# HARVARD STUDIES

IN

# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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

VOLUME VIII

BOSTON, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY GINN & COMPANY
LONDON: EDWARD ARNOLD
37 BEDFORD ST., STRAND
LEIPSIC: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ
QUER STRASSE 14
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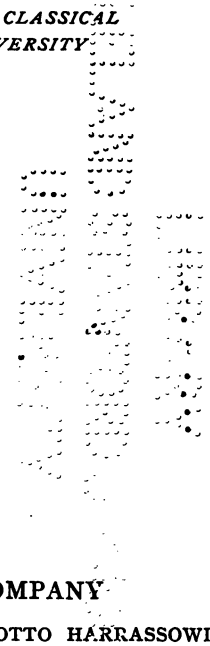

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# PREFATORY NOTE.

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CLEMENT L. SMITH,
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE,
JOHN HENRY WRIGHT,
} EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.



The Athenæum Press

# Died

At Cambridge, on June 30th, 1897,

GEORGE MARTIN LANE,

in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

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At Portsmouth, on August 4th, 1897,

FREDERIC DE FOREST ALLEN,

in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

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Biographical notices of Professors Lane and Allen
will be inserted in the Ninth Volume
of the "Studies."

# CONTENTS.

# THE TRIAL OF THE ALCMEONIDAE AND THE CLEISTHENEAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

By George Willis Botsford.

## I. Introduction.

TILL recently it has been universally supposed, so far as I know, that the trial of the Alcmeonidae on a charge of impiety committed in the suppression of the Cylonian insurrection took place before the archonship of Solon (594/3 B.C.).[1] Beloch,[2] however, following a line of thought suggested by Friedrich Cauer,[3] concludes that the Alcmeonidae were not tried till after the adoption of the Cleisthenean constitutional reforms about a century later, and that the story of their trial and banishment told by Plutarch and Aristotle is but a duplicate of the account which Herodotus gives of their expulsion by Cleomenes. Beloch bases his view (1) on the coincidence of circumstances in the two accounts, (2) on the fact that Plutarch mentions the δημοτικόν of the accuser, Myron, — which, as Beloch asserts, proves clearly that the accusation was brought after the institution of the Cleisthenean tribes and demes, — and finally (3) on the authority of Herodotus and Thucydides. These points will be discussed in this paper. But the question as to the date of the trial thus raised is involved in another question, viz., What were the order and nature of the events which belong to the two or three

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[1] This was the view of Plutarch, *Solon* 12, and apparently of Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 1. There was nothing in the account of the Cylonian affair and banishment of the Alcmeonidae given by Thucydides (i. 126), which seemed to throw doubt on Plutarch's view; and Herodotus' story (v. 70–72) of the expulsion of Cleisthenes and his supporters by the Spartan Cleomenes (cf. also Thuc. *loc. cit.*) was in no way identified with Myron's prosecution of the Alcmeonidae and the resulting exile of their family.

[2] *Griechische Geschichte*, i. (1893), p. 339, n. 1.

[3] *Parteien und Politiker in Megara und Athen* (1890), p. 64 f.

years immediately following the overthrow of Hippias? A consideration of this question may in turn be best introduced by a few remarks on the course of Athenian constitutional history from the times of Draco and Solon to the end of the tyranny.

## II. From Solon to Cleisthenes.

Much of the work done in Athenian constitutional history has been vitiated by the erroneous notion that there was indeed no *Athenian* constitution, although there were plenty of constitutions manufactured by individuals, as Solon, Cleisthenes, and others, and thrust upon the community with the best intentions perhaps, but with so little statesmanlike foresight, at least in Solon's case, that failure was from the first inevitable. In brief, the opinion has prevailed that the Athenian people wore each of these artificial constitutions like a loosely fitting garment, and were ready to throw it aside as soon as their political tailor had invented a more novel and striking pattern.[1] This notion is unhistorical. It originated among the Greeks themselves, who supposed, for instance, that the Spartan constitution was wholly the work of Lycurgus, and that all the laws of Athens which did not bear the stamp of recent origin owed their existence to

[1] "The lessons of Athenian constitutional history, such as they are, end with the close of the fifth century. Aristotle sums them up in a list of eleven epochs, and when we consider that ten of the changes enumerated fall within a period of barely more than two hundred years, it can but intensify the feeling which inevitably arises from the study of the history of Athens, that, while no nation ever possessed such brilliant philosophical writers with such an aptitude for political theory, none was ever so incompetent to convert those theories into stable political practice"; Kenyon, *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens* (third edition, 1892), p. xlvii f. Here is an extreme view. We have in this passage, no doubt, a silent contrast with Rome and England. The fact is that the development of the Athenian constitution to the Peloponnesian War is as unbroken as that of the Roman Republic. But the Athenians were not so slow mentally as the Romans and English; naturally, therefore, they manifested greater promptness in relieving themselves of political abuses and disabilities. It is needless to say that most of the changes mentioned by Aristotle (*Ath. Const.* 41) do not involve the exchange of one constitution for another. They are for the most part merely stages of constitutional growth.

Solon. It was in this unhistorical atmosphere that Plato labored on his ideal commonwealth. He felt that he could be author of a constitution as well as Solon and Lycurgus. The discovery of Aristotle's treatise on the Athenian constitution at first sight appears to make a bad matter worse by bringing to light another constitution-maker, Draco. We might temporarily ease our minds of all trouble on Draco's account by declaring the fourth chapter of this treatise an interpolation, as many have done ;[1] but its ghost comes back to haunt us,[2] and it seems best for the present to leave it a vacant seat. The finding of the treatise appears to me to mark an epoch in the study of Athenian constitutional history. The work, as it stands, robs Solon of some of the laurels he has worn, and distributes them more equitably along the line of his predecessors and successors. Also, in my opinion, it is becoming apparent that (Draco,) Solon, and Cleisthenes were not authors of written constitutions, and that down to the year 411 B.C. in all probability no example of a written constitution, designed for actual use, existed in Athens.[3] Aristotle from scant material attempted

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[1] *E.g.* Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, i. (1892), p. 236 ff. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, i. p. 311, n. 1; and now Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². (1895), p. 36 ff., 224, n. 3.

[2] Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893), i. p. 76 ff., holds that the fourth chapter is Aristotelian but of later origin than the *Politics* and the rest of the *Constitution*. He considers it contradictory to *Politics* ii. 12, p. 1274 b. Friedrich Blass, *Die sogenannte drakontische Verfassung*, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* cli. (1895), p. 476 ff., believes that it is perfectly consistent with *Politics*, *loc. cit.*

[3] At that time a committee of one hundred drew up a constitution and wrote it out (ἀνέγραψαν); Arist. *Ath. Const.* 30. But it was never put into force, as the following chapters show. Kenyon, *op. cit.* p. xliii, rightly calls it a paper constitution. Codes of law, as those of Draco, Solon, and Zaleucus (for the latter, Aristotle, *Politics* ii. 12, p. 1274 a, who characterizes Zaleucus as a νομοθέτης in contrast with the constitution-maker), must not be associated with written constitutions, as they belong to a far earlier period. Again, I am thinking only of practical constitutions. There were theoretical or ideal constitutions before 411 B.C., *e.g.* that of Hippodamus, which was the earliest of this class known to Aristotle, *Politics* ii. 8, p. 1267 b *et seq.* These were necessarily written, and prepared the way to the writing of constitutions for practical use, and to constitutional experimentation in general. By the year 346 B.C. sophistic constitutions were as plentiful as worthless; cf. Isocrates, v. 12.

by means of combinations and inferences from a later state of things to reconstruct the early history of the Athenian constitution. That he met with so considerable a degree of success is owing to the fact that the Athenian constitution is organic, and followed natural laws of growth.[1]

At some future time I hope to give this subject further attention, but at present wish only to lay emphasis on the continuity of Athenian constitutional history, since this idea will be useful in our examination of the special subject in hand.

Solon's measures were not a failure.[2] There was no more slavery for debt; henceforth we hear of no magisterial oppression. True, the factional strife continued; but Solon expected this, else he would not have enacted a law against neutrality in seditions.[3] Perhaps with his sunny temperament he hoped that through the operation of this law the government would be able in the course of time to rid itself of its great nobles, just as it finally succeeded in throwing these off through ostracism, a milder and more peaceful substitute for the law against neutrality.

But the interests of peace were promoted more by the rule of the Pisistratidae than by the law above mentioned. Under their government the forms of the constitution continued, the existing offices were not disturbed, Pisistratus not only enforced obedience to the laws, but himself obeyed them.[4] We should infer from the statement as to the continuance of the existing offices that the Boule of the Areopagus, Boule of 400, Ecclesia, Dicasteria, and Archons were all taking their respective parts in the government. But we are by no means

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[1] Niese, *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxix. (1892), p. 59 f., calls attention to the fact that a constitution is an organic growth. It would be going too far, however, to deny, with him, that Solon was the author of important constitutional measures.

[2] Abbott, *History of Greece*, i. (1888), pp. 450–452, maintains that his laws were a success, but his constitution a failure.

[3] Arist. *Ath. Const.* 8; Plut. *Solon* 20.

[4] Hdt. i. 59; Thuc. vi. 54; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 14, 16; Plutarch, *Solon* 31. The last four years of Hippias' reign may deserve to be called in contrast a time of lawlessness, though this lawlessness affected but a limited number of citizens. Hippias disregarded the laws of Solon and Draco in avenging the death of his brother, hence the statement of Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 22: *καὶ γὰρ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν Σόλωνος νόμους ἀφανίσαι τὴν τυραννίδα διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι.*

warranted in supposing that this was a period of constitutional freedom. The despot, backed by the pikes of mercenaries, enforced law and order. Nor is it likely that the Ecclesia and Dicasteria met often or were largely frequented. Aristotle[1] represents Pisistratus as giving the people to understand that they were to attend to their own affairs and that he would for the future manage all the business of the state. Also, he saw to it that the people might have neither the wish nor the time to attend to public affairs.[2] He further instituted district justices for the country people, that they might not need to come to the city for litigation. Under these circumstances it is difficult to see to what extensive use the Dicasteria could be put, or what purpose the Ecclesia would serve, except perhaps for the annual election of magistrates nominated by the ruling family.[3] Probably great numbers of the citizens were practically banished to the country and thus debarred from the enjoyment of political privileges. The points to which I wish to call especial attention are, (1) that under the Pisistratidae there was no noticeable discontinuance of constitutional forms, and, (2) that the people enjoyed in this period no large degree of political power. In this respect the period may be aptly compared with the reign of Augustus.[4]

It may be of advantage to learn why the Pisistratidae were so popular. The reason readiest at hand we may find in the protection which these rulers afforded the masses against oppression from the nobles. The people had put their trust in Pisistratus originally through their hatred of the Pediaeans (the rich).[5] But the chief ground for the continuance of the tyrants' popularity is to be found in their agrarian policy. According to Aristotle,[6] Pisistratus exerted himself

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[1] *Ath. Const.* 15. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii. p. 70 f., thinks the Ecclesia may have met monthly. It would be difficult, however, to establish this view from our sources.

[2] Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 16.

[3] "But under the Peisistratids, its convocation had dwindled down into an inoperative formality;" Grote, *History of Greece* (Harper & Brothers), iv. p. 139; cf. Abbott, *History of Greece*, i. p. 454.

[4] Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 329, n. 1.

[5] Aristotle, *Politics* ix. 5, p. 1305 a, 22 ff.; cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 29.

[6] *Ath. Const.* 16.

to improve the condition of the peasantry. In the time of Solon "all the land was in the possession of a few,"[1] but at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the greater number of peasants were proprietors of the land which they cultivated, and the large estates of the nobles had for the most part disappeared.[2] The change must have been effected at some time between Solon and the Peloponnesian War. Busolt[3] supposes with excellent reason that Pisistratus confiscated the estates of those nobles who fell in the battle of Pallene or fled, after their defeat, from the country, and that he divided these estates among the peasants to hold in full ownership.

It is of especial importance to ascertain the character of the government that belonged to the periods of Pisistratus' exile.[4] According to Herodotus[5] it was a time of freedom. There can be no doubt, however, that this signified freedom merely for the nobles, the people enjoying no more rights than under the government of Pisistratus.[6] During his exile the great party leaders were again at

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[1] *Ath. Const.* 2, 4.

[2] Thuc. ii. 14, 16; cf. Böckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* (1886), i². p. 80; Whibley, *Political Parties in Athens* (1889), p. 40 f.

[3] *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². p. 327 f. F. Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 95 ff., conjectured that Pisistratus rented out this land to the peasants on easy terms, so as to place them in a condition to purchase the lots which they tilled. Busolt supposes that these lots were actually given to the peasants. This is more reasonable, since these lands were subject to taxation; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 16; cf. Thuc. vi. 54. Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, speaks of his advancing money to them, but this may have been additional to the gift of land. This statement of Aristotle is sustained by that of Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 25, that Pisistratus furnished the needy peasants with seeds and work animals; cf. Curtius, *History of Greece* (N. Y., 1886), i. p. 385; Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 94.

[4] Beloch, *Wann lebten Sappho und Alkaios*, *Rheinisches Museum*, xlv. (1890), p. 469 f., is of the opinion that there was but one period of exile. The point is irrelevant to the present discussion.

[5] i. 62: *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι, οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέῤῥεον, οἷσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον.*

[6] Many from the country joined him in his camp at Marathon; Hdt. *loc. cit.* The common soldiers seem to have offered no resistance in the battle of Pallene; *id.* i. 63. Apparently, only the nobles fought gallantly, and of this party the survivors went into exile with the Alcmeonidae; *id.* i. 64. Among these were Alcibiades

strife[1] and could place no confidence in the people. We infer the latter from the statement of Herodotus[2] that while Pisistratus was collecting resources, and even on his landing at Marathon, no one paid attention to his movements. The nobles must have been aware of his proceedings, but their own dissensions and their feeling that the majority of the citizens favored Pisistratus, tied their hands effectually. When, however, they learned that Pisistratus was advancing upon Athens from Marathon, they levied the whole force of the state,[3] and met him at Pallene;[4] but the army showed no spirit, and fled without an offer of resistance. It required but a word from Pisistratus to send the fugitives cheerfully to their homes.[5] Many of the nobles, however, fell in the battle, and others who survived went into exile along with Megacles.[6]

From these facts it appears that the government of the periods of exile was oligarchic and factional, unsupported by the masses. While there may have been a greater pretense of constitutional rule, which would lead Herodotus to his statement as to the character of these times, in point of fact the country people had no greater share in the government and enjoyed far less material advantage than under the tyranny.

It appears further that on the final expulsion of the Pisistratidae a return was made to oligarchic rule, as in the time of exile. Cleisthenes had expelled the tyrant without the help of the commons. Indeed, the country people, if not still politically apathetic, might be counted on as supporters of Hippias. The cruelty of the latter had affected only those near his court, — not the commons.[7] Many were

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(Isocrates xvi. 26) and Leogoras (Andocides ii. 26). These were not the men to be accompanied into exile by the δῆμος, as Isocrates and Andocides would have us believe.

[1] Hdt. i. 60; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 14.

[2] i. 62.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] Androtion, *Frag.* xlii., Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, i. p. 375 f.

[5] Hdt. i. 63.

[6] *Id.* i. 64.

[7] It is difficult to see how his severity could affect the country people except through taxation. The fact that he resorted to various devices for raising money

bound to the tyrant, no doubt, by gifts of land from the confiscated estates of nobles. The Alcmeonid faction may have felt that it would be good policy to institute a thorough revision of the citizen list in order to deprive of civic rights the poor who had supported Pisistratus, and had received as reward the lands of the nobles.[1] In this manner the returned emigrants might hope to regain possession of their lands without incurring an excess of odium. Little disgrace would attach to the ejection of aliens from lands, as these had no legal rights to ownership of real estate.[2] The revision of the lists may therefore have taken place immediately on the return of the emigrants with a view to ejecting from their holdings a numerous class of the tyrant's adherents and to cutting them off from political influence.[3]

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(Pseud. Aristotle, *Economics* ii. 5, p. 1347 a) indicates that he did not increase the taxes. Some of the passages that mention his severity do not specify how he was severe, *e.g.* Hdt. v. 55, 62, vi. 123; Pseud. Plato, *Hipparchus*, 229 b. From Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 19, and Thucydides, vi. 59, we learn that his cruelty was visited upon those whom he suspected of complicity in the plot. It was undoubtedly the nobles who afterwards taught the commons of Athens that the tyranny was an evil. From them, therefore, they heard that it "became galling at last"; Thuc. vi. 53. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii. p. 75 f., states that the sentiment of the population turned against Hippias when he began to fortify for himself a castle outside the city. No authority is cited for this, and there probably is none.

[1] Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 13: *μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐποίησαν διαψηφισμὸν ὡς πολλῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς πολιτείας οὐ προσῆκον.* The usual word is *διαψήφισις*; cf. Sandys' edition, p. 53, n. on *διαψηφισμόν*.

[2] Metics could not acquire land in Attica without special permission; Thumser, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer* (1892) in Hermann's *Lehrb. d. Griech. Antiquitäten*, i[6]. p. 420, and n. 5; Busolt in Müller's *Hdb. d. klass. Altertums-wissenschaft*, iv[2]. (1892), p. 197.

[3] Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 334, n. 2, supposes that the *διαψηφισμός* came after the Cleisthenean reforms, and opposing it to the statement of Aristotle, *Politics* iii. 1, 10, p. 1275 b, 36 f., as to the enrollment of aliens and (manumitted) slaves, says the moment for such a measure was ill chosen. Very well, then, let us take Aristotle at his word and assign the *διαψηφισμός* to a moment not at all ill chosen, viz., (immediately) after the overthrow of the tyranny. It is well not to go too far out of the way in order to make an author contradict himself. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *op. cit.* ii. p. 76, places the *διαψηφισμός* immediately after the retirement of Cleisthenes, *i.e.* identifies it with the expulsion of the 700 families. But Herodotus gives an entirely different reason for their banishment, viz.,

## III. Cleisthenes and Isagoras.

Now if we have reasoned correctly thus far, it appears probable that this measure was passed through the influence, or at least with the consent, of Cleisthenes. From of old the Alcmeonidae were oligarchs in politics.[1] The father of Cleisthenes, Megacles, leader of the Paralians, it is true, favored a moderate or mixed form of government, such as that of Solon appears to have been.[2] But in the time immediately following the archonship of Solon the Alcmeonidae are placed among those parties who were dissatisfied with existing conditions and eager for change.[3] We may infer from Aristotle's account of the three local factions[4] that the Paralians were dissatisfied with Solon's measures because of the great losses they had suffered through the abolition of debts. We may safely say, therefore, that the Alcmeonidae favored merely those features of the Solonian reforms which were passed in the interest of commerce and the industries.[5] They cared nothing for the farmers. Otherwise, why did they not appear as champions of this party, and allow no room for the advancement of Pisistratus, their formidable rival? Certainly Herodotus[6] represents the organization of the Pediaeans and Paralians under their respective leaders as prior to Pisistratus' championship of the Diacrians. A third party was possible only because the interests of

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the Cylonian pollution. Aristotle is our only authority for this διαψηφισμός, and if there is no serious objection, we may allow him to give his reason for it, namely, that many persons were partaking in the franchise without having a right to it; *Ath. Const.* 13. These were supporters of Pisistratus, therefore, and not of Cleisthenes.

[1] Cf. W. Vischer, *Ueber die Stellung des Geschlechts der Alkmaioniden in Athen, Kleine Schriften* i. p. 400 ff.

[2] Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 13; Plutarch, *Solon* 13; cf. Arist. *Politics* ii. 12, p. 1273 b, 39. Further, if the Alcmeonidae were restored to civic rights by Solon's edict of amnesty, as appears probable (see below), they would be naturally inclined to favor his measures; cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *op. cit.* ii. p. 75.

[3] Plutarch, *Solon* 29.

[4] *Ath. Const.* 13; cf. Wright, *The Date of Cylon*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, iii. (1892), p. 56 and n. 1.

[5] Cf. Wright, *op. cit.* pp. 53, 57.

[6] i. 59.

a large class of citizens were not represented by either of the other parties.

Again, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, the maternal grandfather of the Athenian Cleisthenes, must have at heart entertained the utmost contempt for a considerable class of his subjects, — apparently the rural plebs, as indicated by the names which he gave their tribes, viz., Piglings, Donkeys, and Porkers,[1] although his line, the Orthagoridae, by an outward show of respect for popular rights, maintained their sovereignty for a remarkable length of time.[2] The Athenian Cleisthenes seems to have resembled his maternal grandfather.[3] Thus, the Athenian Cleisthenes at first disdained the commons.[4] He effected his return without their help or sympathy.[5] It was destined from the

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[1] Hdt. v. 68.

[2] Aristotle, *Politics* ix. 11, p. 1315 b, 11 ff.

[3] Cf. Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. (1886), p. 504, *English Translation*, i. (1894), p. 422.

[4] Hdt. v. 69.

[5] Isocrates, vii. 16 and xv. 232, represents the δῆμος as in exile in the time of the Pisistratidae (as in the time of the Thirty) and Cleisthenes (like Thrasybulus) as leader of the δῆμος on its return. I have no doubt that the parallel of the Thirty and Thrasybulus was in his mind. But, in point of fact, the δῆμος did not go into exile in the reign of the Pisistratidae, nor was it as leader of the δῆμος that Cleisthenes returned; but the democratic tendency of the measures which Cleisthenes felt himself compelled to introduce was a sufficient cause for the popular belief, represented by Isocrates, that Cleisthenes was a democrat originally and on principle. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii. p. 76 f., correctly appreciates the political attitude of Cleisthenes: "Es scheint aber durchaus nicht, dass die Athener mit Kleisthenes stark sympathisirten," and "Dieser aristokrat erst ist der vater der demokratie." Cf. Abbott, *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens* (1891), p. 12 f. On the other hand, Wilamowitz-Möllendorff misunderstands Isagoras: "Die wirren nach dem abzuge des Hippias . . . endeten nach jahresfrist damit, dass ein mann der reactionären adelspartei zum archon gewählt ward, der ein regiment ganz in Spartas sinne einzurichten sich anschickte." I wish here to lay emphasis on the fact that Cleisthenes' party was the aristocratic party, and that Isagoras was leader of those who had supported Hippias or had at least acquiesced in his rule. And Sparta's policy was not so homogeneous as might be supposed. Cleomenes was at strife with the ephors, and we must not suppose that his interference in Attica was in the interest of the Spartan oligarchy. It would seem rather that he was making use of the alliance with Isagoras to render himself more independent of the ephors. He would strongly object, therefore, to the establishment of an oligarchy in Athens.

beginning that the new government should be in the interest of the nobles, just as it had been in the time of Pisistratus' exile. Herodotus[1] represents the new era as one of freedom; but freedom was only for the nobles, as during the exile. Probably no thought of altering the constitution arose.[2] We may well imagine that the returned emigrants felt themselves masters of the state and carried things with a high hand.

Hippias was expelled early in the year 510 B.C.[3] The internal history of Athens for the two years following, 510/9 and 509/8, is nearly a blank. Two events only we are able to assign to these years. The first is the passage of the διαψηφισμός, already considered. The second event is the struggle between Cleomenes and Isagoras. This contest seems to have been factional rather than political, — a contest in which the machinations of clubs played an important part.[4]

Isagoras was of a noble family, it is true, but his ancestry beyond the father was unknown to Herodotus.[5] Aristotle[6] makes him a friend of the tyrants. He could not have been an active, useful ally, however, for he entertained Cleomenes and formed a lasting friendship with him while the latter was besieging Hippias in the Acropolis. Yet from this very circumstance it appears that Isagoras was not an emigrant and must, therefore, have been on amicable terms with the ruling family. Also, as an opponent of Cleisthenes, he no doubt was associated with the friends of Hippias who remained in Athens, and probably even became a leader of their party.[7] We understand from

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[1] v. 64.

[2] "Es ist auch ja an sich evident, dass die Verfassungsfrage sogleich nach der Befreihung erledigt werden musste"; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 338, n. 1. This is not at all evident. Through all the ten years of Pisistratus' (second?) exile, the question as to the constitution was not settled, — does not appear to have come up. No more need it after another exile, which proved to be final.

[3] Thucydides vi. 59; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 19, 21; notes in Sandys' edition, p. 75; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ii. p. 18; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². p. 397.

[4] Arist. *Ath. Const.* 20.

[5] v. 66.

[6] *Ath. Const.* 20.

[7] Cleisthenes opposed the tyrant's party not only while the tyrant was in power, but continued his opposition thereafter, — it was to rid the state of Hipparchus

Herodotus that the policy of Isagoras was by no means democratic, but rather that the people were not taken into account in the contest. The strife seems to have been for the archonship for the year 508/7, although even this is not expressly stated. Cleisthenes, worsted through the clubs (Aristotle), took the people into his club[1] (Herodotus), offering them the franchise (Aristotle). Here it becomes difficult to determine the order of events. As Aristotle in the main follows Herodotus, it seems to me best to begin the examination of the chronology by an analysis of the earlier source.

Herodotus states three separate times that Cleisthenes associated the people with himself:

(1) ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται· μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἐόντας, κτλ. v. 66.

(2) ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο. v. 69.

(3) ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. v. 69.

Between (1) and (2) he inserts an account of the tribal arrangements made in Attica by Cleisthenes, and in Sicyon by his maternal grandfather, also named Cleisthenes. Herodotus supposes that the Athenian Cleisthenes was in these arrangements simply imitating his grandfather. But the matter inserted between (1) and (2) is evidently a digression. In (2) he resumes what he has said in (1) and adds particulars in regard to the tribes, — their names, number, and composition.

