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HARVARD STUDIES

IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME VI

BOSTON, U.S.A.

PUBLISHED BY GINN & COMPANY

LONDON: GINN & COMPANY
57 & 59 LUDGATE HILL

LEIPSIC: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ
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PREFATORY NOTE.

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FREDERIC D. ALLEN,
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, } EDITORIAL
COMMITTEE.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE OPISTHODOMUS ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS . . .	1
By John Williams White.	
ARTEMIS ANAÏTIS AND MÊN TIAMU, A VOTIVE TABLET IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS	55
By John Henry Wright.	
THE DATE OF LYCOPHRON	75
By William N. Bates.	
QUO MODO <i>IACIENDI</i> VERBI COMPOSITA IN PRAESENTIBUS TEMPORIBUS ENUNTIAYERINT ANTIQUI ET SCRIPSERINT .	83
Quaerit Mauricius W. Mather.	
HOMERIC QUOTATIONS IN PLATO AND ARISTOTLE	153
By George Edwin Howes.	
INDEXES	239



THE OPISTHODOMUS ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.¹

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

IN inscriptions of the fifth century and fourth century B.C. and in Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian, references occur to a structure on the Acropolis at Athens which is called simply *ὁ ὀπισθόδομος*, without further designation. The scholiasts, however, on the passages in which the Opisthodomus is thus referred to and the ancient lexicographers define its situation.

August Boeckh believed that the Opisthodomus in question was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon, and maintained this view with vigour.² So Leake,³ K. F. Hermann,⁴ Boetticher,⁵ Michaelis,⁶ and many others. This has been and remains the generally accepted view. It makes the "Parthenon" in the restricted sense, — the well-known treasure-chamber named in inscriptions,⁷

¹ The following discussion was first made public in a lecture delivered at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on March 1, 1894. It was subsequently privately printed in London, in a limited number of copies, under date of May 5, 1894. Contemporaneously, Professor Arthur Milchhöfer of Münster published in the *Philologus* (Heft 2, 1894) a searching discussion of the same theme, in which he independently established the main contention of my paper, namely, that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens was a separate building. On the secondary question of the situation of the Opisthodomus we held and hold divergent views. My reasons for regarding Professor Milchhöfer's view on this question untenable constitute a part of the present revision of my original argument.

² *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*³, 1886, I. p. 517 ff., especially p. 519, note c. See also *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

³ *Topography of Athens*², 1841, I. p. 559.

⁴ *Die Hypäthraltempel des Alterthums*, 1844, p. 27 f.

⁵ *Philologus*, 1862, XVIII., plan; *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1863, p. 165 ff.

⁶ *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 26 f. See also p. 109.

⁷ See the important series, *CIA.* I. 161 ff.

— a part of the νεὺς ἑκατόμπεδος, and places within it the great chryselephantine statue of Athena. Ussing believed that the western chamber of the cella was the "Parthenon," that the western portico was the Opisthodomus proper, and that the two together constituted the Opisthodomus of the inscriptions.¹ This is also Petersen's view.² Köhler maintains that the statue stood in the Hecatompedos, not in the "Parthenon," but refuses to identify the western chamber of the cella, which he believes to have been the Opisthodomus, with the "Parthenon."³ Lolling also believed this to be the Opisthodomus, although he held new and revolutionary views in regard to the application of the terms "Parthenon" and Hecatompedos.⁴ Dörpfeld, on grounds independent of those on which Ussing had based his argument, concluded that the western chamber of the cella was the "Parthenon," and that, in official language, Opisthodomus always meant the western portico of the temple.⁵ This view was adopted by Fränkel,⁶ and is held by Frazer.⁷ On his discovery of the Hecatompedon,⁸ Dörpfeld relinquished this view, and now main-

¹ *De Parthenone ejusque partibus disputatio*, 1849. Also *Griechische Reisen und Studien*, 1857, p. 145 ff.

² *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 70 f. Petersen was the first to endeavour to establish the proposition that the same room might have in contemporary documents two official names, namely, "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus. In the first edition of his *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (1893, p. 177) Furtwängler supported the same proposition, and declared for a complete identification of "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus. He has now relinquished this view, and believes that the Opisthodomus was a separate building. See his *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, the English edition of his *Meisterwerke*, edited by Eugénie Sellers, London, 1895, p. 425 f.

³ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1880, v. p. 89 ff., especially p. 100.

⁴ *Ἀθηναῖα*, 1890, II. p. 627 ff.

⁵ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1881, VI. p. 283 ff.

⁶ In Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*³, 1886, II. p. 106*, note 729.

⁷ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 153 ff.

⁸ The temple of Athena whose foundations lie close to the Erechtheum on the south. For Dörpfeld's description of it as a structure, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. p. 337 ff. See also *Mitth.* 1885, X. p. 275 ff. and *Antike Denkmäler*, 1886, plates I., II. Dörpfeld himself names it "alter Athena-Tempel," but this name seems to be misleading to those who do not believe that it was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis. Petersen calls it "Peisistratischer Tempel" (note 2 above), Frazer "Pre-Persian Temple" (note 7 above). Dörpfeld main-

tains that the term Opisthodomus in the inscriptions and authors designates the three rooms constituting the western half of this temple, which, as is well known, he believes to have been still in existence in the time of Pausanias.¹ Finally, Fowler has advanced the original hypothesis that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the "Parthenon," that this room was doubtless divided into three parts by two partitions of some sort, probably of metal, running from the eastern and western walls to the nearest columns and connecting the columns, and that the middle division of the three between the partitions was the "Parthenon" proper.²

I am unable to accept any one of these views, and venture again to present for consideration our sources of information about the vexed structure called the Opisthodomus. I purpose to discuss as the main thesis of this paper the following proposition:

The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens, referred to in inscriptions and in authors simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, was not a part of any existing temple, but was a separate building, complete in itself.

The current view, if I may so name it, would seem to be expressly contradicted by the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers. An important part of this testimony, with the original passages in the authors of which it is an explanation, is the following:

οἶον (ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσει μοι μηδεὶς, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντα εἶπω) ἀνέψξαν δῆπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. [Dem.] XIII. 14.

Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως· ἀνέψξαν δῆπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. Harpocration s.v. ὀπισθόδομος.

tains that the name which he has assigned to it is correct (*Mitth.* 1892, xvii. p. 158, note 1). Furtwängler also calls it the "Old Temple" (note 2 above). The official name, which will be used in this paper, is τὸ Ἐκατόμπεδον. See *CIA.* iv. p. 137 ff.; *Δελτικόν Ἀρχ.* 1890, p. 92 ff.; *Ἀθηναῖα*, 1890, ii. p. 627 ff.

¹ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, xii. p. 25 ff., 190 ff., 1890, xv. p. 420 ff. Dörpfeld's view, both that the Opisthodomus was in the Hecatompedon and that the latter was still in existence in the time of Pausanias, is accepted by Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 1893, pp. 505 ff., and by Miller, *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1893, viii. pp. 500 and 528.

² *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 1893, viii. p. 10 ff.

οἶκος ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. ἡ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τόπος ἔνθα τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο καὶ ὁ φόρος. Schol. FY [Dem.] XIII. 14.¹

μέρος τι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ταμιεῖον, ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως· ἀνέωξαν δῆπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. Suidas s.v. ὀπισθόδομος.²

ἰδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ', ἀλλὰ περίμενε,
τὸν Πλούτον, οὐπερ πρότερον ἦν ἰδρύμενος
τὸν ὀπισθόδομον αἰὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ.

Arist. *Plut.* 1191–1193.

ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειτο. μέρος δέ ἐστι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἐστὶ ταμιεῖον, ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ. Schol. R Arist. *Plut.* 1193.

ἄλλως. ὀπίσω τοῦ νεῶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιᾶδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοῖχος (οἶκος?) ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. ἐπεὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειτο. μέρος δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193.³

ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. Schol. LB Arist. *Plut.* 1191.

ταμιεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶ. Photius s.v. ὀπισθόδομος.

καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. Dem. XXIV. 136.

ἰστέον ὅτι χρήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔκειτο ἐν τινὶ οἰκήματι ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, τῷ καλουμένῳ ὀπισθοδόμῳ,

¹ The statement, ἐν τῇ... φόρος, is also in B.

² ὀπισθόδομος μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως... χρήματα. Schol. V Lucian *Fug.* 7. The Scholiast did not observe that Lucian was talking about an opisthodomus at Olympia.

³ See Dübner's note (*Schol. Graeca in Arist.* 1841, p. 613), who also gives the variant in Par. 2821.—οἶκος is the conjecture of Michaelis (*Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. VI. *add. ad c.* 24, 47 u. 7 a *sine*), and must be right. He compares Paus. I. 26. 5, διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα.

καὶ ἦσαν τινες τεταγμένοι ταμίαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τούτων. Schol. ATCV Dem. xxiv. 136.¹

ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὗ τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο [πρὸς τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ] καὶ ὁ φόρος. Hesychius s.v. ὀπισθοδόμος (*sic*).²

The meaning of the interpreters here seems to be clear. Their testimony is that the Opisthodomus was *a house, or a place on the Acropolis, or a part of the Acropolis, that lay behind the temple of Athena, and that it was used as a treasury.*

These old Greek interpreters have been variously dealt with by modern writers who have discussed the Opisthodomus.³ By the most of the scholars named above they have been silently ignored, for whatever reason; by others they have been taken seriously⁴; by others still their testimony has been rejected as worthless.⁵ In some instances it is impossible to tell by what interpretation of the Greek scholiasts and lexicographers some of the moderns arrive at the conclusion embodied in the current view.⁶

If in the interpreters as quoted above the words νεώς and ἱερόν mean *temple*, it is possible to obtain the definition of Opisthodomus adopted in the current view only by attaching to ὀπισθεν the meaning

¹ The Scholiast's meaning, probably, is *treasure that belonged both to the sanctuaries of the other gods and to Athena's*. ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως is as it stands nonsense, since it removes the Opisthodomus from the Acropolis altogether. Compare the definition in Pollux (ix. 40), τὸ κατόπιον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως (*sc. ἀν εἰποις*) ὀπισθόδομον.

² Cf. the schol. [Dem.] xiii. 14 quoted above.

³ See, as to the credibility of this ancient testimony, p. 41 ff.

⁴ By Boeckh, for example (*CIG.* i. p. 177 f.), whose interpretation is discussed p. 43 f.

⁵ By Michaelis, whose treatment of the evidence is considered on p. 12.

⁶ Leake, for example, cites the scholiasts and lexicographers, but gives no explanation how from their statements he reaches the conclusion that the Opisthodomus was the western apartment of the cella of the Parthenon. Dörpfeld also, who believes that the Opisthodomus was the rear part of the Hecatompedon, twice in interpreting the scholiasts and lexicographers translates the phrase ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ, 'hinter dem Tempel,' 'hinter dem Athena-Tempel.' See *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, xii. pp. 34, 39. This is, I think, the right interpretation; but it is difficult to see how, if the Opisthodomus lay 'behind the temple,' it was at the same time a part of it.

in the back part of. οἶκος ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ would then mean a room in the back part of the temple of Athena. But this meaning of ὀπισθεν with the genitive cannot be established. It is recognized by none of the lexicographers. In order to express the desired meaning ὀπισθεν must be combined adjectively with the article; the genitive that follows is then partitive. Pausanias, for example, in telling where certain paintings are in the temple of Messene, daughter of Triopas, says (IV. 31. 11), γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὀπισθεν οἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσηνίας, *i.e. in postica templi parte.*

It may be well to establish the uses of ὀπισθεν in this author, who naturally had occasion to use the word often. In Pausanias ὀπισθεν may be used, as above, adjectively.¹ Sometimes it is used adverbially.² In the great majority of the instances of its occurrence, it is followed, as an adverb of place, by the genitive. In the most of these it clearly means *behind*; in some cases the meaning is indeterminable, because the statement is brief, and we have no other means of arriving at the facts; in no instance can it be proved that the word means *in the back part of*.

In the following cases ὀπισθεν signifies, in my judgment, *behind*: καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερέβαλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὀπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ. I. 18. 6. Pausanias has just said that the peribolus of the temple (the Olympieum at Athens) is full of statues of Hadrian; but the Athenian colossus overtopped all the rest. The statue had a commanding position, facing the Acropolis. Cf. VIII. 9. 6; 30. 7; 30. 8. ἔστι δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Δυκείου Νίσου μῆμα. I. 19. 4. Cf. II. 31. 3; III. 16. 6; VIII. 14. 10. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι ναὸς ἐστὶ θεῶς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξειργάσθη τοῦ Διός . . . ὀπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα . . . ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον. I. 40. 4, 5. The phrase ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ makes it certain that the ξύλα ἡμίεργα were not in the temple. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν, ἣ ἐστὶν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. II. 5. 1. τούτου δὲ (*i.e.* τοῦ θεάτρου) ὀπισθεν ὑποδομήται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη. II. 29. 11. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς

¹ I. 24. 5; II. 20. 7; V. 10. 8; VI. 5. 6; VIII. 45. 7; X. 19. 4.

² I. 3. 3; V. 20. 2; VI. 5. 6; X. 26. 5.

ταύτης ὀπισθεν ἠρώα. III. 15. 1. Cf. I. 1. 3. ὀπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης. III. 17. 5. καὶ ὀπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. V. 17. 9. Cf. V. 19. 6. ἔστηκε δὲ (i.e. Κλεοσθένους ἄρμα) ὀπισθεν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. VI. 10. 6. Cf. X. 9. 9. ὑπομένοντες τῆς τάξεως ὀπισθεν οἱ οἰκέται τοσάδε σφίσιν ἐγίνοντο χρήσιμοι. X. 19. 10. The following are indeterminable, but that in them ὀπισθεν means *behind* can hardly be doubted in view of the preceding clear instances of this meaning: II. 11. 1; II. 13. 7; V. 15. 7; VIII. 22. 7. In Pausanias ὀπίσω¹ is almost always an adverb accompanying a verb of motion; the following example shows its meaning when followed by the genitive: ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπίσω Ἀφροδίτης ναός. VI. 25. 2. It should finally be noted, as important in establishing the meaning of ὀπισθεν and ὀπίσω with the genitive of place, that the counter-idea is generally expressed by πρό with the genitive, where by no contrivance can the preposition signify *in the front part of*.

In view of these facts, it is impossible to interpret ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ to mean *in the back part of the temple of Athena*.

But, as is well known, νεώς may signify *cella*, as well as *temple*, although, when the entire number of cases of the word's occurrence is taken into account, this is very rare both in the literature and in inscriptions. If this signification of the word could be established for the phrase οἶκος ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ, we should arrive at the meaning demanded by the current view as to the situation of the Opisthodomus.

The question is limited to the use of νεώς in its actual application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens.² Fortunately

¹ This form occurs in the schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193 and in the schol. Dem. xxiv. 136 quoted above.

² The consideration of the etymology of the word πρόναος is pertinent, but does not establish the meaning *cella* for ναός. That which πρόναος names doubtless marked the first stage of development of the original ναός from a single room to a more complicated structure; at this time πρόναος meant (*porch*) *before the temple*. ναός and ἄδυτον were then identical. The original ναός kept its name when, with the permanent addition of the porch in front and the porch behind, that name received a larger application and designated (as it had exclusively at first) the entire structure. Cf. δόμος and πρόδομος (ἐν προδόμῳ δόμον, *Od.* IV. 302), and the theatre-terms σκηνή and προσκήνιον. The original etymological force of πρόναος is seen in its adjectival use, which is not uncommon. Cf. βωμοὺς προνάους,

the successive labours of scholars have collected the existing literary and epigraphical evidence not only for the word *νεώς* but also for the other terms designating these temples and their parts,¹ and it is now not difficult to reach trustworthy conclusions in regard to their use and application. The law of use for *νεώς* and *ιερόν*² requires that, when they have the limited sense *cella*, *this shall always be clearly indicated either by an added epithet or by the context*. Such instances are surprisingly rare. I proceed to an examination of the evidence.

We meet first cases in which the old temple of Athena³ is referred to as *ἀρχαῖος* or *παλαιὸς νεώς*,⁴ where the epithet excludes the meaning *cella* for *νεώς*. Xenophon records that the old temple was set on fire; Strabo contrasts it with the Parthenon. It would be as forced to suppose that *νεώς* means *cella* in any of these instances as in the scholium on Arist. *Pax* 605, the source of which is Philochorus, *καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν νεὼν τὸν μέγαν*, in which it is important to note the epithet. Here *ὁ μέγας νεώς* is the Parthenon, and yet we know that the statue was in the *cella*.

The meaning *cella* for *νεώς* is excluded also in the inscriptions that relate to the building of the old temple of Athena and to its restoration after the burning described by Xenophon; also in those referring to the setting up of stelae *παρὰ τὸν νεώ* and to the approach of the panathenaic ship.⁵

Aesch. *Suppl.* 494; τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, Hdt. VIII. 37; Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι, Paus. IX. 10. 2. Cf. Harp. s.v. προναία: διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἰδρῦσθαι.

¹ See Michaelis, *Parthenon*, 1871, pp. 285-317; Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880; Milchhöfer in Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, pp. XX.-XXII.

² *ιερόν* occurs above, in the schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1191. It occurs also in E. M. s.v. *σπισθόδομος*.

³ In this paper "old temple of Athena" means the Erechtheum or its predecessor on the same site.

⁴ *CIA.* IV. 1 C, 27 (p. 3 f.); I. 93, 6; II. 74 a, 14; 163, 9; 464, 6; 672, 43; 733 A, col. II. 6; Xen. *Hell.* I. 6. 1; schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273; Strabo IX. p. 396. *CIA.* II. 751 B, d, 19, and 758 A, col. II. 8, do not belong here. See Lehner, *Ueber die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse*, 1890, p. 79.

⁵ *CIA.* I. 60, 3; 322, 1, 4, 8; IV. 321, col. III. 27 (p. 74 ff.); II. 332, 44; 829, 3; *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1883, VIII. p. 59, 25; *CIA.* III. 776, 3.

There are other instances in which νεώς certainly means *temple*, although it is not easy to categorize them. Some of these refer to the Parthenon,¹ others to the old temple of Athena.² In some of them, although the object referred to was probably in a specific part of the temple, it is still clear that the temple as a whole was in the speaker's mind when he used the word νεώς.³ These are of the same nature as the quotation from Philochorus above (schol. Arist. *Pax* 605).⁴

There are three passages in dispute.⁵ If in these ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος νεώς means *the cella of the Polias*, it should be observed that this results solely *from the demands of the context*,⁶ for in the majority of

¹ Aristot. *hist. an.* VI. 24, p. 577 B, 29 (cf. Aelian *de nat. an.* VI. 49); Philochorus in schol. Arist. *Pax* 605; Plut. *de soll. an.* 13, p. 970 B; Paus. I. 24. 5 and 8; Arist. I. p. 548, 14 Dind.; schol. Dem. XXII. 13; Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐκατόνπεδος; *Lex. Pat.* in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, I. p. 149, Ἐκατόμπεδον; E. M. *s.v.* Ἐκατόμπεδον (cf. Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 283, 15); Suidas *s.v.* Ἐκατόμπεδος νεώς.

² Hom. *Il.* II. 549; *CIG.* 6280 A, 31 = Kaibel *Ep. Gr.* 1046, 90; Plut. *quaest. con.* IX. 6, p. 741 B; Paus. I. 27. 2 and 4; Himer. *Ecl.* v. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* III. p. 13 Sylb. (cf. Apollod. III. 14. 7); schol. Arist. *Eq.* 1169; Eust. *Il.* XXII. 451 (cf. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰδοῦς βωμός); Eust. *Od.* I. 357; schol. Arist. *Lys.* 759. The last two relate to the sacred snake, which was in the old temple. Hesychius (*s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν) alone names an exact spot, and places the snake where we should expect to find it, ἐν τῷ λερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. This must interpret for us the σηκός of Plutarch (*Them.* 10). In Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XIV. 2 similarly we find ἐν τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἐρεχθέως τῷ σηκῷ, where he is speaking of the olive. See, for the snake, the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descr. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 27 (c. 27, 7*).

³ Plut. *Cim.* 5; *Anth. Pal.* VI. 2 (Simonides); Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 20. — If Paus. I. 24. 3 is to be taken into account, it belongs in this general category.

⁴ To this category belongs also Hdt. VIII. 55, if one believes that there Ἐρεχθέος νηός refers to the whole building, as in the prevailing modern use of the word "Erechtheum." If one does not believe this, but that the οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον of Pausanias (I. 26. 5) is the double western half of the old temple, then the expression in Herodotus is not to be taken into account, since the present inquiry is limited to the investigation of the meaning of νεώς and λερόν in their application to temples of Athena.

⁵ Philochorus frg. 146 (Dion. Hal. *de Din.* 3); Paus. I. 27. 1 and 3.

⁶ See Michaelis's discussion of the passages, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen.* 1877, II. p. 31 ff., with notes 25 and 27. His negative argument by which in Paus. I. 27. 3 ὁ νεώς τῆς Πολιάδος is made to refer to the *cella* of the Polias has not met with acceptance.

the instances of the occurrence of the phrase it is generally agreed that the reference is to the *temple* of Athena.¹ The argument from the context, in fact, led to this interpretation of these three passages.

There are two cases in which *νεώς* means *cella*. In the first of these² the inscription names the whole building, the Hecatompedon, and then its parts, ὁ νεώς, τὸ προνήιον, and τὰ οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπίδῳ. Here the signification of *νεώς* is made clear by its collocation with *προνήιον*. The second case is the well-known use of the word in the treasury-documents,³ where it always has an epithet, ὁ νεώς ὁ ἑκατόμπεδος.

The facts for the use of *ιερόν* are altogether similar. In some instances it signifies either *sacred precinct* or *temple*,⁴ generally the latter; in two it refers to the Parthenon.⁵ In none of these has it a more limited meaning than *temple*.⁶

In a single case it means *cella*.⁷ But here, as in the two cases of *νεώς* mentioned above, its meaning is made clear by the context, since it is interpreted by the preceding *ἄδυτον*.

Here, then, we have abundant instances, both literary and epigraphical, of the uses of *νεώς* and *ιερόν*, extending from the earliest to the latest times, and among them all only three cases in which they certainly signify *cella*. In each of these three cases, moreover, the context or an added epithet makes clear that this is the signification. In the passages from the scholiasts and lexicographers, on the contrary, that are quoted above, no limitation whatever of the meaning of *νεώς* and *ιερόν* is indicated. And yet the especial purpose of these interpreters was to give a definition; nor were they

¹ Strabo IX. p. 396; *CIA.* II. 332, 44; *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1883, VIII. p. 59, 25; Himer. *Ecl.* v. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* III. 45, p. 13 Sylb.; schol. Arist. *Eq.* 1169; Eust. *Il.* XXII. 451 and *Od.* I. 356.

² *CIA.* IV. p. 137 ff.

³ *CIA.* I. 146, 157, 158, 159; II. 652 A, 15.

⁴ Hdt. v. 90; VIII. 41, 51 (*bis*), 53, 54, 55 (*bis*); Thuc. I. 126; Phot. *s.v.* *ταμλαί* (quoting Aristot., frg. 402 Rose, Bekk. *Anec.* p. 306, 7, and note Aristot. *Resp. Ath.* c. 47, 1); Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XIV. 2; Hesych. *s.v.* *Αἰδοῦς βωμὸς*; schol. Aesch. II. 147.

⁵ Ps. Dicaearchus frg. I, 1; schol. *Pat. Dem.* XXII. 13 (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, I. p. 13).

⁶ See Hesych. *s.v.* *οἰκουρὸν ὄφις*, and p. 9, note 2, above.

⁷ Hdt. v. 72.

ignorant of the fact, had νεώς and ιερόν seemed to them to be liable to misinterpretation, that the unmistakable ἄδυτον, an Homeric word, and σηκός were ready to their hand.¹

If, nevertheless, we seek to attach to νεώς and ιερόν in these passages the restricted sense of *cella*, we encounter an unexpected difficulty. Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193 says that the Opisthodomus lay behind the νεώς of *Athena Polias*. Those, therefore, who hold the current view in regard to the situation of the Opisthodomus must either establish the worship of Athena Polias in the Parthenon or Hecatompodon, or reject the evidence. If the evidence is trustworthy and if the term Polias designates, as is commonly believed, Athena of the Erechtheum or of the temple that preceded it on the same site, then we are forced, on the supposition that νεώς here has the restricted sense, to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus lay in the Erechtheum. But this is impossible. Boeckh saw these difficulties, and felt himself forced to declare that the scholiast had blundered,² although he himself accepted and in part sought to explain the remaining testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers.

That in the phrase οἶκος or οἶκημα ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ the words οἶκος and οἶκημα may signify *house* will at once be granted. This is the first and common meaning of οἶκος and is perfectly established for οἶκημα, and if demanded by other considerations, namely, the use of ὀπισθεν and νεώς just discussed, it must be allowed. This use of οἶκος to denote a separate structure that was a treasury receives striking confirmation from the names officially recorded of four of the treasuries and magazines at Delos, Ἀνδρίων οἶκος, Ναξίων οἶκος, Δηλίων οἶκος, and Πώρινος οἶκος.³ In charge of the anthemata and materials stored in these were the ιεροποιοί, whose functions corresponded closely to those of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ at Athens.

The same word is used by Hesychius in defining θησαυρός, namely: εἰς ἀγαμάτων καὶ χρημάτων [ἡ] ἱερῶν ἀπόθεσιν οἶκος.

If the preceding discussion of the terms ὀπισθεν, νεώς, and οἶκος is sound, we must either agree that the Opisthodomus was neither in

¹ Hesych., Suidas, E. M., *syn.*; Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 345, 25.

² *Staatshaushaltung*³, 1886. I. p. 517 f.

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, VI. pp. 48, 87, 88, 91, 100, 135; 1884, VIII. p. 322; 1890, XIV. p. 509, note 3; 1891, XV. p. 141.

the Parthenon nor in the Hecatompedon, but was a separate building, or else reject the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers as to its situation. Michaelis does reject their testimony, declaring their explanation of the name for the most part worthless.¹ He makes an exception in favour of Harpocration, but the reasons for this are not apparent. In Harpocration's definition, ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεώ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, one might be tempted to construe ἡ ὀπισθεν οἶκος τοῦ νεώ, and render *the back chamber of the temple*; but this construction is excluded by the phraseology of the Epitome, ἐκκαλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ὁ ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεώ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οἶκος, where the genitive τοῦ νεώ cannot be partitive. Michaelis's rejection of the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that he did not believe it possible to interpret ὀπισθεν and νεός in the manner demanded by the current view.

The testimony of these later writers receives unexpected confirmation from an early and important inscription :

τ]ὸ δὲ ἱερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τὸ μὲν ἐκ
τ]ῆς [γενόμ]εν[ον ταμειύ-
ε]σθαι [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι τοῖ ὀπισ-
θ]εν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ς ἀρχαίῳ ν-
ε]ὸ ἐμ πόλει. CIA. IV. 1 C, 25-29 (p. 3 ff.).

This inscription, to which we shall return, says at least so much, if we accept the restorations,² that in the first half of the fifth century B.C. treasure of the Eleusinian goddesses was kept in an enclosure behind the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis. This statement is strikingly similar to that of the scholiasts and lexicographers quoted above, who say that the treasury was behind the temple of Athena, one of them that it was behind the temple of Athena Polias.

In 454 B.C. the chest of the Delian Confederation was transferred to Athens, and from this date the funded treasure of the state, which consisted of the surplus of its yearly income and was kept on the

¹ *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 293.

² Dittenberger, *SIG.* 384, and Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 39. See p. 45, note 2.

Acropolis, was large.¹ This was public money, δημόσια, in contrast with sacred treasure, ιερά. The two funds were kept separate, but they were nevertheless both housed in the same place, in the keeping of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ.

Now the theory that the public and sacred treasure of Athens was stored in the opisthodomus of the Parthenon fails to provide a place for it before the completion of that temple in 438 B.C. This fact is so formidable that once the advocates of the theory even resorted to the supposition that the opisthodomus of the Parthenon must have been completed and put to use as early as 454 B.C. when the Delian fund was brought to Athens, but this view is now abandoned.

A place, therefore, must be provided for the storing of these funds in the time before the Parthenon was built. This is conceded even by those who believe that the Opisthodomus was in the Parthenon.²

We have, further, excellent testimony to the existence of a treasury at Athens, which is mentioned in connexion with the Stoa Poecile and temple of Castor and Pollux in such a manner as to make it highly probable that it was a separate structure. The connexion in which it is mentioned makes it certain that it was at Athens.

Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας· περὶ Πολυγνώτου τοῦ ζωγράφου, Θασίου μὲν τὸ γένος, υἱοῦ δὲ καὶ μαθητοῦ Ἀγλαοφῶντος, τυχόντος δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἦτοι ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἔγραψε προῖκα, ἢ, ὡς ἕτεροι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀνακείῳ γραφάς, ἱστορήκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ Ἰόβας ἐν τοῖς περὶ γραφικῆς. Harpocration s.v. Πολύγνωτος.

In Photius and Suidas (s.v. Πολύγνωτος) and in Eudocia (340, ed. Flach, 1880), this reads as follows :

οὗτος ζωγράφος μὲν ἦν τὴν τέχνην, Θάσιος δὲ τὸ γένος, υἱὸς δὲ καὶ μαθητῆς Ἀγλαοφῶντος, τυχὼν δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ἢ ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἀνέγραψε προῖκα, ἢ, ὡς ἔνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀνακείῳ γραφάς.

¹ There was a fund before this time, but it was relatively small. See Thumser, Hermann's *Griech. Staatsalt.*⁶, 1892, I. 2, pp. 629 and 662.

² For example, by Frazer, who says (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 162) that in this time the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasure.

The only unambiguous reading is *θησαυροῦ*. *Εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν* has been changed to *ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ* or *ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ* in the text. It has also been suggested that the testimony of Pausanias who mentions the paintings in the *Παρθενῶν* is correct. The supposition, expressed above, that the *θησαυροῦ* of Athens which was situated with paintings by Polygnotus was a separate building, is strengthened by the well-known fact that the treasure-houses at Olympia and Epidauri were called *θησαυροὶ* and were separate structures. There also we have additional reference to a place for the storing of money at Athens which was probably an independent structure. The treasury mentioned by Herodotus cannot have been an insignificant or unimportant building.

If the *θησαυρὸς* and the *ἐπιστάθμιος* in the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building as contradicted by my interpretation of literary evidence, it must be identified. Is it thus identified? This *ἐπιστάθμιος* is mentioned four times in Greek literature. Three of the passages are quoted above. The fourth is the following:

Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστάθμην τῆς Παναθηναίου ἱερῆς. ΠΡΟΤ. 10. *ἐπιστάθμην* ἵερῆς ἱερῆς, ἵερῆς ἱερῆς τῆς Παναθηναίου ἱερῆς. Lucian. *Περὶ τῆς* 33.

There is no reference in any one of these four passages that the *ἐπιστάθμιος* mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the main wing of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon. In the contrary, so far as they contain any implication at all, it is easier to suppose that the burning recorded by Demosthenes and the spoilation imagined by Lucian relate to a building that stood apart and was at least of a semi-secular character than to a part of a great temple. It is fairly incredible that the Parthenon should have been set on fire in the early years of the fourth century B.C. and no distinct mention of so notable an event have come down to us, and one

¹ See *Parthenon*, *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1900, p. 104. *Michaelis*, *Die Parthenon*, 1871, p. 17, note 14. *Doerpfeld*, *Archäologische Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 13, note 2.

² See *Parthenon*, *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1900, p. 104.

³ *Parthenon*, *Journal of the American Academy of Archaeology*, 1900, p. 104, note 14. *Doerpfeld*, *Archäologische Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 13, note 2.

⁴ [Dem.] *III*, 11, p. 31. *Andr.* *III*, 11, p. 31. *Andr.* *III*, 11, p. 31.

may well wonder how Lucian imagined Timon to have set to work to dig through its massive walls. That would have been impossible, and yet in his answer Timon, although he denies the charge, recognizes the possibility of doing the thing of which he is accused.

There are two other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis :

τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ (the Athenians to Demetrius) κατάλυσιν, κακεῖ δίαιταν εἶχε. Plut. *Demet.* 23.

ἔχοντι δὲ οὕτω μοι γίγνεται ὄψις ὄνειράτων τοιάδε· ἐδόκουν εἶναι μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρτι κατηρκῶς, οἰκεῖν δὲ ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐν οἰκίᾳ Θεοδότου τοῦ ἱατροῦ, εἶναι δ' αὐτὴν πρώτην πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα· τοῦ δὲ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὄρασθαι τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶναι πολὺ κατωτέρω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὴν οἰκίαν. Aristides, i. p. 548, 14, Dindorf.

The disgraceful housing of Demetrius and his mistresses in the Parthenon is a well-known event. Plutarch's record of it contains an implication of importance to the present discussion. When, namely, the Opisthodomus is referred to by Demosthenes, Aristophanes, and Lucian, no specification of its situation is necessary. It is sufficient to say ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. But Plutarch in designating the place in which Demetrius was lodged felt it necessary to name it τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος. Aristides, likewise, who as the context shows undoubtedly refers to the Parthenon,¹ says τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, not simply τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. The inference is that these two opisthodomoi were not the same, and therefore that *the* Opisthodomus was not the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon.²

¹ ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως means *south of the Acropolis*. Cf. Hdt. VIII. 53, ἔμπροσθε πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. — I am indebted for the reference to Aristides to Professor Edward Capps of the University of Chicago. Search might reveal other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis in other late writers. There is no such reference, other than those cited in this paper, in Homer, the Dramatists, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, the Orators, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, or Pausanias.

² Any objection to this conclusion based on the fact that Plutarch and Aristides were not, like Demosthenes and Aristophanes, Athenians, and that they wrote in a later age and needed, therefore, to be explicit in designating the opisthodomus that they mention, would hold equally against Lucian. Lucian had greater need

The theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is not contradicted by any references to it in the literature. The references to it in inscriptions are the following :

οὔτοι δὲ ταμειόντων ἐμπόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθ[οδό]μῳ τὰ τῶν θεῶν χρήματα, ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὄσιον, καὶ συνανοιγόντων καὶ συγκληόντων τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου καὶ συσσημαινόσθων τοῖς τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις. *CIA.* I. 32 A, 15-18.

[ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶ]ν διακοσίων τα[λάντω]ν, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐ[ψήφισται ὁ δῆμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀ[ποδοθ]ῆ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, τα[μειέσθω τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθη]ναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θ]εῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ά. *CIA.* I. 32 B, 20-24.

τάδε παρέδοσαν οἱ τα[μίαι Φωκιάδης ἐξ Οἴ]ου καὶ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐπὶ Σ[τρα]τοκλέους ἄρχοντος κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἧ Πλ[ειστίας πρῶτος ἐγραμ]μάτευε, στρατηγοῖς περ[ὶ Πε]λοπόννησον Δημοσθέει Ἀλκισθέου Ἀφιδ[ναίῳ ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ηίδος] πρυτανείας τετάρτης [πρυτα]νεούσης, τρίτη ἡμ[έ]ρα τῆς πρυτανείας ἐ[σεληλυθίας, ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθ]οδόμου. ♣ ♣ ♣ *CIA.* I. 273, ab, 16-20.

καταθεῖναι ἐν [πόλει . . . θ]εν τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου ἐπ[ὶ τῆς Ἰππωθ]ωντίδος πρυτανεία[ς]. *CIA.* I. 109.¹

ταμίαι[ς τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τοῖς] ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τήμονος ἄρχοντος, οἷς] Δωρόθεο[ς . . . ἐγραμμάτευε], κατὰ ψή[φισμα τοῦ δήμου παρέδομεν] ὑποθέμ[ενοι τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ] ὀπισθοδ[όμῳ . . .]. *CIA.* IV. 225 C (p. 168), A, col. II. 31-36.

[ὀπισ]θοδόμου. *CIA.* I. 191, 3.

to be explicit than Plutarch. If Lucian, in the passage just quoted from his *Timon*, where he is undoubtedly referring to the Athenian treasury, had said τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, as does Plutarch, the determination of the question now at issue would probably not be regarded doubtful. The fact that he does not do this, but uses simply the expression τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, is in itself a strong argument that he is referring to some other opisthodomus than that named by Plutarch.

¹ "Derartige genauere Lokalbestimmungen sind uns ja in grosser Zahl erhalten, aber ich kenne kein Beispiel, in dem lediglich der Theil eines Tempels zum Ausgangspunkt einer solchen Orientirung gemacht worden wäre. Auch hier empfängt man (wie *CIA.* I. 32 bei ἐμπόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ) unmittelbar den Eindruck, dass unter 'Opisthodomos' ein selbständiger Bau zu verstehen sei." Milchhöfer, *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 358.

ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδό[μου]. *Sitz. Ber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 1201, no. 45, 11.

τάδε ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῆς Βραυρων[όθε]ν· ἵππικὸς κεκρύφαλος, ἐχθρία, Ξενότιμος Καρκίνου ἀνέθηκε. *CIA.* II. 652 B, 23, 24. Repeated in *CIA.* II. 660, 61, 62.

[ὀπισθοδό]μου. *CIA.* II. 685, 2.

[ὀπισθ]οδόμου. *CIA.* II. 720 A, col. II. 6: ὀπισθόδομος. *Id.* B, col. I. 32.

[τ]ῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ὀπ[ισθοδόμου]. *CIA.* II. 721 B, col. II. 19.

[τάδε προσπαρέδοσαν] ταμίαι οἱ ἐπ[ὶ Λυκίσκου ἄρχοντο]ς ταμ[ίαις τ]οῖς ἐπὶ Πυθοδότ[ου χαλκοθήκης ἐν τῷ ὀπ]ισθο(δ)ό(μ)ω[ι]· σκ[εῦη κρ]εμαστά. *CIA.* II. 721 B, col. II. 21-23.

The striking fact here, as before, is that the great treasure-house of Athens is referred to simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. Whatever other information about it we may be able to gather from these important records, there certainly is no implication in any one of them that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon.

The case, therefore, now stands as follows: The assumption that the Opisthodomus was not a separate building involves the rejection of the testimony quoted above of the scholiasts and lexicographers, who were drawing on good sources and whose special purpose was a definition. The authors and inscriptions, on the contrary, say nothing about the situation of the Opisthodomus because they unconsciously assume that this is known. On the other hand, the assumption that the Opisthodomus was a separate building, a fact clearly declared by the scholiasts and lexicographers, finds no contradiction in passages in the authors or in inscriptions that refer to the Opisthodomus, provides a place for the public and sacred treasure before the building of the Parthenon, and is further supported by independent considerations of weight. In other words this theory reconciles the evidence.

The direct discussion of the main thesis of this paper, that the Opisthodomus was a separate building, is now finished. The question of its situation still remains. If it was not the rear chamber or chambers of an existing temple, either the Parthenon or the Heca-

temple, but a separate building, where on the Acropolis was it situated? This is in itself an interesting question, but there is a stronger reason for its consideration. The proposition that the Opisthodomus was a separate building will be corroborated, if it can be shown with reasonable probability where it stood, and if that conclusion is seen to conflict in no way with the ancient testimony that has come down to us in regard to it.

In the consideration of this question, as before, and for the same reason, we expect no help from the authors and inscriptions: the scholiasts and lexicographers, however, do give us information. They say that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena*, and specifically *behind the temple of Athena Polias*. If, further, the generally accepted¹ restoration of ἀρχαίου in CIA. iv. 1. 28 be allowed, we have evidence that money was kept, although the Opisthodomus is not here named, *behind the old temple of Athena*, ὀπισθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίω[ς ἀρχαίου νε]ῶ ἐμ πόλει, at least as early as 460 B.C.²

What was the temple of Athena Polias? Until very recently there was but one answer to this question. The term Πολιάς, when used of the protecting goddess of Athens, was the epithet of Athena in her oldest temple on the Acropolis, and this oldest temple, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεῶς, was the Erechtheum or the temple that preceded it on the same site. The eastern chamber of the cella of this temple had been from early times the shrine of the ancient wooden image of the goddess. Here, and nowhere else on the Citadel, she was worshipped under the title of Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς.

On the discovery of the Hecatompedon, Dörpfeld took issue with the prevailing view. The oldest temple on the Acropolis, he said, was the Hecatompedon, not the Erechtheum, which was only a shrine of Erechtheus; the Hecatompedon was the original temple of Athena Polias, but not the only one; the temple of Athena Polias *par excellence* was the Parthenon.³

¹ It is accepted among others by Kirchhoff, Dittenberger, Dörpfeld, Curtius, Frazer, and Furtwängler.

² Quoted in part on p. 12. See also below, p. 45. Whether we read ὀπισθ]εν or ὑποθ]εν does not, as we shall see, affect the result.

³ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, xii. p. 190 ff.

Dörpfeld's attempt to wrest the names, *old temple, temple of Athena Polias*, from the Erechtheum has not met with acceptance. It has been considered and successively rejected by Petersen,¹ Curtius,² Frazer,³ and Michaelis,⁴ all of whom maintain the traditional view that the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis was the temple of Athena Polias, and that this was the Erechtheum.⁵ The discovery of the Hecatompedon modifies the traditional view only to the extent of making the designation of the Erechtheum as "the old temple" necessary at an earlier period than the building of the Parthenon, *i.e.* it was "the old temple" as compared with the Hecatompedon, not with the Parthenon.

The question at issue is large, and its discussion has been able and searching. Strong arguments have been advanced in support of the traditional view.⁶ Since they were made, a new element has been introduced into the discussion by Furtwängler, who in the remarkable book already mentioned⁷ has published a new and startling hypothesis in regard to the Hecatompedon. Neither his view nor Dörpfeld's seems to me tenable, and I now purpose to state as briefly as possible the reasons why I am not able to accept either of them. It will be possible to consider the question here only in its most important aspects.

It is an essential part of Dörpfeld's theory that, in the time prior to the building of the present Erechtheum, the worship of Erechtheus was maintained in a separate temple. He believes that the Hecatompedon was "the old temple" and belonged exclusively to Athena, and that beside it, but separate from it, was the shrine of Erechtheus.⁸

¹ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 62 ff.

² *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, pp. 124, 151.

³ *Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 153 ff.

⁴ *Altattische Kunst*, 1893, p. 16. See also *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, XIV. p. 349 (note the title).

⁵ Lolling also denies that the Parthenon could have been called the temple of Athena Polias (*'Αθηνα*, 1890, II. p. 661, note 4), but shares Dörpfeld's opinion that after the Parthenon began to be built the Hecatompedon could be called ἀρχαῖος or παλαιὸς νεῶς (p. 643).

⁶ See in particular Frazer's able discussion, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. pp. 167-185.

⁷ See p. 2, note 2.

⁸ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 199.

This view cannot be reconciled with the evidence of Homer in the following passage:

αἰ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃσιν εἶχον, ἐκτεταμένον πτολίεθρον,
 ἄρμον Ἐρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ἢ ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 ἔθηκε, Διὸς τεταγμένη, περὶ δὲ γειθίονος ἰσοπέδου,
 καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃσιν εἶσεν, ἐπεὶ ἐν πύλῃσιν
 ἔστα δὲ αὖ παρῶσι καὶ ἰσθμίοις Ἀσπυγίου
 κοῖτον Ἀθηναίων τετεταμένον ἐπιεικῶν,
 τῶν κτ' ἤγχεοντες ἵος Περσέϊο Μερόπιδος. *Iliad* II. 546-552.

The passage establishes the following facts. According to the poet's conception, at a time antecedent to the Trojan War, Athena possessed a rich temple at Athens, and in this temple, her own temple, she established Erechtheus. Here, in the poet's time, the Athenian youth offered Erechtheus sacrifice. In the passage it is important to note that *ποτ'* refers to a time prior to the time of the main verb *εἶχον*; that *εἶσεν* denotes permanent establishment; that *πύλῃσιν* indisputably means *temple*; that this temple was Athena's; and that *αὖ* refers to Erechtheus.¹ All scholars are agreed that the temple referred to was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis. The oldest temple on the Acropolis was, therefore, a temple of the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus. The tradition of this joint worship was maintained to the latest times.²

A celebrated passage in Strabo (IX. 10. p. 390) is, as I think, decisive against the view that the Hecatompedon was "the old temple."³ Dorpfeld now maintains⁴ that Strabo's statement in this passage is

¹ Dorpfeld says *ibid.* p. 27, notes: "Unter αὖ kann man auch den Erechtheus verstehen. 1000 Jahre vor dem Beginn der gewöhnlich wegen des unmittelbar vorhergehenden ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν πύλων Ἀθήνησιν zu Athenen." What editor of Homer refers αὖ to Athena? The tradition that αὖ refers to Erechtheus is an ancient tradition. And for the best of reasons. Bulls were not offered to Athena, but heifers. *Op. cit.* p. 27, 30, 31, 32 ff. 33 ff. IV. 704. For a recent expression of opinion on this question, see Rohde, *Ermit.* 1804, I. p. 127, note 1.

² An interesting inscription in this connexion is *IG. 1280. 30. 31* (= Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 1040. 30. 30): καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποτ' Ἐρεχθίδος θεοῦ περὶ ἑκατόμπεδον τῶν ἑσπερίων ἑλισθεῖν ἰσθμίου.

³ Quoted on p. 29.

⁴ For his earlier views, see *Mith. d. Inst. Athen.* 1887, XII. pp. 48, 109.

entirely correct, but gives it a startling interpretation. By ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς Strabo means the Hecatompedon; in this, not in the Erechtheum, was the lamp made by Callimachus¹ as well as the old ἄγαλμα of the goddess. It was the original intention of the builders of the present Erechtheum that the old statue should be housed in its eastern chamber, but it never was placed there but remained in the Hecatompedon.² Pausanias in his tour of the Acropolis, Dörpfeld now believes,³ entered the Hecatompedón from the Erechtheum at the point indicated in his book by the words, ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς κτλ.;⁴ he makes no mention at all of the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum, and indeed he had no occasion, for it contained nothing worthy of description. Only by this unparalleled break with tradition in regard to the place of the lamp and ancient statue can Dörpfeld maintain his view that the Hecatompedon was "the old temple." Scholars who are inclined to accept it must go further, and suppose that Strabo, who is evidently giving a categorical account of the temples of Athena on the Acropolis, fails altogether to mention the Erechtheum, which was certainly in existence in his day, for it still remains.

The difficulties that Dörpfeld encounters in these two passages, not to discuss at this time the remaining literary evidence, are very great. They disappear, if we assume that an Erechtheum, built on the site of the present Erechtheum, was "the old temple." It will, perhaps, make the following argument more easily apprehensible, if I here state what I conceive the facts to have been. Homer's plain language demands a temple of joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus. Such was the Erechtheum. This was the oldest temple on the Acropolis. In time, when the worship of the goddess had grown

¹ On Callimachus, see Furtwängler, *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 437.

² In *CIA*. I. 322, 1, ἐπιστάται τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, Dörpfeld understands ἔσται. This is against the usage of Attic speech, and would be hard to parallel. The present ἐστὶ is to be supplied, according to a well-known idiom, and the words prove clearly enough that at the date of the inscription (archonship of Diocles, 409–8 B.C.) the old image was already in the new Erechtheum, which was completed in the summer of 408 B.C.

³ For his earlier view, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 52 ff., 210 f.

⁴ Paus. I. 26. 6.

and her treasure had increased, the Athenians built her a great, new temple.¹ We are informed in a document whose trustworthiness is not disputed that its official title was τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον.² In contrast with this newer temple, the Erechtheum was now "the old temple," and it kept this designation to the latest times.³ The Hecatompedon, after its destruction by the Persians, was not rebuilt as a temple.⁴ Its intended successor was the earlier Parthenon; its actual successor the Parthenon of Pericles. The Athenians, imme-

¹ This then became *the* temple of Athena, although it was not the sole seat of her worship on the Acropolis, and from this time to the Persian wars any mention simply of the temple of Athena refers to it, unless the context makes clear that the Erechtheum is meant. This doubtless is the temple meant by Herodotus in v. 72, 90, in describing events which occurred at the end of the sixth century. When, on the other hand, at this time the Erechtheum is meant, it is called ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς. Cf. Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273. Such also are the references to the temple in the time just before and during the destruction of Athens by Xerxes. Cf. *Plut. Cim.* 5; Herod. VIII. 51, 53, 54. In passages, on the other hand, such as those that refer to the sacred snake, which by express testimony dwelt ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, simply "the temple" is a sufficient designation for the Erechtheum, as in Herod. VIII. 41. See p. 9, note 2.

² See p. 2, note 8 end.

³ For the passages in which the phrase ὁ ἀρχαῖος (παλαιός) νεώς occurs, see p. 8, note 4. This exact designation is, of course, not necessary where the context makes clear that the Erechtheum is meant. See note 1 above, and cf. the building inscriptions cited on p. 8, note 5.

⁴ It may here be noted that Dörpfeld repeatedly asserts that Herod. v. 77 proves that the Hecatompedon was so rebuilt after the Persian wars (*Mith. d. Inst. Athen.*, 1887, XII. pp. 31, 36, 200). One is at a loss to understand what he means when he says (*ibid.* p. 27) "an den Parthenon zu denken, wie es bisher geschah, ist nicht möglich." Who has believed that Herodotus refers to the Parthenon? Since Dörpfeld holds that the western chambers of the Hecatompedon were a treasury, and not the seat of a cult, in asserting that Herodotus refers to them in v. 77 in the words τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου, he ignores the author's use of the word μέγαρον. By μέγαρον Herodotus refers to the *cella* of a temple where is established the worship of a god. So of the temple at Delphi, I. 47, 65, VII. 140; of the temple of Hephaestus in Egypt, II. 141; of Zeus Ammon, II. 143; of Demeter in Paros, VI. 134; and finally of Athena on the Acropolis, VIII. 53. It is extremely improbable, therefore, that in v. 77 he applies the word to rooms used for semi-secular purposes. The Erechtheum, on the contrary, which at this time had been again rebuilt (see the next note), exactly meets the demands, for here, in the western half, was established the worship of Erechtheus.

diately after their return on the final withdrawal of the Persians, rebuilt the ancient temple of the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus,¹ and this subserved alone the purpose of the worship of the goddess until the completion of the present Parthenon, for the earlier Parthenon was never completed. Toward the end of the fifth century the Erechtheum, which had been hastily reconstructed after the Persian wars, was replaced by the present structure,² but it kept the name by which it had been known of "the old temple." The traditions connected with its site were among the holiest possessions of the Attic race.

The most recent contribution to the discussion of the temples of Athena on the Acropolis has been made, as has been said, by Furtwängler. He believes with Dörpfeld that the Hecatompedon was the first great temple on the Acropolis, but maintains that this was an Erechtheum, the original Erechtheum, where first was established the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus. When the present Erechtheum was built, the Hecatompedon was entirely removed. Its traditions and epithets were transferred bodily to the new temple on the new site, which now, therefore, became "the old temple" of Athena. Previously the Hecatompedon had been "the old temple." This view avoids many of the difficulties which beset Dörpfeld's theory.

¹ Cf. Herod. VIII. 55, quoted on p. 25. Writing sometime before 420 B.C., *i.e.* before the present Erechtheum was begun, the historian says, "There is on the Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus," and proceeds to speak of the olive and salt-spring as then actually existing in the temple. The present *ἔστυ* proves that an Erechtheum was in existence at the time of writing. Frazer, who fails to take this passage into account, says (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 169) that "after its destruction in 480 B.C., the Erechtheum was not, so far as we know, rebuilt till towards the close of the fifth century B.C.," but he meets a real difficulty in explaining two inscriptions (*CIA*. IV. p. 3; 1. 93) which make mention of "the old temple" in such a way as to lead one to believe that the temple was at the time in existence. Further, there are two other passages in Herodotus (V. 77, VIII. 41) which are equally strong proof that the Erechtheum was rebuilt after the Persian wars, if one believes, as Frazer believes, that the Hecatompedon was not then in existence. In both these passages the historian speaks of the temple as existent, in the first at the time when he visited Athens, in the second at the time of writing.

² It was begun in 420 B.C. and finished in 408 B.C. See Michaelis, *Die Zeit des Neubaus des Poliastempels in Athen*, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, XIV. p. 349 ff.

Furtwängler follows Dörpfeld in appealing to existing remains in order to prove the great age of the Hecatompædon. Its peristyle, he says, is not earlier than the time of Hippias, but the naos itself is considerably more ancient; moreover, there lie below it the remains of a yet earlier building.¹ The philologist recognizes that such matters as this, the determination of the age of an ancient temple from its ruins, lie within the province of the expert archaeologist; but when expert archaeologists fail to agree among themselves, he turns for decision to other evidence. Now, three archaeologists of distinction, not at this time to name others, have declared that the Hecatompædon dates from the time of Pisistratus.² Furtwängler's further claim, which had previously been made by Dörpfeld, that no trace (with unimportant exceptions) exists of an older building on the site of the present Erechtheum, is a purely negative argument. This fact does not prove, of course, that such an older Erechtheum never existed. Such traces may in part have entirely disappeared, as he indeed acknowledges; they may in part be concealed by the existing building. The lack of them signifies merely that the existence of an older building cannot be proved by its remains. The question whether there was such a building remains open.

We must appeal to the literature for a decision of the question raised by Furtwängler, whether the Hecatompædon was the original Erechtheum on the Acropolis, and thus "the old temple." Here again we may be disappointed. The total number of references in Greek authors to temples of Athena on the Acropolis to the end of

¹ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 416. Furtwängler here adduces no proof that this building, attested by slight remains, was a temple.—It has already been pointed out (p. 20) that the much-cited passage from the Iliad certifies to a temple of great antiquity, and this must be granted even if we suppose that the passage itself is not older than the sixth century B.C. It is difficult to follow Furtwängler when he says (*l.c.*) that the passage "has in view the stately Hecatompædon with its double cella." The tense of *λάδοιται* shows indeed that the poet speaks of sacrifices made to Erechtheus in his own day, but they are offered in the ancient temple, and this he clearly conceives to have been in existence long before the Trojan War, a venerable structure about which centered the earliest religious traditions of the race.

² Petersen, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 62 ff.; Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, p. 71 ff.; Michaelis, *Altattische Kunst*, 1893, p. 16.

the fifth century B.C. is small. Further, in the nature of the case, the majority of these chance references will give us no information on the question at issue. In view of these facts, if any single reference is found to contain positive evidence, especially if this evidence is confirmed by other probable considerations, it must be allowed especial weight. Furtwängler's view, for example, will be discredited, if at the time when he claims, as an essential fact, that the Hecatompedon was the sole temple of Erechtheus on the Acropolis, it can be shown that a trustworthy Greek author testifies that there was another temple there devoted to his worship.

We have such evidence, I think, in Herod. VIII. 51-55. The historian here describes the capture of the Acropolis, the sack of the Hecatompedon, and the destruction of everything on the Citadel by fire. The Hecatompedon, which was at this time *the* temple of Athena on the Acropolis, he calls τὸ ἱρόν (chap. 51 *bis*, 53, 54), and specifically mentions its cella, τὸ μέγαρον,¹ as a place of refuge (chap. 53). He then continues (chap. 55), ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔτι. With these words he plainly introduces a new temple to the attention of his hearers. The Ἐρεχθέος νηός, here first named, is not the same temple that he has just mentioned repeatedly.² Herodotus, therefore, writing sometime before 420 B.C.,³ *i.e.* before the present Erechtheum was begun, testifies to two temples on the Acropolis, a temple of Athena and an Erechtheum.

¹ For the use of μέγαρον in Herodotus, see page 22, note 4.

² It may be urged that τὸ ἱρόν in chap. 51-54 does not mean *temple*, but *sanctuary*, *i.e.* τέμενος. The ambiguity of the word is well known. But even if we grant that ἱρόν has that meaning in these chapters, the force of the phrasing at the beginning of chap. 55 remains the same, for the Hecatompedon has been brought clearly before the mind of the hearer by the direct mention of its μέγαρον in chap. 53. Nor can νηός in chap. 55 be given the meaning *cella* or *chamber*, and the word be made to refer to a part of the Hecatompedon, for in that case Herodotus would not have written ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ, but would have said ἔστι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ (*i.e.* τῷ Ἐκατομπέδῳ) Ἐρεχθέος . . . νηός, or something of the sort. One could not speak of "a chamber on the Acropolis" without immediate mention of the structure of which it was a part.

³ Kirchhoff, *Entstehungszeit des herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*², 1878, concludes that Herodotus died in 428 B.C. The absence of later allusions in his history shows that his death occurred at least before 420.

This interpretation of the reference in Ἐρεχθέος νηός is made certain by a statement in the passage itself. This statement proves that the temple called Ἐρεχθέος νηός cannot be the Hecatompedon. Herodotus says that the sacred tokens, the olive and the salt-spring, were “in the temple.” His words are ἐν τῷ (i.e. ἐν τῷ νηῷ) ἐλαίη κτλ.¹ The tokens we know were on the low ground to the north of the higher plateau on which stood the Hecatompedon. They were certainly not in that temple.² The difficulty caused by the language of the historian is so great that Furtwängler proposes to emend the passage and read σηκός for νηός, but he offers no critical reason for the change, and none exists.³ It is made to meet an exigency in argument and cannot be allowed. If allowed, it would bring a new element of confusion into the discussion in establishing a σηκός of Erechtheus distinct and apart from his νηός.

The conclusion, adverse to Furtwängler's theory, to which we have been brought is confirmed by other considerations which discredit the assumption that the Hecatompedon was the original Erechtheum. On this assumption the traditions connected with the early worship of Athena and with the worship of Erechtheus, and the epithets of the temple of their joint worship, must be transferred bodily at the end of the fifth century B.C. to a new temple. Not only is it inherently more probable that they had always belonged to the site to which a later age undoubtedly attached them, but positive considerations also make it extremely unlikely that they had previously belonged to the Hecatompedon. For example, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς was an official title of the Erechtheum in the fourth century.⁴ This same term is applied to a temple on the Acropolis in reference to an event

¹ On the place of the olive, see p. 39, note 6.

² In speaking of the present Erechtheum (*Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 433), Furtwängler makes an important admission: “The choice of site was determined by the consideration of keeping near the sacred ‘tokens’; in fact, the temple was to be even more closely attached to these than its predecessor had been; the cleft in the rock was included within the building.” This is precisely what the passage quoted from Herodotus proves for the Erechtheum that preceded the present Erechtheum.

³ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 416, note 9.

⁴ *CIA*. II. 74 a, 14; 163, 9; 464, 6; 672, 43; 733 A, col. II. 6. The temple was not, then, called so simply “in common parlance” (Furtwängler, *ibid.* p. 433).

that occurred before 500 B.C.¹ The title in the latter instance is meaningless on the assumption that the Hecatompedon was the only temple here at this time. Again, two inscriptions which date from the first half of the fifth century B.C. mention "the old temple" officially.² This was the Hecatompedon, it is asserted, and it was called "old" in contrast to the earlier Parthenon. But this Parthenon never got beyond its foundations, and further, we have unimpeachable evidence that the official name of the Hecatompedon was τὸ Ἐκατόμπεδον. These three references to an ἀρχαῖος νεώς are, on the other hand, perfectly applicable to an older Erechtheum on the site of the present Erechtheum, designated as "the old temple" in contrast with the Hecatompedon.

The assumption further that the Hecatompedon was the original Erechtheum involves a complete change of site for that building at the end of the fifth century. The sole reason alleged for this is that the Athenians desired to bring the temple into closer connexion with the 'tokens.'³ But this alleged fact would lead us rather to conclude that the tokens mark the original site of the temple. Moreover, it is a commonplace that Greek religious feeling demanded that a temple when rebuilt should occupy its old site. The exceptions, especially when at the same time the old temple was removed (the fact claimed in this instance), are few indeed, and there are always adequate reasons. Such reasons do not exist in this case. The alleged change of site, on the contrary, necessitated a vital change in the principle of construction, for the present Erechtheum stands on different levels; gave the temple a cramped situation hard upon the north wall of the Acropolis; and reduced its size. And yet this is the temple, it is claimed, that was built by the opponents of the policy of Pericles to replace the stately Hecatompedon. Furtwängler further argues that the Erechtheum in its interior arrangement repeats the Hecatompedon;⁴ but if this statement is to be used as an argument

¹ Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273.

² *CIA.* IV. I. c, 27 (p. 3 f.); I. 93, 6.

³ "It was in fact simply in order to attain this object that the position of the temple had been changed at all." Furtwängler, *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 436. See also p. 433.

⁴ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, pp. 433 ff.

to prove that the former was the successor of the latter, comparison must be instituted between the two temples entire. The Hecatompedon was a Doric temple,¹ built on one level; it was a peristyle, with porticos and entrances at the east and west. The Erechtheum is an Ionic temple, built on different levels; it is not a peristyle; it has a portico on the east, but none on the west, and quite irregularly, has porticos with entrances also on the north and south. The sole point of resemblance is the division of the cella into three compartments by cross-walls, and even this resemblance is disturbed by the difference of level in the Erechtheum between the two western chambers and the eastern chamber.² The two temples are not similar, but strikingly dissimilar. The closer the comparison we make of them, the more we are impressed with the structural peculiarities of the Erechtheum. It is here important to note that to Dörpfeld the groundplan of the Hecatompedon seems to be strikingly similar to that of the Parthenon.³ This accords excellently with the view that the Hecatompedon, an exclusive temple of Athena, was the forerunner, not of the Erechtheum, but of the Parthenon.

In view of these considerations the assumption that the Hecatompedon was the original Erechtheum seems to me improbable, if not impossible. It is more natural to suppose that from the earliest times there had stood on the site of the present Erechtheum a temple that had been built over the sacred tokens and had accommodated itself to the original level; and that finally the present Erechtheum was built in imitation, not of the Hecatompedon, but of its own predecessors. This view is not contradicted by existing remains, is supported by positive evidence, does not force us to shift traditions and epithets, involves no change of site for the Erechtheum, and adequately explains its structural peculiarities.

¹ This is the opinion of its discoverer. See *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. pp. 347 ff.

² Furtwängler assumes also that the central chamber of the Erechtheum was divided by an east and west wall into two compartments. This would be another point of similarity, but he himself acknowledges that no traces of such a cross-wall exist. *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 433, note 5.

³ "Jedem wird sofort die grosse Aehnlichkeit zwischen diesem Grundriss und demjenigen des Parthenon auffallen." *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, XI. 1886, p. 340.

Another preliminary inquiry, important for the determination of the situation of the Opisthodomus, remains to be briefly considered. When ancient Greek writers, referring to a building on the Acropolis, speak of "the temple of Athena Polias," which of the temples of Athena do they mean? As has been pointed out,¹ Dörpfeld maintains that the chief temple of Athena Polias was the Parthenon. This title, he says, was given also to the Hecatompedon, both before and after the building of the Parthenon, but *the* temple of Athena Polias was the Parthenon. He claims further that the official name of the Parthenon in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was either ὁ νεὸς or ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος.²

If these claims are valid, we shall reasonably expect to find them confirmed by the references to the temple of Athena Polias in Greek authors and inscriptions. The following are all the passages, so far as I know, in which the expression "temple of Athena Polias" occurs, with the exception of the passage whose proper interpretation we are now trying to reach.³

1. κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὸν εἰσελθοῦσα, καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διός, τὸν ὑπὸ τῆ ἑλαία, κατέκειτο. Philochorus frg. 146 in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 408 (Dion. Hal. *de Din.* 3).

2. τὸ δ' ἄστν αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιουκουμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ πέτρα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ὃ τε ἀρχαῖός νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ Παρθενὸν ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἴκτῖνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ. Strabo IX. 16, p. 396.

3. ἄγε δὴ, πάρεσμεν γὰρ ἔνθα χρῆν· ἐνταῦθά που ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Πολιάδος δικάσωμεν. ἡ ἱέρεια διάθες τὰ βάρη, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ προσκνήσωμεν τῆ θεῷ. Luc. *Pisc.* 21.

4. κείται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα. Paus. I. 27. 1.

¹ See p. 18.

² "Wenn wir also von *dem* Tempel schlechthin oder von *dem* Tempel der Athena Polias lesen, so müssen wir annehmen, dass der Parthenon gemeint ist. Dieser war mithin der Haupttempel der Athena Polias." *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 193. See also *ibid.* p. 196.

³ Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193, quoted on p. 4.

5. παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρῳ, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους. Paus. i. 27. 3.

6. τί δαὶ Ἐριχθόνιος: οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδεται: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* iii. p. 13 Sylb.

7. οἶος δ' ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος νεὸς καὶ τὸ πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τέμενος· συνήψαμεν γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἀνακτόρων τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλήλοις μετὰ τὴν ἄμιλλαν. Himerius, *Ecl.* v. 30.

8. δύο εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθηνᾶς ναοί. ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ ἡ χρυσελεφντίνη. ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν σκύλων κατεσκευάσθη Φειδίου πλάσαντος. Schol. Arist. *Eg.* 1169.

9. Βούτης ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως τὸ γένος ἔχει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται τι Ἀθήνησι γένος Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, οἱ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Βούτου. οὗτοι προϊστάται τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος. Schol. Aesch. ii. 147.

10. διὸ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἀθήνησιν Αἰδοῦς καὶ Ἀφελείας ἦν βωμὸς περὶ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς νεών, καθὰ καὶ Πausanias ἱστορεῖ, ἃς οἱ μὲν παιδιγωγούς, οἱ δὲ τροφούς τῆς θεᾶς γενέσθαι φασίν. Eustath. *Il.* xxii. 451. p. 1279. 40.

11. οἱ φασιν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ οἰκουρὸς δράκων, φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἦγον ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος διατρώμενος. Eustath. *Od.* i. 357. p. 1423. 8.

12. καὶ ἀναγράψα[ι αὐτὴν τὸν γρ]αμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκ[ῆ] καὶ στήσαι ἐ]ν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πο[λιάδος]. *CI.A.* ii. 332, l. 42 ff.

13. [στήσαι δὲ] αὐτοῦ καὶ [εἰ]κόν[α] χαλκῆν ἐ[φ' ἵππου τὸν δῆμον παρὰ τὸν νεὸν τ]ὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ[ῆς Πολιάδος]. *CI.A.* ii. 464, l. 4 ff.

14. [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τ]ὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς (σ)τήλην λιθ[ίνην τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων καὶ ἀναθε]ῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθη[νᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένων ἦ]. υθητος ἡ [γεγ]ον[εῖα] ὑπ' [αὐτῶ]ν περὶ ταῦτα σ[πουδὴ καὶ φιλοπονία]. *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen.* 1883, viii. p. 59. 23 ff.

“The temple of Athena Polias” named in the first of the passages here quoted cannot be the Parthenon, because of the immediate proximity of the Pandroseum. In the second the language of the writer excludes that supposition. The same fact is true also in the eighth, however much the form of statement may have suffered in its transmission to us. In the fourth and fifth passages Pausanias

has already described the Parthenon and is now on the north side of the Acropolis. The temple named in the sixth passage also cannot be the Parthenon; Erichthonius was identical with Erechtheus,¹ and the seat of the worship of Erechtheus was the Erechtheum. Similarly in the seventh, Himerius is speaking of the place of the joint worship of Athena and Posidon-Erechtheus.² The priestly family of the Eteobutads mentioned in the ninth cannot be dissevered from the Erechtheum.³ So in the third the pronaos of the Erechtheum is meant, since Aeschines tells us⁴ that the priestess of Athena Polias was chosen from the family of the Eteobutads. It will be claimed by nobody that the sacred snake spoken of in the eleventh passage had its dwelling-place in the Parthenon; and until we get proof to the contrary we have the right to conclude that Eustathius does not mean in the tenth passage by "the temple of Polias" any other temple than the one so named in the eleventh passage.⁵

If these conclusions are sound, no Greek author has called the Parthenon "the temple of Athena Polias."

