¹ I may add an argument from probability—that if Theognis criticized Tyrtæus, Mimnermus, and Solon, it is natural he should have lived rather near than long after their time.

MS., the oldest, exhibits 157 verses of what it calls Book II., *ἐλεγείων β'*; the others omit them. As we know from Suidas that Theognis once numbered twice his actual lines, the conclusion is obvious that 1–157 of Book II. are a fragment, and as a fragment were omitted in the rank and file of MSS. The total in Suidas (2800) suggests that the second book was longer than the first, and contained 1500 to 1600 lines. Further, seeing that 8 good lines are quoted by Athenaeus and Stobæus (1221–6 and 1229–30), I should give them to Book II. and not to Book I., which is of ample length. The archetype in its full extent may perhaps be inferred to have existed down to Stobæus' time.

This conclusion has been arrived at entirely by analogical consideration of MS. tradition, with no account taken of the contents of the verses. Book II. however is very widely denied to Theognis, really, though other reasons are sometimes given, on the ground of its character.

Before I deal with the main argument I may dispose of one subsidiary objection. It is said that Bk. II. is quoted by no ancient author.

This is not true in fact.

1253, 4

ὄλβιος ᾧ παῖδες τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι
θηρενταί τε κύνες, καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί.

are quoted by Plato *Lysis* 212 E as from ὁ ποιητής. There are no scholia on this § of the *Lysis*, but the commentator Hermias (on the *Phaedrus* 78, Ast), quotes the lines with a variant, as Solon's. Hermias may be right, but even so we have the poet of Bk. II. practising the same system as the poet of Bk. I.—collecting gems from his rivals and inserting them with a variation of setting.

Quotation as negative evidence is not worth much, and when the document in question is of only 157 lines it is *nil.* This is plain if we look at Bk. I. Although as I have said the quotations are enough to guarantee the book as a whole, I find 169 vv., between 256 and 425, without a mention, 210 between 783 and 993, and 163 between 996 and 1179. The critic demands too much of tradition when he exacts a guarantee for II. 1–157. And we may of course add that Athenaeus and Stobæus do produce 8 lines, which as they are not in Bk. I. were *prima facie* in Bk. II.

Mr. Hudson Williams however rejects Bk. II. and much of Bk. I. on the ground

that the relation between Theognis and the person or persons addressed in II. and perhaps in parts of I. is inconsistent with the language in which Isocrates speaks of Theognis. 'The Theognis of Isocrates and Plato was widely different from ours.' This is the view, more or less, of Mr. Harrison, also of Mr. Weir Smyth. Let us examine the passage of Isocrates. *In Nicoclem* (ii.) 43, speaking of the frivolous taste of the public in literature, he says *σημείον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιο τὴν Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν. καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασι μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενησθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, but yet they prefer to spend their time *ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μάλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις*. Upon this discursive incidental reference is built a wide-reaching textual conclusion, involving a true and a false Theognis, and the late origin of our corpus. Truly a wink is as good as a blow to a philologist. To answer the argument literally, Theognis is throughout *ὑποθετικός*. Of his 1380 lines not more than 200 are taken up with passion of any sort, and even these are mostly 'instructional.' The *παῖς* is urged to observe constancy and remember the flight of time. Excellent *συμβουλῖαι* for human life. It is true a relation exists and is taken for granted between Theognis and Cynus or the other recipients of his poems, but a relation which was frequent and not discreditable in the classical period. Mr. Williams echoes Suidas' words: *ὅτι μὲν παραίνεσις ἔγραψε Θεόγνις. ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρμέναι μιαιρία καὶ παιδικαὶ ἔρωτες, καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα ὁ ἐνάρετος ἀποστρέφεται βίος*. But this is Christian sentiment, and would have been unintelligible to Isocrates. No doubt indulgence of every sort and any relation of the sexes, save for the purpose of *παιδοποιία*, is usually deprecated by moralists of every period, profane and Christian; but specific denunciation of one particular form of indulgence is limited, so far as I am aware, to two passages of ancient philosophy; and to make a favourable judgment in the mouth of Isocrates depend upon the absence of this sentiment is, in my judgment, to misread antiquity. It should be added that Theognis' tone is not more apolastic than Horace's, who was read in schools in his century, and that his language both in II. and in I. is decent and even conventional. Not more than two lines can be called warm, and they are mild in comparison with a couplet of Solon's—Solon the law-giver, the unflinching text for orators, who never ceased to be *ὑποθετικός* through

antiquity—which Apuleius, who knew, calls lascivious, and Plutarch can only ascribe to Solon's fiery youth. Yet to judge by the expressions of critics one would gather that Theognis—sad, jealous, and morose, with occasional brighter moments when the state of politics allowed him to take his liquor comfortably—was a sink of iniquity, and one critic reproduced by Mr. Harrison has the inconceivable blindness to compare him to the pornographer Straton. It is almost superfluous to add that any argument from morals tells with double and real force against the theory of a collection. Isocrates or Plato could have overlooked or passed unobserved Theognis' moral weakness, if they thought it moral weakness; but a late classical compiler or a Byzantine would have been confronted with the public opinion which is expressed in Suidas' notice.

On several points over which Theognideans fight I have no particularly new opinion nor fresh evidence to offer, but they should be mentioned.

(a) 19 sq. I have no idea what the *σφρηγίς* was. Theognis does not tell us, anymore than Aristotle explains his *κάθαρσις*. We may invent an explanation if we like, but it is ridiculous to use our invention as a criterion and eject the verses which do not agree with it.

Theognis says, 'Cynus, my sign-manual shall be impressed upon these verses by my skill. They shall ne'er be stolen.' In other words, 'I have appropriated Mimnermus and Solon. I hope, I am so good an artist (*σοφίζομένῳ μοι*) no one will succeed in conveying me.' I suspect he fondly hopes his style is inimitable. It is indeed tolerably individual. Critias (*fr.* 4) cherished the same fond persuasion and used the same metaphor: he believed he could claim even a *ψήφισμα* as his own. To Alcibiades he says—*γνώμη δ' ἢ σε κατήγαγ' ἐγὼ ταύτην ἐν ἅσασιν | εἶπον καὶ γράψας τοῦργον ἔδρασα τόδε | σφραγίς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κείται*. No one that I am aware of has suggested that the name of Alcibiades was peppered over this psephism, or that the decree of the sovereign people was distinct with catchwords.

This theory—according to which the *σφρηγίς* was a catchword—I am afraid I must decline to discuss on general grounds. I am aware that such tricks, or something like them, were practised within the course of Hellenic literature. Epicharmus, who lived a generation or so after Theognis, endeavoured (D.L. viii. 78) to insure his

property in his *ὑπομήματα* by inserting *παραστιχίδια*. When Heraclides Ponticus (D.L. v. 92), the forger of Hesiod, Homer, and Thespis, in his turn swallowed the hook, and used as evidence *ἔς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων* the Parthenopaeus of Sophocles, he was against his will convinced that this play was the work of Dionysius ὁ Μεταθήμενος ἢ Σπίνθαρος, by a *παραστιχίς*, the word *πάγκαλος*, which Dionysius had inserted. Even *παραστιχίδια* however are not catchwords, and if there were catchwords we do not know what they were, and in fine the subject demands its Mrs. Gallop.

(b) The difficulties about the birthplace do not seem unsurmountable. Plato in the *Laws* 630, definitely calls him Sicilian, and is rebuked for so doing by Didymus (in schol. *ad loc.*) and Harpocration *s.v.* *Θεογνις*.

The allusions in the poems are admittedly Nisaeae. However, like Epicharmus, who is known as Coan, Megarian, and Syracusan, Theognis may have changed his abode, and, reversing the order of Mr. Kruger, have retired to the colony when the motherland was too hot to hold him.

(c) The history, as set out by Mr. Williams, appears probable. Theognis' allusions, like those of any introspective poet, are vague, but suit well enough the disturbances during and after the tyrannis of Theagenes.

If then on the formal side there is nothing to prevent the traditional ascription of these verses, it remains to shew that they give a picture of the ideas and feelings of an individual.

T. W. ALLEN.

THREE PASSAGES IN AESCHYLUS.

Cho. 829 :



Περσέως τ' ἐν φρεσὶν
 καρδίαν σχεθῶν,
 τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ χθονὸς φίλοις
 τοῖς τ' ἄνωθεν προπράσσων
 †χάριτος ὀργᾶς λυπρᾶς,† 833
 ἔνδοθεν
 φόνιον ἄταν τιθείς, τὸν αἴτιον
 ὃ' ἔξαπολλὺς μόρον.†

Where there is no lacuna, there is hardly any passage that need be regarded as quite insoluble: but I had given up attempting the solution of *v.* 833. The metre is a very simple one, Aeschylus' favourite 'syncopated trochaic,' and the corresponding line in the strophe is quite sound :

• • • • κρεκτον γ ο ἦ των : νόμον μεθήσομεν
 τοῖς τ' ἄνωθεν προπράσσων :

so not one of the three words *χάριτος ὀργᾶς λυπρᾶς* will scan. For *λυπρᾶς*, indeed, it would be easy to read, with Blomfield, *λυγρᾶς*: but *χάριτος* is absolutely excluded by the metre.

The only variation possible in this rhythm at this point is the syncopation of a trochee, thus,

instead of 


and in view of Aeschylus' practice the probability that he admitted that variation in his cadence here is very small. We must assume it, however, if *ὀργᾶς* is to stand; and *ὀργᾶς λυγρᾶς* leaves us to supply a short syllable and to account for *χάριτος*. The first might possibly be done, but I can see no way to do the second. Suppose then *ὀργας λυπρας* were a mistake for *ἐορτᾶς λυγρᾶς* 'a grievous feast,' and *χάριτος* a marginal explanation, 'of gratification,' or 'gratitude'? The probability of phrase and gloss seems hardly yet to outweigh the improbability of rhythm. Take then the natural and probable rhythm *υ υ υ υ υ*: the last two syllables are occupied by *λυγρᾶς*: could any word or words scanning *υ υ υ* have been with any likelihood mistaken for *χάριτος ὀργᾶς*? I cannot think so. It remained therefore to regard them both as being—or at least containing—the explanation of a scholiast; that might account for their stubborn consonants and superfluity of length.

Now the only sense in which scholiasts use *ὀργή* is *anger*; and they use it, of course, in the singular and not the plural: therefore *ὀργας*, to have come from a scholiast, must have been the genitive singular, *ὀργῆς*, altered to the *a* form because it was supposed to be part of the lyric text. Since *χάριτος ὀργῆς* give no intelligible sense, there must either be some corruption in one or both of them, or they

must be alternative interpretations of some single word. Yet there is no Greek word that I can think of which could mean sometimes *χάρις*, sometimes *ὀργή* *anger*; there seems to be no community between the two: *χάρμη* 'delight of battle' was not explained by *ὀργή*.

Then the explanations were themselves corrupted:—I tried *χάριτας ὀργῆς* and *χάριτας ἑορτῆς*, but there was no encouragement in 'thanks for anger' or 'thanks for a feast.' *χάριτος ἑορτῆς* 'feasts of gratitude' suggested *χαρίσια*¹ (Ath. 668 D, Eust. 1843, 25) or *χαρίστια*, but [there is no feminine word to suit. And now at last it turns out that the first theory was right after all; they are alternative explanations of the same word:

Schol. *Trachin.* 179 πρὸς χαράν: πρὸς χάριον.

Erotian. *Gloss. Hippocr.* p. 390 *χάριτες*: αἱ χαράι . . . φησὶ δὲ ('*Ἀπολλόδωρος*) αὐτὰς κληθῆναι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς χαρᾶς χάριτας· καὶ γὰρ πολλακίς οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν χάριν χαρὰν λέγουσι. Hesych. iv. p. 275 *χαρά*: *ὀργή*, ἢ *ὀργίλον* and p. 276 *χαρά*: *ὀργίλον*, ἢ *ὀργή*.

Therefore the original was *χαρᾶς*: and we can easily see how either sense might have been thought applicable here; for Orestes' act will be at once an *act of wrath* and a *gratification* to his friends, alive and dead.

It may, however, still cause some surprise that *χαρά* should be capable of the interpretation *ὀργή*: elsewhere the senses of it (well shown in Stephanus) are *ecstatic joy* at some sudden glad event, *transport*, *rapture*, *wild delight*, *feverish* or *insane mirth*, *hysterical merriment*—a long way from *anger*. But the use of lexicons requires more knowledge and judgement than scholiasts were in the habit of possessing or applying: *χαρά* in these entries of Hesychius is not even a Greek word at all, but the Hebrew *Charran*: 'Incertus interpres ad Genes. xii. 4 in Caten. Niceph. p. 184: *χαρράν* ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται *ὀργίλον* καὶ *ὀργίλω*s. Est nomen Hebraicum *חַרַן* i.e. *ira* sive *irascens*. Ernesti Gl. Sacr. p. 283' Schmidt Hesych. iv. p. 275.

There must have been something at first sight unusual in the ordinary sense of *χαρᾶς* here, to set our scholiast searching for another, which he was so fortunate to find: but I suppose the presence of *λυπρᾶς* or *λυγρᾶς* would have been enough to cause dissatisfaction. We need hardly find diffi-

culty with the oxymoron; cf. *Phoen.* 432 (*σύμμαχοι*) *πάρεσι*, *λυπρὰν χάριν ἀναγκαίαν* δ' ἐμοὶ δίδόντες· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν στρατεύομαι πόλιν, *H.F.* 1364 ὃ *λυγρὰι φιλημάτων τέρψεις*, *λυγρὰι* δὲ τῶνδ' ὅπλων *κοινωνία*: though there the stress is on the adjectives, which accordingly are in the emphatic place.

If this is right so far, there is a word lacking (*χαρᾶς* — *λυγρᾶς*), which we can only guess at: 'effecting, executing, performing a . . . of grim joy' should be the sense: cf. *Ion* 36 *Λοξία* δ' ἐγὼ χάριν πρᾶσσω, 903 *Κύπριδι* χάριν πρᾶσσω, *El.* 1133 σοὶ δ' ὅταν πρᾶξω χάριν τίνδε, *Soph. O.C.* 1774 ὁπόσ' ἂν μέλλω πρᾶσσειν πρᾶσφορά θ' ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ κατὰ γῆς πρὸς χάριν, *O.T.* 1353 οὐδὲν εἰς χάριν πρᾶσσω: some word like *χάριν*, or *φάος*, or *χρέος* 'performing an office of' (executing a debt of), as *Supp.* 481 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν μὴ τὸδ' ἐκπράξω χρέος.—Another possibility is that *λυπρᾶς* was an error for *λυτηρίας* through compendium (see Cobet *Coll. Crit.* 253, Dindorf schol. *Phoen.* 682): *προπράσσω* *χαρᾶς* *λυτηρίας* 'working joys for deliverance' is attractive in rhythm; but *λυτήριον νόμον* 'the wizards' freeing strain' (*v.* 816) is perhaps as much against it here as for it, because it has preceded at so short an interval. Finally there is the possibility that *χαρᾶς* itself was created out of *αρᾶς* by the adhesion of a grammarians' *χ* in the margin: e.g. *προπράσσω* *αρᾶς* *λυτήρια* (as *Supp.* 274 *τούτων ἄκη τομαῖα καὶ λυτήρια πράξας*) or *αρᾶς* *λύ<σιν>λυ>γρᾶς* 'deliverance from harm': only *ἀρά* or *ἀρή* (*Supp.* 86, *Agam.* 386), as used by Aeschylus, should mean 'destruction in war,' 'havoc of the sword,' and would apply rather to Orestes' act, e.g. *προπράσσω* *αρᾶς* (*χρέος*) *λυγρᾶς* 'performing an act of grievous slaughter.'

Eum. 185:

οὔτοι δόμοισι τοῖσδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει, ἀλλ' οὐ καρμιστῆρες ὀφθαλμωρύχοι δίκαι σφαγαὶ τε σπέρματος τ' ἀποφθορᾶ παίδων κακοῦται χλοῖνις ἢδ' ἀκρονία λευσμός τε καὶ μύζουσι οἰκτισμὸν πολλὴν ὑπὸ ῥάχιν παγέντες.

Besides the explanation *χλοῖνις ἀκρονία*: ἢ *ἀκαῖα ἀποκοπή*, we find the very strange one *κακῶν ἄθροισις ἢ λιθοβολίας*. 'Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἄθροισμα. Here ἢ *λιθοβολίας* should be ejected; *λιθοβολία* was plainly the interpretation of *λευσμός*, and became wrongly incorporated among the interpretations of *ἀκρονία*. The lexicographers' entries were probably all derived ultimately from comments on this passage:

¹ Metrical fragments show that the first *ι* was long, as in '*Ἀπρεμῖα* Ar. *Thesm.* 1200: Liddell and Scott go out of their way to put a short mark over it, and also over *ἀπρεμῖα*.

Bekk. Anecd. 372. 2 Ἀκρωνία: τὰ ἀθροίσματα. καὶ ἡ ἀκρότης. καὶ ἡ ἀκμή. καὶ τὸ ἐπιλεκτὸν ἄθροισμα.

Et. Mag. 53. 42 Ἀκρόνα: τὰ ἀθροίσματα. καὶ ἡ ἀκρότης. καὶ ἡ ἀκμή. τὸ ἐπιλεκτὸν ἄθροισμα.

Hesych. ἈΚΡΩΝΙΑ: ἀθροίσματα. παράστασις. πλήθος.

Hesych. ἀκρόνα (ἀκρωνία Musurus): ἄθροισμός.

We see from these that there was a doubt whether ἈΚΡΩΝΙΑ stood for a plural ἀκρόνια or a singular ἀκρωνία.—The only attempts that I have seen at accounting for these glosses are a suggestion that κακῶν ἄθροισις was a comment on the whole passage, 'A collection of horrors'; and a note by Davies: 'I infer from the interpretations that Herodian derived the word from ἄκρον and ὤνια, on the analogy of ἀκροθίνια. His σύστημα καὶ ἄθροισις [ἄθροισμα was H.'s word] means "the arrangement and grouping of things for sale." The most tempting articles were put at the top, like the most costly spoils in ἀκροθίνια. The παράστασις is that which is now called "dressing the shop front," or setting out wares to the best advantage for sale by retail. This accounts for all those interpretations.' If it does,—if this is what Herodian meant,—we must admit that his explanatory style left much to the imagination, full of meat as Burleigh's nod. There is not a word anywhere about a sale.

The words ἄθροισις, ἄθροισμα, πλήθος are those regularly used by the grammarians to explain ἀγών 'a gathering.' ἀγών, as Eustathius says (1148. 38) was a word with many significations, and consequently it was frequently and freely annotated. This is shown abundantly in Stephanus' *Thesaurus* pp. 588, 589, 594, 596: e.g. ἄθροισμα schol. Hom. Σ 376 and everywhere: ἄθροισις Eust. 1023. 47, 1058. 18: πλήθος schol. Hom. Σ 376, Ω 1, Eust. 1023. 46, Bekk. An. 326, Et. Mag. 15. 48, Hesych. The same words were used for ἀγορά, Stephanus, p. 413, schol. *Trach.* 372, schol. Hom. B 95. And as we have ἄθροισμός in Hesych., so Suid. and Zonaras give Ἀγρισμός: συναθροισμός (corrected in Stephanus for συναριθμός). σύστημα is a synonym of ἄθροισμα or σύναγμα (see Stephanus s.vv. σύστημα, συστηματικός) as σύστασις of ἄθροισις, σύναξις, συναγωγή: and those five words were all used in explaining ἀγών or ἀγορά. It would seem from this that our interpretations were written either upon ἀγών or

upon some form which was supposed to mean the same. Can this have been ἀκρωνία? ἀγωνία one would think more likely; but then we might have expected to find, as in scholl. *Hec.* 314, glosses interpreting ἀγωνία in its later prose sense, *mental anxiety, nervousness* (originally *contest-fever*): I thought at first παράστασις was one ('despair'), but the usual words, φόβος etc., (see Stephanus p. 596) are absent. Possibly ἀγωνία: cf. the spellings κωλαγρέται, κωλακρέται, the *vv. ll.* ἀγρόται, ἀκρόται (for ἀγρέται) in *Pers.* 1005, ἀγρεμών and ἀκρεμών (schol. *Lycophron* 1212 explains

πρόμοι by ἀκρεμόνες). ἀκρωνία of course might easily produce ἀγωνία.

However this may be, it is no great effort to suppose that ἀκρωνία was used by Aeschylus (even if he formed it) in the sense ἀκρωτηριασμός, since ἄκρων and ἀκρωνάριον appear later (see Stephanus) meaning (pigs' or sheep's) *extremities*. If there is anything to raise a doubt, it is χλοῖνις, which as it stands must be a substantive, whereas it might rather seem to be an adjective—as indeed some scholiasts took it, joining—of course wrongly—χλοῖνις ἀκρωνία. If it was an adjective, there is a lacuna of this kind:

παίδων κακοῦται χλοῖνις ἢ <βητῶν or ἡβά-
σκουστ' ἀκμή,
..... ἢ > δ' ἀκρωνία

Otherwise, in the mere alternation of substantives (with εἰσίν understood) and finite verbs there is nothing the least 'harsh' as some have thought it; the sentence is entirely natural, e.g. Eur. *Cycl.* 164–170, Philostr. *Apoll.* v. 26 ἐνθα οἰμωγή τε καὶ ὕβρις ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέει δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

Fragm. 179:

Ath. 667 b: the κότταβος was thrown with a loose wave of the elbow:

ἀγκυλοῦντα γὰρ δεῖ σφόδρα τὴν χεῖρα εἰρήθμως πέμπειν τὸν κότταβον, ὡς Δικαιαρχὸς φησιν, καὶ Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῷ Δύ Κακουμένῳ παρακελεύεται δέ τις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μὴ σκληρὰν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα μέλλοντα ἀποκοτταβίζειν. ἐκάλουν δ' 'ἀπ' ἀγκύλης' τὴν τοῦ κοττάβου πρόεσιν διὰ τὸ ἐπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιάν ἐν τοῖς ἀποκοτταβισμοῖς.¹ οἱ δὲ ποτηρίου εἶδος τὴν ἀγκύλην

¹ See p. 782 d (iv. p. 217 Schweighaeuser, iii. p. 20 Kaibel) which quotes Cratinus. . . ἀπ' ἀγκύλης . . . ἴησι λάταγας and continues ἐντεῦθεν ἰοοῦμεν τοὺς παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἀγκυλητοὺς κοττάβους,' schol. *Ar. Pac.* 1244, Ἀγκύλη in Hesych. and Bekk. *Anecd.* 337.

φασί.¹ Βακχυλίδης ἐν Ἑρωτικοῖς [*fr.* 17 Blass] ‘εὔτε τὴν ἀπ’ ἀγκύλης ἦσι τοῖσδε τοῖς νεανίαις, λευκὸν ἀντίενασα πῆχυν.’ καὶ Αἰσχύλος δ’ ἐν Ὀσολόγοις [*fr.* 179] ἀγκυλητοὺς λέγει κότταβους διὰ τούτων

‘Εὐρύμαχος οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδὲν ἦσσαν
ὑβριζ’ ὑβρισμοὺς οὐκ ἐναίσιονσ ἔμοι.
ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ σκοπὸς αἰεὶ τοῦμὸν κἀρα·
τοῦ δ’ ἀγκυλητοῦ κοσσάβιος ἐστὶ σκοπὸς ἔκτε-
μὸν ἡβῶσα χεῖρ ἐφίετο.’

σκοπὸς is Dobree’s correction of κότταβος. For the rest he conjectured τοῖς δ’ ἀγκυλητοῖς κοσσάβιος ἐπίσκοπα ὅσων ἔμῶν κτέ., in which ἀγκυλητοῖς κοσσάβιος is surely right, and ἐπίσκοπα the most probable form; for ἐπίσκοπα ἰέναι, βάλλειν, τοξεύειν, ἀκοντίζειν was preferred even in prose to ἐπισκόπως. Of course the adjective ἐπίσκοπος is possible. But τοῖς δ’ would hardly have been mistaken, whereas τοῦ δ’ would easily cause the error ἀγνωλητοῦ: therefore it is probable that τοῦ δ’ is sound, ‘and at it (*i.e.* my head) his hand kept aiming.’ τοῦ δ’ . . . ὅσων τ’ ἔμῶν would indeed be more like ἔκτεμῶν: but it does not readily account for εκ: and this is the point where all attempts have broken down.

In view of *fr.* 180 ὁδ’ ἐστὶν ὅς ποτ’ ἀμφ’ ἔμοι βέλος | γελωτοποιόν, τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην, | ἔρριψεν οὐδ’ ἤμαρτε· περὶ δ’ ἔμῳ κἀρα | πληγείσ’ ἐνανάγησεν, I had thought of ὡς εἰς γέλων ‘with the design to cause ridicule’; but the ὡς sounds superfluous, which it is not in ὡς εἰς γυναικας Eur. *Bacch.* 443; or ἐπίσκοπα εἰσ’ εἰς γέλων, but that should rather be ἰεῖσ’. I have a notion now which goes most closely near the MS., and seems to give a likely sense. Throws of the κότταβος might naturally be compared to arrows,² as in passages quoted by Ath. 666: Critias *fr.* 1. 2 ὃν σκοπὸν εἰς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα, Eur. *fr.* 562 πυκνοῖς δ’ ἔβαλλε Βακχίου τοξέυμασιν κἀρα³ γέροντος. And if to arrows from a bow, assuredly to missiles from the hand:

¹ This interpretation was wrong; see Schmidt Hesych. i. p. 23, Meineke Com. ii. p. 180.

² Anacr. *fr.* 53 Σικελδὺν κότταβον ἀγκύλη δαΐζων is possibly sound, like Sophocles’ βέλεα ἐνδαεῖσθαι.

³ The χαλκήλατος πλάστιγι (πλάστιγι ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ Critias in Ath. 600 e) struck the head of the Μάνης: Soph. *fr.* 494, 3 βαλόντι χάλκειον κἀρα. In Aesch. *Cho.* 283 we find διώκεσθαι πόλεως χαλκηλάτῳ πλάστιγι λυμανθὲν δέμας, where the sense is

Ath. 479e, 782e says that so much was elegance valued in the κότταβος that some were prouder of their grace in that than of their skill in throwing the javelin, μείζον ἐφρόνον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς κottaβίζειν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ εὖ ἀκοντίζειν. The parallel was very close, for these too might be ἀγκυλητά: Aesch. *fr.* 16 καὶ παλὰ ἀγκυλητά (‘both hurled and slung’) καὶ χληθὸν βαλῶν. *Bacch.* 1194 ἀγκυλωτοῖς Θεσσαλῶν στοχασμασιν. The lexicographers give Ἀγκύλη: ἀκόντιον. ἢ ἡ καμπὴ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ χεῖρ ἀγκύλη. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἀγκυλητὰ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἐκάλουν. . . . καὶ οἱ ἀκοντιστὰι ἀγκυλιστὰι. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτομάδα.⁴ This last word was the proper term for the slender javelin thrown in the pentathlon: it is used of fire-bearing shafts by Timotheus *Persae* 28 pp. 14, 19, 45 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. I have illustrated it in *C.R.* 1900 p. 8 (and 1903 p. 292), showing there that ἀκτιῶν τομίδων⁵ in Simonides *A.P.* xiii. 19 means ‘slips of elderwood.’ That is a poetical synonym. Sometimes it was called ἀποτομή, Et. Mag. 132. 19 and *v.l.* in Pollux iii. 151: another synonym (in verse probably) was ἐκτομάς: Hesych. Ἐκτομάδ[ε]α: εἶδος δόρατος:—and therefore why not ἐκτομή? It was certainly open to any poet if he found it more convenient or preferred it as remoter than the common word ἀποτομή:

ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ σκοπὸς αἰεὶ τοῦμὸν κἀρα·
τοῦ δ’ ἀγκυλητοῖς κοσσάβιος ἐπίσκοπα,
ὡς ἐκτομῶν, ἡβῶσα χεῖρ ἐφίετο.

‘For his mark continually was my head; and at it with bent-armed throws, as of javelins, his strong young vigorous hand kept aiming true.’

W. HEADLAM.

certainly ἀηλάτῳ μάστιγι, which occurs in Lycophron 436. Since Lycophron’s verse is ἀηλάτῳ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κἀρα, it really looks possible that the phrases may somehow have exchanged places. But cf. Lycophr. 981.

⁴ Hesych. has also ἀγκύλας: ἀποτόμως. These are terms in stylistic criticism; but they mean different things. It is perhaps merely a slip that has put one as an interpretation of the other: I do not venture to suggest ἀγκύλας: ἀποτομάς from Eur. *Or.* 1476.

⁵ Ὁι τομάδων: either would do. In Aeneas Tact. 24 τὴν ἐκτομάδα πολίδα there is a *v.l.* ἐκτομίδα: see Orelli p. 204. Hesych. gives Παρτομίς: μικρὸν τῆ μήκει βιβλίδιον.

THE USE OF A ROPE IN THE *CORDAX*.

UNDER the caption *cordax*, Lewis and Short's Lexicon reads: The extravagant dance of Greek comedy distinguished by lively movement and wanton gesture, and by the rope which was kept passing through the hands of the dancers.

That a rope was used in this dance is not proven and is an unlikely deduction from our sources. The suggestion is traceable to Casaubon. Commenting on Theophrastus *Char.* 7, he says: Puto autem ad restim solitum cordacem saltari, nam Aristophanes pro *κορδακίζειν* dixit *κόρδακα* ἔλκειν. Julianus et alii ἔλκειν *κόρδακα*. (Theoph. Characteres ed. J. F. Fischerus, Coburg 1763.)

What Theophrastus had written was: ἀμέλει δυνατὸς (ὁ ἀπovεινημένος) καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα καὶ προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ. Such is the MS. reading, variously changed by divers editors, but best unchanged, for Theophrastus had in mind, I believe, two dances, the *cordax* and the comic chorus; and we should repeat in thought ὀρχεῖσθαι before προσωπεῖον. Casaubon with his eye on ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ and with ἔλκειν in mind, supposed the *cordax* and comic chorus to be identical.

Casaubon's inference rests on the use of ἔλκειν and can not stand unless the use of the word was confined to the *cordax*. Aside from the use of the word in the *Nubes*, we find it used again by Aristophanes *Pax* 328. The chorus enters at 301 and at 322 begins to dance.

Trug. τί τὸ κακόν; τί πάσχετ', ὦνδρες; μηδαμῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
πρᾶγμα κάλλιστον διαφθειρήτε διὰ τὰ σχήματα.

Chor. ἀλλ' ἐγωγ' οὐ σχηματίζεω βούλομ',
ἀλλ' ἰφ' ἡδονῆς

(325) οὐκ ἐμοῦ κινουόντος αὐτῷ τῷ σκέλη χορεύετον.

Trug. μῆ τι καὶ νυνί γ' ἔτ', ἀλλὰ παῦε, παῦ' ὀρχοῦμενος.

Chor. ἦν ἰδοῦ καὶ δὴ πέπαυμαι.

Trug. φῆς γε, παύει δ' οὐδέπω.

Chor. ἐν μὲν οὖν τουτί μ' ἔασον ἔλκυσαι, καὶ μηκέτι.

Trug. τουτό νυν, καὶ μηκέτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ὀρχήσῃσθ' ἔτι.

This passage shows us *σχηματίζεω*, *χορεύεω*, *ἔλκειν* and *ὀρχεῖσθαι* used in exactly the same sense, the first two absolutely, the latter two with an object *τουτί*, *τούτο*. The dance is informal as the chorus themselves

say in lines 324, 325. Our only reason for supposing it a *cordax*, is the fact that it occurs in comedy. Curiously enough moreover, the metre is trochaic—especially suited to the *cordax*—and the chorus probably carried ropes, as Trugaiois just before the entry of the chorus ll. 298 ff., says:

δεῦρ' ἴτ', ὦ πάντες λεῶ,
ὡς τάχιסט' ἄμας λαβόντες καὶ μοχλοὺς καὶ σχοινία.

These accessories, however, are incidental, and if the chorus bear ropes, it is also noticeable that they bear picks and crow-bars. We need further evidence.

There are but two purely classical references to the *cordax* at this period and both are found in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. In the parabasis telling of the earlier production of the *Clouds*, he writes—

(537) ἦτις (i.e. the play) πρῶτα μὲν
(540) οὐδ' ἔσκαψε τοὺς φαλακροὺς, οὐδὲ κόρδαχ' ἔιλκυσεν

In lines 553 ff., he writes:

Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρότιςτος παρείλκυσεν
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς,
προσθεῖς αὐτῷ γρᾶν μεθύσην τοῦ κόρδακος εἶνεχ', ἦν
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ'—

From the latter passage it is a natural inference that if an old woman were introduced for the sake of the *cordax*, that the old woman danced it alone. It is not going too far, perhaps, to claim a confirmation of this by the personified *she* of the former passage. A single dancer is found in later times in Petronius and again the dancer is a woman. Petr. 52: *Trimalchio loquitur*: nemo, inquit, rogat Fortunatam meam ut saltet? Credite mihi: cordacem nemo melius ducit. If the quotation above, from Theophrastus, be taken of two dances, we have an additional confirmation of a single dancer, but this time a man.

There can be no doubt, then, that the *cordax* could be danced by a single dancer. As the rope loses its significance for a single dancer, the word ἔλκειν, when used of the *cordax*, can have no connotation 'with a rope.'

Apparently the *cordax* (if we can judge from Aristophanes) was a special dance introduced into comedy. Not every comedy

used the cordax, neither was every dance in comedy a cordax, and in the Peace as quoted above ἔλκειν is used of a dance not a cordax. Exactly what this special verb connoted, we do not know. Perhaps it was limited to dances in trochaic metre, for this is the metre in the Peace, and the trochaic metre was especially suited to the cordax. So Aristotle, *rhet.* iii. 8 : τροχαῖος κορδακώτερος, ὁλοῖ δὲ τὰ τετράμετρα. ἔστι γὰρ τροχέρως ῥυθμὸς τὰ τετράμετρα. This hardly suits the commentators' later attempt to translate ἔλκειν 'with trailing step.'

It will not be contrary to evidence to infer that in the Old Comedy, the cordax was a special dance introduced into comedy, and danced by a woman. The scholiast on *Nubes* 542 writes : κórδαξ κωμική, ἥτις, αἰσχρῶς κινεῖ τὴν ὄσφυν. We do not find such a dance in the extant comedies, but have something similar, perhaps, in Alci-

phron : Epistola {Megarae ad Bacchidem. We find a man dancing it in Theophrastus, but this need not be earlier than the New Comedy. Later the name of cordax as a special dance became applied to all similar dances, as the name of pyrrhic was in later times applied to all war dances. It became a genus : so Lucian, *de salt.* 22 : τριῶν γοῦν οἰδῶν τῶν γενικωτάτων ὀρχήσεων, κórδακος καὶ σικίννιδος καὶ ἐμμελείας. Then came the scholiasts, who, misunderstanding and carrying too far the statement of Aristoxenus (Bekker, *Anecd. Graeca* i. 101 : Ἀριστοξένος ἐν τῷ περὶ τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως ὁλοῖ οὕτως ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος τῆς τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως ἢ καλουμένη ἐμμέλεια, καθάπερ τῆς σατυρικῆς ἢ καλουμένη σικίννις, τῆς δὲ κωμικῆς ὁ καλούμενος κórδαξ) arrived at the conclusion that every dance in comedy was a cordax.

W. E. D. DOWNES.

Baltimore, Md.

A NOTE ON HORACE SAT. 1. 6. 126.

Sat. 1. 6. 126 *fugio campum lusumque trigonem.*

In *lusumque trigonem*,—the much discussed and, I think, generally misunderstood reading of Cruquius' Blandinius vetustissimus,¹—we should recognize the characteristically Augustan usage of the participle in agreement with a substantive to express the abstract idea of action.² The phrase thus means not 'the game of ball' (where *lusum* = *ludum*), nor 'the ball game I have already played,' but 'the playing of the ball game,'—'I leave behind me the campus and the ball-playing.'

This use of the perfect participle to express the leading idea of the phrase is fairly frequent in Horace. Among the examples are the following: *Car.* 1. 1. 4 *metaque feruidis Euitata rotis*; 1. 3. 29 *Post ignem aetheria domo Subductum*; 1. 5. 6 *fidem Mutatosque deos flebit*; 1. 8. 12 *iaculo nobilis expedito*; 1. 36. 9 *memor Mutataeque simul togae*; 2. 4. 10 *ademptus Hector*; 2. 9. 10 *tu semper urges Mysteri ademptum*; 2. 13. 31 *exactos tyrannos Densum umeris bibit aure uolgas*; 3. 6. 29

non sine conscio Surgit marito; 3. 15. 10 *pulso Thias uiti concita tympano*; *Epod.* 9. 2 *uictore laetus Caesare*; *Sat.* 2. 1. 67 *aut laeso doluere Metello*. Compare also *Sat.* 2. 1. 84 and *Ep.* 1. 16. 42. In these citations it will be observed that *Car.* 2. 9. 10 and 2. 13. 31 furnish parallels for the case of *lusumque trigonem*, having the participle and its substantive in the accusative of the direct object. Compare *Liv.* 2. 36. 6 and *Mart.* 2. 75. 2. This construction is also appropriate with the participle of *ludere*, as this verb is often construed with the accusative of the so-called inner object. (So by Horace in *Sat.* 2. 3. 248.)

This view does away with the necessity of regarding *lusum* either as a concrete substantive,³ or as having the ordinary force of a participle.⁴ As a substantive the word is rare and late (the first cited example being *Plin. Ep.* 7. 9. 10), and Horace would almost certainly have used *ludum*, while for the harsh opposition of *trigonem* no real parallel has been quoted. Taking *lusum* as the ordinary participle

¹ The existing MSS (except g) either have or point to *rabiosi tempora signi*.

² Kühner *Ausführ. Gram.* 2 p. 573. To the examples from Cicero should be added *de Or.* 3. 158 *imprudencia teli missi* etc.

³ So most of the editors,—Fritzsche, Schütz, Kirchener, Ritter, Orelli-Mewes, Kiessling, Wickham, von Breithaupt, Krüger.

⁴ First suggested by Döderlein, who is followed by Munro, Palmer, Tyrrell, Rolfe and others. Gow in his text of this satire, for *lusum* prints *pulsum*, though retaining apparently this view of the syntax.

places an unnecessary emphasis on the completion of the action :—‘I leave behind me the ball game I have already played,’ as if it were only at the end of the playing and for this reason that Horace took his departure. Underlying both of these interpretations (and vitiating them) is the assumption that Horace himself, in spite of his expressed distaste for it (*Sat.* 1. 5. 48), took part as a daily practice in ball playing. *Lusumque trigonem* as I have taken it involves no such supposition: the phrase is a general one not referring to any particular person or game. Doubtless there were many of these games going on at the same time, and Horace may very well have been engaged, as he no doubt was, in his favourite occupation of looking on. See verses 111–113 of this Satire.

The meaning thus given to *lusumque trigonem* is not, I think, itself open to objection, and it derives confirmation from the fact that by paralleling the concrete *campum* with an abstract idea, it gives a peculiarly idiomatic turn to the whole sentence, reminding one of the similar combination of *palma* and *metaque evitata* in *Car.* 1. 1. 4. Thus when correctly interpreted this text of Cruquius contains in itself the best evidence of its authenticity.

There are three other passages in Horace in which I think this same construction should be recognized: *Car.* 1. 11. 5 *Quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare*, (*oppositis pumicibus* = by the opposition of the cliffs); 1. 37. 29 *Deliberata morte ferocior*, and 1. 36. 11 *Neu promptae modus amphorae* (sc. *sit*). In all these passages the failure to recognize the construction has resulted in misinterpretation, but in the last it is especially misleading. As usually understood, the verse means either ‘let there be no limit to the capacity of the wine jar that has been brought out,’—the point of which is not altogether obvious, as Horace can hardly be thinking of a huge amphora of unlimited capacity, or ‘let there be no limit to indulgence in the wine jar when brought out,’—which strains the Latin, and overlooks the fact that the exhortation to copious indulgence comes a little later. The real meaning, it seems to me, is ‘let there be no limit to the bringing

out of the wine jar,’ that is, the wine jar shall be brought out again and again, so that there may be an abundance of wine.

It is possible that my view of these passages, (especially of *Sat.* 1. 6. 126) may be questioned on the ground that in this usage of the perfect participle the action is always past,—never present. Horace would thus be running away from a game that was already finished. But this objection is not a valid one. It is true that the action is often (and no doubt in the majority of cases) past, but it is not restricted to this sphere. An evidence of this is the frequent use of the construction with *opus est*, as in Plaut. *Cas.* 502 *vicino conventost opus est*. In all such cases the action, from the stand-point of the subject, is still in the future. So also in Cic. *Fam.* 14. 4. 4 *De familia liberata nihil est quod te moueat*, where Cicero is speaking of something that is merely anticipated, and in Liv. 6. 1. 1 *Quae ad captam eandem urbem Romani gessere*, the idiom here marking the limit of a period. For contemporaneous action the following examples may be noted: Hor. *Car.* 2. 13. 31 *Pugnas et exactos tyrannos, Densum umeris bibit aure uolgus*. Here *exactos tyrannos* is of course the poet’s story of the driving out of the tyrants, which could only be drunk in as it progressed, not after it was completed. In this respect also the passage is a perfect parallel to *Sat.* 1. 6. 126 and is apparently conclusive. Liv. 4. 61. 6 *Inde inter eruptionem temptatam compulso in urbem hoste, occasio data est Romanis inrumpendi*. That the action is present is made certain by the preposition, which Kühner (*Ausführ. Gram.* 2. 575) glosses with *während*. Liv. 5. 21. 11 *et castigationis regis in admissa culpa et promissorum in futurum memores*. Here again the preposition and the context preclude any reference to a past action in the phrase in *admissa culpa*. Other examples might be cited (for Livy see Kühnast *Liv. Synt.* 266) but these are sufficient to show that in this construction the action may be present as well as past or future.

J. ELMORE.

Stanford University, Cal.

LUCILIUS VER. 1154-5. ED. MARX.

(*C. Lucilii carminum reliquiae*. 2 vols. Teubner. 1904-5.)

IN this edition, for the first time, the puzzling fragments of Lucilius are accompanied by a commentary worthy of their difficulty.

In the famous passage cited by Cic. *finn.* ii § 23, where MSS. have *hryszizon*, *hyrsizon*, *hirsizon*, for which scholars of many generations read *hir siphoue*, Marx says (ii. 366) '*chryszizon scribendum*.' Remembering that H. A. J. Munro, many years ago, had made the same correction, I naturally feared that Marx had been guilty of plagiarism. But my own experience, in turning over the volumes of the *Journal of Philology*, led me to a truer and more charitable explanation. In Munro's *Luciliana* (*Journ.* vol. vii, 1877, pp. 292-314) the passage in question is not handled. Reading the contents of many other volumes, I missed what I was in search of. Turning to my annotated lexicons, I found, under *chryszizon*, a reference to Munro's supplementary article (vol. viii, 1879, 'Another word on Lucilius' pp. 201-225). Marx notices Munro's conjectures in vol. vii, but nowhere shews an acquaintance with the supplementary article.

The new Lucilius is dedicated 'Francisco Buechelero, Hermanno Usenero.' In this year, when Bücheler's pupils, a distinguished band of scholars, are raising a fund to present their septuagenarian chief with his portrait, I may call attention to his restoration of line 320, where for *paretato eclamides ac barbula prima* of MS. G. of Nonius, he reads *pareutactoe*, *clamides* ac b.p., shewing

from inscriptions (and Polybius's *παρεντακτεῖν*) that the Athenian ephēbi, *περίπολοι*, were known as *παρεντακτοί*, and from the new-found Aristotle that these guards wore the *chlamys*.

Many scholars here and in America will read with pleasure and full assent the words in vol. i. p. cxvi: 'Praeter eos quos modo nominaui uiros doctos insigni modo de Lucilii emendatione et interpretatione meruit Franciscus Buechelerus, criticorum facile princeps, et iustitia et aequitate iudicii, ut hominis duri et acerbi, Caroli Friderici Gulielmi Muellerei, praeconium uocemque nunc emortuam litteris tradam, unus instar multorum milium.'

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

POSTSCRIPT.

I owe to the courtesy of Professor Marx a satisfactory explanation of the coincidence above pointed out.

"Chryszizon" iam proposui scribendum in libro "Exercitationis grammaticae specimina ediderunt . . . sodales Bonnenses die xiiii Martii mensis" 1881, p. 1 (Bonnae apud Marcum): lectionem primum proposueram aut 1879 aut 1880 anno ineunte coram philologis Bonnensibus. Ille liber a pluribus compositus praeparabatur et imprimebatur iam anno 1880 exeunte, ut in eiusmodi operibus vulgo fieri solet. Quo tempore fasciculus *Journal of Philol.* viii quem indicas re vera prodierit et Bonnam transmissus sit, nunc neque potest investigari, neque operae pretium est quaerere, uter prior prelo tradiderit, Munros an ego.

REVIEWS.

LEAF'S ILIAD, XIII-XXIV.

The Iliad. By WALTER LEAF, Litt. D., late Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge. Vol. 2. Books xiii.—xxiv. Second Edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1902. Svo. Pp. xxiii + 663. 20 illustrations. 18s.

THIS volume completes the revision of the well-known edition of the *Iliad* by Dr. Leaf, who must be heartily congratulated on a great achievement. The work is one

of which English scholarship may well be proud. It shows a remarkable combination of sound judgement with the most extensive and profound learning, and may be said to be without doubt the best and most complete edition of Homer's *Iliad*, that has ever appeared in England. As embodying the results of modern research and enquiry, it possesses a real cosmopolitan value. So great are its merits and so comprehensive

its scope, that a long period will probably pass away before it will yield the foremost place to any rival.

Whether it will do much to popularise the theory of the gradual expansion of the poem by successive hands, a theory to which the editor is deeply committed and is never for a moment disloyal, may perhaps be doubted. The ravages of the bacillus of Menitis do not present a very attractive picture to the reader, and may easily drive him to inoculate himself with a protective serum, such for example as Lang's *Homer and the Epic*. The original poet must keep strictly to his subject as conceived by his editor. If there is any departure from this, it is ear-marked as an addition by a later hand, a mere appendix to the original poem, —Appendix appendicum, omnia appendix— and under this assumption there is room for an unlimited amount of disruptive speculation, the virulent outcome of the second stage of the malady. This stage may not unfittingly be called Appendicitis Homerica. Later on the sufferer becomes wall-eyed and practically incurable. Such is the diagnosis, which may serve as a warning.