Thus far Herodotus has not advanced a step. We have only learned that Cleisthenes at first attached the people to himself, and afterwards (μετὰ δὲ, v. 66) made these changes in the tribes.

Again, τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος in (3) is but a resumption of (2) and (1). Surely he attached the people to himself but once. The details as to the tribes between (2) and (3) are another digression, inseparably connected with the account of the tribes in Athens given

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that he introduced ostracism; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 22. Isagoras, as opponent of Cleisthenes, was compelled to make common cause with the tyrant's party.

[1] Cf. Oncken, *Staatslehre des Aristoteles*, ii. (1875), p. 454.

between (1) and (2). Further, (1), (2), and (3), so far as προσεταιρίζεται, προσεθήκατο, and προσθέμενος are concerned, refer to one and the same act.

But (3) is a repetition for a special purpose, — it shows the means by which he got the better of his political opponents, *i.e.*, not by constitutional changes, but by gaining over the people to his side.

It is important for us to determine the chronological order of three events mentioned:

(a) Winning the favor of the people.

(b) Victory over his opponents.

(c) Constitutional changes.

The only particles of time given with which we are concerned are μετὰ in (1) and ὡς (with the aorist) in (2). These show that (a) precedes (c) in time. A note of time is also indicated in the participle προσθέμενος in (3). This participle expresses the means by which Cleisthenes gained the superiority over his opponents. (a) is followed immediately therefore by (b). No note of time is given for the relation between (b) and (c), but from the preceding conclusion we should infer that the connection of (c) with (a) is more remote than the connection of (b) with (a); that accordingly (c) followed (b), and that the order of events is as above indicated, viz., (a), (b), and (c).

We come to this conclusion simply from the study of the language. The fact that (c) appears between (1) and (2) and again between (2) and (3) is unimportant. Digressions and repetitions in Herodotus are too frequent to require illustration.[1]

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[1] "Herodot erzählt die Verfassungsreform vor der Intervention des Kleomenes;" Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 338, n. 1. True, he narrates the reform of the constitution before the intervention of Cleomenes; but events do not always occur in the order in which they are narrated. If this were the case, we should have, for instance, the Cylonian insurrection following the overthrow of tyranny. Again, Beloch, *loc. cit.*, says, "übrigens sagt auch er (Aristoteles), dass Cleisthenes unmittelbar nach dem Sturz der Tyrannen προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον, ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ πλήθει τὴν πολιτείαν." This is incorrect. Aristotle does not say "*immediately* after the overthrow of the tyrants." Indeed, he asserts the contrary; he places the *factional strife* — ἐστασίαζον — and *the defeat of Cleisthenes* — ἡττώμενος δὲ ταῖς ἑταιρείαις — between the expulsion of the tyrants and the attachment of the people to Cleisthenes through an offer of the franchise.

With this result in mind, let us now continue our account of the events. It was said above that Isagoras as an enemy of Cleisthenes was leader of the tyrant's party. Undoubtedly this party centered in the Boule of the Areopagus. For a half century (with temporary interruption) this body had been filled, through the archonship, with partisans of the ruling family.[1] But it would be wrong to suppose that the Areopagites were now mostly nobles. No doubt many kinsmen of Hippias were members of the Boule of the Areopagus, but some of these had accompanied him into exile. Aside from this family, the Areopagites must have been for the most part insignificant men, who cared little for power or independence, but were willing to support Hippias or, in his absence, some other tyrant. Isagoras was aspiring to the tyranny. At least we find Cleomenes a little later endeavoring to establish him despot of Athens,[2] and there is no reason why Isagoras should not have entertained thoughts of absolute power from the beginning. Now that tyranny had lasted in Athens for fifty years, it may have seemed the more natural form of government. But in the case of Isagoras, it was not to be a popular tyranny, but was to depend rather upon the Lacedaemonian king for support. Cleomenes had no love for ephorate, double kingship, or oligarchy. His ambition was personal.

It is assumed by the moderns that the three hundred partisans of Isagoras were nobles. So far as I am aware this is a mere hypothesis, and on close scrutiny it is found to be wholly unsupported. Three hundred nobles would have presented an impassable obstacle in Isagoras' way to the tyranny. Besides, where did these three hundred nobles come from? If many Athenian nobles fell at Pallene and many went into exile with Megacles, could three hundred nobles still remain? Attica was a small poor country and could hardly have supported so many nobles. To me it seems that they were mostly Areopagites, mostly insignificant men, who were ready to support

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[1] "For as it was composed only of all the past archons, and as, during the preceding thirty years, every archon had been a creature of the Peisistratids, the Areopagites collectively must have been both hostile and odious to Kleisthenes and his partisans,—perhaps a fraction of its members might even retire into exile with Hippias;" Grote, *History of Greece*, iv. p. 149.

[2] Herodotus, v. 74.

Isagoras in his aims at the tyranny. Cleomenes attempted to place the offices in their hands. They would thus be only regaining what they had lost through the banishment of Hippias.[1]

Isagoras now held the archonship, 508/7.[2] Cleisthenes, the defeated candidate as we suppose, made a bargain with the people offering them the franchise in exchange for their support.[3] He may have

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[1] There are but two statements, so far as I know, touching Isagoras' political principles: the statement of Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 20, that he was a friend of the tyrants, and of Herodotus, v. 74, that Cleomenes was attempting to establish him tyrant at Athens. Neither of these statements would make him leader of an oligarchic reactionary party, as has been claimed. Cleomenes must have known that Isagoras aspired to the tyranny, for he would surely not think of acting against his friend's fixed principles. How early Isagoras began to entertain such aspirations cannot be ascertained from our present sources: yet certainly it was before he parted company with Cleomenes at Eleusis (?), and he may have set his heart on absolute power even from the downfall of Hippias. Those Athenians (undoubtedly including Isagoras) who accompanied Cleomenes as far as Eleusis and took up their abode under the protection of a Lacedaemonian garrison were condemned to death in their absence, their houses destroyed, their estates confiscated, and their names engraved on a bronze pillar set up near the Erechtheium, on the Acropolis; Schol. Aristoph. *Lysistrate*, 273. Thus they were punished as tyrants and as offenders against the gods. Again, the three hundred were called partisans of Isagoras (Hdt. v. 72) and friends of Isagoras (Arist. *Ath. Const.* 20; cf. Hdt. *loc. cit.*); but they are nowhere spoken of as nobles, or as entertaining oligarchic reactionary sentiments.

[2] But how he emphasized the importance of the archonship (Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii. p. 237, *English Translation*, ii. p. 207) I cannot imagine. All the offices declined under the tyranny, and naturally revived on its abolition. But we have no reason for attributing the revival of the archonship to Isagoras; it was only his struggle with Cleisthenes and the constitutional changes of the latter that made the year of his office memorable in history. It seems to me that he must have been elected to the archonship before Cleisthenes offered the franchise to the people, as there was no chance for him after this move. If it should be assumed that Isagoras was elected to the archonship through the influence of Cleomenes' presence in Athens, what, then, were the nature and occasion of Isagoras' previous victory and Cleisthenes' defeat? I know of no satisfactory answer to this question.

[3] The Alcmeonidae now occupied dangerous ground. From traditional principle they were oligarchs, — supporters of that part of the Solonian constitution which favored them politically and economically, but opposed, as we gather from their history, to the admission of the lower classes to the franchise. Now for policy's sake they favored democracy, — became leaders of the very party that had

done this through the Boule (of 400?),[1] filled as it was by lot and thus politically independent of Isagoras. To maintain himself in office, Isagoras now called on Cleomenes,[2] king of the Lacedaemo-

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supported the Pisistratidae, their deadliest foes. No wonder, then, that with this double motive the family became divided against itself. This explains why Megacles, nephew of Cleisthenes, was ostracised as a friend of the tyrants; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 22. Cleisthenes, himself, immediately after the adoption of his reforms disappears from history. Pausanias, i. 29. 6 (or his source), saw his tomb among the tombs of those who had fallen in defense of their country. It is likely, therefore, that he was slain in the war with Aegina, Chalcis, and Thebes, which immediately followed his reforms; for if he had lived, we should probably have heard of him. The idea that he was ostracised (Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 24) arose from a misunderstanding. Aelian probably supposed that his retirement on the interference of Cleomenes was brought about by a vote of ostracism; Oncken, *op. cit.* ii. p. 459.

[1] To assert, as Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 338, n. 1, does, that the Boule which Cleomenes attempted to dissolve was the Cleisthenean council of 500, is simply to beg the question. The settlement of this point depends entirely upon the chronology. Because no notice of the Boule of 400 appears between Solon and Cleisthenes, Niese, *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxix, (1892), p. 65 f., denies its existence. "Why," he asks, "did not Isagoras try to introduce it instead of the 300?" The answer to this question is, as I shall endeavor to show, that the Boule of 400 was the very Boule which Isagoras was trying in vain to put out of the way. But Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii[2]. p. 402, n. 6, assumes that the Solonian Boule was not well rooted in the people, and consequently never made itself felt. The Cleisthenean Boule, he says, *op. cit.* p. 46, n. 2, was more influential because it represented the demes. To this we may object, in the first place, that the Solonian Boule may have represented the naucraries (Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, ii. 1893, p. 659), and if it did, it ought to have been as influential as the Cleisthenean Boule. We know so little of the period between Solon and Pisistratus (594–60) that we are not in a position to judge of the influence of the Boule during this time. And, in the second place, I should like to inquire what was the great part which the Cleisthenean Boule played in the history of the next thirty or thirty-five years? It does not seem to be mentioned in connection with any important event; and were it not for inscriptions, we should hardly know of its existence in that time. It is unnecessary, however, to attribute high motives to the Boule which Isagoras attempted to dissolve. A sufficient reason for its resistance might be found in the attempt to dissolve it. Whatever its character, it must have preferred Cleisthenes' terms to absolute annihilation.

[2] In view of the democratic professions which Cleisthenes had now made, as well as in view of his actual later accomplishments, the intervention of Cleomenes was anti-democratic. So it was regarded by Aristophanes, *Lysistrate*, 276 ff.

nians, for help. Cleomenes dispatched a messenger to Athens warning "the Accursed" to depart. Hereupon Cleisthenes withdrew into exile. The rest of the story is clear.

From the very nature of the Cleisthenean reforms considerable time was required for putting them into effect. This is admitted by both Beloch[1] and Busolt.[2] They acknowledge that these reforms could be completed only after the overthrow of Isagoras. Now, the introduction of his tribes and demes would undoubtedly demand more time than any other part of the new arrangements. It seems quite certain that the tribes and demes, the essential part of his system, were not erected till after the overthrow of Isagoras.

Pollux[3] places the institution of the ten tribes in the archonship of Alcmeon. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff[4] makes this the first year of the new arrangement, 506/5, as he reckons; according to Busolt[5] it was 507/6. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff[6] believes that Pollux's source is the Attic "chronicle," and suggests that it was perfectly natural for Cleisthenes to provide a successor from his own gens. If this reasoning is correct, the Boule of 500, the ten tribes, and the demes do not come in before the year 507/6 or 506/5.

## IV. Beloch's View.

I wish now to call attention to the points which Beloch offers in favor of his view as stated in the introduction to this article, viz., that the trial of the Alcmeonidae took place after the adoption of the Cleisthenean constitutional reforms.

(1) The coincidence of circumstances in the two accounts.

The only coincidence is in the number three hundred. Beloch supposes that the three hundred followers of Isagoras were nobles; and if this were the case, the coincidence would indeed be striking. But I have already shown that there is no ground for this view, that

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[1] *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 338, n. 1.
[2] *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². p. 402, n. 6.
[3] viii. 110.
[4] *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii. pp. 81, 417, n.
[5] *Op. cit.* ii². p. 402, n. 6.
[6] *Op. cit.* ii. p. 417, n.

far more probably the partisans of Isagoras were insignificant men. Since, therefore, the three hundred mentioned by Aristotle and Plutarch were nobles, as expressly stated,[1] we have here a point of contrast rather than of likeness. Another point of contrast may be found in the nature of the two bodies. The three hundred who tried the Alcmeonidae were evidently a court; Isagoras' band was apparently a would-be Boule, whether modelled after the Boule of the Areopagus or some other body cannot be determined. I conclude that the coincidence in number may be purely accidental, as there seems to be no safe ground for assuming an historical relation.

(2) Myron's δημοτικόν.

In the trial of the Alcmeonidae Myron was accuser.[2] His δημοτικόν is given by Plutarch, and it is claimed that the accusation was brought after the ādoption of the Cleisthenean reforms, because it was only after Cleisthenes that the custom of adding the δημοτικόν was practised.[3] Beloch[4] supposes that Myron brought this action against the Alcmeonidae through a decree of the people, that the document with Myron's name and δημοτικόν was preserved, and that some Atthid-writer connected it immediately with the Cylonian sacrilege. Busolt,[5] following Beloch, supposes that the name Myron, the δημοτικόν, and the decree were engraved on a stone, and that this was used by the Atthid-writer in his story. These are assumptions without a particle of support. It was a case of impiety (ἀσέβεια),[6] and this came before the βασιλεύς,[7] and was tried certainly in the time of the orators, and probably earlier, before a Heliastic court.[8] If the Boule of the Areopagus tried the case, it was for a special

[1] Plutarch, *Solon*, 12; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 1; cf. Sandys' edition, p. 1, n. on ἀριστίνδην, and Kaibel, *Stil und Text der* Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία *des Aristoteles* (1893), p. 117.

[2] Arist. *Ath. Const.* 1; Plutarch, *Solon* 12.

[3] Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 21.

[4] *Griechische Geschichte*, i. p. 339, n. 1.

[5] *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². p. 209, n. 1.

[6] Grote, *History of Greece*, iii. p. 83; Meier and Schömann, *Der attische Process* (1893), p. 368 (Verletzung des ihnen [Tempel und Altäre] zukommenden Asylrechts), and n. 480.

[7] Meier and Schömann, *op. cit.* p. 62.

[8] *Id.* p. 373.

reason.[1] The punishment for such an offense was fining, exile, confiscation of property, or death.[2] Perpetual banishment is also mentioned.[3] If the case had been tried under the Cleisthenean constitution, it would have come, so far as we know, before a Heliastic court; but since, as I believe, it took place before the archonship of Solon, it was tried before a special court, *i.e.*, that of the three hundred nobles. In neither case would it be necessary that a decree of the people should be obtained. Especially if the trial was under the Cleisthenean constitution, it is highly improbable that either oligarchic reactionists or would-be tyrants would dare to bring such a measure before the people. We cannot believe the Athenians were so ungrateful as to expose their recent deliverers and benefactors to so great a risk of falling into perpetual exile.

However, even if Myron had brought a resolution before the assembly relating to the trial of the Alcmeonidae or on any subject whatever, his δημοτικόν would not have appeared on the record of the decree; for it was not till the fourth century B.C. that the δημοτικόν of the proposer was recorded.[4] Beloch's chief ground for his date of the trial is thus taken from him. It is strange that Busolt[5] should be convinced by Beloch's argument, since he is aware that "In den Volksbeschlüssen des 5. Jahrhunderts herrscht der Gebrauch des blossen Eigennamens vor, nur der γραμματεύς fügt sein δημοτικόν, bisweilen auch den Vatersnamen hinzu."[6]

But a sufficient reason for Myron's δημοτικόν can be given. In the first place we know that there were demes in Attica before Cleisthenes.[7] We know little of their nature, but they were at least locali-

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[1] *Id.* p. 374.

[2] *Id.* p. 375.

[3] *Id.* p. 375, n. 508 a; cf. p. 368, n. 477.

[4] Cf. Larfeld, in Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i². (1892), p. 560 ff.

[5] *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². pp. 209, n. 1 and 402, n. 6.

[6] *Id.* p. 410, n. 4.

[7] Herodotus, i. 60, 62; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 14; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24, 32. Phye of the time of Pisistratus was distinguished by the name of her deme, as we learn from Herodotus and Aristotle.

ties; and there is certainly no objection to supposing that a person might be distinguished unofficially by the name of his locality before Cleisthenes. But in Myron's case a special reason exists for associating him closely with the place of his abode. Myron belonged to the locality in which the Attic gens of the Lycomidae had its seat,[1] and was probably himself a member of this gens. We are led to this view especially by the fact that the cult of this gens was important for the atonement of the ἄγος.[2] According to Plutarch,[3] Themistocles also belonged to this gens. Leobotes of Agraule, an Alcmeonid, indicted Themistocles for treason[4] in return, it may have been, for the prosecution of the Alcmeonidae by Myron of Phlya. It is reasonable to suppose that the enmity between these two demes, Agraule and Phlya, led the Atthid-writer to add the δημοτικόν to Myron's name, which in its official use would have been an anachronism.

If, then, as is probable, Myron was connected with the Lycomidae, we have additional evidence that the trial did not take place in the time of Cleisthenes, for Myron would be performing a religious duty to his gens, and this motive would render unnecessary the supposition that he was acting as the tool of Isagoras and Cleomenes.

(3) The authority of Thucydides and Herodotus.

Thucydides[5] speaks of only two expulsions of the Alcmeonidae. After describing the Cylonian affair, and the curse which the Alcmeonidae incurred in consequence of the slaughter of the Cylonian party, he continues, ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιάζόντων, τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες [ἐξέβαλον].

It is not perfectly clear whether Thucydides intended to connect τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες . . . ἀνελόντες [ἐξέβαλον] with one or both of the preceding verbs (ἤλασαν, ἤλασε). Strict grammatical agreement,

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[1] Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie* (1889), p. 208 f.

[2] Cf. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 215; Diels, *Ueber Epimenides von Kreta, Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1891), pp. 390, n. 3, 391; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii². p. 209, n. 6 (at end).

[3] *Themistocles*, 1.

[4] *Id.* 23.

[5] i. 126.

if any importance is to be attached to such a thing in Thucydides, would require us to construe ἐλαύνοντες and ἀνελόντες with a plural verb.[1] In that case, the exhumation must have accompanied the first expulsion, and may have accompanied both. At all events, if the trial occurred shortly before the archonship of Solon, a generation must have passed since the commission of the sacrilege; and the ceremony of exhumation is applicable to this time, as many of the participants were dead.[2] There is no doubt that

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[1] It is even possible that when Thucydides wrote ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν, he intended to put the δὲ with κατῆλθον and express the act of Cleomenes in a separate sentence or omit it altogether, but that, changing his point of view, he threw the statement of this fact into a parenthesis, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ . . . στασιαζόντων. This would help to explain the distance of ἐλαύνοντες and ἀνελόντες from the verb with which they seem to be construed. My chief reason for believing ἤλασε δὲ καὶ . . . στασιαζόντων to be parenthetical is the subordinate nature of the fact which it expresses. Were any other people than the Lacedaemonians demanding the expulsion of Pericles, Cleomenes would hardly have been mentioned. And, in point of fact, it was a matter of curious interest rather than of real importance to one reading the causes of the Peloponnesian War, that a Lacedaemonian king once expelled the Alcmeonidae on the ground of religious pollution. I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Wright, for the suggestion of a parenthesis, but the reasoning here given is mine.

[2] Cauer, *Parteien und Politiker in Megara und Athen*, p. 64 f., holds that those who were really guilty (including a few Alcmeonidae perhaps, but by no means Alcmeon) were indeed banished before Solon, that the whole gens of the Alcmeonidae was expelled by Pisistratus, who was the first to make a pretext of the Cylonian curse, and that finally the Spartan Cleomenes was so brutal as to disturb the peace of the dead. Cauer, misunderstanding the nature of the charge brought against the Alcmeonidae, supposes, therefore, that they were not included in Solon's edict of amnesty, and tries to explain the presence of Alcmeon in Athens after the archonship of Solon. When it becomes known that the offense was impiety, not murder, the motive of Cauer's hypothesis vanishes. I do not find anything in favor of his climax but its attractive appearance. In order to build it up, he disposes quite arbitrarily of the material furnished by Isocrates and Plutarch. Isocrates is notably uncritical, and no great weight is to be attached to his views of early Attic history. The ceremony of exhuming the bones belongs to the religious sphere. Is it not probable that the Athenian idea of the solidarity of the family (living and dead) was as clear cut in the time of Solon as in the time of Cleisthenes? It seems to me that the age which gave birth to the ceremonial court of the Prytaneium would not hesitate to execute a judicial sentence on the bones of the dead. When the precedent was once established, the ceremony

Aristotle [1] and Plutarch [2] believed that the Alcmeonidae were tried before Solon's archonship.

Again, Thucydides says that the Athenians expelled them. He contrasts this with their later expulsion by Cleomenes and his Athenian partisans. This language could not apply to the retirement of the Alcmeonidae after the battle of Pallene. Pisistratus with his foreign mercenaries and allies could not be called Athenians any more than Cleomenes with his Athenian partisans. Herodotus says that after the battle of Pallene the Alcmeonidae and others fled (ἔφευγον) from the country. The word might signify 'were banished,' but there is nothing to lead us to interpret it so. Pisistratus had retired from the country when his two political opponents combined against him. Now that he, through his mercenaries and allies, had proved superior to his political opponents, they must retire. It would have been unsafe for them to wait for a trial.

Thucydides' statement that the Athenians expelled these, and that subsequently (ὕστερον) Cleomenes expelled them, deserves attention. We should judge from the word ὕστερον that the first expulsion took place in immediate connection with its cause, and therefore not so late as the battle of Pallene.

Thucydides mentions only two expulsions because he is dealing only with the curse and its effects. It required no curse to drive Pisistratus into exile; it would require none to cause the retirement of his opponents defeated in battle.[3]

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could in after generations be repeated on one or many occasions without any necessity of recurring to the same old bones; cf. Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 64 f.: "Wo bekam man nur immer die alten Knochen wieder her, welche schon wiederholt über die Grenze geworfen waren?"

[1] *Ath. Const.* 1.

[2] *Solon* 12. Aristotle and Plutarch are not independent authorities on this point. Either Plutarch drew indirectly from Aristotle (cf. Wright, *op. cit.* p. 25 and n. 3), or the two accounts go back to a common Atthidic source (Androtion?).

[3] The part of this paper which deals with Beloch's third point was, in the main, prepared before the appearance of Busolt's second volume (*Griechische Geschichte*, ii². (1895) p. 209, n. 1), and I find myself in agreement with him.

# THE SALIVA SUPERSTITION IN CLASSICAL LITERATURE.[1]

By Frank W. Nicolson.

WE learn from various passages in Greek and Latin writers that the ancients believed in the efficacy of human spittle to cure certain complaints, and in man's power to avert ill-luck by the mere act of spitting. Some of these superstitious beliefs have come down to us, more or less changed, and may be found among the common people in various parts of the world to-day. I have examined and classified the various passages in Greek and Latin which bear upon this subject; and in this paper an attempt will be made to show that these references to spitting, diverse and irreconcilable in their nature as they may seem, may all be explained as traceable to an original belief in the deadly or prohibitive nature of human spittle, when employed against certain of the lower animals. I shall endeavor to show that belief in the physical qualities of saliva, as a curative agency, and faith in its powers when employed symbolically in various forms of magic and witchcraft, had their origin in this original notion of *prohibition;* in other words, that just as the Greeks and Romans used to spit towards or upon a serpent or a toad to kill it

[1] Various forms of superstition concerning spitting and the uses of human spittle have been recently discussed by J. E. Crombie, in *Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891, and later by E. S. Hartland, in his *Legend of Perseus*, vol. II, pp. 258 *sq.* Both of these interesting articles treat the subject from the standpoint of the specialist in folk-lore, and in neither case is an effort made to present all the evidence to be found in Greek and Latin literature. An attempt is made in this paper to present such evidence in a complete form. The theory here advanced to account for the many varying forms of the superstition, coming as it does from one who is comparatively ignorant of folk-lore, may be taken for what it is worth. It suggested itself to the writer, after a somewhat careful comparative study of all the passages in question, as the only one applicable to all the instances of the superstition occurring in the classics.

or to keep it at a distance, so they used to spit symbolically to ward off the approach of disease or of any vaguer evil that threatened their superstitious minds.

## I. Physical Qualities of Spittle.

### 1. *Deadly and Prohibitive Qualities.*

Belief in the deadly power of human spittle, especially when applied to serpents, but also to various other of the lower animals and even to man himself, seems to have been quite as general among the ancients as the belief in its curative power. The following passages from both Greek and Latin writers may illustrate.

Aelian thinks there is in man, as well as in serpents, a certain mysterious virus, the existence of which may be proved as follows: *ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τις ἰὸς ἀπόρρητος, καὶ πεφώραται τὸν τρόπον ἐκεῖνον. ἔχιν εἰ λάβοις καὶ πάνυ εὐλαβῶς τε καὶ ἐγκρατῶς τοῦ τραχήλου κατάσχοις, καὶ διαστήσας τὸ στόμα εἶτα αὐτῷ προσπτύσειας, ἐς τὴν νηδὺν κατολισθάνει τὸ πτύαλον, καὶ γίνεταί οἱ τοσοῦτον κακὸν ὡς σήπειν τὸν ἔχιν. ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ δῆγμα ἀνθρώπου μιαρόν ἐστι καὶ κινδυνώδες οὐδενὸς θηρίου μεῖον* (*Hist. An.* ii. 24).

Agatharchides, according to Pliny, attributed this virus to one particular race: "Similis et in Africa gens Psyllorum fuit, ut Agatharchides scribit. . . . Horum corpori ingenitum fuit uirus exitiale serpentibus et cuius odore sopirent eas. Mos uero liberos genitos protinus obiciendi saeuissimis earum, eoque genere pudicitiam coniugum experiendi, non profugientibus adulterino sanguine natos serpentibus" (*N. H.* vii. 14). But in the same book Pliny himself attributes this power to all men: "Et tamen omnibus hominibus contra serpentes inest uenenum: feruntque ictos saliua (ictum saliuae?) ut feruentis aquae contactum fugere. Quod si in fauces penetrauerit, etiam mori: idque maxime humani ieiuni oris" (*N. H.* vii. 15).