It is here instructive to note what the great temple *is* called during the period of the writers quoted above. It had a perfectly established name. This was ὁ Παρθενών. It is thus called by Demosthenes, Heraclides (Dicaearchus), Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias, Aelian, Philostratus, Zosimus, Marinus, a Scholiast on Demosthenes, Harpocration, Hesychius, the Etymologicum Magnum, and Suidas.⁶ It is incredible that the Parthenon should, as it is claimed, have been *the* temple of Athena Polias, and should be mentioned so often in Greek authors, and yet that its so-called distinctive title should nowhere occur.

Dörpfeld claims that ὁ νεώς was an official title of the Parthenon in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. He fails to quote a single

¹ See Rohde, *Psyche*, 1894, I. p. 128.

² On Posidon-Erechtheus, see the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 23 (c. 26, 27).

³ Cf. Paus. I. 26. 5; [Plut.] *Vit. X. Or.* 843 b.

⁴ Aesch. II. 147.

⁵ Dörpfeld also (*Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 206, note) thinks that the Parthenon is not meant in the tenth passage.

⁶ See the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 13 ff.

inscription in which the Parthenon is called ὁ νεός. Even in Greek authors it is thus designated only twice,¹ and both these authors, so ambiguous is the expression as they have used it, have here been charged with looseness of style. Again, the only inscriptions in which the phrase ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος occurs are the two from which the twelfth and fourteenth passages given above are quoted. In the second of these two inscriptions, it will be observed, Πολιάδος is due to restoration. And yet on the basis solely of these two inscriptions, by combination with the inscription from which the thirteenth passage is quoted, where also Πολιάδος is due to restoration, Dörpfeld establishes ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος as the other official name of the Parthenon. He adds, without proof, that this was probably its name also in current speech during the first century of its existence.² He seeks to establish this official title as follows. The designation ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεός in official documents proves the existence of a new temple. This was the Parthenon, ὁ νεός. In another official document (thirteen above) mention is made of an ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος. This name proves in like manner the existence of a new temple of Athena Polias, and in fact, he says, mention of a νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος (the phrase is not, it will be observed, ὁ καινὸς νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος) occurs twice in official documents (twelve and fourteen above). Since now the ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος is identical with the ἀρχαῖος νεός, it follows that the νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος is identical with the temple concisely called ὁ νεός. The latter is the Parthenon. The official title, therefore, ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος, belongs to the Parthenon.

This conclusion is unsound because it rests on unestablished premises. In the first place, the assumption is made that ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεός means the Hecatompedon. But other scholars believe (and prove to their own satisfaction!) that "the old temple" is the Erechtheum. In that case "the new temple" is the Hecatompedon. Again, it does not follow that the antithesis to "the old temple of Athena Polias" is "the new temple of Athena Polias." This assumption begs

¹ Xen. *Hellen.* II. 3. 20; Aristot. *hist. an.* VI. 24, p. 577 B, 29.

² *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 197 f.

the question. The expression ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἀρχαῖος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος may have arisen in some other way than the one assumed. The latter puts a relative emphasis on the word ἀρχαῖος for which the warrant is not forthcoming. Let us assume that the Erechtheum was called sometimes ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἀρχαῖος, sometimes ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος. The combination of the two titles would give, as Petersen long ago pointed out,¹ ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἀρχαῖος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος, "the old temple belonging to Athena Polias." This interpretation is, at least, as good a working assumption as the other.² Finally, it does not follow that the temple named ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος is identical with the temple called simply ὁ νεὸς (if there was, indeed, such a temple). This claim rests on an assumption which also begs the question, namely that the phrases ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος and ὁ νεὸς are equivalent to ὁ νεὸς ὁ καινὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος and ὁ νεὸς ὁ καινός, which occur nowhere. If they did occur, everybody would agree that there were at least two temples of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, and the reader would be spared the present discussion. But even if the conclusion did follow, we could not infer on that account that ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος was a name of the Parthenon until it was established that ὁ νεὸς was an official designation of the Parthenon. No proof³ of that, as I have said above, has been offered.

The only safe conclusions that can be drawn about the expression "the temple of Athena Polias" in the three inscriptions quoted above are that in the first the application of the phrase is indeterminable; that in the second it cannot mean the Parthenon, since the temple is there called ἀρχαῖος; and that in the third whatever indications we have point to the Erechtheum, since the girls there honoured were those who prepared the wool for Athena's robe, and the peplus, as we know, belonged to the old statue in the old temple.⁴ But the inference is, of course, not certain that the stele in their honour was on that account set up beside that temple, although the fact is probable.

¹ *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 65.

² It is with reasonable certainty the true interpretation. Cf. Strabo IX. 16 (quoted on p. 29), where the contrasted titles of the temples are ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος and ὁ Παρθενών.

³ See on the last point Furtwängler, *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 427.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the phrase "the temple of the Polias" does not mean, in any of the fourteen passages quoted above, the Parthenon. The question is now narrowed to the two remaining temples. It is here proper to call attention to the fact that we are certain of the existence of only one of these, the Erechtheum, at the time covered by the passages: we have to assume the existence of the Hecatompedon during the fourth century B.C. and the following centuries in order to bring it within consideration at all. Dörpfeld believes that the Hecatompedon was in existence at this time, and that it was, as it always had been, an exclusive temple of Athena; the worship of Erechtheus was confined to the Erechtheum, the present structure, which had replaced the earlier shrine.

The three inscriptions may be dismissed at once. They are indecisive, except so far as the considerations already presented in the case of the third make for the Erechtheum.¹

The passages from the authors demand brief consideration. It should be noted that they all speak of "the temple of the Polias" as if there were only one such temple. They all indicate, I think, that this temple was the Erechtheum.

In the first the bitch enters the temple and *goes down* in order to get into the Pandroseum. The description exactly fits the plan of the Erechtheum. Its eastern chamber is on a higher level than its western chambers, and from the latter there was direct communication on the same level with the Pandroseum. If the Hecatompedon is meant, we must conceive, since only one temple is mentioned, that the creature took a flying leap of over ten feet from the supporting wall of the stereobate of the Hecatompedon at the north-west down into the Pandroseum. This is, at the least, an improbable meaning for *δύσα εἰς τὸ Παρδρόσιον*. The second passage has already been discussed.² In the third the Hecatompedon cannot be meant, because (besides the consideration urged above) the action of the dialogue would be impossible if the pronaos of that temple were its

¹ If one believes, from independent considerations, that *ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός* always means the Erechtheum, then the second inscription becomes evidence; but it will be well, perhaps, to avoid the possible charge of the 'vicious circle.'

² See p. 20 f.

scene. The Erechtheum would stand directly in the way.¹ To identify the temple named in the fourth passage with the Hecatompedon is, if we follow Dörpfeld's present lead,² to assume that the ξόανον and the lamp of Callimachus were not in the Erechtheum at all; and if on the other hand we suppose that Pausanias entered the Hecatompedon not after 1. 26. 5 but at 1. 27. 1³ and thus place the ξόανον and lamp in the Erechtheum, we must assume that Pausanias makes double application of the word Polias, once to the goddess of the old image in the Erechtheum, for it is clear that he refers to her as Polias in 1. 26. 6,⁴ a second time to the Hecatompedon. If we are convinced by these serious difficulties that by "the temple of the Polias" in the fourth passage Pausanias means the Erechtheum, we establish its application also for the fifth, unless we are ready to believe that he speaks of two distinct temples, both as "the temple of the Polias," within the short space of a dozen lines. The mention of Erichthonius (Erechtheus) and Posidon (Erechtheus)⁵ in the sixth and seventh passages shows that here the Erechtheum is meant, not the Hecatompedon, a temple of the exclusive worship of Athena. In the eighth the very confusion of statement shows that the Scholiast closely associates in his mind the temple of the Polias and her ancient image,⁶ and therefore, if we suppose that by "the temple of the Polias" he means the Hecatompedon, we must remove the image from the Erechtheum. The ιερόν mentioned in the ninth must be

¹ Dörpfeld claims that this passage refers to the Parthenon. For his three reasons, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 198 f. To these it may be briefly answered that Lucian in the second century A.D. is not likely to have had intimate knowledge of the official phraseology of Attic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C., and further that the inscriptions do *not* add τῆς Πολιάδος to the official form ἐν τῷ Πρωτηίῳ; that any portico is large enough to accommodate an imaginary assembly (see Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 182 f.); and that to argue from the reference in the dialogue to the Pelargicon that Lucian must mean the Parthenon is to assume that the situation and extent of the vexed ancient fortification called the Pelargicon are satisfactorily known.

² See p. 21.

³ So Miss Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, 1890, pp. 508 f.

⁴ See Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 182.

⁵ See p. 31, notes 1 and 2.

⁶ Cf. schol. Dem. XXII. 13; schol. Arist. *Pan.* 187, 20 (Dind. III. p. 319).

the Erechtheum, for reasons already given.¹ The tenth and eleventh passages hang together, as has already been pointed out, and in interpreting the eleventh we have the express testimony of Hesychius that the snake was housed ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθίου,² i. e. in the Erechtheum, not in the Hecatompodon.

I conclude, therefore, that when in Greek writers we read of "the temple of Athena Polias" we must understand by it the Erechtheum, and that this conclusion is contradicted by no evidence offered by inscriptions.

This inquiry has been carried further by Frazer, in the article already often cited. He has investigated the word Πολυάς in all its applications, and in my opinion has given a final answer to the doubts raised by Dörpfeld. He has conclusively demonstrated that the word had a local connotation to the mind of a Greek when used with reference to the Acropolis at Athens, and has shown what this connotation is. In order to settle the question of the proper application of the term "Athena Polias" or "the Polias" he collected the passages of classical writers bearing on the Athena Polias of Athens and all places in the Corpus of Attic Inscriptions in which the title occurs, and gave them careful examination.³ In some of these passages, as was to be expected, the application of the term Πολυάς is indeterminable: these passages furnish no indication whether the Athena referred to was the goddess of the Erechtheum, of the Hecatompodon, or of the Parthenon. In the remainder the term is used with reference to the temple, to Athena in close association with Erechtheus, to her ancient image, to the peplos, to the priestess of Athena Polias, to the Errephori, to the sacred serpent, and the like. All the passages whose application is determinable support the view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum, with the

¹ See p. 31, note 3, and Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII, p. 181.

² See p. 9, note 2.

³ I had already begun, with the same purpose, an independent collection of the passages before Frazer's article appeared, and am able to contribute from Greek writers the following slight additions to his extensive list: Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II, 9; Lucian, *Sym.* 32; *Id. Dial. Meret.* VII, 1; Schol. ad *id.*: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* IV, 52, p. 15 Sylb.; Apoll. *Vit. Aesch.* (quoting Aesch. II, 147); Schol. V Arist. *Eg.* 1169; Schol. Hom. *Od.* XIV, 533; E. M. s. v. Ἐρεχθίδαι. In completing my collections I have had the helpful assistance of Arthur S. Cooley of this University.

exception of two.¹ One of these countenances the view that she was the goddess of the Parthenon,² the other may be so interpreted;³ but the author of the first is a Christian writer living in Egypt in the second century A.D., the author of the second a twelfth century commentator on Homer, and each lays himself open to the charge of contradicting himself.⁴

The result of Frazer's investigation is instructive. The fact that the word Polias, when applied to Athena at Athens, had in the times for which we have literary evidence a distinct local sense confined to one place, shows what our conclusions must be for the earlier times to which our evidence does not extend. "Polias" was probably the oldest title of Athena on the Acropolis, and dates from a remote age. The goddess had then a single temple on the Citadel, the temple of the Polias. The image within the temple was the image of the Polias. Thus the word became closely associated with a place. We have no reason for believing that when the Hecatompedon was built the worship of the Polias was transferred to that temple. We do know that in the earliest times and in the later times it was attached to "the old temple." This conception, that the worship of the Polias remained in "the old temple," in no way conflicts with the supposition that the Hecatompedon also was a temple of the worship of Athena, containing its own image. It was *the* temple of Athena, but not the temple of the Polias. The Parthenon in the next century is an exact parallel in all particulars. The growth of the worship of Athena in the Hecatompedon would tend still more to localize the worship of Athena Polias in the old temple. After the destruction of the Hecatompedon in the Persian wars, the old temple gained in importance. It was doubtless the purpose of Pericles to transfer the worship of Athena Polias to the Parthenon. (That may have been the purpose also of the builders of the Hecatompedon in an earlier age.) But conservative religious feeling and

¹ Frazer (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 184), who believes that the Opisthodomus was the western portico of the Parthenon (see p. 2), adds Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193 (quoted on p. 4).

² Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* IV. 47, p. 13 Sylb.

³ Eustath. *Od.* XI. 634, p. 1704, 30.

⁴ See the discussion, on p. 31, of the sixth and eleventh passages quoted above.

party strife combined to thwart him. The Parthenon was built, but his intention was frustrated. If it had been carried out, the new temple would have become "the temple of the Polias" and the Erechtheum would have been devoted to the exclusive worship of Erechtheus. We know in fact, on unequivocal authority, that the old image was not removed from the old temple.¹ This temple remained, therefore, an important seat of worship of Athena on the Citadel; and we are not surprised to learn by the consentient testimony of writers in the following centuries that it kept the name which first attached to it and continued to be called the temple of the Polias.

After this long, but necessary, consideration of the application of the expressions "old temple" and "temple of Athena Polias," I revert to the question which occasioned it.²

What does Schol. V on Arist. *Plut.* 1193 mean when he says that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena Polias*?

If the front of the old temple of Athena, *i.e.* of the Erechtheum, was at the east of the temple, as was generally true of Greek temples, the Opisthodomus must have lain to the west of it, behind the Pandroseum, and must be sought for there. On this supposition there must have once existed at this place a substantial and independent structure, of the foundations of which, however, no trace has been brought to light by the recent thorough excavation of the Acropolis.

This brings us face to face with a question of great apparent difficulty. Namely, how is it possible that the treasury of Athens, a separate building as has been proved, was called an *opisthodomus*?

Pollux (1. 6) after defining the uses of the word *σηκός* continues: τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρόδομος, καὶ τὸ κάτωθεν ὀπισθόδομος. Varro (*de lingua Lat.* v. § 160, ed. Spengel) gives the same definition: *domus graecum et ideo in aedibus sacris ante cellam, ubi sedes dei sunt, Graeci dicunt πρόδομον, quod post, ὀπισθόδομον.* This use of *ὀπισθόδομος*, to designate the back portico of a temple, is confirmed by its actual employment in the literature. It is thus applied to the western porticos of the temples of Zeus and of Hera at Olympia.³

¹ See p. 21, n. 2.

² See p. 18.

³ Paus. v. 10. 9; 13. 1; 15. 3; 16. 1; Lucian *Hdt.* 1; *Fug.* 7; *de morte Peregr.* 32.

This established application of the word seems to contradict hopelessly the view that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis was a separate building; but in fact it itself indicates the solution of the difficulty.

Whether in early times the northern or eastern portico of the Erechtheum was regarded the front of the temple cannot be surely determined; but it seems probable that, at least in the time of the sources from which the scholiasts and Harpocration and the other lexicographers drew their information, the front of the temple was thought to be at the north. Here lay the broad portico through which Pausanias entered the temple.¹ If the front of the temple was at the north, the Opisthodomus, which was situated ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεώ, must have lain to the south of the Erechtheum.

Here in fact we find it, the Opisthodomus of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt, after the destruction of that temple in the Persian wars, to serve as it had served before the coming of Xerxes² as treasury of the gods and of the state. The peristyle of the temple disappeared;³ its eastern chamber was not restored; the Opisthodomus, consisting of the three western rooms and western portico, was alone rebuilt.⁴ This was the Opisthodomus to which reference is made, in the times following the Persian wars, simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος; the Θησαυρός, probably, that was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus;⁵ the ταμείον of the scholiasts and lexicographers that lay "behind the temple of Athena."⁶ Not only its official but also

¹ Paus. I. 26. 6 ff.

² The mention of the ταμναί in the Hecatompedon inscription (*CIA*. IV. p. 137 ff.) makes this practically certain. See Lolling, *Ἀθηναί*, 1890, II. p. 647 ff.; Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1890, XV. p. 420 ff.; Frazer, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 162, note 24. For the pre-Persian ταμναί τῆς θεοῦ, see also Hdt. VIII. 51. Furtwängler (*Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 418) denies that the treasury was ever in the Hecatompedon.

³ So also Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 200.

⁴ See the plan, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. p. 337.

⁵ For the date of Polygnotus, see Brunn, *Geschichte d. griech. Künstler*, II. 14 ff.

⁶ The language of Herod. VIII. 55 shows that a Greek felt the Pandroseum to be a part of the Erechtheum, for within it was the sacred olive. It had no roof, but was doubtless enclosed by a wall on the north and west, just as it was shut

its current name was ὁ ὀπισθόδομος.¹ Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian could so speak of it, without danger of confusion. There was another opisthodomus on the Acropolis, but when this was meant the speaker said ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τοῦ Παρθενῶνος or used an equivalent expression.²

This solution, which we owe to the insight of Ernst Curtius,³

in by walls on the east and south. There was direct communication between the north portico of the Erechtheum and the Pandroseum by a separate doorway, and the north portico was centered to the larger structure whose groundplan included the Pandroseum. The Opisthodomus was, quite exactly, 'behind' the temple, conceived in the sense seen in Herodotus.

¹ Frazer (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.* 1892-93, XIII. p. 162 f.) thinks it remarkable, if the Opisthodomus was in use as a treasury after 480 B.C., that the first mention of it occurs in two decrees of 435 B.C., and draws the inference *ex silentio* that there was no Opisthodomus before the completion of the Parthenon. This apparently remarkable fact is accounted for by our lack of documents for the time between 480 and 435 B.C. The name Opisthodomus for the Athenian treasury does not indeed occur in any public document during that time, *nor does any other*. In fact we have only a single reference in all of these years to any *place* on the Acropolis where money was kept (*CIA.* IV. 1, quoted on p. 12 and discussed on p. 45), and yet we know that the sacred and public money-treasure housed on the Acropolis was greater between 454 and 435 B.C. than ever afterwards. Frazer himself says (p. 162) that in this time the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasures, but comes simply to the conclusion that we do not know where this was. In like manner, the fact that the first literary mention of the Opisthodomus occurs in Aristophanes is not proof that it was not in existence during the whole of the fifth century. No author before Aristophanes whose works have come down to us had occasion to mention the exact place where the sacred and public money was kept. It would be as logical to conclude from the silence of these authors that there was no treasury at all as that it was not called ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. Knowing that there was a treasury we are entirely justified, in the absence of all counter-proof, in concluding that the name by which it was designated in the last third of the fifth century and in the fourth century attached to it also in the previous time. I cannot agree with Frazer, further, in thinking that in the two decrees of 435 B.C. (*CIA.* I. 32, A, B, quoted in part on p. 16) the Opisthodomus is mentioned as if it were now for the first time to be used as a treasury. The references to it there (it is called simply ὁ ὀπισθόδομος) seem to me, on the contrary, to imply that it was a well-known place whose use was already established. See p. 46 ff.

² Plut. *Demet.* 23, Aristides, I. p. 548, 14, Dind., quoted on p. 15.

³ Curtius, in the November session of the Archaeological Society of Berlin, 1890 (see *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 163): "Der alte Tempel nach der

explains at once the *name* Opisthodomus in its application to the Athenian treasury and some apparently but not really contradictory testimony of the scholiasts. The tradition that this treasury was once in fact the rear chambers in the cella of an actual temple seems certainly to have been preserved during the centuries that followed the invasion of Xerxes. The *name* ὀπισθόδομος would serve to keep the tradition alive. Aristophanes and Demosthenes undoubtedly knew what the Opisthodomus was and were acquainted with its history; and the interpreters who first explained their references to it must, with the great resources at their command, have had knowledge of the truth on so important a matter. Schol. V Arist. *Plut.* 1193¹ tells us that the Opisthodomus lay behind the temple of Athena Polias. The sources of the existing scholia on Aristophanes are acknowledged to be excellent. We cannot reasonably refuse to believe, however much we may regret the mutilated form in which the rest of the scholium has been transmitted to us, that the original author of the statement just quoted (Aristophanes of Byzantium or one of his pupils?) knew what he was writing about. He knew that in the time of the poet Aristophanes the Opisthodomus was a separate building, situated, as is here recorded, behind the temple of Athena, and he knew also why it was called ὀπισθόδομος, not because it lay behind her temple, but because it had once been the component part of a temple. But had the scholiasts and lexicographers whose comments and definitions have come down to us any knowledge of the true tradition? It is impossible to say. Two facts are here most important to note. First, it is certain that they knew what the normal opisthodomus was, namely the rear part of a building. Temples with opisthodomoi were extant for a long time. We have mention of the opisthodomus of a temple in so late an author

Zerstörung durch die Perser wurde nur in seinem Hinterhause wieder aufgebaut, um als Schatzkammer zu dienen. Es sind zahlreiche Zeugnisse vorhanden nach denen der Opisthodom ein selbständiges Gebäude der Akropolis gewesen sein muss." See also *Stadtgeschichte*, 1891, pp. 132, 152. I came independently to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus must have been a separate building, convinced by the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers, but erred at first in supposing that it lay on the lower ground due west of the Erechtheum. Curtius's suggestion has been received with favour.

¹ Quoted on p. 4.

as Achilles Tatius.¹ What we should expect to find, therefore, in the scholiasts and lexicographers is the definition of the normal opisthodomus. Secondly, what we do find in them in the main is something very different. I call attention again to the passages quoted on pp. 3, 4 of this article. Milchhöfer points out that it is remarkable that these scholiasts and lexicographers do not give us the definition that we should expect.² They define the ὀπισθόδομος as a building that lay ὀπισθεν τοῦ νεώ, they do not define it as τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος τοῦ νεώ. It is common to discredit these late writers, and to say that they 'etymologized,' but etymologizing here would have given the second definition, and that definition would have exactly described the sort of opisthodomus they knew about. Their persistent statement, therefore, that the Opisthodomus lay behind the temple of Athena, must be the record of a *fact*. This fact they had inherited from a trustworthy source. It is no paradox to say that it becomes even more credible as a fact, so contrary is it to what we should expect them to say, on the assumption that they did not fully understand it.

This statement that the Opisthodomus lay "behind the temple of Athena" appears persistently in slightly varying form in nearly all the ancient explanations of the ὀπισθόδομος that have come down to us. Sometimes there is added a brief definition of the normal opisthodomus.³ This should occasion no surprise. And sometimes there is evident confusion, which either results from the ignorance or carelessness of the writer or is due to too brief statement or to defective transmission of the text.⁴ This also should occasion no

¹ Achil. Tat. III. 6.

² *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 359.

³ To the scholium on Arist. *Plut.* 1193 just cited is added after the main explanation the statement, τὸν ὀπισθόδομον· τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ οἴκου, ἤγουν τοῦ ναοῦ. Cf. the other brief scholia on Arist. *Plut.* 1193: τὰ ὀπισθεν τοῦ δόμου. DV. τὸν ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. Par. 2827. And on Arist. *Plut.* 1191: τὸν ὀπισθεν οἶκον τῆς θεοῦ. LB. So Photius s.v. ὀπισθόδομος says first τὸ ὀπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος, and then adds the alternative statement that the Opisthodomus was a state treasury on the Acropolis that lay ὀπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ. The brief definition τὸ ὀπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος is found also in E. M. s.v. ὀπισθόδομος and Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 286, 26.

⁴ Cf. p. 4, note 2; p. 5, note 1. We find, as I think, an instance of confusion

surprise, although we must regret it, for it opens a field for doubt and discussion. Still, making due allowance for all difficulties of this sort, it seems certain that these late writers do contain a record of the true tradition about the Opisthodomus.

There remains, finally, a scholium which merits special consideration, because of the use that has been made of it and because, as it seems to me, it stands quite apart from the rest in its meaning. Schol. V Luc. *Tim.* 53¹ reads: ὡς ἱερόσυλον διαβάλλων ταῦτά φησιν· ὁ γὰρ ὀπισθόδομος ἱερόν· τὸ ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγετο.² The point of view of the scholiast should here be noted. His mind is dwelling solely on the act of sacrilege. He adds the statement τὸ ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγετο in explanation of the previous predication ἱερόν. He is thinking of the regular opisthodomus of a temple. Such an opisthodomus was a sacred place, because it stood behind the sanctuary of the god.

Boeckh³ bases his belief that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon on the scholium on Luc. *Tim.* 53. In two other passages to which he refers he thinks that ναός is equivocal and must be interpreted by the single scholium on Lucian. This ignores, as we have seen, the established use of the word ναός in its application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis.⁴ The existence of the Hecatompedon, brought to our knowledge by Dörpfeld's brilliant discovery, was not known to Boeckh. If it had been, he would not have maintained with such vigour against Osann⁵ and

of facts in E. M. s.v. ὀπισθόδομος and Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 286, 26. Here two definitions are confused, that of *the* Opisthodomus (the Athenian treasury) and that of the normal opisthodomus (of any temple). The form of statement here should be compared with that in Photius. Schol. RY Dem. xxiv. 136, which, under the lemma ταμίαι, reads, ἦν δὲ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ, leaves us in doubt what the scholiast means. τὸ ὀπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ may signify *the place behind the goddess* in the sense of *behind her temple* quite as naturally as that of *behind her statue*.

¹ Quoted on p. 14.

² The variant on this reads: ὅτι ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἱερόν, τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἀπέκειτο χρήματα. (This should probably be: ὅτι ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἱερόν· τὸ ὀπισθεν (δὲ) κτλ.)

³ *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

⁴ See p. 7 ff.

⁵ *Sylloge Inscr. Ant. Graec. et Lat.*, 1834, p. 62, note 13.

“Britanni nonnulli”¹ the thesis that there was no other opisthodomus on the Acropolis than that in the Parthenon.²

If the conclusion that the Opisthodomus was a separate building and that it consisted of the three western chambers and western portico that before the Persian wars constituted the western half of the cella of the Hecatompedon is correct, it should be confirmed by a consideration of the uses to which the Opisthodomus was put. If it fails, as thus constituted, to account adequately for any established facts, the conclusion is in so far invalidated.

The scholiasts and lexicographers, in the first place, call it a ταμείον or θησαυροφυλάκιον. In it, by their testimony, were housed τὰ χρήματα, both the sacred treasure, τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν, and the public treasure, τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον καὶ ὁ φόρος.

Our earliest documentary proof of the existence of the Hecatompedon is the celebrated inscription already referred to.³ This inscription names the ταμίαι frequently,⁴ and, although much mutilated, evidently contained important prescriptions of their duties. Among these is specified τὰ οἰκήματα [τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατ]ομπέδῳ ἀνοίγειν [τοὺς] ταμίας (II. 17, 18). It is generally agreed that the chambers here referred to are those in the western half of the cella and that they were treasure-chambers.⁵ These are the rooms which, according to the conclusions to which we have come, constituted the treasury referred to as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος in later times.

¹ Dodwell, *Classical Tour in Greece*, 1819, I. p. 345; Wilkins, *Atheniensiæ, or Remarks on the Topog. and Buildings of Athens*, 1816, p. 98, note. See also Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 1825, II. p. 26, note d; p. 29, note h. Michaelis has a remark about the Englishmen: “Die früher vielfach beliebte Unterscheidung des Opisthodomus im Parthenon und eines zweiten Opisthodomus als selbständigen Staatsschatzhauses hat jetzt nur noch historisches Interesse”! (*Der Parthenon*, p. 27, note 85.) I must confess, with shame, that I knew nothing about the views of the Englishmen until my own views on the question were already formed and expressed in writing.

² “*Sed nullus alius fuit usquam: opisthodomus est solius Parthenonis.*” *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

³ See p. 2, note 8, end.

⁴ I. b (?), r (?), II. 3, 8, 13, 16, 18, 25.

⁵ See p. 39, note 2.

The inscription quoted in part on p. 12, which in date falls between 480 and 460 B.C.,¹ records the fact that treasure was kept in a precinct behind the old temple of Athena. The περίβολος here mentioned, if the lacuna has been properly supplied, was that of the Hecatompedon, in which at the time of the decree stood the restored treasury, and in this treasury the money in question must have been kept. That it was safely housed is certain, however general the phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] may be; the treasure was not kept in the open.²

After the Persian wars to the time of the completion of the Parthenon the treasures *in kind* of Athena must have been stored partly in "the old temple,"³ partly in the treasury. In the latter was also the sacred money of Athena, and, as we have seen,⁴ likewise that

¹ See Dittenberger, *SIG.* 384.

² It is by no means certain that [περιβ]όλο[ι] is right. The phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] gives a suspiciously vague designation of the place where the money was kept. Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte*, p. 132, note) conjectures [ἐν τῆι θ]όλο[ι], but this falls short by a letter. [δπισθ]εν is Dörpfeld's conjecture (*Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 39), but he there fails to take account of the preceding ολο. Kirchhoff (*CIA.* IV. 1) and Dittenberger (*SIG.* 384) read [νβτροθ]εν, but this does not affect the conclusion which we have reached. See p. 39. The original of the remnant ολο perhaps yet remains to be found. If the supposition expressed above, that the money referred to was housed in the restored treasury, is true, and if it is also true that the inscription read περιβόλω, the reason why the place where the money was kept is mentioned in this general way, and not specifically by name, must be a matter of conjecture. It then becomes important to note that the inscription belongs to a time of confusion at Athens, just after the Persian wars, when it is quite possible that the name Opisthodomus, by which presumably the treasury was known before the destruction of the temple and which later became its fixed designation, had not yet been officially attached to this *remnant* of the temple. It must have seemed odd to the Athenians at first to designate as an opisthodomus a building which was now in fact a single structure, although originally it had been, as part of an actual temple, a real opisthodomus. This seems a simpler and more natural conjecture than that in περιβόλω we have reference, as Frazer conjectures (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII. p. 162), to a building temporarily erected to house the treasures till the permanent treasury was ready.

³ Some of the Persian spoils were still there in the time of Pausanias (I. 27. 1). For the proof that the old temple (Erechtheum) was rebuilt after the Persian wars, see p. 23, note 1.

⁴ *CIA.* IV. 1 (p. 12) is a decree relating to the Eleusinian goddesses.

of some of the other gods. On the completion of the Parthenon the treasures in kind were transferred, as is well known, to the Pronaos, Neos Hecatompedos, and "Parthenon" of the new temple.¹ In 435-4 were passed the two celebrated decrees (*CLA.* I. 32 A, B) which brought all of the finances of the state into order. In them we clearly perceive the influence of Pericles, under whose careful financial policy Athens was preparing herself for the great struggle with Sparta that was to follow. The provisions of these two decrees are met with singular fitness on the supposition that the public and sacred money was housed in the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompedon.

The money now stored in the treasury had become a great sum (A 2 ff.). This fact is confirmed by the testimony of Thucydides.² The amount of coined silver on the Acropolis at the time when the decree was passed was 9700 talents.³ This included both the state-

¹ But not the money. Frazer's argument (*Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1892-93, XIII, p. 163 f.) for making the western portico of the Parthenon the Opisthodomus (in brief, that the treasury documents name four compartments where treasure was stored, and that if three of these were in the Parthenon the natural inference is that the fourth, namely the Opisthodomus, was also there) overlooks the important fact that the objects stored in these three compartments were essentially different from the contents of the fourth. We have no evidence that anything except money was stored in the Opisthodomus from the completion of the Parthenon to the end of the Peloponnesian War. It was a treasury, and a treasury in which was kept a great sum of money. Against this view, moreover, is the testimony of Plutarch (quoted on p. 15), who tells us distinctly what the opisthodomus of the Parthenon was. Nobody supposes that Demetrius was lodged in the western portico.

² Thuc. II. 13.

³ Kirchoff, *Geschichte des Athenischen Staatsschatzes*, 1876, p. 22; Dittenberger, *SIG.* 14, note 1. — The fact of the existence of this great treasure seems to me to be fatal to the view that the Opisthodomus was the western portico of the Parthenon. (See Dörpfeld, who formerly held this view, and Frazer, as cited on p. 4.) This portico was altogether inadequate for the purpose. It is pertinent, further, here to add that it was open to view on three sides, where bronze gratings between the columns were all that barred a thieving public. Can we believe, moreover, that this great treasure was cramped into this small space, and yet that the large room beyond it, the "Parthenon" in the limited sense, was left practically empty, containing, as the treasury documents show (*CLA.* I. 161-173), only a relatively small number of articles employed at festival-time ("einige Dutzend Klinen und Stühle," Petersen, *Mith.* 1887, XII, p. 69)?

reserve and the treasure of the goddess. The existence of so great a treasure in 435 B.C., which must have been the accumulation of years, necessarily implies the existence of a place for storing the money before the completion of the Parthenon.

It is noteworthy that the decrees assume certain facts. The fact of the existence of a treasury is taken for granted, just as that of the boards of the hellenotamiae, logistae, and ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. The treasury is named three times (A 15, 17, B 23), simply as ὁ ὀπισθοδόμος, in such a way as to imply that it was a well-known place in established use. The specification, further, of the duty of the hellenotamiae in B 18 ff., ἐκ τῶν φόρων κατατιθέναι κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἐκάστοτε γεινόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ταμίαισι τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας, simply recognizes and emphasizes, as Kirchhoff has shown,¹ a previous practice. The one important new provision is the establishment of the board of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (A 13 ff.). This necessitated certain rearrangements in the use of the Opisthodomus. From this time the tamiae of Athena are to store her money-treasure ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου, the tamiae of the other gods ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. This must mean, as Dörpfeld has already pointed out,² the room to the right and the room to the left in the back part of the Opisthodomus. But since we know that there was a third treasure, and that it was large, which although in the care of the treasurers of Athena was still kept separate, we cannot but conclude that it was stored in the larger chamber that lay in front of the two smaller chambers. It had probably been here from the first establishment of a state-fund. This use of the larger chamber explains the provision in A 15 ff. (quoted on p. 16). This provision, in which the words ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον imply a limitation, means, as I think, that the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν are not to have access to the chamber in which the treasure of which they are in charge is stored except in company with the ταμίαι τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας, not that they are always to be present when the other rooms are opened. To reach their own chamber they were obliged to pass through that set aside for the reserve fund of the state, which was in charge, under the authority of the state, of the more ancient and much more

¹ *Athen. Staatssch.* p. 33.

² *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 38.

important board. It must not be forgotten that the state exercised absolute control over all of these treasures, although it employed the form of a fictitious loan when it drew upon the resources of Athena and of the other gods. The outward symbol of this authority was the key of the treasury held by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, of whom Aristotle says,¹ τηρεῖ δ' οὗτος τὰς κλεῖς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν² ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά ἐστιν καὶ (τὰ) γράμματα τῆ πόλει. The custody of the key did not imply responsibility for the actual management of the funds.

The view here advanced, that the Opisthodomus of the authors and of inscriptions was the Opisthodomus of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt without peristyle and eastern chamber after the destruction of that temple in the Persian wars, is not accepted by Milchhöfer. In his able and searching discussion of the Opisthodomus,³ he first combats the identification of "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus, a view that at the time of the publication of his article had just been reasserted by Furtwängler; he then advances positive arguments to sustain the proposition that the Opisthodomus was a separate building; and finally he states what he believes its probable situation to have been. He would place it at the eastern end of the Acropolis, where are remains which were once supposed to be those of the chalcothece.⁴ His view as to the situation of the Opisthodomus has been accepted by Furtwängler.⁵ To me it seems to be untenable, for the following reasons.

¹ Aristot. *Resp. Athen.* 44.

² The first of the two *ιερά* here meant is the Opisthodomus. (The other was the Metroum, down in the town.) Cf. Poll. VIII. 96: ἔχει δὲ οὗτος τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς κλεῖς ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ γράμματα. Eust. *Od.* XVII. 455: τὰς τε κλεῖς (τῶν ἱερῶν Rose) ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά εἰσι φυλάττει καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῆς πόλεως. Cf. also Suidas and E. M. s.v. ἐπιστάτης. Less exactly the argument to Dem. XXII. p. 590. See Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, 1890, II. 1, p. 338.

³ See p. 1, note 1.

⁴ Where now stands the workshop of the Acropolis Museum. See the plan in the *Δελτιον Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, nos. 16-19. "Diese Oertlichkeit," Milchhöfer says, "würde allen Voraussetzungen entsprechen, die wir für das Schatzhaus ermittelt haben." *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 361.

⁵ *Mast. Greek Sculp.*, 1895, p. 425 f.

It is contradicted, in the first place, by such indications of the situation of the Opisthodomus as we find in our authorities. They tell us that it lay *behind* a temple of Athena. No building at the eastern end of the Acropolis would be *behind* either the Parthenon, or the Hecatompedon, or the Erechtheum. In placing the Opisthodomus at the eastern end of the Acropolis, Milchhöfer thus rejects the testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers. He thinks that these late writers are of doubtful authority in this question, but nevertheless, in arguing for the Opisthodomus as a separate building, calls attention to the remarkable fact that no one of them gives what we should think to be the most natural interpretation of the word ὀπισθόδομος. They define it not as the rear part of a temple, but as ὀπίσω (ὀπισθεν) τοῦ νεώ, τοῦ ἱεροῦ, also ὀπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ; we find no such expression as τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος τοῦ ναοῦ or ὀπισθεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.¹ It should here be noted that in the very phrase to which Milchhöfer calls especial attention they say unequivocally that the Opisthodomus was *behind* the temple. It was doubtless his feeling for the force of their testimony that led him at first to seek to place the Opisthodomus actually *behind* a temple of Athena, namely to the west of the Parthenon.² He shows the same feeling for the force of ὀπισθεν in dealing with the early fifth century inscription already quoted.³ He indicates his preference for the reading [ὀπισθ]εν, and adds that the peribolus with its treasury constituted "dann schon eine Art 'Opisthodomos' des alten Tempels."⁴ This is full recognition of the fact that this earlier 'sort of opisthodomus' at least lay *behind* the temple. But the other opisthodomus that followed, *the* Opisthodomus, he puts behind no temple.⁵

¹ *Philol.* 1894, LIII. p. 359.

² *Ibid.* p. 360.

³ See p. 12. For its interpretation, see p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 357, note 8.

⁵ Milchhöfer arbitrarily makes the inscription cited a *terminus ante quem*. Yet money had to be housed on the Acropolis both before and immediately after the Persian wars, and he himself believes that "the treasurers of Athena had been installed *in the Opisthodomus* long before the Parthenon was built." (*Ibid.* p. 357.) How long before? To me it seems likely that the inscription refers to the real Opisthodomus, not to 'a sort of Opisthodomus.' See p. 45, with note 2.

Milchhöfer, as I have said, sought first to place the Opisthodomus behind the Parthenon, but here he encountered a substantial obstacle, the real chalcothece,¹ and relinquished his first suggestion. He adopts his final view with more confidence, although he says that certainty in the matter is not to be expected. Two considerations weigh with him. First, if we should put the Opisthodomus at the eastern end of the Acropolis, it would be an opisthodomus (*rear-building*) in the sense in which the Propylaea are the fore-court (*Vorhof*) of the Acropolis. But this is the gratuitous intrusion of a new point of view. In no ancient reference to the situation of the Opisthodomus is there anywhere mention of the Propylaea; our authorities orient the Opisthodomus not from the Propylaea but from a temple of Athena. It is pure conjecture, therefore, to assume that the Opisthodomus got its name because it was at the 'rear' of the Acropolis as the Propylaea were at the front.² In this case, further, the name *ὀπισθόδομος* would stand without parallel. Nowhere in the literature, so far as I know, is the eastern end of the Acropolis called its 'back part,' nor is there intimation anywhere that a Greek ever thought of it as that. Secondly, it seems to Milchhöfer in itself probable that such a structure as the Opistho-

¹ See *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, XIV. p. 304 ff.

² It should be noted that the word *Προπύλαια* does not mean "front-gateway," in the sense of gates in front of a space behind, but rather "that which is in front of the gates," in this case the wings and portico in front of the five doorways as one comes up from the west. The use of the adjective *προπύλαιος* establishes this fact. Neither the word *Προπύλαια* nor the structure itself, which lies low and led to the rear of the temples, could have suggested to a Greek any such strong antithesis between the Propylaea and the high ground at the east fronting the temples, where stood the great altar, as lies at the basis of Milchhöfer's assumption. The natural means of orienting objects on the Acropolis is, as we have seen, not the Propylaea, but the temples. The probability, further, of such an antithesis as Milchhöfer assumes is weakened by the actual situation which he assigns to his 'back-building.' It does not lie on high ground on the eastern continuation of the axis of the Propylaea, but in the extreme south-eastern part of the Acropolis on ground that was lower than that to the north and to the west of it (see Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.* 1880, Tabula II.), and with the peribolus of the Parthenon directly between it and the Propylaea. It is doubtful whether it could have been seen, even before the building of the present Parthenon, from the Propylaea.

domus was erected at the eastern end of the Acropolis on the site of a pre-Persian building used as a magazine and for purposes of administration.¹ He would therefore identify the present remains as those of the Opisthodomus. This again is simply conjecture.²

There is a second strong objection to Milchhöfer's view. It contravenes the established application of the word *ὀπισθόδομος*, which as defined by Pollux and Varro, and in fourteen instances of its use in authors, in each of which its meaning is certain, designates *an integral rear part of a building*.³ It has no other application. Nothing, therefore, but convincing evidence should induce us to believe that the word could have been applied to a building on the Acropolis at Athens which *always had been* a separate structure.

¹ "Es ist auch an sich wahrscheinlich, dass hier ein solcher Bau an Stelle vorpersischer Magazin- und Verwaltungsräume aufgerichtet worden ist." *Ibid.* p. 361. This statement leaves it doubtful where Milchhöfer thinks the treasure was stored before the Persian wars.

² This theory is not supported by schol. Dem. xxiv. 136 and Pollux ix. 40, noticed on p. 5, note 1 above. Even if we accept Milchhöfer's suggestion that these may possibly rest on better ultimate authority than the rest of the notices (*ibid.* p. 359), they do not tend to establish his view. The phrase of the schol., *οἰκημα ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως*, "a house behind *the Acropolis*," removes the Opisthodomus from the Acropolis altogether. Pollux doubtless means to say the same thing, "the (part) behind the Acropolis." He here uses *κατόπιον* adverbially, as in the same phrase in his definition of *σηκός*, quoted on p. 38.

³ For the definitions of Pollux and Varro, see p. 38. The word *ὀπισθόδομος* occurs in the following places in reference to the rear part of a temple: Diod. Sic. xiv. 41; Plut. *Demet.* 23 (see p. 15); Aristides, i. p. 548, 14 Dind. (see p. 15); Paus. v. 10. 9, 13. 1, 15. 3, 16. 1; Lucian *Hdt.* 1, *Fug.* 7, *de morte Peregr.* 32; Anth. Pal. xii. 223, 4 (Strato); Achil. Tat. iii. 6; in reference to the back part of a house: Appian, *de bell. civ.* i. 20; in reference to the rear part of a *buleuterium*: Themistius, xv. p. 234 Dind. All the occurrences of the word known to me have been cited in this paper. — In the course of his argument Milchhöfer unconsciously makes an important admission. He says (*ibid.* p. 356), "Von vorn herein wird Jedermann zugeben, dass lediglich der offiziell überlieferte Name 'Opisthodomos' darauf geführt hat, das Schatzhaus für einen Theil des Tempels zu halten; auf Grund unserer sonstigen Ueberlieferung hätte man in dem *ταμειῶν* nur einen selbständigen Bau vermuthen können." The fact remains that the treasury *was* called Opisthodomus. Of this apparently anomalous fact we find adequate explanation in the view advanced in this paper that the treasury was once an integral part of the Hecatompedon.

Milchhöfer's sole support of his proposition is the declaration that the usage of Greek speech allows this employment of the compound word, analogously to the use of the word *Hinterhaus* in German,¹ which may mean "a house in the rear" as well as "the rear part of a house." He adduces no proof. It is hazardous, of course, to say in etymologizing what Greek usage would not allow: but, in cases of doubt, one fact is worth many theories. Here the fact is certain that, as has been shown, the word according to its established application did mean *the back part of a building*, not *a back building*. Nor is it difficult to see precisely how the word *ὀπισθόδομος* came to have its established meaning. It has good Greek parallels, and in such a discussion as this Greek analogy carries much more weight than modern. Precise parallels are *πρόναος*, *πρόδομος*, and *προσκήριον*, the etymology of which has already been discussed in its bearing on another question.² Etymologically, *ὀπισθόδομος* signifies "the part behind the *δόμος*" (*τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ δόμου μέρος*), where *δόμος* signifies the main structure to which the *ὀπισθόδομος* is added. So *πρόδομος*, "the part before the *δόμος*," and *πρόναος*, "the part before the *ναός*," at the time when *ναός* and *ἄδυτον* were identical and signified all that there was in the way of a 'temple.' Then the idea conveyed by the second part of the compound was enlarged, so that *δόμος* and *ναός* came to include the *πρόδομος*, *πρόναος*, and *ὀπισθόδομος*. Thus Homer can speak of the *πρόδομος* of a *δόμος*, and Pausanias and Strabo of the *πρόναος* of a *ναός*.³ So *ὀπισθόδομος* came to mean "the back part of the *δόμος*," where *δόμος* signifies the whole structure. This is precisely the general definition of *ὀπισθόδομος* given by the early lexicographers, namely *τὸ ὀπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος*.⁴ The *ὀπισθόδομος*, *πρόδομος*, and *πρόναος* were, then, integral parts of a whole, but what this 'whole' is, is defined with absolute certainty by the second part of the compound. A Greek could speak of the *ὀπισθόδομος*, *πρόδομος*, and *πρόναος* of a house or of a temple; but his sense, it may be an unconscious sense, of the etymological force of the words would have made it impossible for him to speak of the *ὀπισθόδομος*

¹ *Ibid.* p. 356.

² See p. 7, note 2.

³ Hom. *Od.* iv. 302; Paus. ix. 4. 2; Strabo xvii. 28, p. 805.

⁴ Photius, E. M., s.v. *ὀπισθόδομος*; Bekk. *Anec.* i. p. 286, 26. See p. 42, note 3.

of an acropolis or of any 'whole' not indicated by the word itself. It would be as forced to suppose that the word ὀπισθόδομος was so applied, meaning *a rear-building of the Acropolis*, as that πρόδομος might mean *a front building of the Acropolis* or πρόναος *a front temple of the Acropolis*. There is no shadow of authority for saying that the last two words were ever so used.

The case, then, may be summed up as follows against Milchhöfer's theory. First, it contravenes the ancient evidence, and assumes a Greek point of view for the orientation of buildings on the Acropolis which cannot be established. Secondly, on trustworthy testimony, the Opisthodomus (ὁ ὀπισθόδομος) in which the Athenians stored their treasure was a separate building, as Milchhöfer himself believes; but Greek usage of speech allowed the word ὀπισθόδομος to be applied only to a structure that was, *or at some time had been*, the integral rear part of a building. '*The Opisthodomus*,' therefore, must at some time have been an integral rear part of some building. The theory advanced in the second part of this paper is that this building was the Hecatompedon.



A VOTIVE TABLET TO ARTEMIS ANAÏTIS AND MÊN TIAMU

IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.

A VOTIVE TABLET TO ARTEMIS ANAÏTIS AND MÊN
TIAMU IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.¹
PLATE II.

BY JOHN HENRY WRIGHT.

I.

OF the history of the votive tablet, figured on the accompanying plate and discussed below, nothing seems to be known, except that the slab came "from the Levant," and has been in Boston for forty or fifty years.² It is now in the Museum of Fine Arts of that city, in the Room of Classical Antiquities; its number on the register of acquisitions is S. 1695.³

The dimensions are: greatest height, m. .72; width, m. .42; thickness, m. .06. It is of coarse white marble, "probably Asiatic."⁴

On the upper part of the front surface there is a panel upon which are represented in low relief a man, child, woman, and second child (the last fragmentary), standing in a row from right to left, *en face*, each with the right arm raised from the elbow, palm turned out, and thumb separated from the fingers. The attitude is the familiar one of adoration.⁵ The man and the boys wear the short

¹ The substance of this article was read before the American Philological Association, July 12, 1894, at the Williamstown meeting.

² My best thanks are due to Gen. Charles G. Loring, Director of the Museum, and to Mr. Edward Robinson, Curator of Classical Antiquities, for calling my attention to the tablet as soon as it was received, and for furnishing me with facilities for publishing it. A preliminary notice of the tablet appears in Mr. Robinson's *Report to the Trustees for 1893*, pp. 19, 20.

³ It was for many years exhibited among the curiosities of the old "Boston Museum," a hall attached to a theatre. In 1893, when the collections of the "Museum" were broken up, it came into the possession of Mr. Charles A. Cummings, who, on December 20, 1893, gave it to the Museum of Fine Arts.

⁴ Mr. Robinson.

⁵ Compare Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 147 ff. The attitude is as in Waddington-LeBas, *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 137, and on many

sleeveless chiton and the long himation, the latter thrown under the right arm and over the left shoulder. The woman wears a short himation similarly thrown, and the long chiton. What appears to be an object held in the left hand of the boy in the middle is perhaps only a piece of the untrimmed marble,¹ and the tassel-like appendage near the left hand of the woman is nothing more than the rudely-cut end of the himation. In artistic character this sculptured relief is crude, stiff, and lifelessly conventional. The design, as often on tablets of this sort, does not exactly fit the inscription, which speaks of only one child. Hence we may infer that the slab with its relief was not made to order, but was selected by the devotees from a stock of ready-made stones as the one coming nearest to their needs.

Above the panel was probably once an ornamental coping, which has been sadly mutilated.² The left edge of the slab is likewise incomplete, being broken off from top to bottom.

Below the relief stands the inscription, in letters of the style current in Asia Minor, and especially in eastern Lydia, about 200 A.D. The inscription is perfectly preserved, except that each line lacks at the end from two to four letters.

Ἄρτέμιδι Ἄναίτι κ[αὶ Μη-]
νὶ Τιάμου Μουσαῖς Β̄ [καὶ]
Καλλιγένεια ἡ σύμβι[ος αὐ-]
τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μουσαίου το[ῦ ἰοῦ]
5 μαρτυροῦντες τὰς δ[υνά-]
μις τῶν θεῶν ἀπέδω[καν]
τὴν εὐχὴν· ἔτους σπᾱ· [μη(νὸς)]
Δείου ῑ.

other monuments, especially from Asia Minor. — Cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Mar.* 26, *ἠὔξατο δὲ καὶ Κάτλος ὁμοίως ἀνασχὼν τὰς χεῖρας καθιερώσειν τὴν τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*, where *καθιερώσειν* is used in a specific sense, like *ἀπέστησαν*, similar to that pregnant in *ἀποδώσειν τὴν εὐχὴν*.

¹ On some reliefs of a similar character the adorants carry cakes in their hands.

² On this coping may have been carved something to represent a part of a human body, the member cured by the divinities. Compare the four eyes carved on the coping above a similar row of figures, in Waddington-LeBas, *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 137 (no. 688, from Goerdis or Julia Gordus), and see below p. 72, nos. 6 and 7.

“To Artemis Anaïtis¹ and Mên Tiamu: Musæus, son of Musæus,² and Calligeneia his consort, on behalf of Musæus their son, in testimony to the powers of the gods, have paid their vow. In the year 281, the 10th of the month Dius [A.D. 196³?].”

¹ The Anaïtis inscriptions known up to 1886, ten in number, have been collected and printed by S. Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, II. 1885, pp. 105, 107 f.; 1886, pp. 155, 156 (from the *Revue Archéologique*, with additions). [According to Leemans's facsimiles, on the stones from Kula in Reinach, *Chroniques*, 1886, p. 156, No. 2 (υλδ), the date should be σνδ̄, not σιδ̄, and an 'Αναίτι should be inserted between Μητροί and 'Αζιωττηνῆ; and in no. 5, the date is σπδ̄, not σμδ̄.] Of these ten 'Αναίτι inscriptions, one is from Hypaepa, near Odemish, undated; two, undated, are from Philadelphia; the remaining seven are from Kula or vicinity, three undated, four dated respectively A.D. 160, 200(?), 235 (236), and 236 (237). To this number should now be added no. 11, our inscription, dated A.D. 196; nos. 12, 13, the two inscriptions from Kula (Μαιονία) published by Contoleon, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII. 1887, pp. 254, 255 (cf. E. L. Hicks, *Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69), dated respectively A.D. 215 (216) and 244 (245); for no. 12 see p. 72, no. 5; no. 14, undated inscription from Philadelphia (not from Tralles), Contoleon, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XIV. 1889, p. 106. — Possibly also belong here (as no. 15) Michaelis, *Journ. Hellen. S.*, V. p. 154, the proper name Πατ-ἀναίαθ, 'gift of Anaïtis' (?); and (as no. 16) Waddington-LeBas, no. 699a, from Kula, undated: I would emend Μηνογένης θεῆ ANIANH in it to θεῆ ANAITI(H). The inscription has not been tested by a squeeze. To be sure there is a town Alia in Phrygia, but on coins we have ANIHNON.

Seven of these Anaïtis inscriptions are now in Leyden, and have been published in facsimiles by C. Leemans, *Verh. d. k. Amsterdam Akad.* XVII. 1886 (1888), no. 7: Leemans also gives, from Reinach, the transliteration of all the remaining ones, except nos. 1 (from Odemish), 11, 14, and 16.

It will be noted that of these inscriptions, all of which the provenance is known, except one from Odemish, come either from Philadelphia (three), or from Kula or neighborhood (ten). — For Mên Tiamu inscriptions, see note on pp. 71–3.

² On the spelling of this name in this inscription see the remarks on line 2. For Μουσαῖς (from Μουσαῖος), Latinized Musæus, cf. Barnaes = Barnaeus: Benseler, *Curtius Studien*, III. pp. 167; 168.

³ Throughout this article it is assumed, in the reduction of dates, that the era of Sulla — which seems to have begun about July 1, B.C. 85, and not Sept. 24, B.C. 85, or 84 — was followed in Upper Lydia, as well as in Phrygia. Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, I. p. 337, and, for the date, Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 452. (Where two dates are given in the reductions, the second must be adopted if the era is assumed to have begun Sept. 23, B.C. 85.) In the sequence of months Dius came first; Peritius, fourth; Dystrus, fifth; Xandicus, sixth; Artemisius, seventh; and Daesius, eighth. — [But see below, p. 73.]

II.

Judging from many other inscriptions similarly dedicated,¹ we may infer that one Musæus, — who seems to have pronounced his name *Musæus*, — and his wife Calligeneia, on the serious illness of their son, or in some other grave stress, had made a vow to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu that if the boy were by these gods restored they would dedicate to them some *anathema*. To the object thus dedicated they attached this tablet which commemorates the might of the gods named in it.

The restoration and interpretation of the inscription offer no difficulties.

Line 1. — ANAEITI, in which EI has the value of I, and *vice versa*, must have been felt as a dative for 'Αναίτις (perhaps 'Αναίται. cf. πόλις πόλι), though the regular form of the word would be 'Αναίτιδι. So far as I have observed, 'Αναίτι does not occur except in a dative construction, and thus may be regarded as a dative form. Hence I would accent 'Αναίτι, not 'Ανάιτι, nor 'Αναίτι. The following case-forms are found on the stones (α usually replacing the first ι): nom., 'Ανάιτις; gen., 'Αναίτιδος, 'Αναίτις (*sic*: for 'Αναίτιος?); dat., 'Αναίτιδι, 'Αναίτι. 'Αναε(ι)τι; acc., 'Ανάιτιν. — The lost MH of [Μη]νι was probably written as a monogram,² MH, or perhaps κ[αί] was abbreviated; there is not room for both words written out in full.

¹ Anaitis (Artemis, θεά, μεγάλη, μήτηρ, prefixed) is, in many of the dedicatory inscriptions, gratefully remembered for services of healing, as is also Mên Tiamu. Cf. Reinach, *Chroniques*, *ibid.* Mên had a character in some respects like that of Asclepius. Thus Mên Caru had a medical school attached to his temple at Attuda (Ramsay, *American Journal of Archaeology*, IV. p. 277), and near his shrine at Mênos Come, between Carura and Attuda, were hot springs: Athen. II. 43 A. The coins of Parlais in Lycaonia have as types not only the god Mên, holding the pine-cone and with cock at his feet, but also Asclepius and Hygieia: Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 596.

The Charite dedication. — Reinach, *Chroniques*, 1886, p. 156: 'Αρτέμιδι 'Αναε(ι)τι Χαρίτη | 'Απολλωνίου, περίπτωμα | σχοῖσα και ἐξασθείσα ὑπὸ τῆς ιερείας, εὐχῆν. 'To Artemis Anaitis, Charite, daughter of Apollonius, having had an accident, and having been by the priestess restored through exorcisms and incantations, has paid her vow,' — when compared with Strabo, XV. 3. 15, p. 732, where mention is made of the priests of Anaitis (ἐξάδουσιν ὄραν), suggests something of the methods employed by the servants of the goddess in fulfilling her petitioners' desires. Cf. Paus. V. 27. 5: ἀνὴρ μάγος . . . ἐπράδει βάρβαρον . . . ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου.

² Cf. MHNI in Waddington-LeBas, no. 668; also below, p. 72, no. 5.

Line 2. — We must not write *Μηνιτιάμου* as one word, with Boeckh, G. E. Benseler, Leemans, etc. The parallel forms, nom. *Μὴν Κάρου*, gen. *Μηνὸς Κάρου*, and *Μηνὸς Τιάμου*, make this impossible. Cf. Waddington-LeBas, *Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure*, no. 668. — *Τιάμου* is an indeclinable word of uncertain origin and meaning; see pp. 68 ff. — *ΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ* is, of course, not a graver's blunder¹ for *ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ*.² Examples of *-is* for and from *-ios* are frequent in Greek (and Latin) proper names on stones of the Roman era, and of *-is* for *-ius* in Roman inscriptions from the earliest date.³ In by far the larger number of examples, which have been collected by F. G. Benseler, the iota is not part of a diphthong as here, but instances are by no means wanting where *-aios* (*-aeus*) and *-eios* (*eius*) become respectively *-ais* (*-aes*) and *-eis* (*-es*). If these cases were lacking, we should either look upon *Μουσαῖς* as a graver's blunder for *Μουσαῖος* or be tempted to read *Μουσαῖς* (*Musaës*), with uncertain accent, as a trisyllabic word; but with the examples in mind, and for other reasons suggested in the notes, it seems better to regard the final syllable as diphthongal, and to treat the word as a dissyllable.⁴ The accent is

¹ Some incisions on the slab between I and Σ, which might be taken for an attempt to insert an O, are nothing more than clumsily-cut parts of Σ.

² The name *Μουσαῖος* is very common on the stones. Note from Kula, date 244 (245) A.D., a dedication from one *Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μουσαῖος* to *Μητρὶ Ἀναεῖτι*: *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII. p. 255 (*Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69). The encroachment of the Roman praenomen is significant of the later date.

³ Cf. F. G. Benseler, *Curtius Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, III. pp. 149–183; also Lobeck, *Pathol. serm. graec. Prolegomena*, pp. 500 ff.; Blass-Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griech. Sprache*, I. p. 400. This corruption is frequent in proper names in Greek, after about 50 A.D., but in Latin is much more ancient. Of the hundreds of examples collected by Benseler, the following occur where *-aios* has become *-ais* (sometimes written *-aeis*): *Αὐρ. Γάεις* (but this was probably *Γάϊς*: cf. F. D. Allen, *Harvard Studies*, II. p. 76), *Ἀθηναίς*, *Ἀθηναίς*, *Εἰρήναίς*, *Ἐστίαίς*, *Ἀρίσταίς*, *Ἄνταίς*, *Ἰταίς*, *Κήπαις*, *Σίμαίς*, *Κόρταίς*. The cases of *-eios* becoming *-eis* (*-eis*) are *Στρούθειν* (accus.), *Ἥλαις*, and perhaps *Κράτεις*, *Εὐάπεις*. Professor Ramsay has seen *ΕΡΜΑΙΣ*, gen. *-ΙΟΥ*. Add also *Ἡραῖς*, Waddington-LeBas, no. 678 (below, p. 71, no. 1). — I am not aware that *Μουσαῖος* has ever before appeared in the shortened form.

⁴ In favor of the dissyllabic pronunciation, or for *-ais* as against *-aîs*, might be adduced the fact (e.g.) that *Ἀθηναίος* becomes not only *Ἀθηναίς*, but also *Ἀθηναῖς* (cf. *Ἑρμαῖς* from *Ἑρμαίος*, etc.). The form *Ἀθηναῖς* could not have arisen from a *Ἀθηναῖς*.

less certain. There is a twofold question here: the accentuation of the longer and that of the shorter form. The vulgate and traditional accentuation of the longer form, traceable apparently to Aristarchus,¹ is *Μουσαῖος*. But there are scholars who would give such proper names, to distinguish them from adjectival forms of identical spelling, the recessive accent, and would write accordingly *Μούσαιος*. Evidently *Μουσαῖος* would become *Μουσαῖς*, and *Μούσαιος* would become *Μούσαις*. The analogy of *Ἀθηναῖος* (*Ἀθήναις*?) seems to favor *Μούσαιος* (*Μούσαις*); but the modern Greek *Βαρθολομαῖς* (from *Βαρθολομαῖος*), and the accent of *Ἀθηναῖς*, *Ἑρμαῖς*,² etc., — which could have arisen only from a *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Ἑρμαῖος* (not from *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Ἑρμαῖος*), in both of which classes of cases the accent remains on the syllable that originally carried it, — speak emphatically, and in my judgment decisively, for *Μουσαῖς*.³ — ·B· after *Musæ*s indicates that *Musæ*s is second of the name, i.e., is in the second generation⁴; thus in Waddington-LeBas, no. 656, we read δὲς

¹ A scholium on *Iliad* E 69, edited by Cramer (*Anecd. Paris.* III. p. 283) appears to contain Aristarchus's doctrine on the accentuation of *Μουσαῖος* and similar words. The matter is fully discussed by Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis homericis*,³ pp. 292 ff. Cf. also Herodian, *passim* (Lenz's index, s. *Μουσαῖος*); Ellendt, *Lex. Sophocleum*,² p. 460. — On the accent of the shorter forms of words in *-is* (from *-ios*), see Benseler, *ibid.* pp. 182 f.

² In *Ἀθηναῖς*, *Ἑρμαῖς*, and similar words, we have a reversion to the accentuation of the adjectival form, the necessity of accentual differentiation — as in *Ἀθηναῖος*, 'Athenaeus,' and *Ἀθηναῖος*, 'an Athenian' — not being felt where the spelling was different. — Indeed, though *Ἀθηναῖος* must stand, is it certain that *Ἀθήναις* is right? Ought we not to make it *Ἀθηναῖς*, on the analogy of *Ἀθηναῖς*? And similarly should we not change into perispomena several of the proper names cited in the preceding notes?

³ It would hardly be sound to argue that as correption must take place in unaccented syllables, neither of the two syllables in *-aios* would have been under the accent, and that we must accordingly write *Μούσαιος* and *Μούσαις*. In the first place, at the period of our inscription the pitch accent in Greek had not become a stress accent, and it is mainly the stress accent that works havoc with unaccented syllables; in the second place, there are many examples of correpted syllables the former element of which was once under the accent.

⁴ There are numerous instances in inscriptions of Roman date: e.g. *Διονύσιος β̄*, Waddington-LeBas, no. 617; *id.*, no. 647 ([Ἡλι]ο[δῶρ]ου β̄ τοῦ Ἡλιο[δῶρου]), where three persons named Heliodorus are mentioned; *id.*, 734, 795, Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, III. 1, 2, p. 213 (no. DLXXXVIII), etc.

Παιτιανόν, but the sign for the ordinal or adverb is more frequent. Μουσαῖς β̄ probably means 'Musæus, son of Musæus.' His own son, here referred to in τοῦ υἱοῦ, might have been designated as Μουσαῖς γ̄.¹

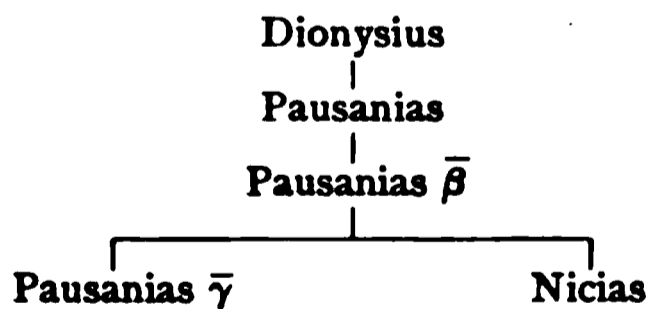
Line 3. — The H after Καλλιγένεια has been corrected from N. — σύμβιος, which is the regular form on the stones, is preferable to συμβία: there is a distance trace of O on the marble. Compare also Waddington-LeBas, no. 734 (*C.I.G.* 3872^b).

Line 4. — For Μουσαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ, see Waddington-LeBas, no. 682, from Goerdis (= Julia Gordus). There is hardly enough room for υἱοῦ. Μουσαίου γ̄ is out of the question; and for Μουσαίου τοῦ γ̄ I can find no analogy. In Waddington-LeBas, no. 703 (from Kula), father and mother unite on behalf of their τὸ πο[θειν]ὸν τέκνον.

Line 6. — δυνάμις for δυνάμεις, as in Ἀναίτι above. In a different sense the word occurs in Waddington-LeBas, no. 668 (from Kula, cited below, p. 72, no. 3). — τῶν θεῶν are the pair Artemis Anaïtis and Mên Tiamu.

Line 7. — ἔτους σπα, or 291, is probably of the era of Sulla² (85 B.C.), which seems to be the one followed in the part of Asia Minor where Artemis Anaïtis and Mên Tiamu were together worshipped; possibly, however, that of Actium is used (32 B.C., not 31 B.C.). — The word μηνὸς, 'month,' was probably indicated³ either by its

¹ An interesting inscription illustrating this usage is Waddington-LeBas, no. 743 (*C.I.G.* 3952), Νευκίαν παῖδα τῶν εἰς γεγονότων υἱὸν Πausανίου β̄ τοῦ Διονυσίου . . . ἐπιμελητῶν Πausανίου τοῦ Πausανίου γ̄. This gives the stemma:



Professor Ramsay has noted inscriptions with δ̄, and even ε̄, with a name.

² Franz established this era as beginning about B.C. 84 (*C.I.G.* III. pp. 1103 f.), the year when Sulla reorganized the province of Asia (Appian, *Mithrid.* 61). Cassiodorus (*Chron.* p. 682) confirms the testimony of Appian: *His consulibus — Cinna IV et Carbone II (= B.C. 84) — Asiam in XLIV regiones Sulla distribuit.* Cf. Waddington-LeBas, on no. 980 (Vol. III. p. 254). On the exact date of the beginning of the era see above, p. 57, note 3.

³ Μηνὸς, as M in Waddington-LeBas, no. 683; as ΝΜ, *id.* no. 679; as Μ̄, *id.* no. 702 (from Kula).

initial letter or by a monogram. — The month Δῖος, of the Macedonian calendar, early adopted by the successors of Alexander for these regions, is the first month of a year which originally began soon after the autumnal equinox. Under the Romans the year appears to have begun *ca.* August 1. Hence our inscription may be dated in August, A.D. 196 (or 249?). The relief, however, must be somewhat, if only very slightly, older; as we remarked above, it was already in stock when the inscription was cut.

III.

The provenance of the tablet may be placed with probability in the Κατακεκαυμένη district in eastern Lydia, or, in modern terms, the vicinity of Kula, a large Turkish village in Asia Minor, about eighty miles east of Smyrna.¹ This inference is based upon the fact that all of the other inscriptions known bearing the names of both Anaïtis and Mên Tiamu have been traced directly to Kula or vicinity, not to speak of the large number of stones inscribed with one or the other of these names, which with few exceptions are from this region.² If it were possible to identify the marble of this slab with that quarried between Ghieulde and Sandal³ (ancient Satala?), near Kula, this provenance would be established beyond a peradventure.