I now turn with relief to the special features of the new edition of Vol. ii. It is enlarged by the addition of over one hundred and fifty pages and throughout shows signs of careful revision and improvement. The apparatus criticus is a new feature, as also is the separation from the body of the notes of the Introductions to the several Books, both distinct improvements, the former adding greatly to the completeness of the work as a whole.

The Introduction, now called the Prolegomena, deals with (1) The Analysis of the *Iliad*, (2) The Scholia, and (3) The Manuscripts. In Section 1 the limits of the vital growth, as it is called, of the poem are vague to a degree. All points, says Dr. Leaf, to the long period of time through which the poetic growth continued, and yet the latest expansions are, as it appears, to be classed with the *Odyssey* in the main. Now what long period of time has ever been supposed to intervene between the two poems? Why longer than between Aeschylus and Euripides? We may note with satisfaction that the tabular analysis of the *Iliad* is dropped. If we are to have this vivisection, the accuracy of which is so doubtful, it is a relief to find that our feelings are no longer harrowed by having it done on a table. In Section (3) recognition is given to Mr. T. W. Allen's discovery of a group of MSS. represented by PQRL and Lips.

The most important new feature of this edition is the series of Appendices, properly so called, which occupy forty-three pages. The first (G) is on women's dress. The intaglio which is supposed to illustrate the Mycenaean dress is decidedly curious. The drawing rather suggests a divided skirt; indeed from the larger figures, which ought to be most trustworthy, this seems certain. If so, then we have a form of braided Oriental ἀναξυρίδες.

Perhaps § 9 ἐνεταί are safety-pins, πέρωνα merely long pins, and πόρπη a brooch secured by a pin.

In the next (H) οὐρανός, αἰθήρ and ἀήρ, are discussed and the accepted Aristarchean theory refuted. At any rate I have no hesitation in saying that I believe Dr. Leaf is here to be followed rather than the great critic.

Appendix I is upon the shield of Achilles, a lengthy and most masterly discussion of this famous passage.

Appendix K treats of X 202-4. Here I think I may congratulate the editor on his conversion to the correct view of the meaning of these lines. But even now his attitude towards the wrong view is too apologetic by far. Regard the terms of § 2: 'Escaped so far' is the sense implied; however familiar the story may be to the hearers, the narrator is bound to pretend that they do not know what is coming, and to make a pause of suspense, while they think 'Has Hector actually got away?' He thus heightens the effect of the succeeding catastrophe. But a feeling that the form of the sentence, the unreal apodosis, implies that the final escape did take place, has led to various conjectures and alternative explanations.'

'Escaped then' is the sense always implied in this form of expression, and the 'then' means here 'in the actual race.' The narrator makes no pretence whatever that either he or his audience do not know what is coming. He simply says in effect: 'Hector escaped altogether in the race round the city, and he could not have done so, if he had not been helped by Apollo.' Similarly if a modern historian were narrating Napoleon's escape from Waterloo, he might say: 'How could he have escaped being made a prisoner-of-war, unless he had been assisted by devoted adherents?' Suppose some one had commented on this: 'The form implies that the final escape took place, and the narrator is pretending that his readers do not know that Napoleon was sent a prisoner to St. Helena. He is making

a pause of suspense, etc.' Would there be any toleration for such a wildly irrelevant and inane remark? I trow not. What would be done to any one, who inspired by this comment attempted an emendation, I shudder to think. Yet Homer and the supposed historian are almost on the same footing here. Homer is describing the chase of Hector. Hector was not killed in the chase. What his fate was in the encounter afterwards is altogether another matter. I find a parallel to this error in the suggested translation of *δίκη* (Ψ 542) 'in due form,' where it is easy to see that Antilochus is absolutely in the right as against Eumelus, and the poet is fully entitled to say 'he made answer *with justice*.' It is not altogether surprising after this that the editor condemns ll. 202-4 and also ll. 199-201 as later additions, a condemnation with which I for one entirely disagree; but enough has now been said of this passage.

Appendix L is on Homeric Burial Rites. It is mainly a discussion of the Homeric view of the state of disembodied spirits. It is perhaps hardly justifiable to treat the most illuminating passage Ψ 57-107 as containing novel dogma not accepted by the generality, more especially after we have been told in the opening remarks that 'men are never so inconsistent as in their beliefs about the other world,' *v.* also the foot-note on this statement.

A very lucid account of the harnessing of the chariot is given in Appendix M, which ends with a few additional remarks on Homeric armour, indicating for one thing the withdrawal of the extraordinary idea (Reichel's) of the meaning of *θώρηξ*.

The last Appendix N is on the Fourth Foot of the Hexameter and Wernicke's Law, being evidently called forth by the discussion in the *Class. Rev.* x. 431, xi. 28, 151. The explanation offered 'that the fourth foot should not sound like the end of a line' is ingenious and plausible. Still it is quite sufficient that the rhythm should be rare and I still think, without wishing to adhere to any of my own conjectures in this sphere, that it was probably less rare in the archaic text of Homer than in the traditional one. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Leaf did not extend his enquiry to the *Odyssey* also. Even in the *Iliad*, in spite of his care, he has omitted not only M 20

Ῥησός θ' ἐπτάπορος τε Κάρησός τε Ῥοδῖός τε,
which is practically on the same footing as B 842 Πύλαιός τ', but also B 813

τὴν ἣ τοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κυκλήσκουσι,

which last strikes me as a particularly bad case of non-compliance.

With Dr. Leaf's general conclusions I cordially agree; but I am distinctly of opinion, that Bentley's *Τιτάρησον* (B 751) and *Αἰτωλόν* (E 706) are necessarily right, also *Ἀχελῶος-φόν* (Φ 194, Ω 616, cf. Hes. *Theogn.* 340). In view of B 813 I suggest that some special license is extended to proper names. There is more doubt about *παρέσταν οἶνον ἄγουσαι* (Bentley); but here again I think the balance of probability is in favour of Bentley and this instance should be added to Σ 400 *χάλκεον δαίδαλα πολλὰ*.

Finally I will suggest, this time in furtherance of Dr. Leaf's views, that Ω 557 and ρ 573 should be thus resolved—

ἐπεὶ σύ με πρῶτον ἄσασα.
ἐπεὶ σέ γε πρῶθ' ἰκέτευσα.

and that the four instances of *ἄλλος-ον* might be easily eliminated by reading *τῶν δ' ἄλλων* and *ἄμα δ' ἄλλων* in each case.

The introductions to the several books are all the better for being separated from the explanatory notes. They are to a large extent re-arranged and re-written and contain many modifications of the earlier views.

The notes themselves have evidently been subjected to the most searching revision, and the same may be said of the text: in both cases with satisfactory results in the main.

Much more regard, I find, is now paid to conjectural emendation than in the earlier edition. Bentley, Payne Knight, Naber, van Leeuwen and, above all, Brandreth figure conspicuously. Occasionally Dr. Leaf himself essays a correction, *e.g.* Υ 143, X 50, etc.

Several ingenious criticisms of the late Dr. Monro have been wisely incorporated.

That the text is greatly improved will be obvious from the following examples of judicious change: N 599, 716 *ἐνοστροφῶ* for *ἐνοστροφῆι*. Ξ 72 *ὄτε* for *ὄτι*, 252 *ἔθελεα* for *ἔλεξα*, 382 *χέρημι δὲ χείρονα δόσκεν* for *χέρημι δὲ χείρονα*. O 155 *σφωε* for *σφωιν*, 504 *εἰ* for *ἦν*, 666 *τρωπάσθε* for *τρωπᾶσθε*. Π 656 *φύξαν ἐνώρσεν* for *θυμὸν ἐνήκεν*. P 37 = Ω 741 *ἄρρητον* for *ἀρητόν*, 720 *ἔχοντες* for *ἔχοντε*, 748 *τετυχηώς* for *τετυχηκώς*. Σ 93 *Μενoitιάδα*. T 208 *τεύξασθαι* for *τεύξεσθαι*, 280 *κάθεσαν* for *κάθισαν*. Υ 208 *σάκει ἦλασεν* for *σάκει ἔλασ'*, 370 *κολοῖσει* for *κολοῖει*. Φ 467 *πανώμεσθα* for *πανσώμεσθα*. X 300 *οἶδ' ἔτ'* for

οὐδέ τ'. Ψ 315 παρέλθη for παρέλθοι, 427 εὐρύτερη παρελάσσαι for εὐρύτερη παρελάσσεις. Ω 292 ταχύν for εόν, 436 γένηται for γένοιτο. On the other hand I see no reason to approve N 141 ὄφρ' ἄν for εἰος. Ξ 364 μεθίετε for μεθίομεν, P 106 ἕως ὁ for εἰος ὁ. Σ 200-1 the removal of the brackets. Υ 426 ἄρ' for ἄν. Φ 177 βίγη for βίγης, 548 χείρας for κήρας. Ψ 103 τι for τις. Propertius may surely be credited with having thought the matter out for himself. The mere existence of the εἰδωλον is the point here. The nominal belief is confirmed. Ω 240 οἶνεσθ' for ὀνόσασθ'.

Again in the following instances a change would be a desideratum:—N 366 ἀνάεδνον ought to be ἀνέδνον, 734 δὲ καὶ τὸς is not only wrong in itself, but does not even represent the MSS, which are for δέ κ' αὐτός. The only acceptable reading is δέ τ' αὐτός. O 307 βιβῶν should be βιβάς, v. Monro on ο 555. In O 522 Πανθόν rightly; but after this why revert to the erroneous Πάνθον anywhere (P 9, 23, 40, 59)? P 535 δεδαίγμενοι. Σ 188 κείνοι, 209 οἱ δέ. T 307. Restoration of full stop at the end of the line. 350 οὐρανοῦ ἕκ, 354 ἴκοιτο. Φ 146 δαὶ καταμένων, Ψ 620 ὄψε'.

It would be easy to give a long list of new and improved notes in this edition; but perhaps it would be more acceptable to occupy the space left with observations that have occurred to me in examining Dr. Leaf's commentary.

N 69 Why not μάντι itself? The diplomatic justification for μάντι is μαντῖ DL, which, if the marks of diaeresis be anything, means μάντι and nothing else.

N 78 The blot here seems to me to be the false transliteration of ΟΡΟΡΕ into ὄρωρε instead of ὄρωρε. Is ὄρωρε intransitive in τ 201? I think not. Read

μαϊμῶσι, μένος δέ μ' ὄρωρ', ὑπένερθε δὲ ποσσίν.

N 115 I must say that my objection to Dr. Leaf's rendering of this line is not because it is inconsistent with the tenour of the Presbeia, but because it is not consistent with common sense to interject in the midst of an urgent appeal to men to fight instantly and hard, an equally urgent appeal to do something, which would necessarily involve an immediate cessation, and a prolonged cessation, from fighting altogether. This is the real reason why the reference to Achilles is impossible. Furthermore the absolute indifference of the great anti-Trojan divinities to Achilles and his grievances is throughout very marked. What Poseidon here says is

in effect: Never mind Agamemnon and Achilles. A plague on both their houses. What *we* have to do is to fight. Let us have no more of this slackness. Whether ἀκεσταί is active or passive, 'can alter this' or 'can be altered' makes little or no difference to the sense: so I need not discuss the question now.

In the note on N 564 πιληθέν (compressed) is now read for πληθέν. Is not πρηθέν or πρησθέν (burnt) the word intended?

N 727 The punctuation adopted from Lehrs is unlikely. Superiority in war is a sort of justification for setting up a claim to be superior in policy also; but it is no reason whatever why a man should be ἀμήχανος παραρρητοῖσι πιθέσθαι.

N 777 ἐπεὶ μ' οὐ is a great improvement.

Ξ 31-2 The only possible reading is, as Herodianus held, πρύμνησιν, 'hard by the sterns.' αὐτὰρ—ἔδειμαν, while it completes the picture of the scene, may be regarded as a parenthesis. The emphatic word is πεδίοις, 'on to the plain,' i.e. on to the expanse of level ground above the beach. There could hardly be a more otiose statement than that they built the wall 'next the last ships.' They could not very well be supposed to have left any ships outside the wall.

Ξ 115 Probably Πορθῆι τρεῖς. There is no need whatever for γάρ, which would naturally come in to fill the gap caused by the faulty transliteration.

Ξ 132 θυμῷ 'inclination.' It is hardly 'resentment' against Agamemnon. That would touch mainly the Myrmidons. It is rather 'mood of the moment', and the indifferent section, the non-partisans, are meant, those who stood aloof, as the Americans say, 'out of pure cussedness.'

Ξ 172 ἀμβροσίῳ, ἔδανῷ τό ῥα οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν.

This is the only feasible means of redeeming the relative clause, 'which was perfumed with hedenum,' whatever that may be. The word ἔδανῷ is merely placed before the relative for the sake of emphasis. Of course we may turn ἔδανῷ into an adverb, and read ἔδανῶς preserving the mystery. We have σφεδανῶς as a variant in Φ 542 and this would serve, as = σφοδρῶς. Or again ἀδινῶς would not be very remote, 'with double extract.' In any case the corrected punctuation is an improvement, which may be regarded as certain.

Ξ 240 τεύξει F' is I believe impossible.

Ξ 271 Read ἀάτροο Στρυγός to give the adjective its proper quantity.

Ξ 358 What is the objection to Brandreth's ὄφρα κ' ἔθ' εὐδῆ, if this is to be regarded as his conjecture? Or is it εὐδει which the editor means to say will not do?

Ξ 484 We are not in the text confronted by the impossible ἄτιμος, which appeared in the small edition (1898): but Dr. Leaf elaborately defends this reading in the note. Even supposing that the meaning he attributes with much ingenuity to ἄτιμος 'unassessed' be in itself admissible—and this is granting a great deal—still the word would not do, for it is not the assessment, but the payment, of the ποινή which is here required by the sense.

Ο 30 ἀθλήσαντα. Read ἀνταλάσαντα. The intermediate stage is ἀντλήσαντα, abandoned for obvious reasons. The conjectures mentioned [are not so much needless as improbable.

Ο 128 ἤλέ. It does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Leaf that this is merely a curtailed ἤλέε and that consequently διέφθορα is corrupt.

Ο 279 ἔποικόμενον στίχας ἀνδρῶν. The note says 'assailing like a divine visitation': but it is clear that Hector is not yet so employed. He is merely rallying his own men, δρῶντων ἱππῆας.

Ο 476 Hentze is undoubtedly right in his remark; but why not draw the obvious conclusion, that the optative is only an erroneous correction or corruption of an original subjunctive? This is plain from © 512, where the metre absolutely requires the subjunctive. All speculation on the meaning of the optative under such circumstances is idle. Μη μὲν—ἔλωσι, might be rendered: 'Perdy, let them not take without a struggle.' An exhortation and nothing else is needed here. The unanimity of the MSS. for the optative carries very little weight, as the editor elsewhere on occasion himself freely admits.

Π 74-6 The defence offered for Τυδείδew and Ἀτρείδew is against the weight of evidence and altogether fails to convince. The truth is however the lines cannot be condemned as late epic simply because of these forms, unless we can be fairly certain that they are not modernised forms. That they are so I strongly maintain, not for Ἀτρείδα' ὄπος, as Dr. Leaf thinks possible, relying upon a mistaken idea of Knös's that Ἰόπα has lost the *ϕ*, and for Τυδείδew Διομήδει (van Leeuwen), but for Τυδείδew δαίφρονος and Ἀτρείδew ὄπ' ἔκλυον (cf. μ 52 etc.) respectively.

Π 750 Neither the old absurdity 'with gall' nor 'for anger' has the slightest chance

of being right. The only possible meaning of χόλω is 'in angry mood,' i. q. χολουμένη.

Π 228 There is no need here to call in the doubtful aid of ictus-lengthening. Πα gives position as in χ 327. In X 307 τό οἱ ὑπὸ λαπάρην we should read similarly τό ῥά *ϕ* ὑπὸ λαπάρην.

Π 507 Dr. Leaf underrates the capacity of the early critics for blundering, when he says that ἐπεὶ λίπον ἄρμα ἄνακτες could hardly have been corrupted. They naturally thought the poet had not stated the case properly, and mended matters by making the horses quit the chariot, so facilitating their running away.

Π 586 Σθέμελον is useless. Read φίλον *νι*' Ἰθαμίνεος Σθενέλαον.

Π 5 I quite agree that the expansion of πρωτοτόκος in οὐ πρὶν—τόκοιο is, as the editor says, thoroughly Homeric; but the position of κινυρή between the adjective and its exegesis is by no means so satisfactory. It is not tolerable. The true reading clearly is:—

πρωτοτόκος, κινυροῦ οὐ πρὶν γε ἰδυῖα τόκοιο
(i. e. κινυροῦ).

τόκος here could hardly have a better epithet than 'whining,' οἰκτρόφωτος διὰ τὸ πολὺ τῶν ὠδίνων, to vary Eustathius's explanation. The rhythm is of course perfectly legitimate, and all ideas as to the lateness of the whole passage, so far as they depend upon the line may be dismissed.

Π 144 σωσῆς. Aristarchus and A are after all unquestionably right with σωσῆς, which is the only possible archaic form of the aor. subj. misrepresented in the tradition by σωσῆς. No question as to the admissibility of the fut. indic. arises here.

Π 610 Bentley's γ' Ἰδομενῆος has every probability in its favour. The appearance of the name Meriones, as a false gloss or even a mere query on Ἰδομενῆος ὁπάονά θ' ἠνίοχόν τε amply accounts for the presence of the name in the tradition. The story is only involved through this accident, and the long note here, as well as the next one on l. 612, is the result. In any other text than Homer's, in which confusion is apparently not unwelcome to the critics, Μηριόναο would have been abandoned long ago. It involves the foolish hiatus licitus as well.

Π 623 The note is intended for l. 627.

Π 736 Surely it is gratuitous to suppose there is any metaphor here of ropes being pulled either for tug-of-war or marionette-work.

Π 759 'Shouting in full cry' (ὄλον) is probably the meaning.

Σ 25 νεκταρέω, probably a sort of popular simplification of νηγατέω (B 43).

Σ 230 The line is certainly spurious. ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν goes much better with κικήθησαν. The interpolator possibly meant καὶ τότε to refer to the parallel phenomenal occurrence of Π 785 τρις δ' ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφνε just previous to the death of Patroclus.

Σ 446 The conjecture ἔσθιεν (Blass) is entitled to acceptance. The corruption of it to ἐφθιεν is so easy and so temptingly reasonable to the post-Epic mind.

Σ 460 The correct reading is almost certainly ἄ δέ F' ἦεν.

T 43-4 Surely the idea that these lines are not to be suspected because of 'the predominant interest in questions of feeding shown in this book' is not serious.

T 200 ὀφέλλετε here is imperfect not present. Hence it is apparent that γένηται (201) and the un-Epic ἦσιν have displaced γένοιτο and εἶη.

T 227 'Toilsome fasting' is an odd expression. 'Painful' would seem to be meant.

T 326 The position of μοι is not necessarily wrong here. It depends on whether there is any intention to emphasise Σκίρω.

T 411 βραδυτήτι τε ναχελίη τε. Possibly ἀνωφελίη is the true word. Grave doubt rests on ναχελίη.

Υ 77 The suggestion τοῦ γάρ ἐ μάλιστά γε (Leaf) is certainly right. Aristarchus places the pronoun in the wrong position.

Υ 155 Zeus apparently wants to see some fun. The ordinary translation is infinitely preferable to the dogmatic flatness of the version recommended.

Υ 164 A long simile 'the most finished, as it is certainly one of the finest in Homer' belongs to a late 'separate poem'! I suggest that it should be shuffled or smuggled into the 'Menis.'

Υ 247 ἄροιτο read ἄγοιτο.

Φ 94-6 I can only say that the condemnation is not justified either by the curious translation of ἐννέα or anything else. The appeal could not well end with l. 93 and the praise of Patroclus shows that the poet understood human nature rather better than his commentators.

Φ 223 I should prefer to think that ὡς σὺ κελεύεις is a pious effort to cloak a diplomatic refusal, ὡς ἔσεται περ, I suggest, which would leave no handle to the dissectors.

Φ 576 There is quite sufficient emphasis on φθάμενος to account for the position of μν, and at least nine instances of ἦ shortened are to be found in the *Odyssey*. The

difficulty would be to produce proof that ἦ can be long in thesis before a vowel.

Φ 611 σώωσαν seems to me impossible. The desire to introduce the plural needlessly must be responsible for its appearance. For σώωσαι cf. B 188, M 268, K 307, Ξ 92, O 731, 743, P 640, S, Ψ 749, α 229, ι 94, ο 359, π 386.

X 15 Clearly the emendations mentioned are both inadmissible: Bentley's, because he overrates the power of F, the other, because the pronoun is misplaced. βλάψας μ' ὦ ἐκάεργε is a simple remedy, or with more self-assertion βλάψας ἐμ'.

X 322 For καὶ read κατ', i.e. κάτεχε. This with van L.'s transposition gives a satisfactory line.

X 331 I suggest that ἀτάρ is a corruption of ἀφαρ (v. Crit. Appar.), with what Dr. Leaf calls its asseverative force.

Ψ 151 Hardly 'to go its way'; but, 'for Patroclus to take with him.' How indeed could hair 'go its way'? ἐν χερσὶ κόμην—θῆκεν.

Ψ 320-5 The notes, though improved, still fail to elucidate this passage. L. 320 is rendered 'Carelessly wheels wide to right and left, i.e. in making the turn he pulls his horses first one way and then the other.' This might describe the movement of a drunken man negotiating a lamp-post, but is little less than a physical impossibility for the driver of a racing chariot. He could make a close turn or a wide turn; but he could not alternate and make the turn in a wavy or zigzag line. And supposing the feat were possible, what is this but 'swerving'? Yet I read 'There is no use of the word (ἐλίσσειν), which would justify the translation "swerve".' I must acknowledge that Dr. Leaf has accepted my view of ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα; but the acceptance is so expressed (ἀφραδέως, I am sure) that one would suppose I had recommended 'at both ends of the course' instead of vice versa.

On ἀνὰ δρόμον it is very half-hearted to say 'the words may include the turn as well as the straight,' when the view he takes requires that the words should apply to the turn only and not to the straight at all. But I have dealt with the whole passage in the *Journal of Philology*, xxv. 316 f. even to the only real difficulty, στρέφει ἐγγύθεν, with which Dr. Leaf should compare Σ 546 τοὶ δὲ στρέψασκον ἀν' ὄμους. 'They drove backwards and forwards,' also P 699 where this is better than 'was wheeling round.'

Ψ 639 The true reading is probably

ἀγασσάμενω. As applied to the spectators the phrase has some force, as applied to the sons of Aetor it is quite needless.

Ω 349 παρέξ ἔλασαν Ἴλιω will perhaps serve.

Ω 687 The editor does not seem to see that the real and indeed the only objection to τοι (enclitic) is its position and the objection is fatal. If he will not have τοί as a relative pronoun, sub. εἰσί, the only

alternative is to read σοί which is without authority and much too emphatic. So again in l. 688 γνώη σ' should be γνώησ'. The object required is not σε, but 'that you are sleeping here.'

Ω 757 Why not admit νῦν δέ μ' ἐερσήεις as in l. 419? At any rate a certainty like this deserves to be at least mentioned in a note.

T. L. AGAR.

SPRATT'S THUCYDIDES VI.

Thucydides, Book VI. Edited with Introduction and Notes by A. W. SPRATT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: The University Press. 1905. Pp. xlv + 407. 6s.

MR. SPRATT has followed up his valuable *Thucydides, Book III.* with a companion edition of Book VI., in which while keeping the younger student in view he has aimed at satisfying more advanced requirements, and at presenting a full treatment of the difficulties of the author. It is hardly necessary to say that the book shows the hand of a ripe scholar, fully equipped for his task; like its predecessor it will take an important place in Thucydidean criticism.

The introduction contains a sketch of early Sicilian history, for which the writer acknowledges special obligations to Freeman and Holm; the references to the original sources are commendably full. There is also a most useful essay on the order of words, which we may hope to see transferred in time to its proper place in Volume I. of a complete edition of the author.

The text is on the whole conservative; but the critical notes give a good deal of space to conjectural emendations, as well as recording all MS. variants of importance. In particular, Mr. Spratt is no enemy of εἰφρων τομή, though protesting on occasion that 'excessit medicina modum'; he mentions with respect a good many excisions of Herwerden and others, and in some of his own suggestions recognises the 'adscript' theory. The following are among his original contributions, all of which are modestly confined to the notes: 1. 2 ἡπειρος οὔσα (text ἡπειροῦσθαι) ? ἡπειρωσθαι. 31. 5 ? δημοσία. 38 2 ἐν τῷ παθεῖν ὤμεν 'a construction

unique in Th.' ? πάθει. 41. 3 τοῦ τε MSS. τοῦτο Edd. ? τοῦτό γε. 51. 1 ? [κακῶς]. 53. 2 χρησιμώτερον ἡγούμενοι [εἶναι] ? dittography. (From his parallels 33. 2, 89. 3, Mr. Spratt appears to take χρησιμώτερον as an adverb with the infinitives: but this is surely unlikely, owing to the change of subject, βασανίσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ εὔρεῖν, ἢ . . . τινὰ . . . διαφυγέειν.) 54. 5 ? <ῶσα> ἐς τὰ ἱερά ἔθνον. 59. 3 Ἀθηναῖος ὠν Λαμψακηνῶ ? <όντι>, cf. 44. 3 Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Χαλκιδεῦσιν οὔσιν, but there 'οὔσιν may be due to confusion with -εῦσιν or to an adscript' (for the credit of our author we devoutly hope it is). 61. 1 καὶ <τὰ> τῆς ξυνωμοσίας (a very neat remedy). 69. 3 ξυγκαταστρεψάμενος ῥᾶόν τις ὑπακούσεται (introduced into the text, but apparently by mistake, for the note omits to state that the MSS. give ῥᾶον αὐτοῖς). Mr. Spratt also suggests ῥᾶον οὕτως. 70. 1 δοκεῖν, ? ἐδόκει (introducing a break in the construction which certainly improves the sense). 87. 4 ? μὴ ἂν ἀδεεῖς εἶναι, 'excising κινδυνεύειν as merely glossing ἂν potential.' 89. 6 ? om. ἂν after οὐδενός with B (or alter it to δῆ), and read with Hude κἂν λουδορήσαιμι, translating 'aye, I myself better than any (sc. ἐγίγνωσκον), and so far could abuse it more than others.' 94. 2 'did Th. write δηώσαντές τε or is ἐδήουν a misreading for ἐλήζον?' 99. 2 ? ἐκείνους δ' αὖ.—At 74. 2 Mr. Spratt approves Puygers' ὄρια for the meaningless Θράκας, but omits the word ὄρια, apparently by an oversight, in his text. The suggestion of uncial confusion, ΟΠΙΑΚΑΙ-ΘΠΑΙΚΑΣ, should be assigned to Puygers, not Marchant; and the alternative conjecture χάρακας, which Mr. Spratt makes independently, is attributed by Stahl to F. Portus.—At 88. 1 the text gives πλὴν καθ' ὅσον [εἶ], but the commentary successfully defends εἶ, translating 'except in so far as they possibly believed.'

The commentary, comfortably spaced, fills two and a half times as many pages as the text with critical notes below, but it is by no means longer than is necessary. The editor has had access to brief notes taken at lectures delivered by Shilleto, and also makes full use of the notes in *J. Phil.* xxiv. by Mr. Heitland. There are adequate notes on points of history,—e.g. at c. 8 the brief but graphic biographies of the three generals are models of what such aids to the junior student should be. But the greater part of the space is given to interpretation, and here Mr. Spratt is at his best. Nothing is passed over, and the nicest scholarship is displayed on every page. Particular care is given to elucidating the logical connexion of clauses. The views of other scholars receive full consideration, but the editor has much of his own to contribute. He is not unduly tolerant; e.g. he more than once dismisses with refreshing severity the non-parallel parallels which in the editions of Classen and Stahl diminish one's admiration for the learning of those scholars. But it must be said that there is occasionally some lack of clearness in Mr. Spratt's presentation of alternative renderings. Either prominence is given to a version which afterwards the editor appears to reject, as at 23. 3 (where by the way neither defence offered for *ἐκπλεῖν* . . . *ἐκπλεῦσαι* can be called convincing); or else no definite decision is pronounced: e.g. 2. 4 *κατιόντος τοῦ ἀνέμου* cannot mean *both* 'with the wind off shore' and 'when the wind set down the strait'; and again, on 46. 2 *καὶ ἀλογώτερα* Mr. Spratt gives the versions of four previous editors and adds that of Shilleto, 'the non-expectation of his two colleagues was greater even than Nicias' expectation'; but we are left not quite certain whether he accepts the last rendering. An attitude of suspense no doubt often represents the true state of the question; there are many points in the interpretation as in the text of Thucydides, where it is and perhaps will always be impossible to attain certainty. But at such places the reader desires at all events a definite 'non liquet.'

Attention may be called to a few other passages.

6. 2 *Ἐγεσταίων* [τε] text, but τε is defended in the note as due to a change as the sentence proceeds, the form at first projected being *Ἐγεσταίων τε πρόσβεις καὶ οἱ Σελινούντιοι κατείργοντες*. In the same note 'Selinuntines' should be 'Egesteans.'

11. 2 *ὡς γε νῦν ἔχουσι*. Mr. Spratt well explains as 'as matters now stand,' or 'to

judge from their present attitude,' the clause qualifying *δοκοῦσι* and being assimilated to its personal construction.

13. 1 *παρακλειστούς* is explained after Shilleto as derived from the middle, and active in meaning, 'to raise a party cry in behalf of this same person.' On *ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ παθοῖεν* Mr. Spratt notes '*ἰ.ε. οἱ νεώτεροι*, "as would be their impulse," *ἰ.ε. their* "natural" impulse, the *νέος* being emotional.' But surely the clause refers to the *πρεσβύτεροι* whom Nicias addresses, and is rightly explained by Stahl, 'quod non per Alcibiadis amicos sed ipsi (sua sponte) facile videntur pati, was ihnen von selbst widerfahren könnte.'

31. 3 *τοῖς θρανίταις* 'had the hardest work and the most dangerous post, if indeed we can accept as workable the latest theory of the trireme.' This is not a very useful form of note. The diligent reader may unearth in Appendix A, not a summary of any theory of the trireme, but references to three articles on ancient ships, only one of which he is likely to have at hand.

33. 2 *ὠρηγνται . . . πρόφασιν μὲν Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμαχία καὶ Λεοντίνων κατοικίσει*: on the last word Mr. Spratt notes 'dat. of motive, *ἰ.ε. "with a view to"* = *ἕνεκα* with gen.: cf. iii. 82. 4.' The reference I believe should be to iii. 82. 1, but that passage is too irregular and uncertain to establish the usage; and though it is accepted by Kuehner-Gerth II. i. p. 439 and other grammars, I have seen no real parallel from other authors (e.g. in Hdt. 1. 87 *ταῦτ' ἔπρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαμονίῃ τῇ δ' ἔμωυστοῦ κακοδαμονίῃ* the dat. denotes accompanying circumstances, not purpose). An exact parallel is Th. i. 123. 1 *Ἑλλάδος . . . ἔναγωνιουμένης τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ ὠφελία*. There *ὠφελία* and *ἕρε κατοικίσει* stand for 'because of <the idea of, a desire for> profit, restoration,' (cf. *κέρδος* 'love of gain,' etc.), the stretch of meaning being led up to by the simpler causal datives *φόβῳ* and *ξυμμαχία*. No doubt *ὠφελία* and *κατοικίσει* virtually denote purpose, but they hardly warrant a 'dat. of motive' or 'purpose' as a regular label.

51. 1 *ἔσελθόντες ἡγόραζον [ἐς τὴν πόλιν]*: here again the notes desert the text, defending *ἀγοράζειν* ἐς as a pregnant construction 'once within it (the gate) they strolled into the city.' Surely *ἐς τὴν πόλιν* is an adscript if there ever was one. It has occurred to me that *ἡγοράζον* might mean 'began to purchase supplies,' cf. *ἀγορὰν παρείχον* 44. 3, also 44. 2, 50. 1: *τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν τετραμμένων* above need not include the entire population.

61. 7 *ἐκείνου* = *αὐτοῦ* in the same sentence : add ref. to 6. 2.

80. 3 'The words *εἰ μὴ πείσομεν* are purely parenthetical and affect *μαρτυρόμεθα* only.' There is something to be said for taking the clause as protasis to *ἐπιβουλευόμεθα μὲν . . . προδιδόμεθα δέ*, or rather in sense to *προδιδόμεθα* only. Mr. Marchant considers this view but inclines against it. Cf. however 86. 1 *οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ προσειόντες φόβον ἢ, εἰ περιοφόμεθα . . ., ὅτι . . . κινδυνεύσομεν.*

82. 2 *μὲν οὖν* 'continuative.' No doubt *οὖν* is continuative, but *μὲν* surely looks forward to *ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως*, see Marchant.

89. 5 and 92. 3 A hint might be given of

the political connotation of *πονηρός, πονηρία*, cf. viii. 47. 2.

Appendices deal with the evidence for the average speed of Greek vessels (in the first paragraph 7000 stades and 6000 should be 700 and 600); with alleged cases of a participle in lieu of an infinitive (in 3 if not 4 out of 6 in Th. the anomaly vanishes when the connexion of words is understood); and with half-a-dozen other points of history or criticism. The indices follow the inconvenient custom of referring to text and notes only, and not to introduction or appendices.

H. RACKHAM.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Index Isocrateus. By SIGMUNDUS PREUSS. Pp. 112. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1904. M. 8.

A great gap has been filled at last. After Demosthenes there is perhaps no Attic orator who calls more than Isocrates for a complete verbal index. Now that it has come, it turns out, I am glad to say, to be much more than the bare index of references that Preuss himself compiled for Demosthenes and Holmes for Lysias, invaluable as those are. It is something between an index and a lexicon. Taking for instance at random the word *θανυμάζω*, one finds a complete enumeration of its occurrences in Isocrates, classified thus: (1) abs.: (2) with acc. of thing: (3) of person: (4) with *εἰ, ἄν, ὅτι*, etc., sometimes with gen. or acc. of person added: (5) with *ὄσοι*: (6) with part.: (7) with *διά* and acc.

A few words are altogether omitted (*αὐτός, δέ, ἐκεῖνος, καί, μὲν, ὃ ἢ τό, ὅς, οὗτος*), while *εἰμί* and *οὐ* are treated only imperfectly. As to the former class, it should be remembered that the articles on other words tell us most, if not all, of what we want to know about such combinations as *καὶ μὴν, καί-γε*, etc. In any case there are not the glaring omissions that render so defective some older and otherwise excellent books, e.g. Bétant's lexicon to Thucydides, which entirely ignores such words as prepositions and particles.

With the aid of this volume it will now be possible to say for certain what words do and—perhaps more important—what do not occur in the extant works, and to what extent as well as in what ways any word

is used. We know for instance now that, like Demosthenes, Isocrates never uses *τέκνον* or *ὄμμα*, but that, unlike Demosthenes, he does not object to *κρίζω*: that *σύν* occurs perhaps once, *λίγω* once, *ἄτε* not at all, and so on. Of course we have only the extant works to go by, but uses and abstentions in them are often very significant.

Those who have had occasion to consult the author's index to Demosthenes will not feel much doubt as to the trustworthiness of the present volume, though of course time and use are needed to confirm this expectation. In the case of one word only that I have looked up have I been disappointed. The article on *λέγω* does not, I think, show as it should whether Isocrates makes any use of the aorist *ἔλεξα* and one or two other forms of tenses which the purer atticcists were chary of employing.

H. RICHARDS.

The Tragedies of Sophocles. Translated into English prose by SIR RICHARD C. JEBB, Litt.D., Regius Professor of Greek and Fellow of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: The University Press, 1904. Pp. iv+376. 5s. net.

COMMENDATION of Sir Richard Jebb's translation of Sophocles is at this date altogether superfluous. *εἶρεν στεφάνου*ς *εὐλαφρόν*, and the reviewer has an easy task in recording with befitting acknowledgements that the separate issue of the text, noticed in *C.R.*

vol. xii. pp. 408 *sqq.*, has now been supplemented by a separate issue of the version. To many readers, especially to those of limited knowledge or leisure, the convenience of two such companion volumes is very great, and their wants are further considered in the useful introductions which put the reader in possession of the facts which he must know in order to follow with facility the course of the several plays. In a new edition perhaps an index of proper names might be added. It would take little trouble to compile and to the lay reader it would be a real help.

Five Odes of Pindar. Rendered into English by W. R. PATON, Ph.D. Aberdeen: the University Press, Limited, 1904. Pp. 43. [The Five Odes are Pythians I.-IV. IX. Copies may be obtained from Messrs. Burnett and Reid, 12 Golden Square, Aberdeen. Price 2s. 6d.]

‘PINDARVM quisquis studet aemulari—’ But Dr. Paton in his rôle of Icarus avoids at least one danger: he does not fly too near the sun. Some of the perils of the ‘verter’, to give a fresh application to the name, he daringly avoids. It takes much insight and no little courage to render Ζεὺς by ‘God’ (*Pyth.* i. 6).

Thou dost quench the bolt eternal by the throne of God
Lying ready, and! His eagle on the sceptre perched
doth nod

And slow relax and fold his vast extended wings.

and δαιμόνων by ‘angels’ (*ib.* 12)

And angry angels listening by thy notes are won.

But of these and other challenges to the letter in the cause of the spirit it may be said that the achievement justifies the means. Dr. Paton’s deviations are not however always quite so easy to defend, *e.g.* in the rendering of iv. 103

The strange man in the face
Looked him, and answered back with courtly grace:
‘Firstly, I am the child of Chiron sage,
For from the cave and his high tutelage

Where milk of his stern daughters twain apace
Tall Philyra and Chariclo—
Did nourish me to grow.

where the Greek is ἀτροθε γὰρ νέομαι | πὰρ Χαρικλοῦς καὶ Φιλύρας ἵνα Κενταύρον με κοῦραι θρέψαν ἀγαί. Chariclo and Philyra were however the mother and wife of Chiron and τρέφειν is no synonym of θηλάζειν. The force of ἀγαί is lost, for a touch of ‘Caledonia stern and wild.’ Jason is indignantly scouting the imputation of a base and doubtful parentage which Pelias had levelled

at him in 98. ‘I was brought up,’ he says, ‘in the bosom of an honest family, the foster brother of chaste and modest maidens.’

In a notice of so small a book both criticism and quotation must have strict limits assigned them. So I will end with a stanza from the first Pythian, which will give a fairer notion of Dr. Paton’s powers than much description.

And through his heart is driven the cloud-capped
pillar strong,
Etna, to whose bosom cold the snow clings all the
summer long.

But from her holy burning core
The springs of fire inviolate outpour.

Slowly the dale descending
The lurid smoke foresending
Until the daylight’s ending

The molten river winds down to the shore.
But with the night, the flame, in red career
Thundering, doth bear the boulders down into
the deep

And Hephaestus’ dragon spouteth his fire-fountains
waked from sleep,

A fearful thing to see, a wondrous tale to hear.

It may assure the reader that here is a foretaste of Pindaric renderings that he should take up with eagerness and lay down with regret.

The Works of Horace. The Latin text with Conington’s Translation. Pp. iv + 312. London: Geo. Bell & Sons. 1905. 5s. net.

In this legible, light and well bound little volume Horace is truly a pocket classic. The text is the ‘Corpus’ one of Dr. Gow, accommodated here and there to that translated by Conington. The lines are not numbered and the pieces are partially expurgated. These features are scarcely improvements on the ordinary practice. Expurgation is out of place in an edition not intended for schoolboys; but if adopted it should be complete and the Latin throughout made to square with the translation. So if *e.g.* *Odes* i. 21 and *Satires* i. 2, and 8 are given, though left untranslated by Conington, we might as well have the rest entire together with the Epodes which are omitted in toto.

A Primer of Phonetics. By HENRY SWEET, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 119. 3s. 6d.

THE recently re-awakened interest in Latin Pronunciation may not unseasonably be directed to the revised edition of this Primer by the Oxford Reader in Phonetics. That those who desire to inform themselves or

others upon the pronunciation of any language living or dead should be acquainted with the rudiments of phonetics is now regarded (and disregarded) as a truism. And Dr. Sweet did well to include in his book accounts, with specimens, of the pronunciation of Latin and Greek. These accounts are from want of space thrown into a dogmatic form for which the author apologises; and this dogmatism is sometimes, as in the case of Gr. ξ and σσ, without solid foundation. Dr. Sweet has, in fact, tried to reconcile two aims which are ultimately incompatible — a rigidly scientific determination and a convenient working rule. His words in the preface show this clearly enough. 'As I consider it quite hopeless to attempt to restore the intonation of any dead language, I have simply put stress-marks for the Latin and Greek tones.' It should not be captious to observe that a more strictly scientific procedure would be to use neither stress-marks nor tone-marks, but some *tertium quid*. The stress-mark is anyhow incorrect and misleading.¹ The ancient classical pronunciations may be outlined with certainty: for such a sketch the points still in dispute are few and unimportant. But if it is sought to go beyond the region of approximations, to define for example which of several slight but distinct modifications in the articulation of a given vowel or consonant was the one employed by the ancients, the attempt is foredoomed to failure. Dr. Sweet of course sees this clearly. And his account of the vowels in Latin and Greek is based on the original Bell-Sweet scheme of thirty-six vowels as given in his first edition, not on the expanded one of seventy-two which stands in his second. On the value of this, a standard book, for the inquirer who desires to comprehend in detail the articulations of his own and other living tongues, it is unnecessary to dwell. Anyone who has mastered it will be able to deal firmly with the problems involved in the settlement of the ancient pronunciations and to appreciate and to correct Dr. Sweet's dicta upon the ancient sounds.

Cerberus, the Dog of Hades: the History of an Idea. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. Chicago: the Open Court Publishing Company; London: Kegan Paul, Trench,

¹ For the Greek accent I may now refer to my observations in the *Classical Review* for October, pp. 364 *sqq.*, where the ancient statements on its varieties were shown to tally exactly with the details of Dr. Sweet's classification.

Trübner and Co. 1905. Pp. 41. With Frontispiece. 2s. 6d. net.

THE distinguished Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Johns Hopkins University would 'draw the attention of those scholars, writers and publicists who have declared bankruptcy against the methods and results of Comparative Mythology to the present attempt to establish an Indo-European naturalistic myth.' Speaking for myself I agree with Professor Bloomfield that the 'slump' in this mode of explaining myths has gone too far; and I gladly take the opportunity of putting his theory of the origin of a legend that has always interested me before the readers of the *Classical Review*. The dog of Hades is properly double or two-headed. His dual personality he owes to his descent from the two dogs of Yama known from the Veda, the sun-dog *Çabala* (the 'spotted') and the moon-dog *Çyāma* or *Çyāva* (the 'black'). The two hell-hounds were developed 'from dual sun and moon coursing across the sky,' the link in the conception being that 'the dead journeying upward to heaven' would be 'interfered with by a coursing heavenly body, the sun or moon, or both.' These two dogs of Yama belong to the province of Indian mythology, and we can only say here that Professor Bloomfield produces a good deal of evidence for his contention (pp. 12 *sqq.*). Of a Greek Cerberus with two heads there are, it is true, some traces in the remains of ancient art; but the prevailing Greek conception was that of a triple monster. Nor does Professor Bloomfield offer, or seemingly feel bound to offer, any explanation of the change from two to three, nor again does he refer, except in the most cursory way, to an essential feature of the Cerberus concept, its snaky character as evinced by the serpent's heads, which in art and literature alike rose from the dog's necks and back. I have dealt with both these points in the preface to the English edition of Bréal's *Sémantique*, pp. xvii-xxiv. On pp. 33, 34 Professor Bloomfield puts in a plea for the old identification of *Çabala* and *Κέρβερος*. Where the import of two names is clearly identical, it would seem allowable to attribute some discrepancy in the form to an imperfection in the linguistic record. But to invite comparative mythologists to disregard 'a slight phonetic difficulty' is to invite cavalry into the plain. This attitude of Professor Bloomfield may do harm.

J. P. P.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

LYCAONIAN AND PHRYGIAN
NOTES.*(Continued from p. 370.)*III.—KABALLA AND THE CASTLE OF
DAKALIAS.

In my paper *Lykaonia*, in *Oest. Jahresh.* 1904, p. 120, it is shown that Ibn Khor-dadbeh mixes up in one route leading from Iconium to Constantinople at least two, probably three, different roads, leading northwards and westwards from Iconium. One of these roads begins with Wady Dhimâry and the Fortress of Dakalias. I argued that this must be the road direct by Tchigil to Philomelium; and as I had assigned Tchigil as the site of the castle of Kaballa, I suggested that the Arab Dakalias was the Byzantine Kaballa. After that paper was written, we climbed the steep conical peak called by the Turks Takali Dagħ, and by the Greeks, the Hill of St. Philip: it lies about seven or eight miles N.W. of Konia overhanging the road to Tchigil. On the summit (1900 ft. above Konia, 5300 ft. above sea-level) is a strong Byzantine castle (which Hamilton, the prince of travellers in Anatolia, as I have often called him, visited, though I had not observed this, fancying for a time that we had made a discovery). Evidently the Takali of the Turks is the Dakalias of the Arab Geographer. As to Kaballa, either it must be distinguished from Dakalias and supposed to be at Tchigil (as I have placed it) or it must be identified with Dakalias and Takali. The latter is perhaps more probable. At all events the identification with the poor modern village Kavak (suggested by Dr. Sarre and approved by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson) cannot be sustained.

Wady Dhimâry presumably is the narrow glen leading from Konia to the modern village Serai on the lower flanks of Takali Dagħ.

IV.—COLONIA ICONIENSIMUM.

I have more than once pointed out the error into which Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* p. 364, has fallen, when he says that Iconium was made a Colonia by the Emperor Claudius, and named Claudia. The evidence is so conclusive against this view, that it seemed unnecessary to do more than point

out its erroneousess. Yet the error is repeated not merely by older writers like M. Perrot in his *de Galatia Prov. Rom.* p. 144, but also quite recently by Prof. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclop.* iv. 551, and by several editors of the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians; and Prof. Zahn in his valuable *Kommentar* on Galatians published last year, p. 13, has devoted some space to championing the mistake and controverting my too brief statement. It is therefore necessary to discuss the point more fully.