In another book Pliny quotes another authority for the same belief: "Opilius (tradit) serpentes (rumpi) si quis in hiatum earum exspuat" (*N. H.* xxviii. 38).

In the notes on this passage in the Delphin edition two other ancient authorities are quoted: "Sola ieiuni hominis saliua absque

ulla incantatione scorpionem interemptum scire se ait Aëtius de Re Med. II. 107" (Note to Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 38). "Habdarrahmanus Aegyptius, interprete Ecchellensi, Cap. I., p. 2.: Si quis ieiunus exspuit super scorpionem, interimit illum" (Note to Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 38).

It is clear from the above passages, and especially from the use of the words *ἰός*, *uirus*, and *uenenum*, that the ancients considered the deadly qualities of human spittle to be due to a resemblance in nature between it and the virus of serpents. It is interesting to note, though not easy of explanation, that the element of fasting enters largely into the deadly powers of spittle. Its relation to the curative powers we shall notice later.

Human spittle being thus dangerous to serpents, the natural result is that they avoid it, "as they would hot water," Pliny says, in a quotation given above. They flee even from the smell of it:

> *πολλάκι καὶ βροτέων σιάλων ὑποέτρεσαν ὀδμήν.*
>
> Nicander, *Theriaca*, 86.

(Cf. also Agatharchides, quoted by Pliny above, "cuius odore sopirent eas.")

Aristotle says it is dangerous to most venomous creatures: *πάντων δὲ χαλεπώτερά ἐστι τὰ δήγματα τῶν ἰοβόλων, ἐὰν τύχῃ ἀλλήλων ἐδηδοκότα, οἷον σκορπίον ἔχις. ἔστι δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν πολέμιον τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πτύελον* (*Hist. An.* viii. 29); and Aelian suggests that it is their sting that is particularly affected: *ἀνθρώπου δὲ σιάλῳ καταπτύοντός* (*φασι*) *ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ κέντρον* (*τῆς ἀσπίδος*), *καὶ μαλκίειν καὶ ἐς τὴν πληγὴν ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι* (*Hist. An.* ix. 4).

It is not only serpents, however, upon which man's spittle has a deadly effect, though, to be sure, most of the references point to them; but certain other of the lower animals, especially such as inspire loathing, as, for instance, centipedes and toads, may be destroyed by being spit upon. Aelian mentions the sea centipede (*scolopendra*) in this connection: *σκολόπενδρα θαλαττία διαρρήγνυται, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρώπου προσπτύσαντος αὐτῇ* (*Hist. An.* iv. 22).

Pliny makes the same statement on the authority of Marcion of Smyrna, and adds the toad to the list, on the same authority: "Marcion Smyrnaeus, qui de simplicibus effectibus scripsit, rumpi

scolopendras marinas sputo tradit, item rubetas aliasque ranas" (*N. H.* xxviii. 38).

It will be noticed that the verb "burst" is used in both cases. The superstition in precisely this form, though with the addition of the element of fasting, previously noticed, is found in one of Fletcher and Massinger's plays:

> Let him but fasting spit upon a toad
> And presently it bursts and dies.
>
> *A Very Woman*, iii. 1.

Aelian, discussing the wisdom of goats, says that they know very well that man's spittle is dangerous to other animals, and so avoid it. The passage reads as follows: *σοφὰ δὲ αἰγῶν ἐστι καὶ ἐκεῖνα. πτύελον ἀνθρώπου θανατηφόρον εἶναι ζῴῳ ἑτέρῳ καλῶς ἴσασι καὶ φυλάττονται, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρώμεθα ἀποδιδράσκειν ὅσα ἀνθρώπῳ κακόν ἐστιν, εἴπερ οὖν ἀπογεύσαιτο αὐτῶν. ἤδη μέντοι τις καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοῶν καὶ λαθών τι κακὸν κατέπιεν, αἱ δὲ αἶγες, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὰς λάθοι τὸ προειρημένον. [ἀποκτείνειν δὲ καὶ τὰς θαλαττίας σκολοπένδρας τὸ αὐτὸ δήπου πτύελον δεινότατόν ἐστι.] μέλλουσα δὲ ἡ αἶξ ἀποσφάττεσθαι, σαφῶς οἶδε· καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τροφῆς προσάψαιτο* (*Hist. An.* vii. 26).

The sentence bracketed contains simply the statement made by Aelian in a previous book (iv. 22) and quoted above. It is clearly out of place in this passage. I regard it simply as a gloss on the words *πτύελον ἀνθρώπου θανατηφόρον ζῴῳ ἑτέρῳ* of the previous sentence, which crept into the text, and that, too, in the wrong place.

Finally, although the ancients attributed to human spittle many curative powers, as will be seen later, they believed no less strongly that if one man bit another, the bite was likely to prove fatal, owing to the deadly influence of this very same spittle, also esteemed curative.

In a passage already quoted (p. 24), Aelian affirms that while man's spittle is poisonous enough to kill a snake, it is equally effective against a fellow-man, and that therefore the bite of a man is as dangerous as that of any wild beast. Pliny and Celsus add their testimony to the dangerous nature of a man's bite: "Morsus hominis inter asperrimos quoque numeratur. Medentur sordes ex auribus; . . . melius e percussi auribus prosunt" (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii.

40); "Sequitur ut de iis (uulneribus) dicam quae morsu fiunt, interdum hominis, interdum simiae, saepe canis. . . Omnis autem fere morsus habet quoddam uirus" (Cels. *de Med.* v. 27).

Albertus Magnus gives an instance of such poisoning on the supposed authority of Aristotle (the work referred to is not genuine), and adds a reason for considering it possible: "Sed de mirabilibus quae uisa sunt in talibus est unum quod refert Aristoteles, in libro de regimine dominorum, quem scripsit ad Alexandrum: quod uidelicet puella missa fuit Alexandro ex cuius morsu moriebantur homines, sicut ex morsu serpentum: et humor saliualis in ipsa fuit uenenum. Et possibilitas huius probatur ex eo quod sagitta intincta in saliuam hominis ieiuni intoxicatur, quando uulnerat alium" (*de Anim. Tract.* vii. 2. 5).

We may note in this connection the superstition prevalent in the Southern States, that the bite of a "blue-gum" negro is deadly.

### 2. *Curative Qualities.*

Several passages indicate clearly a belief in the benign medicinal influence of human spittle in certain complaints. Pliny states that eruptions of the skin, leprosy, inflammation of the eyes, and cancer may all be avoided by its use: "Credamus ergo lichenas leprasque ieiunae (*sc.* saliuae) illitu assiduo arceri: item lippitudines, matutina quoque uelut inunctione: carcinomata, malo terrae subacto" (*N. H.* xxviii. 37). Note the use of *arceri* as suggesting prohibition.

Pliny also suggests a method to cure incipient boils: "(Mos est) incipientes furunculos ter praesignare ieiuna saliua" (*N. H.* xxviii. 36). In a note on this passage in the Delphin edition Habdarrahmanus the Egyptian is quoted on the authority of Ecchellensis as advising the application of "fasting spittle" (*sputum ieiuni*) to tumors. Another note in the same edition gives, though it does not support, a suggested explanation for these cures: "Quam uim saliuae tribuunt ad eleuandam ulcerum malignitatem, illius sane origo est quod sodii et potassialis hydrochlorati saliuae inest: at uis illa quantula est, si est!" (Note to Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 35).

It will be noticed that in the cases already mentioned, as well as in those that follow, a preference is shown for the spittle of a fasting

person (*ieiunus*). An attempt has been made to explain this, in accordance with the suggestion in the quotation last given, by means of a theory that the spittle of one who has fasted for some time is salter than that of one who has recently dined, there being less water in his system!

There seems to have been a belief that human spittle would cure snake bites. Habdarrahmanus, already quoted, says so (*loc. cit.*); and Pliny (*N. H.* vii. 13) quotes Varro as authority for the story that there was a people in Asia Minor called the Ophiogenes, "quorum saliuae contra ictus serpentium medeantur."

Pliny's recommendation of the use of spittle to cure inflammation of the eyes (*lippitudo*) is given above. In the same book of his Natural History, a few chapters later, we read: "Mulieris quoque saliuam ieiunae potentem diiudicant cruentatis oculis" (*N. H.* xxviii. 76).

I have nowhere found a claim made by an ancient writer that the use of spittle will cure total blindness; but in the miracle of the restoration of sight by Christ to the blind man, as recounted by St. Mark and St. John, and in the almost equally famous story told by Tacitus and Suetonius of the healing of the blind Alexandrian by the Emperor Vespasian, it will be noticed that the use of spittle plays a prominent part. The Biblical narratives are as follows:

"And he took the blind man by the hand and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw aught." St. Mark, viii. 23.

"When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay." St. John, ix. 6.

Incidentally may be mentioned a recommendation of the use of clay in eye troubles by Serenus Sammonicus, the physician:

> Si tumor insolitus typho se tollat inani
> Turgentes oculos uili circumline caeno.
>
> *De Med. Praec.* 225, 226.

Cf. also the use of clay made with spittle in sorcery (p. 40).

Tacitus's account of Vespasian's reputed miracle begins as follows: "E plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus genua eius

(Vespasiani) aduoluitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabaturque principem ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento" (*Hist.* iv. 81).

This is the complete account as given by Suetonius in a more concise form: "E plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem (Vespasianum) pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem ualetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem: restiturum oculos, si inspuisset: confirmaturum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum uix fides esset ullo modo rem successuram, ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet, extremo hortantibus amicis palam pro contione utrumque tentauit, nec euentus defuit" (*Vesp.* 7). Cf. a parallel story told of Hadrian by Spartianus (*Hadr.* 25).

In the Biblical narratives the employment of spitting may be purely symbolical on the part of the performer of the miracle, though it seems to depend for its force upon some underlying superstition of the people: but in the profane history the request for the use of spittle comes in both authors from the blind man himself, which seems to show a belief, more or less general, that blindness could be cured by the proper use of spittle by the proper person.

Another Biblical instance of the use of spittle for a purely symbolical purpose in the process of curing is in the miracle of the restoration of hearing to the deaf man. St. Mark's account is as follows:

"And he took him (the deaf-and-dumb man) aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spit, and touched his tongue (καὶ πτύσας ἥψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ), and looking up to heaven he sighed, and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is, Be opened." St. Mark, vii. 33, 34.

The use of spittle in the rite of baptism in the Roman Catholic church seems to be based upon this narrative. After the ceremony of making the "sign of the cross," the priest recites an exorcism, touches the ears and the nostrils of the candidate for baptism with a little spittle, and says: "*Ephpheta, quod est adaperire, in odorem suauitatis; tu autem effugare, diabole; adpropinquabit enim iudicium Dei.*" Here the element of prohibition is strongly marked.

## II. Symbolical Qualities of Spittle.

### 1. *Its Use in Medicine and Healing.*

In all the cases above given involving the curative powers of saliva, it seems to have been applied directly to the parts affected by disease. The number of instances is greater, however, in which the healing is represented as due not to the physical, but to a symbolical use of saliva. Erasmus thus refers to its magical use in medicine: "Et in admouendis remediis ter exspuere, habebatur salutare" (*Chil. Prouerb.* s. v. *despuere malum*).

Pliny's words imply even a more general resort to this custom: "Et iam eadem ratione (*i.e.* spuendo) terna despuere deprecatione in omni medicina mos est, atque ita effectus adiuuare" (*N. H.* xxviii. 36).

He gives three specific cases where the custom may be employed to advantage:

"(Folia urticae) praecipua contra tumores feruoresque et collectiones cum axungia uetere tusa, ita ut ferro non attingatur; qui perunctus est despuit (despuat?) ad suam dexteram ter. Efficacius remedium esse aiunt si tres quoque trium nationum homines perungant dextrorsus" (*N. H.* xxiv. 172).

"Erigeron a nostris uocatur senecio. Hanc si ferro circumscriptam effodiat aliquis, tangatque ea dentem, et alternis ter despuat, ac reponat in eundem locum ita ut uiuat herba, aiunt dentem eum postea non doliturum" (*N. H.* xxv. 167).

"Panos sanat . . . uerbascum cum sua radice tusum, uino aspersum, folioque inuolutum, et ita in cinere calefactum ut imponatur calidum. Experti affirmauere plurimum referre si uirgo imponat nuda, ieiuna ieiuno, et manu supina tangens dicat, 'Negat Apollo pestem posse crescere cui nuda uirgo restinguat,' atque ita retrorsa manu ter dicat, totiesque despuant ambo" (*N. H.* xxvi. 92, 93).

The custom of spitting upon an individual attacked with epilepsy, or upon one's own breast at sight of an epileptic, is attested by several passages in the ancient writers. That spitting in this case was not intended to be curative, but was merely symbolical, is proved by the fact that the superstitious man did not always spit upon the

epileptic, but sometimes into his own breast. The purpose of spitting was, we are told by Pliny, to keep off contagion: "Despuimus comitiales morbos, hoc est, contagia regerimus" (*N. H.* xxviii. 35).

With the idea of "driving back" implied in *regerimus*, cf. [*despuendo*] *fascinationes repercutimus* (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 35), quoted below.

The idea of the ancients was not that by spitting upon an epileptic they kept him at a distance, and so avoided mere physical contact; but the spitting had a purely symbolical intention, for they followed the same custom in the case of a madman, whose disease could certainly not be caught by mere physical contact: ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις (δόξειεν εἶναι)ο ἷος . . . μαινόμενόν τε ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον, φρίξας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι (Theoph. *Charact., de Superst., fin.*).

The explanation seems rather to be this. Epilepsy, variously named *morbus sacer, diuus, demoniacus, Herculeus, comitialis, caducus, lunaticus astralis, maior*, was one of the most mysterious and most dreaded diseases of the ancients. As the first three of the above epithets imply, it was regarded as a direct visitation from the gods, and the unfortunate epileptic was looked upon as "possessed with a devil." Madness and a few other forms of disease were explained in the same way, but epilepsy, being the most dreaded of all, was regarded as the demoniacal disease, *par excellence*. Assuming the truth of the theory which this paper aims to support, — that of the prohibitive qualities of human spittle symbolically used, — nothing could be more natural than that a superstitious man, believing in these qualities, when he met an epileptic, or saw one fall in a fit, should spit upon him or upon his own breast, to keep the devil that was in the man from seizing upon himself also.

The most common name of the disease was *morbus comitialis*, which Erasmus is careful to explain was not given to it because the sick man was more liable to be taken with it in a crowd, but because the occurrence of this ominous disease on the day of the comitia was sufficient to cause a postponement of the meeting (see Festus, s. v. *prohibere*): "(Veteres) sibi persuaserant desputationem esse remedium aduersus imminentia mala, praecipue aduersus morbum comitialem: cui non hinc tantum est nomen inditum quod in hominum frequentia saepius aboriatur, uerum etiam quod prohibeat comitia fieri" (*Chil. Prouerb.* s. v. *despuere malum*).

A well-known reference to the custom of spitting upon an epileptic is found in Plautus:

TY. Hegio, istic homo rabiosus habitus est in Alide:
. . . . . .
Et illic isti qui sputatur morbus interdum uenit.
. . . . . .
AR. Et (ain) eum morbum mi esse, ut qui med opus sit insputarier?
HE. Ne uerere: multos iste morbus homines macerat,
Quibus insputari saluti fuit atque is profuit.

*Capt.* 547 *sq.*

In the following passage the verb *despuo* seems to carry a double meaning, the primary reference being to the custom under consideration, with a subordinate idea of spitting as a sign of contempt: "Neque enim grauius est corpore quam corde collabi, pede potius quam mente corruere, in cubiculo despui quam in isto splendidissimo coetu detestari" (Apul. *Apol.* 489).

Finally, we learn on the authority of Pliny that quails (*coturnices*) are the only creatures to share with man liability to this dread disease; for which reason, as well as on account of their fondness for poison as food, they do not appear upon the table: "Coturnicibus ueneni semen gratissimus cibus; quam ob causam eas damnauere mensae, simulque comitialem propter morbum despui suetum, quem solae animalium sentiunt praeter hominem" (*N. H.* x. 69).

With the above instances of the ancient custom of spitting upon an epileptic may be compared the following account of a Viennese custom as given by Blaas, *Volksth. aus Niederösterreich* (*Germ.* xxix. 86): "Damit ein Gelbsüchtiger seine Krankheit verliere, soll man ihm, wenn man ihm begegnet, in's Gesicht spucken." (So also Wuttke, *Der Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 333.)

The following passages seem to combine both the curative and the symbolical element. The first three have to do with healing. Pliny gives this remedy for a pain in the neck: "(Credamus) ceruicis dolorem (arceri), saliua ieiuni dextra manu ad dextrum poplitem relata, laeua ad sinistrum" (*N. H.* xxviii. 37).

The same cure occurs in a slightly different form in Marcellus Empiricus: "Ad ceruicum dolores remedium physicum sic: ieiunus

dextram manum saliua tange, et dextrum poplitem perfrica: deinde sinistra manu sinistrum: et hoc ter per singulos poplites facito, statim remediabis" (*de Med.* xviii. 4).

The second remedy is to be applied when one's arm or leg has "gone to sleep": "Salpe (scripsit) torporem sedari quocumque membro stupente, si quis in sinum exspuat, aut si superior palpebra saliua tangatur" (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 38).

The next remedy is for mental troubles: "Alius saliua post aurem digito relata sollicitudinem animi propitiat" (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 25).

It will be noticed that in none of these three cases is the spittle to be applied directly to the part affected. While there may be in each case an underlying notion of its curative power, it is pretty clear that the use of it in all three is symbolical. And however much or little the curative power of spittle is in question, its prohibitive nature is here very strongly marked. In each instance some troublesome thing has to be kept off or driven away, whether pain from the neck, or torpor from the limbs, or anxiety from the mind. A modern parallel to the second instance is to be found in the custom of small boys in various parts of the country, who spit on their legs when they go in swimming, "to keep away the cramps."

If an insect crawls into the ear, here is a method for getting it out: "Si quod animal aurem intrauerit et inspuatur, exire (credamus)" (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 37).

As we cannot expect to spit upon the creature itself under these circumstances, the act must be in this case also prohibitive, rather than either curative or deadly. We must suppose that the insect, knowing the deadly nature of human spittle, seeks to escape at once from the dangerous locality, and its only way to escape is to come out.

The most difficult passage of all is the following. Pliny tells us that if one is sorry for a blow which he has given to any creature, and will spit into the middle of the hand which gave the blow, the suffering victim will be immediately freed from pain: "Mirum dicemus sed experimento facile: si quem paeniteat ictus eminus cominusue illati, et statim exspuat mediam in manum qua percussit, leuatur ilico percussus a poena. Hoc saepe delumbata quadrupede approbatur, statim a tali remedio correcto animalis ingressu" (*N. H.* xxviii. 36).

It is plain that in this case also the curative element is merely employed symbolically, for the injured animal may be some distance away when the cure is attempted, and in any case the spitting is into the hand, and not upon the animal. The action of spitting is purely symbolical and prohibitive, and its object is to drive away pain from the animal.

But Pliny adds to this passage something which is less easy of explanation. He says that some increase the force of a blow before giving it, by spitting on the hands in the same way: "Quidam uero aggrauant ictus, ante conatum simili modo saliua in manu ingesta" (*N. H.* xxviii. 37).

At first sight this looks like a case merely of bad reasoning: if we can diminish the force of a blow after it is given by spitting on the hand that gave it, conversely we can increase the force of a blow before giving it by following the same method. Yet even here the prohibitive theory of symbolical spitting is as applicable as in many of the cases we have discussed. For it may be said that just as in the use of drugs or charms we spit to keep away any bad influence which would spoil the effect of the drug or the charm, so here we spit on our hand before giving a blow, to keep off anything that would tend to weaken the effect of the blow. This seems rather a far-fetched explanation of the reason why spade-laborers, for instance, spit constantly upon their hands. One would naturally say that the explanation was purely a physical one,—they spit to moisten the hand and so secure a firmer grasp of the implement they are using. Yet there are cases where the action seems purely symbolical, as, for instance, when a man dares another to "come on," and by way of preparation, and of enforcing the power of his blows, "rolls up his sleeves and spits on his hands."

In nearly all the instances given above of the use of human spittle for the purpose of healing, whether such use appears directly curative or merely symbolical, it is easy to trace the idea of *prohibition.* Many of the words employed in the various passages themselves suggest it, and to some cases of this character attention has been called. The use of spittle in healing may have been originally purely symbolical, being directed against some unknown bad influence or spirit which might be supposed to be endeavoring to counter-

act the good effects of the drugs employed, or against the disease itself, or perhaps against Death. This negative prohibitory notion would tend in time to assume in the minds of the people a positive form, and they would come to regard that which kept disease away as itself an active curative principle.

### 2. *To Avert Evil Influences of Various Sorts.*

Having observed the belief of the ancients to be that they could not only keep off from themselves and even kill serpents and other loathsome animals merely by spitting towards or upon them, but could also keep off or cure certain diseases by the use of spittle, we may now notice certain other symbolical uses of spitting by the superstitious Greeks and Romans. It will be seen that they all contain the idea of *prohibition*, and so may be explained in accordance with the physical views above indicated; that is, the Greeks and Romans used to spit, symbolically, to keep off any evil suggested by their superstitious minds, just as they used to spit, physically, upon or toward a noxious animal to keep it away from them.

Erasmus states the custom plainly, as follows: "Manet et hodie in uulgi moribus ut si quid audiant execrandum quod sibi nolint euenire, despuant uelut abominantes. Id autem haesit ex ueterum superstitione, qui sibi persuaserant desputationem esse remedium aduersus imminentia mala" (*Chil. Prouerb.* s. v. *despuere malum*).

Old women are always more given to superstition than younger people, and so Theocritus and Persius make special mention of them in this connection:

> ἄμμιν δ' ἀσυχία τε μέλοι γραία τε παρείη
> ἅτις ἐπιφθύζοισα τὰ μὴ καλὰ νόσφιν ἐρύκοι.
>
> Theoc. *Idyll.* vii. 127.

> Ecce auia aut metuens diuum matertera cunis
> Exemit puerum, frontemque atque uda labella
> Infami digito et lustralibus ante saliuis
> Expiat, urentis oculos inhibere perita. Pers. ii. 31.

Here the "grandmother or superstitious aunt" acts for the child, which is not yet old enough to spit for itself and so keep off the "evil eye."

A parallel to this custom is found in the rite of baptism in the Roman Catholic church, already referred to (p. 29). Here the spittle is used in its double character, both curative and prohibitive; for the priest not only touches the child's ears and nostrils with spittle, and says Ephphatha, etc., but he also recites an exorcism, and adds to the prayer for the opening of the ears the apostrophe, "But be thou put to flight, O Devil, for the judgment of God will be at hand."

We have seen from a passage of Erasmus, quoted above, that the ancients used to spit, as if to avert the omen, when they heard anything which served to call up to their minds the idea of misfortune or trouble. The prohibitive idea which we are trying to illustrate is well shown in this passage from Seneca: "Quis umquam uestrum de exilio, de egestate, de luctu cogitare ausus est? Quis non si admoneatur ut (de his?) cogitet, tamquam dirum non respuat, et in capita inimicorum aut ipsius intempestiui monitoris abire illa iubeat?" (*Consol. ad Marciam*, ix.) In the same way the common people of Germany are accustomed at the present day to spit on the mention of illness or misfortune.

Pliny tells us that by spitting we may preserve ourselves from witchcraft, and the ill effects which naturally follow from meeting a man lame in the right leg: "Simili modo (*i.e.* despuendo) et fascinationes repercutimus dextraeque clauditatis occursum" (*N. H.* xxviii. 35). Notice in this instance the emphatic verb used (*repercutimus*) as if of "driving back" a creature approaching one.

The three following cases may be considered together:—

A nurse in charge of a sleeping infant, on the approach of a stranger, spits towards him (not upon him), as if to keep off from the child a possibly evil influence: "Nos si haec, et illa credamus rite fieri: extranei interuentu, aut si dormiens spectetur infans, a nutrice terna aspui" (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 39). The Russian nurse of to-day, in a like case, spits in the stranger's face (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. p. 923).

A maiden who rejects a rough country lover spits upon her own

breast (not upon him), as a sign of loathing, and to keep off the omen implied by his hateful presence:

τοιάδε μυθίζοισα τρὶς εἰς ἐὸν ἔπτυσε κόλπον.

Theoc. *Idyll.* xx. 11.

A crowd of boisterous youths, mocking an old lover who comes in his dotage to pay court to his mistress, in order to avert from themselves the ill omen implied in this preposterous love, spit, not upon the old man, but each upon his own breast:

Hunc puer, hunc iuuenis turba circumterit arta,
Despuit in molles et sibi quisque sinus. Tib. i. 2. 96.

It is to be noticed that in the last three instances the actors do not spit upon the person who inspires their fear or loathing. Such an act was common enough, and implied merely contempt for the person so treated. In these three cases the idea is prohibition, — of the approach of the stranger in the first case, of the approach of misfortune, as implied in an ill omen, in the other two; and so the spitting is in all three purely symbolical, in the first case *towards* the stranger, in the others upon the breasts of the actors themselves. Cf. with the last three passages a somewhat parallel case in Maximianus (*El.* ii. 11–13). See also Becker, *Charicles*, I[3], 240–242.

### 3. *To Avert the Approach of Nemesis.*

The ancients lived in constant dread of Nemesis, the goddess of justice, who might at any moment change their good-fortune to ill, as a punishment for some previous crime. The approach of this avenging goddess they conceived might be warded off by spitting upon the breast:

ὡς ἀγαθὴ θεός ἐστι, δι' ἣν ὑπὸ κόλπον, Ἀλεξί,
πτύομεν, ὑστερόπουν ἀζόμενοι Νέμεσιν.