One is tempted to connect Kula with Κολόη, of which mention is made in classical writers. But apart from the consideration that the name Κολόη is given to several places in antiquity, Professor W. M. Ramsay has shown⁴ not only that Kula does not occupy the site of

¹ Interesting views of Kula are given by Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, I. pl. 50, p. 133, and by Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, Vol. II. p. 136. The volcanic cones, long extinct, that gave its character to the Catacecaumene, are prominent features of the landscape. Cf. Strabo, XIII. 4, 11, p. 628.

² See p. 57, note 1, and pp. 72, 73. ³ Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, II. p. 137.

⁴ About forty years ago Wagener saw and copied at Kula an inscription bearing the words ἡ Κολονηῶν κατοικία, and dated A.D. 101. He published it in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique, Mémoires couronnées* XXX.; it has also been published in part by Keil, *Philologus*, Suppl.-Bd. II. p. 607 ff., and, more correctly, by Tsakyroglus in the *Μουσεῖον* (1876, p. 41; read Δαισίου λ', not α'). The identification of Kula and Κολόη is based mainly upon this inscription, and is accepted by Wagener, De Witte, Waddington, Foucart, Von Diest, and others. Tsakyroglus

an ancient city,¹ but also that the name 'Kula' is a Turkish word meaning 'fortress,' with merely an accidental resemblance to Κολόη, and that it was only in comparatively late times applied to this town. There are, however, as the remains show, several ancient sites a few miles to the north, northwest, and northeast of Kula (notably Sandal), and from one of these sites our slab may well have found its way — probably through Kula — to Smyrna, and thence to the United States forty or fifty years ago, when American trade with the Levant was much brisker than it is now. For many years past marbles of various kinds have been brought in to Kula from the adjoining regions, and are thus registered by epigraphists as from Kula.

IV.

Our tablet raises a number of interesting problems, into the detailed discussion of which I will not enter, problems chiefly connected with the personality and cult of Artemis Anaïtis and of Mên Tiamu.² These very names, on a slab dedicated by Greeks and dated by a Roman date, bear witness to the composite character of the religion of eastern Lydia and western Phrygia in the second century of our era.

thinks that the Κολόη here intended must have been on the site of Sandal, a town near Kula, and that the older name of Kula was Πύργος, or Πυργία, of which 'Kula' is presumably the Turkish translation. Professor Ramsay, however, has shown that the stone in question was brought to Kula (at least forty years ago), and not from Sandal, but from Injikler, a village in the mountainous Kara Tash district, eight hours north of Kula; accordingly he would place Κολόη in these hills (*Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 123, 211, 432, 456; private letter to the writer); so also Kiepert in 1894 (*Formae, etc.*, no. 10). — Perhaps this mountain town may have been a colony from the region of the λίμνη Κολόη, near Sardis (Strabo, XIII. 4, 5, p. 625), taking thence its name. Though in inscriptions κατοικία often means 'town,' with no connotation of 'colony,' the latter sense is not always wanting; cf. also Strabo, V. 4, p. 249. — Mr. Hicks (*Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69) seems to identify Κολόη and Kula, but strangely enough puts Kula north of Lake Coloe, more than thirty miles from its true position.

¹ Arundell (*Asia Minor*, I. p. 42), visiting Kula more than sixty years ago, before the interest in inscribed stones had caused them to be carried much from place to place, remarks that there is nothing in Kula to suggest an ancient site.

² On the Anaïtis inscriptions, see above, p. 57, note 1. For a collection of the Mên Tiamu inscriptions, see pp. 71-3.

There appear to have been early worshipped¹ in these regions a pair of mighty divinities of productive nature, originally perhaps of an agrarian character, a female and a male god, the female regularly taking precedence. The former appears in literature and on inscriptions under many names,² of which *Mā* was probably the native and most ancient name, which is regularly replaced by *Μήτηρ* (with or without *θεῶν*).³ The latter was probably once a solar divinity, though subsequently he was transformed into a lunar god: he appears to have been known most anciently by the native populations as *Ma-n*, or *Maen*, though he, like the Great Mother, had also several less precise appellations.⁴ It is possible that these two names in the

¹ Professor W. M. Ramsay, than whom no one is better qualified, promises a chapter on *Mên* in his forthcoming *Local History of Asia Minor*, of which Vol. I. is now in press. To what he has already published on the subject of Anatolian religion and antiquities, in various archaeological journals and in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, I owe the germ of some of the suggestions here offered, especially concerning the preëminence of *Mên* in Asia Minor. But for the argument on which this preëminence is based he must not be held responsible.

² Some of the ancient names of the Great Mother are given by Strabo: *Οἱ δὲ Βερέκυνται, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην κατοικοῦντες Ῥέα μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτη, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Διδυμήτην καὶ Σιπυλήτην καὶ Πεσσιουριίδα καὶ Κυβέλην.* Strabo, X. 3. p. 469.

³ Stephanus Byz., s.v. *Μάσταυρα*, asserts that among the Lydians *Rhea* was known as *Mā*. Cf. also an inscription from Byzantium: *Ἄκκα Ἀπολλωνίου Μητρὶ θεῶν Μᾶ Μουζήνη κατὰ εὐχὴν εὐχαριστήρια*, cited by Foucart, *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 88.

⁴ "La religion de la Mère des Dieux avait son centre dans la Phrygie à Pessinunte. Elle paraît à l'origine avoir consisté dans les rapports des deux personnages divins, l'un féminin appelé *Mā*, d'où peut dériver le nom de *Μήτηρ*; l'autre, masculin, appelé très-anciennement *Papas*." Foucart, *ibid.* p. 88. — The evidence adduced for *Papas* as the ancient or native name of the male god is too slender to be convincing; Foucart cites an inscription of the Roman era (*C.I.G.* 3817), from northern Phrygia, which reads *Παπία Δι σωτήρι εὐχὴν καὶ Ἡρακλῆ ἀσκήτην*. Cp. also Ramsay, *Journ. Hellen. S.*, III. p. 124, V. pp. 257 ff. There is, besides, Arrian, *Frag.* 30 (*ap.* Eustath. II. E 408, p. 565: *ἀνίστατες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρέων Βιθυνοὶ δικάλουν Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄπτιν τὸν αὐτόν*), and Diodorus (III. 58. 4) cited below.

The antiquity of the name *Ma-n*, *Maen*, *Mên*, for this god is, however, well attested, as also its local use in Phrygia and Lydia. This attestation consists mainly in (1) the ancient local and legendary names *Mānes* (Herodotus, I. 94), *Mānis* (Plutarch, *Mor.* 360), perhaps also *Μήων* (from *Mā-ων*?), etc., which point

beginning were but variations (feminine and masculine) on the same stem. In due time, however, the native or popular conceptions of the divinities fell under the influence of the religious traditions and beliefs of adjacent nations, especially of such peoples as came to

to a divinity, as Homeric *Διομήδης* points to *Zeús*; (2) the vast and early prevalence of proper names in Asia Minor based on the same stem; (3) the early use of *Μηναγύρτης*, on which see p. 67, n. 1; (4) a large number of inscriptions, beginning with the fourth century B.C. and extending far into Christian times, where *Mên* is honored, in many of which the Great Mother and *Mên* are coupled as are no other two divinities; (5) numerous coin types of a similar character; (6) and, finally, references in literature, to be sure for the most part of late date, to *Mên* as the distinctive god of the Phrygians.

In Lucian, *Iup. Trag.* 42, we should probably read *Φρύγες δὲ Μηνί* [for Mss. *Μήνη*]; sc. *θεοῦτες*. Cf. *ibid.* 8.

In classical literature the divinity most commonly named, in the ancient Phrygian religion, in association with the Great Mother, was Attis, but Sabazius was also known as her son. The line, however, cannot be sharply drawn between the personalities of *Mên*, Attis, and Sabazius. I am disposed to look upon each of them as originally only different and special aspects of the same divinity, though in later times they appear now and then to have assumed in the popular imagination independent existences; thus in Wagener's relief *Mên* conducts a chariot in which Sabazius drives. (To Professor Ramsay's kindness I owe a drawing of this relief, not yet published so far as I know.) Proclus (*ad Tim.* IV. 251) distinctly tells us that *Mên* was addressed as Sabazius in the most solemn ceremonials of the latter god; and on inscriptions (very late Roman) we find dedications to Attis Menotyrannus, where the identification is complete (Orelli-Henzen, *Inscriptionum . . . Collectio*, nos. 1900, 1901, 2264, 2353). On certain coins Attis is represented with all the attributes of *Mên* (and *vice versa*); e.g., coins of Pessinus, of Roman date; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 630; Guignault-Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, II. 3, p. 951. On the imperial coins of the Carian Antioch we have in succession the head of *Mên*; Attis standing; the god *ΣΩΙΩΝ*, a male figure holding a branch (the equivalent of Sabazius). Of course this does not prove identification, but it points to it. At the same time, one must be careful not to urge what may be examples of very late conscious syncretism as evidence for an original identity.

In the solar characteristics of Sabazius I see a survival of the more ancient conception of the god, which through contact with Greeks and by the singular etymological perversion suggested above, was radically changed. — The epithet *μεσάνβριος*, as applied to *Mên* (Sterrett, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, II. no. 64, p. 94), should not be pressed in support of this view.

Full of suggestion is Diodorus III. 58. 4: *οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι μυθολογοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας Μήονα· γήμαντα δὲ Δινδύμην γεννήσαι μὲν*

reside among the primitive inhabitants: thus the female divinity now received, among other names, from the Persian colonists in Central and Upper Lydia, as from Persian rulers of a later date, that of the great Persian divinity Anahita.¹ The Greeks, however, of the region thought of her sometimes as Artemis. Hence in later times, when devout persons of Greek descent residing in the Catacecaumene would worship the Great Goddess, they would often address her as Artemis Anaïtis.²

The name and character of the male god also underwent serious modification. The name Maen, early becoming Hellenized into the form Μήν, was by popular etymology connected with μήν, μήνη, 'month,' 'moon,' and then fancy transformed a god who may have had solar attributes into a lunar divinity,³ and gave him, as appears in late art,⁴ appropriate symbols (the crescent behind the shoulders over against the radiating solar disk that characterized his double, Sabazius). In this new relation he gained wide popularity, and his cult spread into regions that previously had not known the Phrygian god.⁵ His vast significance is attested in many ways,

παιδίον θήλυ . . . Κυβέλην [who was in due time loved by a youth] τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν, ὕστερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν. Confused as all this is — the baldest kind of popular euhemerism, possibly the very doctrine of Euhemerus himself, who was one of the sources of Diodorus — is there not underlying *Μήνορα* a reference to Mên, if the word itself be not a blunder for *Μήνα*?

¹ The towns slightly northward of Kula, which lay on the direct line of the ancient royal road to Persia, were a great seat of the Artemis-Anaïtis-Mêtêr worship. Cf. Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, pp. 30, 131; *Journ. Hellen. S.*, IV. p. 385, III. p. 55. — Into the questions either of a possible ultimate Babylonian origin for Anaïtis, or of Semitic admixtures in her cult at various places, I do not enter. For the literature, cf. Cumont, *Wissowa-Pauly*, I. p. 2020.

² From the many passages I select only Pausanias III. 17, where we are told that the Lydians have the oldest statue of Artemis, worshipped by them, however, as Anaïtis. At Philadelphia, and in Maeonia, she was known as Μήτηρ Ἀνάειτις, *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, VIII. p. 376; below, p. 72, no. 6; above, p. 57, no. 13.

³ This etymological conception led the Romans of the Empire sometimes to translate Mên by Lunus (Spartianus, *Vit. Carac.* 6, 7; cp. Chwolson, *Ssabier*, I. pp. 399 ff.). But on some Latin inscriptions, cited above, p. 65, the stem Mên is still used.

⁴ See Waddington-LeBas, *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 132, no. 2, and below, p. 72.

⁵ A glance into the index of Head's *Historia Numorum* (s. Mên), gives one a good idea of the geographical range of the cult of the god, from Istrus and

some of which have been hinted at in a former note (p. 64, n. 4), but there are one or two aspects of his worship that are of special interest to the classical scholar. If our examination of the evidence is trustworthy, we must believe that, as far back as the earlier years of the fourth century B.C., the priest of Mên was a familiar figure in the streets of Athens, and had vividly impressed himself upon the popular imagination.¹

Panticapaeum on the western and northern shores of the Euxine to Laodiceia ad Libanum in Syria. — The prevalence of this cult in Thrace and in Thracian colonies is noteworthy as one of the many signs of the close connection between Thrace and Phrygia. Cf. Strabo, X. 3, 16, p. 471. On many Thracian coins and reliefs the god is represented on horseback, but he is similarly figured elsewhere.

¹ The oldest inscription known to me relating to Mên is that published by Foucart, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, IV. p. 129 (Διονύσιος καὶ Βαβύλια τῷ Μηνί τὸ ἱερὸν ἀρέθασαν). It is from the Peiraeus, and is dated, epigraphically, the second half of the fourth century B.C. — Apart from the names of persons, the earliest form in which the word occurs in literature is in *Μηναγύρτης*. This word is a title of a comedy by Menander, fl. 320 B.C. (Athen. XI. 472 B), and perhaps also of one by Antiphanes (so Bekk. *Anecd.* 88, 18; but Athen. XII. 553 C reads *Μητραγύρτης*; cf. Kock, *C.A.F.* II. p. 74). From the presence of the related word *Μητραγύρτης* (applied, for example, by Iphicrates to Callias: Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 2, 10) likewise occurring as the title of plays, the emendation of *Μηναγύρτης* to *Μητραγύρτης*, wherever in the manuscripts the former word is found, has often been proposed. But the word is guaranteed against such treatment by Hesychius's ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς συνάγων [which I would emend to ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηνὸς συνάγων, though ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μηνί is also possible; cf. Eustathius, *Odyss.* p. 1824, *μητραγυρτεῖν*· τὸ . . . μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ τινων τοιοῦτων περιμέναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Μητρὶ ἀγείρειν τροφάς, . . . ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ρέφ]. But for Eustathius one would be tempted to supply *θιάσους* with *συνάγων*, comparing Dem. *F.L.* 281. The explanation of Suidas whereby ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς means 'monthly,' is clearly a darkening of counsel, and Meineke's suggestion that the first element in *μηναγύρτης* is *Μήνη*, 'the moon-goddess,' can hardly gain acceptance. Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* II. p. 20, Potter; Dionysius Halic. *Ant.* II. 19, and Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* II. 8. — The deportment of these ἀγύρται in public is described not only by Antiphanes in the fragment already cited, but also by many other writers, e.g., Plato, *Resp.* II. 364 B; Apuleius, *Metam.* 8. Cf. Foucart, *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, pp. 160 ff. The word ἀγύρτης, Latin *Ariolus*, in turn gave its name to a comedy by Philemon in Greek, and to one in Latin by Naevius. — The existence of these two words side by side, *Μητραγύρτης* and *Μηναγύρτης*, in the popular speech of the Athenians in the fourth and third century B.C., is quite intelligible, if we regard them as calling up the two characteristic divinities of Phrygia in their itinerant and beggar priests, — the Great Mother and Mên. The strange Phrygian religion

The exact signification of the epithet *Τιάμον* it is perhaps impossible to establish. Waddington, in his well-known note on *Mên* (Waddington-LeBas, no. 668), approves the suggestion that would connect the word with some Lydian root, comparing other words of similar termination (e.g., *Πρίαμος*, *Τεύταμος*, *Πέργαμος*). But is it hazardous to see in this word a local form of the great Babylonian (Semitic) divinity *Tiāmat*¹ (*Tiam-tu*, *Tham-te*; cf. Hebrew *t'hôm*),

early impressed the imagination of the European Greeks: the erection of the *Metroum* in Athens in the fifth century, in expiation of the murder of a *metragyrtes* (Suid., *s.v.*), was a national recognition of its power; but yet deeper was the hold it took on the lower orders of society and on restless spirits, on the one hand giving rise to the formation of orgiastic thiasi, with their fanatical excesses, and, on the other, suggesting taking topics to the comic poets and to orators who often delighted in expressing themselves in broad comedy. Cf. Strabo, X. 19, p. 471, *πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο* [the Athenians], *ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμωδήθησαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια*. The drastic passage in Demosthenes (*Cor.* 260) describes in caricature a thiasus in honor both of the *Μήτηρ θεῶν* and her companion male divinity; the Scholiast distinctly informs us that the *εὐστράβοι* refers to [Mên] Sabazius; though the *ύῆς ἀττης* immediately following properly refers to Attis, it here probably more specially connotes the Mother, and thus Strabo is right in saying that this scene contains *Σαβάζια καὶ Μητρῶα* (X. 3, 18, p. 471). As the mother of Aeschines, a priestess and *τυμπανίστρια* (*Dem. Cor.* 284), is here figured as a female *Μητραγύρτης*, we may safely infer that Demosthenes would represent Aeschines himself as a *Μητραγύρτης*, though of course in this tumultuous picture no attempt is made to keep the colors distinct.

¹ On the Babylonian Creation Tablets the name of this being appears as *Tiāmat*. In Hebrew the form becomes *t'hôm*, usually rendered 'waters, deep, depths.' In Berosus, as corrected by Robertson Smith, the form *Θάμτε* occurs, with *θάλασσα* as the Greek translation; Damascius, however, gives *Ταῦθε* — the transliteration of the same form in its variant *Tiavat*. *Tiāmat*, fem., is the "construct" of *Tiamtu* (*Tiamatu*). Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., to whose kindness I owe some of the references to the literature of *Tiamat*, given below, writes me: "As for the mythological conceptions associated with the Hebrew *t'hôm*, it is noticeable that it is never found in combination with the article, which is itself an indication that the consciousness of its being, or having been, a *nomen proprium* never died out. Again, such passages as Ezekiel xxxi. 15, Psalms xxxiii. 7, civ. 6, Proverbs iii. 20, and others, prove that the Hebrews connected with the word views of a different order from the ordinary sense of 'waters.' In the passages quoted *t'hôm* is the subterranean ocean that nourishes fountains and springs. It seems to me therefore that your identification receives added force from the mythological conceptions once connected with the Hebrew form, which warrant one in assuming a larger circle for the *Tiamat* conception than Babylonia. We may therefore expect some day to

demon of the subterranean waters (καταχθόνιος)? Now it is well known that epithets of Semitic origin are actually applied here and there in Western Asia Minor to divinities locally worshipped under Greek names; and that as a rule each of these is the equivalent of some more familiar Greek word.¹ Accordingly I would suggest that, in this inscription, Mên Tiamu is only another form of Μην καταχθόνιος. Chthonic divinities are for the most part associated with fountains, i.e., with subterranean waters, and in especial with healing springs: the conception underlying the word Tiāmat and its cognates is that of the vast world and underworld of waters, or of unorganized nature conceived as a watery abyss. As in Artemis Anaïtis, Greek and Persian names—the latter colored by Semitic myth—had been used to give a proper shading or depth to the native conception of the Great Mother, what is more probable than that a name distinctly Semitic might have been used in designation of the male divinity, especially when viewed in an aspect permanently characteristic of the Semitic god? If we are right in our explanation of the occasion of the dedication of the relief,—the commemoration of the might of Artemis and Mên in bringing back a sick child from the confines of the lower world, or in suffering it

find T^ehām (= Greek Τιὰμ-) in a North Syrian inscription as the connecting link between the Babylonian and the Greek form.”

The fact that in the literary documents Tiamat is made a female divinity is not a fatal objection to our identification. As the personification and presiding genius of as yet unorganized nature, ruling over beings with bisexual characters, this divinity might originally have been conceived as without sex. In fact, on the monuments Tiamat is often represented with the attributes of a male being.

On the forms of the word Tiamat, see E. Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (Eng. Transl.), I. pp. 6 ff.: cf. also Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 268, 269, and Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 237. In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, VI. 1891, pp. 291 ff., Dr. W. H. Ward discusses Tiamat in Babylonian art.—Cf. also Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 16 ff., 401 ff.

¹ Examples are [Μην] Καμαπετρης, on imperial coins from Nysa in Lydia, where the epithet is connected with Semitic (Arabic) Qamar, ‘the moon’ (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 552), and [Ζεὺς] ΑΣΣΙC, on coins of Laodiceia ad Lycum in Phrygia, where Waddington and Longpérier, as Professor Ramsay reminds me, see in the epithet (= ἰψιωτος) a Semitic stem, viz. that in the Arabic ‘aziz, ‘powerful’: Head, *ib.* p. 566.

to return, — it must have been Mên of the lower world that was here addressed.¹ And, as already intimated, in the polyglot terminology² of the period of the Mên Tiamu inscriptions, and in the Catacecau-

¹ Most of the large number of epithets applied to Mên, — some of which are still unintelligible, — are geographical in character (Waddington-LeBas, no. 668). Among such as are not geographical may be cited *τύραννος, πατριος θεος, μεσανβριος, φωσφόρος, δσιος (?)*, *καταχθόνιος*.

² Professor G. F. Moore has called my attention to a curious bilingual inscription from Palmyra, which contains a name suggestive of Tiamu. He writes: "In Vogüé, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, no. 3 (cf. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. G.* XXXI. 100), Mordtmann restored מִתִּימִי [ג], Gad Thaimi. The Greek runs *κατ' ἔτος ἀναθέματα [Μαλα]χβήλω καὶ Τύχη Θαιμεῖος καὶ [Ἄτερ]γάτει*. Gad Thaimi also occurs on a seal from Palmyra (Mordtmann, *l.c.*). An Old Testament scholar is reminded of Isaiah lxv. 11, where we read of lectisternia to Gad and *Meni*. (The latter name is guaranteed against Lagarde's conjecture נַנְנָא = Nanaea, by the play on the name in מִתִּימִי at the beginning of the next verse.) Evidently *Meni*, though not elsewhere found, was a Semitic (Aramaean) god of fortune, and by the side of Gad Thaimi, a *Μηνι Τιάμου* might not seem inconceivable. We should, to be sure, not be much better off, for Thaimi is almost as obscure as *Τιάμου*. Nöldeke interpreted, 'the *Τύχη* of Thaimi'; Mordtmann at first, 'the *Τύχη* of the Thaimites'; afterwards he felt constrained by a series of proper names to take Thaimi as the name of a divinity (*ib.* XXXIX. 45 n.). But the Greek *Θαιμεῖος* is quite regular, and seems to preclude a combination with *Τιάμου*. Mordtmann (*ib.* 44) combines, curiously at least, the *Meni* of Isaiah lxv. 11 with . . . *Menisque magister* on an altar from Vaison in Provence (Orelli-Henzen, no. 5862 [unless *Menis* be a mistake for *mentis*, possibly *Menis magister* = *Menotyrannus* = *Μην Τύραννος*? read *gaudebunt*? J. H. W.]):

Belus Fortunae rector Menisque magister
ara gaudebit quam dedit et voluit.

The corresponding Greek inscription is :

Εὐθυνητῆρι τύχης Βήλω Σεῦστος θέτο βωμόν
τῶν ἐν Ἀπαμεία μνησάμενος λογίων."

Though no one would venture to make Semitic *Meni* and Phrygian *Mên* identical in origin and nature, the resemblance between these two names would at least make easy, in regions where the two gods were known, the ascription to the latter of Semitic characters and epithets.

Perhaps an evidence of the fusion of Aramaean *Meni* and Phrygian *Mên*, at least in America in Northern Asia Minor, may be seen in the language of Strabo XII. 3. 31, p. 557, where the implication is that, in the oath of the kings of Pontus, *Μην Φαρνάκου* and *τύχη βασιλέως* are identical in meaning. *Φαρνάκου*, though possibly originally referring to a divinity, must here be used as a generic name for

mene, Μῆν καταχθόνιος might well have been sometimes known and worshipped as Μῆν Τιάμου.¹

'king' (cf. Kaiser from Caesar): hence Μῆν and Τύχη were felt to be the same. But this could be only because Meni, the Aramaean god, who was the god of fortune, or Τύχη, had become identified in the popular mind with Mên, whose encroachments subsequently almost completely obliterate Meni as an independent divinity.— Other instances of the association of Τύχη and Mên appear on the coins of Antioch Pisidiae (Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII. p. 102, no. 81; Stephani, *Comptes Rendus*, 1861, p. 83), and of Laodiceia ad Libanum (Eckhel, III. pp. 366 ff.; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 663).

¹ The identification of Tiamu with Tiamat (Tham-te) appears to be asserted by a writer of the first century B.C., who was very familiar with Phrygian religious beliefs and customs,— Alexander Polyhistor. In a passage preserved to us in Syncellus, p. 52 (cf. Schöne, *Euseb. Chron.* I. 16), Polyhistor, quoting from Berossus, and interpolating explanatory remarks, informs his readers that according to Babylonian legends the demon of watery abyss, who was slain by Bel[-Marduk; ὁμόρωκα = ὁ Μορδόκα], was called in Chaldean Θάμτε, which [he tells us] in Greek translation is θάλασσα, and is equivalent to the moon [perhaps, 'according to the Phrygians is the moon']. This last sentence becomes at once intelligible, if we assume that he was thinking of Μῆν = Τιάμου as he wrote:— Σελήνη: Μῆν (Μήνη) = Τιάμου: Θάμτε. Cf. *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 1894-5, Philadelphia meeting, no. 22; also *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, X. 1 (1895), my note on "Homoroka a Corruption of Marduk."

NOTE.— Mên Tiamu Inscriptions.

Below are collected all the inscriptions known to me that contain the name of Mên Tiamu. There seem to be no coin types with the legend ΜΗΝ ΤΙΑΜΟΥ.— The Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς at Smyrna, in which nos. 6 and 7 were first published, is designated by Μουσείων. Facsimiles of nos. 1, 2, 3, and 8 are given by Waddington-Le Bas; of nos. 5 and 6, by Leemans; of no. 4, in our PLATE II, opp. p. 55.— For the literature of the Anaïtis inscriptions, see above, p. 57, note 1.

1. Ἔτους?] σμη(?) ἀνέθηκαν . . . καὶ Μηνὸς Τιάμου καὶ Μηνὸς Πετραίτου τὸ [ἀγαλ]μα τοῦ Διονύσου· Ἰουλιανός, Δάμας, Εὐσχήμων, Ἀφίον Ἀφίω[ν]ος, Πόπλιος, Σέκουδος, Πρωτόκτητος, Ἐρμοκράτ[ης], Μητρόδωρος, Δάμας, Ἀφίας, Ἐρμογένης, Δάμα[ς, Μη]ρόφιλος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἡραῖς, Ἐρμοκράτης, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἡ[γεμ]ών, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀμμων, Τρόφων, Μελίτη, Ἐρμο[γέ]νης, Νεικόμαχος, Πέλα, Μάρκος, Τύχη, Ἀπέλλας, [Ἀλέ]ξανδρος, Μελίτη, Σώστρατος, Νεικίας, Ἰουλία.— From Goerdis (Julia Gordus). Dated A.D. 163 (164)? Waddington-LeBas, no. 678. Supply, after ἀνέθηκαν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγήν, or words to the same effect (?).

2. Ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κοίρου τυράννου Διὸς Μασφαλατηνοῦ, καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου εὐχὴν · Ἰουλιανὸς Μενεκράτου, Μενεκράτης Διοδώρου, Διονόσιος Παπίου, Ἑρμογένης Ἑρμίππου, Δούκιος Ὀνησίμου, Διογένης Γλύκωνος, Διογένης Μαξίμου, Τρόφιμος Ἑρμίππου, Ἀπολλώνιος (Ἀπολλωνίου), Θεόδωρος (Θεοδώρου), Μαρκιανὸς (Μαρκιανοῦ), Μένανδρος Ἑρμογένου, Ἑρμογένης Τατιανοῦ, Μητροδωρος Εὐελπίστου, Ἀσκληπιάδης Μακριανοῦ, Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονουσίου, Ἑρμογένης Τροφίμου, [Ζ]άβηλος Ἑρμογένου. Ἐπιμελησαμένων Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Ἑρμογένου, ἔτους $\overline{\sigma\nu\varsigma}$, μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρου. — From Menneh, near Kula. Dated A.D. 171 (172). Stele representing Zeus aetophorus and Mên standing erect, with tunic, chlamys, and Phrygian cap, crescent behind his shoulders, a pine-cone (?) in his left hand, spear in his right hand, his left foot on the head of a bull that lies on the ground. Waddington-LeBas, no. 667: *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 136, no. 2. C.I.G. 3438 (Boeckh).

3. Κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν ἱερὸς δούμος εὐχὴν Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῷ καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου καὶ Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν θ̄. εἰ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσει ἀναγνώσεται τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Διὸς. ἐπιμελησαμένου Διονουσίου Διοδώρου καὶ Ἑρμογένης Βαλερίου. ἔτους $\overline{\sigma\nu\zeta}$, μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρου. — From Kula. Dated A.D. 172 (173). Stele with relief representing two busts, one with radiated head, the other with a crescent behind the shoulders. Waddington-LeBas, no. 668: *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 136, no. 1; C.I.G. 3439 (Boeckh).

4. Our inscription; see PLATE II, and pp. 56 ff. Dated A.D. 196.

5. Θεῶ Ἀναίτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου Μελτίνῃ καὶ Γλύκων ἀπέδωκαν τὸ ἱεροποίημα εὐχαριστοῦντες. ἔτους $\overline{\tau}$, μ(ηνὸς) Ξανδικοῦ. — From Kula. Dated A.D. 215 (216). Marble stele: woman draped, with right hand raised in adoration. Leemans, *Verh. d. k. Amsterdam Akad.* XVII. 1886 (1888), no. III; Contoleon, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII. 1887, p. 255; E. L. Hicks, *Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69. This inscription has ΕΤΟΤΣ · $\overline{\tau\mu}$ · ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΤ. Perhaps we should read ἔτους $\overline{\tau\mu}$ · μ(ηνὸς) Ξανδικοῦ = A.D. 255 (256), on the supposition that the sign for μ(ηνὸς) has been omitted. — Leemans's Μινιτιάμου is a misreading of ΜΗΝΙΤΙΑΜΟΤ. Cf. above, p. 58; also p. 59.

6. Θεῶ Ἀναίτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου Τύχη καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀμμανοῦ καὶ Τρόφιμος οἱ Ἀμμίου καὶ Φιλήτη καὶ Σωκράτια αἱ Ἀμμαδος ποήσαντες τὸ ἱεροποίημα εἰλασάμενυ Μητέραυ Ἀνάειτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἐνγραφον ἔστησαν. ἔτους $\overline{\tau\kappa\alpha}$, μ(ηνὸς) Ξανδικοῦ. — From near Kula. Dated A.D. 236 (237). Relief representing two breasts, two legs, and two eyes. Tsakyroglus in *Μουσεῖον*, V. 1884-5, p. 54 (Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1886, p. 155); Leemans, *ib.* no. IV.

7. Ἀρτέμδι Ἀναίτι καὶ [Μ]ηνὶ Τιάμου Μελτίνῃ [ὑπ]ὲρ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας [τῶν] ποδῶν εὐχὴν [ἀνέσ]τησεν. — From Kula. Not dated; perhaps about 220 A.D. With relief representing two feet. *Μουσεῖον*, 1880, p. 127 (P. Foucart in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, IV. p. 128).

Perhaps we should add, at least for comparison:

8. Δούκις Μάρκος κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας Διὶ Τιμαίῳ ἀνέστησεν, ἔτους $\overline{\sigma\zeta\alpha}$, μ(ηνὸς) Ἀρτεμισί[ου]. — From Menneh (near Kula). Dated 177 A.D. Waddington-LeBas, no. 669. If we regard the Διὶ Τιμαίῳ as an attempt to render Μὴν Τιάμου into Greek words more intelligible to a Roman, the inscription

might be grouped with those relating to Μην Τιάμου. Of course, Τιμαλω is not a translation of Τιάμου, though it may here be a popular etymology for it. The phrase κατ' ἐπιταγήν is very common in the Mên inscriptions. Cf. Ζεὺς Σαβάζιος in Wagener's inscription, cited above, p. 62, note 4: Foucart, *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 71.

In Waddington-LeBas, no. 675 (from Kula, without date), I suggest Μ[ηρι] δσλω for Waddington's δσθήψ. (Cf. *ib.* no. 1670, [θ]εψ̄ δσλω καὶ δικαλω.) The names of the dedicators of this slab, Manes and Banes, are noteworthy.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE preceding pages were put into type in August, 1894, and went to the printer to be electrotyped in May, 1895. Hence it has been impossible, in the revision of the sheets, for me to make use of Professor Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Vol. I, *Lycos Valley*), the work referred to as in press on page 64 above, and issued only a few months ago. When Professor Ramsay was in the United States, in the autumn of 1894, he was good enough to glance over the first proof-sheets, and made many useful suggestions; hence his remarks, on p. 340, on my identification of Tiamu, and his criticism of the same. I trust that in its present more matured form my argument may commend itself to him.

In the *Lycos Valley* many topics, here only briefly adverted to, are fully and luminously discussed, with much fresh evidence: e.g., the ancient religion and divinities of Asia Minor, pp. 7 ff., 87, 105, 132 ff., 145, 169 ff., 262 ff., 271, 273, 292 ff.; Sabazius, Sozon, etc., pp. 140, 262 ff., 293 ff.; the Sullan era, pp. 201 ff. (which Professor Ramsay would now begin August 1, 85 B.C., and not July 1), etc., etc. Professor Ramsay emphasizes the difference between the earliest religious stratum in Asia Minor, based upon a matriarchal social system, and that introduced by the conquering Phrygians, probably immigrant from Europe, where the male element is dominant. It should be borne in mind that in this article the word 'Phrygian' has not been used in an ethnographical but only in a geographical sense, to designate not alone the oldest inhabitants but also the same as they

appear in history amalgamated with the Phrygians proper, and dominating in no small measure the religion and mythology of their conquerors.

While a few minor statements would have been modified and many important references to authorities, literary and epigraphic, would have been added had the *Lycos Valley* reached me in season, on the whole the main contentions of this article remain unaffected by it. Professor Ramsay, on p. 132, says: "These facts prove that the name Attes belongs to an older status of religious history than Men, . . . and history confirms the inference that Kybele and Attes were the ancient Phrygian names for the Mother and the Son." Certainly Attes is a more ancient word than $M\eta\nu$ in the Grecised form, though not necessarily more ancient than Maen (see above, p. 64; also *Lycos Valley*, p. 169). In spite of the testimony of Arnobius V, 6, to the effect that Attis is connected with Attagus, the Phrygian word meaning 'goat,' cited by Professor Ramsay p. 350, there seems much in favor of the view of Eduard Meyer that the name and myth of Attis is a Semitic importation, detachable from the circle of myths relating to the Mother, and hence later than the original native religion; see *Geschichte des Alterthums*, I, p. 308.

December, 1895.

THE DATE OF LYCOPHRON.

BY WILLIAM N. BATES.

THE date of the poet Lycophron has never been satisfactorily settled. Writers on the history of Greek literature have been much at variance as to the period in which he lived. Some have thought that he flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), others in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (247–221 B.C.), others again have been satisfied with saying that he flourished about the middle of the third century. The reason for this divergence of opinion is apparent as soon as one looks at the evidence upon which our knowledge of Lycophron rests. The writers who make him flourish in the time of Philadelphus, base their statement upon the scraps of information which the scholiasts and lexicographers have handed down about him ; while those who make him flourish in the time of Euergetes throw aside the testimony of the scholiasts and rely upon a passage in the *Alexandra* to show that he flourished at this later date. The passage in question (lines 1226–1280) is a prediction of the coming greatness of Rome, and these writers argue in a seemingly plausible manner that Lycophron could not well have written such a passage before the first Punic war.¹ The other writers, who say that he flourished about the middle of the third century, are simply trying to reconcile these conflicting statements.

This was the state of the case when in 1883 Wilamowitz undertook to settle the date of the composition of the *Alexandra*. He showed that the latest event mentioned in the poem is the murder of Heracles, the seventeen-year-old son of Alexander the Great, in

¹ Lines 1446–1450 were also appealed to as evidence, in spite of their enigmatical character. For a possible explanation of the references in these lines, see Wilamowitz, *De Lycoph. Alex.*, p. 8 f.

the year 309.¹ The part which Cassander had in this murder and in the previous murders of Olympias, Alexander's mother, and of Roxana and her child is nowhere alluded to. Wilamowitz argued from this that the *Alexandra* was written while Cassander or his sons were in power, that is between 309 and 287. He showed furthermore that Lycophron had part of Timaeus' history before him when he wrote the *Alexandra*, and Timaeus did not begin his work until 310. Hence he argued that it is more likely that the *Alexandra* was written between 300 and 290 than between 309 and 300. Wilamowitz also showed that the *Alexandra* was imitated by Dosiades in his *Βωμός* and hence was written before that poem, which he supposed to have been composed between 285 and 270. Susemihl in his *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*² shows that the *Altar* of Dosiades was probably written about 292-290 and hence the *Alexandra*, which preceded it, was probably written about the year 295. Susemihl argues furthermore that the *Alexandra* is the work of a young man, and assuming that Lycophron was thirty or thirty-five years old when he wrote it, he concludes that he must have been born between 330 and 325.

Such is the present state of our knowledge as to the date of Lycophron. The most important point which has been gained is the fact that the *Alexandra* was written about 295. With this point settled, the passage in the *Alexandra* relating to Rome can have no bearing on the date of the poet and may consequently be disregarded.

Additional evidence, however, can be presented which will establish with much more accuracy the date of the poet.

The general period in which Lycophron lived is stated clearly by Tzetzes in his life of Lycophron,³ where he mentions him as the contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This statement is repeated in an ancient scholium on line 1226 of the *Alexandra*,⁴ and is inferred also from the statement of an anonymous writer on comedy published

¹ Line 801.

² Vol. I. p. 274, n. 28.

³ Tzetz. in Lycophr., ed. Müller, Vol. I. p. 263 f.

⁴ *Lycoph.*, ed. Kinkel, p. 179.

by Cramer,¹ and from a fragment of Tzetzes published by Ritschl.² But we have more precise information than this. Tzetzes in the fragment just mentioned informs us that Alexander the Aetolian, Lycophron of Chalcis, and Zenodotus of Ephesus were hired by Ptolemy Philadelphus at the royal expense, the first to arrange the tragedies, Lycophron the comedies, and Zenodotus the Homeric poems and the works of other poets which had been collected at Alexandria.³ This statement is repeated in substantially the same form in the anonymous writer on comedy and in the scholium Plautinum.⁴ These passages make it clear that the books which Lycophron, Alexander and Zenodotus were employed to put in order were those which Philadelphus and his father had collected and which formed the beginning of the Alexandrian library. This collecting of books had been going on for some years, and authorities agree that the books were brought together as a library at the very beginning of the reign of Philadelphus, that is between the years 285 and 283, when Philadelphus was king and Ptolemy Soter and Demetrius of Phalerum were still alive. The work of arranging the books must have been done before the library could be of use to any one. That is to say, this work must have been begun by 283 at latest. Moreover, as Tzetzes informs us that Philadelphus hired the men at royal expense, he must have done so after 285, when he became king. Consequently Zenodotus, Lycophron and Alexander must have begun their work of arranging the books during the years 285–283, or perhaps during the year 285–284.

This conclusion accepted, we have a definite point to start from in determining the date of Lycophron, for the dates of his two associates in the work can be estimated with some degree of exactness, and we should not expect Lycophron's age to differ greatly from the ages of the other two. Zenodotus held the most important position

¹ *Anecd. Paris.*, Vol. I. p. 6. Perhaps this is to be ascribed to Tzetzes.

² *Orusc.*, Vol. I. p. 206. See also p. 199.

³ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς καὶ Λυκόφρων ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ Πτολεμαίῳ συνωνηθέντες βασιλικῶς, ὁ μὲν τὰς τῆς τραγῳδίας, Λυκόφρων δὲ τὰς τῆς κωμῳδίας βίβλους διώρθωσαν, Ζηνόδοτος δὲ τὰς Ὀμηρείους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ποιητῶν κτλ.

⁴ Ritschl, *Orusc.*, Vol. I. p. 5.

of the three; he had charge of all except the dramatic poetry, and was afterwards librarian. We should naturally expect him therefore to be older than Lycophron and Alexander. Now Zenodotus according to Couat¹ was born between 324 and 320, and Alexander² about 320; Susemihl³ gives the dates as about 325 and 315 respectively. Consequently if Lycophron was younger than Zenodotus, he must have been born after 325, but on the other hand, as he wrote the *Alexandra* about 295, he can hardly have been born as late as 315. His birth-year was probably not far from 320.

This date is in a measure confirmed by an additional fact which has been handed down about Lycophron, namely that he was a member of the Alexandrian Pleiad. This Pleiad, as we are informed in a scholium to Hephæstion,⁴ consisted of seven tragic poets who all flourished at the same time in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Their names are given by several authorities, but with some variation. Lycophron is named as a member by all the authorities, and there is sufficient evidence for determining the other six members with considerable certainty.⁵ About the dates of two of the mem-

¹ *Histoire de la Poésie Alexandrine sous les trois premiers Ptolémées*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³ *Geschichte der Gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, Vol. I. pp. 188, 330.

⁴ Vol. I. p. 199, ed. Gaisford.

⁵ The lists are as follows :

Schol. Heph. I. p. 57, 10.	Schol. Heph. I. p. 199.	Schol. Heph. I. p. 199, codex S.	Suidas.	Tzetzes.
Homerus	Homerus	Homerus	Homerus	Theocritus
Sositheus	Sositheus	Sositheus	Sositheus	Aratus
Lycophron	Lycophron	Lycophron	Lycophron	Nicander
Alexander	Alexander	Alexander	Alexander	Aeantides
Philiscus	Aeantides	Dionysiades	Philiscus	Philiscus
Dionysiades	Sosiphanes	Euphronius	Sosiphanes	Homerus
Aeantides	Philiscus	Philiscus	Dionysiades	Lycophron

It is noticed that all five authorities agree on Homer, Lycophron, and Philiscus; four agree about the names of Alexander and Sositheus, and Alexander is still further confirmed by Eudocia, *Viol.*, p. 62. Dionysiades is named in three of the lists, and likewise has the testimony of Strabo, p. 675 (Meineke, p. 941, § 15). This makes six of the members of the Pleiad about whom there can be no doubt. About the seventh member, however, authorities disagree. Aeantides has three authorities in his favor; Sosiphanes, two; while Euphronius, Theocritus, Aratus,

bers, namely of Aeantides and Dionysiades, nothing definite is known; but the other four (*i.e.* omitting Lycophron) can all be shown to have flourished in the 124th olympiad, that is 285–281 B.C.¹ I have already shown that Lycophron was engaged in work in the Alexandrian library in the year 285–284. How long he was occu-

and Nicander have each one. The last three authors, however, were not tragic poets, and their names may consequently be disregarded. Likewise Euphronius; for the only ground for believing that he wrote tragedy is the finding of his name in the scholium mentioned above. In favor of Sosiphanes we have the statements of Suidas and one of the scholia to Hephaestion. But Suidas tells us (*s.v.* Σωσιφάνης) that this poet lived in the time of Philip of Macedon or of Alexander the Great, and furthermore that he died either in the 111th or 114th olympiad. In other words, Sosiphanes died about forty years before the other members of the Pleiad are said to have flourished. Consequently Sosiphanes cannot have been a member of the Pleiad, and the seventh member must therefore have been Aeantides, who has the evidence of three passages in his favor. We must conclude, therefore, that the tragic Pleiad consisted of the following seven writers: Homer, Lycophron, Philiscus, Alexander, Sositheus, Dionysiades, and Aeantides, which is the list of members given by the scholium to Hephaestion, Vol. I. p. 57, 10.

¹ For Homer, see Suidas, *s.v.* Ὅμηρος: Ὅμηρος γραμματικὸς καὶ τραγωδιῶν ποιητής, διὸ συνηριθμήθη τοῖς ἑπτὰ οἱ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν τραγικῶν ἔχουσι καὶ ἐκλήθησαν τῆς Πλειάδος. ἤκμαζεν ὀλυμπιάδι ρκδ'. Of Sositheus, Suidas says, *s.v.* Σωσίθεος: Σωσίθεος . . . τῶν τῆς Πλειάδος εἰς ἀνταγωνιστῆς Ὁμήρου τοῦ τραγικοῦ . . . ἀκμάσας κατὰ τὴν ρκδ' ὀλυμπιάδα. Alexander Aetolus, as has been said, seems to have been born about 320–315, and in the year 285–284 to have been engaged in arranging the tragedies for the Alexandrian library. In 276 he was with Aratus and Antagoras of Rhodes at the court of Antigonus Gonatas, where he stood in high favor (see Vita I. of Aratus in Westermann, *Biog.*, p. 54, and *cf.* Droysen, *Hell.*, Vol. III. p. 197). Thus we can safely say that Alexander flourished as one of the Pleiad at the end of the 124th olympiad. Philiscus, the fourth member whose date we can fix, is described by Suidas (*s.v.* Φιλίσκος) as τραγικὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου Πτολεμαίου γεγονώς . . . ἔστι δὲ τῆς δευτέρας τάξεως τῶν τραγικῶν οἵτινες εἰσι ζ' καὶ ἐκλήθησαν Πλειάς, κτλ.; and Callixenus, quoted by Athenaeus (V. p. 198 c), says, in describing as an eye-witness the great procession which took place when Philadelphus was crowned king in 285: . . . μεθ' οὗς ἐπορεύετο Φιλίσκος ὁ ποιητής, ἱερεὺς ὦν Διονύσου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται. That is, Philiscus enjoyed a reputation as a poet in the year 285, or, in other words, may be said to have flourished in the 124th olympiad. Thus Homer, Sositheus, Alexander, and Philiscus are all shown to have flourished at the same time, as in fact we infer from the scholium to Hephaestion (I. p. 57, 10), and that time was the 124th olympiad, or 285–281 B.C.

ped in this work cannot of course be known, but it must have taken considerable time. Moreover we are informed that he wrote a work on comedy in at least nine books,¹ which it seems likely was the result of his labors in the library. If, then, Lycophron flourished as a tragic poet with the other members of the Pleiad he must have done so towards the end of the 124th olympiad or about the year 281. Therefore if Lycophron was born at the date I have already shown, he must have been about forty years old when he began to flourish as a tragic poet; and this is certainly an age at which a literary man might very naturally be said to flourish.

As to the extent of Lycophron's literary career we have no certain evidence. We are told by Tzetzes that he wrote sixty-four or forty-six tragedies, and Suidas gives us the names of twenty of them. These titles when added to his other works seem to imply a literary career of some length. How long he lived is not known. His death is mentioned in but one place, namely in Ovid's *Ibis*, where the poet says,²

Utque cothurnatum periisse Lycophrona narrant
Haereat in fibris fixa sagitta tuis.

This leads us to infer that Lycophron was killed by an arrow while engaged in some scenic representation. There are three scholia on the passage, but none of them appears to be ancient, and all simply confirm the words of the text without adding anything essential.

At first sight this seems to be all that can be gathered about the death of Lycophron; but after examining the *Ibis* carefully I think we have good grounds for believing that Ovid took this allusion to Lycophron's death from the *Ibis* of Callimachus. For in the first place Ovid himself says that he is imitating that poem.³ How

¹ *Ath.* XI. p. 485 d.

² Lines 531, 532.

³ Lines 55-60:

Nunc quo Battiades inimicum devovet Ibin,
Hoc ego devoveo teque tuosque modo.
Utque ille, historiis involvam carmina caecis:
Non soleam quamvis hoc genus ipse sequi.
Illius ambages imitatus in Ibide dicar
Oblitus moris iudicii que mei.

closely he did this cannot of course be known, for no vestige of this latter work is extant; but the scholiast on lines 315–316 gives what purports to be a metrical translation of two lines from the *Ibis* of Callimachus which are very similar to the two lines of Ovid.¹ If this scholium could be relied upon, we should have good grounds for believing that the imitation was a close one.² A second point is that in mentioning the death of Lycophron Ovid uses the words ‘utque narrant’ implying that he is quoting. Again, Lycophron was hardly known to the Romans — in fact he is mentioned but once again in all Latin literature — and it is hard to see why Ovid should have introduced his name here if it had not been suggested to him by finding it in the work he was imitating. For surely Lycophron’s death was much less terrible than many of the other misfortunes which he invokes upon the head of his enemy. Again, the enemy against whom Callimachus wrote his *Ibis* was Apollonius Rhodius, a poet like Lycophron; and hence Callimachus might very fitly hold up the death of Lycophron as an example of what his fate might be. On the other hand Ellis has shown³ that the enemy whom Ovid attacks was not a poet or literary man, but rather an informer. Thus Ovid can have had no particular reason for mentioning Lycophron’s fate unless he was repeating something which he found in Callimachus. In view of these facts, although of course in a case like this certainty is impossible, I think we are justified in assuming

¹ Ovid’s lines are (315, 316):

Utque necatorum Darei fraude secundi
Sic tua subsidens devoret ora cinis.

While the so-called lines of Callimachus run:

Sic tu depereas sicut periire secundus
Quos Dareus multo prouerat cinere.

(secundi . . . prouerat, G.; secundus . . . obruerat, C. et Ask.)

Ellis, in his commentary to this passage in his edition of the *Ibis* (p. 58), says: “Notabilis haec mentio Ibis Callimacheae, nec video cur non genuina habenda sit.”

² For a discussion of the *Ibis* of Callimachus, see Riese in *Jahr. für Phil.*, Vol. CIX. (1874), pp. 377–381, where Schneider’s theory that the *Ibis* was an epigram is completely refuted. Riese’s opinion is approved by Susemihl, *Gesch. Gr. Lit.*, Vol. I. p. 351, n. 19, and by other scholars.

³ *Proleg. to the Ibis*, p. xxii. fol.

that Ovid took the allusion to Lycophron's death from the *Ibis* of Callimachus.

If this is granted, an approximate date can be established for the death of Lycophron: for Lycophron must have died before the *Ibis* of Callimachus was written. Now it is agreed that this poem was written about two years before the hymn to Apollo,¹ which Richter² and Couat³ think was composed in 248. Susemihl⁴ says it was written either in this year or in 263, and argues in defence of the latter date. If, then, the hymn to Apollo was written in 248, the *Ibis* must have been written about 250, before which time Lycophron must have died: or if we accept the date preferred by Susemihl, which certainly seems reasonable, Lycophron must have been dead by 265. But he cannot have died very long before this date: for if he wrote the greater part of his tragedies after he left the Alexandrian library, as is probable, the time necessary for their composition obliges us to suppose that he lived until very nearly the year in question.

To resume briefly, the life of Lycophron was about as follows. He was born between 325 and 320, wrote his *Alexandra* about 295, was appointed to arrange the comedies in the Alexandrian library in 285-284: about 280 he was flourishing as a tragic poet, and continued as such down to the time of his death, which must have occurred before the year 250, and probably shortly before the year 265.

¹ See Susemihl, *Gesch. Gr. Lit.*, Vol. I. p. 384 n. 51; also Apollon. *Vita* I., *Western. Biog.*, p. 30.

² *Kallimachos, Hymnen*, p. 6 and fol.

³ *La Poésie Alexand.*, pp. 229-235.

⁴ *Gesch. Gr. Lit.*, Vol. I. pp. 361, 362.

QUO MODO *IACIENDI* VERBI COMPOSITA IN PRAESENTIBUS TEMPORIBUS ENUNTIAYERINT ANTIQUI ET SCRIPSERINT

QUAERIT

MAURICIUS W. MATHER.

I. PRAEFATIO.

CUM has *iaciendi* verbi praesentis formas quae praepositionibus subiunguntur pertractaverint viri doctissimi haud ita pauci, quorum in primis Wagnerum, Lachmannum, Corssenum, Guil. Schmitzium, L. Müllerum honoris causa volo nominatos, adhuc tamen non fuit, qui omnibus inscriptionibus perscrutandis atque quem ad modum poetae Latini ab illius Livi Andronici temporibus usque ad extremum alterum saeculum p. Chr. n. haec verba composita ad versus accommodaverint quaerendo huius rei scrupulos dubitationesque multas tollere conatus sit. Mihi igitur in mente est, quae ex his fontibus duobus magna cum cura laboreque exempla derivavi, ea ita ordinata in extremo opusculo¹ enumerare, ut omnibus appareat quae testimonia sint antiqua ad hanc rem pertinentia, atque ut sit facultas iudicandi verumne ipse ego in meo commentariolo investigaverim.

Soluta praeterea oratione scripti codices non nulli adhibiti, qui temporibus octavo saeculo p. Chr. n. superioribus exarati sunt, aliquid ad existimandum, quo modo haec verba scripsissent antiqui, obtulerunt. Post decimum autem saeculum qui scripti sunt libri minus, ut fit, proficiunt hac in quaestione; in his quoque saepenumero, praecipue renascentium litterarum temporibus, perversam per duas *i* litteras rationem videmus scribendi, quae non solum in quibusdam poetarum locis numeros laedit,² verum etiam perpaucis in antiquo-

¹ Cf. infra, p. 127 sqq.

² Cf. ind. Plaut. b, pro *cōnicitis*, *cōniciam* habet F *coniicitis*, *coniiciam*; Moret. a, pro *ābicit* habent H e *adiicit*; Mart., pro *ādicat* habent b φ *adiicit*.

ribus libris, in eisque admodum raro, occurrit, numquam autem in titulis. Atqui huius ipsius rationis auctores sunt grammatici Latini. Unde patet eos, cum non nihil prosint nobis quaerentibus, tamen praecepta scribendi non tam ex consuetudine hausisse quam ex similitudine; atque ideo iis quae docent necesse est ne nimis credamus cavere.

In editionibus auctorum Latinorum usque a tempore, quo formis describi coepti sunt libri Latini, ad medium huius saeculi *iaciendi* verbi praesentis formas quae cum praepositionibus coniunguntur duplicata *i* paene constanter scriptas legimus, velut *abiicit*, *deiicit* et similia. Solae excipiuntur figurae in quibus e numerorum ratione primam apparet syllabam aut corripitur aut per diphthongum, quem dicunt, cum insequente *i* coalescere, ut in Iuv. 15, 17:—

Hunc *abiicit*, saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,

et in Verg. E. 3. 96:—

Tityre, pascentes a flumine *reice* capellas.

Wagner primus, quod sciam, in editione Vergili carminum ad pristinam orthographiam revocatorum a. 1841 in lucem edita illam geminationem reiecit. Qua de re conferas illius operis p. 445. Cum autem unam *i* litteram ab antiquis scriptam putaret, duas tamen esse auditas adnotavit ad A. 12.308, ubi dixit *disicit* verbum esse scriptum sed *disiicit* auditum. Etiam scriptas esse duas *i* litteras arbitratus Ritschl, vir doctissimus, verbum *obiiciunt* et aetate et integritate par esse illis *plurimus*, *universi*, *sequuntur* vocabulis iudicavit in Proleg. Trin., 1848, p. 92. Brambach quoque in libro de Latine scribendi ratione, quem Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie inscriptum a. 1868 edidit, quamquam unam *i* imperi aetate plerumque scriptam fatetur (p. 201, vs. 5), tamen cum vocali syllaba praefixa exiret, propter illum plenior sonum *i* litterae vocalibus interpositae duplicem *i* tantum non semper scriptam existimavit (vs. 19). Atque post consonante exeuntes praepositiones esse auditam *i* consonantem demonstrare adfirmat exempla a Gellio (4. 17) prolata, quorum prima syllaba positione producat (vs. 11), atque hanc *i* consonantem scribi quoque iubere ipsum Gellium et Priscianum (vs. 24). Itaque qui lingua Latina hodie utuntur, eos

iubet post vocalis duplicem *i*, post consonantes vel duplicem ponere vel simplicem (p. 202, vs. 7: "Es lässt sich demnach für unsere Orthographie die Regel aufstellen, dass nach vocalisch auslautenden Präpositionen das doppelte I zu schreiben sei; nach consonantisch auslautenden Präpositionen ist sowohl doppeltes als einfaches I gestattet, jenes nach der Theorie, dieses nach der vorherrschenden Praxis"). In libro autem qui inscribitur Hülfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung a. 1872 in lucem emisso, § 20, II, unam *i* scribendam dicit et post vocalem et post consonantem.

At Lachmann *i* duplicem non scripsisse antiquos cum perciperet (cf. Comm. in Lucr. p. 128: "*Eiicit* contra veterum consuetudinem"), auditam tamen consonantem *i* putavit ubicumque producerentur syllabae praefixae. Quem sonum ut significaret scribendo, unam autem atque unicam *i* litteram scriberet, *j* formam adhibuit. *Ejci* quidem, *dejci*, *projci*, *conjce*, *objcitur*, *injce*, *adjceret*, *projciam* scripturas in operis supra commemorati pagina 188 protulit. Quo autem modo haec enuntiari voluerit p. 136, si quid video, significavit his verbis: "Notissimum est *cojcere* sive *coicere*." Non alium igitur effecit sonum ac Wagner et Brambach. Fuisse autem ubi ex *ie* litteris constaret apud antiquos syllaba quae praepositionem subsequeretur, velut *conieciant*, *obiociemus*, alia, ex scripturis quibusdam conlegit quas satis paucas invenerat in libris manu scriptis; atque in sua Lucreti editione hanc scripturam aliquot locis restituit. Quibus de rebus conferas, si vis, illud commentarium, p. 128. Sed *j* litteram lingua Latina alienam, quamquam neque in sua scripta neque in editiones auctorum veterum adsumpsit Lachmann ipse, Vahlen tamen in editione Ennianae poesis reliquiarum a. 1854 edita, et Ribbeck in prima editione scaenicae Romanae poesis fragmentorum, quam inter annos 1852 et 1855 edidit, omnibus locis adhibuerunt ubi producendam primam esse syllabam ex numerorum apparet ratione. Huius rei exempla videas in altero opere in Annalium vs. 75, *conjcit*, in altero p. 72 prioris voluminis ubi est *projcit*, posterioris autem p. 66, *injci*. Mox Lucianus Müller in libro quem scripsit de re metrica a. 1861, p. 249, dicit apud poetas dactylicos usque ad Propertium *i* litteram horum *iaciendi* compositorum consonae habuisse instar; sonum autem cum non indicet, veri simile est non alium ac Lachmann eum voluisse. Eius autem quod est *iecio* formas demum

imperi aetate scripsisse non nullos putavit, quo facilius productionem praepositionis apud veteres poetas explanarent. Illum Lachmannianum sonum Guil. Schmitz quoque admisit ubi consonante finitur praepositio. Sin autem vocalis est extrema praepositionis littera, duabus vocalibus ita interpositae *i* consonantis sonum esse aliquando saltem mixtum, spreta ea vulgari quadam synaloephe *coicere, eicere, reicere*, al., docuit ille in quaestione de I geminata et de I longa, quae commentatio programmati gymnasii Marcodurani a. 1860 inserta nunc commodissime reperitur in libro eius qui inscribitur *Beiträge zur lateinischen Sprach- und Literaturkunde*, apud Teubnerum a. 1877 impresso, p. 70 sqq. Hunc sonum sic repraesentat scribendo: “*prōijecit* (praet. temp.). *coījicit, eījicit.*” Postremo H. A. I. Munro, ut Anglum denique nominem qui de hac re sententiam dixit, Lachmanno prorsus adsentiebatur. Namque cum *abicio* vel *abiecio* alia solas esse antiquas scripturas credidit, ut potest videri ex commentario in Lucretium 1. 34 et 2. 951, tum priorem esse dictam et dicendam proinde quasi Anglice *abycio* scriberetur, in libello qui inscribitur *A Few Remarks on the pronunciation of Latin* a. 1871 edito, p. 9 breviter exposuit.

Lexicis porro Latinis non semper possumus credere: quorum quod praecipuum in nostra patria tenet locum, illud dico quod a Lewis et Short recognitum *Harper's Latin Dictionary* inscribitur, et illud minus a Lewis solo a. 1890 editum, quod inscribitur *Elementary Latin Dictionary*, inducunt formas vel simplici vel duplici *i* littera scriptas, sed quam inconstanti consilio rationeque perspici potest animadversis his exemplis: —

L. et S. s.v. *abicio*, *ābicio* or *abjīc-* (in the best MSS. *abicio*).

Lewis s.v. *abicio*, *abicio* (a usu. long by position) or *abīcio*.

L. et S. s.v. *eicio*, *ēicio* (or *ejicio*).

Lewis s.v. *eicio*, *ēicio* (pronounced, but not written, *ē-iicio*).

L. et S. s.v. *subicio*, *sūbicio* (less correctly *subjīcio*: post-Aug. sometimes *sūb*).

Lewis s.v. *subicio*, *subicio* (the first syl. usu. long by position; often pronounced and sometimes written *subiicio*).

His variis opinionibus doctorum nostrae aetatis virorum quadam in praefatione praepositis, iam demum veterum testimonia de hac re eo pergamus consilio inspicere, ut primum ea verba tractemus quorum praefixae syllabae consonante cadant, deinde postea quorum vocali.

II. *IACIENDI* VERBI COMPOSITA QUORUM PRIOR PARS
CONSONANTE CADIT.

Modum volgarem haec *iaciendi* composita in praesentibus temporibus dicendi quorum praepositiones consonante finiuntur temporum cursu se immutasse testimonio sunt poetae. Omnium enim formarum apud poetas repertarum qui ante Augusti obitum scripserunt, praeter solas quattuor apud Plautum¹ et Naevium,² produci primam syllabam vel licet vel necesse est. Nam cum maior pars eorum quae sunt exempla apud scaenicos poetas praepositionis mensuram non praese fert,³ non desunt tamen quae productionem sine ullo dubio ostendant⁴; atque quae in herois quidem reperiuntur, illa omnia producenda sunt.⁵

Sed post Augustum mortuum, vel adeo fortasse paulo ante, alia consuetudo orta est, qua illa mensura, quam Plautum et Naevium quater certe adhibuisse diximus, vulgaris est facta. Cf. Moret. 96:—

Spargit humi atque *dbicit* . . .

German. 196:—

Qualis ferratos *sübicit* . . .

Conferas porro infra, p. 145 sqq., si libet, ut usum perspicias reliquorum. Hanc tamen correptionem, quamvis plerumque acceptam, omnino vitaverunt Valerius Flaccus⁶ et Serenus Sammonicus,⁷ semel adsumpsit Stadius⁸; neque productionem plane excluserunt alii. In sermone autem constanter correptas esse has praefixas syllabas con-

¹ Cf. ind. Plaut. b; etiam p. 99.

² Cf. ind. Rell. b.

³ Cf. ind. Plaut. c; Ter. b; Rell. c.

⁴ Cf. ind. Plaut. a; Ter. a; Rell. a.

⁵ Cf. ind. Enn. a.

⁶ Cf. ind. Val. a.

⁷ Cf. ind. p. 151; cf. etiam Ausonium, ib.

⁸ Cf. ind. Stat. b; cf. etiam Claudianum b, p. 151.

sonante exeuntes secundo saltem saeculo¹ dilucide docet Auli Gelli narratio in 4. 17, cum dicit plerosque, ut apud veteres poetas rationem numeri servarent, vocalem praepositionis produxisse. Quarto quoque saeculo correptionem testatur Marius Victorinus, quem in optimorum numero grammaticorum esse ducendum existimavit Ritschl in Museo Rhenano XIV (a. 1859), p. 302. Conferas illum locum (K. VI. 67. 17) quo dicit versum Vergilianum (A. 11. 354) qui incipit a verbis *Adicias nec te ἀκέφαλον* esse, veluti capite imminuto.

Quo modo igitur haec commutata ratio intellegi possit, qua, cum primo produxissent praefixam consonante finitam syllabam, deinde corripiebant, nunc tandem consideremus. Si unam *i* litteram scribebant, nullum obicit scrupulum haec contractio, sed quem tum fuisse modum et scribendi et dicendi arbitremur cum poetae productis uterentur praefixis syllabis?

Principio igitur grammaticorum, ut par est, videamus testimonia. Apud Quintilianum sunt haec verba (1. 4. 11): “littera *i* sibi insidit; *coniicit* enim est ab illo *iacit*.” Gellius haec dicit (4. 17. 6 sqq.): “Sed neque *ob* neque *sub* praepositio producendi habet naturam, neque item *con*, nisi cum eam litterae secuntur, quae in verbis *constituit* et *confecit* secundum eam primae sunt, vel cum eliditur ex ea *n* littera, sicut Sallustius: *faenoribus*, inquit, *copertus*. In his autem, quae supra posui, et metrum esse integrum potest et praepositiones istae possunt non barbaramente protendi; secunda enim littera in his verbis per duo *i*, non per unum scribenda est. Nam verbum ipsum, cui supra dictae particulae praepositae sunt, non est *icio* sed *iacio*, et praeteritum non *icit* facit, sed *iecit*. Id ubi compositum est, *a* littera in *i* mutatur, sicuti fit in verbis *insilio* et *incipio*, atque ita vim consonantis capit, et idcirco ea syllaba productius latiusque paulo pronuntiata priorem syllabam brevem esse non patitur, sed reddit eam positu longam, proptereaque et numerus in versu et ratio in pronuntiatu manet. Haec, quae diximus, eo etiam conducunt, ut, quod apud Vergilium in sexto positum invenimus (vs. 366):—

Eripe me his, invicte, malis : aut tu mihi terram
Inice,

¹ Cf. etiam ind. Inscr. a, *ddicit* in vss. hexametris a. 136 p. Chr. n. scriptis.

sic esse *iniice*, ut supra dixi, et scribendum et legendum sciamus, nisi quis tam indocilis est, ut in hoc quoque verbo *in* praepositionem metri gratia protendat." Prisciani autem testimonium hoc est (K. II. 126. 18): "solet plerumque in compositione *a* in *i* converti, ut 'cado incido,' 'facio inficio,' 'iacio iniicio'" At contra haec Servius in commentario Vergiliano (4. 549): "*obicio, reicio, adicio* 'i' habent vocalem sequentem quae per declinationem potest in consonantis formam transire, ut *obiici, reici*."

Ex his locis apparet grammaticos plerumque duas *i* litteras censuisse scribendas, alteram consonantem, alteram vocalem. Quod si fit, positione longa redditur prima syllaba, atque sonus qui auditur est ille cuius omnes, qui de hac re recentioribus scripsere temporibus, fuerunt auctores.¹

Nusquam tamen haec ratio grammaticorum firmatur ex inscriptionibus. Unum exemplum mihi repertum (*iniice*, cf. ind. Inscr. c) in Falsis continetur, in quibus haud scio an alia inveniri possint; non enim qua cura veras, ea falsas examinavi.

Neque in libris quidem manu scriptis est frequens geminata *i* littera usque ad duodecimum vel potius proximum saeculum. Namque in poetarum libris haec fere sunt exempla, quantum quidem conligi potest ex variis scripturis quas optimae editiones suppeditant:—

Plautinorum² codicum in Lipsiensi uno est duplex *i* saepe repertum, neque in hoc ubique. Hunc codicem, qui F volgo, L in Truculenti editione Schoelliana notatus est, saeculo XV scriptum ab Italo librario, verba poetae partim vere correctata, partim etiam magis corruptata atque licenter interpolata exhibere dixit Ritschl in Trinummi praefatione.³ Decurtatus (C) saeculi XI, et ante rasuram Ursinianus (D) saec. XII habent scriptum *obiicere* in Mil. 619, sed in D alterum *i* est erasum. Iterum habet C *obiicere* in vs. 623.

Tibullianus⁴ codex Guelferbytanus (G) saec. XV praebet duplicatam *i* litteram in utroque exemplo *iaciendi* verbi praepositioni subiecti, *coniicit* 1. 8. 54, *subiiciet* 1. 5. 64.

¹ Cf. sup., pp. 84–86.

² Cf. ind. Plaut. a, b, c.

³ Schoell. edit., 1884, p. xiv.

⁴ Cf. ind. Tibul. a.

Vergili¹ Palatinus-Vaticanus (P) saec. IV-V *ii* bis exhibet, *disiicit* in A. 12. 308, ubi manu secunda deletum est alterum *i*, et *superiicit* ib. 11. 625. Tum schedae rescriptae Veronenses (V) saec. IV-V (?) habent in A. 7. 339 *disiice* ut videtur, supra scripta fortasse *s* littera. Cf. Ribbeck. ad h.l.