Professor Zahn apparently trusts most to the argument from authority: what Marquardt and Kornemann say may be accepted as correct, until refuted by better arguments than I have brought forward. Numismatists, however, agree with me, and regard it as self-evident that Colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Iconiensis was founded by Hadrian. If I refrained from collecting reasons, it was through a desire for brevity: the amount of time that may be spent in discussing such points, where the evidence is conclusive, and only insufficient study permits doubt, is positively appalling. Every little detail about the unfortunate Provincia Galatia has been contested during the last ten or twelve years with the tenacity of despair. Many statements which seemed too plain to need reasons have been controverted until it was unavoidable to prove them elaborately.

The facts are as follows:

(a) Like Laodiceia and Derbe in the same region, Iconium was honoured with a new name Claudiconium by Claudius: this meant that they were still Hellenic cities with Boule and Demos, not Roman Colonies. The event took place in the early part of Claudius's reign, for all the known coins struck under Claudius use the name Claudiconium. It probably implied admission to a higher class of rights; but on this no evidence exists. The very name Claudiconium is out of keeping with colonial nomenclature, and marks a Greek city: so Claudiopropolis, a Greek city, was afterwards made by Domitian a Colonia.

(b) In the beginning of Nero's reign the Claudiconian Demos honoured a Procurator by a Greek inscription (*C.I.G.* 3991). Had Iconium been a Colony, the inscription would have been in Latin, and expressed in the name of the Colonia, not of the Demos

(cp. Sterrett *Wolfe Expedition* no. 352, *C.I.L.* iii. 6786). This inscription is a conclusive proof that Claudiconium was not a Colonia under Nero. Yet it is quoted by Zahn and Marquardt as a proof that Claudiconium was a Colonia.

(c) All the coins of Claudiconium struck under Claudius and later Emperors to Hadrian, *c. A.D.* 130, are Greek city coins. The earliest colonial coins known are some rare coins struck at the end of Hadrian's reign: then under Pius and later Emperors the colonial coins continue: all are expressed in Latin. The public inscriptions of Iconium were expressed in Latin from the foundation of the Colonia about 130: previously they were in Greek, except in rare examples under Augustus when the Romanizing spirit was strong.

(d) When Claudiconium became a Colonia it disused the epithet and returned to the simple name Iconium. No colonial coin bears the name Claudiconium: all give the name Colonia Iconiensium. Inscriptions agree in following this rule, with the rarest exceptions. I know only one inscription in which the Colonia is called Claudiconium (published by Mr. Cronin in *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 123); and it is a dedication by a private citizen, not a State document. The name Claudia Iconium (implying Colonia) is never used, except by Marquardt and those who borrow it from him: it is a modern invention.

(e) The final proof is contained in an inscription discovered this year: one of my Iconian servants sent me a copy of it last January, and I copied it in May from the stone. The German Consul in Konia also copied it and sent an impression (which I helped him to make) to Dr. Wiegand in Constantinople. As Dr. Wiegand will publish it with a proper commentary, I shall here merely give the transcription to illustrate the point now under discussion, leaving to him the task of illustrating the many points of interest, which it presents.

G.(R. 1905.) M(arco) Ulpio Pomponio Superst[iti], principi Col(oniae) n(ostrae), M(arci) Ulp(i) Pomp(oni) Valentis sac(erdotis) Aug(usti) fac(ti) filio, sac(erdoti) Aug(usti) fact(o), Duumvir(o) primo Col(oniae), Irenarch(ae), Sebastophant(ae) [munific]entissimo or [civi pi]entissimo or —

We have here an inscription either on the grave or the pedestal of a statue of the first Duumvir of the Colonia. The date of the inscription is fixed by the names. The Duumvir and his father are both named after the Emperor Trajan; and therefore

we are carried down to a time well on in the second century. Probably the father received Roman citizenship under Trajan, and took his praenomen and nomen accordingly;¹ but the names would be hereditary in the family, and even M. Ulpius Pomponius Valens might conceivably be the son of an earlier M. Ulpius. At least we are forced down near the end of the reign of Hadrian, before the son of a man named M. Ulpius could be old enough to be appointed Duumvir of a Roman Colonia in the first year of its foundation.

The foundation of Colonia Iconium probably stood in some relation to the institution of a new Province, the Three Eparchiae. On a consideration of the known facts (which have often been collected), the following sketch of events may be regarded as probable, and even approximating to certainty. Hadrian during his eastern journey of 130 A.D. resolved on a reorganization of south-eastern Asia Minor. His plan included the formation of a great Province, known afterwards as the Tres Eparchiae, Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia. The Greek term, which was officially used, shows that he intended to have more respect to native national feeling than the earlier Imperial policy had shown. The great Provinces, Asia and Galatia, had been formed entirely regardless of national unity and the lines of separation between different nations: the intention evidently was to substitute the Roman unity for any other unifying idea; and the nations were deliberately broken up and assigned to separate governments (*e.g.* Phrygia Asiana and Phrygia Galatica, Pontus Galaticus and Pontus Polemoniacus, Lycaonia Galatica and Lycaonia Antiochiana), while diverse nations were conjoined in one Province (Caria, Lydia, Aeolis, Ionia, Mysia, Phrygia in Provincia Asia; Phrygia Galatica, Pontus Galaticus, Lycaonia Galatica, Paphlagonia, with the three tribes of the Galatians, in Provincia Galatia). That policy had broken down; Hadrian became convinced that national distinctions and feelings must be respected; he was not, indeed prepared to re-organize the entire East, but he made some changes in this direction.

This new Province seems to have been created about the end of his reign; and one of the first governors was perhaps P. Pactumeius Clemens, A.D. 138, who was legatus in Cilicia in that year and was made consul suffectus without returning to Rome

¹ He was certainly not a libertus: the cognomina disprove that idea.

or giving up his Province. Perhaps the consulate was bestowed on him concurrently with the attachment of Cilicia to the three Eparchiae, for subsequent governors were regularly of consular rank. While this view still seems highly probable, I am not blind to a difficulty, which I have stated in *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, 1904, Bb. 71, but which appears likely to yield to better knowledge in the future.

The Koinon of the Lycaones was created probably at the same time, in order to foster the national unity. The new Province was not intended to merge the three nations in one. It was professedly and ostensibly a conjoining of three distinct Eparchiae under a single administrative head; but Lycaonian cities were united in a Koinon or provincial association, and began by degrees to strike coins of their own to mark their higher dignity in the Imperial system.¹ The cities of the Koinon were Laranda, Ilistra, Derbe, Barata, Hyde, Savatra, Dalisandos; to these (known by their coins mentioning the Koinon) may be added with comparative certainty Cana or Kanna, and perhaps Vasada; but Perta and the northern cities were probably left to the Province Galatia, along with Laodiceia, Iconium, and Lystra.²

V.—ICONIUM OF PROVINCIA GALATIA.

M. Imhoof-Blumer holds that Iconium, Parlais, and Claudio-Laodiceia were cities of the Lycaonian Koinon: and I must therefore state the reasons which show that Iconium remained a part of Provincia Galatia.³ (1) It is pointed out in my *Histor. Geogr. of As. M.* p. 333 that the Acta S. Eustochii (Acta Sanct. 23 June, p. 402) proves Lystra (and a fortiori Iconium) to have been under the Roman governor of Galatia as late as the time of Diocletian. (2) Further, a glance at a map with the bounds of Provincia Asia marked on it shows that the

¹ Among the cities which boast their participation in the Koinon only Savatra has left coins of the time of Pius; several cities began to coin under Marcus, but some only in the third century (so far as known). Cana (or Kanna) has not left any coins, but was certainly one of the Koinon cities, and probably its coinage may yet be discovered among the *incerta* of Museums or by new purchases.

² Isaura Palaia must have been part of Isauria, as defined about A.D. 130-5.

³ Laodiceia must, of course, go with Iconium, as part of Galatia. Parlais is not so certain: if Ptolemy be right when he puts both Misthia and Vasada in Galatia (the latter might seem doubtful, were it not confirmed by Acta S. Eustochii, see *Histor. Geogr.* p. 333), Parlais also must have been in Galatia. On the position see Pisidia § 18, *Annual Br. Sch. Athens* 1902-3 pp. 261 ff.

district of Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia would be entirely separate from Provincia Galatia, if Iconium were included in the Tres Eparchiae. Now, as is shown in § ix, the district of Antioch and Apollonia belonged to Prov. Galatia throughout the second and third centuries. (3) Finally, an inscription which I copied in 1904 and again, without any variation, in 1905 proves that the Iconian territory belonged to Galatia in A.D. 198. No one who has seen the country thoroughly can doubt that the Iconian territory extended on the N.E. right up to the long ridge of Boz-Dagh, which divided it from Savatra on the N.E. Now at the south end of the pass leading across Boz-Dagh from Iconium to Archelais (Ak-Serai) and Caesareia stands an old Khan called by Prof. Sterrett⁴ Dibi-Delik-Khan, and by my informants Kutu-Delik-Khan. M. Georges Cousin, who visited it in 1898, calls it Djindjirli-Khan; but this is a mistake. I was assured by many informants in 1901, 1904, and 1905, that the name Sindjirli- (or Zendjirli-) is applied to another ruined Khan, two or three hours nearer Konia.⁵ Prof. Sterrett's experience in 1884 agrees with mine. He visited both Khans, and copied inscriptions at Sindjirli. I visited Sindjirli in 1901, and copied inscriptions (one being no. 254 of Sterrett). At Kutu-Delik-Khan I copied the same inscriptions which M. Cousin attributes to Sindjirli-Khan. The Khan lies in the plain, just before the gentle ascent to the pass begins: about 300 yards east of it a poor new Khan was built between 1901 and 1904, called Ak-Bash.

7. (R. 1904, 1905.) This inscription is engraved in rather rude letters⁶; and the Latin forms are sometimes misrepresented. The composer of the epitaph knew Latin

⁴ See his *Epigraphic Journey* pp. 226-7.

⁵ *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Mineure* p. 401 ff. The real Khan Zindjirli (Djindjirli) is the one which M. Cousin passed (p. 403) at 8 p.m., about 4 hrs. after leaving Kutu-Delik-Khan; see Cronin in *J.H.S.* 1902 p. 368. M. Cousin's march from Kutu-Delik to Konia was performed on foot, a remarkable feat of endurance. His times everywhere are slow; probably his hour means usually about 2½ to 3 miles (here 2½ or less). Kutu-Delik-Khan was destroyed in great part between 1898, when M. Cousin saw it, and 1904, when we examined it. His first inscription is now built into the kitchen fire-place at Ak-Bash-Khan and the letters are mostly destroyed. He suggests that here stood the city Amandra; but Amandra was the old name of Iconium itself (according to Malalas p. 36). A village of the Iconian territory stood here: probably Salarama (*J.H.S.* 1902 p. 368; *Expositor* 1905 Oct.).

⁶ It is impossible to render the character of these badly formed letters by types.

badly, and used wrong abbreviations of some names; and the copy which he gave to the engraver was again misrepresented

by the latter, who was accustomed to Greek inscriptions, and knew no Latin. Published unintelligibly by M. Cousin *loc. cit.*

EUEPIUSPE TIN
 UGARABADIBPAR
 THICUSMAXI PONT
 IPEXMAXIM USTRIBU
 5 ICIAPOTESTATISŪI IMP
 ICOSPRPRPROCOSET
 IMPCAEMARAURANTO
 NIAUGCONSPARTHIC
 MAXPE TITUERUMPER
 10 TRABONEMLE
 C UCPRPRMILEMPASS
 ω

[Imp. Caes. L. Septimius]
 S]eve(rus) Pius Pe[r]tin(ax)
 A]ug. Arab. Adiab. Par-
 thicus Maxi., Pont-
 ipex Maximus, Tribu-
 n]icia Potestatis vi, Imp.
 x]r, Cos., P(ate)r P(at)r(iae), Procos., et
 Imp. Caes. Mar. Aur. Anto-
 ni[n]us, Cons., Parthic.
 Max. [r]e[s]titueru[nt] per
 C. Atticium S]trabonem le-
 g. [A]ug. pr(o)pr., mile[a] pass.

The errors in this text are numerous. Some are probably due to the Greek engraver, ignorant of Latin—these are the omission of RUS before PIUS in 1, PEX in 4, omission of E before P in 5, omission of II after COS in 6, A for N in 8, P for R and M for NT in 9,¹ EM for LIA in 11: also the crowding of Milia Passuum into the same line with the title of the governor. But others are due to the ignorance of Latin usage of a badly educated official—the bad contractions in 3 (MAXI), 6 (PRPR), 7 (CAE and MAP), 8 (CONS), the giving of Caracalla the title of Consul in 198 (he was Cos. for the first time in 202) and the omission of TRIB. POT. The title Cons(ul) might be explained by the statement in *Hist. Aug. Sev.* 16, 8, that when he assumed the *toga virilis* in Syria in A.D. 198 and was designated Consul, he at once entered on office: an erroneous impression may have spread as far as Iconium, and there may perhaps have been some foundation for it. The *Fasti* mention his consulship for the first time with his father in 202. But a different explanation is more probable. We notice that Geta is omitted in this inscription, whereas in the numerous Cappadocian *milliaria* of 198, Geta is regularly mentioned. I think that the name of Geta was erased and CONSPARTHICMAX substituted for it.²

The use of the title Parthicus Maximus and Imp. xi. for the Emperor Severus so early as 198, is denied by Professor Cagnat

¹ I verified this point carefully. The text is quite certain. M. Cousin agrees.

² M. Cousin correctly indicates this in his copy, but does not draw the right inference.

Cours d'Épigr. Lat. p. 195, but is proved by many examples in Cappadocia and Galatia Provv.

At the south end of the pass, where this stone was found, there was certainly a village of the Iconian territory. The governor is known from other sources, the most complete being a milestone of Suwerek (Psebila Lycaoniae), copied by my companion Prof. T. Callander in 1904 (and by me in 1905). It proves that C. Atticius Strabo was governor of Galatia; and his name on a milestone in Iconian territory shows that Iconium was in that Province.

The separation of Iconium from Lycaonia was not a violation of Hadrian's desire to respect nationality. On the contrary Iconium was a Phrygian city by race and probably by language (as spoken by the poorer and uneducated people): Xenophon calls it 'the last city of Phrygia,' the writer of the Acts xiv. 6, distinguishes it from Lycaonia, in 163 A.D. Hierax spoke of himself as torn away from Iconium of Phrygia (*Acta Justiniani* 3), Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea Capp., attended a council held at Iconium of Phrygia in 232 A.D., and Pliny mentions Conium among the *oppida celeberrima* of Phrygia.

VI.—ZEUS EURYDAMENOS.

8. (R. 1887.) At Genj-Ali (*i.e.* Youngman Ali, a name often misrepresented by modern travellers as Yenidjé), on the N.W. corner of the Limnai.

Αἴρ. Μενέας Τιμοθέου Ναραζιτηνός
 ἱερεὺς Διὸς Εὐρύδαμνου καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ
 Αἴρ. Τροφίμ[η]
 πρόταυλος Διὸς Οὐρύδαμνου, ζῶτες.

It was usual that the wife of the priest should be the leading female official in the service of the god: a married pair were regularly *archiereus* and *archiereia*: so here Trophime was the leading flute-player. The mention of the flute shows that the god was not the Hellenic Zeus, but a Phrygian deity, an outwardly Grecized form of the great god of this district, Men Askaēnos, on whom see § vii. In form Εὐρύδαμνος looks like a local epithet, Zeus of Eurydama; but more probably this is mere external appearance, and the word is really a compound name, the second part being the name of Men, and the first being some Phrygian word. This compound name is so Grecized as to suggest the meaning 'widely conquering'; but that is only a false appearance.¹ The form Οὐρύδαμνος in l. 3 is probably a real variant, nearer the original Phrygian compound name of Men, and not a mere error of engraver. The name Εὐρυβάλνδος, applied to Dionysos, suits a derivation from εὐρύς, for Βαλῆν in Phrygian meant 'king,' and the Thracians called Dionysos βάλων. See Mr. Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1898 p. 96, where he publishes a fragment of three words mentioning Zeus Eurydamenos. The same deity occurs in § viii, no. 10, and in Sterrett *Wolfe Expedition* no. 589, where ἱερεὺς Διὸς Εὐ[ρύδαμνου] must be restored.

The form ζῶτες is noteworthy.

ΕΠΙΜΑΡΚΟΥΦΙΛΕΙΝΟ
 ΙΕΡΕΟΚΤΙΣΤΟΥΚΑΡΒΟ
 ΚΩΜΗΤΟΥΚΛ./ΚΤΙΣΑΝ
 ΤΑΚΑΙΝΕΙΛΛΟCΠΡΑΓ
 5 ΜΑΤΕΥΤ//CΙΕΡΕΟC ΚΑ
 ΔΗΜΟCΚΑΡΒΟΚΩΜΗ
 ΩΝ

Some part of the verb κτίζω, which I cannot restore, was used at the end of 3. I marked the letters there as being all hopelessly uncertain; and noted that ΛΟC in 4 might equally well be read ΑCΕ.

Karbokome, already known (see § viii), is now proved to be near the N.E. end of the Limnai, and to have formed part of an estate administered by a *πραγματευτής* (a Greek rendering of the Roman term *nego-*

¹ The termination does not permit such a meaning.

Genj-Ali is probably a Turkish modification of the ancient Banboule, revealed by a Christian inscription of Tymandos (Sterrett *Wolfe Exp.* no. 564, recopied by me in 1905): my copy gives the first line complete

Ἄρτέμων Καλλι-
 ων]ος ἐποίησα τὸ κ-
 ομητήριον

In the rest it generally confirms Professor Sterrett. The end is μητρὸς Αἴρ. Κυρίας Μωροδόμνου Βαυβουληνῆς. But, when he quotes his no. 504 to illustrate the other ethnic Ἀ]κενηνοῦ, it must be pointed out that Ἀκενᾶ there is probably a personal not a local name: restore ἐξουσία ἔσπε τόπου Ἀκενᾶ, 'Akenas shall have the privilege of the burial-place.'

I thought that the ethnic here was probably Κενηνοῦ: there seemed no space for a lost Α. The very suspicious name ΚΛΕΛΗΝΟ gap C² may be an engraver's error for ΚΕΝΗΝΟC (St. 375, 17).

VII.—THE IMPERIAL ESTATES ROUND PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

9. (R. 1905.) On a pedestal, 5 ft. 4 in. high, 2 ft. 1½ in. broad, in an old cemetery, north of the road, near the N.E. end of the Limnai (Egerdir and Hoiran double lakes). The letters are worn and hardly legible: O and C and Ε, K and IC, A, Λ and Δ being hardly distinguishable. The reading, though partly doubtful, is certain in the most important points.

ἐπὶ Μάρκου Φιλείνου
 ἱερέου κτίστον Καρβο-
 κωμήτου
 καὶ Νεῖλλου πραγ-
 ματευ[ῆ]ς [γ]ερεῶς κα[ὶ]
 δήμου Καρβοκωμη[τ]-
 ὶων.

tiator or *actor*³), a slave manager of the

² The gap is due to the double column arrangement, which causes several difficulties in interpretation. My reading confirms St. except that I read C for Ε.

³ On the Ormelian estates (called Hadriana), the *πραγματευται* are often mentioned: in *Histor. Geogr.* p. 173 and *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. p. 281, I have given *negotiator* as the proper equivalent. Professor Pelham (footnote *Cit. and Bish. loc. cit.*) and Dr. Schulten *Röm. Mitth.* 1898, p. 225, prefer *actor*. Professor O. Hirschfeld, I think, has approved of *negotiator*, but I cannot find the reference.

financial interests of his master, the owner of the estate. Karbokome, therefore, was a village on the estate of a Roman, and in all probability of the Emperor. Looking at the situation, we cannot doubt that this village was situated on ground which formerly had belonged to the Temple of Men Askaënos at Pisidian Antioch (Strabo p. 577). The priesthood was abolished at the death of Amyntas, by the Roman envoys who were sent to take possession of his whole kingdom, which Augustus made an Imperial province. Augustus seems to have claimed the property of Amyntas as his inheritance: Strabo p. 577, calls it *κληρονομία*, and slaves of Amyntas passed into the Imperial household and were there called *Amyntiani*. Probably the words of Strabo do not mean that there ceased to be a priest of Men at Antioch; but only that he was no longer governor of the vast estates of the god.¹ It is pretty certain that these estates included most of the land from the north coast of the Limnai round to the east coast of lake Karalis (Bey-Sheher-Lake).² Probably even part of the valley of Apollonia, west of the Limnai was included in the god's property; and he was called Zeus Eurydamenos, § vi. Tymandos or Talbonda was granted the rights of a city by some Emperor about 300-400 B.C. (*C.I.L.* iii. 6866): previously it had been only part of the Imperial estates.

The Greek kings probably took possession in whole or in part of those great estates,³ and founded Apollonia and Antioch by granting to the settlers whom they planted there some of the god's land. Similarly, in all probability, Augustus gave to his *coloni* at Antiochia and at Parlais (*i.e.* Bey-Sheher⁴) part of the Imperial estates: just as, beyond doubt, he gave to the *coloni* at Olbasa part of the Ormelian temple property, which became also Imperial estates (*Cities and Bish. of Phrygia* i. chapter vii). There was doubtless certain property the income of which was pledged for the support of the temple of Men (on the system called *avitum* or *avitum et patrimonium*⁵) under superintendence of the *Curator Arcae Sanctuariorum*. What remained

¹ See my *Histor. Commentary on Galatians* p. 211.

² See *Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier in the Annual Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902-3 pp. 248 f., 253 f.

³ *Histor. Commentary on Gal.* p. 211, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia* i. pp. 10 f.

⁴ *Annual Br. Sch. Athens* 1902-3, pp. 261 f.

⁵ *C.I.L.* x. 5853, Mommsen *Hermes* xii p. 123: described in my paper on the 'Permanent Attachment of Religious Veneration to Sites in Asia Minor,' in *Proceedings of the Oriental Congress in London* 1892, pp. 390 f.

of the ancient property of the god after deducting the colonial land was the group of estates, revealed in the present inscription and the whole group of inscriptions found on them, which we proceed to describe.

Other traces of the character of this vast region as Imperial estates can be detected. No coins were struck by any city in that huge and fertile region except Apollonia, Antioch and Parlais: only when we go eastward into the mountain territory of the Orondeis, do we find coins of Pappa-Tiberiopolis. The failure of coinage seems inexplicable, except on the supposition that the country was Imperial property, on which no free self-governing city could exist. Again, the term *μισθωτής* has been restored⁶ in an inscription of the district, § viii, and is found in the valley of Oinia (Oinan) across the hills north of Karbokome (Sarre *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 174, no. 7). Such *μισθωταί* were a feature of the administration of the Imperial estates (see Rostowzew *Gesch. d. Staatspacht in d. röm. Kaiserzeit, Philologus Suppl.* ix. pp. 332-510). They were free inhabitants of the district, as a rule. The inscriptions on the Ormelian estates are regularly dated by the *μισθωταί*, as is one of the inscriptions on these Antiochian estates (§ viii: R.I.).

Moreover, three inscriptions on the estates are dedications on behalf of the Emperor and his household, a characteristic class of documents on such estates (see § i and § viii); and the whole series, § viii, is very similar to the inscriptions on the Ormelian estates.

Further, the form of local government by *ἀναγραφείς*⁷ and *βραβευταί* is characteristic of the estates, where the organization was always Anatolian and devoid of the free, self-governing tone of the Greek polis. *βραβευταί* are known as officials who managed the business affairs of a *synodos* or *koinon*, *i.e.* a private society for religious purposes. They seem to have both managed the finance and arranged the festivals of the society. The *Kaisariastai* in an inscription found between Sardis and Cassaba had such *βραβευταί*,⁸ and were probably the population of an Imperial estate, united in a religious society similar to that of the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi*, § viii.

⁶ In *Histor. Geogr.* p. 410 I restored [*πραγματευ-*τοῦ instead of [*μισθω*]τοῦ (which also ought to have given the clue to the Imperial estates), but the former restoration requires a slave or freedman of the Emperor, whereas [*μισθω*]τοῦ suits the name of the free citizen which follows.

⁷ See § viii, opening of R. I.

⁸ Buresch *aus Lydien* pp. 10, 41, 130.

The *Βραβεύται* were sometimes annually appointed. Brabeutai seem to be annual officials of a city or village in an inscription of (probably) Tyanollos in the Hermus valley, and in another from Hierocaesarea in the same valley.¹ It is therefore probable that they were officials who belonged to a non-Hellenic system. They are hardly found in any place where Hellenic institutions are likely to have taken root.

It belonged to the non-Hellenic character of the estates that there was little education among the people, and a marked devotion to the ancient local religion (Zeus Sabazios on the Ormelian estates, Men and Artemis on the Antiochian).

VIII.—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE XENOI
TEKMOREIOI.

On the Antiochian Imperial estates, described in § vii, a series of remarkable

inscriptions have been found, religious dedications to Artemis and the Emperors, with long lists of names and contributions, very similar in character to the group of inscriptions found on the Ormelian estates (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phr.* i. ch. ix.). All are coarsely and rudely engraved, in irregular lines, letters varying in size, spacing irregular, with many errors of the engraver; and composition and grammar also are bad, genitives and nominatives freely used in agreement with one another, etc. The first discovered, also the longest and most important (as being recoverable with practical completeness), was published by me in *J.H.S.* 1883, pp. 23 ff.: it will be quoted in the following notes as R. I.

The following are now added to the series. No. 10 explains the nature of the whole series, and thus reveals to us a new page of Imperial history, unexpected in its character and of wide-reaching importance.

10. (R. 1905.) At Gondane (ancient Γανζαηρός): quoted below as R. III.

- ἐπὶ βραβ]ευ[τῶν
 Συνα]δέ[ω]ς οἰ[κ]οῦντος ἐν
 καὶ Αὔρ. ? Ὀπ]τάτος Ἱμενος Ο[ἰκοκ]ω[μήτου
 Αὔρ. Ἀσκ]ληπιάδης Ἀλεξάνδρου [Θ]υρση[νός
 5 Αὔρ. Θε]όδωρος β' Συναδεὺς οἰκῶν
 ἐν Ἀ]λγυζίοι[ς] δόντος (δηνάρια) ψοέ
 Αὔρ.] Λούκιος Γαίου Σαγουηρός (δην.) ψνα'
 Αὔρ.—]ς Ἐρμοξέου Ὀλμια[α]ρεύς (δην.) ψνα'
 Αὔρ.—]ς Ἀππᾶ Συναδεὺς οἰ[κ]ῶν
 10 ε]ν Ἐσαβο[υ]ρείαις δόντος (δην.) ψνα'
 Αὔρ. Ἰμ]αν Μενέου Πεσκενιάτης (δην.) χμα'
 Αὔρ. Δι]όφαντος Μανίου εἰερεύς Διός
 Εὐρυδ]αμηνοῦ [?] Ροκκηός (δην.) χκέ'
 Αὔρ. Κλαύ]ιδιος Μαξίμου Ἐξαρεύς (δην.) χκέ'
 15 Αὔρ. Δι]οκλῆς Ἀνδρωνος Ὀλμιανός (δην.) χκέ'
 Αὔρ. Καρικ]ῆος Ἀλεξάνδρου Συναδεὺς
 οἰκῶν] ἐν Ἀστιβία δόντος (δην.) χκέ'
 Αὔρ.—]ιλος Εὐνοτος Τωτωιάτης (δην.) φνα'
 Αὔρ.—]ς Δημητρίου Μαρσιανός (δην.) φνα'
 20 Αὔρ.—]ς Οὐάρου Κονδουζιάτης (δην.) φλέ'
 Αὔρ. Μεν]έας Παπᾶ Σεπτουμανεύς (δην.) φλέ'
 Αὔρ. Ἀρτέ]μων Ὀνησίμου Καρβο[κ]ωμήτης (δην.) φλα'
 Αὔρ. Οὐά]λης Μενέου Μανδρηνός (δην.) φλα'
 Αὔρ. Ζωτ]ικὸς Μενέου Πεσκενιάτης (δην.) φλα'
 25 Αὔρ. Ἀρτέ]μων Αὐξάνοντος Κελυνιάτης (δην.) φκέ'
 Αὔρ. Πρι]σκος Μακε[δόν]ος Λαμισηνός (δην.) φκέ' (376 end.)
 Αὔρ. Ἀσκλη]πιάδης β' [Αλγ]ῆ[ι]ζέ[υ]ς (δην.) φίε'
 Αὔρ. —]νδρος Ζω[σάδος] Ἀνδρηνός (δην.) νοέ'
 Αὔρ. Ἐρμη]ῆς Ἱμενος [Πατη]ῆ[ν]ός (δην.) υλα
 30 Αὔρ. —]ς β' Πταγ[ιανός] (δην.) νγ'
 Αὔρ. Ζωπικὸς Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου β' Γορδι[ουκ]ώμης (δην.) τνα'
 Αὔρ. Ἀλεκκᾶς Μενεδῆμ[ου] Κτ[ι]μενηνός (δην.) τνα'

¹ Buresch p. 139, Fontrier in *Sm. Mous.* no. φκζ.

- Αὐρ. Γάιος Μενάνδρ[ον Πε]σκενιάτης
 Αὐρ. Λούκιος Λουκίου Γιζήνδος τεκμορεύσας δῖς (δην.) τα'
 35 Αὐρ. Καρικός Μάρκου Πατηνός (δην.) σπ[α' ?]
 Αὐρ. Τειμόθεος Δη[μη]τρίου Μαρσιανός (δην.) τ[?]φ
 Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Παπίου Ἑμιενιαντηνός χαλκία ΥΥΟ
 Αὐρ. Μήναττος Κερασιανός (δην.) νν'
 Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς Ὀρέστου Κτιμενηνός
 40 Αὐρ. Δημήτριος Ὀνησίμου Κτιμενηνός (δην.) νν'
 Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Πλάτωνος Κεναβορια-
 Αὐρ. Ἀρε[σ]τοκλήσ- της (δην.) να'
 Κανδριανοῦ

2 Part of N follows OI in my copy, but may be a mistake for part of K.
 10 CICAB also possible : OIT or OT all possible.

11. (R. 1886.) At Saghir : ancient Sagoue : quoted below as R. IV.

- [ἐπὶ βραβεντῶν . . . καὶ Αὐρ.]
 Ζωτικο[ῦ] Κωκούτα Συναδέως
 (375, 10) οἰκοῦντο[ς] ἐν Ἑρμοκώμῃ
 Τίτος Φλαο[ῦ]σιος Ἀσκληπιάδης Συναδέως οἰκῶν
 ἐν Δαουκ[ώ]μῃ (δην.) Αὐρ. Μεννε-
 5 as Σωστράτο[υ]
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀρτ[ε]μ Μη-
 τροπολείτο[υ]
 (376, 34) Αὐρ. Ἀππᾶς β' [Δαφυστρέυς
 (375, 9) Αὐρ. Σωκράτης [Σωκράτους Κουσεα-
 10 νός ὁ καὶ Συναδ[εύς] (δην.) — Αὐρ.
 Ἀρτέμωνος Αὐρ.
 Παπίας Παπίου
 Αὐρ. Μίθρης Δαμᾶ Μα[ραλλιτευς]!!¹ (δην.)
 (375, 8) Αὐρ. Δομνίων [Ἀμύντου Μητροπολεί-
 της (δην.) ννα'

12. (R. 1886.) At Gondane in cemetery on bomos : broken to right : much defaced.
 Quoted as R. V.

ΖΕΝΟΙΤΕΚΜΟΡ	Ξένοι Τεκμορ[εῖοι
ΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝC	τὸν βωμὸν ἐ[ποίησαν] ?
ΚΤΩΝ ΩΝ	ἐ]κ τῶν [ιδί]ων [θεῶ]
ΡΤΕΜΙ ΙΤΙ-	'Α]ρτέμι[δ]ι Τῆ[
ΩΤΙΚΟCΜΑΝΔ	Ζωτικός Μανδ[?] ²
ΑΔΗCСΥΝΙΑΔC	ἀδης σὺν ἀδε[λφῶ] ? (φοῖς ?)
ΖΗΙΟCΗΙΛΙCΛΙΩ	ελλίω
ΕΝ	συνεσποῦ[δας]!!εν

My copy of R.I. was made on a day of heavy rain and bad light, and the time at my disposal was too short for a text so long and difficult. In the second half I had to omit many of the personal names and devote my attention to the geographical names, as being more important. My friend Prof.

Sterrett copied R.I. and a number of other inscriptions of this group in 1885, all unfortunately mutilated; and published them in his *Wolfe Expedition*, 1888, pp. 226-273. He added a large number of the personal names in the second half of R.I. (no. 366 in his book), and gave several geographical

¹ Μαμουττηνός ? Μανδρηνός ? Μαρσιανός ?

² Perhaps read Μάν[ου] Ἀσκληπι[α]δῆς Συν[υ]αδέυς.

names rightly, which I had misapprehended; but he made one serious mistake, which blocked further progress in interpretation. The top of the inscription, with the statement of its purpose, is broken. In R.I. the parts were rightly put together side by side; but in St. 366 the smaller fragment is printed as if it came on the top of the other, and thus halves of the same lines are printed as two lines separated from one another by intermediate lines. This unfortunate mistake seriously impaired the value of St. 366, which would otherwise have been a great improvement on R.I. From the two nearly every word can be recovered.

In 1886 I revised all the inscriptions (except no. 379, which I could not find) with Prof. Sterrett's copies of all except R.I. in my hand, and sent him a list of all my additions¹ and corrections. In his book accordingly, he mentions in the heading of each inscription that it was verified by me, giving the impression that I agreed in the text. This was not so: he rarely states the corrections which I had made in comparing his copy with the stone;² at my request, however, he placed a partial list of my divergent readings in the Appendix to his book.

Several inscriptions found along with the lists revealed the name by which the persons enumerated in the lists were designated, *Ξένοι Τεκμορείοι*;³ but the character of the whole series remained an enigma. Prof. Sterrett explained *Τεκμορείοι* as a local epithet, derived from a place *Tekmoreion*, which he indicated on his map.

In my *Histor. Geogr.* p. 410 I republished the preamble of R.I., restoring [*Ξένοι Τεκμορείοι*]⁴ and making other additions; but there still remained a considerable gap, mostly due to the fact that the nature of the lists and the character of the *Xenoi* were still undetermined. That *Τεκμορείοι* was not a topographical epithet I felt certain; but its meaning was obscure. I advanced the conjecture that the *Tekmoreioi* were the *Xenoi* who used the sign (*τέκμων*), adding 'the

¹ He omits by a slip to state that I recopied no. 369, 370; but mentions this in his Appendix p. 430. Among my additions was no. 371 (which is equivalent to R. II), also the small fragments nos. 383, 384.

² Owing to a mistake which he explains in his Appendix, p. 428.

³ The name occurs in R. II=St. 371, and in St. 369 f., 372, also in R.V. above. I formerly accented on the supposition that *ει* was a mere variety for *ι*: now I think it was intended and marks the connexion with *τεκμορεύω*.

⁴ Both R. I. and St. 366 had read *PEION*: in 1886 I saw that N was a mistake of copyists, caused by a fault in the stone: *PEIOI* is certain.

poetic term *τέκμων* is not unnatural in the artificial Greek of Pisidia.' In *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 97, ii. pp. 359, 630, it is proved that Brotherhoods were a remarkable feature of Anatolian society both in ancient and mediaeval times, and the *Tekmoreioi* are quoted as an example of the class. This explanation was rejected (apparently reluctantly) by Dr. Ziebarth *Griech. Vereiawesen*, p. 67, on the ground that the revival of the long defunct poetic word *τέκμων* *erscheint kaum glaublich* (an objection which shows insufficient consideration of the character of Phrygian Greek and Greek-speakers); and Dr. Judeich in *Alterthümer von Hierapolis* (Humann, etc., 1898) p. 120 agreed with him. But new discovery has confirmed my view, and enables me now to explain and restore the inscriptions much more completely: my interpretation is no longer a theory, but a fact of Phrygian history and religion.

The decisive passage is R. III. 34 *Αἰρ. Λούκιος Λουκίου Γιζηνός τεκμορεύσας δῖς (δηνάρια) τα΄*. The same person occurs in St. 373, 10, [*Αἰρ.*] *Λούκιος Λ[ουκίου Γιζηνός (δηνάρια) ω΄*, and St. 374, 4,⁵ [*Αἰρ.*] *Λούκιος Λουκίου Γιζηνός (δηνάρια) [·]ω[α΄?]*. Lucius of Gissa⁶ (the form *Λούκιος* for *Λούκιος* is a common phenomenon, best treated by Prof. J. H. Wright in *Harvard Studies*, vi. 1895, pp. 55 ff. and Benseler in *Curtius Studien*, iii. pp. 150 ff.), son of Lucius, *ετέκμορυνεν* twice; the first act is recorded simply by his name and the amount of his subscription, the second more fully (unique in the whole of the lists). The second entry proves that the whole series of inscriptions record the performance of a certain action, *τεκμορύνειν*, by a series of individuals, who evidently were styled *τεκμορείοι* after they *ετέκμορυνσαν*. The nature of the list, then, would be expressed by a phrase like *οἶδε ετέκμορυνσαν* or *οἶ τεκμορεύσαντες* (the former like *οἶδε ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ ἐπέδωκαν κτλ.* at *Mylasa Cariae Ath. Mith.* 1890 p. 261: the latter like *οἶ ἰσραηλῶντες εἰς τὴν γερουσίαν κτλ.* at *Sebaste Phrygiae, Cities and Bish.* ii. p. 602 no. 475). The preamble of R. I. may therefore be restored as follows: I number the lines as in R. I. (where 1-3, 5, 6 constitute the separate additional inscription), and add in parenthesis the numbers given according to the false order in St. 366:

⁵ St. 374 is an improved copy of St. 373; two antigrapha were kept at different places, perhaps; but they differ in order of names.

⁶ Gissa or Gisza, a village near Ak-Sheher (Philomelion), Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1893, p. 113: *Carian γῖσσα* 'stone.'

- 4 (part of 4) Οἱ τεκμορεύσαντες ἐν τῷ Διπύ-
 7, 8 (part of 6) λῳ¹ ἐπὶ ἀναγραφῆς ἕως Αὐρ.²
 9 (7) Δημητρίου Ὀνησίμου
 10 (10 and 8) Κτιμ[εν]ῆ[ρη]νοῦ, ἐπ[ιδ]οσιν³ (δην.) τα'
 11 (11 and 9) ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῦ Αὐρ. Παπᾶς Μενέου τ(ο)ῦ [καὶ
 Φρονίμου Καρμηνοῦ δόντ. (δην.) [. . .]
 κ(ἐ) ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάνδρου β' Θ[υρσηνοῦ.
 καὶ Αὐρ. Ζωτικοῦ Μενελάου Μαρσιανοῦ δόντ[ος] (δην.) γν'.

Then follows the list of names in nominative, but with δόντος appended ungrammatically (only once δούς).

In the top right-hand corner was added subsequently a statement of the religious implements made by the Xenoi Tekmoreioi: this is correctly restored in *Histor. Geogr.* p. 410, and need not be repeated: by a slip, however, I have printed πατέλλας, St. πατέλλαν.

The first few lines are short and the letters are large. From 11 the inscription is composed in long lines. Two of the magistrates mentioned here are known from R. III. which is very little later in date than R. I.

In l. 11 I formerly thought that Παπᾶς was an engraver's error for Παπᾶ, genitive; but Miss M. E. Thomson points out that gen. as from nom. a occurs several times in R. I., 36 Μάμα nom., 115 Μάμας gen. (so 31 Βόρας, 64 Ἄπας, 39 Ἀπας, St. 375, 10 Κωκούτας), etc. In a paper on the late Phrygian Inscriptions (*Oest. Jahreshfte*, 1905, Pt. II.), no. xxx, I have argued that vowel nom. with gen. adding s was used in Phrygian and Pisidian (according to the inscriptions which I published in *Revue des Universités du Midi*, 1895, p. 356 f.). In the Tekmoreian inscriptions this declension appears only rarely, and no law is apparent: Παπᾶ is gen. in 35, 64, and most names follow Greek rules.

In 7 [ἀναγραφῆς] ἕως (as in *Histor. Geogr.* p. 410), which is supported by St. 369, 372, 375, must be preferred to [ἐπ]ῆς (as R. I.), which is supported only by the inscription of Karbokome, § vii. Moreover, a longer word than ἐπέως is wanted to complete the line, unless some longer word than διπύ[λῳ] is restored at the beginning.

A. PURPOSE.

The question arises what was τὸ τεκμορεύειν. The character of the inscriptions as a

¹ Another possible restoration, perhaps preferable, is given below.

² ΕΩC is higher than ΑΥΡ, but they form part of one line, and are so interpreted in R. I., though numbered as two lines, 7, 8.

whole shows emphatically that it was some religious act. The verb is otherwise unknown; it was certainly an invention of the society and the period; and it is indubitably connected with τέκμων and τεκμορεῖοι, an old and dead epic word revived in that artificial Greek of Phrygia, and a derivative invented to designate a new Society. Everything about it is artificial; and therefore this Society cannot be regarded as an ancient Phrygian institution, but as one devised to suit the situation and circumstances of the third century after Christ. We may, however, confidently say that the τεκμορεύειν was made a part of the mystic ritual, which formed the chief part of the Anatolian religion: that follows from the very nature of the religion.

Now the specific character of the religion of these estates is—as was inevitable and natural—that it united God and the Emperor. Such was the character of the state religion in all the cities of Asia Minor, and especially on the Imperial estates. The addition to the mystic ritual, certainly, must have had some relation to the conjoint deity, the Emperor: in other words the Tekmor was some solemn sign and pledge of the loyalty of the celebrant to the Emperor and his service.

We can hardly be mistaken in connecting the institution of this solemn secret symbolic act with the greatest political fact of the third century, the war between the State and the Christian faith. The critical and determining question about each successive Emperor at that time turns on his attitude to the Christians; and the test of the real import of every event then is its bearing on the relation between the Christians and the State. The alliance between the State and the old pagan worship was made in order to strengthen resistance to the new faith. Persecution was regularly accompanied by an outbreak of pagan devotion, a sort of revival, as has been pointed out in

³ δόντος omitted, probably by a slip. The numerous faults of engraver and of composer add difficulty to the recovery of the true text: e.g. in 11, ΤΥ for ΤΟΥ.

my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 105 ff.; I know no other place where the connexion is traced. A sign and pledge of loyalty was publicly exacted from all who were accused of Christianity, viz. the offering of sacrifice or even simply incense to the Emperor. The sign and seal of loyalty was demanded of all truly loyal persons in Asia during the persecution of Domitian (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, loc. cit.). Examples of the growing fervency of the pagan religion in time of persecution, acting on the Emperors and at the same time stimulated by them, probably, are quoted in that chapter, one at Aconia dated 251 A.D. under Decius, another in the same place dated 313 A.D. under Maximin and Licinius (*Cities and Bish.* ii. p. 566), a third on the Imperial estate of Tembrion (Souter in *Cl. Rev.* xi. p. 138, *Cities and Bish.* ii. p. 790) contemporary with the last: all these relate to one family. As this subject has never been worked up, I may add that a memorial of the same class from Galatia may be recognized in the tombstone erected by four children, Am(m)on, Apollo, Manes, and Matar (all bearing the names of gods¹) to their mother Anna, and another in the brief Μάρκου Πολιήτου φιλοσόφου πάντων φίλου at Temenothyrai (*Cit. and Bish.* ii. p. 495).

Such, then, seems to have been the Tekmor: it was a pledge of loyalty to the State in its contest with the Christians. It seems possible that the exordium of R.I. defined the character of the Tekmor more clearly. The δῖπυ[λον] seems a strange place to hold the ceremony: it could hardly be anything but a double archway, a temple of Janus. Should the word be restored as dative of the substance through which the Tekmor was given, or shown, or performed, e.g. οἶδε ἐτεκμόρευον τῷ διπύ[ρῳ ἐπὶ ἀναγραφῆ] ἕως κτλ. ? But it is hard to see how the sign could be exhibited by means of the twice-fired bread. It is, however, noteworthy that the Galli fasted from ordinary bread (Arnob. *adv. Nat.* v. 16, Tertull. *Jejun.* 2 and 15).

B. CHRONOLOGY.

The period to which these inscriptions belong can be determined more narrowly. In publishing R.I., I placed it about 225 ;

but this is too early. In the first place the relative order of the longer inscriptions can be fixed: thereafter we can attempt to determine their date absolutely. That St. 373 and 374 (which are nearly duplicates) are a generation older than St. 375, 376, R. I. III. IV. and that the latter form a group nearly contemporaneous, though probably R. I. is the latest in the group, seems to follow from the following review of the persons whose names occur in more than one inscription.

R. I. 8-10 The ἀναγραφεὺς as restored Αὐρ. [Δημήτριος] Ὀνησίμου occurs in R. III. 40. Presumably, he was an older man, when he became Anagrapheus, than when he was simply Tekmoreios. Therefore R. III. is earlier than R. I., though belonging, on the whole, to the same generation (as we shall see).

13. The first Brabeutes Aur. Alexandros son of Alexandros of Thyrsa is younger brother of Aur. Asklepiades of Thyrsa R. III. 4 (see note). Thyrsa is sometimes called Tyrsa.

16. Aur. Timotheos, son of Demetrius, occurs also in R. III. 36 ; he lived in Marsia first, later in Karbokome (see also § vii): presumably these must have been neighbouring villages.

21. Skymnos, son of Asklas, is father of Cornelius, l. 27.

22. See note on R. III. 25.

32. Posidonius Artemonis is the same as Posidonius *alias* Auxanon, St. 375, l. 21, and son of Artemon Phrontonis St. 374: Therefore R.I. and St. 375 are of same period.

34. Lukios, son of Karikos, who is the same as Aur. Karikos, son of Papas, in St. 374, l. 9: Therefore St. 374 (=373) is a whole generation earlier than R.I. and St. 375.

49. [Συνναδεὺς?] is omitted by the engraver before οἰκῶν: cp. St. 373, 21 Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Καρικῶν Ἰλλα² Συνναδεὺς: but these cannot be the same, for then we should have R.I. and St. 373 contemporary: usually R.I. is later.

51. See note on 56.

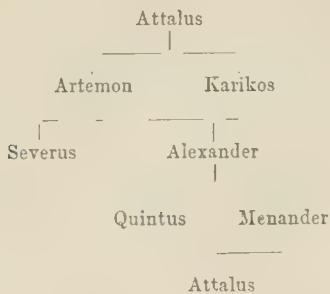
53. Zoticus Zotici Imenis has four brothers Karikos, Arzanos, Papas, and Maximus, who showed the Tekmor below, ll. 61, 92, 93, 105. It might seem from this fact that the list extended over a series of years, and that these five sons, as they reached a certain age, performed the ceremony; but this supposition must

¹ On Manes see *Cities and Bish.* ii. p. 566. The inscription is in *J.H.S.* 1899 p. 84 (Anderson), where Mr. Anderson shows that it belongs to an Imperial estate.