*Anth. Pal.* xii. 229.

Compare also this passage from Lucian:

καὶ ἐψκει ἡ Ἀδράστεια (*Nemesis*) τότε κατόπιν ἐφεστῶσά σοι εὐδοκιμοῦντι ἐφ' οἷς κατηγόρεις τῶν ἄλλων, καταγελᾶν ὡς ἂν θεὸς εἰδυῖα τὴν

μέλλουσάν σοι ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολὴν καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐς τὸν κόλπον πτύσας πρότερον ἠξίους κατηγορεῖν τῶν διὰ ποικίλας τινὰς τύχας τοιαῦτα πράττειν ὑπομενούντων. *Apol.* vi.

Nemesis, they thought, was especially likely to be on the track of one who indulged in "big talk," and one who found himself doing this used to spit, to avert the approach of the angry goddess. Hence the proverbial expressions:

εἰς κόλπον οὐ πτύει: ἐπὶ τῶν μεγαλούχων.
*Paroemiogr.*, Leutsch, I. p. 245.

εἰς κόλπον πτύεις: ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγαλορρημονεῖς.
*Paroemiogr.*, Leutsch, II. p. 112.

The common belief on the subject of the punishment which followed boasting is expressed by Plato: μὴ μέγα λέγε, μή τις ἡμῖν βασκανία περιτρέψῃ τὸν λόγον τὸν μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι (*Phaed.* 95 B). So Damoetas, one of Theocritus's herdsmen, after singing his own praises for some time, checks himself, and remembering the instructions of a superstitious old woman, spits three times into his breast to avert the omen:

ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δέ, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον·
ταῦτα γὰρ ἁ γραία με Κοτύτταρις ἐξεδίδαξε.
Theoc. *Idyll.* vi. 39.

A doubtful case is the following, from Juvenal:

'Sed genus ignauum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra.'
Dic igitur, quid causidicis ciuilia praestent
Officia et magno comites in fasce libelli.
Ipsi magna sonant, sed tum, cum creditor audit,
Praecipue, uel si tetigit latus acrior illo
Qui uenit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
Tunc immensa caui spirant mendacia folles
Conspuiturque sinus. *Sat.* vii. 105–112.

The scholiasts give two interpretations of the words "conspuitur sinus,"— (1) in accordance with the preceding passages, that the spitting is to avert the ill omen implied in the lawyer's boasting talk (cf. *magna sonant*); (2) *a loquendo multum spuunt* (cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.* xi. 3. 56, where he names as one of the vices of oratory "*tussire*

*et exspuere crebro*"). The first of these two explanations is adopted by Madvig and Mayor; Macleane prefers the second, thinking that *conspuo* would not be used of spitting to avert the omen, but rather *despuo*. But *conspuo* is used in this very sense, if we accept the MSS. reading, in a passage in Petronius (74) to be considered later. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that the second explanation is the correct one here. The reference to spitting seems to me to be too casual and unemphatic to be capable of the fuller interpretation which the scholiast endeavors to read into it.

Not only "big talk" but likewise excessive hopes were considered likely to invite a hostile visitation from the gods, especially from Nemesis, which could be averted by spitting. Erasmus and Pliny both refer to this belief: "Simili superstitione contra improbae spei fascinum ter in sinum expuebant" (Erasm. *Chil. Prouerb.* s. v. *despuere malum*); "Veniam quoque a deis spei alicuius audacioris petimus, in sinum spuendo" (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 36).

There seems to have been a proverb on the subject: *οὐ μὴν τάς γε ἐλπίδας ἀνεῖλεν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ καὶ λαμπραί· πτύω δὲ εἰς κόλπον, τῇ παροιμίᾳ πειθόμενος* (Libanius, *Epist.* 191, *ad Modestum*).

Naturally enough, "putting on airs" was liable to the same punishment as "big talk," and the punishment could be averted in the same way. Compare the following passages: *ὑπερμαζᾶς γάρ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον οὐ πτύεις;* (Lucian, *Nav.* xv.); "At inflat se tamquam rana, et in sinum suum non spuit (so Bücheler; MSS. *conspuit*), codex, non mulier" (Petron. 74).

### 4. *Use in Charms and Incantations.*

The efficacy of charms and incantations was supposed to be increased by spitting three times during, or after, their use. The explanation would seem to be the same as in the case of the symbolical spitting in the use of drugs, — namely, to keep away any evil influence that would interfere with the working of the charm. Here are two references to the custom:

> Haec mihi composuit cantus, quis fallere posses:
> Ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus. Tib. i. 2. 54.

"Hoc peracto carmine ter me iussit (anicula) expuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum, quos ipsa praecantatos purpura inuoluerat." Petron. 131.

The words of a charm and instructions for employing it are thus given by Theocritus:

καὶ λέγ' ἐπιφθύζοισα· τὰ Δέλφιδος ὀστέα μάσσω.

Theoc. *Idyll.* ii. 62.

Another use of spittle in sorcery might be put under this head: "Mox turbatum sputo puluerem medio sustulit digito frontemque repugnantis signauit (anicula)" (Petron. 131).

The modern custom of "spitting for luck" is well known, and instances could be multiplied. A boy playing marbles, if he sees his companion's marble on the way to strike his own, spits in front of it to avert the contact. The custom is here clearly symbolical and prohibitive. The same boy spits on his bait "for luck" when he goes fishing. A waiter spits "for luck" on the first piece of money which he receives as a tip in the course of the day. The act of spitting in the last two cases may have been originally intended not so much to bring good luck as to keep away bad luck and evil influences.

# GREEK GRAVE-RELIEFS.

By Richard Norton.

## I.

ONE of the subjects connected with Greek Archaeology that has received most attention is that of the gravestones. It is not only the fascination of studying beautiful sculpture that has attracted scholars, nor that we possess a continuous series of these monuments from the earliest times, that is to say, from the Mycenaean epoch till the period when Greek individuality was suppressed by the Roman arms. The real reason is that although these monuments stand before us oftentimes uninjured by the lapse of years and with inscriptions carved upon them, they offer riddles as regards their interpretation which have not yet been solved, and which appeal to the curiosity of the student.

Until Schliemann's famous excavations at Mycenae in 1876, the earliest examples of grave steles which were known did not date from an earlier period than the sixth century B.C. We know, however, from Homer[1] that steles were, at the period when the poems were composed, considered as the γέρας θανόντων (Il. xvi. 458), and the passage Il. xi. 369 ff.

αὐτὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος . . .
. . . . . .
στήλῃ κεκλιμένος ἀνδροκμήτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο, παλαιοῦ δημογέροντος

showed that the poet considered the custom of setting up grave steles an old one, for Ilos was the eponymos hero of Troy. Pindar, too, seems to have believed the custom to have existed in the heroic

[1] Il. xi. 371; xvi. 457, 675, xvii. 434; cf. xiii. 437; Od. xii. 14.

times; for in one of the Nemean Odes[1] he tells how Idas and Lynkeus, having killed Kastor, were pursued by Polydeukes:

> . . . τοὶ δ' ἐναντα στάθεν τύμβῳ σχεδὸν
> πατρωίῳ·
> ἔνθεν ἁρπάξαντες ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδα, ξεστὸν πέτρον
> ἔμβαλον στέρνῳ Πολυδεύκεος.

But the actual character of these ancient steles was open to conjecture: whether, that is to say, they were memorials of the dead, or monuments dedicated to the gods. It is evident that these are the only characters which monuments marking graves can possess. In the one case the stele expresses the desire of the dead person or of his friends that after he has left the earth there should still be a perpetual reminder of him near the places he had frequented when alive; in the other case it expresses the religious feelings consequent upon the mystery of death, and is, as it were, of the nature of an appeal to the unknown rulers of the realm of Death. Hence, in an age when writing is not at all or but little developed, this religious type of gravestone is likely to exhibit a representation of some god or of something connected with the service of the gods.

The former class can be divided into the monuments which embody the desire of friends[2] or of a family to commemorate the dead; into those which embody the personal desire of the dead to be remembered, and finally, into those that symbolize, under the form of an animal, some characteristic of the buried person. The first of these classes is too common to need illustration; the second is illustrated by the desire which Aeschylos expressed, that on his gravestone should be inscribed that he had fought the Persians at Marathon.[3] The symbolic class is well represented[4] by the lion

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[1] x. 65 ff.

[2] Cf. Anth. Pal. (ed. Dübner, Paris, 1871), vii. 509:

> Σῆμα Θεόγνιδός εἰμι Σινωπέος, ᾧ μ' ἐπέθηκεν
> Γλαῦκος ἑταιρείης ἀντὶ πολυχρονίου.

[3] Cf. Pausanias, i. 14. 5. Anth. Pal. (Append.), ii. 17.

[4] Cf. Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte der Griechischen Anthologie, p. 68 f.

set up in Corcyra over the grave of Menecrates, or that at Thermopylae over the grave of Leonidas and the Spartans,[1] or that at Chaeronea over the Thebans who had fallen in the battle with Philip in 338 B.C.[2] Bulls too were used with symbolic significance, as the one still *in situ* in the Dipylon in Athens shows,[3] and dogs,[4] which were sometimes thought of as watchers of the tomb. In the Anthology we have references to the last in such verses as,[5]

Εἰπὲ, κύον, τίνος ἀνδρὸς ἐφεστὼς σῆμα φυλάσσεις;

Sphinxes also occur used in this manner,[6] as a symbol, the meaning of which has not been discovered.

It is important to keep in mind, as we study these monuments, the similarity of the feeling that we now have towards death to that which the Greeks had, for this is one of the few subjects connected with Greek archaeology in the consideration of which we may fairly, to a certain extent, use our own feelings in the interpretation of problems that arise without that danger of drawing false conclusions from them which exists in most other branches of the study.

The thought of the inevitableness of death was as common to the Greeks as to us. Homer, in speaking of Ennomos, the augur, says:[7]

ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν.

Not though he foresaw the events to come could he escape the Great Equalizer: κοινὸς πᾶσι λιμὴν Ἀΐδης.[8] Whatever differences in

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[1] Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 248, 249.

[2] Cf. Overbeck, Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik (4. Aufl.), ii. 189. Friederichs-Wolters, Bausteine, 1008. Milchhöfer, Mitth. d. Inst. in Athen, iv. 65.

[3] Milchhöfer, *ibid.*

[4] Milchhöfer, *ibid*, p. 63. Furtwaengler, Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff, p. 51.

[5] Anth. Pal. vii. 64. For other cases of symbolism, cf. 421–428.

[6] Milchhöfer, p. 63 ff. Cf. also in regard to this class of monuments Brückner, Ornament und Form der Attischen Grabstelen, p. 26 f.

[7] Il. ii. 859.

[8] Anth. Pal. vii. 452. Cf. Kaibel, Epigram. Graeca ex Lap. conl. 256.

rank or fortune exist in life, when the end comes all men are alike. As might be expected, Solon emphasized this idea and said:[1]

τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω·
οὐδ ἂν ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι . . .

Another way of saying the same thing is,

ὡς ἁλὶ καὶ γαίῃ ξυνὸς ὕπεστ' Ἀΐδης[2]

or as in another epigram,

θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.[3]

Another feeling which is as old as the race of man is that of the cruelty of death, — that those go who ought to live. It is this which is the bitterest feeling that can spring up in the cheerless presence of death, and which only those escape who are blessed with a steadfast conviction that all things, even death, serve some ulterior and beautiful purpose. We find it very simply and touchingly expressed in the lines[4]:

Ἡ γρῆυς Νικὼ Μελίτης τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε
παρθενικῆς. Ἀΐδη, τοῦθ' ὁσίως κέκρικας;

Why does Death take the young and leave the old?[5] No matter what one's religious beliefs, this question occurs to all, and all must feel sympathy for the father who said:[6]

Δωδεκένη τὸν παῖδα πατὴρ ἀπέθηκε Φίλιππος
ἐνθάδε, τὴν πολλὴν ἐλπίδα, Νικοτέλην.

But together with the grief that Death brings comes one comfort, one sure stay and anchor, in the conviction that though the bodies have passed away, still the memory of noble or beautiful men and

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[1] Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. (ed. Pomtow), i. 135, No. 21. Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 130; Pindar, Nem. vii. 19. 31; xi. 16; Isth. vi. 42.

[2] Anth. Pal. vii. 265.

[3] Anth. Pal. x. 105.

[4] Anth. Pal. vii. 187.

[5] Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 483, 671.

[6] Anth. Pal. vii. 453.

women is immortal. It was this that Simonides felt in regard to the Athenians who fell at Plataea:[1]

> Εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
> ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη·
> Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθεῖναι
> κείμεθ' ἀγηράντῳ χρώμενοι εὐλογίῃ.

It was this that Plato felt when he wrote the immortal verses:[2]

> Ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν Ἕως·
> νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἔσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.

I have, with these quotations, endeavored merely to suggest the natural similarity of feeling in regard to death between ourselves and the Greeks, — a similarity which, would we understand these grave-monuments truly, must never be lost sight of; for these steles are not the scattered remnants of a vanished sentiment, but are the manifestation of a feeling that "makes all men kin," quickened, made beautiful, and eternized by their simple, yet truthful, rendering of human life.

The steles I have referred to as found by Schliemann were slabs about five feet high by three feet three inches broad, four of them being carved, while others were plain.[3] They were found above the so-called 'shaft'-graves within the city walls of Mycenae. The sculptured steles were found over the graves that contained men's bodies, while the unsculptured ones were over the graves that contained only women. Over grave iv, which contained bodies of both sexes, was an unsculptured stele. Notwithstanding this apparent exception it seems safe to conclude that sculptured steles were used to commemorate men alone and not women. Considering the secondary part played by women (the women of the heroic age, as sung by the poets, do not come under consideration) in the life of the ancient Greeks, it is not unnatural that the steles for the men

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[1] Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. ii. 23, No. 22; cf. No. 23; Anth. Pal. vii. 258; Pindar, Isth. vi. 27 f.

[2] Anth. Pal. vii. 670; cf. 587.

[3] Sculptured fragments of others were also found. Schliemann's Excavations, ed. by Schuchhardt, p. 167.

should have been of a more elaborate character than those for the women. Whether the latter were painted or not is not known, but, taking into account the common use of paint at Mycenae, the practice among the people of that town of decorating even the most trivial objects, and finally, the lack of monumental character in a simple slab of stone, it seems not improbable that they were so decorated. We must not suppose that because they were apparently unornamented or because they were over women's graves that they are not grave-steles and that women were not so honored after death, for we have distinct proof that in Homer's time they were in this way commemorated. The poet says of the horses of Patroklos, sorrowing for their master, that they would not move:[1]

ἀλλ' ὥς τε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον, ἥ τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
ἀνέρος ἐστήκῃ τεθνηότος ἠὲ γυναικός.

If at the time the Iliad was composed steles were set up over the graves of women, we may, in view of the well-known conservatism of the Greeks, safely conclude that the custom dated from a period at least as early as that of the Mycenaean civilization.

It is, however, the sculptured steles that are of most interest to us, for in them we have the first instances of the custom I have mentioned above, which continued common to the latest times, of representing the deceased as he had appeared in life. Of the four well-preserved carved steles, one has merely spiral patterns, while three have figure subjects, all of the same type. In the latter cases we have a man in armor driving a chariot, and apparently in conflict with a man on foot who is also armed.[2] That the charioteer is attacking the man on foot may be safely inferred from the position of the man in Schuchhardt's fig. 147 who, with his shield of the usual Mycenaean shape above him, lies under the horses' feet. In fig. 145 the action of the lower half of the figure, which is all that remains, seems without doubt to imply that he is defending himself from the charioteer; while, finally, in fig. 146 it is impossible to decide what the figure is doing, — whether he is accompanying the

[1] Il. xvii. 434.

[2] Schuchhardt, figs. 145, 146, 147; Schliemann's Mycenae, figs. 142–149.

charioteer, attacking him, or being pursued. The last of these three possibilities is, considering the analogy of the two similar figures on the other steles, the most natural supposition.

In figs. 145 and 146 we find, beside the panel containing the battle scene, other panels filled with decorative designs. In fig. 147 these decorative panels are lacking, but below and in the same panel with the battle scene is a lion (?) pursuing a stag. It might be supposed that the presence of these animals in the same panel with the charioteer bore some reference to the prowess of the dead man as a huntsman.[1] But, as lions pursuing stags are a favorite motive of decoration in Mycenaean art,[2] and as the battle scene is plainly the most important one, we may conclude that the animals are merely used as decoration and to fill the otherwise empty space in the same way as the decorative designs on the other two steles.

The conclusion we come to is then this: that over these graves, which, to judge from their contents, contained the remains of men of high rank, if not even the leaders of the people, were placed steles with battle scenes sculptured upon them, emblematic of the bravery in battle which the dead had shown during their lifetime.

We have already seen that at the time when the Iliad and Odyssey were composed the custom of erecting steles was well known, if not common; but it may be well to examine the evidence more closely and to see if anything in regard to the character of these monuments at that time can be made out. Of the six passages in the poems where the word is used, none gives any distinct evidence as to the character of these monuments, and, as Helbig[3] says, although "Grabstelen werden öfter erwähnt, doch findet sich keine Andeutung dass sie mit Skulpturen geschmückt gewesen wären." This is true, but considering the highly developed state of the decorative arts as exhibited in the poems, and also that grave steles were sculptured both in the period before the poems and in that which followed, it is safe to assume that they were also so decorated in the time

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[1] Furtwaengler, Einleitung z. d. Samm. Sab. p. 23.

[2] Cf. the bronze sword inlaid with gold, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, x. Pl. 2, and Schuchhardt, fig. 260.

[3] Helbig, Das Homerische Epos, 2 ed. p. 62.

when the poems were composed. Whether such sculpture took a religious or (like the Mycenaean steles) a purely commemorative character is a question to which only a partial answer can be given.

The passage from the Iliad[1] which I have already quoted shows that the poet considered the custom an old one and as a *γέρας θανόντων* — both men and women; but we get a closer insight into his ideas on this subject from other passages. In book xii of the Odyssey, he tells how Odysseus, after having gone down to the realms of Hades to inquire of his fate from the seer Teiresias, returned with his comrades to the island where Circe dwelt in order to bury their companion Elpenor, who had died just before they started on their journey to the lower regions.

*αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ νεκρός τ' ἐκάη καὶ τεύχεα νεκροῦ,*
*τυμβον χεύσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ στήλην ἐρύσαντες*
*πήξαμεν ἀκροτάτῳ τύμβῳ εὐῆρες ἐρετμόν.*[2]

Now it might be supposed that the setting up of the oar had some religious significance in connection with Poseidon, especially since Teiresias had told Odysseus that on his return to Ithaka he must, after certain wanderings which the seer describes to him,

*. . . τότε δὴ γαίῃ πήξας εὐῆρες ἐρετμόν*
*ῥέξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι,*[3]

and that the carving with which the grave stele was probably decorated was also of religious significance.[4] I cannot prove absolutely that this was not the case, but the evidence that the oar was merely symbolic of Elpenor's life as a sailor is very strong. It is this. In later centuries we find many gravestones for men who had died at sea which have carved upon them a man sitting on the prow of a boat. Another even stronger bit of evidence is given us by the following lines of Sappho:[5]

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[1] xi. 371.

[2] Od. xii. 13 ff.; cf. x. 551 ff.

[3] Od. xi. 129 ff.

[4] It may be thought that sailors on a voyage would not have the means for carving a stele, but we must remember that we are reading poetry and not the log-book of a scientific voyage of discovery.

[5] Anth. Pal. vii. 505; Bergk, P. L. G. Frag. iii. 120; Pomtow, i. 116, No. 63.

Τῷ γριπεῖ Πελάγωνι πατὴρ ἐπέθηκε Μενίσκος
κύρτον καὶ κώπαν, μνᾶμα κακοζοίας.

From all this we may fairly draw the inference that at least in certain cases the gravestones of the Homeric age were of purely commemorative or symbolic, rather than of religious character, and there is further support of this inference to be derived from the fact that in the Homeric poems the references to carved images of the gods are very few and slight, while references to decorative art of much the same character as the Mycenaean are abundant.[1] As regards images of the gods, we find a reference to one of Athena,[2] and another to a representation of Athena and Ares.[3] It is true that there are references to representations of other beings of a more or less divine nature, such as the Pleiades and the Hyades,[4] or to Strife, Tumult, and Fate,[5] but we must remember that the art described by a poet is often in advance of the art of his own day, so that, taking this into consideration, and also the fact of the extreme rudeness of the earliest statues which we possess, the conclusion is probably safe that in the time of the Homeric poems a fixed plastic form, such as could be used repeatedly as a type on gravestones, had not yet been given to the gods.

Thus we see that while there is scarcely a particle of evidence that the Homeric gravestones were decorated in a religious way, there is a good deal of indirect evidence that, as in the Mycenaean period, they were purely commemorative of the life of the dead person.

We now have to consider a series of grave-reliefs, all of which were found in the neighborhood of Sparta, though some at a considerable distance from that town.[6] The earliest of these reliefs can

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[1] Some of the most noteworthy of the latter are Il. xi. 19. 632, xviii. 468 f.; Od. xi. 609, xix. 226.

[2] Il. vi. 302 f.

[3] Il. xviii. 516.

[4] Il. xviii. 484 ff.

[5] Il. xviii. 535.

[6] The most important articles on the subject are the following: Milchhöfer and Dressler, Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst. in Athen. ii. 303 ff., Pl. xx. ff.; Furtwaengler, Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff, 160 and Pl. 1, Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 f., Pl. 7; Gardner, Journal of Hellenic Studies, v. 122; Friederichs-Wolters, Bausteine, 58; Roscher, Lexikon d. Griech. u. Röm. Myth. 2567.

be dated as far back as the sixth century B.C. while the latest is not older than the second century B.C., so that we have an interesting and consecutive series, all the more interesting because the type remains throughout approximately the same. The type[1] is in the earliest instance two figures — a man and a woman enthroned at the left in profile to the right. The woman is beyond the man, and holds her veil with one outstretched hand and a pomegranate in the other. The man, also in profile except his face, which is in full front, holds a kantharos in his outstretched hand; his other arm is held slightly bent upwards and the hand open. Behind the throne is generally a snake curving upwards. Coming towards these two enthroned figures are two much smaller ones — a man and a woman, the former holding a cock and egg (?), the latter, a pomegranate and flower. With minor variations this is the fixed type for these reliefs.[2]

The first question that arises is: What are these monuments? The answer that has always been given is that they are grave-monuments. The second question is: What do they represent? It is in answering this that we may meet many difficulties. At first sight one sees that, unlike the steles from Mycenae and those of the Homeric time (though in regard to the latter I admit the case is only partially proved), we have here to deal, not with a strictly commemorative subject, but with a religious one.

When the steles were first studied, several archaeologists believed the enthroned figures to be a god and a goddess. Brunn[3] believed them to be "Dionysos mit seiner Gattin." Conze[4] said (p. 281) in an article in the Annali: "Non v'è dubbio che qui sia rappresentata una copia di dei; l'uomo è Dioniso, secondo l'antico concetto, barbarto, con lunga chioma ed in pieno vestiario; egli è meglio indicato dal cantaro nella destra." Further on, p. 284, he continues: "Se con sicurezza abbiamo riconosciuto Dioniso non possiamo con equale certezza stabilire chi sia la donna che sul trono gli siede

[1] Cf. Samm. Sab. Pl. 1, Athen. Mitt. ii. 22.

[2] The various measurements and technical characteristics can be found in the works I have quoted above.

[3] Arch. Ztg. 1876, p. 28.

[4] Ann. dell. Inst. di Corres. Arch. xlii. p. 277 f., Tav. d'agg Q.

accanto;" and on p. 287, "Deve dunque secondo ciò apparire verosimile che il nostro relievo rappresenti Semele in trono al lato di Dioniso, alla qual spiegazióne s'adotta pure molto bene l'aspétto nationale ed il distintivo del velo." Boetticher[1] said the figures were "Bacchus und Ariadne." This opinion, which in the light of added discoveries it is now easy to see was quite erroneous, was not an unnatural one when only one or two of these steles were known. Milchhöfer, however, after a study of several such steles which he published, together with plates, in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*[2] proved that whatever else the figures might represent they did not represent Dionysos, and concluded (p. 473) that: "Wir sind bei der Betrachtung unseres Reliefs davon ausgegangen dass ihr zahlreiches Auftreten, ihre locale Verbreitung, bei einem wenigstens auch der Fundort, ferner ihre tektonische Form und neben anderen Symbolen, besonders die Schlange, dieselbe einer Klasse von Monumenten zuweisen, welche ihre nächste Analogie in den anathematischen Sepulchralreliefs finden; doch mit dem Unterschiede dass hier nicht die heroizirten Todten selber sondern die über Tod und Leben in der gesammten Natur waltenden Gottheiten dargestellt seien," and these "Gottheiten" he identified with Hades and Persephone. This opinion he changed, and in two later articles[3] declared, in as strong terms as he had used for his earlier identification, that it is not the gods whom we have represented, but the heroised dead. This now is the opinion generally held, and it is based primarily on the evidence adduced by Professor Furtwaengler in the *Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff*[4] and in an article dealing with one in particular of the series.[5]

But I am inclined to believe that a mistake has been made in considering the steles as grave-steles and again in considering them to be all of one class in regard to their *meaning*. That they

[1] Arch. Ztg. 1870, p. 21.

[2] ii. 303 ff.; explanation, p. 458 f.

[3] Athen. Mitt. iv. 163; Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 281 f.