Ovidiani² codices sunt nulli ante nonum saeculum descripti. Haec *ii* scripturae exempla in editionibus enumerata invenio, ad quae nimirum alia accedere possint; Bodleianus B. N. Rawl. 101 (Q) saec. XV habet *ij* sive *ii* constanter in Tristibus. Holkhamicus (H, v. Owen. edit. p. xx) saec. XIII exhibet *coniiciendus* in T. 3. 11. 46, Vaticanus 1606 (V) saec. XIII *obiiciunt* ib. 5. 10. 40, Ns codices incertae aetatis (cf. Merkel. edit. 1841, pp. cclxxix et cclxxxii) *adiice* in F. 1. 189.

Moreti³ carminis Vaticanus 3252 (B) saec. IX et Helmstadiensis 332 (H) saec. XV et Basileensis (ε) saec. XV tradunt *adiicitur* in vs. 99. H ε *adiicit* in vs. 96.

Senecae⁴ recensio interpolata (A), quae ad tempora medio XIV saeculo haud superiora pertinet, *adijce* praebet in Med. 527.

Valeri Flacci⁵ Monacensis (M) saec. XV, qui est optimorum huius poetae codicum, *disiicit* in 3. 162 manu secunda habet ex *disicet*.

Sili⁶ Florentinus (F) saec. XV, qui secundus est ad Laurentianum omnium optimum, habet in 9. 538 *dissijce* manu secunda scriptum ex *disice* vel *disire*.

Iliadis Latinae⁷ codices Erfurtanus (E) et Leidensis (L), qui ambo saeculo XII scripti huius carminis sunt excellentissimi, tradunt alter *disiiceret*, alter *dis^uceret* in vs. 325.

Martialis⁸ denique codices duo interpolati (b φ) saec. XV proferrunt in 10. 82. 1 illud quod numeris obstat, *adiicit*.

Qui autem verba soluta scripserunt, in eorum codicibus ne unum quidem exemplum *i* duplicis credo inveniri posse, nisi in iis qui post octavum certe saeculum exarati sunt. Plures enim qui ante septimum saeculum sunt descripti, post autem partim rescripti sunt, quo modo

¹ Cf. ind. Verg. a.

² Cf. ind. Ov. a.

³ Cf. ind. p. 145, Moret.

⁴ Cf. ind. Sen. b.

⁵ Cf. ind. Val. a.

⁶ Cf. ind. Sil. a.

⁷ Cf. ind. Il. Lat. a.

⁸ Cf. ind. Mart.

eius verbi quod est *iacere* formas praesentis, quae praepositionibus adfiguntur, nobis tradant, ex apographis quibusdam sive ex adnotationibus criticis editorum cognovi, neque etiam semel illam geminationem inveni. In illa enim *in'icitur* scriptura,¹ quam habet in Plini N. H. 13. 129 codex rescriptus Veronensis sive San-Paulinus saeculi IV-VI,² illud *i* supra positum recentior manus addidit. Nam in ceteris horum compositorum exemplis, quae sunt hoc in libro, *i* simplex constanter scriptum legitur. Item in Gai Institutionibus 3. 119 codicem Veronensem saec. V-VI³ non habere illius *ii* vestigium recte iudicavit Lachmann, ubi dixit in sua editione, “Duplex *i* in codice esse non credo.” Quod enim a Studemundo traditum est in huius codicis apographo p. 159 in versus 11 fine, *ADIx* (*CI* ab initio proximi versus est perspicuum), id non est a codice descriptum, sed *AD* litterae solis schedis Goescheni debentur, et *Ix* ex schedis Bluhmianis recipiuntur. In illo spatio *x* notato cum Bluhme olim *i* exstitisse opinaretur, parum perspexisse oculos mihi certum videtur. Nam cum in extremo versu aliter potuit maculam pagina facile accipere, tum constanter in codice *i*, non *ii*, scribitur.⁴

Horum praeterea codicum scripturas perspexi : —

Ciceronis libri de Re Publica Vaticani palimpsesti in lucem a. 1822 editi ab A. Maio (Auct. Cl. I), qui secundo vel tertio saeculo eum exstitisse suspicatus est (cf. o. c. pp. lxx-lxxvi); Teuffel autem, § 184. 5, quarto saeculo attribuit.

Ciceronis in C. Verrem orationum partes complectentis Vaticani palimpsesti saec. IV (?) (cf. Teuffel. R. L.⁵ § 179. 6-11. 3) quem Maius a. 1828 edidit in Auct. Cl. II, p. 390 sqq.

T. Livi codicis rescripti Veronensis quem partes librorum III-VI continentem Theodorus Mommsen a. 1868 descripsit et edidit. Saeculo IV eum esse scriptum censuit ille p. 158.

T. Livi codicis Puteani sive Parisini 5730, qui saec. V vel VI descriptus maximi est ad libros emendandos a vicesimo primo ad

¹ Sillig. edit. 1855, VI. p. 170. 15.

² Ib. p. xx et Teuffel. R. L.⁵ § 313. 6.

³ Cf. Studemund. Gai Instit. cod. Veron. Apographum, p. xx.

⁴ Cf. Studemund. p. 320; *deici, inicio, obicere, subicere* formae satis frequenter occurrunt in codice.

tricesimum (cf. apparatus criticum et prolegomenum Luchsianae editionis librorum XXI–XXX duobus voluminibus annis 1888–89 perfectae).

Codicis Vaticani n. 5766, in quo insunt Iuris Anteiustiniani Fragmenta quae dicuntur Vaticana, quem librum saec. V exaratum (cf. Mommsen. edit. p. 389) addita transcriptione notisque criticis edidit Th. Mommsen a. 1860.

Frontonis codicis palimpsesti Bobiensis, qui ad saeculi VI initium pertinet (cf. Naber. edit. 1867, pp. xi–xii; etiam p. 280 ubi dicitur hic codex *i* pro *ii* constanter habere in compositis *iaciendi* verbi).

Codicis Fuldensis Novi Testamenti, qui, cum pertinet ad quintum decennium saec. VI (cf. Ern. Ranke. edit., 1868, p. viii), opus Hieronymi nobis tradit. In praeterito quoque *i* litteram pro *ie* interdum habet codex, velut *eicerunt* p. 109. 16 R. = Eu. Matth. 21. 39, et p. 118. 13 R. = Eu. Iohan. 9. 34, alia (cf. Ranke. p. xxvii).

His igitur inspectis ne unum quidem exemplum *ii* scripti inveni. Haec ergo geminatio quam raro sit scripta post consonante exeuntem praepositionem apparet. Nam quater tantum ante XII saeculum se mihi obtulit quaerenti, in Vergili videlicet P et V libris qui ambo ad IV vel V saeculum pertinent, in Moreti B qui IX saeculi est, in Plautique C XI saeculi, neque est frequens nisi XIV saeculo et XV. Cf. porro pp. 116–18 infra, ubi de hac re agitur cum vocalis est extrema littera praefixae syllabae.

Itaque grammaticos fuisse solos huius scripturae auctores videmus, nec quod in sermonibus duplicem *i* audirent, eo praecepta sua dabant, nam unum *i* dictum esse usque ab Augusto mortuo plane demonstrant cum correpta apud poetas prima horum syllaba verborum, tum ea quae narrant¹ Gellius (4. 17) et Marius Victorinus (K. VI. 67. 17); sed quia non solum similitudo poscere videbatur, ut *iacio* verbum, cum praefixa esset praepositio, *a* litteram in *i* converteret,² verum etiam versus antiquorum poetarum productas ostendebant primas syllabas, id quod vix intellegi posse putabant nisi consonans *i* adesset, ut positione fieret productio.³ Nec quisquam dubitare potest, quin,

¹ Cf. pp. 88–89.

² Cf. Quint., Gell., Prisc. locos supra, pp. 88–89, citatos.

³ Cf. Gell. ib.

quae duplicis *i* in codicibus exempla exstant, omnia grammaticorum praeceptis debeantur; etenim cum, litteris iam renascentibus, frequentissima fierent, tum maxime, lingua Latina iam non viva vigente, nitebantur docti in grammaticis antiquis.

Duplicem *i* ergo in verbi *iaciendi* compositis, quorum consonante finiretur prior pars, non scripsisse antiquos praeclare patet, neque quisquam, nisi Brambach¹ in priore libro nostris temporibus id scribendum docuit. Auditos tamen et consonantis et vocalis *i* sonos quoad productis uterentur primis syllabis, id docuerunt multi.

Huic autem doctrinae id obstat, quod temporibus de quibus agitur, id est antequam Augustus e vita excessit, geminationem eam litterarum, qua altera consonans fieret, altera vocalis, tolerare noluerunt Romani. Itaque quae vocabula recto casu *aius* vel *eius* litteris terminantur, ea omnia genetivo singularis et nominativo pluralis *ai*, *ei* litteris cadebant, dativo et ablativo pluralis *ais*, *eis*; numquam autem *aïi*, *eïi*, *aïis*, *eïis*.² Neque posteriore quidem tempore nisi apud grammaticos hoc alterum *i* accessit. Formae quae sunt *patrii*, *auxiliis*, similia, huc non pertinent, quoniam in eis utraque *i* littera vocalis habet instar; atqui etiam ea antiquiores *iei*, *ieis* litteris terminaverunt.

Primum igitur ad id testimoni quod est in inscriptionibus animum quaeso intendas. In Corporis Inscriptionum primo volumine, quod titulos continet qui ante Caesaris obitum incisi sunt, cum verborum *aius*, *eius* litteris finitorum genetivi singularis, nominativi dativi ablativi pluralis nullum sit exemplum, satis tamen faciunt haec exempli gratia citata: CI. II. 1129 PLEBEI³; 1587 POMPEI; 4970. 51-61 ATEI; 3695, a. 6 p. Chr. n., MAIS; IV. 1180, quae probabiliter

¹ Cf. pp. 84-85.

² Item *vulgus*, *equos* vocabula et quae sunt similia primo demum saeculo p. Chr. n. duplicatam *u* litteram patiebantur, ut *vulgus*, *equus*, alia. Cf. Quint. 1. 4. 11.

³ *I* longam ne quis arbitretur indicare mixtum *i* consonantis et *i* vocalis sequentis sonum, nam non aliter sonari videtur quam *i* vulgaris; sed ratione errorum, velut DICTATORI, CI. I. 584, non habita, productam vel vocalibus interpositam *i* litteram significat, velut in hoc eodem titulo Sulla dictatore inciso, exstat FELICI, et in 1079 et 1418. 19, quae incertae sunt aetatis, EIVS. Raro quoque *I* longa, ita ut *i* vulgaris, scriptum legitur pro duabus *i* vocalibus, ut FILIS in CI. II. 3877; MVNICIPI 3708; CONTROVERSIS in I. 199. 45, a. 117 a. Chr. n., et in Ter. Eun. 256-7 CVPEDINARI, CETARI, LANI in A scribuntur, ubi numerorum ratio poscit *i* duplicem.

Tiberi aetate incisa est, MAI, POMPEIS, [all]EI (cf. ALLEI in 1179); 1181, 1186, 1189 POMPEIS.

Libri quoque antiquissimi cum identidem duplicatam *i* litteram habent, tum saepissime simplicem, velut in Livi codice Veronensi (cf. p. 91) sunt *plebeis* in 5. 2. 13; *Veis* in 5. 4. 10; 5. 46. 4; 5. 52. 10 (*Beis*); 6. 4. 5; alia, *Veis* autem in 5. 5. 10. cf. etiam Neue. Formenl. I.² 99.

Iam ea quae grammatici praebent ad hanc rem pertinentia consideremus. Probus igitur Berytius, qui Domitiano imperatore floruit, docet (K. IV. 104. 22) *huius Gai, hi Gai, his Gais*, quamquam eum fuisse ipsum opinaremur, qui geminam *i* litteram scribendam iuberet. Apud Servium enim (Aen. 1. 1) per unum *i* *Troiam, Graios, Ajax* scribi vetuisse dicitur¹ (cf. Ribbeck. Proleg. Verg., p. 138 et 174). Cassiodorius autem, qui sexto saeculo vixit, haec habet (K. VII. 206. 10): "Quidam *huius Pompei Tarpei, hi Pompei Tarpei, his Pompeis Tarpeis* per unum *i* scribunt; non nulli pusillo diligentiores alterum *i* his addunt. Ego quoque tertium² addendum praecipio, si enim, ut docui (vs. 6 infra, p. 108, citato), nominativus duo *i* habet pro duabus consonantibus, haec perire nulla declinatione possunt, quae tamen omnimodis modernus usus excludit," ubi verba illa, "quae tamen omnimodis modernus usus excludit," ab illo adiecta videntur, reliqua vero ex Caeselli scriptis, qui saeculo altero p. Chr. n. floruit, sunt adsumpta (cf. Guil. Schmitz. Beitr., p. 73, adn.). Ac Terentianus Maurus qui hoc saeculo extremo floruisse putatur, in versus suos induxit *Grāi*³ vocabulum, quam licentiam minus facile potuisset adhibere si *i* consonans adfuisset.

Aliquid porro testimoni addunt illa *Graiugena, Troiugena* vocabula, quae, nisi *Graiigena, Troiigena* putidum et insolitum sonum dedissent, nullam sane causam sibi habuissent.⁴

¹ Cf. tamen Prob. (K. IV. 221. 8 et 257. 17) infra, p. 108, prolatum.

² Cf. Prisc. (K. II. 14. 10): Unde *Pompeiii* quoque genitivum per tria *i* scribebant, quorum duo superiora loco consonantium accipiebant, ut si dicas *Pompelli*; nam tribus *i* iunctis, qualis possit syllaba pronuntiari? Quod Caesari doctissimo artis grammaticae placitum est. (Cf. Lachmann. Comm. in Lucr., p. 371.)

³ De Syll. vs. 453, K. VI., p. 339.

⁴ Illae *Troiigenas, Graiugenarum* (*Graliug. A*) figurae, quas Lucretium 1. 465 et 477 scripsisse, codice Leidensi A saec. IX teste, censuerunt Lachmann et

Itaque solus, qui *aïi*, *eïi* sonis favere videatur, est Caesellius. Priscianus enim (p. 94, adn.) id tantum agit ut rationem eius scripturae reddat quam male¹ arbitratur antiquorum esse. Namque Probus qui docuit *Graios* per *i* geminum oportere scribi, tamen *huius Gai*, *hi Gai*, *his Gais* iussit; atque Cicero cum *aïio*, *Maiiam*, *Aiiacem* scribere vellet,² nusquam dicitur *Gaiii*, *Pompeïii*, neque etiam *Gaii*, *Pompeii* similiaque scripsisse. Caesar autem si re vera per triplicem *i Pompeïii* et alia maluit scribere, eadem, qua Caesellius, cura commotus duas *i* litteras quas in nominativo scribebat, ut illum plenior *i* consonantis sonum inter vocalis positae exprimeret (cf. p. 107 sq. infra), declinatione perire noluit. At si ita scripsit, nihil eo demonstratur consonantem *i* enuntiavisse. Enuntiaverit autem; mos modo grammaticus fuerit, qui se in usu vulgari consuetudineque numquam firmavit.

Brambach igitur, cum in libro *Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie*, pp. 197–8 praecipit, ut ab *iis*, qui hodie Latine scribant, *ii* et *iis* litteris exprimantur plurales nominativus, dativus, ablativus omnium vocabulorum quorum casus rectus *aïus* vel *eïus* litteris exeat, atque haec commendare studet non solum ex illo Prisciani loco et illo VERTVLEIEIS (CI. I. 1175) — quamquam hoc certo non demonstrat consonantem *i* litteram, excipiente *i* vocali, ut *Vertuleiis*, auditam esse, — verum etiam ex silentio, ut praedicat, grammaticorum de *i* et *is* litteris scribendis. Sed in hac re mihi non videtur obtemperandum doctissimo viro.³ Namque quod testimoniorum habemus ex inscriptionibus, libris, grammaticisque, id universum adversatur ei haec praecipienti. Concedit ipse quidem in titulis per unum *i* scripta interdum inveniri huius modi verba, atque laudat MAIS Or. 5614 a. 219 p. Chr. n., 6112 quod est I. R. N. 3571, a. 387 p. Chr. n., POMPEIS Or. 5814, 6167 (5814 = CI. IV. 1180; 6167 = IV. 1189, cf. pp. 93–94, sup.).

Munro, non consonantis *i* sonum, vocali *i* sequente, nec vocalis quidem, consonante sequente, significant, sed consonantis tantum. Cf. p. 107 sq. infra.

¹ Cf. Lachmann. in *Lucr.* p. 371; Ribb. *Proleg. Verg.* p. 138: sed Brambach (*Lat. Orthog.* p. 195) adsentitur Prisciano.

² Cf. *Quint.* 1. 4. 11; *Vel. Long. K.* VII. 54. 16 infra pp. 107–08, prolatos.

³ Cf. autem eius *Hilfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung* § 14, ubi quasi in palinodia simplicem *i* dicit melius scribi.

Ergo mihi quidem certum esse videtur Romanos *abiicit, adiicit* reliqua non magis dixisse quam scripsisse: Quintilianum autem et Priscianum (pp. 88–89 sup.), cum *coniicit* et *iniicio* esse ab *iaciendo* dicerent, noluisse *i* consonantem, praepositione ante se posita, omnino amitti in figuris praesentibus, atque Gellium¹ non solum hoc eodem scrupulo commotum esse, sed ratione quoque, qua poetae antiqui haec verba ad versus accommodarent, quae ratio scilicet aliam mensuram praefixae syllabae poposcit atque ipsius tempore volgo audiebatur.

Haec igitur ratio pronuntiandi si spernenda est, nec vocalem praepositionis, cum consonante exit, produci licet nisi si *s* vel *f* littera *in* vel *con* praepositionem insequitur,² quo tandem modo arbitremur haec verba, libera re publica, dixisse Romanos?

Non desunt in libris, nec etiam in inscriptionibus, indicia quae persuadeant, id verbum quod est *iicio*, cum praepositionibus consonante finitis subiungi inciperet, *a* litteram cum *e* littera commutasse. Cuius rei inscriptiones unum exemplum praebent, *coniecian*:³ in CI. I. 198. 50, a. 123 sive 122 a. Chr. n. (v. CI. p. 56).

In Plautinis⁴ libris, etsi haec per *e* facta scriptura non apparet, vestigia tamen eius quater deprehendimus. Poen. 1174 (octon. anapaest.) : —

Fuit hódie operae pretiúm quoivis qui amáilitati animum *ádiceret*

ubi *adiecerit* habet F (quo de codice v. p. 89 sup.), *adiceret* A. Mil. 112 : —

Conicit in navem mñles clam matrém suam

ubi *contegit* quod est in CD codicibus videtur ex *coniecit* corruptum. Truc. 298 : —

Út pereat, ut eum *iniciatis* in malam fraudem ét probrum

inleciatis (corr. *illeciatis*) habet A quod Schoell retinet, *iniciatis* BCD.

¹ Ribbeck in Proleg. Verg., pp. 138–9 putat Gelli praeceptum totum esse Probi, vel saltem a Sulpicio Apollinari (cf. Gell. 4. 17. 11) ex huius commentariis excerptum. Cf. Kretschmer. de Gell. Fontibus, p. 90.

² Cf. Gell. 2. 17 ; 4. 17. 6.

³ Cf. ind. Inscr. a.

⁴ Cf. ind. Plaut. a, c.

Mil. 623 :—

Eám pudet me tibi in senecta *oblcere* sollicitúdinem

obveccere in D fortasse ex *obiecere* est corruptum ; *obiceret* ante rasuram habet B codex, *obiicere* C.

Terenti¹ codices unum exemplum praebent, Ad. 710 :—

Itaque ádeo magnam mi *iniicit* sua cómmoditate cúram

ubi *iniicit*, quia A cum reliquis (*e* in ras. F) et Donatus in lemmate habent, videtur pro praeterito habitum esse ; quam prave autem, indicat cum contextus sermonis, tum proximus versus, “ Ne imprudens *faciam* ” . . .

In ea sententia, —

Fórtior qui cúpiditates ést quam qui hostes *súbicit*,²

quae a Vincentio Bellovacensi citata nunc commode inspicí potest in Ribbecki Comitorum Fragmentis, p. 368. 49, *subecit* traditum est *a* et *γ* codicibus. Huic scripturae quamvis causae potuisset esse obscura distinctio *i* brevis et *e* brevis sonorum,³ quoniam tamen prima producta est syllaba, fortasse olim *subiecit* scriptum est, unde *i* consonans incuria excidit.

Ciceronis⁴ operis de Divinatione A et V codices, decimo saeculo descripti, habent *abiecit* in 1. 48. 106 (vs. hexam.) :—

Abiecit efflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda.

In Vergili⁵ Aeneide 6. 421 :—

Obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens

Priscianus (K. II. 349. 15) *obiecit* legit, testibus libris Lugdunensi et Sangallensi (*obiiecit* G), qui uterque ad nonum saeculum pertinet.

T. Livium hanc scribendi rationem interdum certe adhibuisse bene testantur ex optimis codicibus non nulli. In 10. 8. 3 :—

et nunc tribunus . . . quinque augurum loca, quattuor pontificum *adicit*, in quae plebei nominentur eqs.

¹ Cf. ind. Ter. a.

² Cf. ind. Rell. a.

³ Cf. Luc. 7. 574 ubi pro *subicit* habent non nulli libri *subigit* vel *subegit*.

⁴ Cf. ind. p. 138, Cic. a.

⁵ Cf. ind. Verg. a.

et in 10. 37. 14:—

Fabius ambo consules . . . res gessisse scribit . . . sed ab utro consule, non *adicit* eqs.

adiicit habent tres praecipui ad scripturam librorum a primo ad decimum confirmandam codices, Mediceus (M) saec. XI, Parisinus 5725 (P) saec. X, Upsaliensis (U) saec. X-XI. Cf. Madvig. Emend. Liv. edit. sec., 1877, p. 226 et Müller-Weissenb. edit. Liv., 1890, app. crit. ad hos locos. Librorum autem a vicesimo primo ad tricesimum praecipuus codex, Puteanus sive Parisinus 5730 (P) saec. V-VI, habet in 22. 19. 2:—

Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum . . . decem *adicit*, quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit eqs.

adiicit, quod praesentis esse temporis indicat illud *trahit* verbum quod sequitur. Reiecta tamen hac scriptura, *adiectis* participium supponunt Luchs, Zingerle, Müller in edit. oct. 1891. Item in 26. 19. 2 habet P codex *ubiecere* pro *subicere*, cf. Luchs. app. crit.

Plinium autem hunc modum scribendi usurpasse non credo, etsi in N. H. 7. sect. 1. 2 *abiecit* habet V codex (K a Silligio notatus) saec. XI, *abicit* reliqui. Eius enim tempore non iam *iecit*, sed *icit* moris erat in *iaciendi* verbi compositis.

Nec illorum vetustissimorum codicum, quos pp. 91–92 supra laudavi, ullus praebet huius rei exempla.

Ex Lachmanni commentario Lucretiano, p. 128, hoc excerpti cuius prior pars consonante terminatur¹: *obiiciemus* in Digestis Florentinis, quae dicuntur, XLVII. 20. 3. § 1, hoc est, in libro Florentino, qui saeculo VI-VII descriptus, digesta Iustiniana continet. Conferas, si vis, Mommseni edit. 1870, vol. I. p. xxx.

Schuchardt denique in libro, quem, Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins inscriptum, a. 1867 prodidit, vol. II. p. 4 haec profert ex codice Gothano Euangeliorum, qui saeculo septimo (cf. III. p. 4) scriptus est: *adiicientur* 44. b. 12; 319. b. 15; *iniicient* 362. a. 2. Haec exempla tametsi mihi non fuit facultas ut comprobarem, facile tamen

¹ Illud *conieciant*, quod Lachmann ex Lege Servilia profert, non aliud est atque meum exemplum quod datur in Indice I, a. 2.

illi viro docto credere possumus, namque alias accuratissimum et fide dignissimum eius esse librum inveni.¹

Quoniam igitur cum haec satis multa existunt exempla, quae *abiēcit*, *adiēcit* aliaque ostendunt, tum *i* consonans necesse est adfuisse, quo produceretur syllaba prima, mihi quidem videntur hae formae satis probari. Communis enim vulgarisque usus, quo in compositis *a* brevis in *i* correpta est, *iaciendi* formas non nisi *i* consonante eiecta adficiebat; nam aliter esset profecto auditus ille *i* consonantis ante *i* vocalem positi sonus, quem linguae Latinae non fuisse satis plane nobis videmur supra pp. 93–95 indicavisse. Conferas etiam illud *societatem* vocabulum, quod, etsi in eo non agitur de *i* consonante, tamen per *o* litteram in *e*, non in *i* correptam sonum difficilem durumque vitavit.

Abiecio ergo, *abiecit*, *adiecio*, *adiecit* et cetera primo audita esse censeo cum *iaciendi* verbo praepositiones inciperent praefigi, neque desita audiri certe inter poetas atque eos qui litteris humanitateque politiores erant usque ad extremam Augusti aetatem. Mutatio tamen illa, qua *i* littera fieret ab *e*, iam satis antiquo tempore incipiebat haec verba adficere. Quod cum fieret, *i* consonante omissa, iam praefixa syllaba non producebatur positione, et *ābicio*, *ābicit* similiaque audiebantur. Has formas autem dixisse hoc tempore imperitos solos rudesque, e quibus volgo oriuntur ea quae ex ingenio sunt linguae, est veri simillimum, quia ante Augusti obitum non nisi apud Naevium et Plautum exstant, quaterque tantum apud eos. Cf. Naev.² vs. 94, p. 23 R:—

Immó quos scicidi in iús conscindam atque *ā'biciam*.

Plaut.³ Asin. 814:—

Praerípias scortum amánti atque argentum *ā'bicias*.

Merc. 932:—

Sánus non es. quín pedes vos ín curriculum *cō'nicitis*.

Rud. 769:—

Iam hércle ego te contínuo barba arrípíam, in ignem *cō'niciam*.

¹ Cf. etiam Seelmann. Aussprache des Lateins, p. viii.

² Cf. ind. Rell, b.

³ Cf. ind. Plaut. b.

Pro hoc *coniciam* habent CD codices *coiciam*, itaque illud *conicitis* in Merc. 932, ut etiam omnes formae *coniciendi* verbi quas infra in indice Plauti sub littera c enumerabimus, *coiciendi* potuerunt esse; sed hae breviores formae minus placent¹ apud Plautum, quod nullo altero loco sunt codicibus sustentatae.² Illarum quoque omnium formarum quae sunt in Plauti indice c, Terenti b, Reliquorum c enumeratae, priores partes liceat, si quis velit, corripere. Sic *ābicio*, *ābiciam* et reliqua, non *abicio*, *abiciam* audiamus. Haud tamen probabile hoc esse mihi videtur, nam illa supra dicta quattuor exempla sola sunt, quae primae correptionem postulant; longae autem certo sunt hae syllabae apud Plautum decies, apud Terentium reliquosque scaenicos poetas octies.³

Cum igitur Naevius et Plautus et quivis alius correpta prima syllaba dixerunt haec verba, haud multum licet dubitare, puto, quin etiam scripserint *abicio*, *abicit* et alia similia per *ic* litteras.⁴ At non *abicio*, sed *abicio* plerumque hoc tempore et dici et scribi solebat, neque est illius ullum formae vestigium, exceptis illis quattuor exemplis, dum usque ad extremum saeculum alterum a. Chr. n. perveniatur. Ex anno 105 a. Chr. n. est nobis servata lex parietis faciendi, quae *proicito*⁵ figuram continet. Sed septendecim annos prius in lege de pecuniis repetundis lata insculptum est *conieciant*.⁶ Inter annos igitur 122 et 105 a. Chr. n. haec verba scribendi ita se consuetudo mutaverat, ut etiam in leges, quae veteres maxime amant formas, illa recentior per *ic* litteras facta scriptura admitteretur. Licet ergo conicere, ut mea fert opinio, illum sonum, qui his litteris significaretur, satis frequenter paulo ante a. 105 auditum esse, eumque sane in eorum sermone, qui politioris humanitatis non expertes fuissent. Anno demum 44 a. Chr. n. sunt incisa in lege Ursonensi illa *inicere* et *reiciantur*,⁷ neque exstat eo interim spatio ullum in inscriptionibus

¹ Cf. Lachmann. in Lucr. p. 188.

² Cf. ind. Plaut.; etiam p. 122 inf.

³ Cf. ind. Plaut. a, Ter. a, Rell. a.

⁴ Sic etiam scribebant cum per diphthongum dicta sunt verbi *iaciendi* composita. Cf. p. 114 inf.

⁵ Cf. ind. Inscr. a, 3. Huius formae cum vocali exeat praepositio, nihil tamen hoc interest ad hanc rem.

⁶ Cf. ind. Inscr. a, 2.

⁷ Cf. ind. Inscr. a. 4 et 5.

exemplum. Itaque, quantum suspicamur, haec forma usque ab anno 105, vel paulo ante, volgari usu scribebatur, atque in inscriptionibus inde ab hoc tempore sola est quam reperimus, in codicibus nostris longe frequentissima.

Verum tamen quamquam *icio*, *icit* et reliqua volgo in compositis et scribebantur et dicebantur, tamen *iecio*, *iecit* ceteraque apud poetas certe eruditosque maxime valuerunt usque ad Augustum mortuum; quas formas pronuntiasse eos satis indicant numeri, scripsisse autem, illae scripturae, quas supra pp. 96–98 laudavi. Plerumque tamen qui eorum opera descripserunt, volgari mori obsequentes, illas *iecio* formas in *icio* converterunt; mox vetus scribendi modus fere in oblivionem adductus est.

Primum¹ illius brevioris formae in herois exemplum dat Moretum carmen in versu 96:—

Spargit humi atque *ābicit*² . . .

Sed is, qui hoc carmen composuerit, cum productam syllabam numeri gratia in versu 99 cuperet, non dubitavit illam veterem mensuram usurpare:—

Caseus *ādicitur* . . .

id quod fortasse indicat veterem sonum nondum periisse, nisi forte mavis putare per imitationem scilicet veterum hoc fieri.

Eorum, qui aetate inferiores fuerunt, poetarum semper correptam primam syllabam adhibuerunt³ Germanicus, Manilius, Seneca (sed excipiendae⁴ fortasse *dissicere* verbi formae; cf. ind. a), Lucanus, Martialis, Iuvenalis. Duas habet Phaedrus in senariis formas, quae sublatione incipientes mensuram non significant. Et correptas et productas Silius induxit in versus praefixas syllabas; sin autem excipimus *dissice* formam et *superiacit*—quo in verbo in temporibus praesentibus simplicis *iaciendi* formae subiunctae praepositionibus

¹ Cf. ind. Ov. b.

² Cf. ind. p. 145, Moret. a.

³ Vid. exempla in indice, p. 145 sqq.

⁴ Duo exempla habet ille (cf. ind. c) quorum prima syllaba producta an correpta sit incertum est. Haec duco in correptis, quoniam productionem nisi in *dissicere* verbo non videtur Seneca usurpasse. Sed etiam hoc in verbo codicibus non credendum est. Cf. p. 126 inf.

mutari non videntur¹ — plures correptas habet. Valerius Flaccus autem et Statius Vergilium imitari ita studebant, ut illa productione paene constanter uterentur, non magis tamen Silio intellegentes quo modo veteres eam effecissent, nisi forte exemplaria habuerunt, quae veterem scribendi rationem conservarint; itaque aut vocalem praepositionis tractim pronuntiabant, aut una *i* littera scripta, sonum consonantis *i* et vocalis *i* sequentis in una syllaba efferebant. Semel per negligentiam, ut opinor, illam sua aetate volgarem² correptionem adhibuit Statius in Thebaide 7. 4: —

Sidera proclamatque *ddici* . . .

Eodem modo veterum consuetudinem imitati sunt Serenus, Ausonius, Claudianus, alii; atque hic pariter cum Statio non caret vulgaribus formis.

Haec poetarum testimonia si cum enarrationibus Gelli (4. 17) et Mari Victorini (K. VI. 67. 17), quas supra p. 88 protuli, comparamus, plane apparet, ut mihi videtur, inde ab extrema Augusti aetate cum correpta prima syllaba constanter audita esse haec composita.

Ille autem vetus sonus, quo productio praefixae syllabae effiebat, sequentibus illis *iecio*, *iecit* aliisque, quamvis plane periisset inter eruditos litteratosque, ut praeclare demonstrat Gelli locus, ubi numeros apud veteres poetas observasse dicuntur alii vocali praepositionis producenda, alii duabus *i* litteris, quarum prior consonans esset, efferendis, est tamen putandus, mea quidem sententia, haud ubique omnino periisse, sed interim se propagasse aut inter eosdem imperitos rudesque homines a quibus *icio* et similia principium duxere³ aut in provincialium linguis. Illae enim formae, quae p. 98 supra proferuntur ex Digestis Florentinis et codice Gothano Evangeliorum, indicio sunt⁴ illum *iecio* sonum in aliquibus locis multo post valuisse, quam Romae inter eruditos certe periisset. Licet

¹ Cf. Verg. A. 11. 625 (ind. a) *superiacit*; Val. Max. 3. 2. ext. 7 *superiaceretur* habent omnes codd.; Plin. N. H. 7. 2. 2 § 21 *superiaci* codd. plerique, *superari* unus.

² Cf. L. Müller. de Re Metr. p. 291² = 250¹.

³ Cf. p. 99 sup.

⁴ Cf. praeterea p. 113.

enim Digestorum librarius describere vel imitari potuisset, quae in antiquis legibus viderat, non tamen facile arbitrari possumus, quae in codice Gothano sint exempla, vetere more scribendi adfecta esse, quoniam non ante medium alteri saeculi p. Chr. n. Euangelia Latine reddita sunt.

Unius rei restat ut mentionem faciam, quae ad has consonante exeuntis praefixas syllabas pertinet. Servius enim in opere de Finalibus (K. IV. 450. 12) haec dicit: "Item ex ipsis praepositionibus *ad* et *ob* et *in* et *sub* diversae in verbis ponuntur. Nam corripiuntur cum crescendo disyllabum reddunt, ut *adit*, *obit*, *init*, *subit*; indifferenter sunt cum trisyllabum faciunt, ut *adicit*, *obicit*, *inicit*, *subicit*; producuntur tantum cum tetrasyllabum ex se reddunt, ut *adicio*, *obicio*, *inicio*, *subicio*." Haec igitur cum narret, patet in promptuque est ex usu eorum poetarum, qui dactylicos versus scribebant postquam *icio* sonus vulgaris factus esset, argumenta eum deduxisse. Nam, enumeratione mea examinata, cum nullum ei adversatur exemplum, id facile intellegi potest, quia in dactylicis numeris nulla ratio est, nisi praepositione producta, qua *adicio* forma et aliae similes in versus induci potuerint. Sin autem illa Naevi et Plauti exempla, *ābiciam*, *ōbicias*, *cōnicitis*, *cōniciam* (cf. p. 99 sup.) reminiscemur, Servi verba in loquendi consuetudine non niti praeclare apparebit.

Hactenus igitur, ut iam breviter recognoscam argumentum, haec conatus sum demonstrare: Cum consonante terminaretur praepositio, *icio* scripturam et sonum apud antiquos in grammaticorum tantum praeceptis exstitisse, nec saepe esse adhibita, quoad litterae renascerentur saeculo XIV; *icio* autem ferme scriptum legi et in inscriptionibus et in veterrimis libris manu scriptis, quamquam semel in illis, in his non numquam apud scriptores, qui ante Tiberium imperatorem vixerint, *iecio* forma aut exstet, aut vestigium sui reliquerit; quoniam igitur per illud *icio* non significetur¹ sonus, quo intellegere possimus numerorum rationem apud poetas, qui praefixam syllabam producerint, sin autem *iecio* formam sumamus, facile illa ratio explicetur, veri simillimum esse *iecio* non solum scriptum, verum dictum

¹ Non adsentior Lachmanno aliisque qui duplicem sonum per unum *i* scriptum repraesentari docent. Cf. pp. 84–86 sup.

quoque esse a poetis politioribusque usque ad extremam Augusti aetatem; sed *icio* tamen sonum se prodere iam in versibus Plauti et Naevi, atque ad extremum alterum saeculum a. Chr. n. ita frequenter audiri, ut scribendi ratio respondere sono inciperet, ab eoque inde tempore *icio* magis volgo scriptum quam *iecio*: Tiberio autem imperatore *iecio* formam iam neque auditam inter eos qui litteris imbuti essent neque scriptam, attamen sive in multitudine imperita rudique, sive inter agrestis et rusticos semper remansisse; verum *icio* cum inter doctos moris esset continenter, poetas aliquot Vergilium aliosque veteres ita studiose imitatos, ut quam productionem praefixae syllabae apud illos perspexissent, eam in suos versus, quamvis ignari antiquae dicendi rationis, inducerent.

III. IACIENDI VERBI COMPOSITA QUORUM PRIOR PARS VOCALI TERMINATUR.

Iam de *iaciendi* verbo agamus vocali finitis praepositionibus subiuncto. Praefixae syllabae, quae ad hanc rem pertinent, sunt septem numero, *de, e, prae, pro, co, re, tra*. Sed *prae* praepositio nihil ad hanc quaestionem prodest, quoniam nusquam apud poetas neque in inscriptionibus reperitur. *Praeicientes* est apud Festum p. 249. 34 M. = 324. 34 Thewr., sed Columella 8. 17. 10 *praeiaciuntur* videtur scripsisse, atque *praeiacitur* est Scauri codice Bernensi (B) saec. X traditum (cf. K. VII. 17. 6). Unde forsitan concludas hoc verbum, item ut id quod est *superiacio*,¹ simplicis verbi formam retinuisse.

Reliquas autem praefixas syllabas, quae omnes apud poetas reperiuntur, numquam necesse est corripere. In scaenicorum versibus cum possint corripri hae syllabae haud raro, velut in Plaut. Stich. 360:—

Pérnam et glandiúm *deicite*. hic hércle homo nimiúm sapit.

Cas. 23:—

Elcite ex animo cúram atque alienum aés; papae.

Mil. 205:—

Déxterum ita veménter *eicit*; quód agat, aegre súppetit.

¹ Cf. p. 102 et adn. 1.

Pers. 320:—

Ego *reiciam*; habe animúm bonum. credétur; commodábo.

Ter. And. 382:—

Áliquam causam quam ób rem *eiciat* óppido. eiciát? cito.

Ph. 18:—

Ille ád famem hunc a stúdio studuit *reicere*

et in aliis,¹ omnes tamen aut per se longae esse, aut cum sequenti syllaba per diphthongum coniungi possunt. Itaque quoniam hi poetae ipsi exempla praebent, quorum certo producendae sunt syllabae primae, velut Plaut. Asin. 127:—

Sícine hoc fít? foras aédibus me *éici*?

Laber. vs. 83, II. p. 292 R.:—

Hoc vóluit clipeum cóntra pelvem *próici*

et alia,² atque ceteri poetae constanter produxerunt aut per diphthongum enuntiarunt, credamus licet omnia illa dubia produci oportere. Qua ratione sum ipse usus in enumeratione mea.

Sed harum praepositionum vocales, cum diversas per se mensuras habeant, sunt tamen omnes adfectae consonantis *i* excipientis natura. Nam ut consonante,³ ita vocali cum praepositiones caderent, *iaciendi* verbum non est dubium quin primae sonum litterae diu servaverit.⁴

Hae igitur sunt productionis rationes: *de*, *e*, *pro* praepositiones vocalis litteras habent natura longas, *co* et *tra* autem compensant productis vocalibus extremas litteras amissas,⁵ sed *re* producitur

¹ Cf. ind. Plaut. d, e, f; Ter. c, d; Rell. d, e, f; etiam Lucil. b; Sen. d.

² Cf. ind. Plaut. d; Rell. d; etiam Phaedr. b.

³ Cf. p. 96 sqq.

⁴ Cf. inf. p. 110 sqq.

⁵ Cf. Gell. 2. 17. 8 sq.: "*coligatus* et *conexus* producte dicitur. Sed tamen videri potest in his, quae posui, ob eam causam particula haec produci, quoniam eliditur ex ea *n* littera (cf. 4. 17. 6); nam detrimentum litterae productione syllabae compensatur." Etiam cf. Verg. G. 4. 257, *cōnexae*; A. 9. 410, *cōnixus*; ib. 1. 73, *cōnubio*; quibus in omnibus verbis *co*, non *con*, adhibitum esse apparet ex inscriptionibus librisque. Cf. Neue. Formenl. II.³ pp. 865–67.

Alia est sententia non deductum esse illud *co* ex *com* (*con*), sed *com* (*con*) ex *co*, nescio quo addito. Confirmationem petit haec opinio ex linguis Germana et

non tantum *f* littera compensanda, quantum *i* consonantis proprietate quadam, qua cum ea est inter vocalis posita, *i* vocalis litterae quasi umbra et imago ante eam audita, ut *ēiō*, *Māria*, sic adfecit antecedentis vocalis litteram, ut, etiam si illa brevis fuit, produceretur.¹ Nam cum *re* praeposito quibusdam verbis praefixa saepe adsimulata sit eorum primae litterae, velut *reppu*,² *rettuli*, *rellatum* (Lucr. 2. 1001), *rettulisti* (Cic. Rep. 2. 8. 14), *redduco* (Lucr. 1. 228, etiam cf. Neue. Formenl. II.³ p. 923), aliorum (cf. Cl. I. p. 593), tamen numquam *f* litteram amissam compensat vocali producenda;³ atqui ante *i* consonantem *r* semper producitur, ut in *reicit* Verg. A. 5. 421; *reisti* ib. 11. 630; *reiturus* Ov. M. 9. 513; *reicto* Sen. Thyest. 808; *reictas* Sil. 7. 722; *reici* ib. 13. 726; et alia multa.

Gothica: nam alterius *g* syllaba praefixa, alterius *ga* cognatae sunt, ut videtur, cum *ca* (Cf. F. Kluge. Etym. Wörterb. der deutschen Sprache, 1889, s. v. *ge*: "Verwandschaft des Präfixes mit lat. *com*, *con* ist wahrscheinlich." Sed idem in edit. tert. 1883, scripserat: "ist nicht sicher.") Cf. Germ. *gemein* et Goth. *gumains* cum Lat. *communis* (*communis* in s. c. de Bacchanalibus Cl. I. 196, a. 186 a. Chr. n., quo tamen tempore omnino non geminabantur consonantes; cf. *necessus esse Bacchanal* vs. 4, *univert* vs. 2 alia).

Potest tamen *com* (*com*) primaria esse forma; nam in lingua Hibernica *com*, *con*, *co* pariter exstant, omnibusque muneribus praepositionis funguntur, ita autem adhibentur ut *com* ante medias (*con* ante *b*) et vocalis, *co* ante tenuis ponatur (cf. Ern. Windisch. Irische Texte mit Wörterb., 1880, p. 430 s. v. 3 *co*, *com*-, et Irische Grammatik, 1879, §§ 97, 99 a. 245, 246, 247 b). In lingua Oschorum *com* (*kom*) solum exstat. Cf. *com* *prettatud* in tabulae Bantinae vs. 15 (Zvetaiëff, Inscriptiones Italiae Inferioris Dialecticae, 1886, p. 70 et tab. III), *com* *atrud* (?) vss. 23-4, *kombened*, *kombennicis*, [*ko*] *parakneis*, *comparascuster* (ib. pp. 120-2). In tab. Bant. vs. 16 *com* (*preivatud*) errore videtur pro *com* scriptum esse. Apud Sabellicos quoque *kom* praepositio erat; cf. *kom* *alies* (ib. p. 3). Inscriptiones Faliscae *cuncaftum* et *comritis* reddunt (ib. p. 26). *Cocchris* autem est ex Volscorum dialecto (ib. p. 20); atque Umbri, cum illud *com* (*kum*) praepositionem haberent (frequens post nomen suum ponitur cum *m* littera saepius omittitur, ut *verisco*, *esuku*), in compositis tamen *co* (*ku*) tantum usurpabant; cf. *comoltu*, *kumaltu* = 'commolito,' *comohota* = 'commota,' *conegas*, *kunikas* = 'conixus,' *covertu*, *kucertu* = 'convertito,' *kureitu* = 'convehito.' Vide Bücheler. Umbrica, 1883, pp. 210-11.

¹ Recorderis quaeso quo modo *m* littera ante *f* vel *s*, aut *g* ante *m* vel *n* posita productam reddiderit antecedentem vocalem.

² Cf. Corssen. Ausspr. II.³ pp. 466-8, qui aliorum alias rationes exposuit.

³ Alia est Brixi sententia ad Capt. 918 elata, sed ibi *reclusit* potuit scribi vel certe dici. Aliud remedium petiit Fleckeisen.

I consonanti hanc fuisse proprietatem cum non prorsus certum sit,¹ veri tamen simillimum videtur. Cf. Seelmann. Ausspr. d. Lat. p. 231: "Gewisse momente lassen es nicht zweifelhaft erscheinen, dass bis zum IV oder V jahrh. n. Chr. die bessere volkssprache mitlautendes *I* und *V* als halbvocale, also = *ɨ* und *ʉ* fortführte," item p. 230: "Die laute . . . wo also trotz des j-artigen beigeräusches ein *i* . . . deutlich durchtönt, nennen wir mit fug und recht 'halb-vocale.'" At sane non semper. Nam neque cum ab initio verbi posita est, eo magis ultimam vocalem antecedentis verbi produxit (cf. Catul. 62. 3: *Surgerē iam tempus . . .*), neque tum cum in medio vocabuli *i* vocalem excepit, subsequente quoque vocali in eadem syllaba, illam *i* antecedentem longam reddidit. *Biugus* enim, *triugus*, *quadriugus* et reliqua similia constanter brevibus primis syllabis utuntur. Sed si quam aliam vocalem atque *i* subsecuta est, tum tenuem vocalis *i* sonum ante se dedit, sed arte secum coniunctam, nec cum antecedente vocali in alia syllaba elatam;² nihilque referre utrum in simplicibus verbis an in compositis stet,³ *re* syllaba constanter longa satis demonstrat.⁴ Atque sic factus est ille plenior,⁵ pressior,⁶ latior,⁶ pinguis⁶ sonus *i* litterae; quo antecedens vocalis, si brevis fuit, evaderet longa, si vero producta, productior.

Hunc sonum ex vocali et consonante mixtum ut scribendo significarent, duabus *i* litteris opus esse putaverunt non nulli. Inde sunt illa *aiio*, *Maiia*, *Aiiax*, quae Ciceroni placuisse commemorant et Quintilianus, ubi dicit (I. 4. 11), "Sciat etiam Ciceroni placuisse *aiio Maiiamque* geminata *i* scribere; quod si est, etiam iungetur ut consonans"; et Velius Longus his verbis (K. VII. 54. 16): "Et in plerisque Cicero videtur auditu emensus scriptionem, qui et *Aiiacem* et *Maiiam* per duo *i* scribenda existimavit; quidam unum esse animadvertunt, si quidem potest et per unum *i* enuntiari, ut scriptum

¹ Cf. L. Müller. de Re Metr. p. 292³ (251¹).

² Cf. Corssen. Ausspr. I.² p. 302.

³ Cf. Schmitz. Beitr. p. 77; dissentiunt Prisc. K. II. 14. 14. inf. p. 109 citatus et Corssen l. c.

⁴ Cf. etiam Mar. Victorin. K. VI. 35. 25: "quamquam et geminata *i* scribere iubeamur, ut *proiiecit*" (in temp. praeterito).

⁵ Cf. grammaticorum locos infra prolatos.

⁶ Cf. Pompeium K. V. 103. 33 sqq.

est. Unde illud quod pressius et plenius sonet per duo *i* scribi oportere existimat." Eiusdem modi sunt etiam illa Lucretiana *Troiiugenas* et *Gratiiugendarum* supra p. 94 adn. 4 laudata, atque *Troiiianis* in 1. 476, quae potius Ciceronis esse quam Lucreti equidem arbitrer. Illam enim geminationem usurpatam esse Lucreti aetate non probabile videtur, quoniam in CI. I. nullum est exemplum.¹ In CI. II tamen haec inter alia exstant aetatis incertae exempla: 1076 POMPEIIVS; 1923 EIIVS; 4587 CVIIVS; etiam haec, quae accuratius sonum prae se ferunt; EIIVS 1964. I. 41 et saepe: CVIIVS ib II. 10; et alia. Qua ex ratione scribendi prave factum est illud POMPEIIVS CI. IX. 3748 et alia quae sunt similia.² Plauti quoque Ambrosianus rara exempla habet, quorum videas exempli gratia MAIIORES Trin. 642.

Grammatici autem saepius poscunt ut haec *i* littera consonans inter vocalis posita per geminationem scribatur. Cf. Caesellium apud Cassiodorium (K. VII. 206. 6): "*Pompeiius, Tarpeiius, et ciius* per duo *i* scribenda sunt et propter sonum (plenius enim sonant) et propter metra; numquam enim longa fiet syllaba, nisi per *i* geminum scribatur." Cf. etiam Diomedem (K. I. 428. 10): (positione longa fit syllaba) "cum correpta vocalis desinat et interposita *i* excipiatur a vocali . . . quoniam inter duas vocales duarum syllabarum posita *i* geminatur. Sic enim scribi per geminatam litteram metri ratione desiderat, si quidem potestatem tuetur duplicis consonantis." Conferas porro, si velis, Marium Victorinum in K. VI. 24. 21; 27. 9; 35. 22: Maximum Victorinum K. VI. 197. 16.

Sed alii, duplicis soni haud ignari, unam scribi litteram voluerunt; veluti Probus (K. IV. 221. 8): "*I* littera duplicem sonum designat, una quamvis figura sit, si undique fuerit cincta vocalibus"; itemque (257. 17): "*I* littera cum fuerit in medio vocalium, ita ut consonans sit, duplicem sonum reddit"³; et Velius Longus (K. VII. 55. 2): "At qui *Troiam* et *Maiam* per unum *i* scribunt, negant onerandam pluribus litteris scriptionem, cum sonus ipse sufficiat; hanc enim naturam esse quarundam litterarum, ut morentur et enuntiatione

¹ EIIVS tamen est satis antiquum; cf. p. 93 adn. 3.

² Cf. Schmitz. Beitr. p. 84 sqq. et Seelmann. Ausspr. d. Lat. p. 236.

³ At cf. Serv. Aen. 1. 1 supra p. 94 laudatum.

sonum detineant. . . . atque ipsa natura *i* litterae est ut interiecta vocalibus latius enuntietur"; etiam Donatus in K. IV. 368. 27 et Beda in K. VII. 229. 30.

Quamvis male¹ opinati sint hanc *i* esse duplicem consonantem, atque ideo positione produci multas vocalis, quae re vera natura aut compensatione producuntur,² tamen praeclare testificantur *i* litterae vocalibus interpositae fuisse sonum duplicem.

Summam quandam omnium harum doctrinarum dat Priscianus, ubi duplicem et simplicem *i* litteram distinguit (K. II. 13. 27): "Et *i* quidem modo pro simplici modo pro duplici accipitur consonante: pro simplici, quando ab eo incipit syllaba in principio dictionis posita, subsequente vocali in eadem syllaba, ut *Iuno, Iuppiter*; pro duplici autem, quando in medio dictionis ab eo incipit syllaba post vocalem ante se positam, subsequente quoque vocali in eadem syllaba, ut *Maius, peius, eius*, in quo loco antiqui solebant geminare eandem *i* litteram et *maiius, peiuis, eiius* scribere, quod non aliter pronuntiari posset, quam si cum superiore syllaba prior *i*, cum sequente altera proferretur, ut *pei-ius, ei-ius, mai-ius*"; addatur quod est in K. II. 14. 14: "Pro simplici quoque in media dictione invenitur, sed in compositis, ut *iniuria, adiungo, eiectus, reiice*.³ Vergilius in bucolico (3. 96) proceleusmaticum posuit pro dactylo: Tityre, pascentes a flumine *reiice*⁴ capellas."

At male non modo hoc tale discrimen fecit, verum etiam separavit⁵ illa duo *i* in duas syllabas. Etenim in compositis non semper simplex est *i* littera, sed tum modo cum consonantem aut *i* vocalem excipit, ut in *adiungo, biiugus* et similibus verbis; neque separandus in duas syllabas est ille mixtus sive duplex sonus, namque aliter unum *i* omnino non suffecisset; atque Priscianus cum illa dicit, conatur tantum scripturam interpretari, quae non iam in usu fuit, cuiusque sonum ipse non intellexit. Cf. K. III. 467. 15: (in *Troia*

¹ Cf. Schmitz. Beitr. pp. 73-4.

² Cf. Aufrecht. Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. I. 225 sqq. et Corssen. Ausspr. I² 303 sqq.

³ Sic optimi libri, *reice* H₂ ex *reicere*, Hertz.

⁴ Cf. Brambach. Lat. Orthog. p. 199 adn.

⁵ Ad eum tamen accedunt viri docti Schmitz (Beitr. p. 75) et Seelmann (Ausspr. d. Lat. pp. 235-6).

vocabulo) “solent . . . Latini . . . pro consonante duplici accipere *i* et eam a priore subtrahere syllaba et adiungere sequenti; quamvis antiqui solebant duas *ii* scribere et alteram priori subiungere, alteram praeponere sequenti, ut *Troiia, Maiia, Aiiax*.” Ibi quoque vehementer errat¹ ubi dicit (K. II. 303. 5): “Idque in vetustissimis invenies scripturis quotiens inter duas vocales ponitur, ut *ciius, Pompeiius, Vulteiis, Gaiius*; quod etiam omnes, qui de littera curiosius scripserunt, affirmant.” Nusquam enim exstat id duplex *i* in CI. I, hoc est in titulis aetate superioribus a. 44 a. Chr. n., neque est in libris frequens traditum. Qui igitur maxime id sustentarunt, erant grammatici, sed ne eorum quidem omnes, ut patet ex testimoniis quae supra protuli.

Hac digressionem iam finita, qua apparet *i* consonantem vocalibus interpositam effecisse suapte natura, ut, quae vocalis esset ante se posita, *i* vocali sola excepta, produceretur, nunc revertendum ad propositum nostrum.

Non modo *i* consonantem *iaciendi* verbi diu retentam esse post vocali finitas praepositiones satis significat constans harum omnium productio, verum etiam *iecio* primo dictum et scriptum, cum verbum et praepositio in unum convenissent² plura indicia sunt quam in illis compositis quorum prior pars consonante cadit.

CI. IX. 782: *proieciat* in lege antiqua.³

In Plautinis libris etsi nullum est certum exemplum, videtur tamen *ieciam* olim esse scriptum in Truc. 659⁴: —

Hoc ictu exponam atque ómnis *eiciam* foras

ubi pro *eiciã* D codicis habent B et C *ieciam* (*ieciã* B).

Lucilius *ieicere*⁵ scripsit, si Noni (300. 25 M.) codicibus credendum est, in versu dactylico (XXVIII. 106. M.): —

Eiecere istum abs te quam primum et perdere amorem

¹ Cf. Schmitz. Beitr. p. 83; Ribbeck. Proleg. Verg. p. 138.

² Quo modo prius scripserint, quam facta sit verbi et praepositionis inter se coniunctio, exemplo est illud *endo iacito*, quod erat in XII tabulis, teste Festo p. 313 M. = 452.7 Thewr. Cf. R. Schoell. Legis duodecim tabularum reliquiae, 1866, p. 115.

³ Cf. ind. Inscr. a.

⁴ Cf. ind. Plaut. f.

⁵ Cf. ind. Lucil. b.

hoc enim scriptum legitur in Lugdunensi (L) et ex correctione in Harleiano (H), qui uterque est IX saeculi, atque huc spectat fortasse *ecicere* scriptura quam ante correctionem habuit Bambergensis (B) saec. IX-X, unde profectum est id *eicere* codicis Guelferbytani (G) saec. X-XI. *Eicere* habent H₁, Gen. (saec. X), B₂, G₂.

Varronem¹ quoque hanc scribendi rationem usurpasse eiusdem Noni codices testificantur. In versu enim, qui in 452. 9 M. citatus est,

Frígore torret vénatum *eiectt* ieiunio véllicum

cum *eicit* habeant LH₂G, *eiectt* est in BH₁.

Lucreti² codices Leidenses (A saec. IX, B saec. X) habent *eiectt*, ceteri *eicit*, in 2. 951:—

Dispersamque foras per caulas *eiectt* omnis

sed in 3. 513:—

Addere enim partis aut ordine *traiecere* aecumst

nulla varia esse scriptura videtur.

Catullus³ autem unum incertum exemplum praebet ubi *proiciet* verbum in 64. 370:—

Proiciet truncum submisso poplite corpus

legitur; nam *proiciet* in Ambrosiano (A) saec. XIV scriptum erat ante correctionem, et in Berolinensi (L) saec. XV.

Ex Vergili⁴ codicibus habent sex hanc vetustiore scripturam: Romanus (R) saec. IV-V, *deiecit* in G. 1. 333:—

Deiecit, ingeminant austri et densissimus imber

A. 8. 428:—

Deiecit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat

ib. 10. 753:—

Deiecit: at Thronium Salius, Saliisque Nealces.

Mediceus (M) saec. IV-V *deiecit* in G. 1. 333.

¹ Cf. ind. p. 136 Varro.

² Cf. ind. Lucr. b.

³ Cf. ind. Catul. b.

⁴ Cf. ind. Verg. b.

Bernensis 184 (c) saec. IX *deiecit* in A. 10. 753, 11. 642:—

Deiecit Herminium nudo cui vertice fulva

proiecit ib. 5. 776:—

Proiecit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit

traiecit ib. 9. 634:—

Traiecit. I, verbis virtutem inlude superbis.

Codex Gudianus (γ) saec. IX secunda manu, et Minoraugiensis (m) saec. XII, et ex correctione Bernensis 165 (b) saec. IX *traiecit* ib. 9. 634. Videtur etiam Priscianus, vel potius fortasse posterior eius operis librarius, *deiecit* descripsisse in versu A. 10. 753 citando; cf. K. III. 293. 16.

Ovidi codex Laurentianus 36. 12 (λ) saec. XI-XII habet in margine *deiecit* in M. 11. 386, quamquam in versu est scriptum *dissidit*, atque in plerisque libris est *dissicit* aut *disicit* vel plane scriptum vel sat indicatum:—

*Dissicit*¹ (disicit) hos ipsos, colloque infusa mariti.

Stati² unus Bambergensis (B) saec. XI exhibet hoc genus formam, *eiecit* quidem in Th. 6. 770, ubi non nulli habent *eicit* aut *eiicit*, sed Puteanus (P) saec. X, Gudianus 52 (G) saec. XIV, Helmstaedensis (H) saec. XV tradunt id quod sententia postulat, *reiecit*³:—

Et patria vigil arte Lacon hos *reiecit* ictus.

Itaque illud *eiecit* codicis B ex *reiecit* decurtatum esse videtur.

Liviani codices haec suppeditant: *eiecit* in 1. 41. 1:—

Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros *eiecit*
et *deiecit* in 1. 48. 3:—

Tarquinius . . . medium arripit Servium elatumque . . . per gradus
deiecit

quae quidem aperte praesentis sunt temporis,⁴ et *deiecit* in 1. 40. 7:—

alter elatam securim in caput *deiecit*, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se
foras eiciunt

¹ Cf. ind. Ov. a.

² Cf. p. 114 inf.

³ Cf. ind. Stat. c.

⁴ Cf. Madvig. Emend. Liv. edit. sec., 1877, p. 226; Müller-Weissenb. edit. oct., 1885, app. crit.

quod, cum praesentis esse putaverit Hertz,¹ potest esse praeteriti. Etiam in 22. 37. 9:—

ut praetor . . . classem in Africam *traiceret*

Puteanus (P) saec. V-VI habet *traieceret*.

Haec praeterea dat Lachmann in commentario Lucretiano p. 128: e Caelio Antipatro Nonius 89. 6 *deiecit* ("congenueclat percussus *deiecit* dominum"). In Caesaris de bello Gallico comm. 4. 28 exemplaria duo (Parisinum 5763 (B) saec. X et Vossianum primum sive Lugdunensem 53 (C) saec. VI laudat Nipperdey, Holder autem B solum) *deiecerentur*. In apocalypsi Iohannis 11. 2 unus codex ("unum e meis") *eiece* (cf. eius editionem Novi Testamenti. *Eice* autem habet codex Fuldensis.² v. edit. Ranke. p. 446.12).

Ex Schuchardti libro³ II, 4 haec adsumpsi: Digesta Florentina⁴ IX. 2. 31 *deieceret*; IX. 3. 1. § 4 et XLIII. 16. 3. § 12 *deieceretur*; IX. 2. 53 *deiecerentur*; VII. 1. 13. § 4 et XLIII. 16. 3. § 9 *deiecere* (infin.); VII. 1. 13. § 5 *deiecerit* (pro infin.). Codex Sessorianus Augustini Speculi saec. VIII-IX (cf. Schuch. III. 3) *proiecietur*.⁵ Codex Bobiensis-Vaticanus Augustini Sermonum saec. VI-VII (cf. Schuch. l.c.) *proiecere*.⁶ Gothanus⁷ Euangeliorum 38. b, 15 *proiece*.

Post vocali igitur, item ut post consonante, cadentes praepositiones *iecio* formam esse antiquiorem licet nobis arbitrari. Sed *icio* in his quoque compositis se mox ostendit in sermone, ut ex scaenicis poetis⁸ apparet, non plerumque tamen ita elatum ut *ecicio* verbum, quod exempli gratia profero, in quattuor syllabas *ē-i-ci-o* distingueretur,⁹ sed in tres *ei-ci-o* quarum prima esset diphthongus.¹⁰

¹ Cf. eius edit. ad h. l. et ad 1. 41. 1.

² Cf. p. 92 sup.

³ Cf. p. 98 sup.

⁴ Cf. p. 98 sup.

⁵ Cf. A. Mai Novae Patrum Bibliothecae tom. I, 1852, partem sec. p. 28, vs. 27.

⁶ Cf. ib. partem primam, p. 25, vs. 11.

⁷ Cf. p. 98 sup.

⁸ Cf. etiam p. 99 sqq.

⁹ Contra *ecicio* formam cf. sup. pp. 104-05; atque *ecicio* quamquam initio quidem veri est simillimum per quattuor syllabas auditum esse, non diu tamen haec ratio dicendi perstitisse mihi videtur. Operae est pretium fortasse illud *deinde* adverbium recordari, in quo praefixa syllaba cum *i* littera sequente diphthongum effecit. Similiter saepius *dehinc*, *deinceps*, *proinde*, alia.

¹⁰ Cf. ind. Plaut. e; Ter. d; Rell. e.

Cf. Mil. 205 :—

Déxterum ita veménter *ēicit*; quód agat aegre súppetit

Asin. 254 :—

Quín tu abs te socórdiam omnem *rēi'cis*, segnitiem ámoves

Phorm. 717 :—

Nam si áltera illaec mágis instabit, fórsitan nos *rēi'ciat*

ib. 18 :—

Ille ád famem hunc a stúdio studuit *rēi'cere*.

Sunt quoque alia¹ exempla quae per diphthongum sive synizesim, quam vocant, potuerunt dici. Haud tamen placet talis ratio; quae enim exempla certo sunt sic enuntianda apud hos scaenicos poetas non plus quinque inveniuntur, quae divisim necesse est enuntiari, quindecim.

Haec autem per diphthongum ratio dicendi, quoniam brevior commodiorque erat illa altera per *iecio*, magis magisque valuit, dum a. 105 a. Chr. n. pervagati fuit usus. Namque cum sono apud Romanos obsecuta est scriptura, tum eo anno lex est incisa, quae habet *proicito*² scriptum. Apud poetas tamen et alios litteris instructos illud *iecio* tam diu est identidem et dictum et scriptum, quoad remansit post consonante terminatas praepositiones, hoc est usque ad extremam Augusti aetatem.³ Inde ab hoc tempore omnino non usurpatum est neque apud poetas neque apud alios. Sic enim non solum inter se constat ratio omnium *iaciendi* verbi compositorum, et quorum consonantibus et quorum vocalibus cadunt praepositiones, verum huc quoque se vertunt vestigia earum quae *iecio* habent formarum.⁴ Nam exstant haec aut in operibus quae sunt ante Augusti obitum composita, aut quae longe posteriora sunt; neque est ullum, quod sciam, exemplum apud scriptores priorum duorum p. Chr. n. saeculorum, uno tantum excepto apud Statium (cf. p. 112 sup.). Id ergo Statium ipsum scripsisse mihi quidem haud probabile

¹ Cf. ind. Plaut. f; Ter. e; Rell. f.

² Cf. ind. Inscr. a. 3. Nempe potuit hoc verbum per diaeresim enuntiari, sed cf. p. 113 et adn. 9.

³ Cf. sup. pp. 99, 101.

⁴ Cf. sup. pp. 110-13.

videtur; atqui concedendum est profecto potuisse eum, quod in aliquo veterum scriptorum exemplari conspexisset, id imitari. Quae autem exempla in Novi Testamenti codicibus et apud Augustinum reperiuntur, ea, ut reor, indicant illius *iecio* formas inter rudes rusticosque diu conservatas esse.¹

Tametsi igitur, cum *iecio* iam a Tiberio imperatore obsoluisset, in sermone nihil nisi breviorum formam per diphthongum expressam in usu fuisse maxime probabile videtur, in carmina tamen hanc quidem formam, at per diaeresim elatam, admiserunt poetae. Cf. German.² 512:—

Rectus per medios decurrens *trāicit* axis

Phaedr.³ Append. 8. 20:—

Et vóce molli; licet? enim vero *ēici*

et alia.⁴

Sed quamquam diaeresim numerorum gratia, fortasse etiam veterum consuetudine adducti, plerumque adsumpserunt, volgarem tamen dicendi modum neque hi neque illi spernebant. Quae apud Plautum et Terentium sunt exempla supra laudavi. Quibus accedant haec: Lucil. 652 Lachm.:—

. . . ego animam

Prōi'ciam ut me amóre expediam . . .

ubi incertissima est scriptura.⁵ Quod dedi est ex Lachmanni coniectura. Minime tamen, etiam si ea accipietur, necesse est per diphthongum, *prōiciam*, enuntiare, alteram enim mensuram, *prōiciam*, facile accipit versus. Quod quidem maluit Lachmann ipse.⁶ Lucretius⁷ duo exempla habet, 3. 877:—

Nec radicitus e vita se tollit et *ēicit*

4. 1272:—

Ēicit enim sulcum recta regione viaque

¹ Cf. p. 102 sup.

² Cf. ind. p. 145 German. b.

³ Cf. ind. Phaedr. b.

⁴ Cf. ind. Manil. b; Val. b; II. Lat. b; Stat. c; Claud. c.

⁵ Cf. ind. Lucil. b.

⁶ Cf. Comm. in Lucr. p. 188.

⁷ Cf. ind. Lucr. c.

Laber.¹ 119. II. p. 290 R. —

Nunc[ime] ne *reccas* ? quid ? quid ad scenam adfero ?

Verg.² E. 3. 30 —

Tityre, pascites a fumine *recca* capellas.

Hor.³ S. 1. 9. 39 —

Reccere de saxo cives aut trahere Cadmo.

Ov.⁴ F. 4. 739 —

Factum iouit, nomimenta nudent, iam *reccere* captam.

Ciris.⁵ 113. —

Reccere et inuicta virgine remouere Martem.

Sen.⁶ Phoen. 479: —

Et inter iures *gru* *recc* captam iuas

quamquam hic quoque praefixa per se longa syllaba potuit esse.

Val. Fl.⁷ 7. 514 —

Nunc *reccere* vultus reger quirit et nota dictis.

Stat.⁸ Th. 4. 574: —

Tela manu *reccere* canes in vultus iuantes.