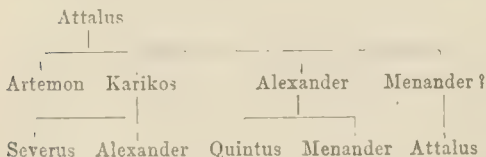
² Possibly IMA.

be rejected. The names in R.I. form a single list, arranged on one plan strictly according to the amount of money subscribed, and dated all in the same year. The other lists also are dated (so far as recoverable); and some contain the lists of more than one year, with new dating for each new year. Presumably R.I. belongs to a year when there was special activity among the Tekmoreian association. There are several places where the list seems to begin afresh in slightly different characters; but these interruptions can imply only that several ceremonies occurred at different times in one year, not in different years; and they are more probably due to the hand growing tired. As so many brothers *ἐτεκμόρευσαν* in the same year, it is evident that the ceremony was not connected with the reaching of a specified age, such as the 'coming of age' or the assumption of the *toga virilis*.

56. The Xenoi from Ampelada form a connected group: two sons of Attalus, Artemon 51 and Karikos, St. 376 l. 38: two sons of Karikos, Severus 56 and Alexander 96: two sons of Alexander, Quintus 98 and Menander 107: finally Attalus son of Menander. They might be placed in a stemma as follows

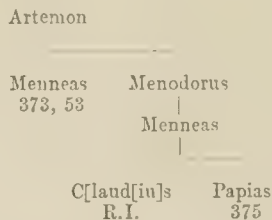


but this is impossible; the stemma must be shortened in some way, by supposing either that there was more than one family with such common names as Alexander and Attalus, or that one or two sons have been omitted, as for instance,



In this uncertainty no inferences seem deducible from the Ampeladene names.

65. C[laudius]¹ Menneae Menodori is brother of [Pap?]ias Menneae, St. 375 l. 26. Menneae Artemonis (St. 373, 53 = 374, 59) is of an earlier generation, probably brother of Menodorus: giving perhaps the stemma



66. Menneae Papa Artemonis K. is not a younger brother of Appas Papa K., St. 374, 46 (for St. 373, 42 mentions the same person as Appas Appa K., which is probably preferable (Appas δὲ would be the commoner, though not invariable form). In 97 Menneae Appadis K. is son of Appas Appa: Appados and Appa were both used as genitives of Appas. Thus R.I. is usually a generation later than St. 373 (= 374).

84. Zoticus Imenis Demetrii; his father Iman Demetrii occurs in St. 373 l. 44: a perfectly decisive proof that St. 373 (= 374) is a full generation earlier than R.I.

R. III. 3. Cp. Μάρκος Ὀππάτου Μικωνιάτης (so my copy 1886) St. 376, l. 46.

4. Thyrsenos: see on R.I. 13. Asklepiades Alexandri Th. is probably son of Alexander Asklepiadis T. in R.I. 67. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶ [Θ]υρσηνός,² R.I. 103, may be a cousin of Asklepiades here. See also Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀλε[ξάνδρου], St. 381, 8.

11. If we restore Αὔρ. Ἴμαν Μενέου [Πεσκενιάτης in St. 377, l. 13, we can here read Iman elder brother of [Zot]ikos, l. 24, who also occurs in R.I. 116. Αὔρ. Ζ. Μενέου Πεσκενιάτης (so in my copy 1886 and 1905), and son of St. 373, 39 Αὔρ. Μενέας Ἴμενος Π. This makes R. III. nearly contemporary with R.I., and a generation younger than St. 373. The epitaph of Aur. Menneae Imenos is perhaps published by Mr. Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 119, which would prove that Pescenia was a village on the estates S.E. of Ak-Sheher. Pescennius

¹ My copy does not give the personal names in this part; but I conjecture ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC for ΚΑΝΑΚC (with last K marked doubtful) in Sterrett's copy, which he reads Κανλας. K and IC are often confused in difficult inscriptions.

² CYPCHNOC, slip of engraver.

Niger must have passed near it in his retreat from Nicaea to the Cilician Gate.¹

14. Κλαύδιος Μαξίμου Ἐζαρεύς, perhaps son of Οὐέσσμος Μαξίμος Γισζηνός R.I. 19. Gisza and Ezara were near one another: see below.

15. Δι[?]οκλῆς Ἄνδρωνος cannot be brother of Αὔρ. Ὀρέστης Ἄνδρωνος Σ[.]μελ[] (so my reading 1886, doubtfully) in St. 373, l. 24.

16. Restored conjecturally as son of Alexander, St. 373, l. 21.

19. —ς Δημητρίου Μαρσιανός is elder brother of Τιμόθεος Δημητρίου M. in l. 36. The latter is called Καρβοκωμήτης in R.I. 16. Therefore R. III. is of the same generation as R.I.

25. Αὔρ. Ἀρτέμιον Αὐξάνοντος Κελυνιάτης is perhaps cousin of Αὔρ. Ἀρτέμιον Μενέου Κελουενιάτης R.I. 22 (so must be read: St. OCCN: my reading in 1882 was O///CN, in 1905 ΟΥΕΝ with note that ΥΕ might be read also CC).²

28. There can hardly be more than five letters lost, and the last contains either Τ or Γ or C or Ε: not Ζ or Ξ. Ζω[σάδος] Ἄνδρινός is probable, cp. St. 373, 32, where I read in 1886 οἰκῶν ἐν Α Δ ΛΙC i.e. Α[ν]δ[ι]αις.

29. [Αὔρ.—]ς Ἴμενος Π. is brother of Αὔρ. Ἐρμῆς Ἴμενος Π. St. 373, 25.

32. He appears as Αὔρ. Μενέδημος Ἀλεκάς Κτ. in St. 366, l. 109; R. III. is contemporary with R.I.

34. Lucius of Gisza also occurs in St. 373, 10, 374, 4. It is evident that they record the first occasion when he showed the Tekmor, while the present inscription records the second. On the first occasion he gave 801 denarii, on the second only 301.

35. From St. 373, 29, 374, 29, there is a temptation to read Καρικοῦ instead of Μάρκου, supposing a fault of the engraver, but chronology is against that.

36. See on l. 19.

38. Probably Ἄνδραγάθου is omitted after Μήναττος by fault of engraver. This restored Andragathos is mentioned as Αὔρ. Ἄνδράγαθος Μηνάττου Ερσου, St. 373, 20, where [Κ]έρσου may safely be read, as there is a gap before ΕΡ, and in the duplicate St. 374, 18 the reading is Μ[ηνάττου Κερασια]νός. The name of the village was

therefore Kersos or Kerasos, with ethnic Κερασιανός.

The length of interval between St. 373-4, and R.I., III, etc. is determined by the fact that at least one man, Lucius of Gisza, appears in both groups. Though the case seems quite unique, a possibility remains that there may be other similar instances not expressly mentioned. For example in R. I. 49, if we are right in thinking that Συναδείς is omitted before οἰκῶν, Alexander Carici may be the same person as Alexander Carici Illae, St. 373, 21.³ But certainly the interval between the two groups must be less than fifty years, and probably not more than twenty-five or thirty. That there was a considerable interval seems to follow from the number of fathers in the first group whose sons appear in the second.

In first publishing R. I., I specified the date about 225 A.D., arguing that it contained names taken from Pescennius Niger (l. 113), from Septimius Severus (ll. 48, 56), and from Marcia (l. 14), first wife of Severus, honoured with statues after his accession; and I then made the happy guess that Marsia was a station on the Roman road halfway between Apollonia and Antioch, i.e. near the N.E. end of the Limnai (confirmed now, see note above on R.I. 16); that Lucius was the commonest Roman name; and finally that Aur., used as *praenomen* by almost all contributors and by very few of their fathers, marked out the generation which was living in 211-217 A.D.⁴ This reasoning is confirmed by subsequent discovery, except in one respect: the expression Αὔρ. Λοῦκιος Καρικοῦ was wrongly taken as implying that Caricus had not the *praenomen*. It is now known that he was Αὔρ. Καρικός (note above on R.I. 34). Thus the reasoning only proved that the inscriptions were not earlier than 211 A.D.

The date of R. I. is now pushed lower down. It is a generation later than St. 373-4; and they are at earliest about A.D. 211-230. But other considerations forbid us to go down very late. There is a total absence of names marking the period towards A.D. 300. The names even in the latest inscriptions are of an earlier type. The names Flavius

³ This, however, is very improbable, for the reason stated above.

⁴ This observation about the use of Aur. as *praenomen* was, I believe, used there for the first time as a proof of date. It is now abundantly justified; yet quite a number of writers since have stated it wrongly. The use of Aurelius as a *nomen* implies only a date after the middle of the second century; it is only the strictly non-Latin and incorrect use as *praenomen* that proves the date after 211.

¹ Hence I prefer to regard the Pesceniate Menneas Imenos as the one whose epitaph Anderson publishes, rather than the Oikeñian, St. 373, 30.

² The engraving of the letters is so loose and sketchy, that it is often difficult to attain certainty, as here between Υ and C.

and Valerius do not occur as they were used in that later period; for Φλ. in St. 373, 11 (which approximates to the later type) is in my copy Φο . . . and T. Flavius Asklepiades, R. IV. 3, is of the type of the old Flavian dynasty, a hereditary name in the family.

A fair mean date for the two groups would be: St. 373-4 about 215-225, say 218 A.D. and R. I. III, etc. about 245-255. This explains the vast number of entries in R. I.: it belongs to the pagan revival of the reign of Decius, and its probable date is 250-1 A.D.

C. TOPOGRAPHY.

The following names of villages or towns, occurring in R. III., are added to the Tekmoreian list, given most completely in *Histor. Geogr.* pp. 411-414.

Aboureiaí, Es-aboureiaí, Sis-aboureiaí (or with t for r) is an uncertain name, perhaps corrupted by the engraver and identical with Oborai (St. 376, 9 : 373, 2). Can the true text be ἐν [τ]οῖς Ἀβουρείαις with false concord?

Andiaí: it can now be restored in St. 373, 32, where my copy has οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀ[ν]δ[ι]αῖς.

Astibia may be regarded as one of the numerous engraver's faults for Astibria,¹ containing the well-known Thraco-Phrygian word Bria, town. The same town or village can now be restored with confidence in St. 380, 13f. Prof. Sterrett mentions that his 'copy was verified and corrected by' me in 1886; but he omits one correction in l. 14, Ζ for Ζ. Thus we have a dedication ΑΡΤΕ|ΜΙΔΙCΑΤΙΠΙ|ΕΙΖΗΝΗ, in which | at the end of the line may at once be taken for ρ: the end of the lines is mutilated in other cases, e.g. | for Α, and Prof. Sterrett mentions 'letters very indistinct.' The goddess must be Ἀρτέμιδι Σατιπ[ρ]εῖζηνῆ. Now in *Cities and Bish.* ii. pp. 382, 616, the various forms which Bria and Brianus took in Phrygian are discussed, and it is shown that the city Bria of Phrygia was otherwise called Berga (modern Burgas), and that the ethnic Preizenos (for Πρεγγνός) is used in an inscription, Berianus in a Byzantine docu-

¹ The fault may be mine: my copy has ACTI BIA, with note 'room for letter between I and B, but no trace.' The fact that I saw no trace is inconclusive: I have same note in other cases, where Sterrett could read a letter: my eyes are not sensitive to faint effects, and I have always to compensate the defect by studious care and accuracy.

ment. This epithet of Artemis is therefore local, formed from the town Satibria. Whether Satibria or Astibria is more correct cannot be determined: they were doubtless both used.

Gordiou-Kome can hardly be the village mentioned by Strabo p. 574, who says it was renamed Juliopolis by Cleon, afterwards priest of Zeus Abrettenos, and priest-dynast at Comana Pontica, in the time of Antony and Augustus: the name Juliopolis often occurs later. There were probably more villages than one of this name.

Holmoi in Strabo p. 663, near Karadj-Euren, 6 hours N.W. from Antioch.

Kandrianos may be an ethnic from Kandroukome, R.I. 20 (supplanting the father's name in l. 43 here). Kandroukome I would identify with a village called Genlije, one hour south of Kereli.²

Lami-*os* can now be restored in St. 376 at the end: [. . .]ος Μακεδόνας Λαμ[σ]ηνός.

O[κκοκ]ώ[μ]η (a very uncertain restoration in l. 3) is a village between Apameia and Eumeneia, called Vicus in the Peutinger Table.

Olimanara (this seemed certain, not Olimandra, as I tried at first to read): unknown.

Rimeniantenos, the ethnic, implies either Rimenianta or Rimenias (compare Ampelada and Ampelas, Tymbriada and Tymbrias). We may suspect that R here arises from rude pronunciation of L, and that the name is Λιμενιάς, a place on the Limnai.

Rokka (a space before R may have contained one letter; but I could detect no trace, and thought it was probably blank; such spaces are often left in these badly engraved inscriptions): unknown: cp. Ekkea, Grekea (see note H. G. p. 412), Reko-kome.

Septoumana: unknown: possibly from Σεπτουμάς, as the name of the Emperor Severus may be spelt.

The following additions may be made to the identifications of the villages in the list, *Histor. Geogr.* pp. 411-4.

Askara is probably Uskeles (*Annual Br. Sch. Athens* 1902-3, pp. 249, 262).

Battea, read β' Ἀττεαίος: the place is Attaia, a name known in Lydia and probably in several other places, connected with Attes, Atys.

Gissa and others: see below.

Laptokome: cp. Apokome of Galatia,

² Called Yenije by Mr. Cronin in *J.H.S.* 1902 p. 106 (on my authority). In 1905 I thought that Genlije was the true form. Those who have tried to get the true form of Turkish village names will know how difficult it often is.

probably a corrupted name, *Histor. Geogr.* p. 246.

Oikia, perhaps the same as Oikokome : see below.

Ptagia, is the village of Ipta, a Phrygian Divine name, found only in a dedication in the Katakekaumene to Meter Ipta.

Floua should be corrected Tlos : cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἔστι ἄλλη Τλώς, πόλις Πισιδίας (which I owe to Mr. Arkwright).

Sagoue, modern Saghir : cp. Aragoue on the estate of Tembrion, *C.I.L.* iii. 14191.

It is noteworthy how many of these villages, from which come Tekmoreioi can be proved, even with our extremely defective knowledge, to have been situated on Imperial estates.

(1) Esouakome : Soa was one of the

ΥΠΕΡΤΗΤΟΥΚΥ
ΡΙΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟ
ΥΧΗΚΝΕΙΚΗΚ
ΩΝΙΟΥΔΙΑΜΟ
ΝΗΚΤΗΚΩΜΗ
ΑΤΟΥΝΑΝΑΣΥΝ
ΒΙΟΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΟΣ
ΜΗΡΙΚΙΚΛΕΑΕΥΧΗ

chief places on the Imperial estate of Tembrion at or near Altyntash : *C.I.L.* iii. 14191, Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1897 pp. 419 ff., 1898, p. 341.

(2) Tataion : it is proved in *Histor. Geogr.* pp. 240 f., 182, 189, that Tataion and Tottaion are interchangeable forms, and Tottaion was the second of the two chief places on the estate of Tembrion. We therefore connect the ethnic Ταταῖνος in the Tekmoreian lists with Tottaion. Tataion is a derivative from Tatas, a common Phrygian personal name: by-form Tottes. The village name may probably be restored in the following inscription.

13. At Altyntash (R. 1881 and 1884) :² the letters are faint and worn: *on a bomos* :

ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Κυ-
ρίου Ἀντωνείνου
τ]ύχης κὲ νείκης κὲ
ἐ]ωνίου διαμο-
νῆς κὲ τῆς κόμης [Τ-
άτου, Νάνα σύν-
βιος Μενεκλέος
Μητρὶ Κικλέα εὐχ[ν]

The bishopric Ταιον-κόμη, which on other grounds has been placed with practical certainty at or near Altyntash (*J.H.S.* 1887, p. 512, *Histor. Geogr.* p. 145), should confidently be corrected to Ταιονκόμη.

(3), (4) Ezara and Gisza are known to have been in the neighbourhood of Philomelion ; and they probably formed part of the Imperial estate of Dipotamon-Mesanakta (*Histor. Geogr.* pp. 140 f.). Ezara is the modern Azari-Keui : Gisza is known from an inscription found at Ak-Sheher (Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 113).

(5) Peskenia is traced to the same district (see above).

(6) Oikokome, if the restoration be correct, either lies near the probable estates of Motella (*Cities and Bish.* ii. pp. 578 f., *Histor. Geogr.* p. 179 : these estates, unnoticed in *Cities and Bish.* i. ch. iv., deserve more careful study) : or it was the village Vicus in the Sibilian territory, the very name of which points to a Roman estate (*Cities and Bish.* i. p. 225).¹ The second identification is far more likely to be correct than the first.

(7) A number of names can, with greater or less certainty, be identified with places round Antioch and therefore situated probably on the Imperial estates which formerly belonged to Men Askaënos : such are Tenia and Dabenai (*J.H.S.* 1883, p. 40 : Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier, in *Annual Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902-3, p. 252). Ampelas or Ampelada *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 38 but the identification with the city Amblada must probably be abandoned, see *Annual Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902-3, p. 265 : Imaia or Imaion, ethnic Ἰμαῖνος (perhaps Ἀμαῖνος also),³ is the modern village Imen, 4 hours S.E. from Kirili, on the Orondian frontier :

Ganzaënos is the modern Gondani, 4 hours W. of Antioch (*J.H.S.* 1883, p. 33) :

Sagoue is the modern Saghir : Marsia and Karbokome were near the N.E. end of the Limnai : Limenia and Rimenianta were on the Limnai :

Daou-kome is about Kökuler, as appears from the following :

14. (R. 1886.) Kökuler : half hour from Saghir, on road to Antioch.

¹ There is an error in that passage regarding Justinianopolis, corrected in ii. 578 and 787.

² The copies agree.

³ So perhaps read in R. I. 57.

ΓΑΙΟΥ

ΤΙΤΟΣ ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ
 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ
 ΚΕΚΡΙΣΤΙΝΗΚΙΣ
 ΚΩΝΙΑΗΚΑΙΑΜ
 ΜΙΑΤΕΚΝΩΓ
 ΚΥΤΑΤΩΜΝΗ
 ΜΗΣ
 ΡΙΝ

Γαίου.

Τίτος Φλάβιος
 Ἀσκληπιάδης
 κὲ Κρισπίνη Κισ-
 σωνία ἢ καὶ Ἀμ-
 μία τέκνω γ[λυ-
 κυτάτω μνή-
 μης
 χά]ριν

The placing of the child's name apart as a superscription, thus giving it more prominence is very rare in the epitaphs of this country. The arrangement is more common in honorary inscriptions on the base of statues, e.g. *Am. J. Arch.* 1888, p. 283 (Pogla), Marquardt *Privatalt.* p. 27, Sterrett *Wolfe Exp.* no. 419 (Adada, restore gen. or dat. here, according to regular practice).

T. Flavius Asklepiades is mentioned also in R. IV. 3: he was a native of [Synnada], who had settled in Dao-kome, Jackal-village.

D. ECONOMICS.

It can hardly be by accident that so many citizens of the neighbouring cities settled in these rural villages during the third century. Such a change of domicile from Greek educated surroundings to native, non-Hellenic, and Oriental circumstances is quite out of keeping with the earlier Greek or Roman spirit. It seems to spring from one or both of two causes. The first was the revivification of the old Oriental character in the eastern Provinces: the native spirit had lain dormant during the spread of Hellenic education, but it began already during the second century to recover strength; and when the Eastern Provinces grew more and important in the Empire and steadily forced the centre of gravity towards the East, till at last Constantinople became the capital, they were not Greek lands but Oriental, or at least informed with a new mixed character uniting Greek, Roman, and above all Oriental elements.

The phrase *Συνναδεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Κανδρουκώμῃ* seemed to me at first to mean 'a citizen of Synnada who has settled in the village Kandroukome.' But the late Professor G. Hirschfeld, in his review of Professor Sterrett's *Wolfe Expedition*, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1888 p. 587, proposed a different and tempting interpretation, viz. that Kandrou-

kome was one of the villages in the territory of Synnada, and that the person mentioned with this phrase was ranked both by his city and by his village. In *Histor. Geogr.* p. 411, I stated that I abandoned my view and was 'indebted to Hirschfeld's paper for full comprehension of the facts.' This latter interpretation, however, led to no further progress: nothing came from it: it did not illustrate, and was not illustrated by further discoveries. Experience shows that an excellent test of a theory lies in its opening up the path of progress, and in its power of illuminating other facts subsequently observed.

After some years, therefore, I was driven back to the first opinion. Usage is entirely on that side. *οἰκῶν ἐν* is the Attic formula for metics and freedmen resident in a deme:¹ it is commonly used in the inscriptions of Asia Minor to denote resident strangers, e.g. *Ἐπίγονος [Μεν]δαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Μ[υρι]λήνῃ* (Paton *Inscrip. Gr. Ins. Lesb. Nesi Tenedi* 409), *Ἀρτέμων δις Εὐκαρπεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀταμείᾳ* (*Cities and Bish. of Phr.* ii. p. 471, no. 310). This view seems proved in the present case by the fact that persons of this class appear as *βραβευταί* of the village union, which seems to imply that those citizens of Greek cities had abandoned their citizenship and taken up residence in one of the villages whence the association drew its members. In other words, they went back from Hellenism to Orientalism and the 'village system.'

Secondly, the conditions of life on the Imperial estates were more attractive than in the cities. The burdens imposed on the citizens, almost solely on the well-to-do among them, became crushing, as time went on and the old free city-system was transformed into the Byzantine system. The Tekmoreian inscriptions seem to show the beginnings of the later system.

¹ Compare e.g. Todd in *Annual Brit. Sch. Ath.* viii. 198.

The double designation by city and by village of the persons just described gives some good examples of the method of expressing the alternative designation. Either designation was in itself complete, and they were really mutually exclusive; a Greek

citizen could not strictly be or become a villager; but yet in practice the change was being made. The following variations of expression are therefore interesting; some are more or less restored; but the restorations seem convincing.

Αὔρ. Σωκράτης β' Κουσεανός	St. 375, 9.
Αὔρ. Σωκράτης [Σωκράτους Κουσεα]νός ὁ καὶ Συναδεύς	R. IV. 10.
Αὔρ. Ζωτικός Κωκούτας ¹ Ἐρμωκωμή[της] Συναδεύς	St. 375, 10.
Αὔρ.] Ζωτικο[ὸ] Κωκούτας ¹ Συναδέως οἰκοῦντο[ς ἐν Ἐρμωκώμῃ]	R. IV. 1, 2.
Αὔρ.] Ἰούλιος Κα[ρικοῦ Ἰου]λιεύς (δην.) χ'ά	St. 374, 21.
Αὔρ.] Ἰούλιος Καρικοῦ Ἰουλιεύς οἰκῶν ἐν ———	St. 373, 22.

The meaning of ὁ καί, denoting alternative names, each of which has a justification in different circumstances, though they are strictly speaking inconsistent with one another, is discussed in *Classical Review*, 1898, pp. 337 f.: it is especially common in the cases of names belonging to two different languages, as when a Syrian or Phrygian has a native name among his own people, and a Roman or a Greek name in Roman or Greek social and political relations. Strictly the characters and names, Phrygian and Greek or Roman,

¹ On this genitive ending, see above. The accent of this non-Greek name is quite uncertain: perhaps Κωκούτας would be better.

are inconsistent with each other: the same man cannot be both, but he may be either in the appropriate surroundings.

ADDENDUM.

Note on § I. In 1904 I recopied no. 3. A second side was then disclosed, showing in relief ears of corn, which mark the altar as votive. In 1904 also I copied a number of inscriptions near Laodiceia (chiefly at Serai-Inn). The following confirms my argument, Θάλαμος καὶ Χρηστή κυρί(ω)ν Καισάρ(ω)ν δοῦλοι κ.τ.λ.

W. M. RAMSAY.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

American Philological Association. Transactions and Proceedings. Vol. XXXV. 1904. 9½" × 6½". Pp. 156 and cxxxviii. Boston, Mass., U.S.A., Ginn and Co.
Anesaki (M.), see *Edmunds*.
Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Band VIII. Beiheft gewidmet Hermann Usener zum siebzigsten Geburtstage. 9¼" × 6". Pp. 120. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 4.20.
Arnold (E. Vernon) Vedic metre in its historical development. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. xiv + 335. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 12s.
Bacchylides. Jebb (Sir R. C.) The poems and fragments edited with Introduction, Notes, and Prose Translation. 8¾" × 5½". Pp. xviii + 524. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 15s.
Baumgarten (Fritz), Poland (Franz) and Wagner (Richard) Die Hellenische Kultur. 10¼" × 7". Pp. x + 490. Mit 7 farbigen Taf., 2 Karten und gegen 400 Abb. im Text. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 10.
Diels (H.) and Schubart (W.) Anonymer Kommentar

zu Platons Theaetet. (Papyrus 9782) nebst drei Bruchstücken philosophischen Inhalts (Pap. N. 8; P. 9766. 9569) unter Mitwirkung von J. L. Heiberg. (*Berliner Klassikertexte. Heft II.*) 10½" × 7¾". Pp. xl + 62. Mit zwei Lichtdrucktafeln. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1905. M. 5.
Dittrich (Ottmar) Die Grenzen der Sprachwissenschaft. 9½" × 6". Pp. 20. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1905. Pf. 80.
Edmunds (Albert J.) Buddhist and Christian Gospels now First Compared from the Originals by A. J. E. Edited with Parallels and Notes from the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka by M. Anesaki. 10" × 7½". Pp. xiv + iv + 230 + 6. Tōkyō, The Yūhōkwan Publishing House. Chicago, the Open Court Publishing Co. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1905.
Ernout (A.) Le Parler de Préneste d'après les Inscriptions. 9¾" × 6¼" Pp. 64. Paris, Libraire Émile Bouillon. 1905.
Euripides. Weil (Henri) Hécube. Texte grec.

- recension nouvelle, avec un commentaire critique et explicatif et une notice. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 203-300. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie. 1905. Fr. 2.50.
- Farnell* (L. R.) *The Evolution of Religion, an Anthropological Study* by L.R.F., M.A., D.Litt. (*Crown Theological Library*). 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. ix+234. London, Williams and Norgate. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905.
- Gardner* (E. A.), see *Roberts*.
- Hodgkin* (Thomas) *The British Academy*. Ernst Curtius. (From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. II.) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 24. London, Henry Frowde. 1905. 1s. net.
- Hook* (Larue van). *The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism* (*Degree Dissertation*). 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 7". Pp. 50. Chicago, The University Press. 1905.
- Krumbacher* (Karl) *Ein Vulgargriechischer Weiberspiegel* (*Separat-Abdruck aus den Sitzungsber. der philos.-philol. und der hist. Klasse der Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*). 1905. *Heft. III*. 9" x 6". Pp. 335-434. München. 1905.
- ¹ *Livy*. Lease (Emory B.) *Titi Livi ab urbe condita*. Libri i, xxi, xxii. Edited with Introduction, Commentary and Index by E.B.L., the College of the City of New York. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. lxxii+438. New York, Boston, New Orleans. University Publishing Co. 1905. \$1.25.
- ¹ — Henry (Robert Mitchell) *Livy Book xxvi*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by R.M.H., M.A. First Classical Master, Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. xxviii+182 (1 Map). London, Edward Arnold. 1905. 2s. 6d.
- Loyson* (Madame Hyacinthe). *To Jerusalem through the Lands of Islam* (Preface by Prince de Polignac). 7" x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+325 (Illustrated). Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1905. 10s. 6d. net.
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- Schubart*, see *Diels*.
- Shuckburgh* (E. S.) *Augustus. The life and times of the founder of the Roman Empire* (B.C. 63-A.D. 14). Illustrated cheap edition. 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xii+318. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. 5s. net.
- Skeat* (Rev. Walter W.) *A Primer of Classical and English Philology*. 7" x 5". Pp. viii+101. Oxford, The Clarendon Press. 1905. 2s.
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¹ Corrected Notices.

The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1905.

THE REFORM OF LATIN PRONUNCIATION.

A LONG delayed and much needed reform seems at last on the way to be realised. Within the space of about a year five different bodies have been moved in the question. The answers to a circular issued to the members of the Cambridge Classical Society last Michaelmas Term showed that nearly ninety per cent. of the answers were in favour of reform. At the meeting of the Classical Association of England and Wales in January last a motion for the appointment of a Committee was passed with but one dissentient voice; and this committee has been actively engaged in formulating a scheme of a character calculated to secure general acceptance. A little earlier, at the end of November, Professor Hardie broached the subject before the Classical Association of Scotland and a Committee appointed on March 11th at Aberdeen prepared a scheme which was submitted to the meeting at Glasgow on Nov. 25th at which Professor Butcher presided. After a discussion in which Dr. Heard, Mr. Hyslop, Mr. George Smith, Professor Phillimore and others including the chairman took part, a resolution was unanimously carried in favour of greater accuracy and uniformity of pronunciation in Latin and Greek. The consideration of details was held over till the meeting in March 1906. Meantime the report is to be sent to the Chief Schools and Training Colleges in Scotland and to H.M. Inspectors of Schools and expressions of opinion invited.

The evening before the Oxford Philological Society met in Exeter College hall under the presidency of Dr. Farnell, other Oxford teachers of the Classics and members of the Cambridge Philological Society being present by invitation. The object was the renewal of common action in the two Universities which had been intermitted since 1887 when the Oxford Society gave a general approval to the scheme of Latin Pronunciation drawn up and published by its Cambridge sister. The members of the Cambridge Society attending were Dr. Arnold, Dr. Conway, Mr. E. Harrison (Hon. Sec.), Dr. Postgate and Dr. Reid. After some introductory remarks by the President Mr. Godley, acting Public Orator, proposed and Professor Ellis seconded 'That in the opinion of this meeting of Classical Teachers in the University of Oxford some reform in the current English method of pronouncing Latin is urgently needed.' The motion was carried with only two dissentients. Thereupon a short scheme embodying a minimum of necessary reforms which had been prepared for the conference by representatives of the two Societies was introduced by Dr. Postgate and seconded by Prof. Joseph Wright. After a discussion in which Mr. J. A. Smith, Dr. Arnold, Mr. Grundy, Mr. R. T. Elliott, Sir David Hunter Blair and Dr. Conway took part, the recommendations were adopted *en bloc* by a three-fourths majority of those present and voting. It should be added that the scheme dealt only with native Latin sounds.

THE DOLONEIA.

IF we grant to Mr. R. M. Henry (*Classical Review*, May, p. 192) that the Doloneia is 'neither rich nor rare,' at least he may allow us to wonder 'how the devil it got there,' got into the *Iliad*. Mr. Henry regards the Book as a burlesque, a deliberate attempt to make fun of the Epic characters and situations. Mr. Monro also writes that 'the whole incident has the character of a farcical interlude, and as such it is out of harmony with the tragical elevation of the *Iliad*.' I do not think that the poet intended to be so pleasant as Mr. Henry finds him; and I do not see why a poet, addressing an audience in the hall of a princely house, should not have given play to his sense of humour, now and again. Humour is certainly not the strong point of the Epics: the jests are pointed with spears, or driven in with the staff of Odysseus. Granted that the piece is intended to be humorous that is no reason why it should be late. Meanwhile, if it be a late and conscious mockery, how did it win its way into the canon? Of all things, when I read the higher criticism, I find the want of a consistent working hypothesis as to why, how, when, and where that canon was formed. One is tempted to fall back on the legend about Pisistratus and his editorial Committee, as less hopelessly futile than the vague talk about a 'school' or 'schools' who made the Homeric poems what they are. But, granting that Pisistratus did something or other to Homer, why should he have added a book of 'deliberate parody,' of solemn burlesque, to the text? How could any one have the power to do that?

The Doloneia is not, I fancy, so comic as Mr. Henry supposes. He states its contents with humorous intention, but anyone who chooses can play the part of Scarron with any book of the two Epics. We may discount Mr. Henry's facetious way of stating the facts. Mr. Monro, he says, 'lays stress on the adventurous and romantic nature of the book and the character of Odysseus as portrayed in it.' Mr. Monro, as usual, here writes like a competent and sympathetic critic of early poetry. Mr. Leaf grants that 'the story itself is vigorous enough when we come to it.' It is vigorous, I hope to show, with the energy of a man who thoroughly knows what he is writing about, who is a keen observer of human

character, and has more and better humour than Mr. Henry gives him credit for.

Suppose an early poet, chanting on winter nights a long epic to an audience in the hall of a princely house. He takes up Agamemnon and the Achaeans at the nadir of their fortunes. The Greeks have been driven to their ships; Hector is encamped on the plain; the light of his camp-fires is glowing on the dark sky (line 12) in the eyes of the wakeful Agamemnon, and Achilles has threatened to launch his ships at dawn. Agamemnon is dumb when he hears of this threat, but Diomede keeps up the hearts of the kings. (IX. 13-51, 680-713.) It was in Book IX. 15, 16, onward, that Agamemnon turned cur, and Diomede spoke like a hero.

The poet here sees his opportunity for a lay in which events give encouragement to the Achaeans, while the situation affords an opportunity for unhackneyed novelties. Is there anything suspicious in all that? Have we anywhere else in the *Iliad* the picture of a night in a demoralised leaguer? Many such nights, with their wakeful anxiety, the poet's warrior audience may have known. The situation being more familiar in fact than in poetry, many of the events are also unfamiliar: it does not follow that they are meant to be funny. Remember, first, that the haughty Agamemnon is alone and is demoralised. Is it suspicious that he, unobserved and broken in spirit, should 'tear many hairs from his head by the root to Zeus upon high'? The poet, says Mr. Henry, 'wishes to make Agamemnon ridiculous.' Yet Agamemnon does nothing that, in his frame of mind, and alone, he was not very likely to do. Heroes who 'wept like waterfalls' and wore long locks, were not close-cropped British officers. When Napoleon was nervous before Leipzig he shot at a dog which barked at his horse, he missed, and threw the pistol after the tyke.

Agamemnon rises in a restless way, and, like every hero who is aroused in this night of 'funk' he dresses in what comes to hand, not in armour. They are not going to fight, and they catch at a motley variety of garments and head-gear. It would be odd if they did anything else: the poet was not wholly destitute of imagination.

The proceedings of Agamemnon are vague and purposeless, just because he is de-

moralised. Usually 'he is unbending and discourteous,' as Mr. Henry says quite truly; but now, as in Book IX, his heart is in his *καλὰ πέδιλα* (line 22) is 'in his boots' or rather his brogues, and he bids Menelaus waken the others with profuse courtesies. 'This, to say the least of it, was impertinent, considering the way in which Agamemnon has comported himself all along,' writes Mr. Henry. He appears not to understand the situation. Agamemnon has brought ruin to the very doors, by his own fault, and his arrogance has now evaporated. He had been weeping like a mountain well and had proposed to 'scuttle,' in IX. 13-28. It may, perhaps, be argued that a poet would not represent Agamemnon at all, in his depressed condition; but if he did, he had to represent him as he does, in Books IX., X.

Diomedes, on the other hand, has just shewn resolute inclination to play an up-hill game (IX. 32-49, 697-709) and, with the indomitable Odysseus, he saves the situation. I see nothing comic in Nestor's remarks when he is wakened, he knows not by whom: realistic they may be, and Mr. Henry may think the wariness of the old warrior funny if he pleases. He had two spears at his hand, and was ready to use them. In lines 163-167, Diomedes 'flies at Nestor,' in Mr. Henry's phrase. As I understand the poet, he praises and admires Nestor as 'a tough customer for an old one,' if we are to be colloquial. Throughout Nestor acts and speaks like the military Polonius that he is. Something must be done to quiet Agamemnon's nerves, and he proposes to send out a spy: a most natural proceeding. The proposed reward in black sheep may have been intelligible to the audience of the period; Mr. Leaf suggests an interpolation. If the passage is part of the joke I do not see it.

That the passage about the cap stolen by the god-father of Odysseus, Autolycus, is a parody of the lines about the sceptre of Agamemnon (II. 102) is Mr. Henry's opinion (265-270). In that case, *cadit quaestio*; the Book is a burlesque, and the old question revives, how was it intruded into the canon, and for what reason? But Autolycus was clearly a favourite rogue in Homeric times, and I think that, as concerns his exploits, and the light in which they were regarded, we are not at the proper point of view. Autolycus was, to the original hearers of the lays, what the rogue Lemminkäinen is to the Runoia of the Kalewala. Manifestly he was a maternal grandfather of whom Odysseus had reason

to be proud. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*, an adage which critics of Homer are apt to forget. We must try to read him in the same spirit as the audience heard him. Even the Scholiast was nearer the point of view than Mr. Henry is, and thought the cap a very appropriate present to Odysseus.

The whole picture of Dolon seems to me worthy of Shakespeare. The son of a rich man, the only brother out of a family of five sisters, not much to look at, but swift of foot, horses are his idols. When caught, he eagerly tells all that he knows, and, thinking that the bitterness of death is past, his heart returns to, and his tongue dilates on the splendid steeds of Rhesus: 'the greatest and finest horses that ever I saw' (436). The whole scene of the capture, the interrogation, and the slaying of the caitiff Dolon, seems to me to be admirable, and full of ruthless humour. As far as I see Odysseus *does* get the information for which he asks, and more (406-445). I may mistran-~~late~~ 465-468, but I think that the method of marking the spot where Dolon's spoils were placed is not Abderite or Gothamite. Finally the action of Odysseus in making a clear path through the corpses for the horses 'that were still unused to dead men,' is described by a poet who knew the ways of horses and of war (490-493). This man was not a late scoffer: Mr. Henry does not remark on this touch of knowledge and of poetry. Why should Odysseus *not* signal to Diomedes by a low whistle? I do not gather that he gave a cat-call through his fingers! The laugh or 'guffaw' of Odysseus, and the bath taken by the heroes are both in character and in keeping. *Enfin*, the Achaeans have won through 'the night of dread,' and have had encouragement to hold up their hearts.

I do not agree with 'the editors' that the Book is 'so miserable in its attempts to be Homeric.' The lateness of the language I leave to philologists: as literature I think that the Book was, or would have been, a welcome relief to an heroic audience who had been in nervous nocturnal situations themselves. To give such relief and variety, not to be a funny dog, was, I feel sure, the motive of the author of the Doloneia.

Throughout the higher criticism of Homer one observes the truly unscientific failure of the critics to put themselves *dans la peau* of the original audience to whom the poet made his appeal. The critics read with eyes eager to discover discrepancies which excited listeners of, say, 1100-900 B.C. could never have detected. They are

vexed by episodes and digressions, even by the over-abundance of fighting scenes, but all these things would be the joy of the audience, who revelled in the numerous and varied pictures of life as they knew and appreciated it. Many things repulsive to the modern student were delightful to the original audience of the poet. In reading Shakespeare we make due allowance for his 'topical' passages, for the taste of his audience, for 'the ears of the groundlings.' No such allowances are made for the tastes of the original audiences of the Epic poet. He is asked to come up to the standard of Aristotle: where he fails to do that he is 'un-Epic.' Necessarily Homer thought no more of the taste of Aristotle than of the taste of Peppmüller. The whole episode of Dolon corresponds closely to the taste and humour of many of the saga-makers. An Icelandic audience of 1100 A.D. would have appreciated it better than Mr. Henry. An excited Achæan

listener to the close of Book X. would have conferred a cup, a sword, or a girl captive on the singer of Book X. Can any critic with imagination and sympathy enough to think himself, for the moment, an eager warrior, listening in a hall to the chant of Dolon, deny my assertion? Science herself demands that we should place ourselves far back in the Achæan past before we criticise the poet. This is the last thing that many commentators remember. The linguistic tests may put the book late, but, when it came, we may feel sure that it was welcome. Had there been references to it in later books, criticism would have dismissed them as 'interpolations.'

In my opinion, an analysis of the proceedings and character of Agamemnon, compared with those of Charles, Arthur, and Fion, in mediæval epic and romance, would throw light on the unity and approximate date of the Iliad.

A. LANG.

ON TWO PASSAGES IN THE *BACCHÆ*.

(1) vv. 775-7 (Wecklein):

ταρβῶ μὲν εἰπεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐλευθέρους
πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς εἰρήσεται
Διόνυσος ἥσσω οὐδενὸς θεῶν ἔφν.

There is a difficulty about these lines which as far as I know has never been pointed out—the strangely submissive tone adopted by the Chorus. Contrast their words in vv. 263-5:

τῆς δυσσεβείας· ὦ ξέν', οὐκ αἰδῶ θεοὺς
Κάδμον τε τὸν σπείραντα γηγενῆ στάχυν,
'Εχίονος δ' ὦν παῖς καταισχύινε γένος;

The difference in manner is unmistakable, and becomes only more striking when we consider the circumstances under which the two remarks are severally made. The earlier, full of uncompromising hostility, occurs exactly at the point where one would expect the Bacchantes to be most conciliatory. Pentheus has just come upon the scene. He is the king of Thebes, as the Chorus know, and humanly speaking he holds their lives in his hand. His opening speech is a furious denunciation of the Bacchic religion and its followers. Obviously it behoves the Chorus to act with caution—to protest, no

doubt, but to protest with patience and submissiveness. Instead of this they instantly raise the cry of 'Heresy!' (It may be answered of course that they are strong in the knowledge that their god can protect them against any earthly power; but if so, what of the later passage?) Turning to vv. 775 sqq., it is to be observed that they come precisely at the point where the case for Dionysus has received the strongest possible support. They form the first utterance of the Chorus in presence of the king since the overthrow of his palace and the story of the First Messenger with its crushing wealth of miracles. What better opportunity could there be triumphantly to point the moral and even to hurl defiance at the hated Pentheus? Instead of this, the 'Raging Women' evince a belated timidity: 'I fear to say my say freely to the king, but still the words shall out: Dionysus is inferior to none of the gods.' There is no reason which can be offered for their pusillanimity which does not apply with threefold force to the first passage. If he is angry now, he was angry then, and since that moment they have been cheered by the presence of their god himself, as

manifested in the leaping flame and the reeling palace-walls. They have seen the irresistible might of Dionysus and the utter inability of Pentheus to stay his course. When they were most alone and most defenceless they withstood him to his face; now that they have seen him baffled and discredited they cringe before him with the Messenger's triumphant narrative ringing in their ears.

Surely it is impossible to deny that these two passages are essentially inconsistent. The first of them is certainly appropriate, and the second just as inappropriate, to the Chorus of Maenads. The question that faces us then is, to whom *are* vv. 775-7 suitable? If the *Bacchae* had perished, leaving us only these three lines and a vague knowledge of the plot, how would scholars have treated the fragment? They would have postulated a 'Chorus of Theban Elders' and would have assigned our passage to them. To such a speaker they should be given now. Most readers must have been struck by the way in which the ordinary Theban citizens (who would of course be an enormously important factor in such a situation) are kept out of sight all through the play. But one of them, I imagine, comes to the front at this point, and with a nervousness and deference quite alien to the Maenads, but exactly appropriate to a loyal subject of the Theban monarch, avows his belief in Dionysus and attempts to divert the King from his suicidal policy.

In short, the passage affords another piece of evidence in favour of Dr. Verrall's view of the 'Chorus' in Greek Tragedy as expounded in his edition of the *Agamemnon* (2nd edit. *Introd.* pp. xlvii-lit). There are, I conclude, ordinary Thebans, other than the usual *πρόσπολοι*, on the stage, who, except in this place, have no words assigned to them. The very scanty references to the men of the city seem to show

that their attitude towards the new worship passes from inert disapproval to inert acquiescence—they are Boeotians through and through. And this transition is marked by a halting confession of faith from a single individual with more enterprise and intelligence than his fellows.

(2) vv. 239-241 :

εἰ δ' αὐτὸν εἴσω τῆσδε λήψομαι στέγης
παύσω κτυποῦντα θήρσον ἀνασειόντά τε
κόμας, τράχηλον σώματος χωρὶς τεμῶν.

Why *στέγης*? Why should Pentheus think it necessary to take the malefactor inside his palace before execution can be done on him? That he actually does send Bacchus, when taken captive, into the house, is no argument, for by the time we reach that point the king has changed his mind. Instead of beheading the 'Lydian' he passes no sentence, and merely gives directions for his imprisonment. For this indeed a *στέγη* of some sort is necessary, but not for an execution; least of all is the palace a suitable spot. Wecklein (quoting *Or.* 1531) suggests *τοῦδε . . . ξίφους*, but this is going unnecessarily far from the manuscripts. Should we not read :

εἰ δ' αὐτὸν εἴσω τῆσδε ληψόμεσθα γῆς κτέ.

i.e., 'If I catch him *while he is still within reach of my authority* I will stop his sport for ever'? Probably the change originated with some reader who was offended by the discrepancy in number between *ληψόμεσθα* and *παύσω*—a formal inconsistency which can easily be paralleled (cf. vv. 669, 949). *λήψομαι* then was written in, either as a correction or as a note, and being grammatically easier ended by ousting the right word. Finally *γῆς* was altered to *στέγης* to mend the metre by some one who had the sequel in his mind.

G. NORWOOD.

Manchester

Ἐρά IN OLD COMEDY.

CRATES Ἦρωες *fr.* 8 Koock I p. 132 : Hesych. οὐκ ἀσκίω : 'οὐκ ἀσκίω μεντάρ' ἐμορμολύττετ' αὐτούς. εἶτα δ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ.' ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ κενὰ δεδοικότεν, ἐπεὶ κενὸς ὁ ἀσκός. The conjectures hitherto (εἰ τὰδ' Musurus, ἐπεὶ τὰδ' Meineke) have supposed the meaning to be 'It was not a mere bogey then that

he was frightening them with, if this is true,' or 'since this is true'. It sounds to me more likely that the sentence ran 'It wasn't a mere bogey then, but very truth' :

οὐκ ἀσκίω μεντάρ' ἐμορμολύττετο,
ἐ τὰ δ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ.

Hesych. ἐτά: ἀληθῆ ἀγαθά. Joann. Alex. on adverbs in a p. 29. 5 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐτός πάλιν ὀξύτόνου ἐτά ὀξύτόνωσ, ὡς 'ἐτὰ Τημενίδος χρύσειον γένος'. The form has been restored by Bergk in three passages of Pindar: *Nem.* vii. 25 ἐτὰν ἀλάθειαν for εἶαν or εἶαν of the MSS., *Isth.* ii. 10 ῥῆμ' ἀληθείας <ἐτᾶς> ἄγχιστα βαίνων, and *Nem.* x. 11 Ζεὺς ἐπ' Ἀλκμήναν Δανάαν τε μολῶν ἐτὸν κατέφανε λόγον for MSS. τὸν (as Eur. *El.* 816 δειζὸν τε φήμην ἔτυμον ἀμφὶ Θεσσαλῶν). It survived in colloquial Attic in the phrase οὐκ ἐτός, and it does not seem unlikely that it should have survived at this date in combination with ἀληθής.