[4] This Einleitung is by far the most important work on the subject of grave-monuments. The pages 15 ff. deal more particularly with the Spartan steles.

[5] Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 f., Pl. 7.

are all derived from the same type is true, but I believe it can be shown that to the earliest members of the series a meaning was attached different from that of the later ones.

As is well known, the worship among the Greeks of heroised dead was universal, and was a custom of extreme antiquity.[1] This worship was founded on the belief that the spirits of the dead were possessed with powers which they could use for good or evil over the living. They could have no power in the lower world, for there everything was under the control of Hades and Persephone. We here meet with a contradiction in Greek ideas in regard to a life hereafter, — for when an ordinary mortal died his spirit was supposed to pass to Hades;[2] but the heroised dead were thought to dwell in the grave,[3] over which sacrifices and libations were made with the double purpose of conciliating the intentions and gratifying the appetite of those whom it held, who were in character half gods and half men. Lucian[4] describes a hero as ὃ μήτε ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, μήτε θεὸς καὶ συναμφότερόν ἐστιν, and speaks of such beings satisfying their carnal appetites, of which Death was not thought to have rid them.[5] This custom is well illustrated by the so-called 'Feast of the Dead'-reliefs, and Professor Furtwaengler has shown that there is no reason to believe that a single one of the great number of these which we possess was a gravestone, but that they were always votive reliefs.[6] Now the very existence of this series of votive hero-reliefs, which imply the strict limitation to this earth of the power of the heroes, contemporaneously with true grave-reliefs, is enough to make us doubt whether hero-reliefs were ever used as grave-steles proper.

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[1] Cf. Furtwaengler, Einleitung, p. 21 ff. For the contrary view, see Roscher, Lexikon d. Griech. u. Röm. Myth. s. v. *Heros*. 2453.

[2] Pind. Frag. Θρῆνοι, i.

[3] Cf. Roscher, *id.* 2466.

[4] Dial. Mort. 3. 2. Cf. Roscher, Lex. a. a. o. 2462 ff.

[5] That Lucian's belief as to the character of these beings was not of late origin is shown by the passage in the Iliad (xii. 23) where they are called ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν. Hesiod (Op. 170) speaks of the "blessed heroes," but Pindar is the first author we know of who speaks of heroes as objects of worship, although we know that the custom long antedated the time when he wrote. For the early origin of the custom, see Rohde, Psyche, 137 f.

[6] Einleitung, 21 ff.

Another fact to notice is that the Laconian steles were found over a broad expanse of the country, and that also others of the same general type have been found in Boeotia,[1] Aegina,[2] Paros,[3] and elsewhere. The fact that we have so many of the same type at the beginning of the series shows us that the type had been long known and used when the earliest specimens which we have were made. Now we can hardly suppose that over this great stretch of country — Paros, Boeotia, Laconia — the same heroes were commemorated or that so many different artists would have created approximately the same type for the commemoration of different heroes. We are dealing with works that date from a time when intercommunication was very difficult, and the presence of this type in so many places shows us that it must have originated in some more general and vivid idea than that of the heroised dead.

There is a small bit of apparent evidence in favor of the usual interpretation of these monuments to be found in Homer. Professor Furtwaengler says[4] that some such seated figure of a god as those we are studying "schwebt dem Dichter der Odyssie vor, wenn er Alkinoos schildert, wie er im Megaron auf dem *θρόνος* sitzt und seinen Wein trinkt *ἀθάνατος ὥς* (vi. 308)." But it seems questionable if the poet had any other idea than to give a lively image of the power and wealth and ease of the king. In Pindar (Pyth. iii. 94) we find that Peleus and Kadmos were visited by the gods:

> *καὶ θεοὶ δαίσαντο παρ' ἀμφοτέροις,*
> *καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυσέαις ἐν ἕδραις.*

This, too, quite as much as the passage from Homer, might be interpreted as affording support to the common interpretation of the figures on the steles. Neither passage, however, does this. In one we find a mortal compared to an immortal; in the other the comparison is reversed. This shows that the phrase quoted by Furtwaengler has no subtle or hidden meaning.

These, then, are the difficulties that meet us if we attempt to

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[1] Athen. Mitt. iii. 318.
[2] Athen. Mitt. viii. Pl. 18, p. 375.
[3] Athen. Mitt. vii. 170. Cf. Arch. Ztg. 1874, p. 31, No. 259, Pl. v.
[4] Einleitung, p. 21.

interpret these figures as the heroised dead, while if we use the earlier interpretation, that the figures represent the Gods, these difficulties fade away, nor do others of so serious character arise.

Whatever be the interpretation, these grave-steles (for the present I will use this name) are plainly of the religious type; hence they are almost certain, as I have said above, to have the character of an appeal to the rulers of the lower world, Hades and Persephone, the former of whom was the *βασιλεὺς ἐνέρων*.[1] These are surely the natural powers to invoke by such monuments.

To see the intimate connection between the dead and Hades and Persephone, we have but to look over the grave inscriptions and verses in memory of the dead which have come down to us. We find not only that the names of heroes do not occur,[2] but also that two personages are referred to again and again, namely, Hades and Persephone. For instance, of an unmarried maiden is said:

Οὐ γάμον, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδαν ἐπινυμφίδιαν Κλεαρίστα
δέξατο, παρθενίας ἄμματα λυομένα . . .[3]

or,

Ἄιδης τὴν Κροκάλης ἔφθασε παρθενίην.[4]

And with these can be compared the fragment of Sappho :[5]

Τιμάδος ἅδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θανοῦσαν
δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος.

In these we see that a person immediately after death comes under the rule of one or other of the rulers of the lower world.[6]

Again we get the idea of the immediate power of Hades over the

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[1] Aeschylos, Prom. 627. Cf. Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων, Il. xv. 188; ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀιδωνεύς, Il. xx. 61; Hesiod, Theog. 850.

[2] Professor Furtwaengler, Einleitung, p. 19, mentions one exception, — a gravestone set up in the period of the Roman empire by a father to his young son, and on it are the words, ἀνέστησε ἥρωα συγγενείας. Until other cases of the same sort are discovered, the evidence is not strong enough to impair seriously my argument, particularly in view of the late date of this monument.

[3] Anth. Pal. vii. 182.

[4] Anth. Pal. vii. 183.

[5] Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. (ed. Pomtow), No. 62; Anth. Pal. vii. 489.

[6] Cf. Anth. Pal. vii. 185, 508. Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. ii. 51, No. 106; 113, No. 2.

dead and dying by such an epigram as that of Theodoros,[1] in which Tityros is represented dying, and receiving the command from Hades to be jester among the dead. In the verses of Bianor,[2] in which the speaker mourns for his little son, who has died subsequently to the death of his mother, we find a direct prayer to Persephone that she may lay the child on its mother's bosom. Other verses similar to these can be found,[3] and what they suggest is that the two divinities thought of by the Greeks as being most intimately connected with death were Persephone and Hades.

The suggestions we get from literature are of course largely to be found in such scattered verses as those I have taken from the Anthology, but there is one important passage in Pindar to which, in connection with another part of my subject, I have already referred. It is where he describes how Polydeukes pursued Idas and Lynkeus, and how they stood hard by their father's tomb and[4]

> ἔνθεν ἁρπάξαντες ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδα, ξεστὸν πέτρον.
> ἔμβαλον στέρνῳ πολυδεύκεος.

There are but two explanations of these words. One is that the ξεστὸν πέτρον was a gravestone carved with a representation of Hades. The second, and perhaps more probable, is that the stone was merely a fetich. The incontrovertible fact remains, however, that it was considered as a figure of Hades. What strikes us further is that this scene is laid presumably in Laconia, for Lynkeus has been described[5] as ἀπὸ Ταϋγέτου ποταναγάζων. Now we must remember that Pindar, who was born about 522 B.C., lived certainly not many years after the earliest of the known steles was made, and while the type was still in use. There is no reason why he might not, when traveling, have seen such steles in Laconia, and, since similar steles have been found in Boeotia,[6] which was his home, he is likely to have seen them there. This evidence is extremely strong, but there is still more. In the *Athenische Mittheilungen*[7] Milchhöfer published a seated statue of a man, similar in general form to the

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[1] Anth. Pal. vii. 506.
[2] Anth. Pal. vii. 387.
[3] Anth. Pal. vii. 483, 507; Pindar, Ol. ix. 33.
[4] Nem. x. 68.
[5] Nem. x. 61.
[6] Athen. Mitt. iii. 318.
[7] ii. 298. 3. Cf. vii. 170 and Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 293, Pl. 17, 3.

figures found at Branchidae, across whose lap is an inscription which he read as Ἄϊδευς. This he considered to be a form of Ἄιδης. Treu,[1] however, says that what seem to be the letters AI are only cracks in the stone, and that the word is really Δεύς, a Laconian form of Ζεύς. Be this as it may, the statue, which, in form, is little more than one of the figures from the reliefs we are considering in the round, is clearly designated as a god. The attributes, indeed, do not exist, owing to the incapacity of the artist to compass the difficulties of carving them in the round, but an inscription has taken their place. If the inscription is to be read as Ἄιδης, we have gained a strong bit of evidence for the identification of the figures on the grave-reliefs. Further, the front legs of the throne are formed by animals, one on each side.[2] On one of the reliefs an animal is represented in exactly the same position.[3] They are nothing more than supports for the arms of the throne. If, as is not unlikely, the choice of a dog (?) for the support was influenced by the seated figure being a representation of Ζεύς, this Ζεύς can only be Ζεὺς χθόνιος, who was the same as Hades, as the line in Homer shows:

Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια[4].

Here, then, is another strong bit of evidence in favor of Milchhöfer's original interpretation of the figures.

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[1] Arch. Ztg. 1882, p. 76.

[2] Furtwaengler is mistaken in implying (Athen. Mitt. vii. 170) that there is only one dog (?). Milchhöfer was right in recognizing two. In speaking of this throne, Professor Furtwaengler said to me that the type with an animal on each side, as arms, was unknown in Greek art. Hence this throne could not be of that type. This is not argument, but assertion, and at best goes against all probabilities. Leaving the throne under discussion out of the question, we must remember that what is unknown to us and what was unknown to Greek art are two very different matters. Furthermore, the fact that thrones with animal arms were well known in Egypt, and that the Phoenicians also were acquainted with them, as is shown by the seated statue of Phoenician workmanship in Palermo, must make us hesitate to say that they were unknown to the Greeks. The famous stone of the Ludovisi collection must not be forgotten in the consideration of this question.

[3] Athen. Mitt. ii. Pl. 22.

[4] Il. ix. 457. Cf. Roscher, Lex. 1780; Preller-Robert, Griechische Mythologie, pp. 756, 798. For the dog as a chthonic emblem, see Furtwaengler, Einleitung zu d. S. S. p. 51; Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 f. and the first of Milchhöfer's articles.

There is also a statue of a seated woman with a dog (?) in this same position. This was found in Arcadia, and has the inscription on the base Ἀγεμώ or Ἀγεσώ. This figure Professor Furtwaengler[1] identifies as an "Unterweltsgottheit," or as a heroine, adducing as evidence for the latter identification the 'Feast of the Dead'-relief in Boeotia,[2] which has the inscription Ἡγεμὼν Ἀρχηγέτης. If these two explanations be considered the only possible ones, the first seems to me, in the light of the other statue, to be the most probable. That we cannot bring any evidence to show that Persephone had the title Ἀγεμώ is not against this supposition, for no more can we show that there was any such heroine. But, as a matter of fact, more than these two explanations are possible. It may be that Hegeso is merely a proper name; that the figure, like later grave-monuments, is simply a mortal woman.

So until we are able to prove who the woman is and that these animals *are* dogs, the statues afford but the feeblest evidence one way or another. I have mentioned them merely because it seems to me that false deductions have been drawn from them.

However, perhaps the strongest single bit of evidence is the terra-cotta plaque, which was found in Italy,[3] and which Milchhöfer used in his first article as evidence in favor of his original supposition in regard to the figures. Here we see Hades and Persephone seated side by side on a throne, just as on the steles, and identified beyond all question by their attributes of a cock, wheat, and narcissus flowers.

Together with this should be considered a vase[4] on which we see Demeter and Persephone enthroned on the right, while before them is a man pouring a libation. The analogy between this scene and the reliefs, particularly a fragment[5] which I shall consider further on, is strikingly close.

Finally, there is a late statue of Hades in the Villa Borghese, with

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[1] Athen. Mitt. vii. 169. Cf. Einleitung, 49.

[2] Berlin Catalogue of Sculpture, 819.

[3] Annali, xix. (1847) p. 188, Pl. F.

[4] Ann. dell. Inst. 1865, p. 84, Pl. F.; Wiener Vorlegeblätter, Ser. C. 8. 2; Heydemann, Die Vasensammlung zu Neapel. 3358.

[5] Athen. Mitt. viii. Pl. 17.

Kerberos at his side in the same position as the animal in the statue mentioned above.[1]

To sum up: we find that Hades and Persephone are mentioned again and again with reference to their intimate relation to the dead; that in Pindar there is mention of a grave-stele with Hades carved upon it; that there are other works of art which add more or less direct evidence in favor of giving the names Hades and Persephone to these figures; and finally that there is no evidence that these divinities are not here represented.

Hitherto I have called these steles *grave*-steles. I will now explain what I believe them really to be.

From the fact that only a single stele was found on a tumulus in which many people must have been buried, Professor Furtwaengler was led to call them family gravestones.[2] They are evidently not gravestones in the usual sense of the word. We know, too, that the belief that the souls of heroes inhabited the grave led to the custom of making sacrifices and libations on the grave itself,[3] and that hero-worship was very common in Laconia. That the steles are not grave-steles in the proper sense is suggested in the first place by the very marked resemblance in character that they bear to steles found elsewhere that are certainly not grave-steles; secondly, by the inexplicability of some of the later ones if considered as grave-steles; thirdly, by the fact that when we do find true personal grave-steles later in this series of reliefs, although they assume a type derived from these earlier ones, their character is distinctly different. From these facts I am led to believe that these monuments are not gravestones, but are nothing more than a sort of altar-picture, exactly similar in character to those in modern churches, before which prayers and offerings are made to the Virgin; further, that the two main figures represent Hades and Persephone, the rulers of the dead, while the pious but ephemeral generations of men who perform all the proper duties to the dead in due season are represented in the little figures who carry offerings; finally, that the snake is perhaps the symbol of the souls of the dead.[4]

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[1] Cf. Roscher, Lex. 1803.

[2] Einleitung, p. 23.

[3] Roscher, Lex. 2505 and 2459.

[4] That the snake had this meaning is shown by Roscher, Lex. 2466.

In comparing these reliefs to altar-pictures I do not in the least mean that they were on altars, but that before them were made the vows and offerings to the dead, just as nowadays prayers are made before pictures of the Virgin. They were a centre for the cultus of the dead, and were merely put on the graves and not in the temples or other sacred enclosures, because it was at the former that the rites of the cultus were performed.

Of the reliefs I have referred to as being like these but as certainly not grave-steles one was dug up on the Acropolis in Athens.[1] On the left is an upright figure of Athena, towards whom apparently a whole family of worshippers is approaching, all of smaller size than the goddess. They bring various offerings, among them a pig. The similarity of subject on this stele, which is a votive stele, and on the Laconian ones cannot but add strength to my theory.

Another of the same sort, and also from Athens, is described by Conze.[2] It is merely a fragment representing a female divinity enthroned on the left. From the right approaches a maiden; that she is a full-grown woman is shown by the form of the breasts. The difference in size between the two figures is due to the desire of the artist for isocephalism, and perhaps partly (though this is very doubtful) to his wish to exalt the power of the goddess through her greater size. The actions of the two figures cannot be made out, except that both are holding their dresses in the usual archaic manner, and that the maiden is offering something to the goddess. I can see no reason to doubt that this is a votive relief, and not a grave-relief, as Wolters and Schoene[3] have considered it. Until a relief of this sort is found that can be proved without doubt to be a grave-relief, we have no reason for rejecting the natural opinion arising from their analogy to undoubted votive reliefs.[4]

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[1] Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 179, Pl. 9.

[2] Griechische Grabreliefs, Pl. 12. Conze gives the literature on this stele. It is also well reproduced in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1880, p. 540, Pl. 6.

[3] Friederichs-Wolters, 102; Schoene, Griechische Reliefs, 122.

[4] Cf. with the above-mentioned steles the fragmentary one o[n] Athens, which possibly represents the ἥρως κέραμος. It repres[ents] seated to the left. He holds in his hands two kylixes. The[re]

There are a few steles, as I have said, which it is almost impossible to explain as grave-steles. One of them[1] which deserves attention in this connection was found in southern Laconia, and shows a maiden filling a kantharos, which was originally held by a seated figure, *whether man or woman we cannot tell* because only the hand of the figure is left. It is not older than the middle of the fifth century B.C. Professor Furtwaengler calls it a grave-stele, and he explains the type as follows (p. 367): "Den thronenden Heros zeigte der alte, in Sparta so schön erhaltene Typus, in voller Ruhe zur Seite der Frau, mit dem vorgestreckten Kantharos. Als man dies zu starr und leblos fand bot sich das Motiv des Eingiessens als überaus passend dar, um die beiden Figuren in lebendige Wechselwirkung zu setzen. Der Mann mit dem Kantharos blieb ruhig sitzen; die Frau aber stand auf und giesst nun in den Becher ein, wie wir es auf unserem Relief sehen." To prove this strange type of a goddess or heroine filling the kantharos of a god or hero, he adduces two or three votive reliefs on which much the same scene is represented. That these analogies are votive reliefs throws discredit on the theory that the Laconian relief is a grave-relief; they are also late and unusual, so that we may doubt if such a peculiar idea of the relation of one divinity or hero to another was at all common. Another explanation is perhaps possible. We shall see presently that from the early type of what I have called 'altar-reliefs' was developed, in later times, when art had become freer, a type of actual gravestone very similar to these early altar-reliefs. Now I would suggest that the relief in question is but a freer development of the earlier type, and that the artist, having become more completely master of his material, has succeeded in representing more clearly the natural proportion and the act of the worshipper. It is barely possible, but from what we have already seen not in the least probable, that the scene is supposed to be in the lower world, as Furtwaengler implies in saying that the figures are hero and heroine; but, even

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must not be taken to indicate that this figure was any semi-divine personage. The word was a mere title applied generally to men of prowess in battle, but also to men skilful in any pursuit, as Demodokos the minstrel (Od. viii. 483) or Moulios the herald (Od. xviii. 423).

[1] Furtwaengler, Athen. Mitt. viii. 364, Pl. xvi.

then, the maiden is much more likely a human person and the other figure a god, for Pindar says,[1] in describing the Elysian Fields,

αἰεὶ θύα μιγνύντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ παντοῖα θεῶν
ἐπὶ βωμοῖς,

and it is the dwellers there who make these sacrifices, not one god to another. It is possible that the original site of the stele was on a grave, and that it is a form of the earlier altar-reliefs. On this point we lack evidence, but we are safe in assuming that the theory that one of the figures has risen from her chair to fill the cup of the other is wrong. The cup was meant to be filled by libations from the living, not from the dead.[2]

As I have said above, not all the Spartan steles in this series belong to the same class in regard to what they represent. It is only those of the earliest type, as given on plates 20, 22, 23, 24 in the second volume of the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, which I believe to be 'altar-reliefs' and to represent Hades and Persephone. Those which I will now take up do, I believe, represent the dead person, and are, what hitherto all the steles have been called, grave-steles.

A typical and very good example is the one published by Professor Furtwaengler.[3] Here we see two main differences from the earlier type, — one making the stele more complicated, the other simplifying it. The latter consists in there being only one enthroned figure, in this case a bearded man; the former in that there are more attributes, and that they are used in a freer way. The man holds the kantharos and pomegranate, while the dog, which we have seen used before as an emblem, puts his forepaws on the man's knees in a very lifelike way. Besides this, in the upper corner, in front of the man, is a horse.[4]

These emblems are all chthonic, and the question is: Have we

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[1] Θρῆνοι, Frag. 1.

[2] In Massner's Catalogue of the Greek vases in Vienna a r-f. skyphos is represented, on one side of which Athena is shown filling a bowl held by Zeus, who is seated. The vase has been broken, and it is possible that the figures have been falsely restored. Such groups are extremely rare.

[3] Athen. Mitt. vii. 160 ff., Pl. 7.

[4] For the horse as a chthonic symbol, see Furtwaengler, Athen. Mitt. vii. 165 f.

here a representation of Hades or of a dead man? I follow Professor Furtwaengler in believing it to be the latter. There is no absolute proof one way or the other, but the indirect evidence in favor of the more earthly identification is sufficiently strong to permit us to consider the question as settled.

We see in this stele an example of that period of Greek art when, in all parts of Greece, even in inartistic Laconia, artists were gaining freedom in the expression of their ideas, and the unintelligent repetition of archaic types was being given up for more ambitious attempts at naturalistic representation. This stage of the progress of sculpture is, of course, best exhibited in Attica, owing to the greater mass of material that we have from there; but we see it plainly even in the broken records of sculpture in other parts of Greece. Hitherto art had been, in the main, hieratic or conventional. But now the idea sprang up that art was capable not only of serving religion but also of beautifying life. This was due, of course, to the expansion of the Greek intellect attendant upon stirring events both at home and abroad, and particularly to the fact that Greece began to play a more active part than heretofore in the world at large. She had long recognized the existence of *οἱ βάρβαροι*, but now she realized that it was possibly to her advantage to know them more intimately, and whether contemptible *βάρβαροι* or not, she woke up to the fact that they were not only capable of injuring her, but intended, if possible, to do so. Of these events the Persian Wars were the most important, and had the greatest influence on both the Greek character and art. Not only did the Greek artists gain a new source of inspiration for the exercise of artistic capacity in a materialistic fashion in the booty won from the Persians, but they must also have felt borne in on them with overwhelming force the fact, which had been illustrated again and again during the wars, that whatever powers the gods possessed they only helped those who helped themselves, and that perhaps blind Fate had less to say, and man himself more, in the ruling of this world than had been hitherto believed. And yet, such was the innate greatness of the Greek soul, that in gaining this new idea they lost nothing of their reverence for the gods. They gained, in fact, a more vivid and passionate belief in them; for had not the greatest

divinities of Olympos more than once showed themselves as the allies of the people who were struggling against what were, seemingly, invincible difficulties? Thus these new ideas were a gain to them on the side of their religion and also on that of their art; for was not man too, if even as nothing more than the beloved of the gods, worthy of the greatest and most lasting honor? And so it came about that with ever increasing frequency from this time on we find monuments, especially those set over the dead, representing people as they had lived. Maidens spin the thread through all eternity which had been broken all too soon in this life, and youths who died while fighting for their country go on forever winning the ἀρετῆς μέρος μέγιστον.

Thus it is that we need no longer expect, with comparative certainty, to find gods or goddesses represented on grave-monuments; and in the series we now are studying we no longer do so. The form, however, that such gravestones take in Laconia is naturally more conventional than that which we see elsewhere. Art never flourished there; and in places where the artistic impulse is feeble it is always more influenced by conventions and gives up types, which have become fixed by many generations of use, with more reluctance than is experienced elsewhere. This is illustrated by the stele published by Professor Furtwaengler. Knowing that Hades is represented on the older steles, we might suppose that the figure on this stele was the same, and that, as only a male figure is present, it was not what the earlier steles were — a monument of general import — but a grave-stele for a special man. That it was merely to commemorate one man is probably true, for, as we have seen, art and thought had now reached that stage where it was common to commemorate single persons. Secondly, we find steles of a later period, but of this same type, which from their inscriptions show that they are the gravestones of single men.[1] Although, as Professor Furtwaengler has shown in his article, all the symbols on the stele would suit Hades, yet there is one feature which cannot, I believe, be reconciled with the supposition that the figure is that of a god. This is the action of the dog, who is apparently trying

[1] Athen. Mitt. iv. Pl. 8. 1 and 2.

to get into the lap of the figure. Now, among the gravestones of another class, which I shall refer to later, we find very frequently steles of the purely commemorative type on which a youth or man is represented with a dog,[1] and sometimes playing with it.[2] In these a dog is introduced not (at least, not primarily) in a symbolic sense, but merely as a vivid illustration of the past life of the dead person. In this Spartan stele, however, it was used probably in part realistically and in part symbolically, owing to the artist not having been entirely free of religious conventions. The attitude, on the other hand, shows that the artist intended to represent a man, for the representation of a dog leaping on a god would be entirely without parallel.[3] There is no difficulty either in the fact that he leaps on the figure of a person who, by the kantharos, is shown to be dead. Dogs are almost universally supposed to possess a singular prescience in regard to spirits of similar beings, as for instance when in the Odyssey Athene has made herself invisible:[4]

> οὐδ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἴδεν ἀντίον, οὐδ' ἐνόησεν·
> οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς·
> ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεύς τε, κύνες τε ἴδον.

It is true that we find animals very closely connected with divinities in a way similar to this, but there is, I believe, a distinct difference. The figures I refer to are those, such as the Persian Artemis, where the goddess (in other cases the god) holds two animals by the feet. In such cases the animal is always one that has some special significance in relation to the divinity. In this case, however, the dog is not a special symbol of Hades, and furthermore, he springs of his *own free will* on the figure, and is not treated, as in the other cases, as an inseparable attribute. It has been sug-

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[1] Cf. Stackelberg, Gräber der Hellenen, Pl. ii. 2.

[2] Stele of Alxenor of Naxos, Friederichs-Wolters, 20.

[3] Exekias painted a vase with a group of the Dioskouroi and others, and represented a dog fawning on one of the heroes. But these brothers were never considered in the same light as the great gods of Greece, and in this scene are treated in their purely human aspect. Cf. Wien. Vorlgbl. 1888, iv. 1 A.