Reccere autem Romanos non admisisse similia sunt argumenta eorum, quae supra pp. 89–92 protuli, namque deest id ut in titulis, ita in libris antiquissimis et solutae orationis et vinctae, exceptis modo PRc Vergilianis: neque saepe in poetarum certe codicibus ante XV saeculum inducebatur. Talem praeterea sonum, quo i consonans et vocali exceptum esset in eadem syllaba, abhorrere a Romanorum consuetudine, satis, arbitror, apparet ex testimoniis supra p. 93 sqq. adlatis.

¹ Cf. ind. Reil. e.

² Cf. ind. Verg. c.

³ Cf. ind. Hor. c.

⁴ Cf. ind. Ov. d.

⁵ Cf. ind. Ciris.

⁶ Cf. ind. Sen. d.

⁷ Cf. ind. Val. c.

⁸ Cf. ind. Stat. d.

In poetarum libris manu scriptis quae huius formae tradita sunt exempla, quod comperire ex editionibus criticis potuerim,¹ haec fere sunt: —

Plautinus² F saec. XV (cf. p. 89 sup.) praebet *reiicio* in Merc. 908, *deiiciam* in Stich. 355, *reiiciam* in Pers. 320, *reiicere* ib. 319.

Lucreti³ codices, etsi non exhibent ipsum *iicio*, tamen in 3. 58 et 3. 497 *eliciuntur*, in 4. 945 *eliciatur* habent, unde Lambinus *eiciendi* formas restituit, id quod Lachmann et Munro acceperunt. Nimirum recte. Horati enim codex Monacensis 14685 (C) saec. XI habet in S. 1. 6. 32 *inliciat*, et codex Gothanus (g) saec. XV *illiciat*.⁴ In Vergili quoque Gudiano (γ) saec. IX *superlicit*⁵ prima manu scriptum est in A. 11. 625. Atque Livi Puteanus (P) saec. V-VI *inlici* dat in 30. 10. 16. Quae corrupta non tam, ut illud *Graliugenarum*⁶ quod est in Lucreti codice A, oculo decepto debentur, quam auri male percipienti; non enim alia huius *iicio* habent hi codices vestigia.⁷

Catullianus⁸ Guelferbytanus (G) saec. XV geminum *i* constanter habet.

Vergilianorum⁹ codicum habent tres huius formae exempla: Palatinus (P) saec. IV-V *coiiciunt* in A. 10. 801, et *de · i · cit* ib. 8. 428 in quo forsitan illius *deiicit*¹⁰ lateat vestigium. Romanus (R) saec. IV-V *proiice* ib. 6. 835. Bernensis 184 (c) saec. IX *trai · cit* ib. 10. 400 ubi *i* altera est erasa.

Ovidiana¹¹ Defloratio Vincenti Bellovacensis saec. XIII dat *eiicitur* in T. 5. 6. 13. Codex m imperite interpolatus (cf. Merkel. edit., 1841, p. cclxxxi) *traiiicias* in rasura habet in F. 4. 782. Codex Q (cf. p. 90 sup.) saec. XV habet *eijcitur* in T. 5. 6. 13, *traijcerer* ib. 5. 2. 33 ubi *traiiicerer* habent et Excerpta Politiani (Δ) et codex Oxoniensis (ξ), uterque saec. XV, et Berolinensis (o) saec. XIV.

Phaedri¹² Neapolitanus (N) saec. XV (?) et Vaticanus 368 (V) saec. XV-XVI dant *eiici* in Append. 8. 20.

¹ Si qui alii codices hanc formam habent, scilicet novissimorum sunt.

² Cf. ind. Plaut. d, f.

³ Cf. ind. Lucr. b.

⁴ Cf. ind. Hor. a.

⁵ Cf. ind. Verg. a.

⁶ Cf. sup. p. 94, adn. 4.

⁷ Cum his placeat comparare Ter. Hec. 842, ubi pro *conicias*, quod est in codicibus, Palmer et alii *conicias* voluerunt scribi. Cf. ind. Ter. b.

⁸ Cf. ind. Catul. b.

⁹ Cf. ind. Verg. a, b.

¹⁰ Cf. Vel. Longi locos inf. p. 118 citatos.

¹¹ Cf. ind. Ov. c.

¹² Cf. ind. Phaedr. b.

Stati codex Dommerichianus (D), qui in libris pessimis interpolatis habendus est, praebet *deiiciat*¹ in Achil. 1. 311. Codices Behottiani, incerta aetate, *eiicit*² in Th. 6. 770.

Varronis librorum de lingua Latina codex Hauniensis saec. XV in versu Atti (430. I. p. 191 R.) 7. 65 prolato *reiciēs*³ tradit, *reices* Gothanus saec. XV, *reiiis* reliqui (excepto Florentino saec. XI, qui *reicis* habet) saeculo XIV inferiores.

Gelli codicum interpolatorum pars in versu Pacuviano (94. I. p. 88 R.) 4. 17. 15 sumpto habent *proiicit*.⁴

Horum codicum nullus praeter Vergilianos P R c superioribus saeculo XIII temporibus descriptus est. Post consonante autem praepositiones finitas nullum ex codicibus quorum comperi scripturas, praeter Vergili P V, qui uterque ad IV vel V saeculum pertinerent, Moreti B saeculi IX, Plautique C saeculi XI, *iicio* scriptum habuisse dum ad XII saeculum perventum esset, supra p. 92 indicatum est. Quoniam ergo in Vergilianis solis vetustissimorum codicum hoc *iicio* invenitur, satis patet, opinor, id non a vulgari usu sive loquendi sive scribendi esse ortum, sed ab alicuius more grammatici vel librari, atque a quo magis ortum putemus quam a Probo⁵ illo Aristarcho Vergiliano?

Namque grammatici post vocalis, ita ut post consonantes (cf. pp. 88–89 sup.), quod *iicio* verbi *i* consonantem nullo modo amittendam esse crediderunt, per duo *i* haec composita scribi iubebant; atque Velius Longus quidem eo more adductus, quo consonans *i* vocalibus interposita per duo *i* scripta est,⁶ tria *i* memorat (K. VII. 54. 20): “Inde (h.e. a scribendo *Aiiarum*, *Maiiam*, *Troiiam*) crescit ista geminatio et incipit per tria *i* scribi *viicit*.” Etiam (ib. 72. 4): “Troia per *i* unum an per duo scribere debeam; et *viicit* utrum per unum *i* an per duo an per tria . . . et sic fiat *eiicit* et *viicit*.”⁷ Duo *i* laudat Priscianus in loco (K. II. 14. 14) supra p. 109 citato, iterumque in K. II. 126. 18: “Solet plerumque in compositione *a* in *i* converti, ut ‘cado incido,’ ‘facio inficio,’ ‘iacio iniicio *reicio*.’”

¹ Cf. ind. Stat. a, s. v. *dissiciat*.

² Cf. ind. Stat. c, s. v. *reicit*.

³ Cf. ind. Rell. f.

⁴ Cf. ind. Rell. d.

⁵ Cf. p. 94 sup.

⁶ Cf. pp. 107–08 sup.

⁷ Cf. Schmitz. Beitr. pp. 78–79; Lachmann. in Lucr. p. 371.

Gellius in 4. 17. 15 testibus optimis codicibus *proicit* scripsit, quamquam post consonantes *icio* scribendum modo dixerat,¹ nihilque erat causae cur post vocalis quoque idem non iuberet. Servius autem unum *i* plane demonstrat se, ut enuntiavisse, ita etiam scripsisse; cf. ad Aen. 4. 549: “*Obicio, reicio, adicio* ‘i’ habent vocalem sequentem, quae per declinationem potest in consonantis formam transire, ut *obieci, reieci*.” Accedat quod dixit ad Aen. 10. 473: “*Re* naturaliter brevis est, et eam pro longa posuit. Sic alibi (G. 3. 389):—

Reice ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis.

Quod licet possit excusari, quia cum facit *reieci*, inter duas vocales *i* posita producit superiorem, ut dicamus longam eam esse spe qua per declinationem longa futura est; tamen quia in hac re argumentum magis est quam ratio, dicamus ectasin factam, quae poetis plerumque conceditur.”

Iacio verbum igitur, cum praepositionibus quae vocalibus cadunt inciperet subiungi, in *iecio* se convertisse videtur. Plauti aetate in sermonibus certe haec *e* littera propria mutatione porro convertebatur in *i* vocalem, id quod simul fecit ut *i* consonans reiceretur, nam *i* consonantis sonum *i* vocali subsequente non patiebantur Romani. Itaque praepositione cum illa *i* vocali in una syllaba plerumque elata, diphthongus est effecta, quae magis atque magis valens ad extremum alterum saeculum ante Christum natum ita volgo audiebatur, ut, scriptura apud Romanos sono obsequente, etiam in legibus, quae veteres formas maxime amant, repraesentaretur scribendo. Inde in vulgari communique usu cum haec forma versaretur, apud poetas tamen et alios politos litterarumque peritos illud *iecio* usque ad extremam Augusti aetatem restabat. Tiberio autem imperatore, non iam est hoc usurpatum, nisi, ut videtur, ab imperitis provincialibusve; verum *icio* cum in sermone omnibus iam inde fuit in usu per diphthongum enuntiatum, tum numeri gratia per diaeresim a poetis non numquam adhibitum est.

¹ Cf. 4. 17. 6 sqq. sup. pp. 88–89 prolatum.

IV. DE *H* LITTERA AD HIATUM CORRIGENDUM ADHIBITA.

Ille tamquam hiatus, qui concursu ultimae vocalis praepositionum cum illo *icw* formatus est, raro in codicibus per *h* litteram insertam vitatur. Hoc *h* quamvis Lachmann¹ et L. Müller² putasse videantur aequale fuisse eius *icw*, perpaucorum mori librariorum, ut opinor, debetur. Nam neque in titulis neque in illis solutae orationis codicibus, quos supra pp. 91–92 laudavi, omnino occurrit: neque scilicet multo saepius in libris poetarum. Quae notavi exempla in quibusdam editionum apparatus criticis memorata haec sunt: —

In Vergili Mediceo (M) saec. IV-V *trahit*³ in A. 10. 400.

In Noni codice Lugdunensi priore (L) saec. IX *whicere*⁴ p. 267 M., ubi est Afrani versus (216. II. p. 191 R.) prolatus. Cf. p. 268 M. ubi in citando versu qui est (191. II. p. 188 R.): —

Coiicerat nescio quid de ratiuncula

(sic L. Müller, *ei* *wicere* ad codices plerique) *whicere* dedit L.

In Plauti codice Vetere (B) saec. XI *de hic iam*⁵ in Stich. 349, unde *dehinc iam* in CDF.

Catulli Oxoniensis (O) saec. XIV-XV reddit *prohicies*⁶ in 55. 19, *prohicere*⁶ in 64. 82.

Ovidiani libri aliquot, saeculo XIII vel XIV descripti, habent *trahicerer*⁷ in T. 5. 2. 33, quorum satis sit memorare Berolinensem (B) saec. XIII-XIV et hos XIII saeculi, Guelferbytanum (sec. manu, G₂), Holkhamicum (H), Parisinum S254 (R).

¹ Cf. Comm. in Lucret. p. 128.

² Cf. de Re Metr. p. 291² = 250¹: "Alii pro eo quod est *icw* scripsere *icw* vel *hicio*."

³ Cf. ind. Verg. b.

⁴ Cf. ind. p. 135, Rell. f.

⁶ Cf. ind. Catull. b.

⁵ Cf. ind. Plaut. f.

⁷ Cf. ind. Ov. c.

V. DE ILLIS VERBIS QUAE SUNT *CONICIO* ET *DISICIO*.a) *Conicio*.

Restat denique ut de verbis quae sunt *conicio* et *disicio* breviter agam. Nam ut de *conicio* prius verba faciam, non satis adhuc cognitum est, qua ratione *con* et *co* ab antiquis adhibita sint.¹ Examinatis autem iis formis quae in inscriptionibus et apud poetas sunt, atque etiam orationis solutae non modo iis quas ego in vetustissimis libris manu scriptis inveni, verum etiam quas conlegerunt in libro suo Neue et Wagener, haec mihi videntur elucere: *con* praepositionem plerumque, si quidem non constanter, adhibuisse poetas; *co* autem formam, quae, ut veri simile est, pariter cum *con* praeponebatur ei quod est *iecio* verbo, tum, cum *iecio* in *icio* converteretur, mox solam in sermone usurpari, atque, diphthongo cum *i* vocali plerumque effecta² magis magisque valuisse, ab eisque qui solutis

¹ Cf. Lachmann. in Lucr. p. 136; Neue-Wagener. Formenl. II³, pp. 864-65.

² Et *con* (*com*) et *co* formas ante *i* et *v* litteras semivocalis praebent inscriptiones antiquissimae; cf. illud senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus (CI. I. 196 (p. 43), a. 186 a. Chr. n.), in quo exstant haec: *convovise* vs. 13, *coventionid* vs. 23, *conioura[se]* vs. 13; etiam CI. I. 1011 *coniunxs*, 1053 *coniugi*, 1064 et 1413 *coiugi* quae inscriptiones, etsi incerta aetate, sunt tamen inter vetustissimas. Vide alia exempla ap. Neue. II³, pp. 865, 867. Principio autem haud scio an illo *co* solo ante semivocalis usi sint Romani; *contio* enim et *cunctus* (*conctos* in Carm. Arvali, CI. I. 28. 4) vocabula non ab *conventio* et *coniunctus* possunt duci, verum ab *coventio* et *coiunctus*. Hoc si verum est, *coiecio* est primum adhibitum, deinde cum illo pariter *coniecio* (cf. ind. Inscr. a. 2, *conieciant*, a. 123-2 a. Chr. n.); atque *con* praefixam syllabam plerumque scripserunt poetae, si quidem in codicibus possumus niti, cui non est mihi dubium quin *ieciendi* formas usque ad Tiberium imperatorem subiunxerint. Illud autem *icio* simul atque in usum venit, cum eo non saepe *con*, sed *co*, coniunctum est, quoniam sic poposcit consuetudo Romana. Namque ante vocalis *co* fere adhibitum est. Cf. *cogo* (ab *co-ago*), *coactus*, *coeo*, *coetus* (ab *coitus*), *coopto*, alia. Excipienda sunt sola haec vocabula: *comedo*, *comes*, *comitium*, cum iis quae ab his originem ducunt. Corripitur autem *co* syllaba (cf. p. 105 et adn. 5) cum eam excipiunt vocales; cf. Hor. S. 1. 2. 9:—

Omnia conductis *cdemens* obsonia nummis.

Verg. A. 3. 424:—

At Scyllam caecis *cdhibet* spelunca latebris.

verbis scriberent magna ex parte adhibitam esse.¹ Cicero autem et Caesar et Livius, quantum quidem ex codicibus iudicare possumus, modo *co* modo *con* maluerunt. Potius tamen mihi quidem videntur illud *coniecio* semper adhibuisse.² Cf. *abiecit* illud quod Cicero scripsit in libro de Divinatione 1. 48. 106 (cf. p. 97 sup.); *deiecerentur* quod est in Caesaris de bello Gallico commentariis 4. 28 (cf. p. 113 sup.); *adiiecit* apud Livium 10. 8. 3, 10. 37. 14, 22. 19. 2; [*s*] *ubiicere* in 26. 19. 2 (cf. pp. 97–98 sup.). Cf. etiam p. 112 supra. *Conicio* autem aut *coicio* ubi in codicibus eorum scriptum legitur, librariis debetur; sed illud praefixam syllabam, qua ipsi scriptores usi sunt, servavit, hoc volgarem formam admisit. Cf. Livi codicem rescriptum Veronensem,³ in quo cum *conici* in lacunam quadrat in 3. 13. 6, tum *coici* plane scriptum in 6. 2. 10. Codex Puteanus⁴ habet in 28. 3. 11 a prima manu *coicerentur*, quod secunda manus in *conicerentur* convertit, atque *coiecus* est pro *coniectus* in 25. 16. 22. Cf. porro Neue. l.c.

Sed apud poetas illud *co* valde raro traditum est. In Plauti Rudente 769 *coiciam*⁵ habent CD codices, sed reliquis in locis huius poetae *con* solum legitur.⁶ Apud Terentium autem *con* est constans, atque in Hecyra 132 non est dubium quin id *conieci*, quod habent plurimi libri, praefendum sit illi *coieci* quod est in Bembino (A). Illud *co* quod est in Laberi et Afrani versibus⁷ forsitan poetis ipsis non debeatur, sed Gellio⁸ et Nonio,⁹ qui hos versus sumunt. Namque *con* potest in omnibus restitui neque numeri laeduntur.

(Similiter *de* syllaba. Cf. Ter. Haut. 825:—

Ne ego hómo sum fortunátus; ~~diis~~ té Syre.

Verg. A. 1. 106:—

Hi summo in fluctu pendent, his unda ~~diis~~ cernit.

Lucr. 2. 202:—

Quin vacuum per inane ~~diis~~ cuncta ferantur.)

Cum tamen eius *icio* verbi formae huic *co* subiunguntur, non corripitur sed per diphthongum cum *i* sequente coniungitur. Cf. pp. 113 (cum adn. 9)–116.

¹ Cf. ind. Inscr. a. 6, 10; b. 3; Neue, II³, pp. 864–65. Accedat etiam ex Plini codice rescripto Veronensi (cf. p. 91 sup.) 15, § 29 (= edit. Sillig. vol. VI. p. 240. 2) *coicit* forma. Serv. ad Aen. 9. 409 (411): “*conicit* antiquum est.”

² Cf. p. 101 sup.

³ Cf. p. 91 sup.

⁴ Cf. pp. 91–92 sup.

⁵ Cf. ind. Plaut. b.

⁶ Cf. p. 100.

⁷ Cf. ind. Rell. d, f.

⁸ Cf. Gell. 16. 7. 5.

⁹ Cf. Non. p. 267. 34 et 36 M.

Item apud Lucilium haud scio an sit *con*¹ ponendum in 2. 25 et 29. 48 M. (=62 et 715 Lachm.), qui versus a Nonio 268. 5 et 506. 27 M. citati sunt. *Con*² dat Gellius 4. 17. 2 in Lucili versu qui est 11. 10 M. vel 342 Lachm.

Vergili libri *con*³ formam exhibent constanter, nisi quod in A. 10. 646 et 5. 662 Romanus (R), in 10. 801 Palatinus (P) *co* habent. Ovidiani quoque libri *con*⁴ semper reddunt, tametsi in M. 7. 245 ante correctionem *co* habuit codex Marcianus Florentinus 225 (M) saec. XI. Apud Ennium,⁵ Lucretium,⁶ Ciceronem,⁷ Tibullum⁸ nihil nisi *con* est traditum, neque licet nobis dubitare quin ipsi poetae *coniciendi* formas scripserint. Sed post Augusti obitum cum illud *iecio* breviori *icio* formae cessisset, in *con* utendo, eoque longo, nihilo minus perstiterunt poetae.⁹ Cuius rei sola duo sunt exempla, alterum apud Valerium Flaccum,¹⁰ alterum apud Silium.¹¹

b) *Disicio*.

In verbo autem *disiciendi* de quo alias alii sententias dixerunt, eandem, qua sum in ceteris usus, rationem volo adhibere. Atque *dissicio* ne quisquam, oro, arbitretur aliud esse verbum ex illo *secere*¹² compositum. Nam cum O. Ribbeck, vir doctissimus, hanc opinionem a. 1873 diserte protulerit in corollario comicorum fragmentorum p. xiii sqq., ac Prisciano sumendo 1002 P (K. III. 56. 18): "Sciendum, quod tunc *dis* praeponitur, quando sequitur *c* vel *f* vel *p* vel *s* vel *t* vel *i* loco consonantis, ut *discumbo . . . differo . . . displiceo . . . dissicio, dissero, distraho . . . disiectus, disiungo,"* ubi id *dissicio* enumerat ille cum *dissero* verbo, non cum *disiectus*, studuerit sententiam comprobare; minime, ut ipse quidem fatetur, sustentant codices hanc distinctionem, tum *disicere* tum *dissicere* inconsulte ac temere exhibentes, neque id quod *seco* est in hoc solo composito *sicio* factum esse mihi facile persuadetur, eoque minus quod *disseco* exstitit a *dissecando*. Itaque *dissiciendi* verbum, quod habent saepis-

¹ Cf. ind. Lucil. b.

² Cf. ind. Lucil. a.

³ Cf. ind. Verg. a.

⁴ Cf. ind. Ov. a.

⁵ Cf. ind. Enn. a.

⁶ Cf. ind. Lucr. a.

⁷ Cf. ind. Cic. b.

⁸ Cf. ind. Tibul. a.

⁹ Cf. p. 102 sup.

¹⁰ Cf. ind. Val. a.

¹¹ Cf. ind. Sil. a.

¹² *Secere* quidem non minus se commendat quam *lavere, sonere, tonere*.

- 1) Plaut. Curc. 424 *dissicit.* *dessicit* BE, *diligit* FE₃.
- 2) Att. 348. I. p. 181 R. *dissicit.* *discicit* H₁, *dissicit* H₂.
- 3) Naev. 57. II. p. 16 R. *dissicis.*
- 4) Caecil. 239. II. p. 74 R. *dissice.* sic Putean., *disce* volgo.
- 5) Lucr. 3. 639 *dissicietur.*
- 6) Verg. A. 12. 308 *dissicit.* bcM₂, *disicit* γM₁, *disiicit* P₁,
disicit P₂, *discidit* R.
- 7) Verg. A. 1. 70 *dissice.* Rybcm, schol. Serv. 5. 683 ;
dissicep M, *disice* Donati
exempl.
- 8) Verg. A. 7. 339 *dissice.* RybψM₂, *dissicae* c, *disice* M₁,
disiice, supra scripta for-
tasse s, V.
- 9) Ov. M. 11. 386 *dissicit.* sic vel *disicit* codd. plerique ;
dissidit λ cuius in marg.
deiecit.
- 10) Sen. Tro. 395 *dissicit.* *dissicat* E, *dissipat* A.
- 11) Sen. Agam. 896 *dissicere.*
- 12) Sen. Phoen. 343 *dissicite.* E, *deicite* interpolator E.
- 13) Val. Fl. 3. 162 *dissicit.* C, *dissicet* P, *disicet* M₁, *disi-*
cit M₂.
- 14) Sil. It. 9. 538. *disice.* LV, *disire* vel *disice* corr. in
dissijce F, *dissite* O, *discute*
volgo.
- 15) Sil. It. 13. 444 *dissice.* Ch, *discite* O.
- 16) Il. Lat. 325 *disiceret.* *disiiceret* E, *discideret* FV,
divideret MN, *discuceret* L,
discuteret B.
- 17) Stat. Th. 1. 590 *dissicit.* BG₂ M, *disicit* H Anglic., *dis-*
sicet P, *discicit* S, *discidit*
Pal. 1.
- 18) Stat. Achil. 1. 311 *dissiciat.* PG₂, *dissiceat* Pc, *dissotiat* G,
deiiciat D, *discutiat* ptH.
- 19) Stat. Th. 10. 69 *dissice.*

Ex his igitur sunt novem (4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17) quae variis scripturis et *dis* et *diss* vel perspicue exhibent vel satis indicant; decem (1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19) quae, cum *diss* manifestum vel haud obscure indicatum habent, tum *dis* scripturae nullum dant vestigium; unum denique (16) quod *dis* solum habet, sed etiam in hoc forsitan *diss* in iis scripturis lateat, quae sunt in FVLB codicibus.

Quamquam hi ipsi poetae, ut arbitror, illam geminationem *s* litterae non adhibuerunt.¹ Nam ante Augustum mortuum *disiendi* formas veri simile est esse scriptas, atque postea *disiendi*, in quo sane *dis* syllaba corriperetur; cuius rei exempla duo praebere Seneca² videtur in Agam. 896:—

Discere et hostem quaerit implicitus suum

et in Phoen. 343:—

Discite passim moenia in planum date

quorum in utroque *dis* syllaba potest corripri. Sed in Tro. 395:—

nubes . . .

Arctoi Boreae *dissicit* impetus

ubi versus Asclepiadei ratio postulat ut *dis* syllaba producat, non *disicit* scripsit poeta, verum *dissecat* vel *dissicat*,³ si quidem codici Etrusco omnium praestantissimo credere possumus. Apud Valerium Flaccum autem et Silium et Statium, si eorum in *iaciendi* compositis rationis meminerimus,⁴ haud mira videbitur productio *dis* syllabae. Hanc vero productionem non duabus *s* litteris scribendis significavere, nam simplicis *s* exempla ipsa, quae sunt omnium optime codicibus sustentata, praebent Silius 9. 538 et Ilias Latina 325.

¹ Cf. autem Kempf. Val. Max. edit. pr., 1854, p. 282, vs. 6 adn.; Fleckeisen. in Annall. Philoll. 1863, p. 199 adn.; Neue. II.³ p. 921.

² Cf. ind. Sen. a.

³ Cf. sup. p. 124, adn. 6.

⁴ Cf. sup. pp. 101-02.

INDEX.

ENUMERATIO omnium praesentium praepositionibus subiunctarum *iaciendi* verbi formarum, quae in Inscriptionibus et apud Poetas, quotquot inter annos 240 a. Chr. n. et 200 p. Chr. n. scripserunt, sunt repertae. Adduntur quae formae apud Ausonium et Claudianum occurrunt.

I.

Ex Inscriptionibus sumpta exempla (CIL. — exceptis XI. 2, XIII-XV. 2 nondum editis ; — Ephem. Epigr. I.-VIII. 2).

a) Quorum tempora definiri possunt, secuntur : —

(cf. p. 110) proiecitad (= proicito?) in lege Lucerina de luco tempore non certo sed antiquo promulgata. CI. IX. 782 ; Eph. Epigr. II. p. 205.

(cf. pp. 96, 100) conieciant in lege repet. a. 123 sive 122 a. Chr. n. CI. I. 198. 50.

(cf. pp. 100, 114) proicito in lege parietis faciendi a. 105 a. Chr. n. CI. I. 577, I. 12, 16 (p. 163) et X. I. 1781 (p. 218).

inicere in lege Ursonensi a. 44 a. Chr. n. CI. II. Supplem. 5439. lxi. 1 ; Eph. Epigr. III. p. 91. 1.

reiciantur CI. ib. xcv. 27 ; Eph. Epigr. II. pp. 110, 224.

(cf. p. 121 sq.) coicerentur in titulo artificis de ossibus Hilarae sepeliendis a. 13 a. Chr. n. CI. VI. II. 9290.

deicientes in Menologio Rustico Colotiano et Men. Rust. Vallensi, quae haud multo recentiora facta sunt quam Fasti nobis servati, qui omnes ex annis u.c. 723-804 (= 31 a. Chr. n.

-51 p. Chr. n.) orti sunt.¹ CI. I. p. 359. xxii. a et b sub mense Decembr. vs. 15; VI. I. 2305 et 2306 (pp. 637, 639).

adicere in titulo a Vespasiano ad milites in provinciam Baeticam a. 78 p. Chr. n. misso. CI. II. 1423. 11.

subici in decreto Domitiani ad Falerienses ex Piceno attinente a. 82 p. Chr. n. CI. IX. 5420. 8.

(cf. pp. 121-22) coicito in legibus civitatum duarum Hispanarum temporibus Domitiani in aes incisis. CI. II. 1964, col. 2, 45 et 51.

adiciatur in titulo de exercitu aevo Hadriani insculpto. CI. VIII. I. 2532, Frg. B, a), vs. 6.

(cf. p. 88, adn.) adicit in vss. heroicis a. 136 p. Chr. n. compositis. CI. XIV. 2852. 15.

subiciantur in epistula a. 314 p. Chr. n., ut veri simile est, a Constantino ad Romae praefectum scripta. CI. V. 2781. 27; Eph. Epigr. VII. p. 416, tab. B, vs. 45.

adici in titulo sacro, qui in Ianiculo repertus, certe post Diocletiani tempora, probabiliter quinto saeculo iam vergente, incisus est. CI. VI. I. 1711. vs. 3.

adicit ib. vs. 17.

[reiciendos e Claudii orationis a. 48 p. Chr. n. habitae fragmento, quod in tabula aenea servatur. cf. ed. Monfalcon., 1851, t. IV. 8 (non vidi); Tacit. Nipp. edit. quart., 1880, II. p. 304, col. 11, 8.]

¹ Cf. Ph. E. Huschke, *Das Alte Röm. Jahr und seine Tage*, p. 142.

b) Quorum tempora non definiuntur, haec sunt: —

adicias in praeceptis T. Flavi cuiusdam de
ossibus et cineribus datis. CI. VI.
II. 8431.

adiciatur CI. X. I. 649.

(cf. pp. 121–22) coicito in fragmento Arimini effosso, quod
Garrucci eius tabulae esse conicit,
quae altera parte exhibet legem
repetundarum. cf. *conieciant* sup.
CI. XI. I. 364 a.

deiciat CI. X. I. 1971.

inicere CI. XIV. 586.

traiciendas in titulo sepulcrali. CI. VI. II.
10237, vs. 13. (In summa 21.)

c) Haec exempla cum ad quaestionem nostram non pertineant
tamen digna sunt quae laudentur: —

(cf. p. 89) iniice in tabella marmorea, quae in compluri-
bus libris titulos continentibus edita
a Mommseno Falsis adsignata est.
CI. X. I. 204* (p. 10*).

OIECIOR in fragmento parvo ita mutilo, ut
cum duo tantum vocabula sint certa,
tum verbi nostri deperierit initium.
Vix autem *iaciendi* verbi potest esse
compositum. Leblant supplet sic,
[PR]O[T]EC[T]OR. CI. XII.
5385.

adiecit in fragmento pusillo VTVM·ADIECIT.
Est sine dubio temporis praeteriti.
CI. XII. 5309.

II.

Exempla e Poetarum scriptis sumpta iam cum variis scripturis
disponamus, primumque quidem

PLAUTINA,

quorum expedit in primis ea proferre

a) in quibus syllaba praefixa *consonante* exit eiusque *productio* metro confirmatur. cf. p. 100.

	ā'diceret	Poen. 1174. ¹	A, adiecerit F cf. p. 96.
(cf. p. 122)	cōnícit ²	Mil. 112.	contigit B, contegit CD cf. p. 96, compegit F.
	cō'nice	Epid. 194.	B, coniice F cf. p. 89, coče I.
(cf. p. 125 sq.)	díssicit	Curc. 424.	dessicit BE, diligit FE ₃ .
	ĩ'nicio	Cas. 225.	BI, initio E, initio FV.
	ĩ'nicit	Aul. 197.	
	ĩ'nice	Truc. 479.	iniice F (L cf. p. 89).
	ĩ'nice	Pers. 88.	nice BCD, iniice F cf. p. 89.
	ō'bicitur	Merc. 339.	obiicitur F " "
	ō'bicitur	Pseud. 592.	A, obiicitur F " "

(In summa 10.)

b) Pauca sunt exempla quae *correptam* habent syllabam primam *consonante* cadentem.

(cf. pp. 99, 122)	cō'nicitis	Merc. 932.	coniicitis F cf. p. 83. adn. 2.
" "	cō'niciam	Rud. 769.	B, coniiciam F " "
			coiciam CD cf. p. 122.
(cf. p. 99)	ō'bicias	Asin. 814.	obitias E. (3.)

c) Plerumque *anceps* est primae syllabae *consonante* exeuntis *mensura*.

	ǎ'bicio	Merc. 851.	abiicio F cf. p. 89.
	ǎ'biciam	Men. 555.	abiiciam F " "
	ǎ'diciat	Asin. 769.	aditiat BD.
	ǎ'dicito	Merc. 491.	A, abdicito F.
(cf. p. 122)	cōnício	Curc. 253.	conitio BEI.
" "	cōnícitur	Poen. 69	coniicitur F cf. p. 89.
" "	cōníciam	Cas. 342.	conitiam B, 9nitiā E.

¹ Ritscheliana editionis numeros sequor.

² Cf. omnibus Trin. 54; enécas Rud. 944 al. Vide Klotz. Altröm. Metrik, p. 274.

(cf. p. 122)	cōńciam	Capt. 779.	conitiam E, coniiiciam F cf. p. 89.
" "	cōńcite	Cas. 386.	
" "	cōńcito	Cas. 94.	coniicito F cf. p. 89.
" "	cōńcicere	Trin. 238.	coniicere F " "
	ĩniciam	Amph. 875.	initium BE.
	ĩniciam	Truc. 762.	iniiciam F (L cf. p. 89), initiam rell.
	ĩniciam	Cas. 589.	A, iniiciam F cf. p. 89, initiam EV.
	ĩniciat	Pers. 71.	initiat BCD _b , itiat D _a , iniiciat F cf. p. 89.
	ĩniciatis	Truc. 298.	BCD, inleciatis (corr. illeciatis) A cf. p. 96, iniiciatis F (L cf. p. 89).
	ĩńcite	Capt. 659.	inicite, icite in ras., B, iniicite F cf. p. 89.
	ĩńcicere	Epid. 690.	
	ĩńcicere	Capt. 267.	
	ĩńcicere	Pseud. 407.	A, incipere BCDF, iniicere 'pri- sca exemplaria' Pii.
	ĩńcicere	Pseud. 643.	ACD, iniicere F cf. p. 89.
	ōńbicio	Curc. 567.	obitio E (corr. E ₃).
	ōńbiciunt	Curc. 531.	obitiunt E.
	ōńbiciunt	Trin. 1124.	obiiciunt F cf. p. 89.
	ōńbiciunt	Pers. 470.	obiiciunt F " "
	ōńbiciam	Rud. 770	A, obiiciam F " "
	ōńbiciet	Epid. 664.	obiiciet F " "
	ōńbiciemus	Mil. 148.	obitiemus B ₁ CD, obiiciemus F cf. p. 89, obiciemus B ₂ .
	ōńbicias	Trin. 410.	ABCD, obiicias F cf. p. 89.
	ōńbiciatur	Poen. 606.	obiiciatur F " "
	ōńbícito	Poen. 1235.	obicito A
	ōńbícicere	Mil. 623.	obiceret ante ras. B, obiicere C cf. p. 89, obveccere D cf. p. 97.
	ōńbícicere	Mil. 619.	B et ex ras. D, obiicere C et ante ras. D, item F, cf. p. 89.
	ōńbícicere	Most. 619.	obi BCD, obiici F cf. p. 89, obicere Müller Pros. p. 538.

d) *Vocali* autem exeuntes praepositiones in his *producuntur*.

	dē'ici	Asin. 425.	
	dē'icite ¹	Stich. 360.	ABCDF.
	ē'icite ¹	Cas. 23.	B, dicite V, diicite ras. ex discite E, ducite IF.
(cf. p. 105)	ē'ici	Asin. 127.	
	prō'ici	Cist. 618.	
	rē'icio ¹	Merc. 908.	reiicio F cf. p. 117. (6.)

e) Bis certe praepositio cum *i* littera sequente per *synizesim*, quam dicunt, coalescit. cf. pp. 104 sq., 114.

	ē'icit	Mil. 205.	ABCDF.
	rē'icis	Asin. 254.	reice libri, reicis Lambin. (2.)

f) In reliquis *dubium* est producta an per diphthongum cum *i* sequente praepositionis vocalis sit enuntianda. cf. pp. 104 sq., 114.

	dē'iciam vel dē'iciam	Stich. 349.	A, de hic iam B, dehinc iam CDF cf. p. 120.
	dē'iciam vel dē'iciam	Stich. 355.	ABCD, deiiciam F cf. p. 117.
	ē'icís vel ē'icís	Asin. 161.	ras. unius litt. ante eicis D.
	ē'iciam vel ē'iciam	Truc. 659.	eiciā D, ieciā B, ieciam C cf. p. 110.
	ē'iciar vel ē'iciar	Mil. 845.	F, eicia BC, eici acellaria D.
	rē'iciam vel rē'iciam	Pers. 320.	A, reitiam C, reiiciam F cf. p. 117.
	rē'icere vel rē'icere	Pers. 319.	BCD, re'icere A, reiicere F cf. p. 117. (7.)

¹ His in exemplis atque in omnibus sequentibus Plautinis produci praepositionem non demonstrant numeri. Verum tamen in talibus vocalem numquam corripere licet sine dubio adfirmare. Cf. p. 104 sq.

TERENTIUS.

a) Terentius, quorum *consonante* finita prior pars *producitur*, haec suppeditat. cf. p. 100.

(cf. p. 97) ĩniecit Ad. 710. A cum rell. (e in ras. F), Donat. in lemm.
 ōbici Ad. 610 b.
 sūbice Ph. 387. (3.)

b) Correptas primas syllabas quae *consonante* cadunt cum non habeat poeta noster, *ancipites* tamen multas praebet. cf. p. 100.

(cf. p. 122) ābiciunda Ad. 744. abicienda A et, e in ras., D.
 cōńcio Haut. 63. ic in ras C, conitio P.
 cōńcias Haut. 292.
 cōńcias Hec. 842. ABCDF, conitias EP cf. p. 117, adn. 7.
 cōńicerem Ph. 190.
 cōńcito Ph. 166.
 cōńcere Eun. 547.
 ĩńcere And. 140.
 ōbicerem Haut. 186. (9.)

c) *Vocali* autem exeuntes praepositiones in his per se *longam* faciunt syllabam. cf. p. 132, adn.

ēicitur Ph. 673.
 ēciam Ph. 437.
 ēiciat And. 382. (ante caesuram versus.)
 ēiciunda Eun. 222. eiciūnda A, fāciunda D. (4.)

d) Per *diphthongum* haec necesse est dicere. cf. p. 132, adn., 114.

rēiciat Ph. 717.
 rēicere Ph. 18. (2.)

e) Unum exemplum licet *dubitare* sitne per diphthongum legendum an membratim. cf. p. 132, adn., 114.

ēiciat vel And. 382. (verbum a postremo proximum.)
 ēiciat (1.)

RELIQUI SCAENICI POETAE.

Reliquorum, qui fabulas docuerunt, poetarum nunc indicabitur usus.

a) Syllabas praefixas quae *consonante* finiuntur in his exemplis *producendas* declarant numeri. cf. p. 100.

(cf. p. 125 sq.)	díssicis	Naev. 57. II. p. 16 R. ¹	
“ “	díssicit	Att. 348. I. p. 181 R. ²	H ₂ , discicit H ₁ .
“ “	díssice	Caecil. 239. II. p. 74.	Putean., disce volgo.
	í'nici	Caecil. 262. II. p. 77.	
	sū'bicit	Append. Sent. 49. II. p. 368.	sic volgo, subigit β, subecit αγ cf. p. 97.

(5.)

b) Naevius solus *correptam* syllabam primam *consonante* cadentem exhibet.

(cf. p. 99) á'biciam Naev. 94. II. p. 23. (1.)

c) In his *incerta* est *consonante* exeuntium praepositionum mensura. cf. p. 100.

ábícere	Publil. Syr. 9. II. p. 310.	sic Ribb., aspicere libri.
á'dicis	ex inc. fab. 86, II. p. 127.	
ínícere	Ennius 126. I. p. 31.	
íniciendum	Laber. 134. II. p. 298. (sine numeris citatum.)	
óbícitur	ex inc. fab. 40. II. p. 119.	
óbícitur	ex inc. fab. 57. II. p. 121.	(6.)

d) *Vocali* quae exeunt syllabae primae videntur in his *produci*. cf. p. 132, adn.

(cf. p. 122)	cōícior	Laber. 147. II. p. 300.	
“ “	cōícere	Afran. 311. II. p. 204.	
	ēícere	Pacuv. 385. I. p. 128.	
	prō'icit	Pacuv. 94. I. p. 88.	proicit Vat. Rott. Par., proiicit cett. cf. p. 118.

(cf. p. 105) prō'ici Laber. 83. II. p. 292. (5.)

¹ O. Ribbeck, *Comicorum Fragm.*, edit. sec., 1873.

² O. Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Fragm.*, edit. sec., 1871.

e) *Synizesis*, quae dicitur, semel apparet. cf. p. 132, adn., 114.

(cf. p. 116) *dē'icis* Laber. 119. II. p. 296. (1.)

f) Per *diphthongum* haec dicenda sint necne *non liquet*. cf. p. 132, adn., 114.

(cf. p. 122) <i>cō'icere</i> vel	Afran. 216. II.	<i>cohicere</i> L	cf. p. 120.
<i>cō'icere</i>	p. 191.		
<i>ē'iciebantur</i> vel	Enn. 9. I.		
<i>ē'iciebantur</i>	p. 16.		
<i>prō'iceret</i> vel	Afran. 347. II.		
<i>prō'iceret</i>	p. 210.		
<i>rē'icis</i> vel	Att. 430. I.	Flor., <i>reiciēs</i> Haun.,	
<i>rē'icis</i>	p. 191.	<i>reices</i> Goth., <i>reicis</i>	
		rell. cf. p. 118.	

(4.)

ENNIUS (ANNALES).

Iam vero, ut reliquos poetas, qui omnes fere hexametros versus scripserunt, deinceps temporum ordine disponamus, Enni in Annalibus usus indicetur.

a) *Consonante* terminatae praepositiones, ut constanter in herois usque ad extremam Augusti aetatem, producendae sunt. cf. p. 87.

(cf. p. 123) <i>cō'nicit</i>	Ann. 61 M. = 75 Vahl.	
<i>ī'nicit</i>	Ann. 172 M. = 171 Vahl.	(2.)

b) Solum exemplum, quod *vocali* finitam priorem partem habet, ea *producta* dicitur. cf. p. 105.

<i>prō'iciunt</i>	Ann. 250 M. = 238 Vahl.	(1.)
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LUCILIUS.

Ex Lucili autem reliquiis excerpta sunt haec exempla, quorum in sex

a) *Consonante cadunt praepositiones.*

(cf. p. 123)	cō'nicere	XI. 10 M.	
	ō'biciebat	XI. 14 M.	
	sū'bicit	IV. 29 M.	sic Salmas., sūcit codd.
	sū'bicit	XV. 37 M.	
	sū'bicit	XXVI. 62 M.	(ad fin. septenari troch.).
	sū'bicit	? lib. incert.	subsit Fest. (summisit Paulus)
		107 M.	cf. 308 et 310 M., subrigit Lachm. in edit. vs. 1111.

(6.)

b) *In his autem vocali exit prior pars: —*

(cf. p. 123)	cō'icis	II. 25 M.	
	cō'icito	? XXVIII. 48 M.	sic Lachm. in comm. Lucret. p. 136, coici aut conici codd. (sen. iamb.).
	dē'ciam	XXVIII. 35 M.	sic aut deiciunt codd. (sen. iamb.).
(cf. p. 110)	ē'icēre	XXVIII. 106 M.	LH ₂ , ecicere B ₁ , eiccere G ₁ , eicere Gen. H ₁ B ₂ G ₂ .
	rē'iceret	XXII. 6 M. (cf. 818 Lachm.).	sine metro citatum.
(cf. p. 115)	prō'iciam vel prō'iciam?	652 Lachm.	perficiam XXVII. 22 M. ex Madvig. Advers. 1. 18, pere- ciam Non. codd. p. 296 M.

(6.)

LUTATIUS CATULUS.

ē'iceret	vs. 4.	Baehr. PLM. VI. 276.	(1.)
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M. TERENTIUS VARRO.

(cf. p. 111)	ē'icit	Eumenid. IV. p. 125 Riese.	(cf. Vahlen. Varr. Sat. Menip. Reliqq. Coniect. p. 183, frg. XXII). sic BH ₁ , eicit LH ₂ G. (1.)
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LUCRETIUS.

a) Consonante finitae praepositiones.

(cf. p. 123)	cō'niciunt	6.731.	
" "	cō'nicere	1.751.	
" "	cō'nicere	2.121.	
" "	cō'nicere	2.1073.	
" "	cō'niciens	1.284.	
" "	cō'niciens	6.345.	
(cf. p. 125 sq.)	dīssicietur	3.639.	
	ō'biciens	5.755.	(8.)

b) Vocali finitae praepositiones.

	dē'icit	5.1125.	
(cf. p. 111)	ē'iēcit	2.951.	AB, eicit Nicc., Flor. 31, Camb.
	ē'icit	6.689.	
	ē'iciuntur	3.58.	sic Lambin., Lachm., Munro, eliciuntur codd. cf. p. 117.
	ē'iciuntur	3.497.	idem ac 3.58. " "
	ē'iciatur	4.945.	eliciatur codd. " "
	ē'icere	4.1046.	
	prō'iciunt	5.896.	sic Turneb., Lambin., proficiunt codd.
	rē'icit	1.34.	B, Gottorp., reficit A, Nicc., Camb., al.
	rē'iciat	5.641.	
	rē'iciat	6.81.	
	rē'icere	2.714.	
	trā'iciuntur	3.757.	
(cf. p. 111)	trā'iēcēre	3.513.	(14.)

c) Bis apparet *diphthongus*. cf. p. 115.

	ēī'cit	3.877.	
	ēī'cit	4.1272.	(2.)

CATULLUS.

a)	ā'bice	24.9.	(vs. Phalaec.)	
	ī'niciens	35.10.	(vs. Phalaec.)	(2.)

b)	ē'iciunt	105.2.	eiiciunt G	cf. p. 117.
	prō'icies	55.19.	prohicies O	cf. p. 120, proiicies G
				cf. p. 117.
	prō'iciet	64.370.	O, proiiciet G	cf. p. 117, proiecit A, L
				cf. p. 111.
	prō'icere	64.82.	DC al., proiucere G	cf. p. 117, pro-
				hicere O cf. p. 120.

(4.)

CICERO.¹

Duorum exemplorum apud Ciceronem exhibet alterum certo *longam* priorem partem, alterum *incipitem*.

a)	(cf. p. 97)	ā'biēcit	de Div. 1.48.106.	AV.
b)	" 123	cō'niciet	de Div. 2.5.12.	(in arsi senari).

(2.)

TIBULLUS.

(cf. p. 123)	cō'nicit	1.8.54.	coniicit G	cf. p. 89.
	sū'biciet	1.5.64.	subiiciet G	" "

(2.)

PROPERTIUS.

a)	ā'diciam	4.2.41.		
	ā'dice	4.11.77.		
	ī'niciat	4.6.86.		
	ī'nicere	4.7.34.		
	ō'bicitur	3.19.1.		
	ō'biciat	2.30.25.		
	sū'biciet	1.7.20.		(7.)
b)	prō'icis	3.8.4.		(1.)

¹ Haec verba ex Tusc. 2.36 Thielmann in Wölffl. *Archiv* IV. 600 in senarium voluit restituere. "Impelluntur, feriuntur, *abiciuntur*, cadunt." Verum, ne asperum dicam hunc esse versum, pro aetate Ciceronis omnino haud placet emendatio, quae primam syllabam compositi correptam reddit.

VERGILIUS.

a) Consonante terminatur prior pars.

	ā'diciunt	A. 8.304.	
	ā'diciunt	10.182.	
	ā'diciam	12.837.	
	ā'dicias	11.354.	
(cf. p. 123)	cō'nicit	5.619.	
" "	cō'nicit	7.347.	co ⁿ icit c.
" "	cō'nicit	9.411.	
" "	cō'nicit	10.646.	coicit R cf. p. 123.
" "	cō'nicit	10.657.	
" "	cō'nicit	10.891.	
" "	cō'niciunt	5.662.	coiciunt R cf. p. 123.
" "	cō'niciunt	6.222.	
" "	cō'niciunt	10.330.	
" "	cō'niciunt	10.801.	coiciunt P cf. pp. 117, 123.
" "	cō'niciunt	11.194.	
" "	cō'nice	G. 4.26.	
" "	cō'nicite	A. 9.494.	
(cf. p. 126)	díssicit	12.308.	bc, dis ^s icit M cf. 7.339 inf., dis- cit P ₂ γ, disiicit P ₁ cf. p. 90, discidit R.
" "	díssice	1.70.	Rybcm, schol. Servi 5.683, dissi- cep M, disice Donati exempl.
" "	díssice	7.339.	Rybyψ, dissicae c, dis ^s ice M cf. 12.308 sup., disiice ut vid., supra scripta fortasse s, V cf. p. 90.
	í'nicit	9.553.	
	í'nicit	11.728.	Rc, incitat MPyb, incutit Heins.
	í'niciunt	E. 6.19.	inciunt V.
	í'nice	A. 6.366.	
	ō'bicis	4.549.	
	ō'bicit	6.421.	obiecit Prisciani L, obiiecit G cf. p. 97.
	ō'bicit	7.480.	

	ō'biciunt	2.444.	
	ō'biciunt	9.45.	
	ō'biciunt	9.379.	
	ō'bicitur	2.200.	
	ō'bicitur	5.522.	
	ō'bicienda	E. 3.7.	
	sū'bicio	A. 3.314.	
	sū'bicit	E. 10.74.	
	sū'bicit	G. 2.19.	
	sū'biciunt	4.304.	
	sū'biciunt	A. 2.236.	
	sū'biciunt	5.103.	
	sū'biciunt	7.110.	
	sū'biciunt	12.288.	
(cf. p. 102. 1)	supē'riacit	11.625.	superiicit P cf. p. 90, superlicit γ 1, cf. p. 117, suberigit R cf. Sil. 15.155 (p. 148 inf.).
	superi'nice	G. 4.46.	(43.)
<i>b) Vocali finitae priores partes.</i>			
	dē'icis	A. 11.665.	
(cf. p. 111)	dē'iēcit	G. 1.333.	RM, deicit γbc.
" "	dē'iēcit	A. 8.428.	R, deicit Mγbc, de·i·cit P cf. p. 117.
" "	dē'iēcit	10.753.	Rc1, Prisciani ω, deicit MPVγb.
(cf. p. 112)	dē'iēcit	11.642.	c1, deicit MPRγb.
	dē'ice	G. 3.422.	
	prō'icis	A. 11.361.	
" "	prō'iēcit	5.776.	c, proicit R.
	prō'ice	6.835.	proiice R cf. p. 117.
	rē'icit	10.473.	
	rē'iciunt	11.619.	
	rē'ice	G. 3.389.	
" "	trā'iēcit	A. 9.634.	γ2 cm, trai ^e cit b, traicit M, transiit ut vid. γ1, transigit P, transadigit R.
	trā'icit	10.400.	trahicit M cf. p. 120, trai·cit (eras. i) c cf. p. 117.
	trā'icit	11.685.	(15.)

	ā'dicerem	T. 5.5.25.	addicerem HKV αβηλν, adijcerem Q cf. p. 90, adducerem C (corr.), addiderem D (corr. D ₂).
	ā'dice	Med. Fac. 63.	
	ā'dice	82.	
	ā'dice	Rem. Am. 558.	
	ā'dice	790.	
	ā'dice	M. 6.182.	
	ā'dice	14.319.	
	ā'dice	T. 3.1.49.	addice BEOβζηνρς, Fragm. Burn. 277, adiice Q cf. p. 90.
	ā'dice	F. 1.189.	codd. plerique, addice Σ adiice Ns cf. p. 90.
	ā'dice	4.75.	
(cf. p. 123)	cō'nicit	M. 7.245.	cō'nicit M.
" "	cō'niciunt	5.42.	
" "	cō'niciunt	11.28.	
" "	cō'niciendus	T. 3.11.46.	coniiciendus H cf. p. 90, conviciendus O, conni- ciendus κ, conijciendus Q cf. p. 90, iniciendus F ₂ V ₂ (recte FV).
(cf. p. 126)	dīssicit	M. 11.386.	sic aut disicit codd. pleri- que, dissidit λ cuius in marg. deiecit cf. p. 112.
	ī'nicit	Am. 3.9.20.	
	ī'nicit	M. 9.78.	
	ī'niciunt	A.A. 1.116.	
	ī'niciunt	F. 6.515.	
	ī'niciam	Am. 1.4.40.	
	ī'niciam	2.5.30.	
	ī'niciet	1.4.6.	
	ī'niciet	T. 3.7.35.	innicit V, inniciet V ₂ .
	ī'nicias	Ep. 19.190.	
	ī'nicias	Pont. 3.4.101.	

īnicerem	Ep. 12.158.	
īniceret	M. 3.389.	
īnice	Ep. 8.16.	
īnicere	M. 1.184.	
ōbicit	3.516.	
ōbicit	13.308.	
ōbiciunt	T. 5.10.40.	obiiciunt QV cf. p. 90.
ōbicitur	Am. 2.7.18.	
ōbicies	2.2.37.	
sūbicio	T. 4.1.74.	subijcio Q " "

(49.)

b) *Correpta* prima syllaba quae *consonante* cadit non occurrit apud Ovidium. Namque illud *ābici*, quod Merkel et Gūthling in Pont. 2.3.37 acceperunt atque L. Müller in libro de Re Metrica p. 291² (p. 250¹) defendit, nimirum *abigi* verbo locum dat atque cedit; scribitur enim in uno codice β, Monacensi lat. 384 saec. XII, qui liber quamquam ad constituendam Ponticorum scripturam ponitur inter praecipuos, hic tamen non sequendus est contra ceteros, qui *abigi* tradunt. Neque Ovidius, qui aliter his consonante exeuntibus primis syllabis semper longis utitur, semel brevem passus esse potest putari. cf. p. 101.

c)	dēicit	M. 1.719.	
	ēicitur	T. 5.6.13.	eiicitur deflor. Vincent. Bellov., eijicitur Q cf. p. 117.
	prōicit	Ep. 21.165.	
	prōicit	M. 9.575.	
	prōicit	Pont. 3.4.97.	
	prōiciere	I. 164.	proitiere T.
	prōiciare	294.	
	rēicio	Ep. 21.200.	
	rēicit	F. 1.436.	
	rēiciat	T. 1.1.66.	reiciet βρ (corr. ρ ₂), proiciat ERδηλ, eiciat (in ras. d dispicitur) ψ.

c) *Consonante* finitae priores partes *breves an longae* sint numeris decerni non potest. cf. p. 101, adn. 4.

ǎdicere Phoen. 201 L. = Oed. fr. 201 P. (sen. iamb.)

ǒbicere Med. 497 L. = 500 P. (sen. iamb.)

(2.)

d) Uno in exemplo *vocali* terminata praepositio productione sit legenda an per diphthongum est *dubium*. Haec tamen ratio se magis commendat.¹

(cf. p. 116) prō'iciet vel prō'iciet Phoen. 426 L. = 64 P. (sen. iamb.)

(1.)

OCTAVIA

fabula praetexta Senecae falso olim attributa, haud tamen ita multo recentiore tempore scripta, habet duo exempla quae cum eius consuetudine consentiunt.

ǎdic(e) 125 L. = 130 P. (sen. iamb.)

sūbicít 827 L. = 843 P. (sen. iamb.) (2.)

LUCANUS.

a) *Consonante* exeuntes in omnibus exemplis praepositiones sunt *corripiendae*. cf. p. 101.

ǒbicís 8.796.

ǒbicít 9.188.

sūbicít 7.574. subigit aut subegit var. scriptt.

sūbicí 8.740. subiit G.

(4.)

VALERIUS FLACCUS.

a) *Consonante* finitae praepositiones sunt constanter *longae*. cf. pp. 87, 102.

ǎ'dicias 7.508.

ǎ'dice 8.41.

(cf. p. 123) cō'niciunt 6.271.

(cf. p. 126) díssicit 3.162. C, dissicet P, disicet M, disiicit M. cf. p. 90.

¹ Cf. L. Müller. de Re Metr., pp. 163-6² (150-3¹).

īnicit	3.343.	
īniciunt	2.236.	
ōbīcis	5.627.	
ōbīcit	6.679.	
ōbīcit	7.460.	
ōbīcit	7.524.	
ōbīciat	8.388.	(11.)

b) *Vocali* cadentes praefixae syllabae in his *produuntur*. cf. p. 115.

dēīcit	1.191.	
dēīcit	2.330.	
dēīcit	6.194.	
dēīcit	6.218.	
dēīcit	6.552.	
prōīcit	2.527.	(6.)

c) Unum exemplum per *synizesin* dicendum est.

(cf. p. 116) dēīcīt 7.514 nunc deicit vultus codd., Schenkl, Baehrens; deicit hinc vultus edit. Bonon. pr. 2. 1474. Thilo.
(1.)

SILIUS ITALICUS.

a) *Consonante* quae exeunt praepositiones in his exemplis *produuntur*. cf. pp. 101-02.

(cf. p. 123)	cūīnicit	14.306.	
(cf. p. 126)	dīīsice	9.533.	disice LV. disire vel disice corr. in dissijce F. cf. p. 90. dissite O. discute volgo.
“ “	dīīssice	13.444.	Ch. discite O.
(cf. p. 102, adn. 1)	supēīriacit	? 13.155.	sic Bauer ed. 1892: superiicit vel potius supericit scriptum esse iudicavit Wagner ad Verg. 11.625. suberigit codd. LOV. cf. Verg. 11.625 (p. 140 sup.). subegerit F. superstetit coniecit Bentley. (4.)

b) Ceteris in exemplis syllabae primae sunt *contractione* legendae. cf. pp. 101-02.

īnicīt	10.570.	
ōbicīt	4.149.	
sūbicīt	1.113.	
sūbicī	13.298.	(4.)

ILIAS LATINA.

Ilias Latina, quae fortasse a Silio scripta est, habet haec exempla duo : —

- a) (cf. p. 125 sq.) dī'siceret 325 (Baehrens. PLM. III. p. 23).
 disiiceret E cf. p. 90, discideret
 FV, divideret MN, disc^uceret L,
 discuteret B. (1.)
- b) (cf. p. 115) trā'icit 835 (PLM. III. p. 48). (1.)

STATIUS.

a) *Consonante* quae cadunt priores partes in omnibus, praeter unum, exemplis *producuntur*. cf. p. 102.

	ā'bicit	Achil. 1.172.	
	ā'bicit	Th. 2.479.	
(cf. p. 126)	dīssicit	1.590.	BG ₂ M, disicit H Anglic., dissicet P, discicit S, discidit Pal. 1.
“ “	dīssiciat	Achil. 1.311.	PG ₂ , dissiceat Pc, disso- tiet G ₁ , deiiciat D cf. p. 118, discutiat ptH.
“ “	dīssice	Th. 10.69.	
	ī'nicio	5.315.	
	ī'nicit ¹	3.434.	
	ī'nicit	6.194.	

¹ *Inicit* initio vs. Th. 9.807 omnes codd. habent, praeter Puteanum (P), codicum Statianorum excellentissimum, in quo *iecit et*, quod postulat contextus verborum scriptum legitur.

īnīciam	1.242.	
īnice	7.518.	
īnice	11.595.	
sūbicit	2.189.	
sūbicit	5.672.	
sūbiciunt	3.716.	
sūbicerēs	1.74.	(15.)

b) (cf. p. 102) ādicī 7.4. (1.)

c) *Vocali* exeuntes praepositiones tantum non omnes faciunt per se syllabam *longam*. cf. p. 115.

dēicit	Th. 6.650.	
dēicit	12.368.	
dēicit	12.743.	
prōicis	2.460.	
prōicit	1.388.	
prōice	2.658.	
prōcite	3.643.	
rēicit	6.770.	PGH, eicit G ₂ bcr, eiecit B cf. pp. 112, 114; eiicit. codd. Behottiani cf. p. 118.

(8.)

d) Per *diphthongum* autem dicendum est unum exemplum.

(cf. p. 116) rēicit Th. 4.574. (1.)

MARTIALIS.

a) Omnium exemplorum primae syllabae *consonante* finiuntur *corripiendaque* sunt. cf. p. 101.

ādicīt	4.54.9.	
ādicīt	10.82.1.	adiicit bϕ cf. pp. 83, adn., 90.
sūbice	9.75.10.	(scazon.)

(3.)

IUVENALIS.

a) (cf. p. 101) ābicīt 15.17. (1.)

SERENUS SAMMONICUS.

a) Huius ad a. 200 p. Chr. n. florentis poetae utrumque exemplum habet *productam* syllabam praefixam. cf. pp. 87, 102.

ā'bice	113 (PLM. III. p. 112).	
ā'dicies	463 (PLM. III. p. 128).	(2.)

Posteriorum solos poetarum Ausonium Burdigalensem et Claudium Claudianum dignos puto qui hac in quaestione, quod versus Latinos numeris perfectis scripserunt, laudentur. Horum

AUSONIUS

a) ea tantum exempla praebet quorum priores partes exeunt *consonante* atque *producuntur*. cf. p. 102.

ā'diciam	p. 195. III. 2 [150.2] ed. Peiper. 1886;	
	p. 49. 22; p. 101. 12; p. 105. 23.	
ā'dicies	p. 195. III. 2.	
ō'bicit	p. 88. 17.	
ō'bicitur	p. 89. 39.	
sū'bice	p. 338. LXX. 2.	
sū'biciet	p. 91. 9.	(9.)

CLAUDIANUS.

Claudianus autem plerumque *longas*, bis tamen *correptas* habet praepositiones. cf. p. 102.

a)	ā'dicias	1.141.	
	ō'bicis	21.301.	
	ō'bicit	26.613.	
	ō'biciat	33.74.	
	sū'bicit	18.358.	(5.)
b)	ō'bicís	8.365.	
	sū'bicít	36.134.	(2.)
c) (cf. p. 115)	dē'icit	28.230.	(1.)

HOMERIC QUOTATIONS IN PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

BY GEORGE EDWIN HOWES.

INTRODUCTORY.

AS it has not seemed wise to enter in this paper into the question of the authenticity of the various works ascribed to Plato and Aristotle, I have here included all the quotations from Homer that are contained in any of the works edited under the name of Plato or Aristotle. For the text and variants of Plato I have relied, wherever possible, upon the collations given by Schanz (*Platonis Opera quae Feruntur Omnia*, 1875-). Unfortunately for classical scholars the edition of Schanz is still incomplete; the readings, therefore, of the following works only are taken from his text: — Alcibiades I., Alcibiades II., Amatores, Apologia Socratis, Charmides, Convivium, Cratylus, Crito, Gorgias, Hippias Minor, Ion, Laches, Leges I.-VI., Lysis, Meno, Phaedo, Phaedrus, Protagoras, Sophistes, Theaetetus. From the edition of Stallbaum (*Platonis Opera Omnia*) have been taken the text and variants of the following: — Leges VII.-XII. (1859), Minos (1841), Philebus (1842), Respublica (1858). From Hermann's edition (*Platonis Dialogi*, 1853) are quoted the passages in Axiochus and the Epistulae. In giving passages from Aristotle, greater uniformity has been possible by adopting for the complete works the text and collations of Bekker (*Aristotelis Opera*, 1831), and for the fragments the text of Rose (*Aristotelis qui Ferebantur Librorum Fragmenta*, 1870), both edited by the Berlin Academy. The principal other authors of whom critical use has been made have been quoted from the following editions: — Homer, from La Roche (*Homeri Ilias*, 1873-1876, and *Homeri Odyssea*, 1867-1868); Hesiod, from Rzach (*Hesiodi quae*

Feruntur Omnia, 1884); Aeschylus, from Wecklein (*Aeschyli Fabulae*, 1885); Sophocles, from Jebb (*Antigone*, 1891; *Electra*, 1894; and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1893) and from Campbell (*Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments*, 1881; from this the *Ajax* is cited); and Euripides, from Kirchhoff (*Euripidis Fabulae*, 1867–1868). The editions of the Homeric Scholia used are those of Dindorf (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 1855; and *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 1875–1877, containing the Scholia of Venetus A and of Venetus B) and of Maas (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem Townleyana*, 1887–1888). Any departure from the text of the editions mentioned above has been indicated by a note.

I have thought that a study of the quotations from Homer found in our manuscripts of Plato and Aristotle might have a two-fold value, — it might show whether these authors quoted accurately or not, and it might possibly shed some light upon the Homeric text of their day. It is evident at once that many difficulties beset our path. The mistakes of the scribes of the manuscripts of both Homer and of the authors quoting him have, of course, been numerous; and yet, if we assume that all the differences of reading between the passages quoted and the quotations are due to the mistakes of these scribes, we beg the question at the outset, and admit that these authors quoted from the same Homeric text that we have to-day, and quoted accurately. Moreover, if we claim that all the variations, apart from those caused by the carelessness of scribes, are due to the practice of the ancients of quoting from memory, we again beg the question by assuming that none of the variants in the quotations has a real variant Homeric reading to depend upon. Besides, even if it should be granted that these authors may have quoted from memory, — an induction that does not necessarily follow because of a great difference between a passage quoted and the quotation, — this explanation would need to be used judiciously and not applied to every apparent case, for many passages that would seem at first sight to offer this as the most plausible explanation will on careful study be explained in a much more satisfactory manner. But let me not anticipate too much. I wish, merely in a general way, to indicate some of the difficulties that confront us. It would be beyond the limit of this paper and of my ability to

attempt to offer all the possible solutions of all the difficult questions that present themselves. It is my intention, while least of all wishing to dogmatize, to give what seems to me to be the most probable explanation of the various passages under discussion.

I. QUOTATIONS FROM THE DRAMATIC POETS AND HESIOD.

I have deemed it advisable to consider, somewhat briefly, the quotations of Plato and Aristotle from the dramatic poets and Hesiod, so that an impression, more or less distinct, may be formed of their general trustworthiness when quoting from other authors. In discussing the quotations from the dramatists I shall consider those passages only that are found in the extant plays; for the fragments, except in special instances, necessarily fail to offer a satisfactory basis of comparison.

Quotations from the Dramatists.

A. So far as I know, Plato gives but two quotations from the dramatists, apart from several references in which there is no attempt to quote the exact language.

1. *Rep.* 2, 362 A = *Aesch. Sept.* 580–581 :

Plat. οὐ δοκεῖν ἄδικον ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐθέλειν,
βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενον,
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευματα,
Aesch. βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευματα.

Plato has changed the nominative καρπούμενος to the accusative, that it may fit the structure of his sentence.

2. *Alcibiad.* II. 151 B = *Eur. Phoen.* 858–859 :

Plat.¹ οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην, φησί, καλλίνικα στέφη·
ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κείμεθ', ὥσπερ οἶσθα σύ·
Eur. οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη·
ἐν γὰρ κλύδωνι κείμεθ', ὥσπερ οἶσθα σύ,

¹ Schanz, following Buttman, restores σὰ. Cod. B, κείμεθα; T, διακείμεθα.

As *σά* of the verse of Euripides is necessary for the trimeter, its loss from the manuscripts of Plato is probably due to a copyist, as we cannot suppose that Plato would have allowed such an unmetrical verse to stand in his text.

B. Aristotle has given us twenty-four quotations from the dramatists. In seven¹ of these the manuscripts of Aristotle coincide with those of the poets, with the exception of a few unimportant variants evidently due to the carelessness of scribes.

The other seventeen will require some discussion.

1. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 b 20) = *Soph. Antig.* 223:

Aristot. ἀναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως σπουδῆς ὑπο.

Soph. ἀναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως τάχους ὑπο

The reading *σπουδῆς* receives additional support from the scholiast who writes: οὐ τοῦτο λέγω, ὅτι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀσθμαίνων πρὸς σὲ πεπόμεναι. The coincidence of the use of *σπουδῆς* by both Aristotle and the scholiast may, of course, be accidental; but it is at least striking and entitles the reading to a fair consideration. Even if Aristotle is quoting from memory here, as many suppose, the reading is not thereby invalidated. A man may quote from memory and still quote correctly. We might add that some of the editors — e.g. Dindorf and Schneidewin — have adopted *σπουδῆς* in their text.

2 (and 3). *Eth. Nic.* 9, 9 (p. 1169 b 7) and *Mag. Mor.* 2, 15 (p. 1213 b 27) = *Eur. Or.* 667:

Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ὅταν ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδάξῃ, τί δεῖ φίλων;

Aristot. *Mag. Mor.* ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδάξῃ, τί δεῖ φίλων;

*Eur.*² ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδάξῃ, τί χρὴ φίλων;

The second quotation of Aristotle assures us — what we should otherwise readily have assumed — that the omission of *δ'* in the first quotation is merely a copyist's blunder. Besides, it confirms the

¹ *De Mundo* 6 (p. 400 b 25) = *Soph. O. T.* 4-5; *Rhet.* 3, 15 (p. 1416 a 30) = *Eur. Hip.* 612; *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1394 a 29) = *Eur. Med.* 294-297; *Eth. End.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 16) = *Eur. Or.* 234; *Rhet.* 3, 2 (p. 1405 b 23) = *Eur. Or.* 1558; *Rhet.* 3, 17 (p. 1418 b 22) = *Eur. Troad.* 971; *Rhet.* 2, 23 (p. 1400 b 23) = *Eur. Troad.* 990.