There is a late inscription in iambics (*C.I.G.* I. 569, Kaibel 128, Cougny *Anthol.* p. 399) of which the legible part is

ἀλλ' εἰ μάτην οὐ πάντα βουλευή, σαφῶς
ΕΤΑΤ εἰσάκουε καὶ λόγοις πείραν μαθῶν
ΖΗΘΟΙ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον ἐν βίῳ χρόνον καλῶς,

εἰδὼς ὅτι κάτω Πλουτέως τὰ σῶματα
πλούτου γέμουσι μηδεὶνος χροῖζονθ' ὄλωσ.

This, if correct, is σαφῶς ἐτά τ' εἰσάκουε: one can hardly say more than 'if correct': Kaibel thought with Hermann that it should be CTAC (στὰς) εἰσάουσε.—ΖΗΘΟΙ looks like a mistake for ΖΗΘΙ: but the author of these lines cannot have thought that that would be metre, though Cougny gave it without comment. He may have intended ζῆ. Kaibel adopts Hermann's view that ΖΗ belongs to the margin and the line should begin ΘΟΥ i.e. θοῦ καλῶς.

If αὐτοῦς is genuine in Crates, something (at least one iambus) must have been omitted before ἐτά: grammarians of course commonly omitted what was not pertinent in their quotations. But ἐτὰ δ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ as the antithesis to οὐκ ἀσκήψω would be very pertinent.

W. HEADLAM.

ON ARISTOPHANES *PEACE* 990.

οἱ σου τρυχόμεθ' ἦδη
τρία καὶ δέκ' ἔτη.

Aristophanes (*Achar.* 266) accepts 431 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the war with Sparta, and the *Peace* as we have it, according to the generally accepted statement of the first hypothesis, was brought out in 421. Hence the apparent chronological difficulty in Trygaeus' reference to this interval in his address to Peace as τρία καὶ δέκ' ἔτη.

This difficulty (remarked by the scholiast and insisted on by the commentators) has been met in three ways: first, by assuming a second production of the play in 418; second, by supposing that Aristophanes is here referring to the preliminary hostilities between Corinth and Corcyra; third, by emending the text. It is possible that there was a second performance of the *Peace* in 418, but at this time there was only a nominal peace; in fact, Thucydides (5. 75) counts the period from 421 to 416 as among the years of the war. Rogers (p. xiii) goes so far as to say that 'the entire play would have been an anachronism in any other year [than 421]. Not only do all the incidental historical notices scattered throughout the

scenes . . . accord with this epoch and no other, . . . but the cardinal historical fact on which the Play itself is founded absolutely excludes the possibility of any other date.' As the second supposition, the first battle between Corinth and Corcyra occurred in 435 and the second in 432; the year required for the interval of 13 years is 434, but there is no apparent reason for dating the outbreak of the war from this year. On the whole Van Herwerden, in his authoritative edition of the play, is inclined to think that the text is unsound, but that none of the proposed corrections (including his own) is really convincing.

Before giving up the text as hopeless there is another possibility to be considered,—that Aristophanes is here using τρία καὶ δέκα as an indefinite number. There are three other places where he himself unmistakably employs the number in this sense:

Plut. 194 ἀλλ' ἦν τάλαντά τις λάβη τριακαί-
δεκα,
πολὸν μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμῆ λαβεῖν ἑκκαί-
δεκα.

Plut. 846 οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐνεργίωσ' ἔτη τριακαίδεκα

where we find precisely the same phrase as in the *Peace* passage, and

Plut. 1083 οἶκ' ἂν διαλεχθείην διεσπλεκωμένη
ὑπὸ μυρίων ἑτῶν τε καὶ τρισχιλίων.

The other passages to be noted are Homer E 387 χαλκῶι δ' ἐν κεράμωι δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας referring to the binding of Ares by the sons of Aloeus, Bacchylides xi. 192 (describing the sufferings of the frenzied daughters of Proetus)

τρискаίδεκα μὲν τελέους
μῆνας κατὰ δάσκιον ἠλύκταζον ὕλαν, and

Herod. 1. 119. ἦν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μούους, ἕτα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς.

This last passage giving the age of Harpagos' son may be questioned, but as Herodotus is here probably dealing with a folk tale, it is fair to suppose that he is giving merely the concrete but indefinite form in which the popular imagination indicated a youth of considerable size. Of the same character, doubtless, is the statement attributed to the historian Chares in Gell. 5. 2. 2 *Emptum (equum Alexandri) Chares scripsit talentis tredecim et regi*

Philippo donatum. It is obvious that there would not be precise information about such a matter, and so we have the popular conception of a large sum.¹

On the supposition that thirteen was used as an indefinite number by the Greeks, the passage in the *Peace* is of course easy of interpretation. Trygaeus, speaking here in the popular way as befits his character, has no thought of historical accuracy, but when he says to Peace, 'We have been longing for you for thirteen years,' he merely desires to convey the idea that she has been absent a long time. This view is favoured by the fact that thirteen is near to the actual number (ten), since, as König has pointed out (*Art. Number, Hastings' Dict. of the Bible* 3. 562), this approximation, real or imagined, to the definite number is usually a characteristic of the indefinite one.

J. ELMORE.

Stanford University, Cal.

¹ In Latin thirteen is of infrequent occurrence, but there is at least one undoubted example of its use as an indefinite number in *Juv. 14. 28.* Cf. *Cic. Rosc. Amer.* 20 and 99.

UNCANNY THIRTEEN.

MR. ELMORE'S collections draw attention to an interesting and, so far as I know, a neglected point. I will first add to his list some passages of which account must be taken.

Pindar *Ol.* 1. 81 *sqq.*

ἐπεὶ τρεῖς τε καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας ὀλέσασιν
μναστήρας ἀναβάλλεται γάμον
θυγατρός.

Thren. *Fr.* 135 (100).

πέφνε δὲ τρεῖς καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας τετράτῳ
δ' αὐτὸς πεδάθη.

Both these passages refer to the same thing—the number of his daughter's suitors killed by Oenomaus of Pisa.

In the next passage the fighter succumbs to his *thirteenth* adversary.

Nem. 4. 25.

σὺν ᾧ ποτε Τροίαν κραταῖος Τελαμῶν
πόρθησε καὶ Μέρωπα
καὶ τὸν μέγαν πολεμιστὰν ἔκπαγλον Ἄλκνονῆ

οὐ τετραορίας γε πρὶν δνῶδεκα πέτρῳ
ἤρωάς τ' ἐμμεβεβαῶτας ἱπποδάμους ἔλεν
δὶς τόσους.

Theocritus 15. 15 *sqq.*

ἀφ' ἧς μὲν τήνος τὰ πρόαν (λέγομεν δὲ πρόαν θην
πάντα) νίτρον καὶ φῦκος ἀπὸ σκανῶς ἀγοράσδων
ἦθε φέρων ἄλας ἄμμιν ἀνὴρ τρισκαίδεκά-
πηχυσ.

In considering all the passages which are now before us it does not appear enough to say simply that *thirteen* is an indefinite number. This interpretation cannot in fact be applied to *e.g.* Chares' statement *ap. Gell. 5. 2. 2* any more than to *Cic. Verr. 3. § 184 sq.* 'tu ex pecunia publica HS *terdeciens* scribam tuum cum abstulisse fateare . . . ut HS uno nomine *terdeciens* auferret.' Chares intended to state the exact sum paid for the horse and Gellius who turns the price into its equivalent in Roman money so understood him. In *Cicero Rosc. Amer.* 20 and 99 it is quite clear that the thirteen *fundi* of Sextus

Roscius' property 'which all abutted on the Tiber' is an exact number. When however we have eliminated all such cases and made due allowance for doubtful ones, enough are still left to justify Mr. Elmore's contention that thirteen is used both in Greek and Latin (for *terdeciens* in Juv. 14. 28 is, as he says, an undoubted example) for an indefinite number.

But is this all? Have we here a complete account of Aristophanes *Pax* 990? I am inclined to think not; and that to the Greek fancy there was something about this numerical concept that the epithet in my title expresses. The unlucky or sinister associations which we, or some of us, attach to *thirteen* seem traceable in the folk lore precept of Hesiod

μηδὸς δ' ἰσταμένου τρισκαίδεκάτην ἀλέασθαι
σπέρματος ἄρξασθαι, φυτὰ δ' ἐνθρέψασθαι
ἀρίστη. op. 780 sq.¹

The majority of the passages cited by Mr. Elmore or myself, in which this number is either loosely used or may be mythical, deal with incidents hurtful or unpleasant to man; and the inference seems warranted that thirteen was a Greek expression for an indefinite number with a sinister tinge.

With ordinary indefinite numbers the employment of the numeral is symbolic. It means a number covered by the numerical

¹ The sixteenth is the exact reverse in both respects; *ib.* 782 sq. μάλ' ἀσύμφορός ἐστι φυτοῖσιν, ἀνδρογόνος δ' ἀγαθή.

group. When Homer uses 'ten' as the number of the tongues that he should have to do justice to his theme, he chooses a 'round' number, or more strictly a familiar group of units, to show that he wants 'ten, more or less' or that ten will do. But the use in 'thirteen' appears to have a different origin. The numeral does not stand for a familiar group nor does 'thirteen' in this sense mean 'thirteen, more or less.' But both its use and its nuances appear explicable if we analyse it as a group *and* a unit, 12+1, and suppose that by the addition of the unit the number seemed to the popular fancy to break out into a new series and escape by the opening of a door, as it were, into the indefinite. It would thus belong to the same type as the popular expression 'a year and a day.' It is also possible to analyse it as 10+3, the sum of two numbers each used indefinitely. To this double indefiniteness it would then owe its peculiar character.

The subject of indefinite numbers is a fascinating study, but one which tempts to hasty generalisation. As a warning against considering an instance out of its environment I will add a striking contrast in actual usage. A little girl I know when between two and three years of age was looking at a crowd of boys in their playground. 'Look!' she cried 'two boys, mamma!' But her mother's favourite expression for an indefinite number is *fifty million*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTE ON PLATO *REPUBLIC* 566E.

Ὅταν δέ γε, οἶμαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἕξω ἐχθροὺς τοῖς μὲν καταλλαγῇ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διαφθείρῃ, καὶ ἡσυχία ἐκείνων γένηται, πρῶτον μὲν πολέμους τινὰς αἰεὶ κινεῖ, ἢ ἐν χρεῖα ἡγεμόνος ὁ δῆμος ἦ.

Simple as this passage appears, its true meaning has apparently been missed by all the interpreters whom I have consulted. Jowett translates: 'But when he has disposed of foreign enemies by conquest or treaty, and there is nothing to fear from them, then he is always stirring up some war or other,' etc.

Stallbaum writes: 'Ubi quod attinet ad externos hostes,' etc. Adam renders: 'In his relations to foreign enemies,' etc. But nothing has been said of any foreign

enemies (hostes, πολέμιοι), and it is surely a lame and illogical sequence to say that after Peisistratus or Napoleon has disposed of all foreign wars he proceeds to stir up foreign wars. The meaning required is rather: 'After he has disposed of his own (political) enemies abroad (who have gone into exile) by agreements with some and actual (καί) destruction of others,' etc. And this meaning is given by the almost technical sense of ἕξω which seems to have been overlooked in this connection. In Greek political parlance οἱ ἕξω are the party in exile. Cf. Thucyd. 4.66 οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῶν ἕξω, and 8.64 καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγῇ αὐτῶν ἕξω ἦν.

Similarly in Sophocles, Oedipus at Colonus 426, the expression οὐξ ἐληλυθώς exactly

corresponds to the *fuor usciti* of Florentine and Italian party strife. Now we are told in 566A that the tyrant himself is an exiled demagogue who has returned βία τῶν ἐχθρῶν. These ἐχθροί will naturally go into exile in turn with the wealthy μισόδημος who, Plato tells us, φεύγει, οὐδὲ μένει. It is this φυγή ἔξω to borrow the Thucydidean phrase, composed of his personal and political enemies against which the new tyrant first secures himself by bargaining with them or destroying them. Then he is ready πολέμους τινὰς αἰεὶ κινεῖν.

This interpretation, it may be observed, deprives of all basis Prof. Butcher's con-

jecture (Demosthenes, p. 68, n. 1) that this passage is imitated by Demosthenes in *Olynthiac* 2. 20. 21: 'So too with States and sovereigns; so long as they carry on war abroad, their defects escape the general eye; but once they come to grapple with a frontier war, everything is revealed.' The two passages have nothing in common except the word ἔξω, which in Demosthenes goes with the verb and denotes a war waged at a distance from the frontier (of Attica) as opposed to one on the frontier; but both are foreign.

PAUL SHOREY.

University of Chicago.

A MARVELLOUS POOL.

AMONG the wonders of the world, there is a tiny pool in Sicily near Gela which objects to being bathed in: Aristot. *Mirabil.* p. 38 Westermann 'according to Polycritus, λιμνίον τι ἔχον ἀσπίδος ὅσον τὸ περίμετρον . . . εἰς τοῦτ' οὖν εἰάν τις εἰσβῆ λούσασθαι χρεῖαν ἔχων, αὐξέσθαι εἰς εὖρος, and will continue widening enough to take 50 men: ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἀριθμὸν λάβῃ, ἐκ βάθους πάλιν ἀνοικοῦν ἐκβάλλειν μετέωρα τὰ σώματα τῶν λοουμένων ἔξω ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος. . . .' Sotion *ib.* p. 188 περὶ Γέλαν τῆς Σικελίας ἐστὶ λίμνη ἣ Σίλλα καλουμένη, ἐλαχίστη τὸ μέγεθος, ἥτις τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ λοουμένους εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν ἐκρίπτει ὡς ἀπ' ὄργάνου τινός, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης. Tzetzes *Chil.* vii. 670 pre-erves verses on the same: καὶ Φιλοστέφανός φησιν ἕτερα μὲν μυρία | καὶ Σικελῆ γῆ ρίπτουσαν λίμνην τοὺς λοουμένους·

γαίη δ' ἐν Σικελῶν Τρινακρίδι χεῦμα λέλειπται
αἰνότατον, λίμνη, καὶ εἰ οὐκ ὀλίγη,
ἔχερον δίης τῆσιν, ὁ πρὶν ποσὶ παρὰ τινάξας
ἣ δ' ἰδῶς ξηρὴν ἤλασεν ἐς ψάμαθον.

Westermann l.c. p. 180 and Cougny *Anthol.* p. 598 give this in Hermann's version of it:

χεῦμα δέδεικται
αἰνότατον, λίμνη καίπερ εἰδῶς ὀλίγη,
ἰσχυρὸν διηῆσιν ὁ πρὶν ποσὶ παῖρα τινάξης,
αἰφνιδίως ξηρὴν σ' ἤλασεν ἐς ψάμαθον.

This is likely to be right in part at least, but the phrase ἰσχυρὸν διηῆσιν sounded odd and caused me to enquire into the readings. Kiessling p. 265 gives a woodcut to represent what he read as ἔχερον: it is accented oxytone, and the ending looks like χορὸν. I suggest that it was ἐχθρὸν, 'hostile to bathers': what would be the dative? διηῆσιν does not occur, and could hardly bear the sense: but this would be even closer to the MS.

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ΕΧΟΡΟΝΑΙΝΗΚΗΙΘΙΝ

ἐχθρὸν ἀεὶ νήκτησιν 'ever hostile to swimmers.'

W. HEADLAM.

THE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE, OPTATIVE, AND IMPERATIVE IN GREEK.—A REPLY.

WHY Professor Harry of Cincinnati singled my *Greek Grammar* out for special criticism in the paper which he read at St. Louis last year,¹ and which, though I was present on the spot, I had not an oppor-

¹ Printed in the *Classical Review* of October.

tunity of hearing, I do not know. For if I have sinned, I have sinned in company with the whole tribe of Greek grammarians, according to his own showing. However I am grateful to him for calling attention to the omission of the word 'rare' over the

forms of the Perfect Subjunctive and Optative in my *Grammar*, and indeed in all¹ grammars, and also for raising the question whether these forms and that of the Perfect Imperative (which I *have* called 'rare') should not be altogether omitted. I, at any rate, have entire sympathy with the movement, which is growing in favour, for abolishing from our grammars all bogus forms; and I have done my best, according to my lights, to aid that movement. Even more important than the omission of isolated forms of rare occurrence is the simplification of grammar by the omission of whole paradigms which are unnecessary; and if Prof. Harry will look at my classification of the third declension of nouns he will find that I have reduced the number of paradigms by about one half. But can we dispense with the Perfect Subjunctive and Optative? I wish we could, and personally I should have no great objection to their disappearance. Yet I would urge two considerations on the other side. (1) Rare as these forms undoubtedly are, they occur in books commonly read in schools. When a boy comes across *βεβήκη* in the *Iliad* or Sophocles (*Electra* 1057, *Phil.* 494), or *εσβεβλήκειεν* in Thuc. ii. 48. 2, or *πεποιήκει* in Thuc. viii. 108. 1, or *εμπεπτώκει* in Xen. *Anab.* v. 7. 26, he will be puzzled if no such forms are recognized in his grammar—puzzled not so much by the forms themselves as by the apparent defectiveness of the grammar. (2) A more important consideration is that, paradoxical as it may sound, it is in reality easier to learn these perfectly regular forms than not to learn them. To remember that a perfectly regular formation which one expects does not exist is harder than to take it in one's stride. Witness the difficulty which pupils find in avoiding a Future Subjunctive, which they expect to find side by side with the Future Optative; or the difficulty of remembering the non-existence of certain Principal Parts of verbs.

On p. 351 Prof. Harry brings a different charge against the grammarians. 'They invariably—German, French, Italian, English—attempt to give the *force* of the perfect in translation.' I suppose he means that they translate the Perfect Subjunctive and Optative by Perfects in English. This charge is surely overstated. I, at any rate, have not only been careful to avoid all translations of these forms in my paradigms, but have also added explicit statements to the effect that the Greek Perfect is often

¹ I am told that Wordsworth's *Greek Grammar* is an exception.

equivalent to a Present in meaning (e.g. p. 47, p. 282, p. 296 'The Perfect Imperative Active is unusual, except in verbs whose Perfect is a simple Present in meaning'; cf. the table of the Subj. and Opt. on p. 294). When Prof. Harry goes further than this and denies that the Perfects Subj. and Opt. ever have Perfect meaning, just as *εστῆκη* is not a Perfect in sense and *ῆκη* not a Present, my scholarship is not sufficiently advanced to enable me to follow him. I should say that in *ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα εσβεβλήκειεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα* (Thuc. ii. 48) the Perfect Opt. distinctly denotes completion of the action; it represents in oblique form the meaning 'have thrown' not 'throw': so too the *εμπεπτώκει* of Xenophon and the *πεπλήγη* of Aristophanes (*Birds* 1350) and the *πεποιήκει* of Thucydides (viii. 108). That no Greek Perfect, whether Subj., Opt., Imperat. or Indic., ever denotes *past time* (a very different matter) is of course obvious.

I do not feel certain that Prof. Harry's lists are complete; at any rate I can at once supply him with two examples which he has forgotten: *πειθοιόη* in Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 94C) and *εδοκοίη* quoted by Athenaeus from Cratinus. A complete list, arranged in tabular form, would be useful.

Prof. Harry challenges the whole principle of parallelism in the treatment of Greek and Latin grammar; and no doubt there is a kind of parallelism which means mechanical uniformity and against which I should be the first to protest. But I have yet to learn that the method as applied by me is open to objection; as at present advised, I think it both useful and scientific. At any rate a principle which has been adopted (after the appearance of my *Parallel Grammar Series*) by the highest educational authority in Germany—the Ministry of Education—cannot be disposed of with a sneer. Parallelism ought to mean simply what the German *Lehrpläne* of 1891 call 'die thunlichste Uebereinstimmung der griechischen Grammatik mit der lateinischen' (p. 28); the same principle is maintained ten years later in the words 'Bei der Wahl der [griechischen] Grammatik ist darauf zu achten dass ihr syntaktischer Aufbau mit der daneben gebrauchten lateinischen Grammatik im wesentlichen übereinstimmt' (*Lehrpläne* of 1901, p. 33). The Greek tense which is most parallel to the Latin Perfect is the Aorist; and I have so treated it throughout my *Grammar*.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

BIRMINGHAM, Oct. 13th.

PRONUNCIATION OF Δ, Θ, ΟΙ, AND THE ASPIRATE.

IN Astypalaea the local pronunciation of δ is dz, and of θ a true dental t, not cerebral, followed by a distinct aspirate (= Sanskrit *th*). θ is thus pronounced, not only before a vowel, where it is easy (as in *θέλει*) but before a consonant (as in *άνθρωπος*). The initial aspirate is also heard sometimes at the beginning of a phrase (as in *ώρα καλή*), and occasionally where it should not be (as in the phrase *ἀπὸ δῶ, ἀπὸ κεῖ* 'this way and that way'). The last peculiarity I have heard in Patmos and elsewhere; it is sporadic, and is not realized by the speakers. I have not heard dz=ζ or th=θ anywhere

preserves the diphthong *oi* in the phrase *οἷος κί ἂν εἶνε* 'whoever it may be'; the first word is pronounced *οῖος* with the usual very soft γ.

The only printed documents in the dialect of Astypalaea are eleven folktales in Pio's *Contes Populaires grecs* pp. 80-192 (Copenhagen, 1879). These were written down by an educated Astypaliote, and not very accurately. He represents θ sometimes by the tenuis τ, sometimes by θ.

There are many other peculiarities in this dialect, and a great number of ancient words still in use which have disappeared

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CORRIGENDA, DECEMBER 1905, p. 441.

For 'PRONUNCIATION OF Δ, Θ, ΟΙ AND THE ASPIRATE' read
'PRONUNCIATION OF Ζ, Θ, ΟΙ AND THE ASPIRATE,' and in col. 1,
l. 2 for 'δ' read 'ζ.'

To Binder.—This slip should be placed so as to face p. 440.

i-

especially in the *Deorum Titulorum*, would be more useful for some further enlargements. The following supplement is accordingly appended. The passages included in it are in the subsequent discussion distinguished by an asterisk. The others are to be sought on pp. 208-213 of the first article.

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§ 2 (S) After *imperavit* —*negavit*.
VII. 26. 3 (S) After *petierunt ne*.
44. §§ 3-5 (S) After '*constabat inter omnes*.'

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preserves the diphthong oi in the phrase οἷος κὶ ἂν εἶνε 'whoever it may be'; the first word is pronounced ὄγιος with the usual very soft γ.

The only printed documents in the dialect of Astypalaea are eleven folktales in Pio's *Contes Populaires grecs* pp. 80-192 (Copenhagen, 1879). These were written down by an educated Astypaliote, and not very accurately. He represents θ sometimes by the tenuis τ, sometimes by θ.

There are many other peculiarities in this dialect, and a great number of ancient words still in use which have disappeared elsewhere (e.g. λίμνη, ληνός, ἀνεπά=ἀνοπή). This is to be explained by the isolation of the community, which is out of the commercial track, not visited by steamers, and offers no attractions to the tourist.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

REPRÆSENTATIO TEMPORUM IN THE ORATIO OBLIQUA OF CAESAR.

(See p. 213.)

A re-examination of the two histories has shown that Mr. Savúndranâyagam's lists, especially in the *Bellum Gallicum*, would be more useful for some further enlargements. The following supplement is accordingly appended. The passages included in it are in the subsequent discussion distinguished by an asterisk. The others are to be sought on pp. 208-213 of the first article.

B.G.

- I. 2. §§ 1, 2 (S) After *persuasit*.
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facta extremum auxilium experirentur.'

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 VII. 26. 3 (S) After *petierunt ne*.
 44. §§ 3-5 (S) After 'constabat inter omnes.'

71. §§ 2-4 (P) After *H.P.'s* (§ 2 *possent a V.*)

89. 1, 2 (P) After *H.P. demonstrat.*

B.C.

II. 42. § 4 (P) After *H.P. confirmat.*

The primary object of the inquiry was *Oratio Obliqua* in its developed and continuous form. Herein the consideration of single sentences in direct dependence on a verb of saying asking or commanding (or prohibiting) was not obviously included. Furthermore, Caesar not unfrequently breaks up what might have been a continuous indirect narration by the insertion of a verb of saying or the like; see, for example, *B.G. *VII. 71. §§ 2, 3, 4.* To omit all reference to such cases was neither possible nor advisable: on the other hand, to include them all would have burdened the investigation unnecessarily. The number given, it is believed, will be sufficient to be instructive. Examples of what is conveniently denominated 'Virtual' *Oratio Obliqua* have not been regarded, nor have passages of Actual *Oratio Obliqua* been included which did not happen to contain a finite verb.

PART II.—EXAMINATION OF THE MATERIAL.

§ 1.—Retention of Secondary Tenses.

The examination of the material must start with the observation of what Professor Conway has justly called an 'elementary precaution.'¹ It is nearly thirty years since my attention was drawn to its neglect by professed or occasional exponents of Latin grammar. I was struck by a remarkable comment in Seeley's edition of *Livy I.* on the passage quoted in the *New Latin Primer* at the place cited by Prof. Conway. At I. 51. 4 *Livy* has [Tarquinius Turnum] 'ait adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio: dilatam rem esse quod auctor concilii afuerit quem maxime peteret,' and Seeley commented as follows 'quem maxime peteret] We expect "petat" or "petierit". This is the only imperfect in the passage. It is not easy to trace, as W. tries to do, any motive for the change of tense.' 'W.'s

¹ 'In order to understand a Tense in *Or. Obliqua* it is absolutely necessary to consider what it represents in the *Or. Recta*—an elementary precaution which Draeger and others have singularly disregarded though it seems to be implied for instance by Postgate *N.L.P.* § 430 (10).' *On the Variation of Sequence in Oratio Obliqua*, Appendix II. to his edition of *Livy II.*, p. 189 and footnote.

(Weissenborn's) attempt is as follows 'Das Imperf., das einzige in der Rede, stellt seine Person in den Hintergrund; die Praesentia rücken, wie in *Orat. recta* das Praesens hist., die Sache näher, stellen sie als bedeutender dar oder bezeichnen ähnliche Nüancen des Gedankens.' On this passage I had noted that the reason why *peteret* was 'the only imperfect in the passage' in *Oratio Obliqua* was that it was the only imperfect (*petebat*) in *Oratio Recta*. Seeley's note (possibly corrected in the third edition which I have not seen) was published in 1874. But in 1905 Prof. E. B. Lease, in his edition of *Livy Books I, XXI, XXII (Gildersleeve-Lodge Latin Series)*, still writes 'afuerit] cf. 'audierit,' l. 28; 'habuerint,' l. 386 and 'uenerit,' l. 1439. *peteret] the tense is influenced by "dilatam esse" (my italics).* I have no desire to dwell on the point. So I will simply set out in full from Prof. Lease's text the second of his citations. I. 11. 8, 9 'additur fabula, quod uulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laeuo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint (*O.R.* habuerunt), pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent (*O.R.* habebant); eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus haberent derecto arma petisse dicant et fraude uisam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.'

This inquiry will not then concern itself further with the cases in which, the tense of a finite verb being Secondary in *Oratio Recta*, its tense is naturally Secondary in *Oratio Obliqua*. But some examples are appended:

B.G. II. 14. § 4 fuissent (O.R. fuerant)—intellegent (O.R. intellegebant)—intulissent (O.R. intulissent). V. 27. § 6 *O.R.* 'hic est dictus dies ne qua legio—uenire possent.' VII. 5 § 5 *O. R.* 'id consilii fuisse cognouimus ut si—transissemus, una ex parte ipsi altera Aruerni nos circumsisterent.' 38. 5 'equites Aeduorum interfectos quod collocuti cum Aruernis dicerentur' (*O.R.* dicebantur). [The (S) after the reference on p. 211a should be deleted.] 41 § 2 'summis copiis castra oppugnata sunt cum—succederent—defetigarent, quibus—esset (or erat)—permanendum.' *B.C. I. 7 § 2* 'nouum in r.p. introductum exemplum ut notaretur,' 22 § 5 'cuius orationem Caesar interpellat se non maleficii causa ex prouincia egressum' (*O.R.* egressus sum) 'sed uti se a contumeliis defenderet' (*O.R.* me defenderem) e.q.s., 32 § 2 *O.R.* 'fui contentus eo quod omnibus ciuibus patebat,' e.q.s. § 5 *O.R.* 'postulabant—recusabant—malebant.' And *B.C. I. 7. 5.*

where the sequence of *darent* after the perfect tense (O.R. *est decretum*) is quite in order.

§ 2. Form of Introducing Verb.

Amongst the factors determining the tense of a verb in Oratio Obliqua the tense in which it would presumably have appeared in Oratio Recta may not improperly be considered principal. The most important of the accessory factors is the form of the verb or phrase which introduces the indirect narrative.

We may distinguish three varieties :

A. *Forms associated in common usage with Present Time.*

B. *Forms associated in common usage with Past Time.*

C. *Forms with neutral or conflicting associations.*

A. The chief, in fact the only one, of these forms is the HISTORIC PRESENT INDICATIVE. Those who have realised the powerful influence which the tense of the chief verb of a principal sentence in Latin exerts upon that of the chief verb in subordinate ones will feel no surprise that in over sixty¹ cases of a total number of between eighty and ninety, the sequence after a Historic Present is Primary.

B. After (i) the *Imperfect* and (ii) the *Aorist Perfect* (the Perfect Proper being precluded by the conditions of the case) the sequence is predominantly Secondary, nearly sixty cases out of a total of between seventy and eighty.¹

(iii) After the HISTORIC INFINITIVE the sequence is Secondary. The actual cases in Caesar are too few (*B.C.* I. 64 and III. 12) to warrant an immediate deduction. And it is true first that Primary tenses may follow this form (*Ter. Eun.* 619) and secondly that it alternates with the Historic Present, which we have seen prefers the Primary Sequence, in, e.g., *Sallust Cat.* 60. §§ 2-4., *Livy* I. 41. 1. But a consideration of the usage of *Sallust*, which presents Secondary Sequence in *Cat.* 27. 2, 40. 4, 54. 4; *Iug.* 30. 3, 36. 2, 45. 2, 51. 4, 55. 3, 58. 3, 64. 2, *ib.* 5, 67. 1, 74. 1, 88. 2, 91. 1, 93. 1, 96. 2, 107. 3, and perhaps other places with no example noted on the other side, seems to justify this conclusion.

(iv) This conclusion agrees with the fact that COEPI with the *Infinitive*, a form whose

usage has recognised kinship with that of the Historic Infinitive (cf. *Wöfflin Archiv* x. pp. 177 sq., 181), also has Secondary Sequence in four passages *B.G.* I. 20,* V. 6, *B.C.* I. 86, II. 28. So in *Sallust Cat.* 31. 7, 40. 2.

C. Under this head are included phrases like '*haec fuit oratio*,' *B.G.* IV. 7 with Primary Sequence, but '*mandata remittunt quorum haec erat summa*' *B.C.* I. 10, compare *ib.* III. 57 and (with MS. variation) III. 10, with Secondary Sequence. The difference between *B.C.* I. 8 '*habere se—mandata demonstrat*' with Primary and *B.G.* I. 35 '*cum his mandatis mittit*' with Secondary Sequence may perhaps be sought in the fact that '*habere se demonstrat*' distinctly suggests a present '*habeo mandata*,' whereas the *H.P.* in the latter place is weak and formal. The tenses in *B.C.* III. 33 after '*litterae redduntur a Pompeio*' are (see below) the usual ones in a command.

§ 3. Retention of Primary Tenses for intrinsic reasons. In Climax and Universal statements.

Attempts have naturally been made to find intrinsic reasons for the appearance of Primary Tenses in Oratio Obliqua where Secondary might have been expected, and the reason usually chosen is the greater vividness of such tenses which fits them for conveying emphasis of various kinds. The proper limitations of such a procedure can only be ascertained by a detailed examination for which here there is no space. But that we should exercise great caution in construing a difference of tense into a difference of sense is shown by the fluctuations in set collocations such as '*mittit qui dicant*' or '*dicerent*.' In this regard it is instructive to compare *B.G.* I. 7 '*mittunt qui dicerent*' and IV. 11 '*mittit qui nuntiarent*' with *B.C.* I. 17 '*mittit qui orent*' and the varying sequence in *B.G.* I. 7, II. 3, I. 26.

A suggestion of Mr. Savúndranâyagam's that Primary Tenses are employed to mark a *Climax* in a speech as in *B.G.* I. 40. 7, IV. 16. 7, VII. 20 and 29, deserves a particular mention.

A recognised use of the Primary Tenses is the one in *General Maxims* or *Universal Statements*, and so Mr. Savúndranâyagam would explain the change to Primary Tenses in *B.G.* VII. 29; and the same may perhaps be seen in *B.G.* I. 14 § 5 (where the Secondary is not resumed after it has once been dropped). Mr. Savúndranâyagam cites also *B.G.* I. 14, 7, *consuerint* following on

¹ Exact statistics are intentionally avoided. The mixed cases are reckoned as exceptions.

respondit, I. 44, 2 and *B.C.* I. 67. 3 *con-sueverit* and 4 *soleant*, where, as in *B.G.* I. 14. 5, no Secondary Tenses follow. On *B.G.* VII. 32. 3 I shall comment below.

§ 4. *Deficiencies in the Subjunctive Tense System. Future Perfect and Future.*

The deficient tense system of the Subjunctive makes it inevitable that in the distribution of the uses of the tenses in subordinate or accessory clauses *Oratio Obliqua* should differ from *Oratio Recta*.

Prof. Conway, *l.c.* p. 188, lays down, as a general principle which represents Livy's use, that 'in passages of *Oratio Obliqua* in which Livy is using Primary Tenses after a Past governing Verb where a change of Tense is unavoidable (as in converting the Imperative and the Future of the *Or. Recta*), there Livy's usage varies; but the Tense chosen is most often Secondary: *e.g.* I. 40. 3.'

To take the Futures first, the Future Perfect stands on a somewhat different footing from the Future Simple, inasmuch as the only forms available for *Oratio Obliqua* (3rd person singular and plural) are identical with those of the Perfect Subjunctive and might therefore be 'retained.' Taking examples from the first book of the *B.G.*, we find the Secondary tense (Pluperfect) in 13. 3, 35. 4, 36. 5, 44. 13, and the Primary one (Perfect) in 14. 6, 31. 15, 44. 12. The last passage is interesting. When Ariovistus is threatening Caesar with punishment, he uses the Primary tenses (Present in 11, Perfect in 12), when promising him rewards, the Secondary one (13). And it may be contended that in the first case the more vivid tense is the more natural.

For a Future Simple of *O.R.* we have a Secondary Tense in *B.G.* I. 13. 3, 4, 35. 41, 36. 5 and a Primary one in I. 14. 6, 44. 11. Also in 40. 15, where however the choice of *sequetur* for the future enables *dubitaret* (*O.R. dubito*) to be used without ambiguity for the present.

So far then as these two tenses go, the usage of Caesar appears to be irreducible to general rules, and inasmuch as some further uncertainty is induced by the fact that in certain uses the *O.R.* might show a Subjunctive, it seems unprofitable to pursue the inquiry further.

§ 5. *'Adjustments.'*

It would appear that accommodations or adjustments in the expression, induced by the unconscious desire to eke out the Subjunctive's scanty apparatus of tenses, are

more common than has hitherto been supposed.

(i) *Present Subjunctive.*

To *B.G.* I. 40. 15 I have already referred. In *B.C.* I. 26. 4 the change from 'ut *conloqueretur* postulat' to 'si *sit* potestas facta' may be reasonably ascribed to a wish to sharpen the expression of the future sense. So probably also in I. 11. 2 'iturus *sit*.' Compare *B.C.* I. 85. 12 'si id *sit* factum.'

(ii) *Pluperfect Subjunctive.*

It is now well recognised that Latin uses the Pluperfect Indicative to mitigate, as it would seem, the ambiguity caused by the confusion of the Aorist and Perfect forms. If this motive was operative in the Indicative, it should be stronger in the Subjunctive, practically the only finite mood of *Oratio Obliqua*, inasmuch as the Perfect there had, as a representative of future perfect time, an additional function to discharge.

Accordingly where an action is marked as prior to another action, or where there is a definite sense that it is remote in the past, we must not expect the Perfect but the Pluperfect. So we should explain the 'suscepisset' of *B.C.* I. 30. 5, the Pluperfects of *ib.* 32. §§ 3, 4, and 6 (where the 'paulo ante' should be observed), 74. § 2, II. 21. 1 and the noticeable 'consuessent' of *B.G.* VII. 32. 3. The 'confirmassent' of *B.C.* II. 34. 5 may be due to the same cause; it is however sufficiently explained by its dependence on the Perfect Participle *elocutus*.

In *B.C.* II. 25. 6 and III. 13. 3 the design being to emphasise the completion of the act rather than its future character, the Pluperfect is preferred to the Perfect. And on this ground *perequitasset* seems preferable to *perequitarit* at *B.G.* VII. 66. 7. It must be admitted that *B.G.* *I. 42. 1 cannot thus be explained.

In *B.G.* I. 40. 7 the MSS. vary between *superarint* (the α family) and *superassent* (the β family). But the former is preferable not only because the latter may well have come from *superassent* in § 6, but because there is a manifest economy in using one tense for the recent victory of the Helvetii and another for the remote defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones. In II. 4. 2 on the other hand the Belgae's repulse of these hordes is the more recent and their expulsion of the Galli from their territory the more ancient event. Hence the *prohibuerint* of α is preferable to the *prohibuissent* of β .

The need for special discrimination having passed, *sumerent* (§ 3) returns to the Secondary Sequence.

§ 6.—*Commands and Prohibitions.*

The usual practice of Latin is no doubt to use the *Imperfect Subjunctive* (with or without *ne* as the case requires) in the reports of speeches. The examples in Book I. of the *B.G.* are 7. 6, 13. 4, 5, 7, 26. 6, 35. 3, 36. 7, 42. 4, 43. 9. But the *Present* is also found: III. 8. 5, IV. 7. 4, V. 41. 8, 46. 4, VI. 23. 7.

This preference is not due to any absence of the Imperative from *Oratio Obliqua*. It appears to be due to the instinctive feeling of language that commands belong to a different mental region from statements, and that it is a much heavier tax on the imagination to represent a past command or wish as present than so to picture a past scene with its accessories. If in commands the Present is a sort of *tour de force* we advance a step towards understanding the variation in *B.G.* V. 58. 4 'unum omnes peterent Induitorum neu quis quem prius *uulneret* quam illum interfectum uiderit' and VII. 86. 2 'imperat si sustinere non possit deductis cohortibus eruptione *pugnaret*; id nisi necessario *ne faciat*,' the action that was *not* to come off being allowed the Present. This suggestion is not inconsistent with the theory, which is no doubt the first to occur to us, that the Primary Tense expresses both in negative and in positive sentences some sharpening of the emphasis.

A noteworthy case of preference for the Secondary tense in a wish or prayer is the *cogerentur* of *B.G.* VII. 15. 4 depending on a *H.P.*, corresponding to a *cogamur* of the *O.R.* and immediately following a Present *quae sit*.

§ 7. *Vellet (-ent) and velit (-int).*

It seems worth while to examine the details of some one special case of variation, and the two verbs of the heading offer themselves as suitable for the purpose.

The *Imperfect Subjunctive* depends on a Secondary Tense in *B.G.* I. 7. 6, 14. 3, 28. 1, 30. 4, 31. 2, 36. 1, 7, 44. 8, 13, IV. 23. 5, V. *26. 4, 43. 6 (*coepi*), VII. 16. 2, 27. 1, 38. 4, *B.C.* I. 2. 2, II. 35. 2, 44. 3, III. 1. 4, 6. 1, 17. 4, 19. 3, 23. 3, 78. 4, 89. 4, 5, 108. 2: 27 cases, *B.C.* II. 29. 3 being omitted as corrupt. In one place, *B.G.* *I. 47. 1, it follows a *H.P.* Cf. *B.C.* I. 18. 1.

The *Present Subjunctive* follows a *H.P.* or what may be a *H.P.* (for it must be remembered that in certain verbs of the third conjugation the Present and Perfect

third persons singular agree in form) in III. 8. 5, 18. 2, 26. 1, V. 2. 3, 41. 6, 51. 3, VII. 31. 4, 45. 7, 89. 2. *B.C.* I. 1. 2, 4, III. 62. 3, 82. 1: 13 cases.

The *Present* follows a Secondary Tense in *B.G.* I. 14. 5, 34. 2, 43. 8, IV. 8. 3, V. 27. 9, 36. 2, 41. 8, VI. 23. 7: 8 cases. Of these, *B.G.* I. 34. 2 and V. 27. 9 may be explained as emphatic futures, and *B.G.* I. 14. 5, and 43. 8 as general statements; V. 36. 2 and 41. 8 follow *respondit*, VI. 23. 7, *dixit*, and IV. 8. 3 '*exitus fuit orationis.*' For the Primary Sequence here no particular reason can be discerned; and in the face of *B.G.* VI. 14. 4 'id mihi duabus de causis *instituisse* uidentur quod neque in uulgum disciplinam efferri *uelint* neque' etc., where the Imperfect would seem more natural, it seems better to suppose that, whereas Caesar felt that *uellet* (*ent*) should be limited to relations with the Aorist (for *B.G.* I. 47. 1 comes in a Secondary Sequence already established), he did not feel the same about *uelit* (*-int*). And the reason perhaps was this, *uelim* is by form an optative; and as such it may have retained some traces of the freer undetermined use which we find in ancient Latin and the earlier usage of the parallel Greek optatives.

In *B.G.* I. 44. 4 *a's* '*experiri uelint*' and '*si pace uti uelint*'¹ is diplomatically preferable to the '*uellet*' and '*si pacem mallent*' of β . Whether in *B.G.* VI. 9. 7 we should read '*si uelit dari, pollicentur*' with β , or '*si uellet, dare pollicentur*' with *a* has been disputed. But the balance of considerations, which we have pointed out, inclines to the former reading.

§ 8.—*Manuscript Discrepancies.*

To some of these no one acquainted with the habits of Latin scribes will attach the slightest importance. Such are the variants *possit, possint; possent, possent* at *B. G.* I. 17. 1, V. 46. 4, VII. 5. 2, 20. 5, 10, and at I. 17. 3 the editors do well to accept Hotman's *possint* for the MS. *possent*. In a few cases the variation is greater. The β family has the Secondary Tense in I. 40. 7, 44. 12 and II. 4. 2 already dealt with. In II. 4. 4 '*pollicitus esset*' β seems less natural than '*pollicitus sit*' *a*. On the other hand in III. 8. 4 β has '*malint*' against *a's* '*mallent*,' in VI. 9. 7 '*uelit*' against *a's* '*uellet*' and in VII. 66. 7 '*perequitarit*' against *a's* '*perequitasset*.' In VII. 66. 4 β and one MS. of the *a* family have rightly

¹ In the quotation on p. 210 the reading given is *a's*; but the comma is misplaced.

'*adorirentur*,' the rest vary between *adorirentur* and *adoriantur*. In V. 29. 6 β has 'si nihil *sit—consentiat*' and a '*esset—consentiret*.' If we must choose between α and β here, β 's readings are preferable. But I conjecture that their disagreement means that both have preserved and both corrupted part of the truth and that Caesar wrote 'si nihil *esset* durius nullo cum periculo ad proximam legionem peruenturus: si Gallia omnis cum Germanis *consentiat*, unam esse in celeritate positam salutem.' For Titurius desires to insist on the last—the dangerous alternative. This releases the Imperfect in the next section '*Cottae atque eorum qui dissentirent* (O.R. *dissentiunt*).' *I. 47. 1 seemingly has already been given as the only case where *uellet* follows a H.P., and so β 's *misit* may be right, cf. *I. 26. 6, and *mittit* have come from *42. 1. On the other hand *uellet* may simply have followed the sequence of '*coepit essent*,' which may be a Pluperfect of Emphasis. The character of the evidence is not such as to warrant us in changing Primary Tenses to Secondary where the MSS. give no variant, as Meusel does, for example, at I. 34. 3 and 43. 7.

§ 9.—*General Observations.*

The foregoing review does not profess to have provided a simple and unerring answer to the question: 'Would Caesar in a given context have used a Primary or a Secondary Tense?' It contents itself with having traced the considerations by which in the main his choice would be, whether consciously or unconsciously, determined. Whenever there is still admitted fluctuation in the usage of a language or in other words whenever the associations of syntactical forms have not stiffened into a rigid convention, it is natural to suppose that the writer chooses the form most expressive of his meaning. This is true, but only partially true. For there is another factor—the factor of sound and in particular of *rhythm*—which, as at this time of day need hardly be shown at length, is apt to override the purely syntactical considerations, and

which, though it can receive but a bare mention here, must by no means be passed over, as it may well afford an explanation of the residual peculiarities in the tense sequences of Oratio Obliqua in Caesar.

In conclusion it seems advisable to note an inadequate or rather erroneous conception of the Oratio Obliqua, to which the current terminology, which in the above discussion it has been impossible wholly to discard, lends only too much support. Expressions like 'the *conversion* of Oratio Recta into Oratio Obliqua,' or 'the *retention* of the Tenses of the Recta' have a certain practical convenience, it is true, but no historical justification. The Oratio Recta and Oratio Obliqua are in their origins perfectly distinct. The connexion and correspondence which the mind perceives between them are the effects of usage and association. It is therefore inexact to call a form in O. Obliqua the 'equivalent' of a form in O. Recta, nor is it quite exact even to speak of them as 'corresponding.' For some expressions of O. Recta there is no 'equivalent' in O. Obliqua, and there are expressions in O. Obliqua, the 'equivalent' of which in O. Recta it is impossible to determine. And even in cases where the agreement in usage is sufficient to excuse the term, a comparison of the 'equivalents' may reveal their original diversity. Thus the ordinary expressions of a prohibition are in O. Recta *noli* with the Infinitive or *ne* with the Perfect Subjunctive, but in O. Obliqua *ne* with the Imperfect or the Present. And though for the sake of fixing our own thoughts we may say that in e.g. B.G. IV. 7. 4 '*uel sibi agros attribuant uel patiantur* eos tenere quos armis possederint' the tense of the *attribuite* and *patimini* of the Recta are 'retained,' it is more accurate to say that the *attribuant* and *patiantur* of an Oratio Obliqua of the present time (*iubeo*, *iubes*, *iubet*, *attribuant*) are used in an Oratio Obliqua of the past.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTE ON PLINY, *EPP.* III. 6, IX. 39.