[4] Od. xvi. 160 ff.

gested to me that the dog may be Kerberos, but was Kerberos ever regarded as a playful puppy?

Furthermore, that dogs were supposed to exist in the other world along with their masters seems a not unnatural deduction from Pindar's lines describing the lower world, which I have quoted above. But most probably the artist was trying to suggest two ideas, one that of a spirit asking for libations, the other of the former body of the spirit whose past life is brought to mind by the figure of the dog.

In this stele, then, we have an example of the class to which, of late, all the steles have been attributed; and the differences between it and the earlier type can only strengthen our belief that there were two distinct types of these steles in Laconia and elsewhere, one representing gods and one representing mortals, and that their purposes were distinct and different.

To be classed with this stele is one found in Boeotia and published in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*;[1] also another found in Poros,[2] and another in the collection at Ince Hall, in England.[3] It is not known where this last one was found, and Michaelis in his description of it calls the figure Zeus. The lack of any attribute whatsoever is sufficient to throw doubt on its being Zeus; but this also makes it difficult to explain what it really is, and it is only by its general likeness to the other steles we have been studying that we are authorized to associate it with them.

This type continued for many centuries, the latest specimens of it being two very rude reliefs which have inscriptions, giving us the names of the two men represented as Timokles and Aristokles.[4] That the Timokles relief is of late date has been questioned by Professor Furtwaengler,[5] who considers it "Zweifellos archaisch." I hold to the more usual opinion for the following reasons. The snake represented on it has not the archaic form, for he has neither *cista* nor scales on the lower half of his body, from throat to the tip of

[1] iii. 318.
[2] Athen. Mitt. vii. 170.
[3] Arch. Ztg. 1874, p. 31, No. 259, Pl. v.
[4] Athen. Mitt. iv. Pl. 8, p. 127, Nos. 4, 5. Cf. ii. 418.
[5] Athen. Mitt. vii. 162.

the tail. The cuts in the drapery which indicate the folds are not so stiff and sharp as in the archaic steles, and the drapery as a whole is much freer, as is shown by the manner in which it falls over the left arm and between the arm and seat of the throne. The left hand is more natural and not so angular. The figure sits more comfortably and naturally on the throne, and not (cf. the Sabouroff stele) far forward on the seat with his back stiff and straight. Beside these differences in detail, there is one difference of a more general, but perhaps even more conclusive, character. One of the most marked and invariable characteristics of archaic art (I do not mean to include cheap terra-cottas or other such work) is the care with which it is executed, this showing itself both in the technique and in the composition and good proportion of the figures. In the figure under consideration the technique is wretched, the proportions ludicrous; and its only good quality, that of composition, is plagiarized from the earlier works. The incapacity of the artist can be well seen by comparing the throne with that of the Sabouroff stele. The two are of the same design, even in details, but it needs no explanation to show how much superior the earlier is to the later one.

There still remains one more class of these Spartan reliefs which was extremely common in other parts of Greece. There is a fragment[1] representing the upper half of the body of an armed youth behind whom is the inscription KOPOI ΘIOKΛENAM, which Milchhöfer explains as *οἱ Κόροι Θιόκλην Ἀμ—*, in other words that it is a votive relief to a hero. The reading: *(τοὶ) Κῶροι Θιοκλῆ Ναμ[ερτα*, given in the Berlin Catalogue, is better. There is no reason to consider the relief anything but an ordinary grave-stele.

There is another relief of the same sort,[2] but of later date, which has an inscription in the second word of which occurs the laconism of Σ for Θ; it is to be read *Μίκκοι ἀνέθηκε Τύχα.*

In the same article[3] on Laconian sculptures in which Milchhöfer published the statue with the inscription Δεύς or Ἄιδευς, he also

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[1] Athen. Mitt. ii. 314, Pl. 25. Cf. Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 294. Berlin Cat. of Sculpture, 732.

[2] Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 294, M.

[3] Arch. Ztg. 1881, p. 293 f., Pl. xvii. 2.

published a stele on which we see a bearded man, his hair bound by a fillet, standing upright to the left. In his right hand he holds a kantharos; in his left, a pomegranate (?). His right leg is bent at the knee. In front of him is a snake wriggling upwards, and with its head over the kantharos. As Milchhöfer says, this was probably a grave-stele. This represents the last stage of the Spartan steles. We see that it is a development from the earlier reliefs, but almost all traces of its predecessors have disappeared, the hieratic influence showing itself only in details; we have simply a representation of the dead man. Owing to the conditions of art in Laconia this stele — which dates from the time when purely naturalistic representations of the dead had, in other parts of Greece, become very common — shows us this naturalistic tendency, struggling to free itself from conventional types. The man stands in a natural, easy position, but in one hand he holds the kantharos to show that he wishes libations to be made him, while in front of him is the snake, — the symbol of the soul. It is neither purely naturalistic nor purely religious, and because of this very combination of opposing ideas is extremely interesting. On the one hand we see that tendency towards representing the dead as they had appeared in life, which had become common all over Greece. It shows itself in the position in which the figure stands, and in the cut of the beard and hair, which are no longer, as in the earlier reliefs, made to fall according to a fixed pattern, but have a more natural appearance. On the other hand we see the strength with which religion had impressed its outward symbols on the art of Laconia in the presence of the attributes that the figure holds, and of the snake, which the artist, with his realistic tendency, must have felt to be absurd. Finally, owing to the stagnation of art in this part of Greece, we see the artist himself unable to get free of the traditions as to technique which prevailed in the Spartan school, for the figure and the folds in the drapery are cut on the block in exactly the same way that we see them on the earliest of all the Spartan steles. The artist tried to do better than his predecessors, but both religion and custom hampered him.

We have now come to the end of our study of these Spartan reliefs and have obtained the following result: The steles do not

all belong to the same class, but form a progressive series. This progression is a *mental* one, and was almost undoubtedly (though the smallness of the series does not allow us to state this absolutely) also a chronological one. The earliest class is intimately connected with the worship of the dead, which we know was an important part of the Spartan religion. From this class, which were not grave-steles in the proper sense of the term, but were a sort of 'altar'-relief (similar in purpose to the altar-pictures of Christian churches), were developed two classes, both in type closely connected with their source. One of these was votive in character, the other was a class of actual grave-steles,—steles made, that is to say, with the primary intention of commemorating during succeeding ages a particular individual. Finally, from this class was developed— at the time when, owing to the course history had taken, Greece had awaked to the idea of her own capacities and importance — a type of grave-stele which was less hieratic and more naturalistic in character, and to which there are extremely close analogies in other parts of Greece.

## II.

If now we search, in more northern parts of Greece, for illustrations of the same types of gravestones as those we have been studying, we find in places such as Attica — where religion was as strong a motive power in the daily life of the inhabitants as in Laconia, and led to the creation of religious monuments which were never equalled elsewhere in Greece, and have, in the later history of the world, seldom been equalled and never been surpassed — still that the type of gravestone used was almost exclusively the purely commemorative one. This type is, however, broken up into innumerable smaller classes. Men are represented as warriors, athletes, priests, or in everyday costume, and maidens and older women are also shown as they had appeared in life. On the earlier steles, however, we often find attributes of a religious significance, but these gradually disappear, leaving only the simple picture of the life that had gone. In technique, on the other hand, we find certain differences, most of them dependent on the different artistic capacity of the various parts of Greece, but one of them, that of the use of paint-

ing instead of carving, exhibits an entirely new method. Such differences have nothing to do with the essential meaning of the gravestones, and consequently I shall pay but little attention to them.

The shapes of the steles already mentioned are not always the same, but the meaning, with the differences to be noted, remains constant. Hence, in the following argument, I shall pay little consideration to the technique or to the shape of the monuments. These insignificant matters have often been studied but to little purpose. The chief gain to be derived from studying these grave-reliefs is the obtaining a closer insight into the ideas of the Greeks in regard to life and death, and this is to be got only from studying their meaning and not their technique. The study of their form may enable us to date them, but to classify them according to date and form can lead only to confusion and indecision; for many of the various ideas which we shall see exemplified, were co-existent at the same period, and are interwoven one with another. As, however, the meaning is dependent on the figures, these afford the means of making a simple distinction that agrees, in large measure, with differences in date.

The meaning must almost of necessity be different (and as a matter of fact it generally is) according as the stele has one or more figures represented on it; and with the simpler stele is connected the simpler meaning. For this reason I will first consider the single-figure steles, which are always of the purely commemorative type, although the figures sometimes have attributes of religious significance. These attributes are, however, of secondary importance.

The simplest of all the steles are the painted ones on which the only inscription is the name of the dead person, as that of Antiphanos or of Theron.[1] We may fairly suppose these steles usually to have been decorated, but we are left in the dark, owing to the disappearance of the paint, as to the question whether the decoration was of symbolic figures, such as the cock and dog on the Antiphanos stele, or of a (to us) more intelligible character. It is plain that no question can arise in regard to the object of such steles as these, which are the simplest sort of commemorative monument.

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[1] Conze, Attische Grabreliefs, Pl. xiii., xiv.

Next in simplicity to these come the steles, of which we have large numbers from various parts of Greece, which represent the dead man or woman perfectly simply, as they were in life.[1] This class occurs again and again in all periods of Greek art. As belonging to the more archaic period may be mentioned the stele of the Aristion, which is typical of a large class of steles showing warriors.[2]

The occurrence of warriors on grave-steles over and over again, in this and the following centuries, is easily explicable. We have already seen that the grave-monument was considered the γέρας θανόντων. Furthermore, the noblest death a Greek could suffer was to die fighting for his country:

χάλκασπις ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμιξεν,
τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται,[3]

Such a death also proclaimed his bravery to all the world, for,

Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἀγαθῶν φείδεται, ἀλλὰ κακῶν[4].

Hence we see how natural was this representation of the man as he had last appeared to his friends on earth on a gravestone of simple commemorative character.

It will be well to pause a moment and to consider the literary evidence in regard to the honor in which death in battle was held, for it will help to account for the evident pride which even the common soldier in those days took in his calling — a pride which it is hard, nowadays, to find quite the same grounds for. This feeling originated primarily in the fact of the division of Greece into many states — a division which affected every branch of life. It was not merely that such a death gave proof of courage; but, owing to the small size of the states into which Greece was divided and to the difficulty of intercourse between cities distant from one another, the spirit of local patriotism was intense. Every man felt that the state he belonged to was truly his mother, and he fought for her

[1] These are so well known and so numerous as to make it unnecessary for me to mention more than a few to illustrate my arguments. Cf. Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. ii.–viii.; Athen. Mitt. viii. p. 84, Pl. ii.–iv.

[2] Cf. Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. i., ii., v., vi., viii.

[3] Pind. Isth. vi. 25.

[4] Anth. Pal. vii. 160.

with a different spirit from that possible to a man who is fighting as a mercenary for some cause utterly foreign to his personal interests. Only by remembering this can we understand the full meaning of these steles or of such lines as,

> Ἀκμᾶς ἑστακυῖαν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν
> ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ῥυσάμενοι
> νάσῳ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ Σαλαμινίᾳ· ἁ δὲ Κόρινθος
> ἄμμιν τᾶς ἀρετᾶς μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.[1]

This feeling is still more strongly shown by the following:

> Εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον
> ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη·
> Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίαν περιθεῖναι
> κείμεθ' ἀγηράτῳ χρώμενοι εὐλογίᾳ.[2]

These lines show us plainly why the warrior was represented on his gravestone fully armed, rather than in the garb of peace.

Of a later period than the last mentioned steles, and coming from Pella in the northern part of Greece, is the warrior stele published by Brunn in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*.[3] A second stele of the same sort[4] is also published by Brunn, in which we get a slight addition to the type in the presence of a religious symbol — in this case, a cock. Such symbols frequently occur, but they always occupy very secondary positions and do not affect the essential character of the stele. They are nothing but a faint suggestion of the religious rites due the dead, or perhaps to the gods of the dead. The steles of Lisas the Tegean,[5] who was buried at Tatoi, not far from Athens, and that of Aristonautes,[6] who is in full armor, show us the warrior charging forward against his enemy, the representation of whom the sculptor has left to the beholder's imagination.

Still another from Athens, and one of the most famous, is that of

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[1] Preger, Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae, 5.
[2] Preger, *ibid.* 8.
[3] viii. 81, Pl. iv.
[4] *Id.* Pl. iii.
[5] Bul. de Cor. Hel. iv. 408, Pl. 7.
[6] Kabbadias, Κατάλογος Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 738.

Dexileos, which is still *in situ*.[1] Dexileos died in 394 B.C., fighting the Corinthians, and it is thus that the sculptor has represented him. Mounted on his horse, his cloak fluttering behind him, he charges his prostrate enemy. This is a capital example to show that neither the form of the stele nor the number of persons represented gives us a safe guide for classifying these monuments, for here we have a type of the *naiskos* form of stele and a composition of two figures, yet the meaning of the stele is exactly the same as that of the earlier and simpler monuments.[2]

In a yet later period we find the same warrior type in the stele from Kleitor in Arcadia.[3] In this, as in one of the steles from Larissa published by Brunn, the soldier is represented praying.

Another class of steles which occurs with similar frequency is that which represents athletes. The best known of these is the fragment showing us a diskos-thrower.[4] Later is the figure of Agathokles.[5] He stands with his strigil in one hand and his dog beside him. The position of the dog is noteworthy, for he is seated on the ground with his nose high in the air — a position a dog takes only when he is howling. Whether the sculptor really meant to represent the dog as sorrowing for his lost master or whether it was lack of skill that led him to carve the dog in this awkward position, we cannot decide with certainty. When, however, we consider how frequently the dog is represented on these steles as the companion of the dead person, also the idea held by the Greeks relative to dogs and spirits as shown in the passage I have quoted above from Homer, and finally how (as every one knows) dogs continually show an almost human understanding when their masters die, — if we remember this it is not unnatural to suppose that the sculptor wished to represent the sorrow of the dog.

Another such stele is that of Prikon,[6] who stands with his hima-

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[1] For similar steles, cf. Arch. Ztg. 1863, Pl. 69, 70; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 754.

[2] Cf. the stele of Alkias, Athen. Mitt. 1886, Pl. v. S. 150.

[3] Athen. Mitt. vii. 154, Pl. v.

[4] Conze, Att. Grabrel. iv.; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 38.

[5] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 742.

[6] *Ibid.* 730.

tion about him, and with strigil and oil-flask in his hands. The most probable explanation of this type is, not that Prikon was a great athlete, but simply that he died in the bloom of youth, the strigil and oil-flask being merely emblematic of that exercise which every Greek youth enjoyed. A stele such as this forms a link between the steles on which the dead person seems to be presented to us, as in the case of the diskos-thrower or Agakles,[1] as an athlete accomplished in some special sport, and those which represent the dead quite simply as they had lived. Another such link is shown us in the scene of two boys, one of them playing with a ball.[2] We can scarcely suppose the youth, to whom the stele was undoubtedly set up, to have been an athlete, but rather that it merely shows the boy to have died young — at the period of life when games were his chief pleasure.

In another class the trade which the dead man had pursued during his lifetime is shown us by the stele, as in the case of the cobbler Xanthippos and his children, now in the British Museum.[3] Xanthippos and the two children are a group taken directly from life, the sculptor's sole purpose being to represent this shoemaker as he had lived. We also have the grave-inscription of a goldsmith, Gourgos.[4]

The monument of the wine merchant Tokkes, from Aphyte,[5] is another of the same sort. Its only peculiarity is that it is painted and not carved. I have put this stele without hesitation in this class that represents trades, but there is another possibility in regard to its interpretation. The amphora that Tokkes holds with one hand may simply be a symbol of a happy life, as in the case of Myrtada, on whose stele was written:

. . . ἀλλὰ πίθος μοι
σύμβολον εὐφροσύνης, τερπνὸς ἔπεστι τάφος.[6]

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[1] Athen. Mitt. 1880, Pl. vi.

[2] Bul. de Cor. Hel. vii. Pl. xix.

[3] Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 119; Brueckner, Orn. und Form der att.Grabst. Pl. ii. 2.

[4] Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus conlecta, No. 46. Cf. Berlin Catalogue of Sculpture, 789, 790.

[5] Athen. Mitt. 1880, p. 185, Pl. vi.; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 1002.

[6] Anth. Pal. vii. 329.

The quieter side of life also does not lack its representation, and we find figures of youths reading,[1] or playing on the lyre,[2] reminding us of the lines:

πάτρα Μίλητος τίκτει Μούσαισι τοθεινόν
Τιμόθεον κιθάρας δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον.[3]

Another stele on which a musician was represented was that of the flute-player Telephanes, of whom is said: . . . πλεῖστον γέρας εἵλετο θνητῶν. These steles and inscriptions are interesting as showing the simple and direct way the Greek chose for commemorating the dead. It is to be noted that it is the exception when we find the age or other secondary details mentioned.

One might go on almost indefinitely mentioning instances where, owing to the straightforwardness and simplicity of the Greek, we are enabled to picture to ourselves the life of the dead person in a way which will be the envy of the archaeologist of future ages, who shall tire himself reading on modern gravestones the conventional lists of virtues, under which the individual character is hidden more completely than the body below is hidden in the earth. I will mention but a few more.

Of the same general character as the foregoing steles, but not exhibiting any one particular phase of the character of the deceased man or woman, are those on which a simple figure is carved, and nothing more. They seem to say, "I was a maiden," or "I was a youth," in the same way that on the early vases the artist often takes the trouble, in order that we may be in no doubt about it, to write the names beside the various objects he drew.[4]

Among the earliest of these are the painted steles which have been discussed by Loeschcke[5] and Milchhöfer.[6] The best preserved

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[1] Ann. del Inst. 1855, Pl. 15, 16; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 121. Cf. Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 817. [2] Athen. Mitt. 1892, S. 433, Pl. xi.

[3] Preger, Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae, 10.

[4] On the stele of Polyxena we find the very words I have suggested. The inscription is: Πολυξενάια ἐμμί. Cf. Athen. Mitt. viii. 81 f.

[5] Athen. Mitt. iv. 36 f., 289 f., Pl. 1–4.

[6] Athen. Mitt. 1880, S. 164 f., Pl. vi. On S. 190 is a list of those in Athens. Cf. Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. i.; vi. 2; xvi.

of them, that commemorative of the priest Lyseas, is in Athens.[1] The figure stands erect, turned toward the right. He is dressed in his long priest's robes, and holds in his left hand the sacrificial branches, in his right hand a kantharos. At first sight it might be thought this stele had some religious signification, but this is not the case. The figure is nothing more than one of the innumerable pictures of priests that occur on vases, made life-size, and painted on a tall narrow slab of marble, and is strictly commemorative. Below the figure of Lyseas is another scene, which has led to several explanations. It is that of a youth riding a horse at full speed to the right; on the further side of this figure, and slightly behind him, are visible the remains of another horse and rider. Loeschcke originally explained this scene as perhaps reminiscent of some victory obtained by the dead Lyseas in athletic games. Furtwaengler, however, says[2] that the horse is simply used symbolically, and has nothing to do with the rank as citizen or with the deeds of the deceased, an opinion to which Loeschcke has acceded.[3] Conze[4] believed the figure to be the sculptor's method of showing the position and wealth of the family of the dead person. Although Furtwaengler and Milchhöfer have shown beyond all doubt that the horse was a favorite symbol to indicate a heroised mortal, still I think the earlier opinion held by Loeschcke to be the correct one. If we look at the painted pictures[5] on the steles, and similar carved ones, we see in one case a horse-race, in another a man in armor mounted on his horse, and on another a youth crowning the horse.[6] Now these scenes do not suit the character of heroised horsemen as we see them on votive reliefs, where they are generally in attitudes

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[1] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 30.

[2] Einleitung zu der Sam. Sab. p. 36.

[3] Jahrb. d. Inst. 1887, p. 277. Cf. also Milchhöfer, Athen. Mitt. 1879, p. 167, where he retracts his earlier opinion, which was (Museen Athens, S. 41 f.) that the horseman referred to the games at the burial of the deceased.

[4] Att. Grabrel. i. 4.

[5] Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. i., ix., x.

[6] *Id.* Pl. ix. Cf. the same scene on coins of Tarentum, Gardner, Types of Greek Coins, Pl. xi. 3, 4. Cf. also coins of Philip II. of Macedon, Head's Coins of the Ancients, p. 197, fig. 138.

of comparative repose; and the fact (if it be true) that horses occur sometimes on the grave-steles of women,[1] does not alter the fact that in the case of these Attic steles they are shown by their riders to be real horses and not symbols. They are merely an additional commemoration of the past life of the person who is represented above them.

The fact that with but one exception the few predella-scenes of this sort which we have represent horsemen, must not lead us to suppose that their meaning is a general and religious one, and not that which I have mentioned; because when these were made grave-steles were by no means set up over every grave, and it is not outside the range of probability to suppose that the half-dozen we have were of men famous in the games. Furthermore, on one[2] we find a sphinx, which has most probably a religious significance. That is to say, there are two classes of these scenes, — one religious, one (the horsemen) having the same meaning in regard to the dead person as the strigil and oil-flask have to the athletes.

The steles of women to which I have just referred were found in Boeotia; but before we draw any conclusions from them there is need of considerable more proof than has as yet been brought forward that they were grave-steles. Körte, in an article in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*,[1] says that they are — but for the fact that women and not men are carved upon them — of exactly the same character as the reliefs which Furtwaengler has proved, without doubt, to be simple votive reliefs to heroes. Their size and the frequent presence of altars on them, to say nothing of their bearing inscriptions such as ἀπ' Ἐ[ρ]ιμούσα ἥρωι, are quite sufficient to make us doubt their having been true gravestones, and to make us believe they were nothing but votive hero*ine*-reliefs.

It might be supposed that a manifold representation of the dead person's life would not occur, — that Lyseas, for instance, would not be presented to us as an athlete as well as a priest. We have, however, one certain example of such representation on a stele of the fifth century B.C., on which are carved three of the large

[1] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 39, Athen. Mitt. iii. 373 f.

[2] Conze, Pl. 10.

stone grave-vases which were so common. On each of the two of these that still remain is carved a different scene.[1] There is no reason to suppose that this more complicated type of representation had sprung up in the short period that separates this later stele from the painted ones.

Other simple figures similar to those of which we have already spoken occur in other parts of Greece. From Boeotia we see Gathon and Aristokrates[2] standing side by side. In this case we have, perhaps, a religious symbol, introduced (as has already been seen in other cases) in the shape of an apple which one of the figures holds. On the other hand, it may be merely a love token. Another well-known and exceptionally ugly monument is that of Dermys and Kitylos,[3] who stand side by side, each with an arm about the other's neck. This strong expression of affection may be an early and crude device for showing the same feeling that we see again and again in later Attic steles.

The stele of which Alxenor was so proud,[4] as he tells us in the inscription on it, shows us the dead man playing with his dog — a motive that occurs very often. A stele similar to this is in Naples.[5] Interesting in comparison with these last, as showing the great advance which sculpture made during the fifth century in Greece, is the very fine stele from Carystos.[6] A fragment of a superb stele is in the *Sammlung Sabouroff*.[7] In this case the man was not improbably, as Professor Furtwaengler says, playing with a dog.

Hitherto I have spoken mainly of steles commemorative of men, but though in the more archaic period they far outnumber those of women, yet these latter grow more and more common during the course of the fifth century. They are of precisely the same character as the steles for men; that is to say, they show the dead woman as she had been in life.

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[1] Bul. de Cor. Hel. iv. 339 f.

[2] Athen. Mitt. iii. 311, Pl. 15; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 32.

[3] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 56.

[4] *Ibid.* 32.

[5] Fried.-Wol. 21.

[6] Sam. Sab. Pl. vi.

[7] Pl. ii.

Professor Furtwaengler in the *Einleitung zu der Sammlung Sabouroff* says, speaking of the steles of this period as opposed to the earlier ones, that they show: "Jene zweite Richtung der sepulchralen Kunst bei den Griechen . . . welche den Todten darstellt wie er im Leben war,"[1] and on the following page says that the idea expressed by them is "die Todten zwar als Todte, aber wie Lebende darzustellen." This view has been combated by Brueckner.[2] I hold to Brueckner's view and cannot see, especially in regard to the single-figure steles, whether the figures are seated or standing, and the simpler steles on which more than one figure is represented, that there is any reason to believe that the figures are anything but simple images of the dead person as she or he had lived.

We get a very clear idea of the future world, as the Greeks believed it, from Pindar, and one that, at first sight, might seem to give some strength to the theory advanced by Professor Furtwaengler. Pindar says:[3]

> τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,
> φοινικορόδοις δ' ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν
> καὶ λιβάνῳ σκιαρὸν καὶ χρυσέοις καρποῖς βεβριθός.
> καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοις τε, τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς,
> τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δέ σφισιν εὐανθὴς
> ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος·
> ὀδμὰ δ' ἐρατὸν κατὰ χῶρον κίδναται
> αἰεὶ θύα μιγνύντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ παντοῖα θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.

Now, from this it might be inferred that the steles of gymnasts, for example, were pictures of the life hereafter. This, however, is not, I believe, a justifiable deduction. We have seen that the steles of gymnasts, of tradesmen, of warriors, of priests, are all of one general type, showing men in the different occupations of life; and if we can show that several of these classes cannot by any possibility represent the underworld, it will be safe, as long as there is no

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[1] i. 39.

[2] Von den Griechischen Grabreliefs, p. 15 ff.