² Cod. B has *δεῖ*, which Kirchhoff edits.

reading δεῖ, at least for Aristotle. Without going deeply into the question we may say that it is very doubtful whether the Attic poets ever used *χρή* with a genitive. Besides, in Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1338 we have a similar verse — whether spurious or not:

θεοὶ δ' ὅταν τιμῶσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ φίλων.

If genuine, this verse shows a similar phase; if spurious, it was probably modelled after Eur. *Or.* 667. Again, the reading τί δεῖ φίλων is confirmed by Plutarch.¹ Further, as already noted, the word δεῖ itself still appears in one manuscript of Euripides. So we should agree with Kirchhoff, Nauck, Paley and others in admitting δεῖ into the text of Euripides.

4. *Rhet.* 3, 6 (p. 1407 b 34) = Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 727:

Aristot.² Δέλτου μὲν αἶδε πολύθυροι διαπτυχαί.

Eur.³ δέλτου μὲν αἶδε πολύθρηνοι διαπτυχαί,

The word πολύθρηνοι, 'much wailing,' was long ago seen to be wrong. We are indebted to Aristotle for the true reading. The folds of the tablet were 'many-gated,' *i.e.* there were many leaves that might be considered to form the entrance to the tablet. Although Euripides has used an uncommon expression, it receives some justification in the δίθυρον of Pollux, IV. 18: Ἡρόδοτος μὲν λέγει δελτίον δίπτυχον, οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ γραμματεῖον δίθυρον, καὶ θύρας τὰς πτύχας ἄχρι δύο, εἴτα πτύχας καὶ τρίπτυχον καὶ πολύπτυχον; and later in X. 57: δέλτους δελτία, ὡς εἰπεῖν γραμματεῖδιον δίθυρον ἢ τρίπτυχον ἢ καὶ πλειόνων πτυχῶν. The reading of Aristotle is, therefore, welcome, and is accepted by Kirchhoff, Nauck, Klotz, Paley and modern scholars generally.

5. *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 8) = Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1400:

Aristot. βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλλήνας ἄρχειν εἰκός,

Eur.⁴ βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλλήνας εἰκὸς ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' οὐ βαρβάρους,

¹ *Moral.* 68 E.

² Cod. Y^b, δέλτου μία δέ.

³ Edited by Kirchhoff, πολύθυροι.

⁴ Edited by Kirchhoff, ἄρχειν εἰκός.

The manuscripts of Euripides offer a metrical difficulty, namely a spondee in the odd foot of a trochaic metre. Ways suggested for avoiding the difficulty have been the cutting of the verse into two parts or the substitution of the Doric form ἄρχεν. The discovery of the quotation in Aristotle, however, practically settled the matter in favor of the reading ἄρχειν εἰκός.

So far we have considered twelve passages, which show that Aristotle's quotations are entitled to great respect; seven of them are practically identical with the passages quoted, while the other five give readings superior to those found in our manuscripts of the poets themselves. The remaining twelve passages offer greater difficulties.

1. *Rhet.* 1, 13 (p. 1373 b 12) = Soph. *Antig.* 456-457:

Aristot.¹ οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε
ζῆ τοῦτο, κούδεις οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

Soph. οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε
ζῆ ταῦτα, κούδεις οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

Verse 456 is quoted by Aristotle again in *Rhet.*² 1, 15 (p. 1375 b 1):

οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε.

In the two quotations of verse 456 the variants in the manuscripts of Aristotle contradict one another and thus corroborate the readings of the manuscripts of Sophocles. Possibly the word τοῦτο was purposely written by Aristotle, that it might harmonize with his preceding words: οἶον καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη φαίνεται λέγουσα, ὅτι δίκαιον ἀπειρημένον θάψαι τὸν Πολυνείκη, ὡς φύσει ὄν τοῦτο δίκαιον. Otherwise its use must be due to the carelessness either of Aristotle or of the scribes.

2. *Rhet.* 1, 15 (p. 1375 b 1) = Soph. *Antig.* 456 and 458:

Aristot.³ οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε.
ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός.

Soph.⁴ οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε
τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός

¹ Cod. QY^b, τε (for γε); Z^b, σε (for γε); Q, καὶ χθές.

² Cod. Ac, τὸν (for τι).

³ Cod. Ac, τὸν (for τι); Ac, ἤμελλον.

⁴ Cod. L, ἐγ' οὐκ.

Evidently this passage was so well known to his hearers or readers that Aristotle thought it unnecessary to quote it in full. It is quite possible that he may have used the word *τούτων*, which is undoubtedly right in the verse of Sophocles. A copyist might readily have changed this to *ταῦτ' οὖν* either carelessly, or because he thought that *ἔμελλον* would most naturally be followed by an infinitive, of which *ταῦτα* would be the object.

3. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 a 20) = Soph. *O. T.* 774:

Aristot. *ἔμοι πατήρ ἦν Πόλυβος.*

Soph. *ἔμοι πατήρ μὲν Πολύβος ἦν Κορίνθιος,*

Little stress can be laid upon this passage, for Aristotle is rather referring to the verse than quoting it.

4. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 29) = Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 80:

Aristot.¹ *τούλεύθερον δ' Ἕλληνες ἄξαντες ποσίν*

Eur. *τούντεῦθεν οὖν Ἕλληνες ἄξαντες δορί,*

This passage of Aristotle is clearly corrupt in the manuscripts. Possibly the word *ποσίν* is involved in the corruption; it is surely more prosaic than *δορί*, and is probably wrong.

5. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 22) = Eur. *Phoen.* 539–540:

Aristot.² *τῷ πλέονι δ' αἰεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
τούλασσον, ἔχθρας θ' ἡμέρα κατάρχεται.*

Eur.³ *τῷ πλέονι δ' αἰεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
τούλασσον ἔχθρᾶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται.*

Except for the accent of *ἐχθρᾶς* one manuscript of Aristotle gives the same reading as the manuscripts of Euripides, and may preserve the correct tradition. The meaning of the last verse of Euripides, "and begins the hostile day," is somewhat obscure, however. The reading of the manuscripts of Aristotle, "and the day begins hostility," is about as intelligible and may possibly be right.

¹ Cod. Ac, *τούλεύθερον Ἕλληνες*; Υ^bZ^b, *τούλεύθερον δ' Ἕλληνες*; Q, *τὸ ἐλευθέροις δ' Ἕλληνες*. Bekker has edited *τούντεῦθεν οὖν Ἕλληνες*.

² Cod. P^b, *ἡμέρας*.

³ Some cod., *αἰεὶ*; C, *πλεονι*.

6. *Rhet.* 3, 17 (p. 1418b 21) = Eur. *Troad.* 969:Aristot.¹ τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτα σύμμαχος γενήσομαι.Eur.² ταῖς θεαῖσι πρῶτα σύμμαχος γενήσομαι

The article τοῖς is a purely grammatical blunder and cannot be attributed to Aristotle. That he had a feminine gender in mind is evident from his next words (also a quotation), ἐγὼ γὰρ Ἦραν. He may have used ταῖς θεοῖς, which a scribe might think was a mistake for τοῖς θεοῖς. If he wrote ταῖς θεαῖσι, which the manuscripts of Euripides show, it might have been changed by a scribe, first to the common Attic τοῖς θεαῖς, and later to τοῖς θεοῖς.

7. *Rhet.* 3, 16 (p. 1417a 32) = Soph. *Antig.* 911–912:Aristot.³ μητρὸς δ' ἐν ἄιδου καὶ πατρὸς βεβηκότων
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.Soph. μητρὸς δ' ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιιν
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.

The reading βεβηκότων may be due to the carelessness of Aristotle or it may have crept in as a gloss of some learned man, who beside the κεκευθότοιιν of his text wrote the corresponding expression βεβηκότοιιν.

8 (and 9). *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1394b 16) and *Eth. Eud.* 7, 2 (p. 1235b 21) = Eur. *Troad.* 1051:Aristot. (*Rhet.*)⁴ οὐδεὶς ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ,Aristot. (*Eth. Eud.*) οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ,

Eur. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐραστῆς ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ.

In the passage of the Eudemian Ethics the word γὰρ has been introduced to join the statement more closely with the preceding words.

10. *Pol.* 1, 13 (p. 1260a 30) = Soph. *Ajax* 293:

Aristot. γυναικὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴν φέρει,

Soph. γυναί, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴν φέρει.

¹ The verse is given thus in all the manuscripts. Bekker, however, edits ταῖς θεαῖσι.

² Cod. BCG, θεαῖσι; B, ταῖς θεαῖσι.

³ Cod. Q, ἀν βλαστῆ; Z^bAc, ἀναβλάστοι.

⁴ Cod. Ac, ἐρασθεὶς ὅστις οὐχὶ καὶ φ.

11. *Metaphys.* 4, 5 (p. 1015 a 31) = *Soph. Elec.* 256 :

Aristot. ἀλλ' ἡ βία με ταῦτ' ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν.

Soph. ἀλλ' ἡ βία γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν,

12. *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1394 b 4 and 6) = *Eur. Hec.* 864–865 :

Aristot. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος
ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης.

Eur. οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος·
ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης,

Most of these last quotations of Aristotle, though differing from the manuscripts of the dramatists, contain — if we except palpable blunders evidently due to copyists — readings that are intelligible and quite possible. Some of them probably represent correct old readings; for it would be singular if, where variants are found between the manuscripts of Aristotle and of these authors, he is right only when grammatical or metrical difficulties prove the traditional readings of these authors corrupt.

Quotations from Hesiod.

After this rather brief reference to the passages of the dramatic poets quoted by Plato and Aristotle, we may perhaps with profit glance at the passages quoted from Hesiod.

A. At first sight Plato's quotations from Hesiod seem to show great carelessness, as almost all of them give readings different from those contained in the manuscripts of Hesiod. Each of these passages, however, will need to be considered separately.

1. *Conviv.* 178 B = *Theog.* 116–120 :

Plat. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,
ἠδ' Ἔρος.

Hes. Ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα Χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
[ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,]
Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
ἠδ' Ἔρος,

In the words actually quoted the manuscripts of Plato agree with those of Hesiod. The omission of verses 118 and 119 will be discussed later.

2. *Theaetet.* 207 A = *Op. et D.* 456 :

Plat.¹ ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούραθ' ἀμάξης.

Hes.² ἑκατὸν δέ τε δούρατ' ἀμάξης,

The difference here is mainly one of breathing, and therefore of little account, as manuscript traditions on such matters have small weight. We might say, however, that the best manuscript of Plato has δούρατ', which, if correct, would imply ἀμάξης — with smooth breathing — and thus cause a correspondence between the best manuscripts of the two authors.

3. *Rep.* 5, 466 C = *Op. et D.* 40 :

Plat. γνώσεται τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἦν σοφὸς λέγων
πλέον εἶναί πως ἦμισυ παντός.

Hes.³ Νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασι, ὅσφ πλέον ἦμισυ παντός

Here it is evidently the purpose of Plato not to quote, but merely to refer to the passage of Hesiod. The two words ἦμισυ παντός are common to both passages, and there is nothing in the rest of the reference in Plato inconsistent with the manuscript readings of Hesiod. In similar language Plato again refers to the same passage in *Leg.* 3, 690 E.

4. *Lysis* 215 C = *Op. et D.* 25-26 :

Plat. καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ,

Hes. Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

These verses were variously quoted in antiquity. In one place — *Pol.* 5, 10 (p. 1312 b 5) — Aristotle gives the order κεραμεῖ κεραμεὺς, though there it is rather a reference than a quotation. In three other instances,⁴ however, he shows the traditional manuscript order,

¹ Cod. B, δούρατ'. ² Cod. Mm₁, ἀμάξη or ἀμ; Mm₂, ἀμάξηι; most cod., δούραθ' ἀμάξης.

³ Cod. MZBAV, οὐδ' ἴσ.

⁴ *Rhet.* 2, 4 (p. 1381 b 16); *Rhet.* 2, 10 (p. 1388 a 16); *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 18).

which is confirmed by many other writers also. In Priscian¹ we find verse 26 quoted thus :

καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονεῖ καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων.

This, in an indirect way, tends to corroborate the reading of Plato. For the last part of the verse as quoted by Priscian refers to the class of men (τέκτονες) which Plato would naturally have mentioned if he had finished his verse, since it is the only class referred to by Hesiod but omitted by Plato. Apparently, even in the remote past there were differences of reading, which may easily have arisen before the time of Plato, and even have crept into manuscript copies of Hesiod.

5 (and 6). *Crat.* 397 E and *Rep.* 5, 469 A = *Op. et D.* 121-123 :

Plat. (*Crat.*) αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψεν,
οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι καλέονται,
ἔσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Plat. (*Rep.*) οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν,
ἔσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

Hes.² αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
ἔσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

This is a difficult passage to settle satisfactorily. Plato differs not only from Hesiod but also from himself. Let us consider first those readings in which he consistently differs from Hesiod.

(a) οἱ μὲν. That this reading was found in the manuscripts of Plato in early times is seen from Eusebius,³ Hermogenes,⁴ and others, who quote it thus from Plato. Lactantius,⁵ though with a variant τοὶ, quotes it thus from Hesiod. It may very well have stood in the manuscript of Hesiod to which Plato had access.

¹ XVIII. 145, p. 169 K.

² Cod. A has ἐπεὶ κε, with δὴ written above; cod. MC, ἐπεὶ μὲν, with κε written above; almost all the other cod. have ἐπεὶ κεν.

³ *Praep. Ev.* 13, 11, p. 663 A.

⁴ Ed. Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* 3, p. 320.

⁵ *Inst. Div.* 2, 14, 7.

(b) *ἀγνοῖ*. This word, too, is confirmed for Plato by Eusebius, Hermogenes, and Theodoretus.¹ It is suggested for Hesiod also by Plutarch,² who in wrongly quoting the verse as

ἀγνοῖ ἐπιχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

shows that the word *ἀγνοῖ* was somewhere in the sentence.

(c) *ἀλεξίκακοι*. The testimony of Eusebius, Hermogenes, Theodoretus, and Aristides³ shows that this is correct for Plato. Though Theodoretus is referring to the Cratylus of Plato, he thinks he is giving the words of Hesiod, for he prefaces his quotation with these words: *ὁ δέ γε Ἡσίοδος περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους ταῦτα ἔφη.*

Now let us look at those words that show Plato as differing from Hesiod and inconsistent with himself.

(d) *ἐπιχθόνιοι* (*Rep.*); *ὑποχθόνιοι* (*Crat.*). As Aristides alone, who seems to be quoting from the Cratylus, reads *ὑποχθόνιοι*, while the other authors, including Theodoretus, who quotes from the Cratylus, give *ἐπιχθόνιοι*, probably Plato wrote in both passages *ἐπιχθόνιοι*, which was early corrupted in the Cratylus to *ὑποχθόνιοι*.

(e) *τελέθουσιν* (*Rep.*); *καλέονται* (*Crat.*). The authors quoting Plato are about evenly divided on these words. Probably these readings represent very old variants which may have extended back to old manuscripts of Hesiod.

In the case of one word, Plato agrees with Hesiod in one passage but disagrees in the other:

(f) *μερόπων* (*Rep.*); *θνητῶν* (*Crat.*, and also Hesiod). For the former word Eusebius offers his testimony, while the latter is confirmed by many ancient authors. As the phrase *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* was a common ending for verses of both Homer and Hesiod,⁴ it would have been easy for either Plato or a scribe to write *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* instead of *θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*.

In the Cratylus, Plato quotes one more verse than in the Republic. In this verse he differs from Hesiod in one phrase:

¹ 8, *De Mar.* p. 915 D. ² *Moral.* 431 E. ³ Vol. II. p. 171 (230 Dind.).

⁴ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1, 250; 3, 402; Hes. *Op. et D.* 143, 180. Cf. also Plat. *Leg.* 3, 681 E, where he quotes from Hom. *Il.* 20, 217, *πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*.

(g) μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψεν (*Crat.*); γαῖα κάλυψε (Hes.). Theodoretus confirms μοῖρ' for Plato, and evidently thought it correct for Hesiod. The phrase γαῖα κάλυψε recurs in verses 140 and 156 of the Works and Days. So it seems to me probable that Plato, if in verse 121 his text of Hesiod had read γαῖα κάλυψε, would have quoted it so, even if he were giving the words from memory, as the repetition of the phrase would have impressed it upon his mind. Why is it not fully as natural, therefore, to suppose that the original reading of verse 121 of Hesiod was really μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψε, which was early changed by a scribe to γαῖα κάλυψε because of the repetition of that phrase in verses 140 and 156? Taking all these points into consideration, I am inclined to believe that the text of Hesiod from which Plato quoted may have been:

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψε
καλέονται
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοι ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν
ἔσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

7. *Rep.* 2, 364 C = *Or. et D.* 287-289:

Plat. ὥς τὴν μὲν κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι
ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει·
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρειθεν ἔθηκαν

Hes. τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι
ῥηιδίως· ὀλίγη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρειθεν ἔθηκαν

The word ὥς given by the manuscripts of Plato is nowhere confirmed for this passage of Hesiod and undoubtedly merely connects the quotation with the preceding words of Plato: τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις μάρτυρας ποιητὰς ἐπάγονται, οἱ μὲν κακίας περί εὐπετείας διδόντες, ὥς, etc. Some scribe, however, supposing it the first word of the quotation, and finding that there were too many syllables in the verse, may naturally enough have retained ὥς and omitted τοι.

In the variants λείη and ὀλίγη we certainly have testimony strong enough to prove absolutely that there were old readings of Hesiod that are not found at all in our manuscripts of that author. For, although all the manuscripts of Hesiod here read ὀλίγη, the

reading λείη is confirmed (1) by Plato,¹ who, in referring to this passage of Hesiod, again uses the word λειή; (2) by Xenophon,² who in turn is confirmed by Stobaeus³; and (3) by Plutarch.⁴

8. *Leg.* 4, 718 E = *Or.* et *D.* 289-292 :

Plat.⁵ ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι. μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν,
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ εἰούσα.

Hes.⁶ τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ εἰούσα.

(α) The reading ἵκηται is confirmed by one manuscript of Xenophon,⁷ from whom Stobaeus⁸ also quotes the same reading, and by one manuscript of Hesiod, while ἵκηται is substantiated by Stobaeus⁹ in another passage. The fact that Plato in the Protagoras¹⁰ uses ἵκηται is of no importance, for there he is merely referring to this passage of Hesiod and not quoting it; and, besides, he there adds τῆς to show that the statement is a general one, thus giving the same force to the sentence as if he had said ἵκηται. I am inclined to think, therefore, especially as the form ἵκηται offers difficulty in the way of interpretation, that ἵκηται is the correct reading for Hesiod.

(β) The variation of δὴ ἔπειτα and δὴ ἔπειτα needs no discussion, as it is a point to be determined by the judgment of the editor rather than by a particular manuscript tradition.

(γ) The word φέρειν of the manuscripts of Plato is a mere blunder of somebody. For in referring to the passage again, Plato¹¹ says: ὅταν δὲ τις αὐτῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, ῥηιδίην δὴ ἔπειτα πέλειν. . . .

¹ *Leg.* 4, 718 E.

² *Mem.* 2, 1, 20.

³ *Floril.* 1, 101.

⁴ *Morai.* p. 77 D.

⁵ The cod. have φέρειν (for πέλει).

⁶ Some cod. ἐπ' αὐτῆς; Vat. 121, ἵκηται; M¹, δὲ ἔπειτα; m², δὴ ἔπειτα.

⁷ *Mem.* 2, 1, 20. Cod. A, ἵκηται; the rest, ἵκηται.

⁸ *Floril.* 1, 101.

⁹ *Floril.* 1, 17.

¹⁰ 340 D.

¹¹ *Protag.* 340 D.

9. *Crat.* 428 A = *Op. et D.* 361:

Plat.¹ εἰ καὶ τις σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθείη,

Hes. Εἰ γάρ κεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο,

The difference of these two readings is not easy to explain, unless we assume that Plato preferred to use another form for a general statement. Still, both readings are metrical and possible, though a syllable is lacking in the verse in Plato.

10. *Rep.* 2, 363 B = *Op. et D.* 233-234:

Plat. ὁ μὲν τὰς δρῦς τοῖς δικαίοις τοὺς θεοὺς ποιεῖν

ἄκρας μὲν τε φέρειν βαλάνους, μέσσας δὲ μελίσσας·

εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες, φησί, μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασι,

Hes. ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας·

εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασι·

Plato here adapts the verses of Hesiod to the structure of his sentence. There is nothing, however, inconsistent with the words of Hesiod.

11. *Charm.* 163 B = *Op. et D.* 311:

Plat.² ἔμαθον γὰρ παρ' Ἑσιόδου, ὃς ἔφη,

ἔργον οὐδὲν εἶναι ὄνειδος.

Hes. Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

Here, too, the words are woven into the structure of Plato's sentence.

There is another passage of Plato that, although it does not quote from Hesiod, makes such a reference to him as to entitle it to our consideration:

12. *Crat.* 402 B:

ἄρα οἶε ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις ῥευμάτων ὀνόματα θέσθαι, ὥσπερ αὖ Ὅμηρος³ Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν φησιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἑσιόδου. λέγει δὲ πού καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὅτι κτλ.

The point of the passage for us lies in the words οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἑσιόδου. Jowett,⁴ who evidently thinks that Plato means that

¹ Cod. B, σμικροῦ (for σμικρῷ).

² Codices, δ' οὐδὲν.

³ *Il.* 14, 201.

⁴ In a note to his translation of this passage of Plato.

Hesiod had a very similar verse telling of 'Ocean, the origin of gods, and mother Tethys,' says: "The verse is not found in the extant works of Hesiod." It seems to me, however, that Plato may have meant that Hesiod, too, describes Oceanus and Tethys as parents of (some) gods. I should agree with Hermann, therefore, in considering that Plato had in mind *Theog.* 337:

Τηθὺς δ' Ὀκεανῶ Ποταμοῦς τέκε δινήεντας,

The words οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος surely offer considerable evidence in favor of the view that Plato quoted from memory. The natural interpretation would be: "I think Hesiod has such a verse, but I can't recall it." Still, the words might imply merely: "I think Hesiod has such a verse somewhere, but I don't know just where to look for it." And we must bear in mind that looking for passages whose place was not tolerably well known, was a much more arduous process with the old rolls than with modern books.

Conviv. 178 B = *Theog.* 116–120. This passage was quoted a few pages above.¹ Plato is referring here to the antiquity of the god Ἔρως. It would not be surprising, therefore, if he omitted everything in the passage quoted that was extraneous to his purpose. But, since we find that Aristotle in quoting the same passage twice omits these same verses (118 and 119), we are led to believe that these verses may not have existed in their texts of Hesiod, especially as they are, for other reasons, suspected by many scholars.

A consideration of all of these passages leads me to think that Plato had a text of Hesiod different in many respects from ours; and that his variants must not thoughtlessly be dismissed as due to 'lapse of memory.'

B. After this somewhat cursory treatment of Plato's quotations of Hesiod, let us turn to Aristotle's quotations of the same author. Three² of these, apart from very slight differences evidently due to scribes, give the traditional readings of Hesiod. The others I shall treat separately.

¹ Cf. page 161.

² *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252b 11) and *Oec.* 1, 2 (p. 1343a 21) = *Op. et D.* 405; *Probl.* 4, 25 (p. 879a 28) = *Op. et D.* 586.

4 (and 5). *Eth. Nic.* 9, 1 (p. 1164 a 27) and *Eth. Eud.* 7, 10 (p. 1242 b 34) = *Op. et D.* 370:

Aristot. (*Eth. Nic.*) ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δ' ἐνίοις ἀρέσκει τὸ
μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρί.

Aristot. (*Eth. Eud.*) μισθὸς ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ.

Hes.¹ Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρκιος ἔστω.

In the Eudemian Ethics the loss of δ' makes the fragment unmetrical. The particle must have been omitted by a scribe. A knowledge of the real reading is shown in the passage of the Nicomachean Ethics.

6. *Eth. Nic.* 1, 2 (p. 1095 b 10) = *Op. et D.* 293–297:

Aristot.² οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ,
ἔσθλος δ' αὖτὸς κάκεινος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται.
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

Hes.³ Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ,
φρασσάμενος, τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἧσιν ἀμείνω·
ἔσθλος δ' αὖτὸς κάκεινος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται·
ὃς δέ κε μήθ' αὐτῷ νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

The main difference in these passages is that the manuscripts of Aristotle give generally αὐτὸς (verses 293 and 296) while those of Hesiod have αὐτῷ. It seems clear that Tzetzes had in his manuscript of Hesiod αὐτὸς in both places, for he says (on verse 293): πανάριστος ἐστὶ, ὃς τις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτως τὸ πρέπον νοεῖ, and on verse 295: ἀγαθὸς δὲ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον, καὶ ὃ μὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν γνοῦς, πεισθεῖς δὲ τοῖς καλῶς συμβουλευούσιν. Moschopulus seems to have read the same, for he says: ἡγουν οὗτος μὲν ἐστὶν ἄριστος, ὃς

¹ Cod. B, γ'; in many cod. this verse is omitted.

² Cod. L^bM^b, αὐτῷ (verse 293); L^b, νοεῖ; M^b, νοήσει (M^b adds φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἧσιν ἀμείνω); H^aK^bM^bN^bO^b (i.e. all the cod. except one), πείθηται; L^bM^b, βάλληται; M^b, αἶ.

³ Cod. Mm₁, Z (with the gloss ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ), L, αὐτῷ (verse 293); O, αὐτὸς; all cod., νοήσει; B, εἰσιν; ZA, εἰσίν; M, ἀμείνων; M (verse 295) omits δ'; B, μήτ' αὐτῷ (verse 296); some, μήτ' αὐτῷ; Mm₂, μήτ' αὐτὸς (from αὐτὸς); many cod., νοεῖ.

δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα νοήσει ... ὅς δ' ἂν μήτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ νοῆ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκοίων κτλ.

Since there are many writers some of whom quote αἴτός and some αἴτῳ, we may fairly infer. I think, that both readings go back to a very old period. Verse 294 of Hesiod is omitted by Aristotle and also by Aristides¹ and by Clement of Alexandria.² It is quoted, however, by Stobaeus³ and by Andronicus Rhodius.⁴ Whether Aristotle had it in his text of Hesiod or not is uncertain, for he might readily have omitted it as unessential to his quotation, even if he had had it. Still the verse is open to suspicion and has been rejected by some scholars, e.g. Brunck and Steitz.

7. *Rhet.* 3. 9 (p. 1409 b 28) = *Or. et D.* 265-266:

Aristot.⁵ οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων.
ἢ δὲ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη.

Hes.⁶ Οἱ γ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων.
ἢ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη.

These two verses do not properly belong in a collection of Aristotle's quotations, for they are a parody by Democritus, as Aristotle himself says: ὥστε γίνεται ὁ ἔσκαψε Δημόκριτος ὁ Χῖος εἰς Μελανπιδὴν ποιήσαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀντιστροφῶν ἀναβολάς. οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κτλ.

8. *Oec.* 1. 4 (p. 1344 a 17) = *Or. et D.* 699:

Aristot.⁷ παρθενικὴν δὲ γαμεῖν ἵνα ἦθεα κεδνὰ διδάξης.

Hes. παρθενικὴν δὲ γαμεῖν. ὡς κ' ἦθεα κεδνὰ διδάξης.

Aristides,⁸ in referring to this passage of Hesiod, uses ἵνα. ἵνα has far the greater probability as the original reading, because it restores hiatus: ἵνι ἦθεα.

¹ Vol. II. p. 26 (p. 31 Dind.).

² *Paed.* 3, 8 (p. 279).

³ *Floril.* 4, p. 252 (ed. Meineke).

⁴ *Etā. Nic. Paraphrasis* 1. 6.

⁵ Cod. QY^bZ^b, ἀναβολήν; Q, κακίστη γάρ.

⁶ The word γ' edited by Kzach has no manuscript authority. Almost all the cod. have τ' or θ'.

⁷ Cod. Mb, διδάξη.

⁸ Vol. II. p. 33 (p. 41 Dind.).

9. *Eth. Nic.* 9, 10 (p. 1170 b 21) = *Or. et D.* 715:

Aristot.¹ ἐμμελῶς εἰρησθαι δοκεῖ

μήτε πολύξεινος μήτ' ἄξεινος,

Hes. Μηδὲ πολύξεινον μηδ' ἄξεινον καλέεσθαι,

With the variants *μήτε* and *μηδὲ* we need not concern ourselves as they are often confused in manuscripts. If the manuscripts of Aristotle represent him correctly in this passage, it must be considered either as a mere reference or as a misquotation, for the words *πολύξεινον* and *ἄξεινον* must be right in Hesiod, since they are in the same construction as *νεικεστῆρα* (verse 716), which the metre demands.

10. *Eth. Nic.* 7, 14 (p. 1153 b 27) = *Or. et D.* 763-764:

Aristot.² φήμη δ' οὐ τί γε πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα λαοὶ
πολλοί. . .

Hes. Φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα πολλοὶ
λαοὶ φημίζουσι.

Of the variants *τί γε* and *τις* we need say only that some manuscripts of Hesiod³ show *τι*, to which *γε* could easily have been added by a copyist, and one manuscript of Aristotle has *τις* without *γε*.

Demosthenes,⁴ Aeschines⁵ and Dio Chrysostomus⁶ give the order of words *λαοὶ πολλοὶ*, while other writers confirm the traditional reading of Hesiod *πολλοὶ λαοὶ*. Of the five manuscripts of Aristotle collated by Bekker for this passage four read *πολλοί* alone, the other has *οἱ πολλοί*. This *οἱ*, of course, may be the remnant of a previous *λαοί*, but the weight of evidence would seem to suggest that Aristotle wrote merely *πολλοί*, thus completing the verse in accordance with our reading of Hesiod.

¹ Cod. Lb, ἄξεινος; LbOb add καλεοίμην.

² Cod. Kb, οὐ τις πάμπαν; Kb has οἱ (for λαοί); the other cod. show no trace of the word.

³ Cf. critical apparatus in text of Koehly-Kinkel for this passage.

⁴ *De Fals. Leg.* p. 417.

⁵ *Con. Timarch.* p. 141.

⁶ *Or.* 37, p. 128 R.

11 (12, 13 and 14). *Pol.* 5, 10 (p. 1312 b 5), *Rhet.* 2, 4 (p. 1381 b 16), *Rhet.* 2, 10 (p. 1388 a 16), *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 18) = *Op. et D.* 25.

Aristot. (*Pol.*) ὡς κεραμεῖ κεραμεύς

Aristot. (*Rhet.* 2, 4) κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ.

Aristot. (*Rhet.* 2, 10) καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ.

Aristot. (*Eth. Eud.*) καὶ γὰρ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει,

Hes. Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,

From these last four passages of Aristotle it is evident that, when he was quoting only a part of a verse, or perhaps referring to it, he did not feel it necessary to give the exact language. A comparison of these four passages shows that Aristotle had here the same reading in his Hesiod as we find in ours.

15 (16 and 17). *Phys. Auscul.* 4, 1 (p. 208 b 30), *Metaphys.* 1, 4 (p. 984 b 27), and *De Xenoph.* 1 (p. 975 a 11) = *Theog.* 116-120:

Aristot.¹ (*Phys. Auscul.*)

πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος,

Aristot.² (*Metaphys.*)

πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος,
ἠδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν,

Aristot.³ (*De Xenoph.*)

πρῶτον μὲν πάντων φησὶ χάος ἐγένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,
ἠδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν.

Hes. Ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
[ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,]
Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι

¹ Cod. F, γένοιτ'.

² Cod. H^a, αὐτὸ (for αὐτὰρ); E, γέα γαῖα; H^a A^b, ἔρωι.

³ Cod. B^a R^a V^a, αἰείδερος.

(a) In the first two passages, in which Aristotle is apparently intending to quote exactly, we read πάντων, and in the third, where the inversion of words and the metrical difficulties in the first line indicate that—if our text is correct—the quotation really begins with αὐτάρ, we still find πάντων. It seems to me the natural inference is that Aristotle had πάντων in his text of Hesiod.

(b) The omission in the Metaphysics of verses 118 and 119 is of no great importance, for there Aristotle quotes only what is necessary to prove his point, namely that Hesiod made Ἔρως a 'first cause.' But still, as the general subject of this passage is the 'first causes,' the omission of Τάρταρα from this list would seem to indicate that, even if Aristotle had verse 119 in his text of Hesiod, he did not interpret Τάρταρα as one of the 'first causes.' In De Xenophane, where he quotes at greater length, the addition of verses 118 and 119 would materially change the force of ἔδος and γαῖ'. The omission of these verses by Aristotle, therefore, indicates to my mind that they were not contained in his Hesiod.

(c) In two passages Aristotle gives πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν, where the manuscripts of Hesiod read κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. For the reading of Aristotle we find no support among ancient authors. It has been thought that Aristotle confused the verse of Hesiod with this verse of the Homeric Hymns¹:

παῖς ἐμός, ὅς κε θεοῖσι μεταπρέποι ἀθανάτοισιν.

That view is perhaps possible; and yet it is not impossible that Aristotle gives us a variant reading that has elsewhere disappeared.

Taking all of Aristotle's quotations together, I feel that they are tolerably accurate. Some differences between the quotations and the passages quoted are probably due to his carelessness; many are undoubtedly due to the blunders of scribes; but there is left a considerable number of differences that are best explained, I think, as coming from an earlier text tradition than is preserved in the extant manuscripts of the authors quoted, especially as I have proved, in a few cases at least, that a difference of text really existed. Feeling, therefore, that readings offered by Plato and

¹ 2, 149.

Aristotle must not be rejected merely because they find no support in the manuscripts of the authors quoted, but must be carefully considered as possibly giving independent testimony on many matters of text. Let me approach my real subject — the quotations from Homer.

II. QUOTATIONS FROM HOMER.

Inventory.

A very casual reading of a few of the scholia of Homer convinces us that there were, even in very early times, many manuscripts of that author. Some of the variants though they have disappeared entirely from the body of the text of the extant manuscripts, are still preserved in the scholia. For example, in a scholion of Ven. A on *Iliad* 22, 11, we read: $\delta\tau\iota$ $\text{Ζηνόδοτος γὰρ οὐκ ἐφίξασεν}$ $\tau\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$. In our extant manuscripts we read $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ and $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$, but nowhere $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$. In the scholia in manuscripts HMQ Didot's on *Odyssey* 1, 93, we read: $\tau\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\upsilon\lambda\omicron$ δ' $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ Κούρην τε while the manuscripts of the *Odyssey* all show Στάβρην τε .

Another proof of the antiquity of some of the variants is found in papyrus fragments some of which go back to a very old date. I shall speak of only two of these fragments.

1. A papyrus fragment containing *Iliad* 24, verses 127–804. Of the many peculiarities of reading of this fragment let me select two as examples.

(1) In verse 215 the fragment reads $\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$. Ven. A and some other manuscripts read $\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}$: the rest have $\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. An interlinear gloss of Ven. A tells us: $\omicron\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ ϵ . The scholiast, then, knew both of these readings.

(2) In verse 320 the fragment has $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$. Ven. A and many other manuscripts have $\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ while the rest have $\delta\acute{\iota}'$. In a marginal scholion of Ven. A we find: $\gamma\mu$ $\delta\acute{\iota}'$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. Both readings, then, were known to the scholiast. Now this fragment is assigned by La Roche¹ to the first century either B.C. or A.D. Hence we see that

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, p. 132.

some of the Homeric variants are of high antiquity, and were known to the scholiasts.

2. The other fragment is of considerably greater importance for us. It is the one discovered recently in Egypt by Flinders Petrie.¹ It contains portions of Iliad 11, verses 502–537. Though there remain only the first letters of some verses and the last letters of others, the fragment shows remarkable differences when compared with the traditional readings of the Iliad. Let us note these differences.

(a) Verse 515. *Papyrus*, πασσων: *Il.*, πάσσειν. Some of the ancients suspected this verse of Homer, as we see by the scholion in Ven. A: ἀθετείται, . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης προηθέτει· Ζηνόδοτος δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν.

(b) Verse 520. *Papyrus*, ως: *Il.*, νῆας.

(c) Verse 528. *Papyrus*, κειθ ιπ: *Il.*,² κείσ' ἴπ.

(d) Verses 529 and 530. *Papyrus*,³ κούροι τ: *Il.* ἰππῆες and ἀλλήλους.

Besides, the fragment shows the endings of four verses not found in our manuscripts of Homer,—between 504 and 505 νοησεν, between 509 and 510 χις ελοιντο,⁴ between 513 and 514 νοιο, and between 514 and 515 αλλους.⁵ Both Mahaffy⁶ and van Leeuwen⁷ assign this fragment to the third century B.C. It is undoubtedly older than any other scrap of Homer that has come down to us, and offers invaluable suggestions with reference to early traditions of Homer. It preserves not only variants nowhere given in our Homeric manuscripts or scholia, but also traces of verses that have been lost to us. In view of these facts it will be unwise in our present investi-

¹ Published by Mahaffy (with other fragments) in *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Dublin, 1891.

² Cod. Lips., κείθ'.

³ So Mahaffy; but van Leeuwen says (*Mnemotysne* 20, 1892, pp. 127–130), the fragment reads ΑΤ ΙΠ or ΑΤ ΙΙ.

⁴ Van Leeuwen thinks it is χη ελοιεν.

⁵ This word, as van Leeuwen says, has been accidentally omitted by Mahaffy in his transcription.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, Dec. 6, 1890, no. 3293, p. 777.

⁷ *Mnemotysne*, 20, 1892, p. 127.

gation to reject without consideration any variants offered by ancient authors, even if they are unsubstantiated by any of our Homeric manuscripts or scholia.

At last we are ready, I think, to examine thoughtfully the passages quoted from Homer by Plato and Aristotle. Some of these are only phrases or parts of verses, but I have included them in the list of quotations.

Plato's Quotations from Homer.

A. NO VARIANTS.

Plato gives many Homeric quotations that in the manuscripts used by the best editors show no readings different from those in the best manuscripts of Homer. The minor differences of breathing, accent, adscript *iota* and movable *nu* I have not considered as variants, for any manuscript tradition on these points is comparatively modern and entitled to little consideration. There are fourteen of these quotations that show no variants.

1. *Conviv.* 219 A = *Il.* 6, 236 :

χρύσεια χαλκείων

The entire verse is quoted by Aristotle.¹

2. *Phaedo* 112 A = *Il.* 8, 14 :

τῆλε μάλ' ἦχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον·

3. *Crat.* 392 A = *Il.* 14, 291 :

χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν,

This verse is quoted thus by Aristotle² also.

4. *Rep.* 3, 388 C = *Il.* 18; 54 :

ᾧμοι ἐγὼ δειλή, ᾧμοι δυσαριστοτόκεια.

5. *Apol.* 28 D = *Il.* 18, 98 :

αὐτίκα, φησί, τεθναίην

6. *Gorg.* 449 A = *Il.* 20, 241 and often :

εὐχομαι εἶναι,

¹ *Eth. Nic.* 5, 11 (p. 1136 b 10).

² *Hist. An.* 9, 12 (p. 615 b 10).

7. *Protag.* 340 A = *Il.* 21, 308–309:
 φίλε κασίγνητε, σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφοτέροί περ
 σχῶμεν.
8. *Rep.* 3, 387 A = *Il.* 23, 100–101:
 ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονός, ἥντε καπνός,
 ᾗχετο τετριγυῖα.
9. *Rep.* 3, 391 B = *Il.* 23, 151:
 Πατρόκλω ἦρωι, ἔφη, κόμην ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι,
10. *Alcibiad.* II.¹ 142 E = *Od.* 1, 34:
 ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσι.
11. *Protag.* 315 B = *Od.* 11, 601:
 Τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα,
12. *Rep.* 3, 390 B = *Od.* 12, 342:
 λιμῶ δ' οἴκτιστον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπείν
13. *Epist.* 7, 345 E = *Od.* 12, 428:
 ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὅλοην ἀναμετρήσαιμι χάρυβδιν,
14. *Theaetet.* 170 E = *Od.* 16, 121:
 μάλα μυρίοι

B. SLIGHT VARIANTS.

To the list just given may properly be added twenty-one other passages, in which the variants, whether in the manuscripts of Plato or Homer, are slight and such as constantly arise from the carelessness of scribes.

1. *Rep.* 3, 389 A = *Il.*² 1, 599–600:
 ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,
 ὡς ἴδον Ἑφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα.
2. *Rep.* 3, 389 E = *Il.*³ 4, 412:
 τέττα, σιωπῇ ἦσο, ἐμῶ δ' ἐπιπείθεο μύθῳ,

¹ So Schanz, though the codices of Plato have ὑπέρμορον. The codices of Homer vary between ὑπὲρ μόρον and ὑπέρμορον. That this difference was felt as a real variant is seen by schol. MQ (*Od.*): οὐ σύνθετον τὸ ὑπὲρ μόρον. Cod. B (Plato) has ἀλγ' ἔχουσι.

² Cod. G, δ' ἐνῶρτο.

³ Cod. A, τέττα; N, σιγῇ.

3. *Crat.* 415 A = *Il.* 6, 265 :
 Plat.¹ μή με ἀπογυιώσης μένεος.
 Hom.² μή μ' ἀπογυιώσης μένεος,
- 4 (and 5). *Theaet.* 152 E and *Crat.*³ 402 B = *Il.*⁴ 14, 201 and 302 :
 Ὀκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν
6. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Il.*⁵ 16, 856–857 and 22, 362–363 :
 ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ρεθέων πταμένη Ἄιδόςδε βεβήκει,
 ὄν πότμον γούωσα, λιπούσ' ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἤβην ·
7. *Phil.*⁶ 47 E = *Il.* 18, 108–109 :
 πολύφρονά περ χαλεπήναι,
 ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο —
8. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Il.*⁷ 20, 64–65 :
 οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη
 σμερδαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ ·
9. *Crat.* 391 E = *Il.*⁸ 20, 74 :
 ὄν Ξάνθον, φησί, καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον
10. *Rep.* 3, 391 A = *Il.*⁹ 22, 20 :
 ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη.
11. *Leg.* 7, 804 A = *Od.*¹⁰ 3, 26–28 :
 Τηλέμαχ', ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις,
 ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται · οὐ γὰρ οἶω
 οὐ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.
12. *Leg.* 3, 680 B = *Od.*¹¹ 9, 112–115 :
 τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὐτε θέμιστες,
 ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
 ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
 παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

¹ Cod. T, ἀπογυιώσης, emended to ἀπογυιώσης.

² Cod. LO, μένεος δ'; G, μένεος τ'.

³ Text, γένεσιν φησιν. Cod. T omits φησιν.

⁴ Cod. H (verse 201), γε.

⁵ Cod G (verse 857), ἀδροτήτα; Cant. Mor., ἀδροτήτα.

⁶ Many cod., ὡς τε πάνυ.

⁷ Many cod., φανήη, with and without *iotas*.

⁸ Cod. L Harlei., κάμανδρον.

⁹ Cod. D, εἰ μή.

¹⁰ Cod. K, οὐδὲ θεῶν σ'.

¹¹ Cod. I, οἷδ'; DFIK, σπέσι; AQ, σπέσι; K, γλαφυρῆσι; K, παίδων τ'.

The words θεμιστεύει . . . ἀλόχων are so quoted by Aristotle.¹ Once² also he refers to them, but with the reading παιδων ἢδ' ἀλόχου.

13. *Rep.*³ 3, 389 D = *Od.*⁴ 17, 383-384:

οἱ δημοεργοὶ ἔασι,
μάντιν ἢ ἰητήρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,

14. *Rep.* 2, 381 D = *Od.*⁵ 17, 485-486:

θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰκότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόλῃας.

15. *Soph.* 216 C = *Od.*⁶ 17, 486:

ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόλῃας,

16. *Minos*,⁷ 319 B = *Od.*⁸ 19, 174:

ἐνενήκοντα πόλῃας,

17. *Minos*,⁹ 319 B = *Od.*¹⁰ 19, 178-179:

τῆσι δέ φησίν, ἐνὶ Κνωσσὸς μεγάλη πόλις, ἐνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ἀριστῆς.

18. *Minos*, 319 D = *Od.*¹¹ 19, 179:

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ἀριστῆς,

19. *Rep.* 4, 441 B = *Od.*¹² 20, 17:

στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ.

20 (and 21). *Rep.* 3, 390 D, and *Phaedo*,¹³ 94 D = *Od.*¹⁴ 20, 17-18:

στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ.
τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.

¹ *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 22).

² *Eth. Nic.* 10, 10 (p. 1180 a 28).

³ Some cod. have δημοουργοί.

⁴ Cod. QV, ἔασσι; D, μάντιν γ' (omitting ἢ); HIL, μάντιν γ' ἢ; M, μῆλων and γρ. δούρων.

⁵ Cod. Q, τελέθωσιν; V, τελέθωσι; C, πόλιας.

⁶ Cod. C, πόλιας.

⁷ Some cod. have ἐννενήκοντα.

⁸ Most cod. have ἐνενήκοντα. La Roche edits ἐννήκοντα, which is demanded by the metre.

⁹ Many cod., Κνωσός.

¹⁰ Many cod., τοῖσι; very many, κνωσσός; La Roche edits Κνωσός; A (recent hand) CL, ἐννέωρος; many, ἀριστῆς; N, ἀριστεύς; S, ὁ ἀριστῆς.

¹¹ Cf. note 10.

¹² Cod. G, στῆθεα; H, ἠνίπατε, γρ. ἠνίπαπε.

¹³ A few of the best cod. have ἠνίπαπε.

¹⁴ Cod. G, στῆθεα; H, ἠνίπατε, γρ. ἠνίπαπε; many cod. omit δὴ; N, ἀλλά.

C. PLATO AGREES WITH THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS OF HOMER, THOUGH THERE WERE OTHER HOMERIC READINGS.

There are nineteen passages in which the readings of Plato agree with those of the best manuscripts of Homer, although other Homeric manuscripts or the scholiasts or Eustathius show that there were other¹ readings known to the ancients.

1. *Rep.* 3, 393 A = *Il.*² 1, 15-16:

καὶ ἐλίσσεται πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς,
Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δὺν κοσμήτορε λαῶν

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι τινὲς Ἀτρεΐδας.

Though these verses are repeated in Homer,³ the context of Plato makes it clear that he is referring to the earlier passage, for he says, — *Οἷσθ' οὖν, ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν* (then comes the quotation) *λέγει τε αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητής*, a statement that would not be true if it referred to *Il.* 1, 374-375.

2. *Rep.* 3, 389 E = *Il.* 1, 225:

οἰνοβαρές, κινὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἠθέτηκεν, ἕως τοῦ καὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον (verse 234).

3. *Crat.* 428 D = *Il.* 1, 343 and 3,⁴ 109:

ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.

Schol. Ven. A (3, 108), — ἀπὸ τούτου ἕως τοῦ λείσσει (verse 110) ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς. It is uncertain to which passage of Homer Plato refers.

4. *Hipp. Min.* 370 A = *Il.*⁵ 9, 312-313:

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Αἶδαο πύλῃσιν,
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κείθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη,

Eustathius seems to have had the reading *βάζη*, for twice in explaining verse 313 he uses the verb *βάζω*.

¹ Under the head of *other readings* I have included verses which, though they are preserved in our manuscripts, were rejected by any of the old critics.

² Cod. A, *λίσσεται*; and it is so edited by La Roche.

³ *Il.* 1, 374-375.

⁴ Cod. E, *πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω*.

⁵ Cod. G, *ἐκείνος*; many cod., *κείθει*; H, *κείφη*.

5. *Leg.* 10, 906 E = *Il.* 9, 500:

Plat.¹ λοιβῆ τε οἴνου κνίσση

Hom.² λοιβῆ τε κνίσση

Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῃ λοιβῆς τε κνίσσης τε.

Though Plato has amplified the expression λοιβῆ τε into λοιβῆ τε οἴνου, it is clear that he had our manuscript reading of Homer, for in the Republic³ he quotes the verse in full just as we have it in our Homeric manuscripts.

6. *Crat.* 428 C = *Il.*⁴ 9, 644–645:

Αἴαν Διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
πάντα τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν εἰείσω μυθήσασθαι.

Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων διηρημένως εἰείσαο.

7 (and 8). *Conviv.* 174 D and *Protag.* 348 D = *Il.* 10, 224:

Plat. (*Conviv.*)⁵

Σύν τε δὺ', ἔφη, ἐρχομένῳ πρὸ ὀ τοῦ

Plat. (*Protag.*) and Homer⁶

σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένῳ, καί τε πρὸ ὀ τοῦ ἐνόησεν.

Schol. Ven. A, — συνερχόμενοι δύο ἀντὶ τοῦ συνερχομένων. ἔνοι δὲ μὴ νοήσαντες τὸ ἄ προστιθέασι, κακῶς.

The first four words of this verse are twice quoted by Aristotle.⁷ The verse is parodied once by Plato.⁸

9. *Conviv.*⁹ 214 B = *Il.* 11, 514:

ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων.

Schol. Townl., — Ζηνόδοτος δὲ οὐ γράφει. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἀθετεῖ.

10. *Rep.* 3, 390 C = *Il.* 14, 296:

φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 1, 609), — λήθοντο.

¹ Many cod. have λοιβῆ γε and κνίσση.

² Many cod. have κνίσση.

³ 2, 364 E.

⁴ Cod. G Mor, κοίρανε ἀχαιῶν; H, δῆ (for τι); EL, εἰείσαο.

⁵ Best codices, ὀδοῦ (for ὀ τοῦ).

⁶ Cod. G, ἐρχομένῳ; L, καί τοι.

⁷ *Pol.* 3, 16 (p. 1287 b 14) and *Eth. Nic.* 8, 1 (p. 1155 a 15).

⁸ *Alcibiad. II.*, 140 A.

⁹ Cod. B, λατρὸς.

11. *Rep.* 3, 391 A = *Il.* 22, 15:

ἔβλαιψάς μ' ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων·

Schol. Ven. B, — τινὲς δὲ δολοώτατε. Schol. Townl., — οἱ δὲ γράφουσι δολοώτατε. Eustathius (1254, 31), — τινὲς δὲ γράφουσι δολοώτατε.

12. *Rep.* 3, 386 D = *Il.*¹ 23, 103-104:

ὦ πόποι, ἦ ρά τις ἔστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν·

Schol. Ven. A (on verse 104), — ἐνσέσεισται ἐκ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας ὁ στίχος. Schol. Townl., — γράφεται δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι.

13. *Axiōch.* 367 D = *Il.*² 24, 525-526:

ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
ζῶειν ἀχνυμένοις,

The reading, ἀχνυμένοις, of Plato and most of the manuscripts of Homer is confirmed by Stobaeus³ and Plutarch.⁴ The reading, ἀχνυμένους, given by two manuscripts of Homer, seems to have been a real variant, for it is quoted for Homer in one passage of Stobaeus.⁵

14. *Rep.*⁶ 3, 386 C = *Od.*⁷ 11, 489-491:

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρω, [ὧ μὴ βίος πολὺς εἴη,]
ἦ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν·

Schol. H, — τινὲς δὲ πάουρος, ὁ ἀκόλουθος, οὐκ εὔ. Eustathius (1695, 36), — τὸ δὲ βουλήμην κ' ἐπαουρος διττὴν ἔχει γραφήν. ἦ γὰρ ἐπάουρος . . . ἦ τρισυλλάβως πάουρος.

The reading, ἐπάουρος, is verified by Plato⁸ again in the Republic, where he refers to these verses of Homer.

¹ A few cod., τι; C, αὐτὰρ.

² *Floril.* 98, 50 and 98, 75.

³ *Floril.* 124, 14.

⁴ In the best codices ὧ . . . εἴη is lacking. These words were probably added by somebody who knew the passage in Homer.

⁵ Cod. I omits verses 489-535.

⁶ Cod. ES, ἀχνυμένους.

⁷ *Moral.* 105 C.

⁸ *Rep.* 7, 516 D.

15. *Gorg.* 526 D = *Od.*¹ 11. 569:

χρίσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα θεμιστεύοντα τέκουσιν.

Schol. H (on verse 568). — τοθεύεται μέχρι τοῦ ὡς εἰπὼν . . . εἶσω (verse 627).

A part of this verse is quoted again by Plato in the *Minos*.²

16. *Char.* 161 A = *Od.*³ 17. 347:

αἰδώς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι

Eustath. (1823, 29). — προίκτη.

17. *Leg.* 10, 904 E = *Od.* 19. 43:

αὕτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν. αἱ Ὀλύμπου ἔχουσιν,

Eustath. (1854, 45), — τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν, αἰτή τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεοῦ.

18. *Rep.* 2, 363 B = *Od.*⁴ 19. 109–113:

ἡ βασιλῆος ἀμίμονος, ὅστε θεοιδῆς
εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι, φέρῃσι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα
πυροῖς καὶ κριθάς, βρίθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῶ,
τίκτη δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῆς.

Schol. H, — πάντα, οὐ μῆλα. The omission of verse 110 I shall consider later.

19. *Rep.* 1, 334 B = *Od.* 19. 396:

κλεπτοσίγη θ' ὄρκῳ τε

Schol. L (La Roche), — γρ. [τε] νόῳ τε (ἴσθ' ὄρκῳ τε).

D. QUOTATIONS WOVEN INTO THE TEXT.

There are twenty-two passages in which Plato, while weaving a phrase or a verse of Homer into the structure of his sentence, shows that he had Homeric readings identical with ours; or at least the quotation has nothing inconsistent with our readings.

¹ Many cod. have *κεκίεσσιν*; S, *κεκίειν*.

² 319 D.

³ Cod. A, *προίκτη* (γρ. *παρεῖναι* by a recent hand); G, *αἰδώς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴν φησ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ προίκτη*; M, γρ. *φησ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ προίκτη*.

⁴ Very many cod. have *τίκτει*; M, *τίκται*; AI, *πάντα* (for *μῆλα*); H (in margin), *πάντα, οὐ μῆλα*; A (recent hand), γρ. *μῆλα*; many, *παρέχει*.

1. *Cōp. r.* 183 E refers to *Il.* 2, 71:

Plat. ἄμα γὰρ τῷ τοῦ σώματος ἄθρα λήγοντι, οὔτερ ἤρα, οἴχεται ἀποστάρμενος.

Hom. ὤχετ' ἀποστάρμενος. ἐμὲ δὲ γλακίς ὕπνος ἀνήκεν.

2. *Aicibiad.* *II.* 141 D refers to *Il.* 2, 303:

Plat. οἶμαι δὲ σε οἴκ ἀνήκουσιν εἶναι ἐπὶ γὰρ χθιζὰ τε καὶ πρωιζὰ γεγενημένα,

Hom.¹ χθιζὰ τε καὶ πρωιζ', ὅτ' ἐς Δελίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν

3. *Rhædr.* 260 A refers to *Il.*² 2, 361:

Plat. Οὔτοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος εἶναι δεῖ,

Hom. οὔ τοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος ἔσεται, ὅτι κεν εἶπω.

4. *Aicibiad.* *I.* 132 A refers to *Il.* 2, 547:

Plat. εἰπρόσωπος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος δῆμος Ἐρεχθέως.

Hom. δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη

In the passage in Plato the epic form has been changed to the Attic Ἐρεχθέως. Such a change — common in the manuscripts of Plato — is generally due, I think, to scribes. Here, however, as Plato rather hints at the passage than quotes it, he may well have used the form Ἐρεχθέως himself.

5. *Theætet.* 194 E refers either to *Il.* 2, 851 or to *Il.* 16, 554:

Plat.³ Ὄταν τοίνυν λάσιόν του τὸ κῆρ ᾗ, ὃ δὴ ἐπήνεσεν ὁ πάσσοφος ποιητής,

Hom. (*Il.* 2, 851) Παφλαγόνων δ' ἠγεῖτο Πυλαιμένος λάσιον κῆρ

Hom. (*Il.* 16, 554) ὤρσε Μενoitιάδew Πατροκλῆος λάσιον κῆρ.

6. *Theætet.* 183 E refers to *Il.* 3, 172:

Plat. Παρμενίδης δὲ μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, αἰδοῖός τέ μοι εἶναι ἄμα δεινός τε.

Hom. αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι φίλε ἐκυρὲ δεινός τε.

¹ Cod. G, πρωιζὰ; C, προίξ'.

² Cod. DGH, οὔτι.

³ Cod. κέαρ.

7. *Alcibiad. II.* 150 D refers to *Il.* 5, 127–128:

Plat.¹ ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, ὥσπερ τῷ Διομήδει φησὶν τὴν Ἀθηναίαν
Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφελεῖν τὴν ἀχλὺν, ὃς
εὖ γινώσκει ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα,

Hom.² ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,
ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδ' ἄνθρωπον.

8. *Crat.* 407 D refers to *Il.* 5, 221–222:

Plat. περὶ δὲ ἄλλων ὧν τινων βούλει πρόβαλλέ μοι, ὄφρα ἴδῃς
οἷοι Εὐθύφρονος ἵπποι.

Hom. ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσῃς, ὄφρα ἴδῃς,
οἷοι Τρώιοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο

9. *Rep.* 5, 468 D refers to *Il.* 7, 321:

Plat. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος τὸν εὐδοκίμησαντα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ νώτοι
σιν Αἴαντα ἔφη διηνεκέεσσι γεραίρεσθαι,

Hom. νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν

10. *Epist.* 7, 344 D refers to *Il.* 7, 360 or *Il.* 12, 234:

Plat. ἐξ ἄρα δὴ οἱ ἔπειτα, θεοὶ μὲν οὐ, βροτοὶ δὲ φρένας ὤλεσαν
αὐτοί.

Hom. ἐξ ἄρα δὴ τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί.

The author of this Epistle has changed the second person τοι to the third person οἱ, to adapt the quotation to his purpose.

I might note the interjection of the expression μὲν οὐ, βροτοὶ δὲ, which interrupts the metre.

11. *Crito* 44 A refers to *Il.* 9, 363:

Plat.³ Ἐδόκει τίς μοι γυνή . . . καλέσαι με καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ Σώκρατες
ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο.

Hom.⁴ ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοίμην.

¹ Cod. B, γινώσκει.

² Cod. L, γινώσκεις; A and some others, γινώσκεις; H, γινώσκῃς; seven others, γινώσκῃς.

³ Cod. D, Φθοίην; B, Φθῆην.

⁴ Cod. D, φθίην δ'.

12. *Gorg.* 485 D refers to *Il.* 9, 441:
 Plat. τὰς ἀγοράς, ἐν αἷς ἔφη ὁ ποιητὴς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀριπρεπεῖς
 γίγνεσθαι,
 Hom.¹ οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσι.
13. *Coniiv.* 179 A refers either to *Il.* 10, 482 or to *Il.* 15, 262:
 Plat. ὥστε ὁμοῖον εἶναι τῷ ἀρίστῳ φύσει, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς, ὃ ἔφη
 Ὅμηρος, μένος ἐμπνεῦσαι ἐνίοις τῶν ἡρώων τὸν θεόν.
 Hom. (*Il.* 10, 482) ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἐμπνευσε μένος γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
 Hom. (*Il.* 15, 262)² ὡς εἰπὼν ἐμπνευσε μένος μέγα ποιμένι λαῶν.
14. *Rep.* 8, 566 C refers either to *Il.* 16, 776 or to *Od.* 24, 40:
 Plat. Ὁ δὲ δὴ προστάτης ἐκείνος αὐτὸς δῆλον δὴ ὅτι μέγας
 μεγαλωστὶ οὐ κεῖται,
 Hom. (*Il.*) κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.
 Hom. (*Od.*)³ κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.
15. *Coniiv.* 174 B refers to *Il.* 17, 587–588:
 Plat. ποιήσας γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα τὰ
 πολεμικά, τὸν δὲ Μενέλεων μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν,
 Hom.⁴ οἶον δὴ Μενέλαον ὑπέτρεσας, ὅς τὸ πάρος περ
 μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής· νῦν δ' οἴχεται οἶος ἀείρας
16. *Rep.* 3, 388 A refers to *Il.* 18, 23–24:
 Plat. Πάλιν δὴ Ὅμηρου τε δεησόμεθα . . . μὴ ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλέα,
 θεᾶς παῖδα. . . . μηδὲ ἀμφοτέρησι χερσὶν ἐλόντα
 κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν χενάμενον κακ κεφαλῆς·
 Hom. ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
 χεῖατο κακ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἦσχυνε πρόσωπον·
17. *Rep.* 3, 388 B refers to *Il.* 22, 414–415:
 Plat.⁵ μηδὲ Πρίαμον ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότα λιτανεύοντά τε καὶ
 κυλινδόμενον κατὰ κόπρον. ἐξονομακλήδην ὀνο-
 μάζοντ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον.

¹ Cod. GL, ἀγοράων; D, τελέθωσι.

² Cod. L omits this verse; Vrat b A, ἐπνευσε.

³ Cod. DL, μεγαλοστί.

⁴ Cod. H, ὑπέτρεσσας; A, πάρος γε.

⁵ Some cod. have κυλινδούμενον; some cod., κόπρου.

Hom.¹ πάντας δὲ λιτάνευε κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον,
ἐξονομακλήδην ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον·

18. *Protag.* 309 A refers either to *Il.*² 24, 348 or to *Od.*³ 10, 279:

Plat. οὐ σὺ μόντοι Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέτης εἶ, ὃς ἔφη χαριεστάτην
ἦβην εἶναι τοῦ ὑπηνήτου,

Hom. πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη.

19. *Phaedr.* 266 B refers to *Od.* 5, 193:

Plat. τοῦτον διώκω κατόπισθε μετ' ἵχνιον ὥστε θεοῖο.

Hom. καρπαλίμως· ὃ δ' ἔπειτα μετ' ἵχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο.

At first sight Plato's words seem inconsistent with those of Homer. The differences, however, are easily explicable. The expression τοῦτον διώκω, while not attempting to reproduce βαῖνε, takes the place of it. The use of ἵχνιον in the singular avoids a hiatus before ὥστε and preserves the rhythm. The word ὥστε is used to suggest the comparison. The epic genitive θεοῖο is sufficient to show that Plato had this verse in mind.

20. *Rep.* 7, 516 D refers to *Od.* 11, 489–491:

Plat. ἦ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἂν πεπονθέναι καὶ σφόδρα βούλεισθαι
ἐπάρουρον ἐόντα θητευέμεν ἄλλω ἀνδρὶ παρ'
ἀκλήρῳ

Hom.⁴ βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἴη,

21. *Protag.* 315 D refers to *Od.* 11, 582:

Plat.⁵ Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Τάνταλόν γε εἰσείδον.

Hom.⁶ καὶ μὲν Τάνταλον εἰσείδον χαλέπ' ἄλγ' ἔχοντα,

¹ Cod. Vrat A, ἐλιτάνευσε.

² Cod. S, πρώτῳ.

³ Cod. N, πρώτῳ; QV, χαριέστατος; A (recent hand), γρ. δὴ (for τοῦ περ).

⁴ For variant readings and scholia cf. above p. 182, where this passage has already been given.

⁵ Cod. BT, εἰσιδον, but B with a note in the margin to indicate that there is a mistake.

⁶ Cod. H (first hand) K, καὶ μὲν; C, τάνταλόν τ' εἰσιδον; many cod., κρατέρ' (for χαλέπ').

22. *Laches* 201 B refers to *Od.* 17, 347 :

Plat. τὸν Ὅμηρον δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι προβάλλεσθαι, ὃς ἔφη
οὐκ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι αἰδῶ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι.

Hom.¹ αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι.

This verse is quoted exactly in the *Charmides*.²

E. ATTIC FOR EPIC WORDS.

In a few passages the readings of the manuscripts of Plato agree with those of the manuscripts of Homer, except that a few Attic have been substituted for epic forms. As Plato in quoting these or similar passages elsewhere has sometimes given the real epic form, we must attribute these Atticisms not to him, but to the scribes.

1. *Laches* 191 A = *Il.*³ 5, 223 and *Il.* 8, 107 :

Plat. καὶ Ὅμηρός ποῦ ἐπαινῶν τοὺς τοῦ Αἰνείου ἵππους κραιπνὰ
μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἔφη αὐτοὺς ἐπίστασθαι διώκειν ἠδὲ
φέβεσθαι.

Hom. κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκέμεν ἠδὲ φέβεσθαι.

The confusion of such forms as διώκειν and διωκέμεν in the manuscripts of Homer is too common to call for comment here. The form διώκειν in Plato may well be attributed to a scribe.

2. *Soph.* 268 D = *Il.*⁴ 6, 211 and *Il.* 20, 241 :

Plat. ταύτης τῆς γενεᾶς τε καὶ αἵματος

Hom. ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι.

The form κραδίην is similar in its declension to γενεῆς. The former is quoted by Plato in the *Republic*⁵ from the *Iliad*,⁶ and also in another passage of the *Republic*⁷ from the *Odyssey*.⁸ So Plato surely was familiar with this epic or Ionic declension. Besides, in a passage of the *Republic*⁹ where the same phrase is found, many

¹ Cf. above p. 183, where the variants of this verse are given in full.

² 161 A.

³ Cod. G, φεύεσθαι.

⁴ Cod. G, δῆ (for τοι); D, γενεᾶς (here, too, probably through a fault of the copyist); H Cant, καὶ (for τε καὶ); L, τοι καὶ; Lips, Mosc. 3, καὶ εὐχομαι αἵματος εἶναι.

⁵ 3, 389 E.

⁶ 1, 225.

⁷ 4, 441 B.

⁸ 20, 17.

⁹ 8, 547 A.

manuscripts show ταύτης τοι γενεῆς. The natural supposition, therefore, is that a scribe of Plato's manuscript has changed the epic γενεῆς to the Attic γενεᾶς. The same scribe or another may then have changed τοι to τῆς, that the full Attic usage might be shown. That Plato himself was not responsible for this change from τοι to τῆς, is evident from the passage in the Republic¹ just cited, where we find the Homeric expression ταύτης τοι γενεᾶς (or γενεῆς).

3. *Rep.* 2, 364 D = *Il.* 9, 497-501:

Plat.² στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς ἀγαναῖσι
λοιβῆ τε κνίσση τε παρατρωπῶσ' ἄνθρωποι
λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῆη καὶ ἀμάρτη.

Hom.³ νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν· στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,
τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε.
καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσι
λοιβῆ τε κνίσση τε παρατρωπῶσ' ἄνθρωποι
λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῆη καὶ ἀμάρτη.

To verse 500 Plato refers in the Laws.⁴ Of the omission of verse 498 I shall speak later. Perhaps a possible explanation of θυσίαισι is that a copyist has carelessly written the more common Attic word in place of the epic and poetic θύος. Then the metre may have helped to produce the poetic or old Attic ending αῖσι. The μὲν τοὺς of Homer has suffered inversion in Plato through somebody's carelessness. The form εὐχολαῖς may be explained as an Atticism.

4. *Rep.* 3, 388 C = *Il.* 16, 433-434:

Plat. αἰ αἰ ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν
Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιῳ Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι.

Hom.⁵ ὦ μοι ἐγών, ὃ τέ μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,
μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιῳ Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι.

¹ 8, 547 A.

² Many cod. (verse 497), γε (for τε); many cod., λιστοὶ δέ (before στρεπτοὶ); some cod., ἀγανῆσι; Flor. x, εὐχολῆς.