THESE two letters are of some interest as throwing light on Pliny's method in editing his correspondence for publication.¹

¹ See Mommsen, in *Hermes* iii. (1869), pp. 31, 32.

In iii. 6, he requests a friend to have a base made, of whatever kind of marble he shall choose, for a certain statuette; he fails however to state the desired dimensions of the

base, or the size of the statuette. In ix. 39, he tells another friend that he is about to rebuild a certain temple of Ceres and construct a porticus, and asks him to purchase four marble columns, of whatever kind he shall choose, and also marble for floor and walls; likewise, to buy or have made a cult statue. No dimensions are given, no estimates of the amount of marble required for floor and walls; as regards the porticus, for the design of which he would be glad of suggestions, the general lie of the land is indicated, but not by any means so definitely that an architect could go ahead and draw up plans and specifications.

Neither of these letters, then, could

actually have been sent in its present form, since neither conveys the information necessary to enable the recipient to carry out the request of the sender. How is this to be explained? I think it probable that the original letters which Pliny actually sent did give the necessary information, but that in editing the collection for publication he found it more in accordance with his canons of taste to strike out the details relating to feet and inches, which would detract from the dignity of the composition as a whole.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

American School of Classical Studies in Rome,
October 1905.

REVIEWS.

SHARPLEY'S *PEACE OF ARISTOPHANES*.

The Peace of Aristophanes. Edited with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Commentary by H. SHARPLEY. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1905. 8vo. Pp. 188. 12s. 6d. net.

AN edition of Aristophanes, that might rank with the great editions of Aeschylus and Sophocles, is still work that invites the attention of scholars. Mr. Neil left us the *Knights* as an exemplar; and Mr. Sharpley has done something to continue the tradition. His volume is no mere school-book; he has not, from considerations of space, burked any discussion; and he possesses a sane judgment and elegant taste which have served him in good stead. To speak broadly, the English reader will find a text based on critical principles which will approve themselves to him and a commentary sufficient to his needs, illuminating and convincing. In the Introduction is a sketch of the play with some remarks upon it, and the question of a second edition is discussed; a valuable description of the probable scenic arrangement is given, and some account of the manuscripts and their relative value.

The excellence of the work so far as it goes makes it the more regrettable that Mr. Sharpley has interpreted his duty as an editor so narrowly in one direction. He gives us nothing of the same character as

e.g. Dr. Verrall's discussions of the plots in his editions of the *Agamemnon* and above all the *Choephoroi*. It is not that Mr. Sharpley is unequipped for the task: there are hints enough to show that he 'could, an he would'; and it is in the hope that he will go on to edit other plays that the suggestion is thrown out of a fuller treatment for Aristophanes' genius, and Athenian Comedy in general. Apart from this unfortunate self-limitation, our editor is successful in calling attention to the strength and the weakness of the play; he makes us feel the intense throb of Panhellenic sympathy, the merry jollity, the passionate loyalty to Athens; though he hardly perhaps sees as clearly into Aristophanes' prejudices as did Mr. Neil—indeed he follows a little too devotedly Mr. Whibley's statements as to the poet's political views.

On the question of a second edition our editor's conclusion is that 'it is perhaps a wholesome thing that there should be a few problems in the domain of scholarship in which the evidence for and against is so equally balanced or so conflicting as to make dogmatism an impertinence.' In his discussion of the manuscripts, it is hard to resist a suspicion that the whole subject is to him somewhat wearisome: at any rate he can hardly be said to go deep enough. In considering the relation between the Ravenna MS. (R) and the Venice (V),

although he goes to work most methodically, classifying the agreement in correct readings, and in errors, the divergence in errors, and other discrepancies, when he comes to formulate his conclusions, he does not make his account with the character of the phenomena as indicative of the archetypes that must be postulated. He does not distinguish errors that imply a minuscule source, from those that imply uncials. Nor does he always, it would appear, go back in imagination to the probable origin of errors: e.g. in line 1187 R has ὦν ἐν τε εὐθεν εἰθύνας ἐμοὶ δάσσοισιν, ἣν θεὸς θέλη and V originally had the same, only the second hand replacing it by the correct ἔτ'. Of course, ἐν τε εὐθεν was a misreading of a perhaps barely legible ἔτ' εὐθύν(ας). It is clear that in those places where all our MSS. fail us, we are not making the best use we can of our material, unless we have some genealogical scheme formulated consistently with all the phenomena observable and limiting the range of our guesses. Whether, after this is done, any places will remain that require unsupported conjecture is not yet clear: at any rate in 874 where Mr. Sharpley follows Kock in reading ἐπέμπομεν for ἐπαίομεν Βραυρωνιάδε, the commentary does not convince me. To use Mr. Sharpley's own illustration, it is not absurd to say 'we kissed her all the way to Windsor.'

In the details of the notes Mr. Sharpley is generally acute and accurate: but a few matters invite comment and correction. On lines 2 (αὐτῷ, τῷ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένῳ) and 1121 (παῖ' αὐτὸν, τὸν ἀλαζόνα) the appended terms of abuse are correctly taken, but a note on the use of the article would have been welcome, cf. σὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν κ.τ.λ. Besides it is hardly true that 'the imprecation κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιτο retains its force when put into the future participle.'

One of the most useful notes Mr. Sharpley gives is that on the meaning of εἰθύ which he properly insists means 'right to' correcting Mr. H. Richards in *Class. Rev.* xv. pp. 443 f.

On line 108 γράψομαι Μῆδοισιν αὐτὸν προδιδόναί τιν' Ἑλλάδα most readers will be more inclined to follow Neil (who refers to Thuc. iv. 50, Plut. *Arist.* 10, Isocr. *Pan.* § 157 amongst other passages) than to believe that 'these passages have often been taken too seriously.'

There are three other places where Neil might have given our editor a hint of value. On line 125 we are told that perhaps Aristophanes wrote τήνδε τὴν ὁδόν (not

ταύτην) and that this would have preserved the tragic metre. Neil rightly distinguished in Aristophanes the sense of οὗτος and ὁδε. In line 193 we have ὦ δειλακρίων, for the termination of which Neil on *Knights* 823 should be studied. And on 218 the oath might have been commented on.

Mr. Sharpley on 203 discusses the forms οὔνεκα and εἴνεκα and lightly declaring that 'few will believe that Aristophanes rang the changes' decides for οὔνεκα as the true Attic form with εἴνεκα increasing in favour in post-classical times. This seems a very undiscriminating treatment of the question. The MSS. give in Aristophanes οὔνεκα twenty-two times, εἴνεκα eight times unambiguously; they disagree in five places. Similarly on 37 we are told that Dindorf's rule for Aristophanes that ἐς was the rule before consonants, and εἰς before vowels, 'has really little to support it.' Mr. Sharpley has not applied to these questions the knowledge and guidance that philologists have given us. He believes that 'the expulsion of ἐς from the comic dialect rests on the very strong argument that Aristophanes does not use ἐς before a vowel in ordinary discourse.' He dismisses as idle the notion that the avoidance of ἐς before a vowel can be a coincidence; he denies that the avoidance can be due to considerations of euphony; but he does not allow for the fact that early Greek developed, according to distinct laws of change, ἐς from ἐνς before a consonant, but εἰς before a vowel or at the end of a sentence (*Giles Manual* (2) § 248). When we remember this, we are led to examine patiently our MSS., not expecting them never to fluctuate—for their writers will have known nothing of this original difference—but prepared to give proper weight to any substantial signs that, through all the contaminations of re-copying, some evidence of the ancient distinction survived. In other words, did Aristophanes use one form consistently except in para-tragoedic and elevated passages? or had the old rule persisted to his time in even a modified degree? To tabulate the facts with Bachmann as, εἰς required by metre eighty times: ἐς required ten times: either possible forty-nine, shows little discrimination. Roughly three words out of eight in Greek begin with vowels, and if we assume that nouns are fairly evenly distributed amongst words beginning with consonants and vowels, it follows that ἐς will be wanted before a consonant five times to three times when εἰς will occur before a vowel. Now before a consonant there is no metrical

difference between $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, so that if the original custom were still the rule of speech in Aristophanes' time and if the MSS. faithfully recorded this, we should *a priori* expect in non-elevated passages $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ to be needed three times out of eight. In point of fact the proportion of words beginning with vowels largely exceeds this amount: $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, as we have seen, is necessary four times out of seven. But what is noticeable is that all this shows nothing as to whether $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ should be read in the neutral position, *i.e.* before a consonant. No good reason¹ is yet given for ignoring the existence of the ancient custom, the persistence of which to Aristophanes' time is supported by the better MSS. These usually before a consonant give $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. Mr. Sharpley indeed follows Sobolewski in arguing that 'elata vox ante consonantes non minus quam ante vocales elata manet.' But this may be seen to be fallacious reasoning from two or three English examples about which we can be certain. To pronounce 'know' as we do to-day is not over-precise: to give it this sound in 'knowledge' undoubtedly is so. We say 'menny' for 'many': but few as yet give the same sound in 'manifold.' Some dis-

¹ The argument from the fact that $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ would be written EC till 403 B.C. of course involves the besetting confusion of signs and sounds. Whatever Aristophanes wrote, he and his contemporaries pronounced according to knowledge, and it is not to be supposed that only one MS. of his play—the original—was in existence till the sounds intended by his letters were forgotten. It is, besides, pure assumption that before 403 B.C. everything was written in the old alphabet.

tinguish the sense of the auxiliary 'been' by pronouncing it 'bin' from that in the substantive verb, which they make 'been.' A yet closer parallel is the distinction regularly made between 'thə' before consonants and 'the' before vowels; if we spelt phonetically, these would be seen to be as distinct as $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. It is legitimate to suppose that in spoken Greek $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ might be elevated before a vowel, because not regular Attic, while before a consonant it was ordinary. Mr. Sharpley is aware that Helladius vouches for the universal use of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ *κόρακας*, and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ *μακαρίαν*. It would be interesting to know how he supposes the word can be unelevated even there.

So with *οὔνεκα* and *εἴνεκα*, it arouses suspicion when we find that *τίνος οὔνεκα* occurs within seven lines of *τοῦ δ' εἴνεκα*. Pending further research, I suggest that in the second case the sound of *τοῦ* causes it to be *εἴνεκα*, not *οὔνεκα*.

Space will not allow me to do more than mention other points. On 279 Mr. Sharpley tries to explain *ἀποστραφῆναι* from the sense of averting evil. He has of course confused it with *ἀποτρέπειν*. The Aldine variant in 313 is perfectly explicable as a 'restoration' by a modern Greek who scanned in the modern way. The MS. he copied had not got the line in sufficient preservation for copying. In 316, 326, 337, the MSS. should be followed in their *οὐ τι καί* and *μή τι καί*. In 320 why not read $\omega\varsigma$? For 556 cf. 632 and 920 ff.

T. NICKLIN.

STEWART'S MYTHS OF PLATO.

The Myths of Plato. Translated with introductory and other observations by J. A. STEWART. London: Macmillan and Co. 1905. 8vo. Pp. 532. 14s.

PROFESSOR STEWART prefixes to his chapters on particular myths an interesting introduction of some seventy pages, in which he sets forth his theory of Platonic myths in general. Although it is perhaps not very different in substantial result from views already expressed, in form and expression at any rate it has enough of the personal element to call for some analysis.

The effect intended by Plato and actually produced upon us by the myth is according

to Mr. Stewart essentially that produced by poetry.

'The essential charm of all poetry, for the sake of which in the last resort it exists, lies in its power of inducing, satisfying, and regulating what may be called Transcendental Feeling, especially that form of Transcendental Feeling which manifests itself as solemn sense of Timeless Being—of "that which was, and is, and ever shall be" overshadowing us with its presence.'

He quotes a number of passages as examples of poetry that produces this effect, notably three dealing with the subject of death (a long passage from *Adonais*, another from *Leaves of Grass*, and a short one from the *Vita Nuova*), that produce it in a way

closely parallel to the method of the myths. This transcendental feeling may (he thinks) be explained genetically

'as an effect produced within consciousness (and, in the form in which Poetry is chiefly concerned with Transcendental Feeling, within the dream-consciousness) by the persistence in us of that primeval condition from which we are sprung, when Life was still as sound asleep as Death, and there was no Time yet. That we should fall for a while, now and then, from our waking, time-marking life, into the timeless slumber of this primeval life, is easy to understand; for the principle solely operative in that primeval life is indeed the fundamental principle of our nature, being that "Vegetative Part of the Soul" which made from the first, and still silently makes, the assumption on which our whole rational life of conduct and science rests—the assumption that life is worth living. No arguments which Reason can bring for, or against, this ultimate truth are relevant; for Reason cannot stir without assuming the very thing which these arguments seek to prove or to disprove. "Live thy life" is the categorical imperative addressed by Nature to each one of her creatures according to its kind.'

On an earlier page he has already told us

'it is good, Plato will have us believe, to appeal sometimes from the world of the senses and the scientific understanding, which is "too much with us" to this deep-lying part of human nature, as to an oracle. The responses of the oracle are not given in articulate language which the scientific understanding can interpret: they come as dreams, and must be received as dreams, without thought of doctrinal interpretation. Their ultimate meaning is the "feeling" which fills us in beholding them; and when we wake from them, we see our daily concerns and all things temporal with purged eyes.'

The Platonic myth then regulates transcendental feeling for the service of conduct and science. The myths are sometimes aetiological, sometimes eschatological, sometimes both in varying proportions. Here comes in what Prof. Stewart regards as a quasi-Kantian character belonging to them—not that the expression 'quasi-Kantian' is his. In the former class of myths, the aetiological, the categories of the understanding and the moral virtues are deduced from a system of the universe. In other words, certain parts or attributes of our intellectual and moral nature are traced to their origin in the cosmos or in that which is the origin of the cosmos itself, 'a matter beyond the reach of the scientific understanding.' In the latter class what Kant calls ideas of reason, that is, soul, the cosmos as completed system of the good, and God, are represented in vision and in concrete form. It is of course not meant that the philosopher of the Academy anticipated the philosopher of Königsberg in clearly seeing and holding the famous distinction between categories of the under-

standing and ideas of reason, but Plato is held to have at least glimpses of it and to adopt it by a sort of implication.

But the question still remains, What was Plato's own real personal attitude on these points? Allowing for the poetical form into which the myths are thrown, the imaginative detail with which they are worked out, but remembering the earnest words with which their author protests that his story, or something like it, is assuredly the truth (*Phaedo* 114 D), are we to conclude that he believed in a personal God and in the personal immortality of human souls? Prof. Stewart appears certainly to hold that he did not regard them as admitting of proof that would satisfy the scientific understanding. Did he make them articles of faith as distinct from perceptions or conclusions of the reason, and admit them in that way as certain or probable? Did perhaps the emotional side of him accept what his intellect would have rejected or at least have declared unproven? If I understand Prof. Stewart aright, he holds that Plato did not really and truly believe in a personal God. Plato

'would say that what children are to be taught to believe—"that once upon a time God or the Gods did this thing or that"—is not true as historical fact. . . This fundamental assumption of life, "It is good to live and my faculties are trustworthy," Plato throws into the proposition "There is a personal God, good and true, who keeps me in all my ways." He wishes children to take this proposition literally. He knows that abstract thinkers will say that "it is not true"; but he is satisfied if the men, whose parts and training have made them influential in their generation, read it to mean—things happen *as if* they were ordered by a Personal God, good and true.'

This reads as though Plato acknowledged only a great *as if*. Yet Prof. Stewart more than once uses expressions which make me not quite sure that I have caught his real meaning. Indeed the uncertainty of what Plato believed is brought out by the difficulty of being certain what Mr. Stewart himself considers him to have believed. So again as to the immortality of the soul, which Hegel for instance maintains that Plato did not really hold, while Zeller ascribes to him a genuine faith in past and future existence. Mr. Stewart says that

'the bare doctrine of immortality (not to mention the details of its setting) is conceived by Plato in Myth, and not dogmatically': that he 'entertained a doubt at least, whether "the soul is immortal" ought to be regarded as a scientific truth': that he 'felt at least serious doubt. . . if he did not actually go the length of holding, as his disciple Aristotle

did, that, as conscious individual, it perishes with the body whose function it is.'

But some of these expressions and still more the frequent references to the limitation of the scientific understanding leave us after all in some perplexity. Plato may have done any one of three things. He may have accepted the beliefs, or have rejected them, or have hesitated more or less between acceptance and rejection. After careful reading and rereading it is very difficult to see that Prof. Stewart either definitely ascribes to him one of these three attitudes of mind or on the other hand maintains definitely that we are not able to do so with certainty. Such constant mention of the scientific understanding leaves it somewhat doubtful whether in his judgment Plato did not at least incline to the beliefs in question, though not on grounds with which the scientific understanding could deal. I wish the point had been made clear, as clear for instance as he makes it on p. 347, that he does not take the doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις* seriously.

What Plato really believed is indeed a great problem; and if Mr. Stewart had said distinctly that we could not solve it, I should have had no criticism to pass on him, for I do not pretend to be at all sure myself. The fervour and frequency with which Plato dwells on the doctrines of animism and immortality are very noticeable. Certainly he can hardly have believed in his own formal arguments on the subject, and the very variety of them, put forward seemingly not to supplement one another but to take one another's place, as though each on reflexion was found unsatisfactory, may be thought to indicate this. But our feelings can play strange tricks with our thoughts. Our illogical impulses to believe are often, even in thinkers, more potent than the curb of reason; and Plato, as anyone can see, had not a judgment which worked of itself with the cold composure of Aristotle. Even as to the personality of God or gods—for the plural is found even in most important passages—we cannot be sure. The famous and shocking passage of the *Laws* is almost proof positive that in old age at least he adopted it; for it would be more shocking still if he was ready to establish by persecution what he did not himself believe.

The larger part of the volume is naturally taken up with the separate Platonic myths, placed in an order of the critic's own, independent of any chronological considerations or the probable development of the

author's mind. Thus the *Phaedo* myth comes first and the Earthborn last; the *Politicus* myth before the *Protagoras*, and the *Timaeus* before the *Symposium*. Mr. Stewart gives in all cases both the Greek text and an English translation of his own. Perhaps this was hardly necessary. Might not his readers be expected to have a Plato and to be able to read it? In this case, as even with a good many systematic commentaries on classical authors, the text, which adds so much to both bulk and expense, might well be omitted. Prof. Stewart's method of commenting on the particular myths may be illustrated from the Vision of Er. He gives three pages to the 'geography and cosmography,' seven to the streams of Eunoë and Lethe in Dante's *Purgatorio* in comparison with the Orphic streams of Lethe and Mnemosyne, seven or eight more to some other physical details, and three in conclusion to the reconciliation of free will with the reign of law, both of which 'are affirmed in the myth.' Lovers of Dante will find throughout the book constant reference to the great Florentine. Indeed much literature of all kinds, and even the anthropology which is only literature in the sense of being recorded in books, are learnedly and skilfully pressed into the writer's service. Readers of Virgil and Plutarch, Milton and Bunyan, the Neoplatonists of antiquity and the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century, will all find something to interest them. Pp. 434-450 form an excursus on the doctrine of daemons: pp. 382-395 on poetry, poetic truth, the poetic 'universal,' metrical form, and imagination: pp. 230-258 on allegory. Early in the book myth is distinguished from allegory on the ground that it has no moral or other meaning, but it is admitted that one and the same story may be both allegory and myth. We may notice also the idea—not, it seems to me, very probable—that the Platonic myth was suggested by something in the real Socrates, 'certain impressive passages' of the conversation of that magnetic and mesmeric man. But here again I am not sure whether it is meant that Socrates himself used myths or not. There is probably no sort of evidence that he did, and most at any rate of Plato's myths are little enough in the manner, as we imagine it, of the historical Socrates.

A word in conclusion on the Greek text and the English translation. The text of Plato has made some progress in the last forty years, and we should expect Schanz or

Burnet to be followed as far as possible rather than the 1867 Stallbaum. As to the English is it not a mistake to adopt a uniformly archaic and semipoetical style? The following for instance are the first two sentences of *Republic* 613 E foll. as translated by Mr. Stewart :

‘Of such sort then are the prizes and the wages and the gifts which the just man receiveth, while he is yet alive, from Gods and men, over and above those good things whereof I spake which Justice herself provideth.’

‘Yea, in truth goodly gifts,’ quoth he, ‘and exceeding sure.’

Here are some half-dozen archaisms of speech, *receiveth, provideth, whereof, spake, quoth, yea, goodly, exceeding*, while the words of Plato, if we turn to them, are just the common language of Attic conversation in his day and have absolutely nothing archaic, poetical, or out of the way about them. Mr. Stewart’s English therefore gives an entirely different impression from Plato’s Greek.

HERBERT RICHARDS

OSWALD’S PREPOSITIONS IN APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

The Use of the Prepositions in Apollonius Rhodius compared with their use in Homer. By MICHAEL M. F. OSWALD. Pp. 208. Notre Dame University, Indiana. 1904. Price \$1.00.

THIS is an excellent dissertation designed to show ‘how closely Apollonius reproduced the Homeric usages of the prepositions.’ Not merely as regards the prepositions, however, but speaking more generally the writer maintains that ‘Apollonius admirably acquitted himself of his task by reflecting the Homeric diction . . . If Apollonius had not understood his prototype, Homer, we should expect to find in his work a strange mixture of poetic and prosaic usages. The *Argonautica*, however, testifies to a clear conception of purely poetic and prosaic constructions. In general, the prepositions which are less frequent in Apollonius than in Homer are prosaic, e.g. *κατά, παρά, πρό, πρὸς*. With the utmost care Apollonius avoided also those particular usages of prepositions that were essentially prosaic. Thus *μετά* with the genitive is entirely absent from the *Argonautica*; *πρὸς* is rare (not once with the dative); and no trace of the articular infinitive with prepositions is found. On the other hand the more poetic prepositions, as *ἀμφί, ἀνά, σύν*, and also the double prepositions *διέκ, παρέκ, and ὑπέκ* are comparatively frequent in Apollonius.’ As regards the prepositions Mr. Oswald fairly makes out his case. Speaking more generally it must be borne in mind, as I have tried to show elsewhere, that Apollonius freely uses Homeric words in non-Homeric senses, e.g. *ἀτέμβεσθαι* ‘to blame,’ *δαιρός* ‘moist,’ *φράζειν* ‘to say,’ and often

gives examples of different meanings of the same word in Homer and Homeric glosses. See for instance his uses of *ἀδινός* (or *ἀδινός*) *ἡλίβατος, τηλύγετος*. Hence Merkel maintains that in the *Argonautica* we actually find a Homeric commentary. Apollonius also uses some purely Alexandrian words as *ἰδέω, τίφος*, etc.

The dissertation is divided as follows: Ch. I. The improper prepositions, II. Prepositions used as adverbs, III. Prepositions used in Tmesis, IV. Simple cases to express local relations including the suffixes *-θεν* and *-δε*. V. Prepositions in case-construction, VI. Prepositions in adverbial phrases. The chapters are supplied with elaborate statistics showing the comparison in each case with Homer. There is also a bibliography of the chief works consulted, among which perhaps the chief place is given to the late Tycho Mommsen’s *Beiträge z. d. Lehre v. d. Griech. Präp* 1895. Unfortunately the larger edition of Merkel’s *Argonautica*—now long out of print—was not accessible to the writer, for it differs considerably, and for the better, from the same editor’s ed. min. which is the Teubner text. The distinction between improper prepositions and proper prepositions, viz. that the former do not enter into composition with verbs, is easily apprehended, but it is by no means easy to distinguish between the adverbial use, tmesis, and case-construction in the epic language. In fact no clear line of demarcation can be drawn, nor, except for purposes of classification, is this very important. It is generally agreed that all prepositions were originally adverbs, then passed into construction

with verbs and then with cases of nouns and pronouns. Thus in Homer and his followers prepositions float about loosely or attach themselves to verbs or nouns and it is often difficult to decide their relationship. Hence the statistics are affected by the personal views of the compiler. Mr. Oswald has done his work thoroughly and the only general objection that might be made is that his classification is sometimes too minute. Thus, treating of *ἐν*, under the heading 'The place in which something is or happens,' he has among other subdivisions, (γ) of buildings, parts of buildings and the like, (δ) of beds, (ε) of vehicles and the like, (ζ) of parts of the body. It is confusing to make unnecessary distinctions.

The following are some of the points upon which I do not entirely agree with the writer.

P. 28. 'In iv. 1206 [he adopts the notation of the Teubner text] it is doubtful whether we are to write *ἄπο τηλόθι* (Brunck, Becker [*sic*, he means Beck], Merkel) or *ἀπο-τηλόθι* (Wellauer, Seaton). The same holds good for iv. 726, 1186.' Merkel in his ed. mai. has *ἀποτηλόθι* in all three places and I think it should be so written for the sake of the metre.

P. 53. Here are given Hoffmann's four rules by which to decide whether tmesis or cise-construction is to be preferred. The first of them is that the preposition, when separated from the case by the caesura of the verse, is to be combined with the verb, e.g. A 53 *ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὄχρεο κῆλα θεοῖο*. This question cannot be said to be settled. Monro takes A 53 to be a case of tmesis because of the caesura and I incline to that view. In Apollonius i. 94 and iv. 1687 (not 1667 as given p. 54) where *ἐνί* follows the penthemimeral caesura I believe we should write *ἐνί* to go with the verb that follows. iii. 57 and iv. 986 differ, as a substantive follows, with which *ἐνί* is to be taken, the caesura ending with the adjective. Mr. Oswald, however, maintains that in cases to which this rule would apply the requirements of the verse are satisfied if there is a bucolic diaeresis (which is in fact found in all the verses he cites), so that tmesis is not to be assumed. I am not aware, however, that this is considered to be enough.

P. 66. Under *διέκ* in tmesis 'Apollonius has one doubtful example, which, however, as it seems, is to be attributed to editors; viz. iv. 409 *ὄτε μή με διέξ εἰῶσι νέσθαι*.' *διέξ εἰῶσι* is a good emendation

by Gerhard which has been generally adopted. LG have *διεξίωσι*. But it is obviously not a case of tmesis; for *διέξ* is to be taken adverbially.

P. 139. iv. 1005 *σὺν Αἰήταο κελεύθω* is certainly strange. Mr. Oswald suggests as the meaning 'at the arrival of Aetes' but he adds that it is not impossible it may mean 'with the expedition of Aetes.' I believe that the latter is correct, cf. Aesch. Ag. 127.

P. 143. iv. 104 *εἰς γὰρ μιν βήσαντες*. Mr. Oswald postulates an ellipse of *νῆα* but adds it 'may be tmesis.' There is, I think, no doubt that it is tmesis.

P. 163. iii. 117 *ἀμφὶ ἀστραγάλοισι . . . ἐψιόωντο*. *ἀμφί* is taken as quasi-local 'around the dice.' Rather, it denotes the object of contention (see l. 124), i.e. 'for.'

P. 167. ii. 701 *ἱερῶ ἀνὰ διπλόα μηρία βωμῶ | καίον*. '*ἀνά* might be construed with the dative, although tmesis is evidently intended.' The tmesis is undoubted in my opinion.

P. 174. iv. 671 *ἄλλο δ' ἐπ' ἄλλων | συμμιγέες μελέων*. 'Seaton reads *ἀπ'* for *ἐπ'*, as suggested by L.' Authority is in favour of *ἀπ'*. It is the reading of L a sec. man. and of G. So Brunck, Beck and Wellauer.

P. 179. i. 260 *ἐπὶ προμολῆσι κiónτων* 'at the departure of those going.' Surely not, but 'at the vestibule (or entrance) as they were departing.' In Apollonius *προμολή* is always a place not an abstract noun, see i. 320, 1174, iii. 215, iv. 1158.

P. 184. i. 605 *ἐπὶ κνέφας* 'till night.' It means 'for' i.e. 'through the night' as M. de Mirmont translates it, *toute la nuit*. This is shown by l. 633 below.

I have kept to the last a notice of the short ch. vi of two pages on 'prepositions in adverbial phrases' which consists of a defence of Apollonius against Dr. Rutherford's attack in his *New Phrynichus* pp. 121, 122. This book was published twenty-four years ago and I think it probable that Dr. Rutherford would now modify his severe condemnation, but in any case I cannot entirely agree with Mr. Oswald. He writes thus (p. 202) 'According to Rutherford *ἐπὶ δῆν* is an *unintelligent* imitation of the Homeric *ἐπὶ δηρόν* (!?)'. I do not quite share the horror here expressed, but I agree that it is not a case of unintelligent imitation, as Apollonius himself has *ἐπὶ δηρόν* seven times. However it is an extension of *ἐπὶ δηρόν* made, I believe, deliberately by Apollonius and may be compared with *ἀποῦν* (or *ἀπὸ νῦν*), *ἀπὸ*

τότε, ἀπεκεί, and other like phrases of late Greek. Homer has nothing similar, for when Mr. Oswald compares ἐπὶ δὴν with ἐπὶ τόσσον, ἐπὶ πολλόν, etc. he overlooks an important distinction upon which Dr. Rutherford insists. It is this. Prepositions and adverbs are combined in two ways in Greek, (1) in words like μετόπισθεν, ἀπονόσφι, προπάροιθε, διάνδιχα, etc., where the two parts qualify the verb as adverbs, (2) in expressions like ἀπεκεί, ἀπονύν, etc., in which the first part stands in a prepositional relation to the second. The objection to class (1) is that by making a redundancy they 'violate the law of parsimony,' and so are un-Attic, but they are found in Homer. Class (2) is confined to late Greek and words of this class are not found in Homer except in the combination of εἰς and ἐκ with adverbs of time as εἰσότῃ, ἐσίστηρον. ἐπὶ δὴν is of this class and therefore non-Homeric. On the other hand I think that Mr. Oswald rightly defends κατατόθι which has Homeric analogy, for

although it does not occur in Homer except in tmesis with a verb as κατ' αὐτόθι (and Apollonius also has it sometimes in tmesis) it is justified by παρατόθι (or παρ' αὐτόθι) in Ψ 147 where there is no tmesis. In N 42 MSS. vary between παρ' αὐτόθι and παρ' αὐτόφι. But, apart from that, it may be considered that κατατόθι belongs to class (1) above, and is parallel with μετόπισθεν rather than with ἐπὶ δὴν, for both parts of it may be regarded as adverbial.

To Mr. Oswald's list of *errata* may be added (besides the two above noted) the following: p. 30 l. 5 from bottom, for i. 722 read ii. 724: p. 91 l. 7 for θήρηθι read θύρηθι. This mistake seems to be from Monro *H.G.* p. 93 who, however, corrects it in his *errata*. It is singular that L. and S. take this word in ξ 352 θήρηθ' εἶα as for θύρηθε. P. 156 l. 9 for Ἀλκμονίω read Ἀκμονίω: p. 161 l. 8 for Κυναστραίην read Καναστραίην: p. 183 l. 9 for ταχιστόν [sic] read ταχυνόν: p. 202 l. 8 for iv. 728 read iv. 738.

R. C. SEATON.

VON ARNIM'S *STOIC FRAGMENTIS*.

Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta collegit IOANNES AB ARNIM. Vol. I. Zeno et Zenonis discipuli. 1905. Pp. 1+142. 8 m. Vol. II. Chryssippi fragmenta logica et physica. 1903. Pp. vi+348. 14 m. Vol. III. Chryssippi fragmenta moralia. Fragmenta successorum Chryssippi. 1903. Pp. iv+299. 12 m. Leipzig: Teubner.

By the recent publication of Vol. I. this important work has been completed with the exception of the promised indices. Now that we have in the prolegomena a statement of the principles by which the editor has been guided in his task, it is at length possible satisfactorily to review the book as a whole. It may be said at once that it is representative of the best German scholarship, and will be indispensable to all serious students of later Greek philosophy. For, besides the fragments of the great Stoic triumvirate, it contains those of Aristo, Perseus, Diogenes, Antipater and the rest, and is a complete thesaurus of Stoicism up to the time of Panaetius.

The first volume is mainly occupied with Zeno and Cleanthes, and, so far as they are concerned, it cannot be said to add

materially to our knowledge. In fact, the collection is in essentials not very different from that which I published in 1891. The arrangement of the material has been improved, and the text in several places corrected: the conjectures Ἀφροδείτην in 168, σέ γ' ᾧ for ἐγώ in 570, and Ζήνωνος μή for ζήν μόνος δέ in 597 deserve special attention.¹ But after a careful comparison I have not been able to find more than the following additions (with the exception of a few fresh testimonia):—nos. 98, 121, 125, 131, 132, 228, 232, 503, and 509. In several cases, as for example in 184 and 224, the editor has followed the earlier collection perhaps more closely than was necessary. I do not in the least make this a matter of complaint, for von Arnim has very generously acknowledged his obligations to his predecessors, and it is not surprising that he should have thought it unnecessary again to work through the sources for Zeno and Cleanthes after the exhaustive researches in which he has been engaged for the compilation of the other two volumes. But at the

¹ I cannot understand the alteration of *imprudentes* to *prudentes* in 147, especially in view of the close agreement with Cic. *de rep.* vi. 29, *Tusc.* i. 27.

same time it is permissible to regret that he has not found an opportunity of contributing something more towards the elucidation of the Zenonian school by the methods which he justly indicates as necessary on p. iv of his preface. It almost seems as if the scrupulousness with which he has been at pains to gather in everything which might be connected with Chrysippus has reacted unfavourably on his attitude towards the earlier scholars. Thus the important passage Clem. Rom. *homil.* v. 18, p. 147, where *ἐῖναι* should surely be read for *εἶναι*, is not included in Zeno's fragments but printed with those of Chrysippus (ii. 1072). Similarly Hieron. *ep.* 132, 1 should have been printed in vol. i. p. 51, and omitted in vol. iii. p. 109. Zeno fr. 209 should have been illustrated from material to be drawn from iii. 416, 439, and 468: in the second of these passages for the corrupt *συνεόρσεις* we should perhaps substitute *συναυρήσεις* ('suspense': cf. Plut. *Num.* 7). iii. 382 should have been omitted altogether: it is in its proper place as i. 208. ii. 468 should appear also in i. p. 26, and Origen *contra Cels.* viii. 49 (cf. ii. 1051) should be added to i. 153. Further, I am not aware that anyone has assailed the reasons which have been given for assigning ii. 78, 90, and 311 to Zeno, and ii. 57 and 83 to Cleanthes. A new fragment of Zeno not without importance should have been taken from Chrysippus ap. Galen in iii. p. 121, 14. It may be useful to point out sundry further omissions. To 203 add Plut. *tranq. an.* 19 p. 477 B, to 181 Schol. in Juv. xv. 107 and to 187 Varro *Sat. Menipp.* fr. 483 Büch. i. 204 requires illustration from Plut. *comm. not.* 28 p. 1073 B. To 271 add Dio Chrys. 47, 2, which refers also to Cleanthes and Chrysippus. Julian *or.* vi. 185 c, treating of the relations between Stoicism and Cynicism, has been omitted from i. p. 59, and from p. 44 Cyrill. Alex. *contra Julian.* ii. p. 62. It is particularly strange that, though von Arnim has cited the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* which Sternbach edited in *Wiener Studien* ix-xii, he has failed to draw from it certain otherwise unrecorded apophthegmata of Zeno:—nos. 299, 301, 302, and 303, and one of Cleanthes no. 369. Further, Maxim. 5, p. 545 Arsen. p. 265 Waltz give in a somewhat different form the saying recorded in Arn. 319=Sternb. 304. Two additional sayings will be found in Maxim. 5 p. 545, Arsen. p. 265, and in Maxim. 63, p. 676, Arsen. p. 265. Arsen. p. 264 attributes to Zeno the substance of Diog. L. vii. 121 ad fin., and on p. 268 a considerable

portion of the doctrine of the *καθήκοντα* comprised in Diog. 107-109.

But it is time to pass to Chrysippus, with whom the most important part of the work is concerned. Here the conditions are different, and such as often require the exercise of the nicest discrimination. It is not sufficient to collect the passages, in which Chrysippus is quoted or referred to by name, but, if the editor aims at comprehensiveness, he must endeavour to bring to light the hidden traces of his author's teaching. Thus, it is well established that Alexander of Aphrodisias, who devoted his treatise *de fato* to the refutation of Stoic fatalism, is throughout attacking Chrysippus, although his name is nowhere mentioned. In fact, it is broadly true that the orthodox form of Stoicism, as adumbrated in the writings of the imperial epoch, is derived ultimately, if not immediately, from the writings of Chrysippus. Von Arnim has dealt with his material upon the following plan. By a skilful arrangement of types he distinguishes the places where the actual words of Chrysippus are preserved from those which contain a summary of his doctrine, either referring to him by name, or being such as can be ascribed to him by certain inference. Thirdly, in small type he prints all passages which seem in any way of service for the understanding of his system or which have some connexion with it.¹ The last named class is of very considerable extent, and it will be observed that von Arnim does not claim that either in form or in substance it is directly Chrysippean, although he would, I suppose, contend that Chrysippus must have covered the same ground. Some might have preferred a more definite selection of those passages which the editor attributes to Chrysippus; and the defects of the method chosen are concisely illustrated by ii. 1106, which reads:—'Ad totam de providentia doctrinam conferenda est Ciceronis in altero de natura deorum disputatio quam exscribere nolui.' Of course it is not meant that Chrysippus is the exclusive source of *n. d.* ii; but would it not have been better to sift the material, and to select only such passages as could for good reasons be shown to owe something to him? This remark is capable of a very wide application.

¹ I have not been able always to understand the distribution into these classes, and in the case of a large number of extracts from Alex. *de fato* (such as ii. 959) von Arnim seems not to have had the courage of his opinions. They are much more certainly Chrysippean than others which are printed in larger type. This applies also to Stobaeus in ii. 677.

For not only would a scrupulous weighing of the evidence have involved the rejection of a great number of passages,¹ but it is difficult to understand why on the editor's principles many others have not been included. Thus Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 9 is eminently suggestive of the early Stoa: why does it not appear in vol. iii, cap. ix, § 12? And *Tusc.* iii. 11, ad fin. respecting the liability of the *sapiens* to *furor* (μελαγχολία) ought not to have been omitted in view of its agreement with iii. 237. I have recently examined some of Plutarch's ethical writings from this point of view, and it is clear that this source has not been exhausted: see, for example, the definition of *κατήφεια*, etc. (*de vit. pud.* 1, p. 528 E, cf. 2, p. 529 D), and the description of old age (*quæst. conu.* i. 7. 1, p. 625 B, C). I will give a solitary example of a passage which might have been definitely claimed for Chrysippus—*de superst.* 1, p. 164 E, F. Here *διαστροφή* recalls Zeno (i. 208) and Chrysippus (iii. 229 a), but I am more concerned with the example chosen to illustrate the innocuousness of intellectual as compared with moral error. It can hardly be an accident that the same illustration—a belief in atoms—is taken for the same purpose in Stob. *Ecl.* ii, p. 89, 18 (iii. 389). Now, the Stobæus passage, which von Arnim should have printed in larger type, is shown to be Chrysippean, (1) by the explanation given to *ἄλογος* and *παρὰ φύσιν*: see iii. 462 and 476, (2) by the use of *ἐκφερόμενος*, and the illustration of the runaway horse: see iii. 476, 478 and 479 init., and (3) by the phrase *ὑπογραφή τοῦ πάθους*—a small but significant point—as compared with iii. p. 113, 31 and p. 130, 15. It follows that Chrysippus is also the source of the passage in Plutarch. But perhaps it is not fair to demand from an author something different from what he professes to give, and it would be difficult to overpraise the industry with which the sources have been ransacked, or the skill with which the extracts have been arranged so as to present in logical sequence a compendium of Stoic doctrines.

In the preface von Arnim examines the sources of the chief authorities with the object of discovering their relation to the writings of Chrysippus. The views taken are for the most part moderate and reasonable, and will command general assent. Of special importance are the sections which discuss the sources of Plutarch and the

connexion between Diogenes Laertius and Arius Didymus. On the other hand, the arguments which are directed to the third book of the *Tusculan Disputations* are unconvincing. A good deal is made to turn on Galen *de Plat. et Hipp. plac.*, iv. 7, p. 392 Mu. (iii. 482), and in the result von Arnim withdraws the opinion, in accordance with which, following Bake, he printed this passage as Chrysippean. He now regards it as derived entirely from Posidonius. Considerations of space will not permit a full discussion, but I still think that the quotations from Euripides and the Anaxagoras anecdote were introduced by Chrysippus to illustrate the effect of *præmeditatio* upon sorrow. The difficulties which stand in the way are not insuperable, if we remember that Galen is throughout quoting Posidonius—sometimes verbatim, and sometimes making a loose abstract. This will account for the otherwise remarkable changes of subject. Von Arnim does not see how Chrysippus can be the subject of *καί φησι διότι* (p. 131, 23 = p. 392, 13 Mu.) after *ἔρωτᾷ* (l. 20), but apparently feels no difficulty in the equally harsh change from *φησι* (Chr.) to *ἀξιοῖ* (Posid.)² in ll. 7, 8. I should not, however, follow Bake in altering *Ποσειδωνίῳ* to *Χρυσίππῳ* in l. 28. *Ποσειδωνίῳ* may be retained as an ordinary *dativus indicantis*:—‘Posidonius interprets *προενδημῆν* as meaning . . .’ It is likely enough to be the oblique form of *ἔμοι*. Nor do I see the necessity of reading (with Mueller) *ὁ Χρυσίππος καί* for *καί ὁ Χρυσίππος* in p. 117, 18. Surely the words may be rendered ‘even Chr. admits . . .’ Then the extract agrees perfectly with Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 52, and, so far as I can see, all the indications in book iii, such as those in 55, 74, and 83, are consistent with Chrysippean doctrine. Observe particularly that the Telamon, Theseus and Anaxagoras illustrations follow the mention of Epicurus and the Cyrenaics in 28 exactly as Chrysippus is introduced after them in 52, and further that in 58 the three illustrations reappear in a context which von Arnim admits to be Chrysippean (pp. xxv. xxvi). I demur also entirely to the view that the definitions in 24, 25 and in Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 7, p. 90 are the work of a younger Stoic seeking to reconcile a disagreement between Chrysippus and Zeno. If so much importance is to be attached to the words *opinione citari*, what

¹ *E.g.* ii. 347 when compared with Cic. *de fat.* 35 is shown to belong to Carneades-Clitomachus. For an illustration of another kind see iii. 376.

² It is quite open to argument, however, that Posidonius is the subject of both verbs, and in any case Bake's inference from the words (p. 202, n. 53) ought not to be lightly approved.

are we to make of ἐκ κρίσεως in Plutarch (iii. 459, l. 25)? If the materialism of the Stoa is constantly kept in mind, the difference between the identification of πάθη with κρίσεις and the treatment of κρίσεις as the cause of πάθη is exiguous, and a loose statement of their relation is pardonable, if the context does not require scientific precision. Indeed, I am confident that too much is apt to be made of divergencies which are supposed to exist on the strength of evidence either inconclusive or prejudiced. The more closely the tracks of Chrysippus are investigated, the more clearly will it appear that he was not so much an original thinker as an unwearied systematiser and an irrepressible controversialist.

The text is printed from the best available editions, and the volumes are provided with a useful critical apparatus which records deviations from the MSS. and a selection of probable conjectures,¹ including many by the editor himself. Here and there a brief word of explanation is added, for which the reader of these *spinosissima* will be duly grateful. It may be that he will even ask for more.

There can be no question that the editor has done right in arranging the material in philosophical sequence, and in disregarding the books from which the quotations are drawn even where these are known. He has, however, provided an index of these passages in vol. iii., where they are classified under the various titles: this is not quite complete, as ii. 1182 is missing under *περὶ δικαιοσύνης*, and ii. 1176 and 1177 under *περὶ θεῶν*.

I conclude with some remarks on points of detail mainly with the object of supplying certain references to Chrysippus, which appear to have been overlooked. I use this expression advisedly, since without the assistance of an index it is not easy to secure complete verification.—ii. p. 4: three unrecorded apophthegmata are preserved by Maxim. 10 p. 564: cf. Arsen. p. 480, Anton. Meliss. i. 53, p. 96.—ii. 24: here belong two passages of Phrynichus, clx. p. 271, and cclxxxvi, p. 366, Rutherford, the former of which is curiously confirmed by the papyrus quoted, p. 56, 33.—ii. 89: for ἐπίνοια we should, I think, substitute ἐννοια, as in Plut. *comm. not.* 47, p. 1085 B

τὰς ἐννοίας ἀποκειμένας τινὰς ὀρίζομενοι νοήσεις.—ii. 105: add Suidas s.v. *περὶ προλήψεως*.—ii. 111: Diog. L. vii. 45 should have been quoted here.—ii. p. 47: the following omitted passages, which are of no particular philosophical importance, appear to belong here:—Schol. in Theocr. v. 5, Etym. M. s.v. *κορηθάλη*, Zonaras, s.vv. *δεῦρο καὶ δεῦτε* and *δήμαρχος*, Hesych. s.v. *φολιά* (?), Cramer *Anecd. Ox.* i. p. 264, 13.—ii. p. 84, 19: perhaps οἴτος for οἴτοι.—ii. p. 90, 37: a lacuna should be marked after ὁ τοιοῦτος, since the *σωρείτης* follows, and on p. 91, 2, before οὔτις, to leave room for the *κερατίνης*. Both are indicated by Cobet.—ii. 277: Pers. vi. 80 should have been quoted, and see the new Latin Thesaurus s.v. *aceruus* ad fin.—ii. p. 111: a place should have been found in this cap. for Iambl. *de Nicom. arithm.* p. 12.—ii. p. 123: add Augustin. *c. Acad.* iii. 17, 39.—ii. p. 136: add Censorin. fr. 1, 4.—ii. 517: I do not believe in the title *περὶ τῶν μερῶν*, and think that something like *περὶ φύσεως* has dropped out after *πέμπτον*.—ii. 596 ff.: Arnob. *adv. gent.* ii. 9 should have been quoted here.—ii. 726, 727: the omission of Sext. *Pyrrh.* i. 69 is strange.—ii. p. 223 §5: Lact. *inst.* iii. 18, which also cites Cleanthes, should appear here.—ii. p. 225 §6: it is strange that Tertull. *de anim.* c. 14, is not quoted, as it is the only passage which attributes the eight-fold division of the soul to Chrysippus by name.—In the chapter *de fato* I miss under §6 Cic. *de fat.* 26, and under §7 Plut. fr. 15, 3=Stob. *Ecl.* ii. p. 158, an undoubted summary of Chrysippus.—ii. 954: Hieron. *in Pelag.* i. p. 702 should have been quoted, and on p. 280 Julian *ep. ad Themist.* 255 D.—ii. 1019: the actual syllogism occurs in Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 51 p. 699 with the Schol.: cf. *Hermot.* 70 p. 812. In this section should have been quoted, in spite of its errors, Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 4 p. 82.—ii. 1092 should have been brought into connexion with 914 and with pseudo-Arist. *de mund.* ad fin.—ii. p. 320 §9: Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 51 p. 277 a has been omitted.—ii. p. 322: in this chapter add Cyrill. Alex. *c. Iulian.* v. p. 167.—ii. 1216: add Schol. in Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 B.—iii. 92: add Plut. *comm. not.* 25 p. 1070 E.—iii. p. 35 §5: add Lucian *conu.* 31 p. 439.—iii. 256, p. 61, 11: for αὐταῖς we should probably read αὐτῶν; see my note on Zeno fr. 23.—iii. 314: add Anon. in Hermog. ap. Spengel *synag.* τεχν. p. 177, n. 17.—iii. 416: Nemes. c. 19 derive additional importance from Augustin. *de civ. dei* ix. 5, where the names of Zeno and Chrysippus appear.—iii. 432: add the definition of *εὔνοια* in Plut.