[3] Pind. Frag. Θρῆνοι, 1.

evidence to the contrary, to assume this for the others. The key-note of Pindar's description is contained in the words *παρὰ δέ σφισιν εὐανθὴς ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος*, and this same idea is contained in another fragment[1] in which, contrasting the lot of the blessed with that of the cursed, the poet says:

*Ψυχαὶ . . . . . .*
*εὐσεβέων δ' ἐπουράνιοι νάοισαι*
*μολπαῖς μάκαρα μέγαν ἀείδοντ' ἐν ὕμνοις.*

It occurs again in fragment 5.[2]

Now if we look at pictures of the lower world on vases, we get the same idea of the happiness there. On the Canosa vase, in Munich,[3] with the exception of one or two scenes of mythological character, such as Sisyphos and Herakles carrying off Kerberos, we have nothing but illustrations of the Pindaric idea of everlasting happiness. This mythologic element, which as I have just noted in the case of Sisyphos and Herakles, destroys indeed in a large measure the value of such paintings as evidence for the post-mortem existence of mortals; for instead of being primarily representations of the life hereafter, such as was to be led by everybody, they are in fact rather to be regarded as illustrations of Greek mythology. The most marked case of this is to be found in Pausanias'[4] description of the painting by Polygnotos, in Delphi, which seems to have been little else than a series of pictures illustrative of stories found in Greek authors. The vase from Ruvo, now in Karlsruhe,[5] is little more than a replica of the Munich vase. The idea of happiness expressed by Pindar and shown on the vases is not the chief idea that the steles and the inscriptions on them suggest. Consequently, although, as I have said, one might imagine the steles of gymnasts to represent scenes in the lower world (though the gravity of the figures and the howling dogs lessen this impression), still the evi-

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[1] Frag. *Θρῆνοι*, 3.

[2] Cf. Anth. Pal. xi. 42, Lucian, *Περὶ Πένθους*. For the philosopher's abstraction of these ideas, see Plato, Phaedo, 110, A.

[3] Muller-Wiessler, Denkmäler d. alten Kunst, i. Pl. lvi.; Arch. Ztg. 1843, p. 193. Baumeister's Denkmäler, Pl. 87.

[4] i. 10. 28.

[5] Mon. del. Inst. ii. 49; Arch. Ztg. 1843, p. 193.

dence prohibits absolutely our supposing steles representing battle, such as that of Dexileos or of Lisas, or hunting scenes, as that on the stele of Artemidoros,[1] or men seated on the prow of a boat, to be anything but representative of this world. In regard to these fighting scenes, we have positive evidence from Lucian that they can only be in this world. In his sarcastic essay, Περὶ Πένθους,[2] Lucian puts the following words into the mouth of the dead son, who is quoting his father: οἴχῃ μοι κακοδαίμων ἐκφυγὼν τὰς νόσους, οὐ πυρετὸν ἔτι δεδιώς, οὐ πολέμιον, οὐ τύραννον. Furthermore, though steles with musicians might be supposed to be pictures of the next world, we cannot imagine that the wine merchant Tokkes would be thought of as peddling his wine to the spirits of the dead men, or that Xanthippos would find much cobbling to be done in the Elysian Fields. Such scenes *must* be of this world.

Another argument used by Professor Furtwaengler to show that the scenes on the reliefs were meant to represent the next world, is[3] that there is "kaum eine Spur oder Andeutung von Trauer" to be seen on these steles. As a general rule, this is true; but it is due chiefly, I believe, to the restraint in the representation of all passion, which is a necessary quality of all greatest art and is as noticeable in the best art of the Renaissance in Italy as in that of Greece, not to the fact that these scenes are pictures of the happy life to come. It was not consistent with Greek ideas that grief (at least, that of a man) should be violently expressed. This is illustrated by the passage in Sophokles[4] where, in telling of the death of Oidipous, the messenger says of Theseus that:

> . . . ὡς ἀνὴρ γενναῖος, οὐκ οἴκτου μέτα
> κατῄνεσεν.

This explains why the men on the grave-steles show signs of emotion less often than the other figures.

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[1] In Athens. Not yet catalogued. The figure is attacking a wild boar among trees and rocks. Second century B.C.

[2] Περὶ Πένθ. 19.

[3] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 41.

[4] Oed. Col. 1636 f. Cf. Eur. Alc. 904.

There are, however, instances of violent grief being shown; as, for example, by the two women on an archaic stele-base in Athens.[1] No one can doubt that their tearing of their hair is significant of grief. Now such passionate signs of grief we should not expect to find in the later and finer art, but even there we find something to take its place. Above the figures on a stele in the Sammlung Sabouroff[2] we see a siren tearing her hair, and this occurs more than once.[3] What was extravagant emotion for a man or woman was not felt by the Greek to be so for a being half human, half bird. Then, too, what was unbecoming a free man was not so for a slave, and we often find such figures showing unmistakable signs of grief.[4]

To resume our consideration of the simpler steles of women. As we have seen that men were represented in their everyday garb, so do we find maidens also shown us in this simple way. One of the simplest of such monuments is that in Bologna,[5] where the maiden holds her dress in much the same way as the female statues found on the Acropolis in Athens. Further we find the maiden Tito seated,[6] bending her head sadly forward over her hand, or again Artemisia,[7] who looks quietly out into space. Melite, too, looks straight forward, her gaze directed vaguely far beyond us who look at her, her pose and expression quiet as of one sunk in thought.[8] Such figures as these lend strength to the belief that they are pictures of the living, for why should the dead, who, having drunk the waters of Lethe, were enjoying everlasting bliss, be shown

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[1] Conze, Att. Grabrel. xi.; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 41.

[2] Pl. xxi.

[3] Cf. Brueckner, Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabst. Pl. i. 15; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 105. 36. 63 (299); Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 983; Athen. Mitt. 12, Pl. ix. Arch. Ztg. 1874, 149.

[4] Conze, *id.* Pl. 66; 72; Ann. dell Inst. 1876, Tav. d'agg. G. Professor Furtwaengler disregards this evidence, saying that they "nicht eigentliche Personen, sondern nur Attribute sind"! I will ask any one who thinks that no grief is shown on these monuments to read the grave-inscriptions in the Greek Anthology. These inscriptions, taken in many cases from grave-steles now lost, prove conclusively that Professor Furtwaengler's idea is incorrect.

[5] Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben von d. D. Arch. Inst. Pl. 35. 1. 1888.

[6] *Id.* Pl. xix. [7] Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 18.

[8] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 720.

so grave and sad? Sadness, or rather gravity, is the natural expression for those who are alive and have to struggle daily with the contradictoriness of this life,

> ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακραὶ ἁμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ
> λύπας ἐγγυτέρω,[1]

but it is surely an unnatural expression for those who can no longer even imagine sorrow.

One of the most beautiful of these steles is that in Venice in the Casa Giustiniani alle Zattere. In this case the maiden is standing upright taking something out of a box.[2] This motive, sometimes combined with others, occurs very frequently on the steles. We see it on that of Philis,[3] the only difference being that Philis is seated and not standing. Later on we find it recurring in the case of Hegeso[4] and then again in that of Ameiniche.[5] Once more in an uninscribed stele,[6] where mother and daughter are unmistakably sorrowful, the one seems loath to give the box, the other loath to take it. This gravity is not that which we find imbuing all fifth-century work, for in these cases it is combined with gestures and attitudes which make it distinct from the expression that is shown by such figures as are on the Parthenon frieze. In the latter case the expression is due to the feeling of pride in their own splendor and occupation which the figures (for we may treat a great artist's creations as truly living) felt.

In the case of Ameinokleia[7] we find the motive slightly changed, and this change perhaps gives us a clue to the frequent occurrence of this box on the steles. Ameinokleia stands gracefully poised, while a servant puts on her sandal; near by a maiden, not a slave

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[1] Soph. Oed. Col. 1215.

[2] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 6; Alte Denk. 1888, Pl. 35. There is in the Museum in Athens, still uncatalogued, the upper part of a stele similar in all essentials to the one in Venice.

[3] Ann. del. Inst. 1872, Pl. L.

[4] Still *in situ* in the Dipylon, in Athens.

[5] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 764; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 34 (73).

[6] Conze, Pl. 31.

[7] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 718.

but probably the daughter of the dead Ameinokleia, holds the box. Now, if we attempt to explain this scene by Professor Furtwaengler's theory that these steles always represent scenes in the next world, we find ourselves in trouble. Shall we suppose Ameinokleia carried her jewels with her to the everflowering meads and that her daughter and servant had died before her? Such a scene, if we regard it as in the future world, has no appropriate significance. Indeed Solon said:

τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα
χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδεω.[1]

Even with Pindar's verses which I have quoted before us we cannot suppose that it was the common belief that maidens took their ornaments with them in Charon's boat. Why make trouble for ourselves? Why not interpret this scene in the simple and natural way as being a representation of the beginning of the last long journey from which there is no return? Surely, that will explain the sadness of the daughter and the gravity of the mother better than if we put the scene in another world.

Among other steles that show us the maiden in this simple form is one from Paros, where the figure plays with two doves.[2] Professor Furtwaengler suggests that this figure is a development of the early type of goddess holding a dove. They are, however, used in such a realistic way that it seems to me likely, when we remember how frequently children and older people are shown on the steles as playing with birds,[3] that the artist was merely using a common motive without any ulterior religious idea.

Still another, and one of the most beautiful of all, is the stele of Mynno,[4] who with wool basket at her side sits twisting the woolen thread between her fingers.[5] Long since the Fates cut short the thread, the whirr of the spindle stopped, but Mynno spins on the

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[1] Pomtow, Poet. Lyr. Graec. Min. i. p. 135, No. 21.

[2] Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, p. 229, No. 19.

[3] Brueckner, Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabstel. Pl. ii. 5; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 715. Many others are to be found in Conze, Att. Grabrel.

[4] Sam. Sab. Pl. 19.

[5] Cf. Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 470.

broken thread forever. This again seems to me nothing but a scene from life and not one from the future world, for I believe we have no evidence that a woman's household duties, such as spinning, were continued after death. The spindle is emblematic in exactly the same way as the strigil on the steles of youths.

As in the case of the men so here, too, we occasionally find types that show us a religious motive. One of the earliest steles of a woman is that found in the Piraeus.[1] The woman is seated, and holds in one hand a bird, in the other a cup, — both religious symbols.[2] The type is undoubtedly influenced by early images of goddesses. Much later is the relief of a maiden still *in situ* in the Dipylon. In one hand she holds an oinochoe, while with the other she makes the gesture of prayer. Of Roman times (and yet very fine) is a stele now in the museum in Athens[3] representing a priestess of Isis named Alexandra, the wife of Ktitos. She stands on the right side of the stele, of which the left side, as well as the raised right hand of Alexandra, are gone. It has been suggested that her hand rested on her husband's shoulder, but so little of the stele is broken off that it is impossible to suppose that another figure stood beside her. Another supposition is that she held a sistron, but may not her hand simply have been raised in the attitude of prayer?

Though we have seen that Pindar thought that sacrifices were made in the lower world, still when we remember the analogies between the steles of worshippers I have just considered and the much earlier memorial reliefs and the hero-reliefs (where there is no doubt that the sacrifices being made are of this world) of the same periods as these steles, I cannot see why we should not take it for granted that these steles also represent life and not death.

There are distinctly religious steles, however, on which we see Hermes Psychopompos leading away the dead person from his living friends. An example of this is afforded by the stele on which

[1] Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 35, No. 36; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 711.

[2] It is only where the bird is connected with children, or in a case, such as that above mentioned, of the maiden with two doves, that I would suggest that it is probably not a religious symbol.

[3] Not yet catalogued by Kabbadias, but see Arch. Zeit. 1871, p. 17, No. 3.

Hermes is leading away the dead Myrrhine from her still living family.[1] It might be thought that Hermes was leading the maiden towards her already dead family, who are waiting to greet her in the lower world. If this were so, however, Hermes would not be represented at full stride, for when the goal is approached one lessens one's pace; furthermore, the sad turn of Myrrhine's head shows she is leaving those she loved, not meeting them. It is important to notice this, because it not only shows us a scene of parting, but also (in this case at least) that the secondary personages are *not* thought of, as Professor Furtwaengler says, as "künftigen Verstorbene." The single thought shown by the stele is the grief and separation caused by death. The presence of Hermes is no reason for belief that Myrrhine is thought of as a spirit, for to the Greeks the gods were actual persons, visible as well in this world as the next.[2]

One class of steles exists which everybody admits represents this world, and that is the class where a woman is represented at the moment of death.[3] In these cases of death we see the woman, her strength gone, her arms dropping relaxed at her side, sinking back into the arms of an attendant. About her are sometimes members of her family tearing their hair or showing other signs of grief. Then scenes such as that of Demokleides[4] sitting on the prow of

[1] Gaz. Arch. i. Pl. 7.

[2] Another stele sometimes said to show a similar religious motive is a late one still *in situ* in the Dipylon. It represents two men seated between two women; before them a table with food. On the left, at the feet of one of the women, is a man seated in a boat, reaching out his hand for food. For representation, see Harrison, Monuments of Ancient Athens, p. 585. Dr. Percy Gardner (Journ. Hel. Stud. v. 105 f.) interprets the seated man as Charon in his boat. If this interpretation is true, the monument is unique. Against it may be said that the position of the so-called Charon is hardly suited to a god; that his dress, and particularly the build of his body, are exactly like that of the other men; and finally, that there are too many oars in the boat for us to believe that it belonged to Charon. The man in the boat and his companions at the table are merely fishermen.

[3] Brueckner, Von d. Griech. Grabst., 15 ff.; Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte d. Griech. Anth. p. 97 ff.; Conze, Att. Grabst. Pl. 46, 63, 73–75. See also the text to Pl. 95.

[4] Conze, *id.* 121.

a boat with his head in his hands can only be in this world, and the figure, contrary to Furtwaengler's assertion, shows signs of great grief.

There is another type still which also, I believe, can be explained only in this way. I mean the steles on which, beside the other people, there is a very young child. Professor Furtwaengler says of these children: "Niemand fragt ob sie todt sind oder lebend, weil sie überhaupt nicht eigentliche Personen, sondern nur Attribute sind."[1] This statement is, I believe, too strong. In some cases, as for instance, that of Mnesagora, the child is distinctively mentioned in the inscription.[2] Another case where the child is certainly not an attribute is that of a stele found in Aegina,[3] on which is represented a youth on the right putting his hand on the head of a naked boy who stands in front of him. The latter looks up to the youth and stretches his hand towards a dog who stands between them. Now it is plain that the child cannot be an *attribute* here, and the gesture of the elder man leaves no doubt that the boy represents an actual person. Furthermore, why, when we find steles representing only children,[4] should we consider them as attributes and not as real beings on steles where no one doubts that all the other figures are real? I will not say that they were never used symbolically, but such cases are of extreme rarity. I know of only one where we may say, if we choose, that they are so used. It is the stele of Phanostrate,[5] on which is the epigram:

Μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς Φανοστράτη ἐνθάδε κεῖται
ο]ὐθενὶ λυπηρά, πᾶσιν δὲ θανοῦσα ποθεινή.

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[1] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 48.

[2] This stele is in Athens, either in a private collection or in the Asomaton chapel. A photograph shows a woman in Ionic chiton and himation, the latter thrown over her left shoulder and passed under her right arm, and then over her outstretched left, leaving the right arm free to drop at her side. In her left hand she holds a bird by both wings. She stands to the right. In front a small naked boy kneels on his left knee and stretches both hands up towards the bird. See Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 87.

[3] Alte Denk. 1888, Pl. 35.

[4] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 981, 983.

[5] Conze, Att. Grabrel. 84 (340); Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 993.

The four children carved on this stone may, perhaps, be considered as attributes.

Thus, usually, these little figures represent real persons, and they probably always do, for it is hardly consistent with Greek feeling to distinguish a woman by an *attribute* of a child.

There is a large number of reliefs which show us an extremely young child — so young that it is still in swaddling clothes.[1] This can only belong to the dead woman, and yet it is generally held by one of the other figures, in one case[2] by a mere child. There can be no doubt that it belongs to the dead woman. We can hardly interpret these scenes as being in the next world, for it would not be likely that a dead person would hold a baby in her arms as she greeted another. Furthermore, the baby cannot be an attribute in these cases, for it is not held by the woman to whom the stele was erected. It is natural, however, that the death of a mother, especially if she died in childbirth, should be represented by the baby taken in charge by a friend.

In another case[3] we see the mother, her head tipped up, apparently falling back into the arms of an attendant. In front stands a grieving maiden, while another holds the child wrapped in swaddling bands.

It might be thought that such a scene would not be represented, but we have indisputable proof that it often was.[4] Pausanias[5] describes a painting he saw commemorative of Xenodike: *μνῆμα Ξενοδίκης ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὠδῖσι.* Another inscription is:

> *παῖδά τοι ἰφθίμαν Δαμαινέτου ἅδε Κρατίσταν*
> *Ἀρχεμάχου δὲ φίλαν εὔνιν ἔδεκτο κόνις·*
> *ἃ ποθ' ὑπ' ὠδίνων στονόεντι κατέφθιτο πότμωι*
> *ὀρφανὸν ἐμμεγάροις παῖδα λιποῦσα πόσει.*[6]

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[1] Conze, Att. Grabrel. No. 276; 274, 277, 278, 281, 302, Pl. 65, 73, 76.

[2] Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 76.

[3] Conze, *id.* Pl. 73.

[4] Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte d. Griech. Anth. 84 ff.

[5] ii. 7. 3.

[6] Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 77. Cf. 238; 467, 675; add. 228 B. Anth. Pal. vii. 729, 730, 163, 464-465, vi. 348.

We are thus enabled to explain these steles in a way that exactly suits the scenes carved on them.

We now come to the most difficult problem of all, — that of explaining the steles on which there are many figures, two of them holding each other's hands. Hitherto we have dealt with steles on which one figure was by far the most prominent; but now, owing to this new motive, two figures at least are of equal prominence. There can be only three interpretations of this scene, — one that it is a scene of greeting; one that it is a farewell; or, finally, that it is symbolical simply of strong feeling between the two figures.[1] All these views have been, and still are, held. Professor Furtwaengler says:[2] "Also auch alle die Attischen Familiengruppen mit dem Motive des Handschlags stellen die Todte dar, wie dies nach unserer ganzen bisherigen Darstellung auch nicht anders sein konnte. Von der Existenz des Todten wollen alle Grabdenkmäler reden. Die bisher betrachteten Gruppen thun dies, indem sie ihn entweder als ein höheres Wesen zeigen oder ihn ganz nach Analogie dieses Lebens bilden; beide ruhen damit auf den ältesten Anschauungen. Es ist anders mit jenen Familienvereinen; ihnen liegen die relativ erst später ausgebildeten Unterweltsvorstellungen zu Grunde von einem Ort wo man sich trifft, sich wiedersieht, und, durch Handschlag, die treue enge Verbindung untereinander bekräftigt, mit seinen Angehörigen vereinigt weiterlebt." In support of this view he quotes six passages from ancient authors.[3] Brueckner has dissented from this view,[4] and regards this joining of hands in some cases as significant of leave-taking, in others as a conventional composition. The view which regards these steles as scenes of

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[1] Cf. Stephani, Comte-Rendu, 1861, p. 102 ff., who says: "Es ist demnach einleuchtend, dass es den Urhebern dieser Bilder auf nichts anderes ankommen konnte, als die Liebe und Zuneigung zu betonen, welche die dargestellten Familien-Glieder sowohl im diesseitigen, als auch im jenseitigen Leben verband, indem sie bei vertraulichem Gedanken-Austausch einander die Hände reichten."

[2] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 43.

[3] Aesch. Ag. 1514 (Kirchof); Soph. Oed. T. 1371 ff.; Antig. 892 ff.; Plato, Apology, 40 c ff.; Menex. 247 c; Hyperid. epit. 13 f. (Blass. p. 63 ff.). He might well have added Eur. Alc. 363, 609, etc. (ed. Dindorf).

[4] Von d. Griech. Grabrel. p. 35 f.; Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabstelen, p. 86.

greeting is, I believe, untenable in the vast majority of cases, though there are a few in which it may possibly be correct.

Professor Furtwaengler adduces evidence for his theory from a relief which was found in Aegina,[1] which may be (though this is not certain) the grave-relief of a man and his wife. The stele represents a woman(?) on the left, who clasps the hand of an enthroned figure on the right, in whose left hand is an apple. Only the lower half of the figures remains. Professor Furtwaengler sees in this relief the first known case of the grave-reliefs with the clasped hand motive, and also uses it as proof of his theory that the figures on the grave-steles are always thought of as dead. He says:[2] "einer wie eine grosse chthonische Göttin mit dem Symbole des Apfels gebildeten Verstorbene, kann unmöglich ein Lebender die Hand drücken." In the first place, we have absolutely no right to call this figure "eine grosse chthonische Göttin." She is no more that than the woman on the stele from the Piraeus, to which I have referred.[3] Furthermore, we know that it is *not* impossible for a divinity to hold the hand of a living person. Stephani, in an extremely thorough study of the meaning of clasped hands in antiquity,[4] shows that this occurs again and again on vases, gems, coins, and in literature; and because this case is unique in regard to gravestones, we have no right to say it is impossible. But, as I have said above, there is no reason to call this figure a "Göttin." She has the attribute of an apple, which *perhaps* means she is dead, but that is all. To my mind the stele is the forerunner of the later Attic ones, the clasped hands, as we shall see later, representing rather an ideal than an actual fact, and to leave no doubt in any one's mind, the dead person is marked by an attribute. Though there may be question as to the interpretation of this scene, every one will agree that argument from such a fragment is at best very doubtful, and I merely wish to point out that it may be considered from more than one point of view.

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[1] Athen. Mitt. viii. 375, Pl. 17.

[2] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 47.

[3] Brueckner, Orn. und Form d. Att. Grabstel. Pl. ii. 1.

[4] Comte-Rendu, 1861, p. 70 ff.

One of Professor Furtwaengler's chief arguments in support of his theory is that these figures never show grief. I believe I have sufficiently demonstrated that they do so, and have also suggested a reason why it does not take a more prominent form.[1] If, however, there be still any doubt about the figures being sorrowful or not, there is no room for doubt that the epigrams on the steles often express sorrow. Before considering this point a more general one is to be noted. Professor Furtwaengler has adduced only six references in favor of his view, — three of them from authors whose ideas, especially in regard to abstract subjects, we cannot suppose to have been held by the mass of the people. Now if, however, this belief was as general as he supposes and had such numerous representations in art, it is certain, I think, that we should find traces of it in the epigrams that deal with the dead. It cannot be said that we find no evidences of it, but they are very few and vague, while, on the other hand, references to the life on earth are practically innumerable. To take a few instances.

Among the fragments of Simonides is one,[2] a grave-inscription, which tells us that Glaukos set up the stele to Theognis of Sinope, in memory of their old-time friendship. We do not know what the stele represented, but at any rate the epigram speaks of the friendship that *had been*—not a word of its ever being continued again. Another very marked instance is that of the epitaph (which I have before mentioned) which Aeschylos wished to have cut on his tombstone.[3] Further, we frequently find the character of the dead person mentioned.[4] But most frequent of all are the epigrams expressive of sorrow. Sometimes these take a really poetic form, as:

Σῆμα φί[λ]ου παιδὸς τόδε Δ —— [κατ]έθηκεν·
Στησίου ὃν θάνατος [δακρυ]όεις καθέχει.[5]

But generally they are more commonplace in phraseology, though they seldom lack a certain touching quality, owing to their simplicity,

[1] Cf. Weisshäupl, Die Grabgedichte d. Griech. Anth. p. 99.
[2] Pomtow, Poet. Lyr. Gr. Min. ii. 50.
[3] Pomtow, *id.* ii. 79.
[4] Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. ex Lap. conl. 51, 53–55.
[5] Kaibel, *id.* 15.

which more elaborate verses often want. For instance, a father puts up a tombstone to his son, after whose name he merely adds, "His death caused me sorrow."[1] Of Euthykritos we are told that he was

μητρὶ φίλον καὶ πατρὶ, κασσιγνήταις δὲ ποθεινόν
πᾶσ[ί] τε ἑταίροισιν σύντροφον ἡλικίας.[2]

Erseis, when she died, far from home, was missed by all who knew her.

Ἐρσήις, γνωτοῖσιν πᾶσι λιποῦσα πόθον.[3]

Or again:

Ἀθάνατος φιλία σῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι παρ' ἀνδρί.[4]

One, commemorative of a maiden, ends with words that bring back to one's mind the stele of the girl spinning. They are:

λείπω δὲ δάκρυα καὶ γόους τροφοῖ[σι μου·
μοιρῶν γὰρ ἄνισος τοῦτ' ἐπέκλωσεν μίτος.[5]

There are others that refer, not to the grief, but to the family itself which is left behind, as in the case of Neike, who says of her husband:

ᾧ λείπω κατὰ δῶμα καλῶν βλαστήματα τέκνων,[6]

or that of Neikephoros, who says:

Τέσσαρα τέκνα λιπώ[ν] Νεικήφορος ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι
ἐν χρηστῆς ἀλόχου πνεῦ[μα] λιπὼν παλάμαις.[7]

I have before mentioned the stele of Polyxene[8] in relation to the sorrowful expression of the figures, and we find this same feeling in the epigram cut above them:

Πένθος κουριδίωι τε πόσει καὶ μητρὶ λιποῦσα
καὶ πατρὶ τῶι φύσαντι Πολυξένη ἐνθάδε κεῖται.

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[1] Kaibel, *id.* 486.
[2] Kaibel, *id.* 49.
[3] Kaibel, *id.* 91.
[4] Kaibel, *id.* 80.
[5] Kaibel, *id.* 127.
[6] Kaibel, *id.* 275.
[7] Kaibel, *id.* 327.
[8] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 723; Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 66.