³ Cod. L, τρεπτοὶ; G, εὐχολαῖσιν ἀγαναῖσι; A, εὐχολῆσ'; CEGHL, κνίσση; G, παρατρωπῶσιν; H, ὑπερβίη; L, ὑπερβείη καὶ ἀμάρτοι. Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῳ λοίβης τε κνίσσης τε.

⁴ 10, 906 E.

⁵ Cod. H, μιν.

We see from this same section of Plato — Republic 3, 388 C — where we read ὦμοι ἐγὼ δειλή. ὦμοι δισαριστοτόκεια, that the exclamation ὦμοι was known to Plato as Homeric: so I suspect that the un-Homeric αἰ αἰ is to be attributed to some scribe, who has substituted this common Attic form.

5. *Minos* 319 D = *Od.* 11. 569:

Plat. χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα

Hom.¹ χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα. θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσιν,

Here we may consider either that Plato meant merely to refer to the words of Homer, without quoting them exactly, or — as seems to me more probable — that the Attic form χρυσοῦν is due to a scribe.² For in the *Gorgias*³ Plato quotes the entire verse of Homer just as our Homeric manuscripts give it.

6. *Rep.* 3, 387 A = *Od.* 24. 6–9:

Plat. ὡς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρον θεσπεσίῳ
τρίζουσαι ποτέονται. ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν
ὄρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης. ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται,
ὡς αἰ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ' ἦεσαν.

Hom.⁴ ὡς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῷ ἄντρον θεσπεσίῳ
τρίζουσαι ποτέονται. ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν
ὄρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης. ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται,
ὡς αἰ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ' ἦισαν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν

Here, too, I think we may say with great probability that a scribe has changed the epic ἦισαν — quoted by Plato from Homer — to the doubtful Attic ἦεσαν.

F. PLATO'S VARIANTS SUBSTANTIATED.

In a few passages, where Plato has given us readings different from those of the traditional Homeric text, we find the most important variants of Plato substantiated either by some of the manu-

¹ Many cod. have νεκέσσιον; S, νεκέσιον.

² We might compare ψκουν for ψκειον (*Leg.* 3, 681 E = *Il.* 20, 218).

³ 526 D.

⁴ Cod. A, τρίζουσαι; KS, ἄμα; M, ἄμα; ADL, ἀλλήλοισιν; M, εἴσονται with ἔχονται above); A, τετριγυῖαι.

scripts of Homer or by scholia of these manuscripts or by ancient authors.

1. *Hipp. Min.* 365 A = *Il.* 9, 308-314:

Plat.¹ Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
 χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν,
 ὥσπερ δὴ κρανέω τε καὶ ὡς τελέεσθαι οἶω,
 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν,
 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται.

Hom.² διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
 χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν,
 ἧ̄ περ δὴ φρονέω τε καὶ ὡς τετελεσμένον ἔσται,
 ὡς μὴ μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος.
 ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλῃσιν,
 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὡς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.

There are several points in this passage that demand discussion.

(a) ὥσπερ. We note that all the manuscripts of Plato, with one exception, read ὥσπερ, while all of the manuscripts of Homer, together with one of Plato, read ἧ̄ περ. It may be that in this one manuscript of Plato has been preserved his original reading ἧ̄ περ, identical with that of Homer, but there are certain facts that discredit this view. For, as we shall see presently, this passage of Plato undoubtedly shows some old variants. Besides, the one manuscript of Plato that reads ἧ̄ περ is the only one that agrees with the Homeric manuscripts in reading τετελεσμένον ἔσται; so I suspect that it has been revised to agree with Homer, especially as it shows many other remarkable agreements with Homeric manuscripts. So it is quite possible that ὥσπερ is an old variant.

¹ Cod. S, ἧ̄περ (for ὥσπερ); S, ἠ̄ γρ. (for ὡς, verse 310); W, τετελέεσθαι (for τελέεσθαι); S, τετελεσμένον ἔσται (for τελέεσθαι). A variant reading, as often, is κεύθει (for κεύθη).

² Cod. D omits δὴ (verse 309); A and many others, κρανέω (for φρονέω); C (second hand), γρ. φρονέω; D, ἐστί (verse 310); E, τρύζοιτε; D, τροίζητε; A Townl., παρήμενος; A, γρ. παρήμενοι; many cod., κεύθει; H, κεύφη; many cod., ἐρέω ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται (verse 314).

(b) κρανέω. All the manuscripts of Plato give κρανέω, while those of Homer give κρανέω or φρονέω. Both readings are recognized by Eustathius (751. 5). — κρανέω ἢ φρονέω, διχῶς γὰρ γράφεται. Aristarchus favored φρονέω, for in Schol. Ven. A we read, — Ἄρισταρχος ἤπερ δὴ φρονέω, and in Townl., — αἱ Ἄριστάρχου φρονέω.

(c) τελέεσθαι οἶω. The best manuscripts of Plato read τελέεσθαι οἶω, while the Homeric manuscripts have τετελεσμένον ἔσται. This Homeric reading is supported, as I have said, by one manuscript of Plato. If that correctly represents Plato's original reading, then the two authors agree and no discussion is necessary. But the weight of evidence points to a real Homeric variant, τελέεσθαι οἶω. For in verse 314 Plato's manuscripts read τετελεσμένον ἔσται, which is supported as a variant by many manuscripts of Homer, and by a scholion in Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῳ ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται. It seems unlikely that two verses so near together should have the same ending, and so I think that τελέεσθαι οἶω is the right reading for Plato in verse 310 and represents an old variant of Homer, which Plato has here preserved.

(d) Of the omission of verse 311 I shall speak later.

(e) καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται (verse 314). While most of the manuscripts of Homer show μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα, the reading of the manuscripts of Plato is καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται, which is supported by many manuscripts of Homer, and by the scholion of Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῳ ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται.

Taking the passage as a whole, I think that the variants of Plato gain sufficient confirmation from the manuscripts and scholia of Homer, to entitle the whole quotation to our thoughtful consideration, as probably representing an early version of Homer.

2. *Hipp. Min.* 371 B = *Il.* 9, 650–655:

Plat.¹ οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος,
πρὶν γ' υἷον Πριάμοιο δαίφρονος, Ἴκτορα δῖον,
Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι
κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε φλέξαι πυρὶ νῆας·
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν τῇ ἠμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίῃ
Ἴκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἶω.

¹ Cod. S, σμῆσαι; Vindob. suppl. 7, ^{σμυ} φλέξαι.

Hom.¹ οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος,
 πρὶν γ' υἷον Πριάμοιο δαίφρονος, Ἴκτορα δῖον,
 Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι
 κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε σμύξαι πυρὶ νῆας.
 ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
 Ἴκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἶω.

That the reading φλέξαι, given by the manuscripts of Plato, is a real Homeric variant, is shown from the scholion in Ven. A, — οὕτως σμύξαι Ἀρίσταρχος. οἶδε δὲ καὶ τὴν φλέξαι γραφήν. ὅτι γρ. καὶ κατὰ τε φλέξαι. The word μιν is due perhaps to carelessness on the part of the scribe. The difference between ἴμῃ and ἐμῇ is too slight and too common to call for comment.

3. *Axioch.* 367 D = *Il.* 17, 446-447:

Plat. οὐ μὲν γὰρ τί ποτ' ἐστὶν οἰζυρώτερον ἀνδρὸς
 πάντων ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἐπιπνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

Hom.² οὐ μὲν γὰρ τί πού ἐστιν οἰζυρώτερον ἀνδρὸς
 πάντων, ὅσά τε γαῖαν ἐπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

That the reading ποτ' of Plato is probably correct for that author is shown by Stobaeus,³ who quotes these very words from Plato. In another passage,⁴ where he gives the same words, Stobaeus seems to be quoting directly from Homer. If that is so, he helps to show that ποτ' may be an old variant for Homer.

4. *Leg.* 3, 681 E = *Il.* 20, 217-218:

Plat. ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
 ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾗκουν πολυπιδάκου Ἰδῆς.

Hom.⁵ ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
 ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾗκεον πολυπίδακος Ἰδῆς.

The change from ᾗκεον to ᾗκουν is undoubtedly the work of a scribe.⁶ That Plato's manuscripts had ᾗκεον in early times is clear from the fact that Strabo⁷ thus quotes from Plato:

¹ Cod. G, σμίξαι; L, ἀργείους τε κατασμίξαι; some cod., μῆι οἱ μῆ.

² Cod. H Vrat d, οἰζυρότερον; D, ὅσα.

³ *Floril.* 98, 75.

⁴ *Floril.* 98, 51.

⁵ Cod. G, ἀλλ' ἔθ'; E, ᾗκουν; many cod., πολυπιδάκου.

⁶ We have had a similar example of contraction in χρυσοῦν in *Minos*, 319 D = *Od.* 11, 569; cf. above p. 190.

⁷ 13, 1, 25 (C 593).

ἐν ταύτῃ τελευτά. τάλις μερέτων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλ' εἴθ' ἵπυρῆες ἔκκεον πολυτιδάκου Ἰδης.

This quotation of Strabo shows also that Plato wrote πολυτιδάκου. That this was a variant of Homer we know both from the manuscripts and from Schol. Ven. A, — γρ. πολυτιδάκου.

5. *Lysis*, 214 A = *Od.* 17, 218:

Plat. αἰεὶ τοὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγα θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον

Hom.¹ ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγα θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

This same verse is quoted three times by Aristotle. In two instances² his manuscripts agree with those of Homer, but in the third³ case he gives the same reading as Plato. It looks, therefore, as if there might have been, even in early times, a variation between αἰεὶ τοὶ and ὡς αἰεὶ.

6. *Leg.* 6, 777 A = *Od.* 17, 322–323:

Plat.⁴ ἡμῶν γὰρ τε νόον. φησὶν. ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύστα Ζεὺς
ἀνδρῶν. οὗς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δούλιον ἡμῶν ἔλθοι.

Hom. ἡμῶν γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνονται εὐρύστα Ζεὺς
ἀνέρος. εὐτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἡμῶν ἔλθοι.

At first sight it would seem as if the only explanation of the great difference between the quotation and the apparent original, would be to suppose a serious lapse of memory on the part of Plato. Fortunately for our investigation, and fortunately for a better idea of a possible explanation of such differences generally, we have the testimony of both Athenæus⁵ and Eustathius, to show that Plato is here giving an old variant, of which there is no trace in the manuscripts or scholia of Homer. Athenæus, to be sure, is quoting from Plato, and really substantiates the correctness of the text of Plato alone; but he seems to have accepted Plato's text as a correct Homeric quotation. Besides, we read in Eustathius (1766, 55). — ἡμῶν γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύστα Ζεὺς ἀνδρῶν. οὗς ἂν δὴ καὶ ἐξῆς, ὅπερ

¹ Cod. CDKL. ἐς (for the second ὡς): M. ^{ὡς} ἐς.

² *Eth. End.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7) and *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16).

³ *Mag. Morai.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10).

⁴ Cod. A (first hand), ἀπαμείρεται.

⁵ ὁ, 264.

σημαίνει ὅτι παρά τισιν ἄλλοις εὔρηται κατ' ἑτεροίαν γραφήν, ἡμῶν γάρ τε νόου ἀπαμείρεται. With this testimony before him even La Roche, who in his text of Homer feels obliged to follow the Homeric manuscripts, is forced to admit, — “id vero negari non potest, Platonem et Athenaeum in Homero suo scriptum reperisse γάρ τε νόου ἀπαμείρεται . . . ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἂν δῆ.”¹

G. NEW READINGS IN PLATO.

Now we come to those quotations from Homer which, although in individual variants they receive some confirmation from other sources, in general may be said to offer readings not elsewhere substantiated. These passages, however, should be viewed in the light of the points already discussed. Note, for example, the passage just dismissed. From a chance quotation of Athenaeus and from a remark of Eustathius, we are able to maintain a position that might otherwise have seemed untenable. A very easy explanation of the following passages is to assume that Plato by quoting from memory has wrongly given readings that never existed as real Homeric variants. Now, although that supposition may be true in some instances, it must not be assumed beforehand. In fact, I think that, in view of the many passages already discussed in which Plato has evidently quoted with accuracy, it is fairer to assume — unless we find strong evidence to the contrary — that Plato, whether he quoted from memory or not, has given what was in his text of Homer. In some of the following passages there is not much to be said, except to note the points of difference between the quotation and the accepted text of Homer.

1. *Hipp. Min.* 370 C = *Il.* 1, 169–171:

Plat. νῦν δ' εἴμι Φθίηνδ', ἐπειὴ πολὺ λώϊόν ἐστιν
οἴκαδ' ἴμεν σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐδέ σ' οἶω
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος εἶν ἀφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν.

Hom.² νῦν δ' εἴμι Φθίην δ', ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν
οἴκαδ' ἴμεν σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐδέ σ' οἶω
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος εἶν ἀφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν.

¹ In his *Adnotatio Critica* on this passage.

² A few cod. have ἀφενον.

2. *Rep.* 3. 389 E = *Il.* 3, 8 and 4, 431:

Plat. ἴσαν μέγαρα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,
σιγῆ δειδιότες σημάτωντορας,
Hom. (*Il.* 3, 8) οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῆ μέγαρα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ
Hom.¹ (*Il.* 4, 431) σιγῆ δειδιότες σημάτωντορας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι

It seems to me it would be unfair to Plato's education and scholarship, to assume that he has *ignorantly* brought together two verses that belong to different books of the Iliad. More natural is it to think that these two parts of verses were given to illustrate the point under discussion, namely the proper relation of men to their leaders. The absence of σιγῆ may be due either to Plato, who may have preferred not to use the same word in two successive lines of his dialogue, or, as seems to me more likely, to a scribe, who on seeing two examples of σιγῆ may have thought one of them a mistake of his predecessor.

3. *Rep.* 2, 379 E = *Il.* 4, 84:

Plat. οὐδ' ὡς ταμίας ἡμῖν Ζεὺς
ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται.
Hom.² Ζεὺς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται.

This seems to represent an entirely different version from the traditional Homeric text.

4. *Rep.* 3, 408 A = *Il.* 4, 218:

Plat. ἢ οὐ μέμνησαι, ὅτι καὶ τῷ Μενέλεω ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος οὐ ὁ
Πάνδαρος ἔβαλεν αἷμ' ἐκμυζήσαντ' ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακ'
ἔπασσον,
Hom. αἷμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
πάσσει.

Apart from the verbal differences of these two passages, Plato gives us an entirely different account. According to the traditional version Machaon, after sucking the blood from the wound of Menelaus, applies an ointment. Plato, evidently through carelessness, makes Machaon and his brother attend to the wound.

¹ Cod. H, δεδιότες.

² Cod. M, ἀνθρώποις; G, ταμίας.

5. *Rep.* 5, 468 D = *Il.*¹ 8, 162 and *Il.*² 12, 311:

Plat. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πᾶσι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἀγαθοὶ φαίνωνται, καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ οἷς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν τιμήσομεν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔδραις τε καὶ κρέασιν ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν,

Hom. ἔδρη τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσι·

Since these words of Plato are not metrical, we must consider that he is giving the substance of the passage and not quoting, for we find here in Plato changes, additions and subtractions, as compared with the original Homer.

6. *Hipp. Min.* 370 B = *Il.* 9, 357-363:

Plat.³ αὐριον ἱρὰ Διὶ ρέξας, φησί, καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,
νηήσας εὐ νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλαδε προερύσσω,
ὄψαι, αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἴ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,
ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας
νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας·
εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώῃ κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,
ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην.

Hom.⁴ αὐριον ἱρὰ Διὶ ρέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσι,
νηήσας εὐ νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλα δὲ προερύσσω,
ὄψαι, ἦν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἴ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,
ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας
νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας·
εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώῃ κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,
ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην.

It would seem as if either Plato had in his Homer αἴ κ', or some scribe changed ἦν to αἴ κ' to make it correspond to the αἴ κέν of the last part of the verse.

7. *Alcibiad.* II. 140 A = *Il.* 10, 224:

Plat. σύν τε δύο σκεπτομένῳ

Hom.⁵ σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένῳ, καί τε πρὸ ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησεν,

¹ Cod. G, τ' ἡδὲ. ² Cod. G, τε ἡδὲ. ³ Cod. S, ἦν (for αἴ κ', verse 359).

⁴ Cod. G, ἱρὰς; L, αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα; L Cant, μεμήλει; Vrat b, μεμήλοι; S, μεμήλη; G, ἐλλήσποντον; E, εἰ περ (for εἰ δέ κεν); D, Φθίην δ'.

⁵ Cod. G, ἐρχομένῳ; L, καί τοι.

This verse of Homer is quoted entire in the Protagoras,¹ and the first part of it again in the Convivium.² In those two passages Plato gives the reading of our Homeric manuscripts. Here, however, it is clear that he is parodying what was evidently a well-known verse.

8. *Ion* 538 C = *Il.* 11, 639–640 and 11, 630:

Plat.³ οἶνον πρᾶμνειον, ἐπὶ δ' αἰγειον κνή τυρόν
κνήστι χαλκείῃ· παρὰ δὲ κρόμυον ποτῶ ὄψον·

Hom.⁴ (*Il.* 11, 639 and 640)
οἶνον Πρᾶμνειον, ἐπὶ δ' αἰγειον κνή τυρόν
κνήστι χαλκείῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ πάλυνε,

Hom.⁵ (*Il.* 11, 630)
χάλκειον κᾶνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμυον, ποτῶ ὄψον,

Here it would seem as if Plato had confused the endings of two verses—630 and 640. But our impression is modified when we read in the Republic⁶ these words: τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ οἱ υἱεῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ Εὐρυπύλῳ τετρωμένῳ ἐπ' οἶνον Πράμνειον ἄλφιστα πολλὰ ἐπιπασθέντα καὶ τυρόν ἐπιξυσθέντα. Plato is here evidently referring to this same passage of Homer, and the words ἄλφιστα πολλὰ ἐπιπασθέντα show that he knew that ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ πάλυνε or some similar expression belongs to the Homeric passage. So I think the confusion was made through design and not through ignorance.

9. *Ion* 539 B = *Il.* 12, 200–207:

Plat.⁷ ὄρνις γὰρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων,
φοινῆεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον,
ζφόν, ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα· καὶ οὐπω λήθετο χάρμης.
κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στῆθος παρὰ δειρήν
ιδνωθεῖς ὀπίσω, ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἤκε χαμᾶζε
ἀλγήσας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσῳ δ' ἐγκάββαλ' ὀμίλῳ·
αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας ἔπετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.

¹ 348 D.

² 174 D.

³ Cod. Vindob. suppl. 7, κνήσται from κνήστη.

⁴ Cod. G, κνήστη; H, κνήστει; S, κνήστει^{στι}.

⁵ Cod. D, χάλκειον; G, κᾶνεον.

⁶ 3, 405 D.

⁷ The best cod. have ὀπίσω; Vindob. suppl. 7, ἐγκάμβαλ' ὀμίλῳ;
Vindob. suppl. 7, ^{ἐπα}πέτατο.

Hom.¹ ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,
 αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔργων,
 φοινήμεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον
 ζών, ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα· καὶ οὐ πω λήθετο χάρμης.
 κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρὴν
 ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἤκε χαμᾶζε
 ἀλγήσας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσφ' δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλλ' ὀμίλῳ,
 αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.

With regard to the form in Plato ἐγκάββαλ' we note that it is found in two manuscripts of Homer also. It is doubtful whether ἔπετο is a true ancient variant or a scribe's blunder.

10. *Leg.* 4, 706 E = *Il.* 14, 96-102 :

Plat.² ὅς κέλεαι πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ αὐτῆς
 νῆας εὐστέλμους ἄλαδ' ἔλκειν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
 Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐελδομένοισι περ ἔμπης,
 ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπιρρέπη· οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
 σχήσουσιν πολέμου νηῶν ἄλαδ' ἐλκομενάων,
 ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης·
 ἐνθα κε σὴ βουλή δηλήσεται, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.

Hom.³ ὅς κέλεαι πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ αὐτῆς
 νῆας εὐστέλμους ἄλα δ' ἐλκέμεν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
 Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐπικρατέουσι περ ἔμπης,
 ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπιρρέπη. οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
 σχήσουσιν πόλεμον νηῶν ἄλα δ' ἐλκομενάων,
 ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.
 ἐνθά κε σὴ βουλή δηλήσεται ὄρχαμε λαῶν.

There are several words in this passage of Plato that need to be noted.

(a) ἔλκειν. This form is one of those Atticisms that are probably due to scribes.

¹ Cod. G, ἀπῆλθε; G omits ἔχοντα and adds τὸ after κατὰ; S, ἐν; H Townl., ἐγκάββαλ'; many cod., κάμβαλ'; G, πέτετο ποτὶ πνοιῆς.

² Cod. A, εὐστέλμους.

³ Cod. C, γένοιτο; S, ἐπεὶ κρατέουσι; C Barocc., ἐπιρρέποι; Lips, ἐπιρρέπει; E, δι' ἐλκομενάων; H, ἀπαπτανέουσιν; many cod., ἀποπτανέουσιν; S, ὄρχαμε ἀνδρῶν.

(b) *ἐελδομένοισι*. This reading is not so pleasant to me as the Homeric *ἐπικρατέουσι*, for it merely repeats the idea expressed in *εὐκτά*. Still, it is intelligible, and Plato may have had it in his text of Homer.

(c) *πολέμου*. This form is undoubtedly a mistake of the copyist, as the sentence demands an accusative as the direct object of *σχήσουσιν*, and not a genitive of separation, for that is supplied by *νηῶν*.

(d) *οἱ ἀγορεύεις*. This is one of the common verse-endings of Homer. In the Homeric text we have another common ending *ὄρχαμε λαῶν*. We shall have to ascribe the difference in Plato's text either to Plato or his scribes, unless we may imagine that different rhapsodists may sometimes have used different verse-endings, in case the general sense of the passage was not affected thereby. Then Plato's phrase might represent a real tradition.

11. *Rep.* 8, 545 D = *Il.* 16, 112-113:

Plat.¹ ἡ βούλει, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος, εὐχόμεθα ταῖς Μούσαις εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν,
ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον στάσις ἔμπεσε,

Hom.² ἔσπετε νῦν μοι μούσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ὅππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

Here in Plato, as often in the manuscripts of Homer, we read *ὅπως*, where the metre demands a long penult.

The introduction of the word *στάσις* serves to parody this well-known verse of Homer.

12. *Apol.* 28 C = *Il.* 18, 96:

Plat. αὐτίκα γάρ τοι, φησί, μεθ' Ἐκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος.

Hom. αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἐκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος.

In this passage *φησί*, which is generally *extra metrum*, has apparently crowded out the regular word *ἔπειτα*, and has taken its place in the hexameter.

13. *Apol.* 28 D = *Il.* 18, 104:

Plat.³ παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν ἄχθος ἀρούρης.

Hom. ἀλλ' ἡμῖν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης,

¹ Bas 2, ἐπέπεσε.

² Cod. Lips, ὅπως.

³ Cod. B, κορωνήσιον (the ι added above νη by a second hand); D, κορωνήσιον.

Whether here Plato has used, carelessly, an epithet *κορωνίσιν*, in place of the traditional *ἑτώσιον*, or whether he gives us an old Homeric variant, is uncertain.

14. *Convin.* 195 D = *Il.* 19, 92–93 :

Plat.¹ τῆς μένθ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὔδεος
πίλναται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα βαίνει.

Hom.² οὔλομένη· τῆ μέν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οὔδει
πίλναται, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦ γε κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα βαίνει

That Plato really wrote *τῆς* seems clear from Stobaeus,³ who, in quoting him, gives the verse as we find it in Plato. That Plato is here preserving an old tradition is seen from a scholion in Ven. A,—οὕτως (i.e. *τῆ*) Ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ *τῆς* μέν θ' ἀπαλοί. This reading — *τῆς* — has otherwise entirely vanished from the manuscripts of Homer with the exception of one manuscript, in which it is preserved, more perhaps through carelessness than actual tradition. Stobaeus shows us, too, that Plato wrote *οὔδεος*. As both genitive and dative seem admissible here, Plato may well be preserving an old variant in the form *οὔδεος*.

15. *Rep.* 3, 388 C = *Il.* 22, 168–169 :

Plat. ὥστε ὦ πόποι φάναι ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ ἄστυ
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι· ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ·

Hom. ὦ πόποι, ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τεῖχος
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι· ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ

ἄστυ may be an old variant.

16. *Crat.* 392 E = *Il.* 22, 507 :

Plat. οἶος γὰρ σφιν ἔρυτο πόλιν καὶ τείχεα μακρά.

Hom.⁴ οἶος γὰρ σφιν ἔρυσο πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρά.

To adapt the verse to his sentence Plato changed the verb from second person to third, without any violence to the metre. To whom the change of *πύλας* to *πόλιν* is due is uncertain. The words are so similar that one might have been substituted for the other at almost any time.

¹ Cod. T, *πίλναται* (from *πίδναται*); B, *πηδναται*.

² Cod. S, *τῆς*; G, *βαίνοι*.

³ *Floril.* 63, 36.

⁴ Cod. D, *γάρ μιν*.

17. *Ion* 537 A = *Il.* 23, 335-340 :

Plat.¹ Κλινθῆναι δέ, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐυξέστω ἐνὶ δίφρῳ
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν· ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσας, εἷξαι τέ οἱ ἠνία χερσίν.
ἐν νύσση δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχριμφθήτω,
ὡς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν.

Hom.² αὐτὸς δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐυπλέκτω ἐνὶ δίφρῳ
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν· ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσας, εἷξαι τέ οἱ ἠνία χερσίν.
ἐν νύσση δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχριμφθήτω,
ὡς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν,

It is uncertain whether the difference in the order of the first few words in Plato is due to him or not. For ἐυξέστω, however, we have a twofold testimony. In the first place it is given by one of the manuscripts of Homer. Besides, Xenophon³—though giving a different case of the word and adapting the sentence to the construction of his own—gives this quotation:

αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐυξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου
ἦκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
κένσαι ὁμοκλήσαντ' εἷξαι τέ οἱ ἠνία χερσί.

But while he gives some support to ἐυξέστω, he does not offer any for the order of words as given by Plato.

18. *Rep.* 3, 388 A = *Il.* 24, 10-12 :

Plat. Πάλιν δὴ Ὅμηρου τε δεησόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν μὴ
ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλέα, θεᾶς παῖδα,
ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρᾶς κατακείμενον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔτε
ὑπτιον. ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγῆ, τοτὲ δ' ὀρθὸν ἀναστάντα
πλωίζοντ' ἀλύοντ' ἐπὶ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο,

¹ Cod. S, ἐυπλέκτω; Vindob. suppl. 7, ^{ἂν}μη.

² Cod. D, ἐυξέστωι ἐαι; D, νύσση; many cod., ἐγχριμφθήτω; L Lips, πλήμη; E, διώσσεται.

³ *Coeniv.* 4, 6.

Hom.¹ ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔτε
ὑπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγῆς· τοτὲ δ' ὀρθὸς ἀναστὰς
δινεύεσκ' ἀλύων παρὰ θιν' ἀλός. οὐδέ μιν ἦώς

Since Plato is adapting these verses to the structure of his own sentences, he uses the accusatives κατακείμενον, ὑπτιον, πρηγῆ, ὀρθόν, ἀναστάντα and ἀλύοντ' in place of the corresponding nominatives. With the exception of ἀναστάντα, however, they do not violate the metre.

If πλωίζοντ' in the manuscripts of Plato is what he really wrote, either he had πλωίζεσκ' in his Homeric text, or else he introduced it for a parody. If the reading is corrupt, the suggestion of Heyne² is a good one. He thinks that Plato does not offer a new reading, but is merely interpreting the verse of Homer, and that he wrote πρωίζοντ', which included the idea suggested in the last words of the verse, οὐδέ μιν ἦώς. A scribe to whom the verb πρωίζω was unknown might easily have changed it to πλωίζω, a verb that does occur a few times.

The word ἀτρυγέτοιο may have been added by Plato, to complete the verse metrically.

19. *Ion* 538 D = *Il.* 24, 80—82 :

Plat.³ ἡ δὲ μολυβδαίγη ἰκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ἱκανεν,
ἡ τε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμμεμανῖα
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσι μετ' ἰχθύσι πῆμα φέρουσα·

Hom.⁴ ἡ δὲ μολυβδαίγη ἰκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ὄρουσεν,
ἡ τε κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαυῖα
ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι κῆρα φέρουσα.

(a) ἱκανεν. Though this is a weaker word than ὄρουσεν, it may, for all that, have stood in Plato's Homer.

(b) ἐμμεμανῖα. This is a form that might easily have been changed by a scribe from ἐμβεβαυῖα; but we find that it was really

¹ Cod. D (verse 11) omits δὲ; Syr (verse 11), δὴ; Vrat d, δ' αὐ; S, δινεύεσκ'.

² *Variae Lectiones et Observationes in Iliadem*, vol. viii., p. 585.

³ Cod. Vindob. suppl. 7, πυθμέν' (for βυσσὸν); t, πυθμέν' (in margin); S, κῆρα (for πῆμα).

⁴ Many cod., βυθδν; S, βηθδν; D, ἐμμεμανῖα; G, ἐμβεβαυῖααα.

recognized as a distinct reading. For it is so given in one manuscript of Homer and is referred to in a scholion of Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐμμεμαυῖα.

(c) πῆμα. This word, too, though it is considerably different in form from κῆρα and is not found in the manuscripts of Homer, is a real ancient variant. Proof of this fact is accidentally preserved for us by a scholion in Ven. A, — ἔναι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπ' ἰχθύσι πῆμα φέρουσα· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐπ' ἰχθύων κῆρα λέγειν. If it were not for this one scholion, we should be obliged to say of this reading, as of others, that it may represent a real variant, or it may be due to Plato's carelessness.

20. *Rep.* 2, 379 C = *Pl.* 24, 527-532 :

Plat.¹ Οὐκ ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀποδεκτέον οὔτε 'Ομήρου οὔτ' ἄλλου ποιητοῦ ταύτην τὴν ἀμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως ἀμαρτάνοντος καὶ λέγοντος, ὡς δοιοὶ πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
 κηρῶν ἐμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν·
 καὶ ᾧ μὲν ἂν μίξας ὁ Ζεὺς δῶ ἀμφοτέρων,
 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ·
 ᾧ δ' ἂν μή, ἀλλ' ἄκρατα τὰ ἕτερα,
 τὸν δὲ κακῆ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει·

Hom.² 527 δοιοὶ γὰρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
 528 δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.
 529 ᾧ μὲν κ' ἀμμίξας δῶη Ζεὺς τερπικέραυτος,
 530 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ·
 531 ᾧ δὲ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δῶη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε·
 532 καὶ ἐ κακῆ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,

We feel pretty sure that Plato's text has been transmitted to us correctly, for Eusebius,³ in quoting the passage ὡς δοιοὶ . . . διὰν ἐλαύνει from Plato, gives the same manuscript readings, except ἀμφοτέρων δῶ (for δῶ ἀμφοτέρων) and γε (for τε, verse 530). This might

¹ Many cod., καμμίξας; a few cod., ἀμμίξας or ἀναμίξας.

² A papyrus fragment, κατακειαθε; cod. L, δ' (verse 528); cod. Townl. omits verse 528; L, κ' ἀμύξας; papyrus, ἀμμειξας; D (verse 531), δοίη; G Flor, βούβρωσις.

³ *Praep. Ev.* 13, 3 (p. 643).

appear to be one of the cases where Plato is quoting from memory. For as part of the passage is metrical and part is in Plato's own words, it looks as if he knew the exact words of only a part of the Homeric passage. If we admit this view, we must maintain that in verse 528, which appears so different in Plato, he thought he was quoting exactly. Then either this verse represents real old variants, or else Plato was greatly mistaken in what he thought he knew.

21. *Rep.* 4, 424 B = *Od.* 1, 352 :

Plat. ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα φυλάττειν, φοβουμένους, ὅταν τις
λέγη, ὡς τὴν ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπιφρονέουσιν ἄνθρωποι,
ἢ τις ἀειδόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται,

Hom.¹ ἢ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.

In substituting ἀειδόντεσσι for ἀκουόντεσσι, Plato is evidently parodying the verse somewhat.

22. *Conviv.* 220 C = *Od.* 4, 242 :

Plat.² οἶον δ' αὖ τόδ' ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ

Hom. ἀλλ' οἶον τόδ' ἔρεξε καὶ ἔτλη καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ

23. *Rep.* 3, 390 A = *Od.* 9, 8-10:

Plat. παραπλεῖαι ὦσι τράπεζαι
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσι,

Hom.³ ἡμενοὶ ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσι.

The word παραπλεῖαι, if not a real ἀπαξ as I suspect it is, is surely very uncommon and would not come from a copyist, except by a most egregious blunder; nor would it result from 'lapse of memory,' it seems to me. It is more likely that the word was in Plato's Homer.

¹ Cod. E, ἢ κεν.

² All cod. have αὐτὸ; B, ἔρρεξε (with the ρρ where an erasure has been made).

³ Cod. PS, πλήθουσι; AMV, δὲ (for δ' ἐκ).

24. *Men.* 120 A = *Od.* 12. 495:

*Plat.*¹ οἷον ἔσθ' Ὀμηρος ἐν ταῖς τελευταῖσι τὸν Τερσίαν εἶπαι,
λέγων περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οἷος τεύχεται τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου,
τοὶ δὲ σκῆαι εἰσσοῦσι.

*Hom.*² οἷον τεύχεται· τοὶ δὲ σκῆαι εἰσσοῦσι.

In codex L of Homer, just as in the manuscripts of Plato, a scribe, thinking that τοὶ should agree with σκῆαι, has changed it to the feminine form. In the manuscripts of Plato the scribe has gone one step farther and given the Attic form εἶ.

25. *Rep.* 3. 336 D = *Od.* 12. 495:

*Plat.*³ οἷον τεύχεται· τῆι δὲ σκῆαι εἰσσοῦσι·

*Hom.*⁴ οἷον τεύχεται· τοὶ δὲ σκῆαι εἰσσοῦσι.

Here, again, in Plato we have a change similar to that in the preceding passage, but the scribe has changed merely the gender, and has not given the Attic form.

26. *Archie.* 303 A = *Od.* 15. 245-246:

Plat. τὸν δ' Ἀμφίραον τί φηται:

τὸν περὶ κῆρι φίλα Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίωχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων
παντοίῃ φιλότητ'· οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδόν.

*Hom.*⁵ ὃν περὶ κῆρι φίλα Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίωχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων
παντοίην φιλότητ'· οὐδ' ἔκετο γήραος οὐδόν,

In Homer the relative ὃν has its antecedent in the preceding verse. Plato may well have preferred to make his sentence more complete by writing τόν.

Plato may have had παντοίην in his Homeric text, but a simple explanation of the form would be that a scribe, supposing that φιλότητ' was in the dative case, changed παντοίην to παντοίη.⁶

¹ Schanz, in spite of εἶ in the best codices, has followed Cobet in editing τοὶ.

² Cod. L, τῆι; D, τῷ.

³ A few cod., τοὶ.

⁴ Cod. L, τῆι; D, τῷ.

⁵ Cod. N, τόν; D, ἦν (for Ζεὺς τ'); L, καὶ ἀθήνη: γρ. καὶ ἀπόλλων.

⁶ The best codices of Stobaeus, who (*Flor.* 98. 75) quotes this passage from Plato, give the verses just as we have them in Homer.

27. *Ion* 539 A = *Od.* 20, 351–357:

Plat.¹ δαιμόνιοι, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων
εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γυῖα,
οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί·
εἰδώλων τε πλεόν πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλή
ιεμένων ἔρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ
οὐρανοῦ ἔξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς·

Hom.² ἄ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων
εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα.
οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί,
αἵματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλά τε μεσόδμαι·
εἰδώλων δὲ πλεόν πρόθυρον, πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλή,
ιεμένων Ἔρεβος δὲ ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ
οὐρανοῦ ἔξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς.

The expression ἄ δειλοί is so common in Homer that it must have been well known to Plato. δαιμόνιοι, too, though generally found in the singular, occurs in *Odyssey* 4, 774 in the plural. It is possible that it was a variant here in *Odyssey* 20, 351, though it may be a mistake of Plato's.

γυῖα is a good Homeric word and may be a variant for this verse.

On the omission by Plato of verse 354 I shall speak in the next section.

The variants τε and δέ need no comment, for these words are often confused in manuscripts.

H. OMISSIONS IN PLATO.

There are four passages in which Plato in quoting from Homer has omitted a verse. These are: *Hippias Minor* 365 A³ = *Iliad* 9, 308–314; *Republic* 2, 364 D⁴ = *Iliad* 9, 497–501; *Republic* 2, 363 B⁵ = *Odyssey* 19, 109–113; *Ion* 539 A⁶ = *Odyssey* 20, 351–357.

These verses are, in a way, similar. For no one of them is necessary to the general sense of the passage in which it stands. The

¹ Cod. W, ὑμῶν; best codices, δέδηαι.

² Cod. D, ὦ δειλοί; KS, ἐρράδαται; CDKQS, πλέων; A, ἐπιδέδρομεν.

³ Verse 311 is omitted.

⁵ Verse 110 is omitted.

⁴ Verse 498 is omitted.

⁶ Verse 354 is omitted.

existence of the omission is not at all certain. Plato may not have had these verses in his text. But we remember that in the *Timæus* Plato imitates the verse and possibly two, known in our manuscripts of *Alcibiades II.* Of Plato may have omitted the verses either purposely or accidentally. Of the omission of them may be said to suffice. But we decide that in the manuscripts of *Alcibiades* the single verses are occasionally omitted by scribes.

III. ONE SPECIAL PASSAGE

There is one passage in Plato the truth as to its uniqueness demands attention. It is in *Alcibiades II.*¹ It purports to be from Homer, and contains in certain portions the substance of five verses, only one of which is found in our Homeric manuscripts. The passage in Plato, most of which is identical, is as follows: *οφείν γάρ τοις Τρώας ἐπειλά τρωαίωντις*

ἔφθον δ' ἀθλιώτατοι γελῶντες ἐκείνους·

*τινὲς δὲ σφῶν ἐκ τοῦ τοῖσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις οφείν σφραγῶν εἶναι
 ἦδον· τῆς δ' οἷ τι θεοὶ μάλαρες δακτύλου
 οἶδ' ἐθέλον· μάλα γὰρ σφῶν ἐπέχθητο Ἴλιος ἰρή
 καὶ Πριάμοιο καὶ λαὸς ἐτραμλίω Πριάμοιο·*

The passage has been thus restored in the *Iliad*:

Hom.² *Iliad* 5. 345-352

[*ἔφθον δ' ἀθλιώτατοι γελῶντες ἐκείνους.*]
σφῶν δ' ἐκ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις οφείν σφραγῶν εἶναι
 [*ἦδον· τῆς δ' οἷ τι θεοὶ μάλαρες δακτύλου*
οἶδ' ἐθέλον· μάλα γὰρ σφῶν ἐπέχθητο Ἴλιος ἰρή
καὶ Πριάμοιο καὶ λαὸς ἐτραμλίω Πριάμοιο].

As the *Alcibiades II.* belongs to the list of works that are probably spurious, we should not attribute much weight to this passage as one of Plato's. But, as the work is probably of high antiquity, even if Plato did not write it, the passage will serve to illustrate once more the fact that there are old variants of Homer, and even whole verses, preserved for us by ancient authors alone.

¹ 149 D.

² Cod. CD (second hand) EGHL, *κόσμον*.

CONCLUSION WITH REGARD TO PLATO'S QUOTATIONS.

As this completes the list of passages in which Plato quotes from Homer, it may be well to emphasize the lesson of these quotations. Some scholars have thought that the differences between the readings of our Homeric manuscripts and those of Plato are best and most easily explained by assuming that Plato quoted from memory, and that his memory was very faulty. Whether, in general, Plato quoted from memory or not, is still a doubtful point. I am willing to admit that that supposition offers the best explanation of some few passages. If sometimes he quoted from memory and sometimes looked up the passage, we have no means of ascertaining which quotations are the result of one method and which are the result of the other. For if I have not shown that *apparent mistakes* cannot be taken as the test of that question, my paper has been in vain. Besides, as I have already stated, there is nothing at all inconsistent in quotation from memory and correctness. Let me say, as a kind of summary, that in general these are the reasons that influence me to believe that, whether he quotes from memory or not, Plato's quotations are to be weighed very carefully, and not rejected merely because at variance with traditional readings. (1) Very many verses as quoted by him agree with our traditional text. (2) Many verses evidently owe their variants to careless copyists, who, in many instances, have changed the epic to the Attic form. That Plato is not responsible for these Atticisms is often shown by other passages, in which the same verses are given just as our Homeric manuscripts have them. (3) Some variants are supported either by Homeric manuscripts, or by scholia, or by ancient authors. Of scholia and authors we know that only a small percentage have come down to us. If more were extant, we should undoubtedly receive confirmation for still more of these variants of Plato. (4) Papyrus fragments in general, and the Flinders Petrie fragment in particular, show that ancient manuscripts had many readings far different from those that have come down to us from other sources. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that Plato, or any other ancient author, presents us with many variant readings. In fact, we *should be* properly surprised if they did *not* show these variants. We might then

reasonably suspect that the readings they gave had been tampered with, to adapt them to our later tradition. Therefore I feel convinced, that to the existence of Plato's manuscripts we are indebted for a great many ancient Homeric readings that otherwise would have been lost to us.

Aristotle's Quotations from Homer.

Let me pass on at once to the Homeric passages quoted by Aristotle.

A. NO VARIANTS.

First I shall list those passages in which the manuscripts of Aristotle — so far as collated by Bekker — show an entire agreement with those of Homer, with no variants for either author. There are twenty-eight of these passages.

1 (and 2). *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 a 15) and *Poet.* 19 (p. 1456 b 16) = *Il.* 1, 1:

μῆνεν ἄνδρα θεοί.

3. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 10) = *Il.* 1, 50:

εὐρήσας μὲν πρῶτον·

4. *De Musico* 6 (p. 397 b 26) = *Il.* 1, 499 and *Il.* 5, 754:

ἀκροτάτη κορυφῇ

5. *Pol.* 1, 12 (p. 1259 b 13) = *Il.* 1, 544 and often:

πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

6. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 16) = *Il.* 2, 1-2:

ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι
εὐδὸν πυνύχιοι·

Here, as often, Aristotle omits part of a verse.

7. *Eth. Nic.* 5, 13 (p. 1161 a 14) = *Il.* 2, 243 and often:

Ἄγαμέμνονα πομπῆσιν λαῶν

8. *Poet.* 21 (p. 1457 b 11) = *Il.* 2, 272:

ἦ δὲ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔργα·

9. *Rhet.* 1, 6 (p. 1363 a 6) = *Il.* 2, 298:

αἰσχρὸν τοὶ δῆρ' ὄν τε μέλει·

10. *Pol.* 3, 16 (p. 1287 b 14) = *Il.* 2, 372 :
 τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.
11. *Frag.* 143 (p. 1502 b 8) = *Il.* 3, 298–300 :
 Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
 ὀπότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πημήνειαν,
 ᾧδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὡς ὄδε οἶνος.
12. *Probl.* 9, 9 (p. 890 b 9) = *Il.* 5, 75 :
 ψυχρὸν δ' ἔλε χαλκὸν ὀδοῦσιν,
13. *Poet.* 21 (p. 1458 a 7) = *Il.* 5, 393 :
 δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζόν
14. *Eth. Nic.* 5, 11 (p. 1136 b 10) = *Il.* 6, 236 :
 χρύσεια χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων,
 The first two words are given thus by Plato¹ also.
15. *Frag.* 151 (p. 1503 b 26) = *Il.* 7, 111–112 :
 μηδ' ἔθελ' ἐξ ἔριδος σεῦ ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχεσθαι
 Ἑκτορι
16. *Hist. An.* 6, 21 (p. 575 b 5) = *Il.* 7, 315 and *Od.*² 19, 420 :
 ἄρσενα πενταέτηρον
17. *Frag.* 108 (p. 1495 b 10) = *Il.* 9, 175 and often :
 κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο
18. *Pol.* 2, 7 (p. 1267 a 1) = *Il.* 9, 319 :
 ἐν δὲ ἰῆ τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.
19. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 35) = *Il.* 11, 574 :
 ἐν γαίῃ ἴσταντο λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἄσαι,
20. *Eth. Nic.* 7, 7 (p. 1149 b 16) = *Il.* 14, 214 :
 κεστὸν ἱμάντα
21. *Rhet.* 2, 21 (p. 1395 a 15) = *Il.* 18, 309 :
 ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος,

¹ *Compin.* 219 A.

² In the passage in the *Odyssey* we find a variant : cod. A, πλονα γρ. ἄρσενα.

22. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 28) = *Il.* 21, 592 :
 κτημῖς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέροιο,
 23. *Poet.*¹ 25 (p. 1461 a 23) = *Il.* 23, 328 :
 τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπίθεται ὄμβρω.
 24. *Soph.* *Elench.*² 4 (p. 166 b 4) = *Il.* 23, 328 :
 τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπίθεται ὄμβρω.

A point of discussion among the ancients was whether in this passage of the Iliad ου was οὐ, 'where,' or οὐ, 'not.' Into this discussion I cannot go.

25. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 a 16) = *Od.* 1, 1 :
 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε μοῦσα,
 26. *Frag.* 165 (p. 1505 b 25) = *Od.* 6, 6 :
 οἱ σφεας σινέσκοντο.
 27. *Rhet.* 3, 14 (p. 1415 b 26) = *Od.* 6, 327 :
 δός μ' ἐς Φαίηκας φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἢδ' ἐλεεινόν,
 28. *De Anima* 3, 3 (p. 427 a 26) = *Od.* 18, 136 :
 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστίν.

B. SLIGHT VARIANTS.

There are thirty-nine passages in which the variants of the manuscripts of both Aristotle and Homer are few and slight, and undoubtedly due to the carelessness of scribes.

1. *Rhet.* 2, 2 (p. 1379 a 5) = *Il.* 1, 82 :
 ΑΓ.³ ἀλλά γε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.
 Hom.⁴ ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσση,
 2. *Rhet.*⁵ 1, 6 (p. 1362 b 35) = *Il.*⁶ 1, 255 :
 ἢ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος.

¹ Cod. A^c B^c, οὐ.

² So edited by Bekker, although all the codices of Aristotle and of Homer have οὐ. ³ Cod. Υ^b Z^b A^c, τε; Q. ὄφρα τελέσση (after κότον).

⁴ Several cod., γε; S, ἀλλ' ἄγε.

⁵ Cod. Υ^b, γηθήση.

⁶ Cod. C, γηθήσαι; H, γηθήσαι.

3. *Rhet.*¹ 2, 2 (p. 1378 b 32) = *Il.* 1, 356 :
 ἠτίμησεν· ἔλων γὰρ ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπούρας
4. *Metaphys.*² 11, 10 (p. 1076 a 4) = *Il.* 2, 204 :
 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω.
5. *Frag.*³ 143 (p. 1502 b 16) = *Il.*⁴ 4, 65–67 :
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπιν αἰνήν,
 πειρᾶν δ' ὥς κεν Τρῶες ὑπερκύδαντας Ἀχαιοὺς
 ἄρξωσι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσασθαι.
6. *Rhet.*⁵ 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 35) = *Il.* 4, 126 :
 ἐπιπτέσθαι μενεαίνων,
7. *Frag.* 13 (p. 1476 a 17) = *Il.*⁶ 4, 297–298 :
 ἱππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν,
 πεζοὺς δ' ἐξόπιθεν,
8. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 a 25) = *Il.* 8, 148–149 :
 ΑΓ.⁷ Ἐκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων,
 Τυδεΐδης ὑπ' ἐμείῳ.
 ΗΟΜ.⁸ Ἐκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων·
 Τυδεΐδης ὑπ' ἐμείῳ φοβούμενος ἴκετο νῆας.
9. *Pol.*⁹ 1, 2 (p. 1253 a 5) = *Il.* 9, 63 :
 ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος.
10. *Rhet.*¹⁰ 3, 9 (p. 1410 a 29) = *Il.*¹¹ 9, 526 :
 δωρητοί τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσιν·

¹ Cod. A^c omits ἀπούρας.

² Cod. E (also T in the margin) adds ἔστω.

³ Cod. E, τρώας; B, τρώσιν.

⁴ Cod. O, εἰς; L omits δ'.

⁵ Cod. QY^bZ^b, ἐπιπτᾶσθαι.

⁶ Cod. Vrat. b, c, Mosc. 1. 3, πρῶτιστα; M, πρῶτον; CGH, ἐξόπισθεν; E, ἐξόπισθε; N, ἐξόπισθεν.

⁷ Cod. M^b adds φοβούμενος.

⁸ Cod. E, δῆ (for γάρ); D, τρώεσσιν; D, τυδεΐδης δ'; E, ἐμοῖο.

⁹ Cod. Q, ἀφήτωρ; S^bT^b, ἀφήτωρ.

¹⁰ Cod. A^c, ἐπέλονται; A^c, δ' (for the second τ').

¹¹ Cod. DH, παραρητοί.

11. *Rhet.*¹ 25 (p. 1461 a 12) = *Il.* 10, 316:
ὅς δὲ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός,
12. *Hist. An.*² 9. 44 (p. 629 b 22) = *Il.* 11, 554 and *Il.* 17, 663:
καίμεσθαί τε δεταί τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ,
13. *Rhet.* 2. 21 (p. 1395 a 13) = *Il.*³ 12, 243:
εἰς οἰωτὸς ἀριστος ἀμίνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης,
14. *Rhet.* 3. 11 (p. 1411 b 34) = *Il.* 13. 587:
Αγ.⁴ ἑπτατ' οἰστός,
Hom.⁵ θύρφοκος γυάλον. ἀπὸ δ' ἑπτατο πικρὸς οἰστός.

In the passage of the Rhetoric from which these words are taken Aristotle is giving examples of vividness in narration. Naturally, he quotes that part of the phrase that is especially pertinent.

15. *Rhet.*⁶ 3. 11 (p. 1412 a 7) = *Il.*⁷ 13, 799:
κιντὰ φαληρώοντα· πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα·
16. *Hist. An.*⁸ 9. 12 (p. 615 b 10) = *Il.* 14, 291:
χαλκίδα κελήσκοισι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμωνδιν.
17. *Rhet.*⁹ 3. 11 (p. 1412 a 1) = *Il.* 15, 542:
αἰχμὴ δὲ στέρνιο διέσσιτο ραιμύωσα.
18. *Rhet.*¹⁰ 1. 11 (p. 1370 b 11) = *Il.* 18, 109:
ὄστε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο·
19. *Rhet.*¹¹ 2. 2 (p. 1378 b 5) = *Il.* 18, 109-110:
ὄστε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στῆθεσσι δέξεται.
20. *Rhet.*¹² 25 (p. 1461 a 30) = *Il.* 20, 234:
Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν,

¹ Cod. A₅, ὡς ῥήτοι; B₅, ὡς ῥέ τοι; N₅, ὡς (with δὲ τοι omitted); A₅, εἰ ῥη.

² Cod. D₅, καίμεσθα (with a gap left for the rest of the verse); A₅, δαίτες; C₅, δάδει; P₅, τρεῖς; A₅, δαίτας τρεῖς.

³ Cod. E₅, ἀμίνεσθαι.

⁴ Cod. Q, ἀριστός.

⁵ Cod. L, διὰ (for ἀπὸ).

⁶ Cod. QY^bZ^b, πρὸς.

⁷ Cod. L, φαληρώοντα.

⁸ Cod. PA²D²E₅, κέβωδιν.

⁹ Cod. A₅, ραιμύωσα.

¹⁰ Cod. Y^b, ὄστε.

¹¹ Cod. Z^b, ὄστε; A₅, στῆθεσσι.

¹² Cod. A₅, οἰνοχοεῖν.

21. *Rhet.*¹ 1, 11 (p. 1370 b 28) = *Il.*² 23, 108 and *Od.* 4, 183:
ὡς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἡμερον ὤρσε γόοιο.
22. *Rhet.*³ 2, 3 (p. 1380 b 29) = *Il.*⁴ 24, 54:
κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων.
23. *Eth. Nic.*⁵ 7, 1 (p. 1145 a 21) = *Il.*⁶ 24, 258–259:
οὐδὲ ἐψέκει
ἀνδρός γε θνητοῦ πάς ἔμμεναι ἀλλὰ θεοῖο.
24. *De Mundo*⁷ 6 (p. 401 a 4) = *Od.*⁸ 5, 64:
κλήθρη τ' αἰγείρος τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος,
25. *Frag.* 162 (p. 1505 a 26) = *Od.*⁹ 5, 93:
κέρασσε δὲ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν
26. *Frag.* 165 (p. 1505 b 20) = *Od.*¹⁰ 6, 4 and 8:
οἳ πρὶν μὲν ποτ' ἔναιον
ἀλφιστάων.
27. *De Mundo*¹¹ 6 (p. 401 a 7) = *Od.*¹² 7, 115 and 11,¹³ 589:
ὄχραι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι,
28. *De Mundo* 6 (p. 401 a 1) = *Od.* 7, 116:
*Ar.*¹⁴ συκαῖ τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι,
*Hom.*¹⁵ συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.

¹ Cod. QZb, ἐφ'.

² Cod. E, ἐφ'.

³ Cod. Q, ἀεικίση; the reading in Ac is uncertain; cod. Q, μενδαίων.

⁴ Cod. CD omit δῆ; H, βαίαν; H, μενιάων.

⁵ Cod. Mb, οὐ γὰρ; LbOb, οὐδὲ γὰρ.

⁶ Papyr. (first hand), ουτε, εμμενε; cod. D, θνητοῖο.

⁷ Cod. P (recent hand), κλειθραὶ; O omits τε.

⁸ Cod. LQ, κλειθρη.

⁹ Cod. ACER, κέρασε.

¹⁰ Cod. DLMP, ἀλφιστάων; B, ἀμφιστάων.

¹¹ Cod. O, ὄγχη (but it has been corrected).

¹² Cod. S omits this verse.

¹³ Though most cod. give ὄχραι in these two passages of the Odyssey, La Roche edits, in both places, ὄγγραι.

¹⁴ Cod. Q, συκέαι.

¹⁵ Cod. S omits the verse; many cod. have συκαῖ or συκαί; I, τηλεθάωσαι; Schol. B.H.Q. (*Od.* 9, 425), τηλεθάουσαι.

29. *Pol.* 8, 3 (p. 1338 a 29) = *Od.*¹ 9, 7-8 :
 δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούζονται ἀοιδῶ
 ἤμενοι ἐξείης.

30. *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 22) = *Od.*² 9, 114-115 :
 θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
 παιδῶν ἢ δ' ἀλόχων.

Plato³ in quoting more fully from the same passage of the *Odyssey*⁴ gives the same text. The passage is referred to in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.⁵

31. *Rhet.*⁶ 2, 3 (p. 1380 b 23) = *Od.* 9, 504 :
 φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον,

32. *Hist. An.*⁷ 6, 21 (p. 575 b 6) = *Od.*⁸ 10, 19 :
 βοὸς ἐννεώροιο.

33. *De Mir. Aus.*⁹ 105 (p. 839 b 33) = *Od.*¹⁰ 12, 67-68 :
 ἀλλά θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακας τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν
 κύμαθ' ἀλὸς φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι.

34. *Eth. Nic.*¹¹ 2, 9 (p. 1109 a 32) = *Od.* 12, 219-220 :
 τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔεργε
 νῆα.

By mistake Aristotle assigns these verses to Calypso, though they contain the advice of Circe and were uttered to his companion by Odysseus.

35. *Rhet.*¹² 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16) = *Od.* 17, 218 :
 ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον,

36. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7) = *Od.*¹³ 17, 218 :
 ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

¹ Many cod., ἀκούζονται.

² Cod. K, παιδῶν τ'.

³ *Leg.* 3, 680 B.

⁴ 9, 112-115.

⁵ 10, 10 (p. 1180 a 28).

¹¹ Cod. MbNb, τὸ τοῦ; LbOb, ὡς τοῦ; Kb omits μὲν.

¹² Cod. YbZb, τὸ; Q, τῷ ὁμοίῳ φίλον τὸ.

¹³ Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὡς); M, ἐς.

⁶ Cod. QYbZb, πτολίπορθον.

⁷ Cod. P, ἐννεώτεροι.

⁸ Cod. L, ἐννεόροιο.

⁹ Cod. Ba, ἀλλὸς, θύελλαι.

¹⁰ Cod. QV, θύελλα.

Here the manuscripts of Aristotle agree with those of Homer, and disagree with those of Plato who, in the *Lysis*,¹ quotes the same Homeric verse. In one passage,² however, the manuscripts of Aristotle show the same readings as those given in the manuscripts of Plato. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*³ we find the verse of Homer referred to, but the first part of the verse is not quoted.

37. *Eth. Nic.*⁴ 4, 4 (p. 1122 a 27) = *Od.* 17, 420 and 19, 76⁵:
πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτη·

38. *Probl.* 10, 36 (p. 894 b 34) = *Od.*⁶ 20, 71:
μῆκος δ' ἔπορ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή,

39. *Rhet.*⁷ 1, 7 (p. 1365 a 30) = *Od.* 22, 347:
αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί.

C. AGREEMENT WITH THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS OF HOMER.

Now let me give those passages in which the manuscripts of Aristotle agree with the best manuscripts of Homer, although the existence of variants is indicated, either in the manuscripts or scholia of Homer, or by Eustathius. I have listed twenty of these passages.⁸

1. *Rhet.* 1, 6 (p. 1363 a 5) = *Il.* 2, 160:
καδδέ κεν εὐχωλήν Πριάμφ

Schol. Ven. A, — ἀπὸ τούτου (verse 160) ἕως τοῦ ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο (verse 162) ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς.

2. *Frag.* 172 (p. 1506 b 31) = *Il.*⁹ 2, 226–228:
πλείαί τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἄς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν.

¹ 214 A. ² *Mag. Mor.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10). ³ 8, 2 (p. 1155 a 34).

⁴ Cod. Mb, δώσει.

⁶ Cod. S, δὲ πόντ'.

⁵ Cod. IK, πολλάκις.

⁷ Cod. QYbZb omit δ'.

⁸ Where Aristotle has quoted a verse that we learn from the scholia was rejected by some one of the ancient critics, I have considered that he is in agreement with the original Homeric tradition, and that the rejection by the ancients constitutes a variant.

⁹ Cod. Barocc. Mor., κλισίαις; Cant., κλισίῃ; L, κλισίοισιν.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει πλεῖται δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐξῆς δύο ἠθέτηκεν.

3. *Frag.* 13 (p. 1476 a 21) = *Il.*¹ 2, 554:

κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας·

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος ἀπὸ τούτου (verse 553) τρεῖς στίχους ἠθέτηκεν.

4. *Rhet.*² 3, 12 (p. 1414 a 2) = *Il.*³ 2, 671–673:

Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν, Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαίης, Νιρεὺς ὅς κάλλιστος.

Schol. Ven. A (verses 673–675), — ἐκ τῶν τριῶν τοὺς δύο ἠθέτηκε Ζηνόδοτος, τὸν δὲ μέσον οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν.

To emphasize the asyndeton in these verses of Homer, Aristotle quotes the first words only of each verse.

5. *Frag.* 144 (p. 1502 b 31) = *Il.* 3, 277:

ἠέλιός θ' ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις

Schol. BQ (*Od.* 12, 374), — ἠέλιος δ' ὅς.

6. *Frag.* 146 (p. 1503 a 9) = *Il.* 3, 454:

Ἴσον γάρ σφιν πᾶσιν ἀπήχθετο κῆρι μελαίνῃ·

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 9, 378), — σφίσι.

7. *Poet.*⁴ 25 (p. 1461 a 14) = *Il.*⁵ 9, 203:

ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε

Schol. Ven. A, — οὕτως κέραιε χωρὶς τοῦ ῥ. Schol. Townl., — δίχα τοῦ ῥ Ἀριστοφάνης κέραιε. Eustathius (746, 48), — ιστέον δὲ ὅτι τῶν τινὰ ἀντιγράφων τὸ κέραιε κέραιρε φασίν, and (1397, 64), — ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε ἢ κέραιρε.

8 (and 9). *Rhet.* 2, 2 (p. 1378 b 33) and *Pol.* 3, 5 (p. 1278 a 37) = *Il.* 9, 648 and *Il.* 16, 59:

ὡσεὶ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην,

Schol. Ven. B (*Il.* 16, 59), — ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος γράφει μεταναστήν. Schol. Townl. (*Il.* 16, 59), — ἐν τῇ Μα(σ)σαλιωτικῇ καὶ τῇ Ῥιανοῦ μετανάστιν (cod. μετανάστειν).

¹ Cod. L, κοσμήσαι θ'.

² Cod. QY^bZ^b, αἰσύμηθεν.

³ Cod. S, δ' αἰσύμηθεν; L, αὖ ἐσύμηθεν.

⁴ Cod. B^c, κεραιε; N^a, κερειες.

⁵ Cod. CD (by correction) HS, κέραιρε.

10. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 2) = *Il.* 10, 152–153:

ἔγχεα δέ σφιν

ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος·

Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους σαυρωτῆρας πληθυντικῶς.

11 (and 12). *Pol.*¹ 3, 16 (p. 1287 b 14) and *Eth. Nic.* 8, 1 (p. 1155 a 15) = *Il.*² 10, 224:

σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 3, 211), — σύν δέ. Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 10, 224), — συνεργόμενοι δύο ἀντὶ τοῦ συνεργομένων. ἔνιοι δὲ μὴ νοήσαντες τὸ ὕ προστιθέασι, κακῶς.

Plato, as we have observed, both quotes³ and parodies⁴ this verse.

13. *Hist. An.*⁵ 3, 3 (p. 513 b 27) = *Il.* 13, 546–547:

ἀπὸ δὲ φλέβα πᾶσαν ἔκερσεν,

ἧ τ' ἀνὰ νῶτα θεούσα διαμπερὲς αὐχέν' ἰκάνει.

Schol. Ven. A, — Ζηνόδοτος διὰ δὲ φλέβα. Schol. Townl., — Ζηνόδοτος διὰ δέ.

14. *De Mundo* 6 (p. 400 a 19) = *Il.*⁶ 15, 192:

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος αἰπύν. Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 16, 365), — νεφέεσσιν.

15. *Poet.*⁷ 25 (p. 1461 a 20) = *Il.* 18, 489 and *Od.* 5, 275:

οἶη δ' ἄμμορος

Schol. Ven. A (*Il.* 18, 483), — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος ἠθέτηκεν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ στίχου τὰ λοιπά.

16 (17 and 18). *Mag. Mor.* 1, 20 (p. 1191 a 8), *Eth. Eud.*⁸ 3, 1 (p. 1230 a 20) and *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11⁹ (p. 1116 a 23) = *Il.*¹⁰ 22, 100:

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,

¹ Cod. Tb, τι.

² *Protag.* 348 D and *Comv.* 174 D.

³ Cod. PD^a, ἧ διὰ (for ἧ τ' ἀνὰ); P, διαμπαρὲς; PD^a, ἰκάνει.

⁴ Cod. L, δ' ἔλαχεν; G omits ἐν.

⁵ Cod. Na, ἀν μόνος.

⁶ Cod. G, συνεργομένω.

⁷ *Alcibiad.* II. 140 A.

⁸ Cod. P^b, πολυδάμας.

⁹ Cod. L^b, πολυδάμας; M^b, πρῶτον; K^b, ἀναθήσει; M^b, ἐπιθήσει.

¹⁰ Cod. E, πολυδάμας; C omits μοι; E, πρῶτος ἢ πρῶτον.

ἸΩΑΝΝ. — ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ. ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ: (1260,
27) ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ.

DL ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ
ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ

ἸΩΑΝΝ. ΠΙΣΤΑΣ — ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ: κατ' ἑνα δὲ
τὸν ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ

DL ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ
ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ

ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ

There are a few passages in which it was evidently Aristotle's
intention to bring the words ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ to the structure of his own
sentence. I shall give those passages in which such passages either
show the same readings as the Homeric manuscripts offer, or, at
any rate, are not inconsistent with those readings.

1. *Πολ. 127* (p. 1272 a 13) refers to *Π. 1. 327*:

DL ἢ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ
ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ

Hom. κατ' ἑνα δὲ ΠΙΣΤΑΣ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕ ἢ ΚΑΤΕΧΕΤΕΙ

2. *Πολ. 4* (p. 1272 a 13) refers to *Π. 2. 204*:

DL Ὅμοιος δὲ τῶν λέγει οἷα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πολυκοιρανίην,
Hom. οἷα ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίην· εἰς κοίρανος ἔσται

This verse of Homer is quoted exactly by Aristotle elsewhere.⁴

3. *Εὐθ. Λα. 3. 13* (p. 1118 a 22) refers to *Π. 3. 24*:

DL ὁμοίως δ' οἷδ' εἶδεν ἢ εἶρων ἢ εἰλαφον ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα,
ἄλλ' ὅτι βόρην ἔξει

Hom. εἶρων ἢ εἰλαφον κεραὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα

4. *Rhet. 3, 4* (p. 1406 b 20) refers to *Π. 10. 485-486*:

DL Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν
μὲν γὰρ εἴπῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα
ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν,
εἰκὼν ἔστιν,

¹ Cod. D, καὶ. ² Cod. Q, κατείχετο. ³ Cod. DL, καλὰ (for χερσὶ).
⁴ *Metaphys.* 11, 10 (p. 1076 a 4); cf. above, p. 213.

Hom.¹ ὡς δὲ λέων μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθὼν,
αἴγεσιν ἢ οἴεσσι, κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούση,

If this Homeric passage is the one referred to by Aristotle, there are several difficulties in his statement. In the first place, Homer is speaking of Diomedes, and not of Achilles as Aristotle says. This misstatement of Aristotle may be merely a slip on his part. Besides, the verb in the passage of Homer is ἐνορούω, whereas Aristotle has ἐπορούω. The difference between the form of the two verbs, however, is slight, and a scribe might easily have changed one to the other.² Still, there may have been such a verse about Achilles somewhere in Aristotle's Homer, and he may be quoting it correctly.

5. *Pol.* 1, 4 (p. 1253 b 35) refers to *Il.*³ 18, 376 :

ΑΓ. ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας,
οὓς φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς
αὐτομάτους θεῖον δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα,

Hom. ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα,

Eustath. (1148, 8), — δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα, ἢ δύσονται ἀγῶνα. Schol. Ven. A, — ἐν ἄλλῳ δύσονται ἀγῶνα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιστέραις κατὰ δῶμα νεοίατο. Schol. Townl., — ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιστέραις θεῖον κατὰ δῶμα νέοιντο. Though we cannot feel certain as to which reading, δυσαίατ', δύσονται or δύσωνται, Aristotle had in his Homer, still we know he did not have the variant κατὰ δῶμα νέοιντο, which is cited by the scholiasts.

6. *Eth. Nic.* 10, 10 (p. 1180 a 27) refers to *Od.* 9, 114 :

ΑΓ.⁴ καὶ ζῆ ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται, κυκλωπικῶς θεμιστεύων
παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχου.

Hom.⁵ θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων,

Either Aristotle purposely wrote ἀλόχου for ἀλόχων, or else some copyist made the change. For in another passage⁶ Aristotle in quoting a part of these verses has left us ἀλόχων in his text.

¹ Cod. G, Vrat. A, Mosc. 3, ἐνορούσοι; CL, ἐπορούσει.

² I might note an example of the confusion of these two verbs in *Il.* 11, 747.

³ Cod. S, αὐτόματα; Townl., δυσείατ'; many cod. have δύσονται; L Lips., δύσωνται.