¹ Some of the emendations are wrongly assigned: thus in vol. ii. p. 11, 1 *πρώην* belongs to Baguet; p. 46, 7 *πεσοῦσα* to Bywater; p. 75, 25 *ἰδίου* to Zeller; p. 168, 14 *ἐτέρως* to Kriech. As already indicated, the cross-references are very far from being complete.

de inuid. et od. l p. 536 F.—iii. p. 120, 6 : surely the facsimile points rather to ἡ βαιὼν ὄς.—iii. 473 : the passage on p. 381 M. introducing the case of Eriphyle in addition to that of Menelaus and Helen has been omitted ; and in 476 p. 360 M. has not been completely excerpted, so that the important comparison of the ἐμπαθῆς to a man running down a slope is missing. In the same extract (p. 127, 5) προσεκφέρεσθαι should undoubtedly give place to προεκφέρεσθαι : cf. p. 128, 23. In this connexion I think Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 40 should have been quoted and Galen's words at p. 348 M. There are several other excerpts from the *de Hipp. et Plat. plac.* of varying importance, which I fail to find in von Arnim, but forbear now to enumerate.—iii. 481 p. 131, 8 should have been illustrated from Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 75.—iii. 537 : add Plut. *Sto. rep.* 19 p. 1042 F, *comm. not.* 9 p. 1062 B, 19 p. 1067 F, *Stoic. abs. poet. dic.* 4 p. 1058 A, B. Here also belongs a curious passage in Ioan. Saresb. *Polycrat.*

vii. 8.—iii. p. 150 § 3 : somewhere in this section should appear Plut. *de nobil.* 12 p. 236, 6–11 Bern.—iii. 662 should be omitted. It appears on the next page as part of no. 668.—iii. 694 : I cannot find Plut. *Sto. rep.* 2 p. 1033 B, which appears in i. 262, but without ἀλίγοις for λόγοις, the certainly correct reading of Bernardakis.—iii. 709 : these passages are printed again on p. 199, presumably in error. Some passages of no philosophical importance appear only in Appendix II. but it would have been more convenient to include them in the body of the work.—iii. 718 : add Plut. *amat.* 21 p. 767 B.—iii. p. 200 : fr. 12 is more fully quoted by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1679, 25.

It should not be thought that these remarks are intended to depreciate the value of the work. One of the most useful functions of a reviewer is to try to show how a good book may be made better.

A. C. PEARSON.

VAHLEN'S LONGINUS.

Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου περὶ ὑψους. De Sublimitate Libellus. In usum scholarum edidit OTTO JAHN A. MDCCCLXVII : tertium edidit A. MDCCCV IOANNES VAHLEN. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. M. 2.80.

It is eighteen years since Dr. Vahlen brought out his well-known revision of Otto Jahn's text of the *De Sublimitate*. The new edition, now published, bears traces everywhere of an enlarged knowledge and of a most open mind : the old age to which he refers in his Preface finds Dr. Vahlen still learning. The pages of the book have increased in number from xii and 80 to xx and 92, and the new matter is of great interest and value. The editor gives, in his critical notes, a still fuller list of conjectural emendations than before, and has introduced into the text one or two fresh readings of his own. For example, he substitutes ἐνὸν for κενὸν in iii. 5 (ἔστι δὲ πάθους ἄκαιρον καὶ κενὸν ἐνθα μὴ δεῖ πάθους), and εἰ for δὲ in xv. 3 (οἰρῆ δὲ πλειράς τε καὶ ἰσχύιον ἀμφοτέρωθεν).

But Vahlen's general tendency is judiciously conservative ; and no one who studies his references, old and new, can doubt that

he has often successfully upheld an impugned reading by his apt and varied illustrations. Two instances only of his sober judgment must suffice. In the present as in his previous edition, he is proof against Rohde's specious emendation ὡς φῶρ ἰοῦ τινοσ ἐφαπτόμενος for ὡς φωρίον τινὸς ἐφαπτόμενος in iv. 5, where he now adds a reference to Bücheler on Herondas vi. 30. The second illustration of his respect for the manuscript tradition is of special interest to British scholars. It would be pleasant to believe, as many do, that Bentley's reading ἀπαστράπτει (in place of the manuscript reading ἐπέστραπται) in xii. 3 is one of his most certain emendations. But if an editor feels that Bentley's conjecture is dazzlingly false, he must show the courage of his own convictions. And this Vahlen has done. In 1887 he followed Jahn in adopting ἀπαστράπτει, but he now prints ἐπέστραπται with the manuscripts. The reasons for adhering to the manuscript reading may be stated more fully than by Vahlen himself. The first point is that it is the manuscript reading : there is no varianr, nor is there any great palaeographical probability in a change from ἀπαστράπτει to ἐπέστραπται : moreover, P 2036 must,

taken all in all, be regarded as a first-rate manuscript. No doubt there are cases in which 'ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt.' But is this one? In § 4 we read καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡμέτερος [sc. Demosthenes] διὰ τὸ μετὰ βίας ἕκαστα ἔτι δὲ τάχους ῥώμης δεινότητος οἷον καίειν τε ἅμα καὶ διαρπάζειν, σκηπτῶ τινι παρεικάζουσ' ἂν ἡ κεραυνῶ. Now if in § 3 we read ὁ δὲ [sc. Cicero, as compared with Demosthenes] καθεστῶς ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ μέγαλοπρεπεῖ σεμνότητι οὐκ ἔψυκται μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἀπαστράπτει, the fine simile in § 4 is somewhat weakened by being anticipated and the words παρεικάζουσ' ἂν occur rather unexpectedly. On the other hand, the expression οὐχ οὕτως ἐπέστραπται (viz. 'has not the same concentrated energy') fits into its immediate context exactly. The meaning of ἐπέστραπται is sufficiently established from Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* p. 514: Δημοσθένης γὰρ μαθητὴς μὲν Ἰσαίου, ζηλωτὴς δὲ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος ὑπερεβάλετο αὐτὸν θυμῶ καὶ ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ περιβολῇ καὶ ταχυτήτι λόγου τε καὶ ἐννοίας. σεμνότης δ' ἡ μὲν Δημοσθένους ἐπεστραμμένη μάλλον, ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους ἀβροτέρα τε καὶ ἡδίων (cp. p. 487 *ibid.*). The objection that ἐπέστραπται would be used

more naturally of a style than of a person might apply almost with equal force to ἔψυκται which it is not proposed to change. And, as a matter of fact, the similar verb συνέστραπται is found, in Dionysius, with Λυσίας as its subject, while 'pressus' is used of authors by Cicero and Quintilian. We are driven, therefore, to conclude that internal and external indications make strongly against Bentley's 'leg. ἀπαστράπτει,' hastily jotted down by him in the margin of F. Portus' edition of the *De Sublimitate*. Vahlen would, we may assume, be ready to adopt (with only one slight variation) Bentley's own words as found elsewhere: 'nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt, praesertim accedente *Parisini veteris suffragio*.'

With regard to the date, and authorship, of the *Sublime* Vahlen has no fresh evidence to adduce. Probably most scholars who have considered the question would now agree that it may well have been written, by an author whom we cannot name with certainty, in the latter part of the first century A.D.

W. RHYNS ROBERTS.

WHIBLEY'S COMPANION TO GREEK STUDIES.

A Companion to Greek Studies. Edited by LEONARD WHIBLEY. Cambridge: University Press, 1905. 18s. net. Pp. xxx+672.

THIS handsome and well-illustrated volume is an eclectic dictionary of antiquities, in which information is grouped round a limited number of important subject headings, helped out by a table of contents and a full index. Thus Art, Chapter iv, is divided into eight sections, Architecture, Prehistoric Art, Sculpture, Painting, Vase-Painting, Terracottas, Engraved Gems, and Music, covering altogether 87 pages; Chapter vii, Private Antiquities, contains 68 pages and is divided into 9 sections, A table of the Relationships of a Man, Ritual of Birth Marriage and Death, Education Books and Writing, The Position of Women, Dress, Daily Life, House and Furniture, and Medicine. In the Preface the Editor states that the object of the undertaking is to present 'in one Volume such information (apart from that contained in Histories and Grammars) as would be most useful to the Student of

Greek Literature.' There is no further indication in the Preface as to what kind of Student is meant, but presumably it is in the main the Sixth Form Boy and the Undergraduate reading for Honours. There is no doubt that for this class of reader, preparing for advanced Classical Examinations, the book will be extremely useful. It is fair to argue that he cannot be expected to have the time or the opportunity to read the mass of monographs, in some cases only existent in German, which deal separately with the range of subjects summarized in this volume. Even the more advanced student, if he has not got immediate access to a first class Classical Library, will find many of these chapters of value, and will do well to have them by him. The sections on Flora and Fauna, for instance, on Science, Commerce and Industry, The Calendar, Dress, The House, Medicine, would not be found in a book on Constitutional Antiquities, and the best and most up to date Encyclopaedias, such as Pauly-Wissowa, or Daremberg-Saglio,

are expensive, and make slow progress through the Alphabet. A good hint has been taken from Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* in including a chapter on Criticism and Interpretation. The sections on Dialects, Epigraphy, Palaeography, and Textual Criticism, are all excellent introductions to their subjects. So, too, the scholar who has not yet specialized in Philosophy will welcome Dr. Henry Jackson's and Mr. R. D. Hicks' well-written pages. Professor Ernest Gardner's chapter on Mythology and Religion is clear and helpful, and Constitutional and Military Antiquities are treated with fulness by Mr. Whibley himself and other good authorities. Some of the contributors naturally show greater skill than others in dealing with the space they have extorted from the editor. Mr. A. B. Cook finds room in his twenty pages for an adequate and interesting exposition of his views on the trireme, while Dr. Sandys is cabined and confined when adapting the same space to a section on the History of Scholarship. Instead of boldly shaking himself free from his own book on the subject, he has tried to compress it, and the result is a lifeless table of names and dates, which, however useful in the case of original authors, whose works the reader presumably has by him, is barren and pointless as a sole record of their commentators. Different opinions may be held as to whether it was wise to include the whole of Art. An admirable section on Architecture, by the late Mr. Penrose and Professor Ernest Gardner, fills a real gap, and Mr. A. H. Smith's ten pages on Vase Painting are well done, but it was surely a farce to give one illustration and under forty lines of text to Terra Cottas. It is not even enough to stimulate an interest. Sculpture, on the other hand, has been allotted a reasonable space, but in this case, as in that of the section on History, and the dangerously long section on Literature, our fear is that the convenience of the 'one Volume' may be regarded as excusing the Honours man from reading the admirable and inexpensive manuals that are now accessible in English for all three subjects. We are sorry that Sir Richard Jebb has had to abridge for the purpose the already too short books he has published on various aspects of Literature. We want to hear more of what he has to tell us, not less. The Preface does indeed, as we saw above, contemplate its clientèle possessing two other books, a Grammar and a History, and it is for this reason, pre-

sumably, that Mr. Hicks has almost entirely confined the History Section to Chronological Tables. It would be better, however, to omit them, and to enlarge the valuable pages on Methods of Dating so as to include a discussion of the Athenian Archon List, and other points taken for granted in consecutive Histories.

The matter of the book, as one would expect from the high reputation of its contributors, is as a whole sound and scholarly. The old fault of keeping Archaeology by itself in a watertight compartment, instead of applying it to throw light on all sides of life and thought, is largely, but not wholly, avoided. From the careful description of the *ψῆφοι δημόσιαι*, for instance (p. 400), as used in the Fourth Century 'according to Aristotle,' the reader would hardly guess that some specimens actually exist. An illustration should be given of them as they are preserved for us in the Bronze Room of the National Museum at Athens (Case 171). There is a special reason for doing the same thing for the closely allied *πινάκια δικαστικά*, namely, that the specimens we possess are of metal instead of boxwood, 'as described by Aristotle' (p. 387). The reader should be warned or he will receive a shock when he goes to Athens. Either Aristotle is wrong, or the material varied at different epochs, or, our specimens are not the real thing at all, but models that the keen Dikast liked to have about him at home, like the golfing and hunting ornaments of modern Bond Street.

This is but a detail. The only part of the volume which seriously calls for adverse criticism is that which deals with the early civilization of the Aegean. Portions of twenty scattered pages are not enough in a book of this size for so huge and difficult a subject. Mr. Arthur Evans' discoveries in Crete still lie fragmentary and uncorrelated in the Annuals of the British School at Athens, and the extent to which previous theories must be modified by them is undetermined. There is nothing on which guidance is more needed by the young student at the present moment, and there is nothing on which this book gives him less. It is possible that this very fact, that matters are in a transitional state, and that our knowledge is progressing, has led the Editor to hold his hand. In an Encyclopaedia of this kind, however, any given edition of which is frankly ephemeral, to adopt such a policy is a mistake. A special article could be rewritten without altering the rest of the book.

Nor can we say that the little we are able to piece together on the subject is lucid or consistent. It would be interesting to know what would be the result of a young student trying to get a general idea of it from the eight articles in which it is here referred to.

Professor Waldstein, for instance, states his theory of the Argolid Origin of Mycenaean civilization (using the word in the widest sense), with some moderation, but he ignores the Cretan evidence when he names 1400 B.C. as its probable 'Middle point' and gives the impression that the Vaphio Cups should be assigned to about that date. He says nothing about the Late Minoan I. steatite vases found by the Italian mission at Phaestos, though, as Mr. Bosanquet says (*J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 320), the inference to be drawn from them that the Vaphio cups are importations from Crete is almost irresistible. He does not mention any of the distinctively Cretan types of pottery, and yet, amazing to relate, the only illustration of 'Mycenaean pottery' that he gives (Fig. 11, p. 230) is the amphora reconstructed a few years ago by Mr. J. H. Marshall out of scanty fragments found in the Dromos of a chamber tomb at Mycenae. The evidence on which Mr. Marshall based this reconstruction largely consists of vase fragments of the Late Minoan II. or Palace style found at Knossos, and whether we turn to his views, as quoted and assented to by Mr. Arthur Evans (*B.S.A.* vii. 1900-1901, p. 51.), or to those of its first publisher Dr. Duncan Mackenzie (*J.H.S.* xxiii. 1903, Fig. 10, p. 192), or to the more elaborate arguments of Mr. Bosanquet (*J.H.S.* xxiv. 1904, p. 322), we find that it has from the start been consistently regarded as an importation from Crete. Professor Waldstein may have reasons for disagreeing with these views. But it is confusing the issue and obscuring knowledge for him to figure the vase as the sole example of 'Mycenaean' ware in a Pro-Argolid article without even mentioning the fact that most experts use this very vase as an argument against his theory. We find here accentuated a fault which is common to all the illustrations in the volume, that full details are not given as to provenance, in its three aspects of discovery, publication, and museum. It gives a general impression of amateurishness which we should blame in one of the little illustrated school series for beginners.

In the sections Architecture and The House, we notice, if not anything that is actually misleading, at least an absence of in-

formation as to Crete. In the former Professor Gardner may have found it necessary to leave Mr. Penrose's article as it stood in this particular, but it is unfortunate that he has not incorporated some more recent information in the latter. The student who looks at the date on the title page, 1905, and learns that a good deal of the Palace at Knossos was unearthed in the spring of 1900, can only draw one of two conclusions, either that it must be very unimportant, or that knowledge permeates slowly in the classical world. It is so unlike Professor Gardner that we suspect that his article was finished before those of his colleagues, and got printed beyond recall.

More serious are Professor Oman's omissions in the section on Arms and Armour. 'From the earliest times of which we have any knowledge,' he begins (p. 456), 'the most important part in Hellenic warfare was played by the Hoplite. His equipment varied but little between the days when the Homeric poems were written, and the days when Greece fell before the power of Rome. It consisted of helm, cuirass, greaves, and shield, with spear and sword as offensive arms.' After all the controversy as to Mycenaean and Homeric armour, it is amusing to see our old friend the figure-of-eight shield so mercilessly snubbed. If indeed Professor Oman had begun by saying that he did not propose to deal with Mycenaean armour at all, his statement would be sound, though in that case he would probably have found some less misleading phrase than 'From the earliest times of which we have any knowledge' to describe his first Post-Mycenaean Hellenes. He would have been bold, too, but defensible, in carrying the war into the enemy's country, and illustrating his statement by the warrior vase from Mycenae (Schuchhardt-Schliemann, Fig. 284). But to figure the vase on this very page (Fig. 76) as 'Early Warriors from a Vase found at Mycenae,' without a word of explanation as to whether such shields and cuirasses are normal for 'Mycenae,' and how they can be found at Mycenae and yet be Hellenic, can only lead to tearing of hair and rending of garments.

Even Mr. Hicks is not at his best when dealing with the earliest History. His remark about 'Cretan influence' (p. 52), as on a parallel with, though better attested than Phoenician influence, is misleading, and his attitude to the linguistic part of Professor Ridgeway's Pelasgian theory is

obscure. On this Mr. Neil and Mr. Giles (p. 567) are at least clear, though many will consider that they attach too much weight to what is the weakest point of Professor Ridgeway's book.

In conclusion, the word 'Minoan,' so important and as yet so difficult for the young student, is, so far as we can see, not mentioned in the whole volume. Professor Waldstein (p. 229) uses Mycenaean in its old sense as covering the whole ground from 1800 to 1100 B.C., with a remark that 'recent excavations, notably those in Crete and at the Argive Heraeum,' tend to push its beginnings still further back. Mr. Hicks (p. 53) refers 'the artistic and commercial activity of Mycenae itself' to 1600 to 1100 B.C., and clearly has the new distinction between Minoan and Mycenaean in its more specific sense in his mind, though

he does not state it. What however is the student to do when he turns from these articles to that of Mr. Cook, who, unfortunately without explanation, gives us (p. 475) 'Mycenaean'—in inverted commas—as covering 1500 to 1000 B.C., and assumes that ships on Cretan seal stones are to be assigned to an epoch before it!

The volume as a whole is good and useful, but till this side of it is altered and strengthened we shall not be able to say that it covers the ground 'From the earliest times of which we have any knowledge' unless, with Professor Oman, we mean such a statement to refer to a date which, in any and every sense of the word, is post-Mycenaean.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

Cardiff.

THE CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM, PART V, AND HOUSMAN'S JUVENAL.

Corpus Poetarum Latinorum. Edidit IOHANNES PERCIVAL POSTGATE: Fasc. V, quo continentur Martialis, Iuvenalis, Nemesianus. Londini: sumptibus G. Bell et filiorum, MDCCCXCV. Pp. x + 572. 6s.

D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae: editorum (sic) in usum edidit A. E. HOUSMAN. Londini: apud E. Grant Richards, MDCCCXCV. Pp. xxxvi + 146. 5s. 6d.

MR. POSTGATE is to be congratulated on the completion of his task. The *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, of which we have now the final instalment (though a hint is dropt regarding an Appendix, to include the later poets, Ausonius, Claudian, Prudentius, etc.), is by this time as universally known and commended as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Of the texts offered in this Fasciculus, the editor-in-chief has undertaken only a small part, the *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus. The text of the *Bucolica* comes from the pen of Prof. Heinrich Schenkl. Both these texts are based on re-examination of the manuscript materials. For Martial Mr. Duff is responsible and for Juvenal Mr. Housman, who has simultaneously published on his own account a separate text of the *Satires*, in which freer scope is given to the introduc-

tion of novelties, and the 'modus operandi' is defended in a Preface of 36 pages.

Mr. Duff has discharged his duties as editor of Martial in an admirable manner. The text of Martial is so well established by manuscript evidence that conjectural emendation should be avoided as far as possible. Mr. Duff has improved the punctuation in several passages (III xi. 3; lxxvii. 8-9; VII xix. 2-4; X lxxx. 5; XIII lxxix), sometimes on his own initiative, sometimes on a friend's, and has admitted a select number of new readings (e.g. Spect. xxviii. 10 *id dives, Caesar*; V lxvi. 2 *sic erit: aeternum*; VI lxx. 10 *separetur*; XII Epist. 14 *candore*; lv. 11 *recusat* and *sed unum* transposed; XIV ccxvi. 2 *deicit*), of which only the third, Mr. Duff's own suggestion, seems to me at all certain. Where an unintelligible word or phrase is strongly attested by the MSS., he leaves it unchanged and adds an indication of its doubtfulness. Thus at XIV xxix 2 *mandatus* is left in the text and the note runs: 'mandatus' quid sit nondum satis liquet. On the other hand he has not pushed to an extreme this theory of the infallibility of the consensus of the MSS., and changes their *patri* (III xiii. 2) into *putri*, their *callida* (IX xlvi. 8) into *pallida*, and their *sollicitata* into *sollicitare* (VI lxxi. 4); while

I in my edition (in the Oxford Series of Classical texts) felt myself required by the conditions prescribed for the Series to retain the traditional reading. In III xciii. 17, he has not appreciated my difficulty with regard to *pestilenties*, viz., that these by-forms in *-ies* require a short antepenultimate syllable (e.g. *iristities*, *maestities*); in II xlvi. 5 his objections to *unam* will be removed by a reference to Plaut. *Mil.* 584. The other points in which we differ (e.g. II Epist. 2 *atque* or *aut*; VI xxvii. 7 *est pia*, *sit* or *sit pia*, *si*) have, most of them, been discussed in previous numbers of the *C.R.* (XVI p. 316; XVII p. 48). But why does he tolerate the mention of an impossible form like *zmargdos* (V xi. 1)? And why does he omit to mention *gressun'* (*gressū* MSS.) in IV viii. 11 (see *C.R.* XVII 261)? I have noticed only four printer's errors (ad I xxvi. 9, *Laetana* for *Laetana*; ad I xcii. 3 for 5; ad III xli. xl for xli; ad XII lx, *coniunxi* for *coniunxit*) and have a couple of doubtful suggestions to make. In I cviii. v. 8 may possibly be a question, 'Is it a great thing to you, Gallus, if I allow myself this single exemption?' Similarly perhaps in VI xiv. 4 'if one is actually able to write clever verses, would he not write, Laberius?' (with *v.p.* either ironical or interrogative).

It will be worth while to recapitulate the reasons (cf. *C.R.* XVII 48) which require an editor of Martial to abstain from alterations of the traditional text, for thereby light will be thrown on problems offered by the text of Juvenal. For the text of Martial we have the evidence of three ancient editions (one of 401 A.D., the others perhaps earlier) represented by three families of MSS., which Mr. Duff calls *α*, *β*, *γ*. These three families have apparently remained separate until the Renaissance period; for the *α*-archetype, after being used for the compilation of two ninth-century Anthologies, seems to have disappeared, and, while the *β*-archetype remained on Italian soil, the *γ*-archetype was confined to France. There has been therefore no 'mixture' of text in Mediaeval times. Since we know that more than one edition of the epigrams appeared during the poet's lifetime, some (hardly all) discrepancies may be referred to his own pen. Thus at VI lxiv. 3 Martial may have used the stock epithet for a peasant woman, *rubicunda* (cf. Ovid *A. A.* III 303 *coniux Umbri rubicunda mariti*), but have changed it on second thoughts to *depressa*, the reading which Mr. Duff rightly prefers (*C.R.* XVII 222). There is no obvious

reason why an ancient editor would substitute the one word for the other. Mediaeval editors (e.g. the Abbot Lupus), who had only one defective copy at their disposal, often made arbitrary substitutions of words and scribes consciously or unconsciously did the same thing. At VI xliii. 9 the manuscript evidence is fortunately so complete that we know for a certainty that *regressus*, although an eminently suitable word for the context, is due to the aberration of an Italian scribe (*C.R.* XV 413). We can be almost equally certain that *servorum* (X lvi. 6) has the same origin (*C.R.* XV 419). French scribes are responsible for *felix quae tantis* and *o felix quantis* (IX xx. 3) and a hundred other readings offered by the Paris MS. (X) and the Milan MS. (V), both of the tenth century; while if we descend to the eleventh-century MSS. of the *γ*-family, we find variants, some clever, some stupid, as thick as blackberries. It is indeed a good fortune which enables us in the case of Martial's text to distinguish these modern parvenus from genuine ancient varieties of reading.

When we turn to the manuscript evidence for Juvenal, we find a very different state of affairs. So far as I can see, we cannot avoid the inference that only one ancient MS. survived the Dark Ages. The absence of the last part of Sat. XVI from all our MSS. is of itself sufficient proof, which no counter-evidence, such as the 'subscriptions' of Nicaeus or Epicarpus or the mention of this or that variant by Servius or Priscian, is at all strong enough to controvert. It is impossible to believe that the missing part would not have been supplied from some transcript or other, if any ancient MS., which had not (like the Archetype) lost its last leaf, had been available at the Carolingian Revival of Learning.

This archetype of all existing MSS. (for the scanty Bobbio fragment may be left out of account) was written in Rustic Capitals, to judge from the similarity of the letters P and C, e.g. xiii. 59 PARADEO] *caradeo P*, *cara adeo G*; xv. 27 IVNCO] *iunpo ut vid. P*. It had 29 lines to the page, if, by a common practice of a mediaeval scriptorium, the content of the pages was reproduced in the transcript *P*. That the Aarau fragment, which has the same number of lines to the page, may be part of a transcript of *P* is suggested by its sharing *P*'s miswriting of vii. 89. It had Scholia (transcribed in *P* and in the St. Gall MS.) and (possibly extracted from these) interlinear or marginal variants (e.g. xvi. 23 *mulino*, *Mutinensi*; viii. 147

Lateranus, Damasippus; vii. 100 nullo quippe modo, namque oblita modi); also Glosses (e.g. x. 189

altus caelum intuens
hoc recto uultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas,

a gloss which has caused this variety of reading: alto (*eras.*) recto uultu s.h. *P*, altus caelum intuens uultus sonus hoc *F*, altus (alius *O*) caelumque tuens hoc *LO*, which suggests that *LO* come from a 'doctored' transcript of *F* or of the original of *F*). A line omitted by the scribe at its proper place had been occasionally entered in the top or bottom margin of a page (e.g., v. 91 omitted through homoeoteleuton). And it shewed, amongst other defects, omissions (e.g. the latter part of ix. 134 and the beginning of viii. 7), transpositions (e.g. viii. 66 *et trito*), and miscopied words (e.g. ix. 106 *taceant* for *faciant*). It is the coincidence of the other MSS. with the Pitthoeanus in these defects which proves that all our MSS. (I will speak of *O* presently) come from one archetype; and it is the great fidelity of *P* to that archetype which gives *P* its unique position. Thus the defective verse, viii. 7, is omitted by the 'codices deteriores'; at viii. 66 they patch up the metre by omitting *et* or by writing *tritogue*; at ix. 106, since *taceant* does not suit the sense, they all offer *clament*. In other words, they have all been transcribed (or corrected) from a 'doctored' copy, in which the 'corrector' in some scriptorium or the abbot of some monastery had altered *taceant* to *clament*, thinking that this made the line intelligible. A 'doctored' MS. of this kind was always much in demand in a mediaeval scriptorium, either for transcribing or for correcting a copy in the monastery library; so it is natural that nearly every MS. of Juvenal should have been affected by it.

But the chief defect of the Archetype of our MSS. was one which was only revealed to us the other day by Mr. Winstedt's discovery. A passage of 29 lines had been omitted in Sat. VI, and the incoherence of the parts where the omission occurred was concealed by a piece of 'doctoring.' Five verses were re-written as three, and were transposed to an earlier part of the Satire. Now 29 lines (by our theory) make exactly a page of the Archetype. This can hardly be an accidental coincidence; so that the discovery of an 11th century Italian MS., which contains the omitted passage, does not imply that a second ancient MS., a representative of a

different ancient edition, had been transmitted to modern times. All that is implied is either (1) that a transcript (in which a page of the original had been omitted) of the Archetype in Rustic Capitals was the immediate archetype of the Pitthoeanus and the 'codices deteriores,' or (2) that Mr. Winstedt's Italian MS. preserves a trace of the immediate original from which the Archetype in Rustic Capitals was itself transcribed, this original having, as is natural, the same content of page as the transcript. Investigation might enable us to determine which of these alternatives (probably the latter) should be adopted.

If this account of our Juvenal MSS., which does not claim to be novel, is correct, the manuscript evidence for Juvenal is much weaker than for Martial. Only one ancient text is represented by our MSS. The Pitthoeanus together with the 'codices deteriores' correspond, not to the whole collection of the MSS. of Martial, but to one of the three groups; let us say, to the third family, since that is the only family which offers a number of 10th and 11th century MSS.; although the best representative of this family, the Edinburgh MS., cannot claim the unique position of the Pitthoeanus.

It is Mr. Housman's contention that the 'codices deteriores' of Juvenal have been unduly neglected. If his Preface, in spite of the unfortunate¹ style in which it is written, can induce some student to collate and classify a sufficient number of them, it will not have been written in vain; welcome light will be thrown on the mediaeval transmission of Juvenal's text. From Mr. Housman's apparatus criticus one can guess that *AGU* form one group and *FLOT* another; but the exact relationship of the two groups and the nature of their dependence on some 9th (10th?) century 'doctored' copy, not to mention the composite character of *O*, can be definitely established only by means of a painstaking investigation of these less attractive MSS. Undoubtedly, as everyone allows, the evidence of *P* must often be supplemented by their evidence, since *P* is not the parent of the others; e.g. at vi. 455, where the scribe of the Pitthoeanus has written *mihi* instead of *viris*, his eye having been caught by the *mihi* in the preceding line.

¹ I suppose it is useless to express a wish that Mr. Housman would cease to speak about veteran scholars of eminence, like Buecheler, Vahlen, and Friedlaender, in that fashion.

And undoubtedly some variants are genuine ancient variants, such as those mentioned above; though Mr. Housman's list on p. xxv. of his Preface seems to me to require revision. For example, Servius was a notoriously inaccurate quoter, and his works were to be found in most monastery libraries. He quotes x. 112 with *sanguine* instead of *vulnere*, and *sanguine* appears in *GU*. But does this prove that *sanguine* (included in Mr. Housman's list) was a genuine ancient variant? Is there not a possibility of some mediaeval abbot, who had noticed Servius' quotation (probably a misquotation), having entered the word in the copy in his monastery library? The Bobbio fragment is not of sufficient extent to help us much in this matter.

But it will not do to say that all readings in any MS. which give good sense must be ancient variants, nor can it be left to the critic to make a patch-work text from good and bad MSS. without reference to their relationship and history. The parallel case of Martial throws great suspicion on variants found in eleventh century or later MSS. Few scholars, I fancy, will agree with Mr. Housman in believing that the genuine reading¹ in xi. 148 has been best preserved by a fifteenth century MS. in the British Museum *quis erit et*. This is patently an erroneous transcription of the reading (the 'doctored' reading?) of the 'codices deteriores' *quisquam erit et*; for nothing is commoner than the miscopying of *quisquam* as *quis*, whether through Haplography or the confusion of the usual abbreviation of *quam* with an obliterated *q*. In x. 313 surely the Archetype had *irati debent* (-bet), glossed in the 'doctored' copy by a suprascript *exigere*, of which the *exire* in *A* is a mere scribal corruption. And surely in xv. 93 *usi* of *AGL* was a gloss written above *olim* to explain the Ablative *alimentis talibus*. I would class these two

intruders with *arca* vii. 8, *servorum* ix. 68, *sellas* x. 91, 'et hoc genus omne.'

But if definite proof be required in each of these cases, it can be obtained only by a thorough investigation of the mediaeval transmission² of Juvenal's text. And Mr. Winstedt's discovery was of itself sufficient to shew the utility of this. It shewed something more, the uncertainty of the text of Juvenal, as contrasted with Martial. If the large gap of 29 lines and the lesser omission of two lines in the Sixth Satire had escaped detection by critics, how many more defects of this sort may yet be lurking undetected? The awkwardness of i. 156 sq. disappears if we follow Mr. Housman's suggestion of a missing line:

qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
<quorum informe uuco trahitur post fata
cadaver>
et latum media sulcum deducit harena;

and there is perhaps an element of truth in the rather exaggerated statement on p. xxx. of the Preface: 'To emend Juvenal is difficult, and to attempt his emendation is dangerous; but this difficulty and danger arise not from the soundness of his text but its corruption. The scribes' (I would rather say, some mediaeval corrector) 'have depraved it by alterations so violent and so unscrupulous that correction . . . must often be impossible.' Jahn had already given the same hint: *multum abesse, quin ubique vera poetæ manus restituta sit, et gravissima vulnera tecta neque sanata iacere nullo modo negaverim*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ Mr. Housman's sneer at 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte' (Preface, p. xxviii) refers, I suppose, to the ancient transmission of texts. Apropos of this, I take the opportunity of pointing out that, if the 'subscriptio' and the glosses in the Montpellier (No. 212) Persius are (cf. *C.R.* xix. 221) in the same handwriting, which is not the handwriting of the text, this suggests three inferences: (1) the glosses represent the 'adnotatio' of Tryfonianus Sabinus; (2) the corrections in this handwriting come from a MS. representing his text; (3) the actual text of the Montpellier (212) MS. does not represent his text. Can some one tell us whether the 'subscriptio' in the Vatican Archives MS. is written by the scribe or by the 'corrector'?

² The reading of the Pithoeanus: *quisquam erit*; in *magno cum posces posce Latine*, has been strikingly confirmed by a Graeco-Latin Conversation Manual, published in vol. iii. of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, which indicates that *in magno miscere* (*poscere*) was a current phrase of the wine-table. Of course the Scholiast's *quales vendunt care manciparii* is quite in keeping with *P*'s version.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PROFESSOR BUECHELER'S JUBILEE.

On the 13th of March 1906 Professor Buecheler's friends will celebrate his golden jubilee as Doctor of Philosophy. Since 1870 he has laboured as Professor at Bonn and worthily maintained the credit of the University of Niebuhr, Ritschl, and Otto Jahn. A committee of his pupils, in the wider as well as in the narrower sense of the word, is raising a fund to procure a bust, by Dr. Walter Lobach in Berlin, for which subscriptions will be received ('Buechelerbüste') by the Berg-Märkische Bank, Kaiserplatz, Bonn, and by Barclay's Bank (Mortlock's branch), Cambridge. Any surplus will be

applied to found a 'Buecheler-Stiftung' (there already exists a 'Welcker-und-Usener-Stiftung') at Bonn.

Readers of the *Classical Review* do not need to be told what services Professor Buecheler has rendered to ancient letters, in many departments, from very early days. As one of the Committee I shall be glad to receive names of scholars who will join the Committee, and also to take charge of subscriptions.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, Nov. 11.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TRIREMES.

LIKE many other recent writers on this subject, Messrs. Richardson and Cook have misconceived the nature of the problem. We do not want to know how they would build a trireme. We want to know how triremes actually were built. And, if we are to know this, we must take account of these five points at least:—

I. The remains of the Athenian docks show that the triremes were not more than 150 ft. long and 20 ft. wide.

II. Vase-paintings, coins, etc. show that the oars were confined to about three-fifths of the length of the ship, not extending further forward than the cat-heads nor further aft than the steering-gear.

III. Inscriptions show that the Athenian triremes had 62 thranite oars, 54 zygite oars, and 54 thalamite oars.

IV. The Kouyunjik relief and several vase-paintings depict vessels with two tiers of oars arranged in this way

V. The Acropolis relief and the relief on Trajan's Column depict vessels with three tiers of oars arranged in this way : . : . : . that is, in *quincuncem*.¹

¹ See the diagram in my article *navis* in Daremberg & Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Fig. 5275 on p. 29 of fascicule 36.

There can be very little doubt about the arrangement of the oars. The difficulty is about the arrangement of the rowers. And the difficulty is aggravated by Messrs. Cook and Richardson, p. 377, when they make the midship-section of a trireme just like the midship-section of a modern steel-built steamer. If the midship-section of a trireme was something like the midship-section of a mediaeval galley, the difficulty nearly disappears.

Suppose that the vessel's sides curved sharply outward, and that the rowers' seats were fixed against the vessel's sides, so that the middle line of the vessel was nearer to the thalamites than to the zygites, and nearer to the zygites than to the thranites:² the rowers could then work three tiers of oars in *quincuncem* without any inordinate difference in the lengths of the oars or in the heights of the tholes above the water-line.

This, I think, may prove to be the true solution of the problem. At present the problem is insoluble, because we have not got sufficient information. And it is mere waste of time to give solutions that run counter to the information that we have got.

CECIL TORR.

² *Ibid.* Fig. 5270 on p. 27.

GARDNER'S *GRAMMAR OF GREEK ART.*

A Grammar of Greek Art. By PERCY GARDNER. London: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. xii. + 267. 7s. 6d.

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER'S authority on Greek Archaeology stands so high, that few, if any, reviewers could fulfil Milton's ideal of bringing to their task a judgment greater than that of the author. The present writer can only attempt to call attention to the importance of this book with reference especially to some of the questions suggested.

In choosing a title Professor Gardner has followed the precedent set long ago by Owen Jones in his 'Grammar of Ornament.' Principles govern the phenomena of all expressions of the human intellect, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, art, and so on. The danger of applying to other departments a term which is strictly appropriate to one is that fanciful analogies may be sought, in order to justify the choice of a title. Professor Gardner however, while at first seeming to yield to this temptation, is content further on to speak of 'the principles of Greek Art,' surely a sufficient description of his purpose. Anyhow the grammarian, who at present is much at a discount, will be gratified to think that his special pursuit furnishes a term of general application.

Professor Gardner rightly insists that his subject is psychological, that is, that it expresses the working of mind. An obvious truth; all human effort is psychological. But, as applied in this book to Greek Art, the term is strictly limited. The principles traceable in all artistic endeavour, whether those of a prehistoric bone-scratcher, or of a Pheidias, are not discussed. Nor again are artistic principles common to Babylon, Egypt, Phœnicia, and Greece treated of. Further, Minoan and Mycenaean art is excluded at one end, Hellenistic art at the other. The enquiry is confined to little more than two centuries, from B.C. 550 to the era of Alexander, a brief period during which Greek art put forth its perfect flower. And within this narrow compass Doric and Ionic ideals are discriminated.

Professor Gardner writes of the character of Greek art generally, of architecture, sculpture, painting, vases, coins, and, a subject of great general interest, the relation of painting to literature. The chapter on Painting is perhaps the least satisfactory,

chiefly owing to the meagreness of the evidence, but partly perhaps because the subject seems less congenial to the author than the severer and simpler themes of sculpture and architecture. 'On the whole,' he concludes, 'Greek painting through all its history, must, so far as we can judge, have shown the same qualities as Greek sculpture.' That is to say, the potentialities of painting were not discovered. Here at least the Greeks were but halting pioneers of that wonderful outburst of life which began with Giotto after the slumber of centuries.

What then are some of the principles which govern Greek art?

In the first place the Greeks were idealists. They were not content to copy what they saw, they sought to discover the perfect in the imperfect, to construct the type after which all Nature appears to be striving. Professor Gardner recalls the story of Zeuxis, who, when commissioned to paint a Helen for the people of Croton, bargained that he should study the forms of the five most beautiful virgins of the city. He adds the important remark that Greek idealism is 'not individual but social; it belongs to the nation, the city, or the school, rather than to this or that artist.' This connotes the sway of convention, a fruitful theme to which Professor Gardner recurs. Convention dictates rules to all art and literature, more so to ancient Greece than to modern Europe. While the Greeks, supreme as pioneers, adapted for their own purposes what they had received from the petrified earlier art of the East, they worked within the lines of their own conventions. On the one hand individual originality was more or less discouraged, on the other they were saved from eccentricity, exaggeration, and anarchy. Excellences however have their defects. The strength of idealism is its spiritual aspiration, its weakness the danger of losing touch with truth and reality. The remedy would appear to consist in constantly refreshing the mind with a study of nature. *Antiquam exquirite matrem.*

Secondly Greek art is distinguished by its love of the human form. In sculpture and painting all else seems subordinate to this absorbing tendency. The result is that it has left us beautiful types of men and women; it is full of human interest. All this accords with the bent of Greek thought. Man is the measure of the universe. But the loss is great. The sympathies

with plant and animal life, with sea and sky and mountain which inspired a Wordsworth are unfelt. In religion, if humanity is raised, divinity is lowered. Nothing in Greek art appeals to that mysticism which underlies religion: the two moods are hostile. Hence with the rise of spiritual religion and rationalism Greek art might survive impaired, but the popular religion was doomed to decay.

Thirdly there is the Greek love of pure outline apart from decoration. In architecture, which best illustrates this admirable principle, decoration is subordinate and appropriate to the design as a whole; it is simplest where structural usefulness is most obvious, as in a column, but more elaborate where less obvious, as in a pediment. Similarly the handles of a vase which are subject to constant use are generally undecorated. The reliefs on metopes are bold and high, otherwise they would be obscured by eaves and triglyphs; the subjects of a frieze are continuous. With regard to colour decoration it seems impossible to be equally enthusiastic. At a somewhat later date the colouring of the Tanagra terra-cottas, and of the Sidon sarcophagi was undoubtedly delightful; but speaking generally the Greek feeling for colour must have been vastly inferior to its sense of form and outline. There is little to show that the Greeks possessed that intuitive and unflinching taste which distinguishes the best of Chinese porcelain, or the harmonious marble patterns on a Saracenic wall, or a common Turkish embroidery.

Of other principles, for example, of balance and symmetry, of the intellectuality and sobriety which characterize Greek art there is not time to speak. But one question arises suggested by a remarkable paper on 'the Spirit of Gothic Architecture' in the July number of the Edinburgh Review. Gothic Architecture, the writer holds, with its clustered shafts rising into arch-heads, vaulting-shafts, aisle and nave vaulting ribs, and spreading out into arch mouldings, stands for energy, vitality, individual freedom. The earliest architectural forms which Gothic superseded stand for repose, for acquiescence in order and organization. What idea does Greek architecture stand for? Whatever the answer, one lesson we can learn from it. It supplies no models for domestic purposes. True it has at times served for ecclesiastical uses. The Parthenon has been a Greek church, a Roman church, and a Mosque by turns. This is

hardly a useful precedent. The Greek temple is the house of its deity; the Christian church, as Selden acutely remarks, is the house which man builds for himself to worship in. But in the subordination of decoration to design, in the preservation of beauty of outline and proportion, in simplicity and purity we have everything to learn from the spirit of Greek architecture. The overloaded decoration of the Western front of Salisbury Cathedral contrasts most unfavourably with the pure simplicity of its eastern end. And one who walking along Parliament Street to-day notices the superabundance of ornament which obstructs the form of the rising Government offices will sigh for the spirit of Greek sobriety.

Professor Gardner has given us an admirable manual, packed with matter, just in proportion, and lucid in exposition. His style is that of a philosopher rather than of an artist. This book will doubtless be valuable to the professed student; it should be digested by schoolmasters who, while wisely demurring to the introduction of so highly technical a subject into their school curriculum, should be able to illustrate their lessons in literature by analogies in art; it is a contribution to the history of civilization, and as such it will be welcome to that happily increasing class of men and women who, though unable to follow the minutiae of Greek studies, are alive to their importance, having discovered that ancient Greece has left a legacy which cannot be neglected.

F. E. THOMPSON.

PERROT'S *PRAXITELES* AND
COLLIGNON'S *LYSIPPUS*.

- Les Grands Artistes*. (1) *Praxitèle*. Par GEORGES PERROT. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. 128. 24 illustrations. No date. Fr. 2.50.
(2) *Lysippe*. Par MAXIME COLLIGNON. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. 128. 24 illustrations. No date. Paris: Laurens. Fr. 2.50.

THE publishers of a series of short popular accounts of *Les Grands Artistes* have included among their subjects one or two Greeks. The volumes on *Praxiteles* and *Lysippus* which lie before us are excellent of their kind. The illustrations are up to the 'series' level, and on the whole well selected, although patriotism has to a certain extent affected the choice. Of the two

authors, M. Perrot treats his subject with the lighter hand; the 'gros livre' of a German writer is dismissed as something of which the less said the better; and he remarks with a tinge of regret that modern feminine dress, with all its buttons and sewn-up sleeves, renders impossible for a modern advocate such a *coup de théâtre* as that by which Hyperides saved Pnyx. The method in both books is the same, to proceed from the known to the less known; and it is astonishing and a little disheartening to realize how soon the realm of conjecture is entered. In the case of Praxiteles we have the Hermes; in the case of Lysippus we have still less, for the Agias is only a contemporary copy. As to the Apoxyomenos, M. Collignon is so little disturbed by the discovery of the Agias that he still regards it as a certain criterion of the Lysippean style. These two or three pieces are small enough basis on which to reconstruct the *œuvre* of two of the greatest of Greek sculptors. But even if there were somewhat more, one may be permitted to doubt the wisdom of the attempt. Considering the number of monographs which appear with such an end in view, it may seem absurd to dispute the value of the method. But as a matter of fact the attempt to discover the artistic personality of a Greek sculptor is doomed to failure. This is not merely because of the necessarily fragmentary nature of the material, but still more because of certain essential characteristics of the best Greek art. It is an art of schools and tendencies, not of individuals and idiosyncrasies. One does not find in the same Greek school contemporaries differing from each other in the same degree as, let us say, Ghiberti, Donatello, and Michelozzo. The sooner this fact is realized, the sooner we shall have a satisfactory history of Greek sculpture. The passion for 'attribution' is not more worthy than the popular attitude towards works of art, which are best liked when the spectator is able to say οἷός ἐκεῖνος. What is wanted is a classified collection of the original material; the poorest contemporary work is of more value for the purposes of instruction than an academic copy. No attempt should be made to attribute works to particular artists, so long as our sole basis for such an attribution is some unintelligible translation by Pliny of a half-understood phrase from the Greek. We shall then get a much clearer idea of the development and inner significance of Greek art than is provided by the method now in vogue. But such a history

would not be popular, because the public likes to be able to say 'this is' or 'is not by Lysippus.' And little books written on the lines of those which have furnished the excuse for the above remarks will always please the popular taste. It is at least a consolation that these two books show it to be possible to do so without displaying ignorance of the subject.