⁴ Cod. M^b omits ἕκαστος. ⁵ Cod. K, παίδων τ'. ⁶ *Pol.* 1, 2 (p. 1252 b 23).

7. *Eth. Nic.* 8, 2 (p. 1155 a 32) refers to *Od.* 17, 218 :

ΑΓ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότητά τινα τιθέασιν αὐτήν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους
φίλους, ὅθεν

τὸν ὁμοιὸν φασιν ὡς τὸν ὁμοιον,

Hom.¹ ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

This verse, either in whole or in part, is elsewhere quoted three times by Aristotle.²

8. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 b 26) refers to *Od.* 24, 318–319 :

ΑΓ. ἰητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ
Ὅμηρος

δριμὺ δ' ἀνὰ ῥίνας μένος

Hom.³ τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς, ἀνὰ ῥίνας δέ οἱ ἤδη

δριμὺ μένος προὔτυψε φίλον πατέρ' εἰσορόωντι.

These words belonging to different verses Aristotle has brought together—in a reference rather, than a quotation—to illustrate bravery or spirit. By the introduction of δ' the fragment has been made metrical, so far as it goes.

E. ARISTOTLE'S VARIANTS SUBSTANTIATED.

Of those passages in which Aristotle gives a reading different from the accepted one of Homer, there are many cases where Aristotle's reading is substantiated either by manuscripts of Homer, by scholia, by Eustathius or by ancient authors.

1. *Rhet.* 2, 2 (p. 1379 a 4) = *Il.*⁴ 2, 196 :

θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφῶν βασιλῆων

Schol. Ven. A,—ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει διοτρεφῶν βασιλῆων. οὕτως ἐνικῶς αἱ Ἀριστάρχου. εἶχον δὲ καὶ αἱ χαριέσταται οὕτως, ἄνευ

¹ Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὡς); M, ἐς.

² *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16); *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7); *Mag. Mor.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10).

³ Cod. E, ἀνὰ ῥίνα; K, ἀνὰ ῥίνα; S, ἀνὰ ῥίνα; P, ἀναρρίνας.

⁴ Cod. GL, θυμὸς γὰρ; Cant., θυμὸς δὴ; ACES, διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος; DGHL, διοτρεφῶν (or διοτροφέων) βασιλῆων. La Roche adopts the reading of Zenodotus instead of that of the best codices.

τῆς Ζηνοδότου. Schol. Townl., — διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος] οὕτως αἱ πᾶσαι πλὴν τῆς Ζηνοδότου.

2. *Probl.* 23, 23 (p. 934 a 15) = *Il.* 7, 64:

Ar.¹ μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Hom.² ὀρνυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς,

Although only one manuscript of Homer gives αὐτοῦ, the reading shown by Aristotle, we find from this scholion of Ven. A that it was a well-attested variant: Ἀρίσταρχος πόντον διὰ τοῦ ν̄, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆ, τῆ φρικί. ἄλλοι δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

3. *Hist. An.* 6, 28 (p. 578 b 1) = *Il.* 9, 539–540:

Ar.³ θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον· οὐδὲ ἐψέκει
θηρί γε σιτοφάγῳ ἀλλὰ ρίψ ὑλήεντι.

Hom.⁴ ὤρσεν ἐπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,
ὅς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλφήν·

Some scholars think that Aristotle has here confused this passage with *Odyssey* 9, 190–191 where we read:

καὶ γὰρ θαῦμα τέτυκτο⁵ πελώριον, οὐδὲ ἐψέκει
ἀνδρὶ γε σιτοφάγῳ, ἀλλὰ ρίψ ὑλήεντι

I cannot suppose that Aristotle has accidentally confused these two Homeric passages. For, as Homer in the passage of the *Odyssey* is speaking about the famous and peculiar Polyphemus, it seems to me absurd to claim that Aristotle, who we know wrote much about Homer and his works, was ignorant of this fact, or even forgot that these verses applied to the Cyclops. To me, Aristotle's words have the ring of truth when he says: τῶν δ' ἀρρένων καὶ ἀγρίων οἱ τομίαι μείζους γίνονται καὶ χαλεπώτεροι, ὥσπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν θρέψεν κτλ. Besides, the reading of Aristotle is confirmed somewhat by Eustathius, who says (772, 46): τὸ δὲ ὤρσε καὶ ἐξῆς εὐρηται παρὰ τῷ γεωγράφῳ, θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν· παρ' ᾧ καὶ στίχος εὐρηται οὗτος ἐπηγμένος· οὐδὲ ἐψέκει θηρί γε σιτοφάγῳ ἀλλὰ ρίψ ὑλήεντι.

¹ Cod. C² X² Y², μελαίρει.

² Cod. S, μελάνει; G Mor, μελαιρει; many cod., πόντον; Lips., Harl., Townl., Ven. B, αὐτῆ; G, αὐτοῦ.

³ Cod. P, θρέψιν; D², ἀλλ' ἀγρίω (but corrected).

⁴ Cod. C, χλοῦνιν.

⁵ All cod. (except Ven. A), θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο.

καὶ σημείωσαι καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ περὶ στίχων λειπόντων ἐκ τοῦ Ὁμήρου. Eustathius, a few lines below (772, 54), adds: καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ κατὰ τὸν γεωγράφον χλούνην σὺν τὸν τομίαν νοεῖ, δεχόμενος τὸ θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλούνην σὺν ἄγριον καὶ τὸν ἐζῆς γραφέντα στίχον πρὸς πίστῳσιν τοῦ ὅτι τῶν ἀβρένων καὶ ἀγρίων οἱ τομίαι μείζους γίνονται καὶ χιλεπώτεροι.

Eustathius, when he refers to γεωγράφος, as he often does, means Strabo.¹ So, if we may believe Eustathius, Strabo too, though the reference cannot be found anywhere in his extant works, I think, quoted these verses from Aristotle and believed them to be Homeric. Therefore I think that Aristotle had these verses in his text of Homer.

4. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 26) = *Il.* 10, 252 :

Αγ.² παρῶχηκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ·

Hom.³ ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῶχωκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ

Schol. Ven. A, — Ἀρίσταρχος παρῶιχωκεν. Schol. Townl., — οὕτω, διὰ τοῦ ὦ κατὰ τροπήν τοῦ ἦ εἰς ὦ.

5. *De Part. An.*⁴ 3, 10 (p. 673 a 16) = *Il.*⁵ 10, 457 and *Od.*⁶ 22, 329 :

Αγ. φθειγγομένη δ' ἄρα τοῦγε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη,

Hom. φθειγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.

It is evident that there were two readings φθειγγομένη and φθειγγομένου, for there is a trace of both in the manuscripts both of Aristotle and of Homer; and, besides, Eustathius tells us (818, 4): γράφεται μὲν, φθειγγομένη.

¹ Perhaps one example will suffice to show this. Compare *Eustathii Commentarii* 419, 21 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, Vol. II, ed. Mueller) with Strabo 8, 8, 9 (c. 372). In Eustathius we read: ὁ δὲ Γεωγράφος φησὶν ὅτι οἱ νεώτεροι καὶ μάλιστα Μακεδόνες καὶ Θετταλοὶ ἄργος τὸ πεδῖον φασί. Strabo's words are as follows: ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἄπαξ· μάλιστα δ' ὁνοῦνται Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Θετταλικὸν εἶναι.

² Cod. Ac, πλέω; Bc, πλέον.

³ Many cod. have either παρῶχηκε or παρῶχηκεν; many cod., πλέω.

⁴ Cod. E, φθειγγομένου; PZ, φθειγγομένου; EPSUY, τοῦδε.

⁵ Cod. H, φθειγγομένη.

⁶ Cod. D omits this verse; L, φθειγγομένου, κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη; GR, τοῦ δέ; MQ, τοῦδε.

6. *Eth. Nic.* 7, 7 (p. 1149 b 17) = *Il.* 14, 217:

Ar.¹ πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλειψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντος.

Hom.² πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλειψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

7. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 33) = *Il.* 20, 272):

Ar.³ τῆ ρ' ἔσχετο χάλκεον ἔγχος,

Hom.⁴ τῆ ρ' ἔσχετο μείλινον ἔγχος.

Schol. Ven. A, — ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι δ'. Schol. Townl., — (verses 269–272) οὔτοι καὶ προηθετοῦντο παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν σοφιστῶν, ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ ἔφέροντο.

8. *Rhet.* 3, 17 (p. 1418 a 8) = *Od.* 4, 204:

Ar. ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπες ὅσ' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ,

Hom.⁵ ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπας, ὅσ' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνὴρ

9. *Mag. Mor.* 2, 11 (p. 1208 b 10) = *Od.* 17, 218:

Ar.⁶ αἰεὶ τοι τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

Hom.⁷ ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

In two other passages⁸ the manuscripts of Aristotle agree with the accepted Homeric reading ὡς αἰεὶ. Here, however, Aristotle disagrees with that reading, but agrees with the text of Plato.⁹ So it looks as if there were two old readings, one of which is given by Plato, and by Aristotle in this passage, while the other reading is preserved in the existing Homeric manuscripts and in the other two passages of Aristotle.

10. *Poet.* 22 (p. 1458 b 29) = *Od.* 20, 259:

Ar.¹⁰ δίφρον ἀεικέλιον καταθεῖς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν.

Hom.¹¹ δίφρον ἀεικέλιον παραθεῖς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν.

¹ Cod. Mb, φρονεόντων.

² Cod. L, φρονέοντ'.

³ Cod. Bc, δ' (for ρ').

⁴ Some cod., χάλκεον.

⁵ Most cod., εἶπες; BL (after erasure), τόσ' εἶπες; D, τόσσα εἶπες.

⁶ Cod. Mb omits τοι.

⁷ Cod. CDKL, ἐς (for the second ὡς); M, ἔς.

⁸ *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1371 b 16) and *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 7).

⁹ *Lysis* 214 A.

¹⁰ All cod., δίφρον τε, the τε evidently a mistake of scribes.

¹¹ A few cod., καταθεῖς.

F. HOMERIC VERSES OMITTED IN ARISTOTLE.

Naturally, perhaps, I should consider next the passages in which Aristotle's readings receive no support elsewhere; but I prefer to pass over these for a time, and to take up those passages in which verses that are contained in our Homer are omitted in Aristotle.

1. *Pol.* 3, 14 (p. 1285 a 13) = *Il.* 2, 391-393 :

Ar.¹ ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης, οὗ οἱ
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνης ἢ δ' οἰωνούς·
παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.

Hom.² ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

In this passage Aristotle omits the last part of one verse and almost the whole of the succeeding verse. His object in quoting the passage is to show the authority of a leader to inflict death upon his men, if need be, in time of battle. Consequently he gives those words only that emphasize that part, omitting even the main verb of the sentence. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*³ we find verse 391 given in full, though, to be sure, it differs somewhat from our Homeric text. Of the expression παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος I shall speak later.

2. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1413 a 28) = *Il.* 9, 385-390 :

Ar.⁴ εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπερβολαὶ μεираκιώδεις· σφοδρότητα γὰρ δηλοῦσιν.
διὸ ὀργιζόμενοι λέγουσι μάλιστα·

οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε,
κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρείδαο,
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσεῖη Ἀφροδίτη κάλλος ἐρίζοι,
ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη.

Hom.⁵ οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε,
οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει Ἀγαμέμνων,
πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην.
κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρείδαο,
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσεῖη Ἀφροδίτη κάλλος ἐρίζοι,
ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη γλαυκώπιδι ἰσοφαρίζοι·

¹ Cod. Ib, ἐσεῖται. ² A few cod., δ' ἀν (for δέ κ'). ³ 3, 11 (p. 1116 a 34).

⁴ Cod. QZ^bA^c, δοίης; Z^b, ὄσσα; Q, ὄσας; Q, κούρην; QY^bZ^bA^c, χρυσῆ; Q, Ἀθηναίης.

⁵ Cod. S, Cant., πείση; E, χρυσῆ; Vrat. b omits verse 390.

It might possibly be claimed that in this passage verses quoted by Aristotle had been carelessly omitted by a scribe, but I think that such a suggestion is not necessary or even probable. Aristotle is here quoting examples of exaggeration of statement. As the force of the first example lies wholly in verse 385, especially in the words *δοίη ὄσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε*, Aristotle very properly omits the conclusion, which, no matter what its character might be, could not lessen the exaggeration of the condition. In the second example the three verses are so intimately connected that it is not easy to separate them. Even here, however, we notice that the last part of verse 390, *γλαυκώπιδι ἰσοφαρίζοι*, has been omitted as unnecessary.

3. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 16) = *Il.* 10, 11-13:

ΑΓ. τὸ δὲ κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἶρηται, οἶον . . . ἅμα δέ φησιν
ἦτοι ὄτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν,
αὐλῶν συρίγγων θ' ὀμαδόν.

Hom.¹ ἦ τοι ὄτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειε,
θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρό,
αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὀμαδόν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

Here again those verses only are given by Aristotle which are necessary to illustrate his point. Of the variant *θ' ὀμαδόν* I shall speak later.

G. VERSES NOT FOUND IN OUR HOMER.

There are many places in Aristotle where he shows a familiarity with verses of Homer that cannot now be found in Homeric manuscripts. Such are the following:

1. *Pol.* 3, 14 (p. 1285 a 13) = *Il.* 2, 391-393:

ΑΓ.² ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης, οὗ οἱ
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς·
πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.

Hom.³ ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

In the *Iliad*, this last verse ends a speech of Agamemnon.

¹ Cod. Cant., τὰ καίοντ'. ² Cod. Ib, ἐσεῖται. ³ A few cod., δ' ἄν (for δέ κ').

I have already considered this passage of Aristotle. Now I wish to call attention to the words *παρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος*, which Aristotle seems to have had in his Homer, but which are not found in our Homeric manuscripts.

2. *Hist. An.* 6, 28 (p. 578 b 1) = *Il.* 9, 539–540:

Ar.¹ θρέψεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον· οὐδὲ ἐψέκει
θηρί γε σιτοφάγῳ, ἀλλὰ ῥίψ ὑλήεντι.

Hom.² ὤρσεν ἐπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,
ὅς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλφήν·

Though I have already discussed this passage at some length,³ this second verse in Aristotle ought to be listed here, as it is not found in our Homer.

3. *Rhet.* 2, 9 (p. 1387 a 32) = *Il.* 11, 542–543:

Ar.⁴ καὶ τὸν ἥττω τῷ κρείττονι ἀμφισβητεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοὺς
ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,
Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο·
Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμέσασχ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο.

Hom. Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο.

[Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμεσᾶθ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο.]

Verse 543 is omitted in all the Homeric manuscripts, but it is substantiated by Plutarch,⁵ who quotes it thus:

Ζεὺς γάρ τοι νεμεσᾶ, ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιο.

The verse is given also in the Pseudo-Plutarch.⁶

4. *Eth. Eud.* 3, 1 (p. 1230 a 19) = *Il.* 22, 98–100:

Ar.⁷ Ἐκτορα δ' αἰδῶς εἶλε·
Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει.

Hom.⁸ 98 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
99 ὦ μοι ἐγών, εἰ μὲν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα δύω,
100 Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,

¹ Cod. P, θρίψιν; D^a, ἀλλ' ἀγρίω (but corrected).

² Cod. C, χλοῦνιν.

³ Cf. p. 223.

⁴ Cod. A^c, νεμέσασκε; QY^bZ^b, νεμέσησ'.

⁵ Cod. H, τύχεα; E, πολυδάμας; C omits μοι; E, πρῶτος ἢ πρῶτον.

⁶ *Moral.* 36 A.

⁷ *De Vit. et Poes. Hom.* 2, 132.

⁸ Cod. P^b, πολυδάμας.

The words Ἐκτορα δ' αἰδῶς εἶλε, if they existed in Aristotle's Homer, must have come before verse 99, as they could not have formed a part of Hector's soliloquy.

5 (and 6). *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 b 26):

ἰτητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος
σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῷ καὶ μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔγειρε

Of the words σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῷ it might be said, that Aristotle had quoted them carelessly, since we find somewhat similar expressions in our Homer, as: μένος δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε θυμῷ,¹ and σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστῳ.² But, when we consider the expression μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔγειρε, we find nothing in our Homer resembling it nearer than these words: μένος μέγα, θέλγε δὲ θυμόν.³ So I suspect that both of these quotations of Aristotle were made from verses in his Homer that are not found in ours.

Now, as is evident, I am treading on extremely doubtful ground. For there are some passages quoted by Aristotle as from Homer, that are entirely different from anything in our Homeric manuscripts. It might be suspected that Aristotle was quoting from other works, not now extant, that were sometimes attributed to Homer. But, so far as I know, with the exception of the Margites,⁴ Aristotle mentions as Homeric only the Iliad and the Odyssey. Therefore, since we have abundant proof, as I have shown, that there were many verses of the Iliad and Odyssey that have not been preserved in our Homeric manuscripts, why may we not justly suppose that these quotations of Aristotle refer to verses of Homer that were found in some of the older manuscripts, but were either not known to the Alexandrine critics or else rejected by them, and hence were lost to our comparatively modern manuscripts?

7. *Pol.* 8, 3 (p. 1338 a 24):

διόπερ Ὅμηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν
ἀλλ' οἶον μὲν ἐστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλεῖην.

The insertion of a single short syllable in the second foot — for example, τε — would make the hexameter complete.

¹ *Il.* 16, 529.

² *Il.* 11, 11, and *Il.* 14, 151.

³ *Il.* 15, 594.

⁴ Aristotle refers to this, as a work of Homer, in *Poet.* 4 (p. 1448 b 30).

8. *De Anima*¹ 1, 2 (p. 404 a 29):

διὸ καλῶς τοῦσαι τὸν Ὅμηρον
ὡς Ἑκτωρ κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων.

Aristotle thus refers to this verse in the *Metaphysics*²: φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ταύτην ἔχοντα φαύεσθαι τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν Ἑκτορα, ὡς ἐξέστη ἐπὶ τῆς πληγῆς, κεῖσθαι ἄλλοφρονέοντα,

So we can have no doubt, I think, that Aristotle's quotation represents part of an actual Homeric verse. The same expression, too, is found in Theocritus,³ who says:

κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων
τῆς δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν

9. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 b 26):

ἰσχυρώτατος γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς καρδίους, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος ...
καὶ ἔξεσεν αἶμα·

The verb *ξέω* is used by Homer, so far as our text shows, only in the expressions *ἰνέειν πύλον* and *ἰνέειν ἔσθλην*. Theocritus⁴ however, has the same expression that is quoted here in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, namely *ἰνέειν λίαν*: ἐπει δ' ἄφαρ ἔξεσεν αἶμα. As Theocritus knew his Homer well and copied him freely, perhaps, this expression in his *Idyl* was borrowed directly from Homer. Why may he not have had an *Iliad* or *Odyssey* in which this expression was used? This old edition of Homer in the possession of Theocritus might have contained also the expression *κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων*, which Theocritus uses and which is quoted in the *De Anima*.⁵ It would seem as if in these two passages Theocritus supported Aristotle and his quotations.

10. *Frag.* 159 (p. 1504 b 44) in Schol. Townl. on *Il.* 24, 420:

ἀδυνάτοισι περὶ τὰ τραχήματα μίση, ὡς φησὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀρκεῖται
Ὅμηρον
μῆσεν δὲ περιβροτούεσσα ὠτειλή.

That this reading of Homer was lost in early times is shown by the words of the scholiast that follow: ταῦτο δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχων οἱδὲ φέρεται

¹ Cod. SW, αἰς ὁ ἕκτωρ.

² *Id.* 22, 129.

³ 3, 5 (p. 1000 b 28).

⁴ *Id.* 22, 129.

⁵ Cf. the previous passage discussed.

11 (and 12). *Rhet.* 3, 4 (p. 1406 b 20):

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἶπη τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν, εἰκὼν ἐστίν, ὅταν δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσε, μεταφορά·

The expression ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν has already been discussed.¹ Whether that refers to a passage no longer found in our Homer or not, the words λέων ἐπόρουσε, if they represent a quotation at all correct, must have come from a text of Homer different from ours; for in our Homer we cannot find any passage to which they would properly refer.

H. NEW READINGS IN ARISTOTLE.

There remain for consideration the comparatively few passages in which Aristotle, while quoting verses contained in our Homer, gives readings unsupported by other testimony. It will not be necessary to treat each one of these passages fully, though a few suggestions may very properly be made.

1 (and 2). *Soph. Elench.* 4 (p. 166 b 6) and *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 22) = *Il.* 2, 15 and 2, 32:

ΑΓ. (*Soph. Elench.*) καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν

δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι,
ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ ἐνετέλλετο δίδόναι.

ΑΓ. (*Poet.*) δίδομεν δέ οἱ

Hom. Ἥρη λισσομένη, Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφῆπται.

Though the words δίδομεν δέ τοι εὖχος ἀρέσθαι are found in *Iliad* 21, 297, it is evident from the general sense of the passage in Aristotle, that he is referring to one of the earlier passages, and not to the later one.

3. *Eth. Nic.* 3, 11 (p. 1116 a 34) = *Il.* 2, 391-393:

ΑΓ.² ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης πτώσσοντα νοήσω,
οὐ οἱ
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κίνας.

¹ Cf. p. 220.

² Cod. K^b, ἀρκειον; K^bM^b, ἐσεῖται.

Hom.¹ ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα
ἄρκιον ἐσσεύεται φυγέειν κίνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

In this passage it is stated carelessly that the verses were uttered by Hector, whereas they were really spoken by Agamemnon. That Aristotle was aware of that fact, is clear from a passage in the Politics,² where he correctly refers the words to Agamemnon.

The reading πτώσσοντα is metrically and grammatically correct.

4. *Probl.* 30, 1 (p. 953 a 23) = *Il.* 6, 200–202:

Ag.³ αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,
ἦτοι ὁ καππεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλάτο,
ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.

Hom.⁴ ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,
ἦτοι ὁ καππεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλάτο,
ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων,

5. *De Mot. An.* 4 (p. 699 b 37) = *Il.* 8, 20–22:

Ag.⁵ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίονδε
Ζῆν' ὑπατον πάντων, οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε·
πάντες δ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θέειναι.

Hom.⁶ πάντες δ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θέειναι·
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίον δὲ
Ζῆν', ὑπατον μήστωρ', οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε.

La Roche⁷ tells us that there has been no change in the order of verses of the Iliad or Odyssey from the time of Pisistratus down, and that the manuscripts of Homer show this fact. Here, however, in Aristotle we find the order of verses changed. This change may be due either to Aristotle or to a scribe.

¹ A few cod., δ' ἂν (for δέ κ').

² 3, 14 (p. 1285 a 11).

³ Cod. t, οὔτος (for κείνος); t, οἶον; t, κατέδεν.

⁴ Cod. C (after an erasure) and many others have κάκεινος.

⁵ Cod. E, ἐρύσειτ'; P, ὑπατον μήστορα πάντων; EP, ἐξάπτεσθαι.

⁶ Cod. C, πάντες τ'; S Mosc. 1, ἂν μ'; G, ἐρύσειτ'; HL Vrat. b, κάμψτε; Schol. Ven. A, γρ. καὶ πάθοιτε.

⁷ *Homeric Textkritik*, p. 7.

6. *De An. Gen.* 5, 5 (p. 785 a 15) = *Il.* 8, 83-84:

Ar.¹ ἵνα τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων
κρανίῳ ἐμπεφύασι, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.

Hom.² ἄκρην καὶ κορυφήν, ὅθι τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων
κρανίῳ ἐμπεφύασι, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.

7. *Rhet.* 1, 7 (p. 1365 a 13) = *Il.* 9, 592-594:

Ar.³ ὅσσα κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστῳ ἀλώη·
λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσιν.

Hom.⁴ κήδε', ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστῳ ἀλώη·
ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.

Schol. Ven. A, — ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει τέκνα δὲ δήιοι ἄγουσι. Schol. Townl., — ἔτιοι γράφουσι τέκνα δὲ δήιοι ἄγουσι.

The expression λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι is Homeric, and is found in *Iliad* 6, 327. It is not impossible that it may once have been used in *Iliad* 9, 593, just as Aristotle quotes it.

In the reading τ' ἄλλοι Aristotle agrees with the Homeric manuscripts, though the scholiasts, as we see, note a variant δήιοι.

8. *Poet.* 25 (p. 1461 a 18) = *Il.* 10, 11-13:

Ar. ἦτοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν,
αὐλῶν συρίγγων θ' ὀμαδόν.

Hom.⁵ ἦ τοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειε,
θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἴλιόθι πρό,
αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπήν ὀμαδόν τ' ἀνθρώπων.

Of the omission of verse 12 I have already spoken. I have now to treat of the word ὀμαδον. It seems to me probable that Aristotle had the expression in his Homeric text just as his manuscripts give it. In this passage Aristotle is speaking of metaphors. Now ὀμαδον with αὐλῶν and συρίγγων would give a much better example of a

¹ Cod. SY omit πρῶται; Z, ἐμπεφύκασι.

² Cod. H, κάκκορυφήν; C (first hand) omits τε.

³ Cod. QY^bZ^b, ὅσα; QY^bZ^b omit πέλει.

⁴ Cod. G, κήδεα ὅσσ'.

⁵ Cod. Cant., τὰ καίοντ'.

metaphor than would ἐνοπήν; for ὄμαδος generally refers to the din or uproar of men, whereas here by a transfer of meaning it would refer to the din or blare of trumpets.

9. *Frag.* 143 (p. 1502 b 4) = *Il.* 10, 332:

φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι οἶδ' ὁ ποιητῆς λέγει ὡς ἐπιώρκησαν,
καθάπερ ἐπ' ἄλλων
ὡς φάτο καὶ ῥ' ἐπίορκον ὤμοσεν,

Hom.¹ ὡς φάτο καὶ ῥ' ἐπίορκον ἐπώμοσε, τὸν δ' ὀρόθνηεν.

Schol. Ven. A. — οὕτως καὶ διὰ τοῦ εἶ τὸ ἐπώμοσεν αἱ Ἀριστάρχου.

We must assume that Aristotle intended to end the real quotation with ἐπίορκον, or else that ἐπ (or ἀπ) has been lost through some mischance, for the use of the simple verb ὤμοσεν renders the line unmetrical.

10. *Poet.*² 22 (p. 1458 b 31) = *Il.* 17, 265:

ἡμόνες βοῶσιν

This expression of Aristotle is thus edited by Bekker. All the manuscripts, however, read ἴωνες βοῶσιν. The error of the manuscripts is probably due to a scribe, who would naturally suppose the subject of this verb to be persons rather than things.

11. *Eth. Eud.* 7, 1 (p. 1235 a 26) = *Il.* 18, 107:

Αγ. ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο·

Hom. ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο,

12. *Probl.* 26, 31 (p. 943 b 22) = *Od.* 4, 567:

Αγ.³ ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο διαπνεύουσιν ἀήται

Hom.⁴ ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνεύοντος ἀήτας

For the reading of the Homeric manuscripts we have the testimony of many writers. The verse as quoted by Aristotle, however, would readily unite with the preceding verse of Homer, οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἀρχειμῶν πολὺς οὐτέ ποτ' ὄμβρος, if the succeeding verse were omitted, Ὀκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

¹ Cod. H, ἐπεὶ ὄρκον; a few cod., ἀπώμοσε; D, ἀπώμοσεν; H, ἀπώμοσε; C (recent hand), γρ. ἐπ. ² All cod., ἴωνες βοῶσιν.

³ Cod. Υ²s, αἰεὶ; s, διαπνεύουσιν; Ca, ἀντμαί.

⁴ Most cod. have πνεύοντας; M, πνεύοντῶς; H, πνεύοντᾶς; Schol. HP, τὸ πνεύοντος διὰ τοῦ ὁ πρὸς τὸ ζεφύροιο.

13. *De Mundo*, 6 (p. 400 a 11) = *Od.* 6, 42-45 :

Ar.¹ Οὐλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
ἔμμεναι. οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
δεύεται, οὔτε χιῶν ἐπιπίλναται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη
πέπταται ἀννέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομεν αἶγλη.

Hom.² Οὐλυμπον δ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
ἔμμεναι· οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
δεύεται οὔτε χιῶν ἐπιπίλναται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη
πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἶγλη·

Of Aristotle's form ἀννέφελος nothing need be said, for that is found in many Homeric manuscripts also. ἀναδέδρομεν is not supported elsewhere.

14. *Poet.* 22 (p. 1458 b 25) = *Od.* 9, 515 :

Arist.³ νῦν δέ μ' ἔων ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὔτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικυσ,

Hom.⁴ νῦν δέ μ' ἔων ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὔτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικυσ

Eustathius (1643, 7) says: γράφεται δ' ἐν τισι καὶ ἀεικῆς. Since the three manuscripts of Aristotle have ἀειδῆς or ἀηδῆς, it seems to me probable that Aristotle had in his Homer and wrote ἀεικῆς, which is read in a scholion of Homer and also in Eustathius. This could easily have been corrupted, in the text of Aristotle, into ἀειδῆς and then ἀηδῆς.

15. *Rhet.* 3, 11 (p. 1411 b 33) = *Od.* 11, 598 :

Ar.⁵ αὐτὶς ἐπὶ δάπεδόνδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδῆς,

Hom.⁶ αὐτὶς ἔπειτα πέδον δὲ κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδῆς.

The difference in reading is really very slight, and the unmetrical ἐπί in Aristotle is probably due to scribes.

¹ Cod. P, οὐλυμπόν θ'; O, οὐλυμπον; Q, οτι; P, ὄσοι; Q, ὕδατος (for ἔδος); O, οὐδέ (verse 43); O, οὐτ' αὖ χιῶνες; P, ἀνέφελα; Q, ἀνέφελος; O, ἀλκή (for λευκὴ).

² Cod. AK, οὐδέ ποτ'; B, οὐδέ τ' (verse 43); LPS, οὐδέ (verse 44); most cod., ἀννέφελος; Eustath. 1551, 5, ἀνέφελος and ἀννέφελος; D, ἐπιδέδρομεν; Schol. H.P., 'Ριανὸς αἰθήρ.

³ This verse is so edited by Bekker, although one cod. (N^a) has ἀηδῆς, and the other two (A^c B^c) have ἀειδῆς.

⁴ Cod. S, ἀναλκίς; M, γρ. ἀεικῆς.

⁵ Cod. QY^bZ^b, δ' ἐπί; Q, δάπεδόν τε.

⁶ Cod. EQ, αἰθίς.

16. *Rhet.* 1, 11 (p. 1370 b 5) = *Od.* 15, 400–401:

Ar.¹ μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ
μνήμενος, ὅστις πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πολλὰ ἔοργη.

Hom.² μνωμένω· μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ,
ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῆ.

The word ἔοργη given by Aristotle seems to me to harmonize better with πάθη and with the general sense of the passage than the traditional ἐπαληθῆ.

17. *Pol.* 8, 3 (p. 1338 a 26) = *Od.* 17, 385:

Ar. οἱ καλέουσιν αἰδὸν φησιν. ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἅπαντας.

Hom.³ ἦ καὶ θέσπιν αἰδὸν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν αἰείδων;

18. *Probl.* 30, 1 (p. 953 b 12) = *Od.* 19, 122:

Ar.⁴ καὶ μέ φησι δάκρυ πλώειν βεβαρημένον οἴνω.

Hom.⁵ φῆ δὲ δακρυπλώειν βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνω.

The first part of the verse as given by Aristotle is unmetrical. Were it not for the fact that the last part is metrical, we should think that Aristotle was merely referring to the passage and not attempting to quote it. As it is, it looks as if he might have had a different text.

CONCLUSION WITH REGARD TO ARISTOTLE'S QUOTATIONS.

In general, now, what can be said of the trustworthiness of Aristotle's quotations? Did he, by relying on memory, commit so many offenses that his variants are entitled to no consideration? About him, as about Plato, I think we may say that there are occasional passages where the presumption seems very strong that he has quoted from memory and quoted wrongly. We cannot, however, dismiss all, or even many, of his variants in that abrupt way. Whether he quoted from memory or not, for the following reasons I feel that his readings are entitled to a careful consideration, and

¹ Cod. A^c, μνησάμενος δε; Q, πάθοι; QZ^b, ἔοργε; Y^b, ἔοργει.

² Cod. D, μνωμένω; M, γρ. μεμνομένω.

³ Cod. R (and Eustath. 1824, 59), ὅς ἀπ.

⁴ Cod. X^a, πλώειν βεβαρυμένον.

⁵ A (first hand) omits this verse.

that, where they differ from the traditional text of Homer, in most instances they probably give us variants of high antiquity.

1. Let me repeat again that we feel more strongly since the discovery of the Flinders Petrie fragment, that the modern manuscripts of Homer differ greatly from the earlier traditions.

2. Though I cannot go into the question as to whether Aristotle himself prepared a Homeric text for Alexander the Great, — for there seems to be conflicting testimony on this point, — it is clear from the titles of two of the works of Aristotle,¹ and from references to him in the scholia of Homer, where his readings or explanations are occasionally mentioned, that he paid a good deal of attention to the study of Homer, and hence must have been well acquainted with his poems.

3. Many of the quotations in Aristotle agree with our traditional Homeric readings. Many that disagree receive support either from Homeric manuscripts or from scholia or from ancient authors.

4. Many of the differences are undoubtedly due either to mistakes of scribes, or to the fact that Aristotle occasionally refers to verses without intending to give the exact words.

There then remains a comparatively small number of unsubstantiated variants, to be attributed to a difference of text. Should we not expect that Aristotle, who lived so long before the Alexandrine critics, would exhibit as many real variants as his manuscripts show?

¹ Προβλήματα Ὀμηρικά (cf. *Biographi Minores*, ed. Westerman, p. 404, 77), and Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά (cf. *Diogenes Laertius*, 5, 1, 26).



GENERAL INDEX.

- Abbreviation, 58.
ābiciam, 99.
ābicit, 87, 101.
ābīcit, 97.
 Accent of *Ἄναελτι*, 58.
 of *Μουσαῖος*, *Μουσαις*, 60.
 Actium, era of, 61.
ādici, 102.
adieceret, 96.
adiicientur, 98.
adiicit, 98.
 Adoration, attitude of, 55.
 Aeantides, tragic poet, 78 n.
 -*aes* from -*aeus*, 59.
 Aeschylus, Plato's quotations from, 155.
ἀγύρτης, 67 n.
Aiiax, 95, 107, 110.
aiio, 95, 107.
 -*aia* from -*aia*, 59.
 -*aia*, -*aia*, words in, 93.
 Alexander Aetolus, 78 n., 79 n.
 Polyhistor, 71 n.
 Alexandra of Lycophron, date, 76.
Ἄναελτι, 56.
 Anahita, 66.
 Anaitis, inscriptions relating to, 57 n.
 epithets of 57 f., 66, 72 n.
 cult, 58, 66.
 Ἀνάιτις, inflection, 58.
 accent of dative, 58.
 Aratus, not tragic poet, 78 n.
ἀρχαῖος (*παλαιός*) *νεώς*, 8, 18, 21, 26 f.
 Ariolus, *ἀγύρτης*, 67 n.
 Aristotle, Homeric quotations in, 153 ff.
 Artemis Anaitis, 56, 57 ff.
 worship, 66.
 and Mên Tiamu, votive tablet, 55 ff.
- Asclepius, Mên like, 58 n.
Ἄσκειος [Zeus], 69 n.
 Athena Polias, temple of, 11, 18, 29 f.
 temple of not the Parthenon, 30-33.
 nor the Hecatompodon, 34-36.
Ἀθηναῖς from *Ἀθηναῖος* or *Ἀθηναῖος*?
 59 f.
 Attagus, 74.
 Atteo, Attis, 65 f., 68 n., 74.
Ἀττηῆς ὑῆς, 68 n.
 Attis, Menotyrannus, 65.
 Myth, 74.
 Attitude of adoration, 55.
 Asia Minor, religion, 63 ff., 73 f.
 Ausonius, comp. of *iacio*, 151.
- B·, 60 f.
 Babylonian Creation Tablets, 68 n.
 Barnaes for Barnaeus, 57 n.
 BATES, W. N., The Date of Lycophron,
 75 ff.
 Boeckh, on Opisthodomus, 1, 5 n., 11,
 43 f.
 Brambach, on -*iicio* etc., 84.
 on -*is*, 95.
- Caesellius, on -*aia*-, -*aia*-, 94 f., 108.
 Calendar, Macedonian, 62.
 sequence of months in, 57 n.
 Calligeneia, 57.
 Catacecaumene, 66 f.
 Catullus, comp. of *iacio*, 137 f.
 Cicero, comp. of *iacio*, 138.
 Claudian, comp. of *iacio*, 151.
co-, prepos., nature of, 105.
coicio, *conicio*, 121 ff.
coiicit, 118.

- Gai, Gaii, etc., Grai, Graii, etc., 93 ff., 110.
- Germanicus, comp. of *iacio*, 145.
- Graiiugenarum*, 94, 108.
- Grammarians, testimony about comp. of *iacio*, 88 f., 92.
- Great Goddess, 58, 64, 66.
- Great Mother, 69.
- H* to remove hiatus, 120.
- Hecatompedon, names applied to, 2 n., 22, 27.
- inscription referring to, 3 n., 10, 44.
- not rebuilt after Persian Wars, 22 n.
- age of, 24.
- Ἡραῖς from Ἡραῖος, 59 n.
- Ἑρμᾶς, from Ἑρμῆος or Ἑρμαῖος? 59 n. f.
- Hesiod, Aristotle's quotations from, 168 ff.
- Plato's quotations from, 161 ff.
- ἱερὸν, meanings of, 5, 8, 10 f., 25 n.
- ἱεροποίημα, 72 n.
- Homer, Aristotle's quotations from, 210 ff.
- Plato's quotations from, 176 ff.
- tragic poet, 78 n.
- Homeric quotations in Plato and Aristotle, 153 ff.
- Ὀμβρώκα, a corruption of Marduk, 71 n.
- Horace, comp. of *iacio*, 141.
- HOWES, G. E. Homeric Quotations in Plato and Aristotle, 153 ff.
- ἴης ἀττῆς, 68 n.
- ἰού, 56, 61.
- Hygieia, 58 n.
- i* as *ei*, 58.
- icio*, testimony for, 99 ff., 103, 113 ff.
- contracted w. preposit., 113 ff.
- inienciatis*, 96.
- iniencient*, 98.
- iniēcit*, 97.
- Injikler, 63 n.
- Inscriptions: on votive tablet to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu, 56 ff.
- relating to Anaitis, 57 n.; to Mên Tiamu, 71 n. ff.
- dated, 56, 57 n., 71 n.
- from Byzantium, 64 n.
- Julia Gordus (Goerdis), 56 n., 61 n., 71 n.
- Hypaepa (near Odemish), 57 n.
- Kula (Menneh, Μαιονία), 57 n., 59 n., 61, 62 n., 72 n. f.
- Palmyra, 70 n.
- Philadelphia, 57 n.
- is* for -*ios*, 59.
- for -*iūs*, 59.
- Isaiah lxx. (11), 70 n.
- i* consonant, effect on preceding vowel, 106 ff.
- doubled between vowels, 107 ff.
- Iaciendi Verba Composita, 83 ff.
- iacio*, comp. w. prep. ending in conson., 87 ff.
- ending in vowel, 104 ff.
- comp. in inscriptions, 127 ff.
- iecio*, testimony for, 96 ff., 103, 110 ff.
- in vulgar and provincial Latin, 102, 115.
- iicio*, testimony for, 88 ff., 103, 117 ff.
- Juvenal, comp. of *iacio*, 150.
- Καλλιγένεια, 56.
- Καμαρείτης, [Μήν] 69 n.
- Καταχθόνιος, 69 f.
- Κατακεκαυμένη, 62.
- κατοικία, 63 n.
- κοιρίου, κυρίου, 72 n.
- Κολόη, not at Kula, 62 f.
- λίμνη Κολόη, 63 n.
- Kula, 62 f.
- inscriptions from, 57 n., 72 n. ff.
- not Κολόη, 62 ff.
- Πύργος, Πυργία, 63 n.

Lachmann, on *-iicio* etc., 85.
 Lucan, comp. of *iaccio*, 147.
 Lucilius, comp. of *iaccio*, 135 f.
 Lucretius, comp. of *iaccio*, 137.
 Lunus (Μήν), 66 n.
 Lutatius Catulus, comp. of *iaccio*, 136.
 Lycophron, date, 75 ff.
 Lydia, religion of eastern, 63 ff.

Mā, 64.
Μαίια, 95, 107, 110.
 Ma-n̄, Maen, Mên, antiquity of this god,
 64 ff., 74. See also Mên.
 Manes, 64 n.
 Manilius, comp. of *iaccio*, 145.
 Marduk, 71 n.
 Martial, comp. of *iaccio*, 150.
 Μασφαλατηνῶ. Δι. 72 n.
 MATHER, M. W., *Iaciendi Verbi Com-*
posita, 83 ff.
 matriarchal social system, 73.
μέγαρον, meaning of in Hdt., 22 n., 25.
 Mên (see also Ma-n), epithets, 70 n.
 like Asclepius, 59 n.
 relation to Attis and Sabazius, 65 n.;
 and Great Mother, 65 n.
 originally a solar divinity, 64, 66.
 range of cult, 66 n. f.
 priests of, in Athens, 67 n.
 Mên Caru, 58 n. f.; Pharnacu, 70 n.;
 Tiamu, 57 ff.
 Artemis Anaitis and, votive tablet
 to, 55 ff.
 inscriptions relating to Mên Tiamu,
 71 n. ff.
 Μηνι Τιάμου, 56, 71 n. ff.
 Μηνός Τιάμου, 59, 71 n. f.
 Μηνιτιάμου, incorrect, 59.
 Mên Tiamu = Μην κακαχθόνιος?
 69 f.
 Μηναγύρτης, 65 n., 67 n. f.
 comedy by Menander, 67 n.; by
 Antiphanes? 67 n.
 μήνη, Μήνη, 66, 67 n., 71 n.

Meni, Aramaean Τύχη, merged into
 Mên, 70 n. f.
 Menis magister, Mênotyrranus? 70 n.
 Μήων (from Mā-λων?), 64 n.
 μεσάνβριος, 65 n.
 Μητηρ, 'Ανάιτις, 57, 58, 66 n.
 (θεῶν), 64, 68 n.
 Μητρῶα, 68.
 Μητραγύρτης, 67 n. f.
 Metroum at Athens, 68 n.
 Michaelis, on Opisthodomus, 1, 5 n., 12.
 on 'old temple' and temple of
 Athena Polias, 19.
 on age of Hecatompodon, 24 n.
 Milchhöfer, on Opisthodomus, 1 n., 16 n.,
 48; objections to view of, 49-53.
 Monogram, 58, 62.
 Months in Macedonian calendar, 57 n.
 Mother, Great, names of, 64 n. See also
 Μητηρ.
 Μουσαῖος, frequent on stones, 59 n.
 Μουσαῖς from, 56, 58.
 accent of forms of, 60.
 Müller, Luc., on *-iicio* etc., 85.
 Munro, on *-iicio* etc., 86.
 Musaes, 57 ff.
 from Musaeus, 58.

μῶς, meanings of, 5, 7-11.

Oath of kings of Pontus, 70 n. f.
ὀβιcias, 99.
obiċcere, 97.
obiċciemus, 98.
obiċcit, 97.
οἶκος (οἶκημα), meaning of, 11.
 Old temple, *i.e.* Erechtheum, 8 n., 18-23.
 passages referring to, 8 n., 9 n., 26 f.
ὀπισθεν (ὀπισω), meanings of, 5-7.
 Opisthodomus, views on, 1-3.
 a separate building, 3-17.
 passages relating to, 3-5, 12, 13, 14,
 16 f., 45, 46-48.
 situation of, 17 f., 38-40, 48-53.

Opisthodomus — continued.

- the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompedon, 39 f., 44-48.
 meaning and application of the word, 38, 41 f., 51-53.
 trustworthiness of tradition about, 41-43.
 other opisthodomus, 15, 40, 51 n.
 Ovid, comp. of *iacio*, 141 ff.
- Papas, old Phrygian god, 64 n, 66 n.
 Parthenon, passages referring to, 9 n., 10 n.
 not the temple of Athena Polias, 30-33.
 earlier Parthenon, 22 f., 27.
 Πατ-ἀναιαθ, 57 n.
 Petersen, on Opisthodomus, 2.
 on 'old temple' and temple of Athena Polias, 19.
 on age of Hecatompedon, 24 n.
 Πετραίτου, Μηνός, 71 n.
 Phaedrus, comp. of *iacio*, 145 f.
 Φαρνάκου, Μην, 70 n. f.
 Philiscus, trag., 78 n.
 Phrygian, ancient religion, 64 f., 72 f.
 priests in Athens, 68 n.
 'Phrygian' used in geographical sense, 74.
 Plato, Homeric quotations in, 153 ff.
 Plautus, comp. of *iacio*, 130 ff.
 Pleiad, Alexandrine, 78 f.
 Πολιάς, application of, 36-38. See also Athena Polias.
 Pompei, Pompeiis, etc., 93 ff.
 Pompeiis, 94.
 Pompeiis, etc., 108, 110.
 Popular etymology, 66, 73.
 Praenomen, encroachment of Roman, 59 n.
 Prepositions w. *iacio*, 87 ff., 104 ff., 120, 121 ff.
 short before *-icio*, 99 ff.
 contracted w. *-icio*, 113 ff.

- prōiciet*, 116.
proieciēt, 111.
proiēcit, 112.
proieciat, 110.
 Propertius, comp. of *iacio*, 138.
- Quantity of prepos. before *iacio*, 87 f., 99 ff., 104 ff.
- Ramsay, W. M., 57-59, 62, 64 n., 65 nn. f., 73 f.
rēice, 116.
rēicere, 114, 116.
rēiciat, 114.
rēicit, 116.
rēicis, 114.
reīciēt, 112.
 Religion of eastern Lydia and western Phrygia, 63 ff., 73 f.
 Rhea, 64 n.
 Ribbeck, on *-iicio* etc., 85.
 on *disicio*, 123 f.
 Ritschl, on *-iicio* etc., 84.
- Sabazius, 65 n., 73.
 relation to Attis and Mên, 65 n.
 Ζεὺς Σαβάζιος, 62 n., 73.
 Σαβάζια, 68 n.
- Scenic poets, Roman, comp. of *iacio*, 134 f.
- Schmitz, W., on *-iicio* etc., 86.
 Seneca, comp. of *iacio*, 146 f.
 Serenus Sammon., comp. of *iacio*, 151.
 Silius Italicus, comp. of *iacio*, 148 f.
 Sophocles, Aristotle's quotations from, 156 f.
- Sosiphanes, not tragic poet, 78 n.
 Sositheus, 78 n.
 Sozon, 65 n., 73.
 Statius, quantity before *-icio*, 102.
 comp. of *iacio*, 149 f.
sūbicit, 87.
subiēcere, 98.
 Sulla, era of, 57, 61 f., 73.

σύμβιος, 56, 61.

συμβίωσις, *ιερά*, 72 π.

Syncretism, 65 π.

Ταύθε (Tiatat = Tiamat), 68 π.

Tehôm (= Tham-te, Tiamat), 68 π.

τηρείσθαι, *εύχη*, 72 π.

Terentius, comp. of *iacio*, 133.

Thamte (Tiamat), 68, 70 f.

Theocritus, not tragic poet, 78 π.

Tiamat, 68 f.

without sex, 69 π.

Τιάμου, 56, 68 ff.

significance of (*καταχθόνιος*), 68. See also under Mên Tiamu.

Tibullus, comp. of *iacio*, 138.

Τιμαίω, *Διελ*, 72 f.

traizcere, 111.

traizceret, 113.

traizcit, 112.

Troiia, 110.

Troiugenas, 94, 108.

τύχη βασιλέως, Μην Φαρνάκου, 70 π. f.

Vahlen, on *-icio* etc., 85.

Valerius Flaccus, comp. of *iacio*, 147 f.

quantity before *-icio*, 102.

Variants, Homeric, antiquity of, 174 ff.

Varro, comp. of *iacio*, 136.

Vergilius, comp. of *iacio*, 139 ff., 145.

Votive tablet to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu, 55 ff.

Wagner, on *-icio* etc., 84.

WHITE, J. W., The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens, 1 ff.

WRIGHT, J. H., A Votive Tablet to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 55 ff.

Zenodotus, date, 78.

Zeus, 64 π.

Ἄσας, 69 π.

Μασφαλατηνός, 72 π. *dis*.

Σαβάζιος, 73 π.

σωτήρ, 64 π.

Τιμαῖος, 72 π. f.

INDEX OF CITATIONS.

- Achilles Tattus (iii. 6), 42 n., 51 n.
 Aelian, *Nat. An.* (vi. 49), 9 n.; *Var. Hist.* (ii. 9), 36 n.
 Aeschines (ii. 147), 31 n., 36 n.; (schol. ii. 147), 10 n., 30, 35.
 Aeschylus, *Suppl.* (494), 8 n.
 Anecdota Bekkeri (i. p. 283, 15), 9 n.; (p. 286, 26), 42 n., 43 n., 52 n.; (p. 306, 7), 10 n.; (p. 345, 25), 11 n.
 Anecdota Paris. Cramerii (i. p. 6), 77; (iii. p. 283), 60.
 Anthol. Pal. (vi. 2), 9 n.; (xii. 223), 51 n.
 Apollodorus (iii. 14), 9 n.
 Apollonius, *Vit. Aesch.* 36 n.
 Appian, *Bell. Civ.* (i. 20), 51 n.
 Aristides (i. p. 548, 14 Dind.), 9 n., 15, 40 n., 51 n.; (schol. iii. p. 319 Dind.), 35 n.
 Aristophanes, *Eg.* (schol. 1169), 9 n., 10 n., 30, 35, 36 n.
Lys. (schol. 273), 8 n., 22 n., 27 n.; (schol. 759), 9 n.
Pax (schol. 605), 8, 9 n.
Plut. (1191-93), 4, 14 n.; (schol. 1191), 4, 8 n., 42 n.; (schol. 1193), 4, 7 n., 11, 29 n., 37 n., 38, 41, 42 n.
 Aristotle, *De Anima* (i. 2), 230.
De Anim. Gen. (v. 5), 233.
Hist. An. (vi. 24), 9 n., 32 n.; (vi. 28), 223, 228.
De Mot. An. (4), 232.
De Part. An. (iii. 10), 224.
Eth. Eud. (iii. 1), 228; (vii. 1), 159, 234; (vii. 2), 160; (vii. 10), 169.
Eth. Nic. (i. 2), 169; (ii. 9), 216; (iii. 11), 222, 229, 230, 231; (vii. 7), 225; (vii. 14), 171; (ix. 1), 169; (ix. 9), 156; (ix. 10), 171; (x. 10), 221.
Fragm. (143), 234; (159), 230; (402 Rose), 10 n.
Mag. Mor. (ii. 11), 225; (ii. 15), 156.
Metaph. (i. 4), 172; (iv. 5), 161.
De Mundo (6), 235.
Oec. (i. 4), 170.
Phys. Ausc. (iv. 1), 172.
Poet. (22), 225, 234, 235; (25), 224, 225, 227, 231, 233.
Pol. (i. 2), 157; (i. 4), 221; (i. 13), 160; (iii. 14), 226, 227; (viii. 3), 229, 236.
Probl. (xxiii. 23), 223; (xxvi. 31), 234; (xxx. 1), 232, 236.
Resp. Athen. (44), 48 n.; (47), 10 n.
Rhet. (i. 7), 233; (i. 11), 236; (i. 13), 158; (i. 15), 158; (ii. 2), 222; (ii. 9), 228; (ii. 21), 160, 161; (iii. 4), 220, 231; (iii. 6), 157; (iii. 9), 170; (iii. 11), 226, 235; (iii. 14), 156; (iii. 16), 160; (iii. 17), 160, 225.
Soph. El. (4), 231.
De Xenoph. (1), 172.
 Berosus, *ap. Euseb. Chron.* (i. 16), 71.
 Caelius Antip. *ap. Non.* (p. 89, 6, M), 113.
 Caesar, *B. G.* (iv. 28), 113.
 Cassiodorius (p. 206), 94, 108.
 Catullus (lxiv. 370), 111.
 Cicero, *Div.* (i. 48, 106), 97.

Clemens Alex., *Protr.* (iii. 45, p. 13 Sylb.), 9 π., 10 π., 30, 31, 35, 37 π.; (iv. 47, p. 13 Sylb.), 37 π.; (52, p. 15 Sylb.), 36 π.

Demosthenes (xiii. 14), 3, 14 π.; (schol. xiii. 14), 4, 5 π.; (xviii. 260), 68; xviii. 284), 68; (xix. 281), 67; (xxii. p. 590), 48 π.; (schol. xxii. 13), 9 π., 10 π., 35 π.; (xxiv. 136), 4, 14 π.; (schol. xxiv. 136), 5, 7 π., 43 π., 51 π.

Ps. Dicaearchus, *frag.* (1), 10 π.

Diodorus Siculus (iii. 58, 4), 65 f.; (xiv. 41), 51 π.

Diomedes (p. 428. 10), 108.

Dionysius Halic., *Ant.* (xiv. 2), 9 π., 10 π.
Δικωνική. (3), 9 π., 29.

Etymol. Mag. s.v. ἄδουεν, 11 π.; Ἐκκτόμπεδον, 9 π.; ἐπιστάτης, 48 π.; Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, 36 π.; ἐπισθόδομος, 8 π., 42 π., 43 π., 52 π.; σπηός, 11 π.

Eudocia (340 Flach), 13.

Euripides, *Hec.* (864 f.), 161.

H. F. (1338), 157.

Iph. A. (1400), 157.

Iph. T. (727), 157.

Or. (667), 156.

Phoen. (539 f.), 159.

Tro. (969), 160; (1051), 160.

Eustathius, *Il.* (xxii. 451), 9 π., 10 π., 30, 31, 36; *Od.* (l. 356), 10 π.; (l. 357), 9 π., 30, 31, 36, 37 π.; (xi. 634), 37 π.; (xvii. 455), 48 π.

Gaius, *Inst.* (iii. 119), 91.

Gellius (iv. 17), 84, 88, 92, 119.

Harpocration, s.v. ἐπισθόδομος, 3, 12; Πολύγνωτος, 13, 14; προναία, 8 π.

Herodotus (l. 47), 22 π.; (65), 22 π.; (ii. 141), 22 π.; (143), 22 π.; (v. 72), 10 π., 22 π.; (77), 22 π., 23 π.;

Herodotus — *continued.*

(90), 10 π., 22 π.; (vi. 134), 22 π.; (vii. 140), 22 π.; (viii. 37), 8 π.; (41), 10 π., 22 π., 23 π.; (51), 10 π., 22 π., 25, 39 π.; (51-55), 25 and π.; (53), 10 π., 15 π., 22 π., 25 and π.; (54), 10 π., 22 π., 25; (55), 9 π., 10 π., 23 π., 25 and π., 26, 39 π., 45 π.

Hesiod. *O. D.* (25 f.), 162; (40), 162; (121 ff.), 163; (265 f.), 170; (287 ff.), 165; (289 ff.), 166; (293 ff.), 169; (361), 167; (370), 169; (456), 162; (699), 170; (715), 171; (763 f.), 171.

Theog. (116 ff.), 168, 172; (337), 168.

Hesychius, s.v. ἄδουεν, 11 π.; Αἰβοῦς βωμός, 9 π., 10 π.; Ἐκκτόμπεδος, 9 π.; Θηκυρός, 11, 14 π.; Μηρυόρτης, 67; εἰκυρὸν ἔφυ, 9 π., 10 π.; ἐπισθόδομος, 5; σπηός, 11 π.

Himerius, *Ecl.* (v. 30), 9 π., 10 π., 30, 31, 35.

Homer, *Il.* (l. 169-171), 195; (ii. 15), 231; (32), 231; (196), 222; (391-393), 226, 227, 231; (546-52), 20 and π., 21, 24 π.; (547), 184; (549), 9 π.; (iii. 8), 196; (iv. 84), 196; (218), 196; (431), 196; (v. 223), 188; (vi. 93), 20 π.; (200-202), 232; (311), 188; (274), 20 π.; (308), 20 π.; (vii. 64), 223; (360), 185; (viii. 21 f.), 232; (83 f.), 233; (107), 188; (162), 197; (548-552), 208; (ix. 308-314), 191; (357-363), 197; (385-390), 226; (497-501), 189; (539 f.), 223; (592-594), 233; (650-655), 193; (x. 11-13), 227, 233; (224), 197; (252), 224; (332), 234; (457), 224; (485 f.), 220; (xi. 502-537), 175; (542 f.), 228; (630), 198; (639 f.), 198; (729), 20 π.; (xii.

Homer — *continued.*

200–207), 199; (234), 185; (311), 197; (xiv. 96–102), 199; (217), 225; (xvi. 112 f.), 200; (433 f.), 189; (xvii. 265), 234; (446 f.), 193; (xviii. 96), 200; (104), 200; (107), 234; (376), 221; (xix. 92 f.), 201; (xx. 217 f.), 193; (241), 188; (272), 225; (xxii. 98–100), 228; (168 f.), 201; (507), 201; (xxiii. 335–340), 202; (xxiv. 10–12), 203; (80–82), 203; (525 f.), 182; (527–532), 204.

Od. (i. 352), 205; (iii. 382), 20 n.; (418), 20 n.; (iv. 204), 225; (302), 7 n., 52 n.; (567), 234; (764), 20 n.; (v. 193), 187; (vi. 42–45), 235; (ix. 8–10), 205; (114), 221; (190 f.), 223; (515), 235; (x. 495), 206; (xi. 489–491), 182; (569), 190; (598), 235; (xii. 219 f.), 216; (schol. xiv. 533), 36 n.; (xv. 245 f.), 206; (400 f.), 236; (xvii. 218), 194, 225; (322 f.), 194; (385), 236; (xix. 122), 236; (xx. 259), 225; (351–357), 207; (xxii. 329), 224; (xxiv. 6–9), 190; (318 f.), 222.

Horace, *Sat.* (i. 6, 39), 116.

Inscriptions, Ἀθηναῖα ii. (p. 627), 3 n.; 44 n.

Bull. Corr. Hell. vi., viii., xiv., xv., 11 n.

CIA. i. (32), 16 and n., 40 n., 46, 47; (60), 8 n.; (93), 8 n., 23 n., 27 n.; (109), 16; (146), 10 n.; (157), 10 n.; (158), 10 n.; (159), 10 n.; (161–175), 1 n., 46 n.; (191), 16; (273), 16; (322), 8 n., 21 n., 38 n.; ii. (74), 8 n., 26 n.; (163), 8 n., 26 n.; (332), 8 n., 10 n., 30, 32, 33; (464), 8 n., 26 n., 30, 32, 33; (652), 10 n., 17; (660), 17; (672), 8 n., 26 n.; (685), 17;

Inscriptions — *continued.*

(720), 17; (721), 17; (733), 8 n., 26 n.; (751), 8 n.; (758), 8 n.; (829), 8 n.; iii. (776), 8 n.; iv. (1, p. 3 f.), 8 n., 12, 18, 23 n., 27 n., 40 n., 45 and n., 49 and n.; (p. 74 ff.), 8 n.; (p. 137 ff.), 3 n., 10 n., 22 n., 39 n., 44 and n.; (p. 168 ff.), 16. *CIG.* (6280), 9 n., 20 n.

Δελτιον Ἀρχ. 1890 (p. 92 ff.), 3 n.

Dittenberger, SIG. (384), 12 n., 45 n.

Kaibel, Ep. Gr. (1046), 9 n., 20 n.

Mitth. d. Inst. Athen, viii. (p. 59), 8 n., 10 n., 30, 32, 33; xii. (p. 39), 12 n., 45 n.

Sitz.-Ber. d. Berl. Akad. 1887 (p. 1201, 45), 17.

CIL. i. (198, 50), 96, 100; (577), 100, 114; ix. (782), 110.

Laberius (119, R), 116.

Lexicon Patmum, *s.v.* Ἐκατόμπεδον, 9 n.

Livy, i. (40, 7), 112; (41, 1), 112; (48, 3), 112; x. (8, 3), 97; (37, 14), 98; xxii. (19, 3), 98; (37, 9), 113; xxvi. (19, 2), 98.

Lucian, *Dial. Meret.* (vii. 1, and schol.), 36 n.

Fug. (7), 38 n.; (schol. 7), 4 n., 42 n., 51 n.

Hdt. (1), 38 n., 51 n.

Mort. Peregr. (32), 38 n., 51 n.

Pisc. (21), 29, 31, 34, 35 n.

Sym. (32), 36 n.

Timon (53), 14, 16 n.; (schol. 53), 43 and n.

Lucilius (xxix. 106 Müll.), 110.

Lucretius, i. (465), 94; (477), 94; ii. (951), 111; iii. (513), 111; (877), 115; iv. (1272), 115.

Marius Victorin. (p. 67, 17), 88, 92.

Naevius (94 R), 99.

Ovid, *F.* (iv. 709), 116.

Ib. (55 f.), 80; (schol. 315 f.), 81;
(531 f.), 80.

M. (xi. 386), 112.

Pausanias (i. 1. 3), 7; (3. 3), 6 n.; (17. 2-4), 14 n.; (18. 6), 6; (19. 4), 6; (24. 3), 9 n.; (24. 5), 6 n.; (24. 5, 8), 9 n.; (26. 5), 4 n., 9 n., 31 n., 35; (26. 6), 21 n., 35, 39 n.; (27. 1), 29, 35, 45 n.; (27. 1, 3), 9 n.; (27. 2, 4), 9 n.; (27. 3), 9 n., 30, 35; (40. 4, 5), 6; (ii. 5. 1), 6; (ii. 1), 7; (13. 7), 7; (20. 7), 6 n.; (29. 11), 6; (31. 3), 6; (iii. 15. 1), 7; (16. 6), 6; (17. 5), 7; (iv. 31. 11), 6; (v. 10. 8), 6 n.; (10. 9), 38 n., 51 n.; (13. 1), 38 n., 51 n.; (15. 3), 38 n., 51 n.; (15. 7), 7; (16. 1), 38 n., 51 n.; (17. 9), 7; (19. 6), 7; (20. 2), 6 n.; (vi. 5. 6), 6 n.; (10. 6), 7; (19), 14 n.; (25. 2), 7; (viii. 9. 6), 6; (14. 10.) 6; (22. 7), 7; (30. 7), 6; (30. 8), 6; (45. 7), 6 n.; (ix. 4. 2), 52 n.; (10. 2), 8 n.; (x. 9. 9), 7; (11. 1, 2, 5), 14 n.; (19. 4), 6 n.; (19. 10), 7; (26. 5), 6 n.

Philochorus, *frag.* (146), 9 n., 29, 30, 34.
(See also 8, 9 and n.)

Photius (*s.v.* *ἀπισθόδομος*, 4, 42 n., 52 n.; *Πολύγνωτος*, 13; *ταμίαι*, 10 n.)

Plato, *Alc.* i. (132 A), 184.

Alc. ii. (140 A), 197; (149 D), 208.

Apol. (28 D), 200; (28 C), 200.

Axioch. (367 D), 182, 193; (368 A), 206.

Conviv. (178 B), 168; (195 D), 201.

Crat. (392 E), 201; (397 E), 163;
(402 B), 167; (428 A), 167.

Epist. vii. (344 D), 185.

Hipp. Min. (365 A), 191; (370 B), 197; (370 C), 195; (371 B), 192.

Ion (537 A), 202; (538 C), 198; (538 D), 203; (539 A), 207; (539 B), 198.

Plato — *continued.*

Lach. (191 A), 188.

Leges (681 E), 193; (706 E), 199;
(718 E), 166; (777 A), 194.

Lysis (214 A), 194; (215 C), 162.

Meno (100 A), 206.

Minos (319 D), 190.

Phaedr. (266 B), 187.

Resp. (364 B), 67; (364 C), 165;
(364 D), 189; (379 C), 204; (379 E), 196; (386 C), 182; (386 D), 206; (387 A), 190; (388 A), 202;
388 C), 189, 201; (389 E), 196;
(390 A), 205; (405 D), 198; (408 A), 196; (424 B), 205; (466 C), 162; (468 D), 197; (469 A), 163;
(545 D), 200.

Soph. (268 D), 188.

Theact. (207 A), 162.

Plautus, *As.* (814), 99.

Merc. (932), 99.

Mil. (112), 96; (623), 97.

Poen. (1174), 96.

Rud. (769), 99.

Truc. (298), 96; (659), 110.

Pliny, *N. H.* (vii. 2), 98; (xiii. 129), 91.

Plutarch, *Cim.* (5), 9 n., 22 n.

Demet. (23), 15 and n., 40 n., 46 n.,
51 n.

Quaest. Con. (ix. 6, p. 741), 9 n.

Soll. An. (13, p. 970), 9 n.

Them. (10), 9 n.

Vit. X. Or. (843), 31 n.

Vit. Mar. (26), 56.

Pollux (i. 6), 38, 51 n.; (viii. 96), 48 n.;
(ix. 40), 5 n., 51 n.

Priscian, vol. II, K. (p. 14, 10), 94 n.;
(p. 13, 27), 109; (p. 14, 14), 109,
118; (p. 126, 18), 89; (p. 303, 5),
110; (p. 349, 15), 97; vol. III, K.
(p. 56, 18), 123; (p. 467, 15), 109.

Probus, (p. 104, 22), 94; (p. 221, 8),
108; (p. 257, 17), 108.

- Quintilian (i. 4, 11), 88, 107.
- Scholia, see under Aeschines, Aristides, Aristoph., Demosth., Homer, Lucian, Ovid.
- Seneca, *Phoen.* (426), 116.
- Servius, *ad Aen.* (iv. 549), 89, 119; (x. 473), 119; *de Final.* (p. 450, 12), 103.
- Sophocles, *Ai.* (293), 160.
Ant. (223), 156; (456 ff.), 158; (911 f.), 160.
Elec. (256), 161.
- Statius, *Theb.* (iv. 574), 116; (vi. 770), 112.
- Strabo (ix. 16, p. 396), 8 n., 10 n., 20, 21, 29, 33 n., 34; (x. 3, 18, p. 471), 68; (x. 3, 19, p. 471), 68; (xiii. 4, 5, p. 625), 63; (xv. 3, 15, p. 738), 58; (xvii. 28, p. 805), 52 n.
- Suidas, *s.v.* ἄδυτον, 11 n.; Ἐκατόμπεδος κεύς, 9 n.; ἐπιστάτης, 48 n.; Μηναγύρτης, 67; ὀπισθόδομος, 4; Πολύγνωτος, 13; σηκός, 11 n.
- Terence, *Ad.* (710), 97.
- Themistius (xv. p. 234 Dind.), 51 n.
- Theocritus, *Id.* (xx. 15), 230; (xxii. 129), 230.
- Thucydides (i. 126), 10 n.; (ii. 13), 46 n.
- Tzetzes, *in Lycoph.* I. (p. 263), 76 n.
- Valerius Flaccus, (vii. 514), 116.
- Varro, *Ling. Lat.* (v. § 160 Spengel), 38, 51 n.
ap. Non. (p. 452, 9 M.), 111.
- Velius Longus, (p. 54, 16), 107; (p. 54, 20), 118; (p. 55, 2), 108; (p. 72, 4), 118.
- Vergil, *Aen.* (v. 776), 112; (vi. 421), 97; (viii. 428), 111 f.; (ix. 634), 112; (x. 753), 111 f.; (xi. 642), 112.
Ciris, (118), 116.
Ecl. (iii. 96), 116.
Geor. (i. 333), 111.
- Xenophon, *Hellen.* (i. 6. 1), 8 n.; (ii. 3. 20), 9 n., 32 n.