G. F. HILL.

SVORONOS' NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS.

Das Athener Nationalmuseum, phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze. Von J. N. SVORONOS. Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von W. BARTH. Hefte 3, 4. Athens: Beck and Barth, 1905. 4to. Pp. 87—134. Plates XXI—XL. Price (2 parts) M. 14.40.

PARTS 3 and 4 of this valuable publication form an instalment of the section on sculptured reliefs. As Parts 1 and 2 dealt with the finds at Cerigotto, it is impossible as yet to see any logical plan in the work. Certainly such is not to be found in the method of numbering adopted, of which '3. 1959. XXVI. i.' is a fair specimen.

The text shews the same careful observation of the monuments, and the same skilled application of numismatic evidence to their elucidation. There is also present the same tendency towards an unnecessary elaboration of hypothesis, the main danger of which is that the highly doubtful deductions achieved are apt to be quoted in textbooks as matters of ascertained fact. For this Dr. Svoronos, whose conclusions are stated with moderation and reserve, cannot be held responsible.

The following are among the more interesting examples treated. No. 3, 1959, xxvi. i. In this relief representing apparently a runner in the extreme of exhaustion Dr. Svoronos recognises a contemporary portrait of Pheidippides. The aptly quoted Etruscan scarab makes the motive clear, but the association of the relief with the famous runner is of course conjectural. No. 7. 82. xxvi. This curious reduplicated representation of Athena is ingeniously interpreted as a reproduction of the two Palladia of Demophon (Cf. Polyæn. 1, 5). This explanation however leaves out of account the frequent presence of apparently reduplicated deities on coins. No. 8. 126. xxiv. To the famous relief from Eleusis

the author brings a new interpretation and nomenclature. According to his theory Demeter sets a ring on the outstretched finger of the Attic hero Nisos (a piece of symbolism recalling the marriage of St. Catherine of Renaissance art), while Kore dowers him with the single golden hair conferring immortality. In effect these motives are more consonant with what has been preserved for us in the marble than any that have yet been suggested, but there is no corresponding literary tradition respecting Nisos. The long notice on No. 9. 1783. xxviii being incomplete will be best considered with the next part.

The plates, generally excellent for the more important pieces represented, suffer occasionally from an over-emphasis of light and shadow. Where several subjects are grouped on the same page, more care might have been taken to secure a uniform background. Both these defects are seen on Plate XL. Plates XXX, XXXI on the other hand are particularly good.

JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE.

HILL'S GREEK COINS OF CYPRUS.

A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Coins of Cyprus. By GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, M.A. With One Map, a Table of the Cypriote Syllabary, and Twenty-six Plates. London: 1904. Pp. cxliv + 120. Price 15s.

THE deservedly high reputation of the British Museum Coin Catalogues is fully maintained by the most recent addition to their number,—the twenty-fourth volume of the series, as the Keeper of Coins reminds us in his Preface. A noteworthy and a most welcome innovation is a complete record of the weights of the bronze pieces. The intrinsic importance of such information may seem to be small. As a matter of fact, rough and ready as these weights usually are, they may provide a valuable aid to classification, particularly where one is dealing with groups so nearly related in time that the ordinary criterion of style is of little practical use. Another novel feature is an Index to the Introduction. It may be hoped that both of these improvements are destined to reappear in all future volumes.

The special difficulties of Cypriote numismatics are well known. So far as the earlier period is concerned, the historical

data are of the most meagre description. Again, many of the coins are badly struck or struck from worn dies, accurate transliteration of the legends being thus very hard of attainment. Mr. Hill had undoubtedly a great opportunity, for (thanks to the acquisition of Sir R. Hamilton Lang's collections) London is exceptionally rich in Cypriote coins, richer probably than any other museum in the world. Seekers after new things will perhaps be disappointed. But the verdict of sober critics will certainly be that the author has made the most of his material, and has handled it in an exceedingly judicious way. Six's brilliant articles, published some twenty years ago in the *Revue Numismatique*, were eminently constructive. The theories there propounded have been generally accepted, but the foundations on which they rest have not been hitherto adequately tested. Mr. Hill has carried out the testing process on strictly scientific lines, with the result that much that seemed certain before is now shown to be doubtful or altogether untenable. The value of the book then is, in the first instance, negative. But the negations are arrived at through an accumulation of positive facts that cannot but furnish a secure basis for further investigation. As new specimens come to light, they will fall naturally into their places and will gradually build up solutions to the problems that Mr. Hill has been compelled to leave unanswered. Nor must it be supposed that the Catalogue is, in all respects, what Kuropatkin is alleged to have called an 'advance to the north.' Thus, against the treatment meted out to the staters hitherto assigned to Golgi, we may place as a real gain the satisfactory attribution to Cyprus of an interesting little set of bronze pieces with the heads of Antoninus Pius and of M. Aurelius as Caesar. They have often been classed as Alexandrian. As Mr. Hill points out, their *provenance* clearly marks them as Cyprian.

Apart altogether from particular results, the book is an admirable object lesson in method. It really deals, not with the British Museum specimens alone, but with all known examples that illustrate points of importance in the history of the mints of Cyprus. More than a third of the whole number of plates—nine out of twenty-six—are devoted to reproductions of coins in other collections, while great care has been taken to discriminate between different dies. In the Introduction all relevant questions of historical, geographical, and archaeo-

logical interest are adequately discussed with exhaustive references to the most recent authorities. As an example, one may point to the seven or eight pages devoted to the architectural details of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite, a representation of which is the most characteristic Cyprian coin-type of the Imperial age. The difficulty of Mr. Hill's task, and the conscientious thoroughness with which he has discharged it, may be gauged by the fact that, while words are nowhere wasted, the Introduction and the Indexes combined contain just about twice as many pages as the text of the Catalogue proper. The book, as a whole, will be indispensable, not to the numismatic student alone, but to all who concern themselves with the early history of the island. It contains a specially prepared map, while a new fount of type has been cut for the characters of the syllabary. The colotype plates do credit to the Clarendon Press.

G. MACDONALD.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Via Salaria.—Further details are now published with regard to the terracotta mural relief recently discovered in a *columbarium* on the Via Salaria. It represents a scene from a tragedy—probably the moment when Andromache is informed of the decision of the Greeks to slay Astyanax. The architectural background of the stage is rendered with great elaboration. The colouring is still fresh and vivid. Most probably it is a theatre of the Hellenistic Period which is depicted. Two very imperfect fragments of this relief were previously known.¹

Ferento.—A series of Etruscan chamber tombs was excavated in 1903 on the *Poggio del Talone*. Several sarcophagi in peperino with Etruscan inscriptions on the covers were found. Although the tombs had previously been plundered, many painted vases with designs in yellow on a black ground (imitating Greek style) were discovered, as well as several bronze mirrors with engraved designs which were unfortunately much injured by oxidation.²

Velletri.—A collection of fictile votive objects has recently been discovered. They number over a hundred and represent parts of the human body and domestic animals. As they are evidently offerings made to

some sanctuary, it is thought likely that they belong to a temple of Sol and Luna which stood near the spot where they were found.²

Sardinia.—At Cagliari, in the course of excavations for building purposes, extensive remains belonging to the Roman period came to light last year. The most noteworthy object found is a statue of Dionysos in fine marble. The head, which was separately inserted, is missing. Dionysos, who wears a fawn-skin, stands by the side of a tree against which his panther leans. The statue, in its present condition, measures about 5 ft. in height; it evidently belongs to a good period of Roman art.²

Populonia.—The Museum at Florence has recently acquired two hydriae of great importance. They were probably found in the course of clandestine excavations at Populonia. The vases belong to the same class as the Meidias vase in the British Museum (Cat. E 224), and evidently form a pair. The first shows Phaon (ΦΑΩΝ) seated and holding the lyre. Above him is Aphrodite in a chariot drawn by Himeros and Pothos. The second represents Adonis (ΑΔΩΝΙΔΟΣ) before Aphrodite. In both vases there are numerous subordinate figures; all of them have their names inscribed. The vases apparently depict the translation of Phaon by Aphrodite.³

Corneto Tarquinia.—A small chamber tomb has been uncovered. In it was a well preserved painting of the fifth century B.C. representing a banqueting scene. This has now been detached and transferred to the Museum at Florence.⁴

Ostia.—Lead water-pipes with inscriptions have recently been discovered. One is new, viz.

(R)EI PVB COLOSTEX OFFVALZOSIM⁴

Pompeii.—A small house in *Reg. V, is. IV* has recently been excavated and presents some features of interest. One fresco shows Mercury with a white *omphalos* before him. The *omphalos* is covered with a red network and has a serpent twisted round it. A graffito near by reads

OPTATASHCVNDO
SVOSALVTII(m).

In another room is a wall-painting of about 3½ ft. high by 3 ft. broad. Above is Diana in her chariot drawn by two white horses. Before the chariot is Mars, fully armed,

¹ *Notizie degli scavi*, 1905, part 1.

² *Ibid.* part 2.

³ *Ibid.* part 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* part 4.

de-ascending towards Rhea Silvia who lies sleeping on a rock. In the middle of the picture is Rhea Silvia (?) in custody of a slave. The lowest scene represents Mercury in the act of pointing out to Rhea Silvia the suckling of the twins by the wolf. The picture is badly preserved, but is of great interest owing to the subject, which has not hitherto been found on Pompeian wall-paintings. A seal found in the house has the following stamp in raised letters :

ΒΑΓΩΜ
ΙΟΝΥΣΕΙ

Cf. the graffito above.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

⁴ *Notizie degli scavi*, 1905, part 4.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Annual of the British School at Athens.
x. 1903-04.

1. A. J. Evans: The Palace of Knossos. (Two plates, 22 cuts.)

The object of Dr. Evans' fifth campaign was to continue the exploration of the Palace and ascertain its original elements, also to investigate the dependencies lying immediately beyond the *enceinte*. He also lighted on an extensive Minoan cemetery, with a Royal tomb. In the Palace itself new data were obtained for the first and second periods of the later Palace, as well as the remains of the original plan and evidence of alterations. By means of a section cut in the West Court much light was thrown on the stratification and successive chronology; among other points, that the later Palace was posterior to the age of polychrome pottery ('Middle Minoan II.'). Its second period not being later than 1500. The outlying remains discovered included a roadway, and a deposit of clay tablets referring to royal chariots and weapons; one mentions a store of 8,640 arrows, and close by an actual deposit of arrowheads was found. In the cemetery three classes of tombs were noted: the chamber, the shaft, and the pit; one remarkable tomb in the form of a square chamber had been rifled in antiquity.

Among other finds may be mentioned a series of fine painted vases of 'Middle Minoan III.' period, knobbed *πίθοι*, and pottery of the early Minoan and Neolithic periods, all from the section in the West Court. They shew a continuous development from Neolithic to late Minoan. The early Minoan included both 'light-on-dark' and 'dark-on-light' decoration, shewing the parallel development of the two methods. Some fragments of frescoes were found representing spectators of sports and others with ornamental patterns.

2. M. N. Tod: Teams of Ball-players at Sparta.

Publishes two new inscriptions and collects and restores others, all recording victories in the annual ball-contest of teams representing the *ὄβαι* or divisions of the state.

3. M. N. Tod: A new fragment of the Attic Tribute Lists.

An inscription found on the Acropolis not earlier than 432 B.C., probably to be restored as representing the contribution of Colophon, joining on to *Inscr. Gr.* i. 256.

4. R. M. Dawkins: Notes from Karpathos.

Chiefly on the modern dialect.

5. A. J. B. Wace: Grottesques and the Evil Eye. (5 cuts.)

Collects marble and bronze figures of dwarfs, negroes, and caricatures; all belong to Imperial period; the two former classes used as charms against the evil eye; the caricatures are merely fanciful.

6. R. S. Conway: A Third Eteocretan Fragment. (Cut.)

Discusses the Neikar inscription; alphabet Ionic of fourth century; a new sign **F** represents a sound between S and T.

7. H. Schäfer: Old Egyptian Agricultural Implements. (20 cuts.)

Gives examples of ploughs, yokes, etc., in Berlin Museum, and implements for winnowing and threshing, including a *λίκρον*.

8. J. E. Harrison: Note on the Mystica Vannus Iacchi. (4 cuts.)

Supplementary to Schäfer and to articles in *J.H.S.* xxiii.-xxiv.; publishes two monuments illustrating *λίκρον*.

9. J. H. Hopkinson: Note on the fragment of a painted Pinax from Praesos. (Plate.)

Pinax closely connected in style with Melian and Rheneia vases, with traces of Mycenaean influence.

10. H. R. Hall: The Keftiu Fresco in the Tomb of Senmut. (2 cuts.)

Discusses details of costume and of vases held by Keftians on fresco.

11. E. S. Forster: South-Western Laconia: Sites and Inscriptions.

Discusses topography and remains of district west of Taygetus; publishes 24 inscriptions, and 19 new or corrected from Gytheion.

12. R. C. Bosanquet: Church of the ruined Monastery at Daou-Mendeli.

Notes on a monastery on the slopes of Pentelicus.

13. R. M. Dawkins and C. M. Currelly: Excavations at Palaikastro. III. (Plate, 11 cuts.)

Important pottery finds, chiefly early and later Late Minoan; chronological comparison made with Knossos and other sites. Description of pottery given; also of houses excavated and their contents. In the Palace, room 44 contained clay objects connected with the Minoan snake-goddess cult: figures of the goddess with hooped skirts, doves, and cups forming *κέρποι*. As the *κέρπος* was associated with Rhea-Kybele, probably she is the snake-goddess. With these was found pottery of 'Mycenaean' later style. Currelly contributes note on a group of *λάρναξ*-burials.

14. The Penrose Memorial Library (opening ceremony).

Athenische Mittheilungen. xxx. Heft 1-2. 1905.

1. F. Gräber: Enneakrunos. (Three plates, 32 cuts.)

Exhaustive discussion of this site and questions raised by it, with plan of excavations and attempted restoration. Dörpfeld's view upheld that Kallirrhoe was a place where water was collected from natural and artificial sources in a hollow at the west end of the Acropolis. There were also

sunk wells and rain-water cisterns, from one of which, of large extent, Kallirrhoe was supplemented. When a larger supply was required in the sixth century Peisistratos, in imitation of Megara, brought it from the Ilissos valley by pipes to Kallirrhoe, which was then enlarged, and a fountain with nine mouths erected, called Eneakrounos.

2. F. Studniczka: The Arcadian Phanleas' offering to Pan. (Plate and cut.)

An archaic bronze statuette in an English private collection inscribed *Φαυλέας ἀνέθυσσε τῷ Πανί*; several small details, such as use of *ἀνέθυσσε*, point to Arcadia as place of origin; seems to represent the donor himself.

3. W. Kolbe: Attic archons, 293-270 B.C.

Chronology of archons investigated on basis of historical data alone, the period chosen being that when Dionysios of Halicarnassos fails; satisfactory results obtained except for two gaps, fitting in admirably with history of Athens.

4. G. Sotiriades: Investigations in Boeotia and Phokis. (12 cuts.)

Results of investigations for Greek Archaeological Society in 1904: (1) At Chaeroneia Haimon river and shrine of Herakles identified; (2) prehistoric remains on the Kephisos (Neolithic pottery and stone idols); (3) a Mycenaean tumulus at Orchomenos; (4) a tumulus of Geometrical period in Kopais; (5) two Hellenistic tumuli at Drachmani; (6) a prehistoric settlement at Elateia.

5. U. von Wilamowitz and F. von Hiller: Inscriptions of Mytilene.

Three recently-discovered inscriptions, with annotations.

6. E. Ziebarth: *Χοῦς*.

A correction of an inscription on a Mysian League relief (*B.C.H.* 1899, p. 592), reading *τῷ χῶ* for *τῷ χῶ(ρω)*.

7. A. Rutgers van der Loeff: Sepulchral Inscriptions from Rhodes.

Thirteen new sepulchral inscriptions.

8. Recent finds.

Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts. xx. Heft 2. 1905.

1. E. Pfuhl: Decoration of the sepulchral reliefs of Asia Minor and the Islands. (Three plates, 19 cuts.)

Gives list of stelae classified according to the subjects of the subordinate decoration on sides or top; also discusses composition of reliefs and forms of tombs generally in relation to existing tombs or representations on other monuments. Representation of deceased not a new idea (cf. the Attic lekythi); influence of Attic reliefs generally to be observed (as elsewhere, e.g. on South Italy vases).

2. J. Six: Pamphilos.

Closer investigation of existing material may yield a clearer idea of Pamphilos' art, e.g. Xenophon's description of the battle of Phlius, which he painted. Difficulties may be cleared up by supposing Pliny to have mistranslated Greek authorities. Pamphilos' treatment of foreshortening compared with Michel Angelo's.

3. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: Alexander the Great's Funeral Car.

Corrections of recent dissertation by K. Müller, and of his restoration of the car from the literary accounts.

4. M. Goepel: The Praying Boy and the Leaping Amazon. (One cut.)

Rejects Mau's theory of the Adorante being a

ball-player, also Michaelis' of the Ephesian Amazon being a leaper with a pole, both on physical grounds.

5. D. Detlefsen: Pliny's use of the censors' lists of Roman works of art.

In Bk. xxxiv. he uses them only to supplement his own information; for Painting he makes more use of them, and still more in Bk. xxxvi., where he had no good literary authorities. He was at best a merely mechanical 'paste-and-scissors' compiler.

Anzeiger.

1. Annual Summary of work of Institute.

2. Finds in 1904. (37 cuts.)

3. The Reichslimeskommission in 1904.

4. Berlin Archaeological and Anthropological Societies.

5. The Archaeological Congress.

6. Miscellaneous.

7. Bibliography.

American Journal of Archaeology. ix. Pt. 2. April-June 1905.

1. L. D. Caskey: Notes on inscriptions from Eleusis dealing with the building of Phylon's porch. (Plate.)

Project of building porch shewn to have been started about 350, but work dropped and not finished till end of century. Details of measurement collected from inscriptions and compared with actual remains, shewing close correspondence.

2. P. Baur: Tityros. (Plate and cut.)

A terracotta statuette at Cincinnati, with very rare type of goat-man with cornucopia; represents a god of procreation called Tityros (which means a he-goat, and also comes to mean a goat-herd, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* i).

3. R. G. Kent: The city-gates of Demetrias. (Three cuts.)

Position of main gateway traced from observations.

4. W. N. Bates: A signed amphora of Meno. (Two plates, 6 cuts.)

An early R.-F. amphora with (a) Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, (b) an Oriental warrior with horses; Meno not otherwise known, but a contemporary of Andokides, and similar in style.

5. C. Peabody: American Archaeology, 1900-05.

6. Archaeological Discussions (ed. H. N. Fowler).

7. Bibliography, 1904 (ed. H. N. Fowler).

H. B. WALTERS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2, 1905.

Th. Reinach. 'A stele from Abonuteichos.' On an interesting inser. from *Inboli* the ancient Abonuteichos. It is an honorary decree of the *φρατρία* and is dated 'under the reign of Mithradates Euergetes in the year 161 and the month Dios.' The date is thus (according to the Pontic Era) B.C. 137-6. This inser. proves that Mithradates-Euergetes, the father of the great Mithradates Eupator, is distinct from King Mithradates Philopator Philadelphos with whom he has been sometimes identified. Of this Mithradates Philopator Phil. coins came to light some years ago; those of Mithradates Euergetes have still to be discovered. The inser. mentions the temple of Zeus Poarinos, a god of pastures (?) (Cp. *πόαριον*, *πόα*, grass).—J. Maurice on the mint of Heraclea in Thrace during the period of Constantine (pp. 120-178)

Part 3, 1905.

Sir H. Howorth. 'Some notes on coins attributed to Parthia.' A long paper (pp. 209-246) dealing with the coins of Andragoras and the drachms usually considered to be the earliest money of the Parthian kings. In his indictment of the authenticity of the Andragoras pieces, Sir Henry seems somewhat too eager to secure a conviction, and he makes what seems to be by no means the necessary assumption that the gold coins are copied from Roman *denarii* and are consequently modern fabrications. There seems no reason why the gold staters of Philip II. of Macedon may not have served (in antiquity) as their models, and in that case Sir Henry's puzzle about the position of the king's name will vanish. Sir Henry is certainly incorrect in saying that Aramaic inscriptions of 'firm, decided outline' are not found. They occur, e.g., on the coins of Sinope. Sir Henry's contention that the early drachms are Armenian and not Parthian is not supported by the types of the coins, nor by their *provenance*, the latter a consideration entirely ignored by him. In setting forth the history of the Parthian kings, it is to be regretted that he has used an antiquated text of Justin. His confidence in Moses of Chorene seems somewhat excessive; at any rate, one would have looked for some reference to the critical literature that has accumulated since the time of Langlois.

Revue Numismatique. Part 2, 1905.

Allotte de La Fuye. 'Monnaies asiatiques de la collection Petrowicz.' An excellent critical examination (pp. 129-169) of the catalogue of the fine Petrowicz collection of Parthian coins published at Vienna in 1904. Col. A. de La Fuye disputes, and quite rightly as it seems to me, Von Petrowicz's attribution to Armenia of the early tetradrachms of Greek style assigned in my *Brit. Mus. Catal. Parthia* and by most numismatists to Parthia itself. To say nothing of the shadowy nature of the Armenian kings enumerated by Moses of Chorene, there is no evidence, I believe, of the finding of these tetradrachms in Armenia, while some, at any rate, undoubtedly come from Persia and the neighbourhood of Bagdad.—R. Dussaud. 'Monnaies nabatéennes.' A résumé of his important monograph published in the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1904. A list (p. 173) is given of the names and dates of the Nabathean kings.—J. Maurice on the numismatic iconography of the Roman Emperors, Maxentius, Constantine (and Helena).

Part 3, 1905.

J. D. Foville. 'Études de numismatique et de glyptique. Pierres gravées du Cabinet de France.' Deals chiefly with stones of the scaraboid class.—G. Schlumberger. 'Sceaux byzantins inédits.' On p. 340 the seal of the famous Anna Comnena is reproduced.—E. Babelon writes on a drachm of Chalcis in Euboea with a curious countermark, viz. a lyre and $\vdash N$. This is explained as the stamp of Ichnai in Macedon.—H. Sanders on a hoard of consular *denarii* found in Spain, province of Jaen, in 1903.—E. Babelon, review of Hill's 'Coins of Cyprus.'

Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Part 2, 1905.

F. Gneecchi describes some rare Roman medallions in the Vatican cabinet and has notes on the plated coins of Gallienus, etc. and on *tin* imitations of

current coins which appear to have been specially made for dedication to the presiding deities of springs and rivers.—L. Naville describes coins of Carausius, etc. from his collection.

In the **Rivista Italiana di Numismatica**, part 3, 1905, F. Gneecchi tabulates the various allegorical types (*Abundantia*, *Aequitas*, etc.) that occur on Roman Imperial coins.—A summary of the coinage of Constantinus II. is given by Laffranchi and Monti, pp. 389-413.

Journal International d'Arch. Numismatique. Parts 1 and 2, 1905.

F. Hulstsch. 'Ein altkorinthisches Gewicht.' A bronze weight, type, bull's head, found in Attica, and bearing the name of the 'Corinthians' and the word $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ in archaic letters.—Babelon. 'Les origines de la monnaie à Athènes.' The concluding part of this elaborate paper. The first issue of the 'Athena and owl' coins is assigned to the time of Pisistratus instead of to the period of Solon, as proposed by Head. The important passage in Ps. Aristotle *Oeconom.* ii. 5 as to the part played by Hippias in the reform of the coinage is discussed at length and explained in a way that differs a good deal from previous interpretations. It occurs to me that it would be useful—certainly to numismatists—if some scholar would publish the *Schriftquellen* for the early coinage of Athens, citing the passages (which might be numbered) in full and translating each with some notes and commentary.—G. Dattari on a hoard of Athenian tetradrachms found in Egypt. The hoard appears to have consisted of 700 pieces, of which 460 were melted down by Cairo jewellers. 240 coins were purchased by Dattari. A large number of these coins are covered with countermarks, some of which appear also on coins of the class of Alexander the Great and of Ptolemy Soter. On Pl. II., nos. 1-3, is a photograph of a *die* believed to have been found in Egypt near the spot where the tetradrachms were discovered. Dattari thinks that it was used in Egypt for striking imitations of the coins of Athens. The coins in the hoard are chiefly of the fifth and fourth centuries.—A. K. Chrestomanos publishes some interesting analyses of drachms of Alexander the Great and tetradrachms of Athens. Svoronos $\tau\alpha$ 'Εναία ἢ Ἐναία τῆς Κερίας. This article cannot be conveniently noticed until its Plate—promised for the next number—has appeared.—K. Regling. ENNOΔΙΑ. This word, hitherto misread, occurs on a fourth century drachm of Alexander of Pherae (*B.M.C. Thessaly*, p. 47, no. 17) accompanying the head of Artemis-Hekate. It was already known from the Greek dramatists and from inscriptions $\epsilon\nu\delta\omicron\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\nu\delta\omicron\delta\iota\alpha$), as an epithet of Artemis 'of the way-side.'

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Parts 1 and 2, vol. 36, for 1904 (published 1905).

H. Willers. 'Italische Bronzebarren aus der letzten Zeit des Rohkupfergeldes' (pp. 1-34). Gives a description (with details of weight and provenance) of the 'types' that occur on these rude bars—branch, fish's back-bone, club, crescent, etc. In the concluding section the weights and composition of these pieces are dealt with and it is maintained that they were private and non-official issues.—A. Markl. 'Die Reichsmünzstätte in Serdica.'—Review by Kubitschek of Hill's *Catal.* of the coins of Cyprus.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. lx. 3. 1905.

H. Willers, *Ein neuer Kämmererbericht aus Tauromenion*. The text of an inscription discovered by P. Rizzo in 1892, assigned by W. to the period 70-36 B.C., when, as he believes, Tauromenion became a *municipium*. Various numismatic points are discussed, esp. the weight of the silver *litra* and the old copper *litra* of Sicily. P. Jahn, *Aus Vergils Dichterwerkstätte*. A table gives a general survey of the arrangement of Georgics 3 and the sources, etc., for the various sections. Then follow, in parallel columns (quoted as fully as necessary), the text of Vergil and the sources and models. A. Körte, *Zu Didymos' Demosthenes-Commentar*. 1. The information given us, e.g. as regards Hermias and Aristomedes, gets rid of many stumbling-blocks in the way of accepting the fourth Philippic as Demosthenic. Wilamowitz' view—political brochure, not a speech—accepted. 2. Emendation of Timocles' fragment (Teubner, col. 9. 70 sqq.) and Eupolis' fragment 244 K. K. Ziegler, *Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Firmicus Maternus de errore*. Flacius' codex Mündensis is Bursian's Vatican as yet untouched by the second hand (from which certain earlier corrections must be distinguished). A. Körte, *Inscriptliches zur Geschichte der attischen Komödie*. Restoration and discussion of I.G. xiv. 1097, 1098, 1098a. *Miscellen*: R. J. T. Wagner, *Aristoph. Ach.* 23 sqq. Read εἰδοσιν for ἡκοσες; H. van Herwerden, *Ad nouissimam Aleiphronis editionem and πιατραν = εἰπατραν?*; L. Ziehen, *Zum Tempelgesetz von Alea*; A. Deissmann, *πρόβουα*; M. Niedermann, *Zur Appendix Probi and Lactuca=lactuca und Verwandtes*; E. Petersen, *Pigna*; F. Jacoby, *Amores* (answers O. Crusius' criticisms on his article in *Rh. M.* etc. lx. 1).

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. xv. 7. 1905.

H. Hirt, *Der indogermanische Ablaut*. A summary explanation intended for those who have but slight knowledge of the matter. F. Koepff, *Ausgrabungen der Kgl. preussischen Museen in Kleinasien*. Results of excavations at Priene and Magnesia (published in two vols. by G. Reimer, Berlin, 1904). The former in particular give a very full and vivid picture of a Hellenistic city. G. Finsler, *Die Conjectures académiques des Abbé d'Aubignac*. The work (of which an abstract is given) in many ways anticipates that of Wolf, by no means deserving the contempt with which that scholar mentions it. A. Wahl, *Die preussische Heeresreorganisation vom Jahre 1860* *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: P. Menge, *Eine List des Vercingetorix*. The account in *Caes.* B. G. 7. 13-21 cloaks the fact that V., wishing to encourage his countrymen, adroitly lured Caesar on to deliver an attack which was foredoomed to failure. K. Renschel reviews very favourably *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (Vols. 1-3).

xv. 8. 1905.

W. Capelle, *Die Schrift von der Welt*. The author of the *περί κόσμου* used largely the Μετεωρολογική στοιχειώσις and *Περὶ θεῶν* of Posidonius. It is not a severely technical work, but belongs to the popular class, and seems to have been written after Seneca-

Pliny and before Apuleius. P. Sakmann, *Voltaire über das Klassische Altertum*. V. as arbitrator in the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: a collection of his observations on the question, classified under the heads (1) Art, (2) Science, (3) General political culture. E. Oder, *Herbert Spencer. Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: R. Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Part 2, revised by B. Gerth). 'I hope this will shew how highly I appreciate the whole-hearted industry, preeminent scholarship, and skilful tact which have enabled G. to give us back our old friend in a rejuvenated form' (H. Meltzer). T. Antonesco's *Trophée d'Adamclissi* reviewed by E. Petersen, who opposes, in detail, the author's attempt to identify the scenes depicted on the metopes of the *Trophæum* with those of Trajan's pillar. C. Fries briefly criticises Samter's *Zum antiken Totenkult* (*N. J.* 1905, pp. 34 sqq.), and J. Ilberg communicates from C. Cichorius an attempt to identify a Sextus mentioned by Galen with one of two brothers who held the consulship in 172 and 180 A.D.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, 1905.

28 June. J. Bernoulli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen, ein Nachtrag zur griechischen Ikonographie* (A. Körte). 'A valuable contribution.' L. D. Brown, *A study of the case-constructions of words of time* (Helbing), favourable. T. A. Kakridis, *Barbara Plautina* (Fr. Hüfner). On the relation of the Plautine comedies to the Greek originals. G. Borghorst, *De Anatolii fontibus* (S. Günther), favourable. *Philosophische Aufsätze*, herausg. von der Philosophischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (O. Weissenfels). Twelve contributions by different writers in honour of the centenary of Kant's death. Th. Claussen, *Die griechischen Wörter im Französischen*. I. (W. Meyer-Lübke), favourable.

5 July. L. Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies* (W. Gemoll), favourable on the whole. C. de Morawski, *De Athenarum gloria* (Schneider). G. Lafaye, *Les métamorphoses d'Orville et leurs modèles grecs* (J. Ziehen), favourable. D. Detlefsen, *Die Entdeckung des germanischen Nordens im Altertum*. Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte, herausg. von W. Sieglin, Heft 8 (Fr. Matthias), very favourable. E. Fabricius, *Die Besitznahme Badens durch die Römer* (C. Koenen), favourable.

12 July. Caroline L. Ransom, *Studies in ancient furniture, couches and beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (Winnefeld), very favourable. K. Ritter, *Platons Dialoge. Inhaltsdarstellungen*. I. *Schriften des späteren Alters* (Stender). 'Very useful to all friends of Plato.' St. Schneider, *Ein sozialpolitischer Traktat und sein Verfasser* (C. Haerberlin). On the source of Iamblichos Protreptic. 20. F. Ramorino, 1. *De duobus Persii codicibus*. 2. *Le satire di A. Persio Flacco* da F. Ramorino (R. Helm), favourable. *Persii saturarum liber*, rec. S. Consoli, ed. mai. (R. Helm).

19 July. *Anthologie aus den griechischen Lyrikeren*, erkl. von Fr. Bucherer (D. Weber), favourable. *M. Manilii Astronomicum lib. I*, rec. A. E. Housman (H. Moeller), favourable. *Archiv für Stenographie*, herausg. von K. Dewischeit Nene Folge (R. Fuchs). *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de

Boor. I. II. (F. Hirsch). K. Ζησίον έκθεσις τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ διαγωνισμοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις γλωσσικῆς ἐταιρίας (K. Dieterich). J. Psichari, *Les études du Grec moderne en France au XIX. siècle* (K. Dieterich).

26 July. R. C. Flickinger, *Plutarch as a source of information on the Greek theater* (A. Körte). 'Solid and trustworthy.' G. Rathke, *De Romanorum bellis civilibus capita selecta* (M. Jumptertz). 'Careful and methodical.' Cicero, *i tre libri de natura deorum*, da C. Giambelli. Libri II. e III. (O. Plasberg), unfavourable. W. Bobeth, *De Indidibus Deorum* (R. Agahd), unfavourable on the whole. R. Foerster, *Kaiser Julian in der Dichtung alter und neuer Zeit* (R. Asmus), favourable. O. Flörscher, *Neumen-Studien III. De spätgriechische Tonschrift* (H. G.), favourable.

9 Aug. W. Wyse, *The speeches of Isacus*, with critical and explanatory notes (Thalheim). 'A work of comprehensive diligence.' E. Hoffmann, *De Aristotelis Physicorum libri septimi origine et auctoritate*. I. (W. Nitsche), very favourable. Plinius, *Die geographischen Bücher* (II, 242—VI) der *Naturalis Historia*, herausg. von D. Detlöfen (J. Müller), favourable. A. Becker, *Pseudoquintilianea. Symbolae ad Quintilianum quae feruntur declamationes XIX. maiores* (v. Morawski), favourable. F. Nietzsche, Band XIV. *Nachgelassene Werke. Unveröffentlichtes aus der Umwertungszeit* (O. Weissenfels).

16 Aug. *Commentationes Philologiae in honorem Johannis Paulson scripserunt cultores et amici* (H. Gillischewski). Consists of twenty contributions by various scholars. H. H. Pfüger, *Ciceros Rede pro Q. Roscio comoedo* (W. Kalb), favourable. A. Laudien, *Studia Ovidiana* (P. Schulze). A. Collignon, *Pétrone en France* (v. Morawski), favourable. *Libanii opera*, rec. R. Foerster, II. *Orationes XII—XXV.* (R. Asmus), very favourable. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*. IV. *Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker*, 3. und 4. Aufl. (A. F.), very favourable.

30 Aug. A. Streit, *Das Theater. Untersuchungen über das Theaterbauwerk bei den Klassischen und modernen Völkern* (W. Dörpfeld). 'A pity that the writer is not better acquainted with the ancient and modern literature of the subject.' A. Gross, *Die Stichomythie in der griechischen Tragödie und Komödie* (Chr. Muß). 'An excellent performance.' S. Preuss, *Index Isocratens* (H. Gillischewski). W. Denison, *A visit to the battlefields of Caesar* (R. Oehler). 'No acquaintance shown with German works.' S. S. Heynemann, *Analecta Horatiana*, herausg. von G. Krüger (O. Weissenfels), favourable. O. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2. Aufl. (H. Peter), very favourable. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*. V. *Die französische Literatur*. 1 to 4 ed. (A. F.), very favourable.

6 Sept. H. Raase, *Die Schlacht bei Salamis* (Fr. Cauer), favourable. V. Wröbel, *Aristotelis locum de poetica XIX 1456a ff.* (P. Cauer). G. W. Pascal, *A Study of Quintus of Smyrna* (A. Zimmermann), favourable. A. C. Clark, *The vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio*, being a contribution to the textual criticism of Cicero pro Sex. Roscio, pro Cluentio, pro Murena, pro Caelio and pro Milone (Nohl). 'No student of Cicero can do without these Anecdota Oxoniensia.' M. Rabenhorst, *Quellenstudien zur naturalis historia des Plinius*. I. (F. Münzer), unfavourable. Randolph, *The Mandragora of the Ancients* (R. Fuchs), favourable.

13 Sept. *Homeri opera*, rec. D. B. Monro et T. W. Allen (P. Cauer). 'Makes the impression

that the editors had not clearly conceived the object of their edition.' R. C. Jebb, *The tragedies of Sophocles translated into English prose* (H. Steinberg), very favourable. A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Lief. I. (H. Ziemer), very favourable. *Sallusti bellum Jugurthinum*, von R. Novák. 2. Aufl. (Th. Opitz), favourable. *Urmarcus*, von E. Wendling (W. Soltau). Eusebii, *Evangelicae Praeparationis libri XV*, rec. E. H. Gifford (O. Stählin) I.

20 Sept. *Aristotelis Poetica*, rec. T. G. Tucker (P. Cauer). 'Many of the conjectures show acuteness, but the text is not quite discreetly handled.' Eusebii, *Evangelicae Praeparationis libri XV*, rec. E. H. Gifford (O. Stählin) II. 'Shows a great advance on Gaisford's edition.' H. Jordan, *Rhythmische Prosaetze aus der ältesten Christenheit* (J. Baer), favourable. G. Zutt, *Die Legende von der heiligen Ursula* (C. W.), unfavourable. *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt*. Vom Verein für Volkskunde und Linguistik in Prag (Fr. Harder).

27 Sept. Br. Sauer, *Der Weber-Labordesche Kopf und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon* (B. Graef), favourable. J. N. Svoronos, *Tà νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων* (H. v. Fritze), favourable. Cicero, *De oratore* liber I, par E. Courband (O. Weissenfels), very favourable. W. Sternkopf, *Gedankenhang und Gliederung der Divinatio in Q. Caecilius* (W. Hirschfelder). 'To be recommended.' V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*. i. 3, ii. 3 (C. Benjamin), very favourable.

4 Oct. Chr. Blinkenberg et K.-F. Kinch, *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes*. Troisième rapport (W. Larfeld). *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, herausg. von Collitz und Bechtel. iii. 2, 3. *Die kretischen Inschriften*, bearb. von Fr. Blass (P. Cauer). A. Chudzinski, *Staatseinrichtungen des römischen Kaiserreichs* (J. A.), favourable. R. Holland, *Studia Sidoniana* (A. Huemer). 'Interesting and convincing.' F. F. Abbott, *The evolution of the modern forms of the letters of our alphabet* (R. Fuchs).

11 Oct. K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Bartholomae). 'An excellent book.' G. Roberti, *Erodoto e la tirannide di Pisistrato* (Fr. Cauer), unfavourable. Horace, *The Odes, Carmen Saeculare and Epodes*, with a commentary by E. C. Wickham (O. Weissenfels). 'May be confidently placed beside the best German editions.' Br. Wolff-Beckh, *Der Kaiser Titus und der jüdische Krieg* (J. Asbach), unfavourable. O. Schulz, *Beiträge zur Kritik unserer literarischen Überlieferung für die Zeit von Commodus' Sturze bis auf den Tod des M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla)* (Fr. Reuss).

18 Oct. J. Oeri, *Euripides unter dem Drucke des sizilischen und des dekeleischen Krieges* (K. Busche) I. H. Francoite, *Loi et décret dans le droit public des Grecs* (E. Ziebarth), very favourable. R. Kapff, *Der Gebrauch des Optativus bei Diodorus Siculus* (Fr. Reuss). 'A valuable contribution.' J. J. Schlicher, *The moods of indirect quotation* (H. Blase). 'The writer's conclusions must be rejected.' A. Macé, *Essai sur Suctone* (Th. Opitz), favourable.

25 Oct. W. v. Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients*. IV. (O. Meltzer), favourable on the whole. J. Oeri, *Euripides unter dem Drucke des sizilischen und des dekeleischen Krieges* (K. Busche). II. 'A valuable contribution to the chronology of the plays of Euripides.' C. Wagener, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik und zur Erklärung lateinischer Schriftsteller*. I. (M. Stowasser), favourable. C. Weyman, *Vier Epigramme des Papstes Damasus I*, erklärt (M. Manitius), favourable.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.

The size of books is given in inches. 4 inches = 10 centimetres (roughly).

- Aeschylus*. Headlam (Walter) The Plays of Aeschylus. The Choephoroe, translated from a revised text by W. H. (*Bell's Classical Translations.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xi+56. London, G. Bell & Sons. 1905. 1s.
- Appian*. Mendelssohn (L.) Appiani Historia Romana ex rec. L. M. editio altera correctior curante Paulo Viereck. Vol. II. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi+646. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 6.
- Binder* (Otto) Die Abfassungszeit von Senekas Briefen. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde einer hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Tübingen. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 62. Tübingen. 1905.
- Blomfield* (Reginald) Studies in Architecture. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii+226. London, Macmillan & Co. 1905. 10s. net.
- Boissier* (Gaston) La Conjuración de Catalina. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 260. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 1905. Fr. 3.50.
- Brackett* (Haven D.) Temporal Clauses in Herodotus (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. xli. No. 8.). 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. 169-232. Boston, Massachusetts. 1905. 90 cents.
- Caesar*, see *Frammer* (Ignaz).
- Catullus* (Valerius) B.C. 87. Selected Poems rendered into English rhymed verse by L. R. Levett. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 70. Cambridge, Hefter & Sons. 1905. 1s. 6d. net.
- Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* edidit Iohannes Percival Postgate, fasc. v quo continentur Martialis, Iuvenalis, Nemesianus. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. i-xi+431-572. Londini, sumptibus G. Bell et filiorum. 1905. 6s. net.
- Cousin* (G.) De uribus quarum nominibus vocabulum ΠΟΛΙΣ finem faciebat. 10" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". (*Thèse.*) Pp. 306. Nancy, Berger-Levrault. 1904.
- Kyros le jeune en Asie Mineure (Printemps 408—juillet 401 av. J. C.) 10" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Paris-Nancy, Berger-Levrault. Pp. li. +440 av. 1 carte. 1905.
- Dieterich* (Albrecht) Mutter Erde: ein Versuch über Volksreligion. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. vi+124. Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 3.20.
- Edwards* (Philip Howard) The Poetic Element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace (*Degree Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University*). 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 49. Baltimore, J. M. Furst Company. 1905.
- Euripides*. Verrall (A. W.) Essays on four plays of Euripides—Andromache, Helen, Heracles, Orestes. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii+292. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 7s. 6d. net.
- Eusebius*, see *Fotheringham*.
- Fotheringham* (John Knight) The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius reproduced in collotype with an introduction by J. K. F. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 72+242. Collotype pages. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1905. £2 10s. net (\$16.75).
- Frazer* (J. G.) Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii+310. London, Macmillan & Co. 1905. 8s. 6d. net.
- Gardner* (Alice) Theodore of Studium, his life and times. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xiv+284. London, Edward Arnold. 1905. 10s. 6d. net.
- Geiger* (Wilhelm) Dipavansa und Mahāvamsa und die geschichtliche Ueberlieferung in Ceylon. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+146. Leipzig, Georg Böhme. 1905. M. 6.
- Harvard Studies of Classical Philology*. Vol. XVI. (1905). 9" x 6". Pp. 166. Published by the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 6s. 6d. net.
- Hellmann* (S.) Sedulius Scottus (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters* heraus. von Ludwig Traube. Band I. Heft I.) 10" x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi+204. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlags Buchhandlung (Oskar Beck). 1906. M. 8.50.
- Herodotus*, see *Brackett*.
- Homer*. Blakeney (E. H.) The Iliad of Homer. Books I and II, translated into English Prose by E. H. B. (*Bell's Classical Translations.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. 54. London, G. Bell & Sons. 1905. 1s.
- Huelsen* (Ch.) Das Forum Romanum: seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler. Zweite verbesserte Auflage mit 4 Tafeln und 131 Textabb. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xii+244. Rom, Verlag von Loescher & Co. 1905. Br. M. 4. Geb. M. 5.
- Johnston* (Harold Whetstone) The Private Life of the Romans by H. W. J., Professor of Latin in the Indiana University. 8" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 344. 205 illustrations in the text. Chicago, Scott Foresman and Co. 1905.
- Levett* (L. R.), see *Catullus*.
- Litta-Visconti-Arese* (Duchess), see *Negri* (Gaetano).
- Lucanus* (M. Annaeus). Hosijs (C.) De Bello Civili libri decem. G. Steinhart aliorumque copius usus iterum ed. C. H. (*Bibl. Script. Gr. et Rom. Teub.*) 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. lx+374. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1905. M. 4.40.
- Lysias*. Ausgewählte Reden mit einem Anhang aus Xenophons Hellenika, für den Schulgebrauch heraus. Andreas Weidner. 2te. Aufl. besorgt von Prof. Dr. Paul Vogel. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 164. Leipzig, G. Freytag, Wien, F. Tempsky. 1905. Geb. M. 1.50 or K. 1.80.
- Macdonald* (George) Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow. Vol. III. Further Asia, Northern Africa, Western Europe. 12" x 9". Pp. vi+800. Plates LXIII-CII. Glasgow, James Maclehose & Sons. 1905. £3 3s.
- Marshall* (F. H.) The Second Athenian Conspiracy. (*Cambridge Historical Essays, No. XIII.*) Thirlwall Prize, 1905. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. x+136. Cambridge, University Press. 1905. 3s. 6d.
- Mayer* (Ernst) Die Angeblichen Fälschungen des Dragoni. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. vi+98. Leipzig, Georg Böhme. 1905. M. 3.
- Merrill* (William A.) On the Influence of Lucretius on Horace (*University of California Publications, Classical Philology*). 11" x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 111-129.

- Berkeley Cala., the University Press. Oct. 27, 1905. 25 cents.
- Misener* (Geneva) The meaning of ΓΑΡ (*Degree Dissertation, University of Chicago*). 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 75. Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, the Friedenwald Company. 1904.
- Moore* (Mabel) Carriage of the Phoenicians in the light of modern excavations. 8" \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. x+184. London, William Heinemann. 1905. 6s. net.
- Negri* (Gaetano) Julian the Apostate, by G. N. translated from the 2nd. Italian edition by the Duchess Litta-Visconti-Arese with an introduction by Prof. Pasquale Villari. 2 vols. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Vol. I. Pp. xxxiv+320. Vol. II. Pp. vi+321-636. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. 21s. net
- Olcott* (George N., Ph.D.) Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Epigraphicae. A Dictionary of the Latin Inscriptions. Fasc. 1-4, A-ADIP. 11" \times 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 1-96. Rome, Loescher and Co. 1905.
- Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearbeitung. Zehnter Halbband. (Donatio-Ephoroi) 10" \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Col. 1533-2864. Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung. 1905. M. 15.
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