An epigram of the third century (in this case unaccompanied by figures) on the stele of Melitta shows us that, at any rate sometimes, there was doubt as to the character of the next world, for Hippostrates, who set up the stele, says:

οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,
πρώτῃ σοὶ τιμαί, τίτθη, παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ Πλούτωνί τε κεῖνται.[1]

These lines add evidence to my belief that the passages from Greek authors adduced by Professor Furtwaengler do not necessarily show a belief in the other world that was held by the οἱ πολλοί.

There are many more such epigrams,[2] but these are sufficient to show the prevalent tone. Now it is hardly credible that the figures on the grave-steles should represent persons in a state of joyful existence, and yet that this mournful strain should so often be present in the verses.

As I have already said, these epigrams afford comparatively few references to the next world. But there are some, of which the following is an example, which seem rather to consist of stock poetic phrases respecting the dead, than to be an expression of formal belief.

Οὐκ ἐπιδὼν νυμφεῖα λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἄφυκτον
Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Περσεφόνης θάλαμον.[3]

The direct references to the underworld are usually vague, and generally of late date. Their character is shown by

Θρέπτος ἀκμὴν νέος ὢν ᾤχετ' ἐς ἡμιθέους.[4]

Others, above the epigram, have the letters Θ Κ for the words Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις.[5] This is, however, nothing but a form of prayer, and does not influence the epigram. An analogy to this is to be seen in the steles which represent a figure praying. Sometimes

[1] Kaibel, *id.* 48.
[2] Cf. Kaibel, 44, 45, 325, 474, 505, 562.
[3] Pomtow, Poet. Lyr. Grae. Min. ii. 51.
[4] Kaibel, *id.* 669; cf. 433.
[5] Kaibel, *id.* 671.

Hermes Chthonios is mentioned;[1] sometimes merely the fact that the soul has gone to the next world, as:

> Ψυχὴ μὲν προλιποῦσα τὸ σόν [Δημήτριε σῶμα
> οἴχεται εἰς Ἔρεβος.[2]

When we consider the small number and vagueness of these references to the future life and, on the other hand, the large number and distinctness of the references to the past life, the only natural conclusion we can derive from these epigrams is that they imply that the scenes depicted below them are in like manner those of the past and not of the future life.

And how does Professor Furtwaengler's theory suit the many grave-steles on which we find the inscription χρηστέ, χαῖρε?

An epigram which Professor Furtwaengler adduces as evidence that all the figures on the steles were supposed to be those of the dead is that of one Dionysios, which runs as follows:[3]

> Σῆμα τόδ' Οἰναίου Διονυσίου· τῶν δ' ἔτι πρόσθεν
> Πείθωνος πατρὸς οὗ καὶ Φειδίππου τόδε θείου
> τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων, ὧν τύπος εἰκόν' ἔχει.

Now this epigram seems to me rather to support the opposite conclusion from that which Professor Furtwaengler draws from it, for the very reason that it takes particular pains to tell us that all the figures represented on the stele are dead. If at the time this stele was put up it had been the invariable habit to represent only dead persons on the gravestones, the artist would hardly have thought of mentioning in the epigram the fact that all the people below were dead. His doing so shows that such representation was unusual. Further an epigram that distinctly states that a τύμβος was erected to a living person is given by Kaibel.[4] If we suppose that this grave was decorated with sculpture, and that this sculpture, taking the usual form, showed to the beholder Pylades and his wife, we would here have a case where one of the persons represented was alive, while the other was dead. We can only form theories as to

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[1] Kaibel, *id.* 505.
[2] Kaibel, *id.* (add.), 35 a.
[3] Einl. zu der Sam. Sab. p. 47; Kaibel, *id.* 66.
[4] *Id.* 377.

what form the sculpture took, but, at any rate, the epigram adds evidence *against* the next-world theory.[1]

Professor Furtwaengler mentions the fact that there are many of these family gravestones which were made to commemorate one particular member of the family, whose name is given, and that the other figures have had their names added later.[2] These figures also are dead, he says, for: "die Sitte, grössere Familienbilder machen zu lassen, brachte es indess natürlich mit sich dass man auch lebende Personen darstellte, aber man stellte sie als todt in den für Todten geschaffenen Typen dar; es sind im voraus gefertigte Bilder der künftigen Verstorbenen." This is perfectly true. No one will question the fact that if, when the steles were made, the figures did not represent people already dead, they at least represented persons who were going to die. But this does not afford support to Furtwaengler's general theory. The fact that names were added to the steles some time after they had been put up to commemorate a particular person is capable of one, and only one, interpretation, and that is that these later-named persons were *not* dead at the time the monument was erected. Furthermore, these figures were not intended to represent dead persons, for if the idea of their death had actuated the sculptor in his work, and he had wished to represent a scene of greeting in the underworld, there is no reason whatever why they should not have had their names given them at the time the monument was first set up.

If, on the other hand, we explain the monuments as scenes of life, the explanation of the later addition of names to the secondary persons is simple. It is merely that the monument was made to commemorate one person, but, according to the prevailing custom, various members of the family of this person were also represented. As these other members died their names were carved on the original monument. This was due to two causes, — one, probably the size and expense of these monuments, which prevented them from becom-

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[1] Cf. the double gravestones in the graveyards of to-day, on one half of which is an inscription, while the other half is blank, the person for whom it is intended not having died.

[2] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 737, 868.

ing common; the other, that having been represented once, there was no use in this being done again. Were all these figures supposed to be dead it is surprising that no attributes show this fact, and that only one should be named.

There are still other steles and epigrams which it is impossible to explain by the next-world theory. To begin with, I will again refer to the stele of Mnesagora and the epigram thereon, which runs as follows:

> Μνῆμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρους τόδε κεῖται·
> αὐτὼ δ' οὐ παραδεῖξαι ἀφείλετο δαίμονος αἶσα,
> πατρὶ φίλωι καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμμέγα πένθος,
> οὕνεκα ἀποφθιμένω βήτην δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω.[1]

The figures on the stele are, as we have already seen, a standing woman holding out a bird to a little boy. These verses are not easy to interpret, and may be open to another meaning than what I give them, but to my mind the writer meant to say that he had not represented them as in death but as they had lived. This meaning certainly agrees with the figures.

Another case is that of Chairestrate,[2] on whose stele is written:

> Μητρὸς παντοτέκνου πρόπολος σεμνή τε γεραιρά
> τῶιδε τάφωι κεῖται Χαιρεστράτη, ἣν ὁ σύνευνος
> ἔστερξεν μὲν ζῶσαν, ἐπένθησεν δὲ θανοῦσαν·
> φῶς δ' ἔλιπ' εὐδαίμων παῖδας παίδων ἐπιδοῦσα.

The figures are a seated woman and a child before her, holding a tympanon, perhaps a symbol of death. This child is undoubtedly one of the children referred to in the epigram, and not an "attribute." The tympanon might be thought to imply that she was dead, but considering the other evidence, and that the child holds it towards Chairestrate, we may safely infer that (if it really does here have any reference to death) it is meant to imply the latter's death. Further, Chairestrate shows no signs of age, so that the conclusion we must form is that the dead woman is shown us as she had

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[1] Kaibel, *id.* 87.

[2] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 1030; Kaibel, *id.* 44.

ed, and the tympanon is merely a religious symbol, such as are ɔt infrequently introduced on the steles.

On another stele where we have the hand-shaking motive the voman is plainly alive, as these words show:

ὧν σε χάριν στέρξασ' Ἔρξις . . .
μνημεῖον φιλίας τεῦξε τάφ[ον φθιμένωι.[1]

The epigram as a whole deals with the love that had existed between Erxis and the dead Demetrios. If, then, the scene represents the renewal of that love, why dwell on the sadness of the parting?

How does the next-world theory explain a stele such as that of Lamunthios and Euboutides in Athens, on which, besides the figures of these two men with their names cut above them, is the name of Ada, the wife of Lamunthios[2]? The sculptor did not carve the figure of Ada as he surely would have done had he been thinking of the life hereafter when he carved her husband's portrait and her son's. Ada must have died after the two men, and then her name was cut beside theirs.

As there are steles with both epigrams and figures that can only be explained as representing the past life, and more particularly giving us an ideal picture of the farewell from family or friends, or the strong affection between those who are gone and those left behind (for the steles show these two thoughts), so there are numerous sculptured steles in the interpretation of which we have not the assistance of verses, but which, as I have already said, cannot represent anything but this friendship, and the ideal representation of the parting and breaking of the ties of life.

For instance, a stele in Athens[3] shows a seated woman grasping with both hands the hand and arm of another woman who stands before her. The head of the latter droops, her hand, with fingers closed, hangs listlessly at her side. Now were this a scene of greeting can we suppose that the seated figure would grasp *one* arm in this way, or, what is more to the point, can we for an instant sup-

[1] Kaibel, *id.* (add.) 35 a.
[2] Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 906.
[3] Conze, Att. Grabrel. Pl. 45.

pose that the standing figure would not make some return of affection, and not stand resisting rather than joining in the greeting? Surely not; and the true interpretation is that the seated figure clings to the living, loath to leave her, and yet the other can do nothing, but must stay behind grieving for her lost friend.

On another stele,[1] with practically the same scene, the standing maiden with drooping head turns away from, rather than towards, her seated mother.

Again,[2] we see an old man standing quietly, his left hand bent under his down-turned head, holding the hand of a seated woman. If this scene represents greeting the artist certainly chose attitudes extremely inexpressive of his meaning, whereas it may well be an imaginative treatment of the last long, sad look of husband and wife.

The same criticism holds good in regard to Miltiades and Eupraxis.[3] The chief characteristic of a person who greets another is that the whole body, and particularly the face, is alert. These figures, however, are relaxed. Miltiades leans on a stick; and that Eupraxis makes no effort to rise is clearly shown by the position of her feet, one of which is crossed over and rests partially on the other. Furthermore, their heads hang listlessly to one side.

A fragment,[4] large enough, however, for there to be no doubt what the original composition was, shows us figures who cannot be said to show any pleasure at the meeting.

Can any one believe that the figures shown in Conze's book (Taf. 104, 106), with sadly bent heads, one of whom sits with one hand wrapped close in her himation, while with the other she draws her veil before her face, ever formed parts of groups in which the figures greeted one another?

In yet another group[5] the standing figure with one arm gathers her himation about her; the seated figure rests one hand quietly in her lap. Neither of these two actions is expressive of greeting.

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[1] Conze, *id.* Pl. 85.
[2] Conze, *id.* Pl. 54 (193).
[3] Conze, *id.* Pl. 59. Cf. also Pl. 60, 61, 90.
[4] Conze, *id.* Pl. 69.
[5] Conze, *id.* Pl. 88 (357).

Once more, the gesture of Damasistrate[1] and the attitudes of her husband and daughter forbid us to believe that anything but a farewell is here represented.

A conclusive case is offered us by a group on a fragment of a large stone grave-lekythos.[2] Whatever may be thought of the other instances I have mentioned, nobody can imagine that in a greeting the person mainly concerned would turn his head directly away from the person he was greeting. And that is what the seated woman here does. This, then, must be a scene suggestive of parting.

Are greeting and happiness expressed by the hands wrapped in their himations of Dion and Dexikrateia;[3] by the latter's wistful look and drooping head, or, finally, by the sad face, resting on her hand, of Lysistrate? It is impossible. Those who have ever felt

Αἶδη, τοῦθ' ὁσίως κέκρικας;[4]

know that such attitudes are those of sorrow, not of joy.

Finally, why, if these scenes are those of a joyful meeting in a world of never-fading bliss do slaves and servants make moan about it? I have shown above why we should not expect the chief personages to show signs of passionate grief, and why they are fitting in the case of servants, but they are utterly incompatible on the part of any one in a scene of greeting.

Thus, from analogy with other monuments, from epigraphical evidence (sometimes on the steles themselves), and from analysis of the scenes represented we come to the conclusion that as the single-figure steles show us the dead persons as they had lived, so these groups of many figures do the same. In these latter the dead person is merely shown surrounded by his family or friends, and where the motive of the clasped hands occurs it is not a sign that the figures are spirits meeting in the realm of Hades, but it is an imaginative portrayal of the breaking of the ties of life, of the parting on earth from all one has held most dear, — a separation, the relation

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[1] Conze, *id.* Pl. 97.

[2] Conze, *id.* Pl. 103 (443); cf. Pl. 113 (515).

[3] Conze, Pl. 108.

[4] Anth. Pal. vii. 187.

of which to life the Greek seems to have understood as clearly, and to have felt not less deeply, but in a nobler way, than we. The distinction between the inevitable and the accidental and avoidable should be kept vividly in mind, for it was one that was felt sharply by the Greek, who fully realized the futility of quarrelling with the decrees of Fate, for he knew that submission was the only remedy for ills sent by the gods. This is expressed again and again by the Greek authors, and to it is due probably the restraint of feeling shown upon the grave-monuments.

Although I believe that the vast majority of cases were intended to show only pictures of living people, still this may not always be the case. What is more, we should not expect it to be always so. All arts are mere methods of expression, and the general truths that we learn from any one art in a given period we learn also from the other arts at that time. Hence, as we have seen that there are a few passages in Greek literature that refer more or less vaguely to a meeting of friends after death, we should naturally expect to find a few monumental expressions of the same belief. And this is what we do find. It would be a mistake, I believe, as in the case of the earlier Spartan reliefs, to endeavor to interpret them all in the same way. I will now give a few cases where it seems possible the figures were supposed to be in the next world.

The first case is one of two women,[1] — one seated, the other standing. The seated figure leans eagerly forward, her feet drawn under her chair, as though she were about to rise, and with both hands tries to draw the standing maiden towards her. In her turn, the standing figure bends down towards the other, with one hand holding her seated mother's(?) arm, while with the other she is about to touch her cheek, — an attitude often represented in groups of lovers or friends.[2] Now this scene may be one of parting. In many of the steles we get an indication of the meaning from the figure of an attendant; but in this case the attitude of the servant who stands behind the seated figure is indifferent, and would suit either

[1] Conze, *id.* Pl. 78.

[2] Bul. de Cor. Hel. x. Pl. xiv.; Sam. Sab. ii. Pl. 135; Arch. Ztg. 1884 Pl. 1.

a scene of parting or one of greeting. We have before seen that the expression of violent emotion is confined almost invariably to the attendants. The chief characteristic of the scene before us is its extreme affectionateness. It shows an intensity of feeling that is rarely met with in such work; and if the scene is one of parting, we might fairly suppose that the attendant would show signs of grief, echoing those of the two other figures. As she does not do this, one may (till we get further evidence to the contrary) consider this as a scene of greeting. The same motive occurs on a fragment depicted in Conze's book, the only difference being that in this latter case there was perhaps no attendant.[1]

Another stele which possibly shows us the greeting scene is that of Ainesidamos and Kallimetis.[2] All that we can say with certainty is that both the seated Kallimetis and the standing Ainesidamos bend towards one another in a way that is suited to greeting as well as parting. Did we but have inscriptional evidence in such cases, showing whether both figures were dead, and, if so, which had died first, we could then tell whether the scene was of joyful or sorrowful import.

A stele on which the gesture of the figures reminds us of the first stele I have put in this class, is that of Mynnion.[3] The stele shows us but two figures, both standing; the younger one, Mynnion, the other, presumably, her mother. The stele is commemorative of Mynnion. The mother(?) with her left hand clasps her daughter round the neck, while with the other she touches her chin. There is nothing unnatural in supposing the elder figure to be dead, as well as the younger one, and by the gestures of the two figures the sculptor may have wished to suggest the enduring love of the two women.[4]

A grave-vase that may also show a scene of greeting is that of

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[1] Conze, *id.* Pl. 43 (150).

[2] Conze, Pl. 57 (209), Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 923.

[3] Brueckner, Orn. und Form d. Gr. Grabst. Pl. ii. 6; Kabbadias, Κατ. Ἐθν. Μουσ. 763.

[4] A stele of a man and woman similar to that of Mynnion is in the museum at Grenoble. The figures stand upright and make the same gestures (Gaz. Arch. ii. Pl. 28).

Plangon.[1] We here see a standing woman, Plangon, holding the hand of another woman, who is seated. Unfortunately, only traces of the latter are left. Behind the seated figure are remains of what was once another standing figure. Behind Plangon is a small attendant carrying a box. The single remaining inscription, Πλαγγών, is not sufficient evidence for us to assert that this is the figure to whom the vase was erected; but the fact that she is accompanied by the little figure with the box shows us, at least, that she was dead. Unfortunately there is absolutely no evidence as to whether the seated figure was dead or not. I believe it is invariably the case, however, that of two women it is the elder one who is seated. Hence this may be the dead mother. This is a mere supposition; all that is certain is that Plangon comes towards the seated figure in a way to imply greeting rather than parting.

The final question that arises in every one's mind must be: Is there any way of deciding with certainty which is the dead person? To this I give a negative answer. As a rule, one can tell from the inscriptions; but where these are lacking, one can only judge by the actions of the figures, — by the fact that often the interest is centred on one person; perhaps in the case of women one may get a hint by the use of the veil. Often, however, one cannot make out at all. At any rate, one can tell better if one believes them to be pictures of the living than if one supposes all the figures to be dead, in which case one cannot tell in a single instance.

If in the foregoing discussion of Attic gravestones I have interpreted the facts correctly, the conclusion is plain. It is that the figures on these grave-steles almost invariably represent the dead as they had lived, and that in some few cases there may be suggestions of the existence of the dead in the lower world. Had the idea been to depict the life to come, it is scarcely credible that we should have so little variety in type. The single-figure steles offer little difficulty of interpretation. The steles on which are groups offer more. It must be borne in mind that these were scarcely used till the fourth century B.C., after the changes wrought in the Greek mind by Sokrates and his school; and the difficulties I

[1] Conze, *id.* Pl. 84 (342).

have mentioned are due to the fact that the Greek sculptor, in his pride of technique, was losing sight of the necessary limitations of his art. He was trying to represent abstract ideas in forms of action. He was mixing that which can only be told in words with what can adequately be shown in stone; hence the development of grave-inscriptions. But the essential character of the earlier and later grave-steles is the same; and what is more, it represents feelings that are as sharp to-day as of old, although, unfortunately, they are less simply expressed.

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# THE ORIGIN OF ROMAN PRAENOMINA.

By George Davis Chase.

## I. The Indo-European Name.

THE brilliant work of Dr. August Fick, in his investigation of Greek personal names,[1] has furnished us with very clear and definite ideas of an Indo-European name system and of the substantially intact preservation of the same system in the great subdivisions of the Indo-European family. Only in the cases of the Italic and the Balto-Slavic branches does he fail to recognize the original system, — in the former, because it has been overgrown and obscured by an entirely local development, in the latter, from lack of evidence. An important task remains, — and this will be the object of our study, — to inquire whether there exist on Latin ground any vestiges of the original system, and to consider in what way the historical Latin order of names may have been developed.

It is necessary, first and foremost, to understand exactly the principles which Fick has established. They are, in so far as they bear on our problem, in the main these: Each individual, man or woman, had a single name composed of two members. Familiar examples of these are Gk. Δημο-σθένης, Avest. *Âtaredâtâ* (= Ατρα-δάτης, from *Âtar*, the sacred fire), Skt. *Bṛhad-açva* (= 'Great-horse'), Germ. *Fridu-mar*, Celt. *Dumno-rix* (from *dumno* = *dubno*, Goth. *diups*, 'deep'), Slav. *Vladi-mir*. That exactly the same kind of name was used in Balto-Slavic as well, has since been proved for the Lithuanian and Old Prussian (Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.* ii, § 18), and is shown for the Lettish by a number of names of heroes from heathen times which I have been able to discover. Thus *Tali-walds* 'Wide-ruler,' from *tâli* 'far' (= Gk. τῆλε, cf. Τηλέ-μαχος, etc.), and *waldit*, Germ.

[1] *Die Griechischen Personennamen*, etc., 1874; second enlarged edition, by Fick and Bechtel, 1894.

*walten; Wisu-walds* 'All-ruler,' from *wiss* 'all,' Skt. *viçva*, Slav. *vĭsĭ*, of which the exact counterpart is found in the Slavic *Vse-volod*, from *vĭsĭ* and *vladiti; Làç-plèsis* 'Bear-tearer,' from *làcis* 'bear,' and *plèst* 'to rend.' Perhaps also the mythical hero *Màrgers* (cf. Latin *Mars*), who fell in love with Maija, the goddess of love, and whose exploits are celebrated in the poetry of the Lettish people, also exhibits an example of a similarly formed name.

Most commonly each member was of two syllables, but often of more, as Ἀπολλό-δωρος, and not infrequently of a single syllable, as Εὐ-κράτης. That both members of a name, however, should, in the original form, be single syllables, is a rare occurrence, although in Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic, laws of unaccented syllables have often reduced names to dissyllabic form. Thus such names as Πέλ-οψ are uncommon, but names like Germ. *Dag-frid*, for **Daga-fridu*, are frequent.

It is evident that in any language an equipment of names averaging four syllables in length, while possessing dignity and sonancy, and appropriate to the requirements of epic narrative, heroic tradition, and formal intercourse, is ill-adapted to the needs of familiar, every-day life. A shortening and simplification is the inevitable result, and this is amply illustrated in each of the Indo-European tongues. The process was in nowise different from that which we see going on about us every day: *Frederick* is familiarly called *Fred*, *Catherine*, *Kate*, until these shortened names become so familiar that they are received into the class of given names, and we meet with men and women who were never named anything but Fred or Kate. Further, *Elizabeth* may be shortened to *Eliza*, *Lizzie*, *Betsey*, *Betty*, or *Bessy*, and so, from one original, our list of available given names is considerably increased. It is to be noticed, furthermore, that either part of the original name may be taken as the shortened form; thus *Joseph* is in English abbreviated to *Joe*, in Swiss to *Seppi; Friderike* becomes either *Frida* or *Rike*. Again, *Lou* may stand for *Louise*, or *Lucy*, or *Lucinda; Bert* for *Al-bert* or *Bert-hold*. In like manner the early compound names were abbreviated; either member or the first member and the initial syllable of the second might be taken as the new name. Since the same member might form a component part of a number of names, it might stand as an abbreviated

form for any one of them. Thus Fick cites sixty-one names beginning with *Wulf*, and an equal number ending with it. The shortened form *Wolfo*, or *Wolfin*, or *Wolfilo* may be the representative of any or of all of these hundred and twenty-two names.

To the shortened names were added suffixes of a considerable variety of form, but in force mainly diminutive, usually with the additional idea of endearment. Among the commonest suffixes are *-i-*, as in Gk. Κύπρ-ι-ς, Πάρ-ι-ς, Germ. *Ruodi*, from *Ruod-olf*, etc. (cf. Eng. *Billy*, *Johnny*, etc.) ; *-ia-*, as in Skt. *Dev-iya*, from *Deva-datta*, etc., and very commonly in Greek, as in Νικ-ία-ς : *-īno-*, as in German *Wolfîn*, etc.: and also suffixes having *l*, *k*, or *d* as their characteristic, as Skt. *Devi-ka*, Gk. Ἵππα-κος, Λυκ-ίδ-ης ; Germ. *Ulf-ila*, *Wolf-izo*, *Frizzo* (= **Frid-to*).

To illustrate further the formation of the compound names and the simplified ones derived from them, we will give a few of the more common examples:

Greek, — Χρυσ-αγόρας, Χρυσό-γονος, Χρύσ-ιππος, Χρυσό-μαχος, Χρυσογένης, Χρυσό-θεμις, etc.; Χρῦσος, Χρύσιον, Χρῦσις, Χρυσιάς, Χρυσίων, etc.; Τηλ-αύγης, Τηλέ-γονος, Τηλε-δίκη, Τηλέ-κλυτος, Τηλέ-μαχος, Τηλε-φάνης, Τηλέ-νικος, Τηλέ-μβροτος, etc. ; Τηλέας, Τήλης, Τηλίνης, Τηλώνδης, etc.

Sanskrit, — *Mitra-deva*, *Mitra-bhānu*, *Mitra-varcas*, *Mitra-vinda*, *Mitra-sena*, *Mitra-çarman*, etc.; *Mitra*, *Mitraka*, etc.; *Rūpa-dhara*, *Rūpa-mañjarī*, *Rūpa-çikhā*, *Rūpa-sena*, *Kāma-rūpa*, *Su-rūpa*, etc.; *Rūpa*, *Rūpin*, *Rūpya*, etc.

Germanic, — *Fridu-berht*, *Frid-wald*, *Frid-dag*, *Fridu-ger*, etc.; *Muot-frid*, *Mar-frid*, *Arn-frid*, *Liub-fried*, etc.; *Frido*, *Fridiko*, *Fricco*, *Fridilo*, *Frillo*, *Fridolin*, *Fridin*, *Frizzo*.

Celtic, — *Touto-bocio*, *Toutio-rīx*, etc., from Ir. *tuath* (= Goth. *þiuda*); *Toutus*, *Touta*, *Toutia*, *Toutillus*, *Toutona*, *Toutonia*.

Avestan, — *Kereçāçpa* 'lean horse', *Manus-cithra* (*cithra* 'bright'), *Nairyō-çaṅha* (*nere* 'man').

Slavic, — *Ljude-vit*, *Ljude-mysl* (*Ljudŭ* 'people'); *Ljuda*, *Ljuden*, *Ludek*; *Dobro-voj*, *Dobro-gost* (*dobrŭ* 'good') ; *Dobr*, *Dobrilo*, *Dobren*, *Dobrota*, *Dobrik*, *Dobroš*.

There is abundant evidence to prove that the shorter forms are abbreviations from compound names, and not separate names. On this subject, compare Brugmann (*Vergl. Gram.* ii, 33) for a clear and concise statement of the facts. For the Germanic, Fr. Stark (*Die Kosenamen der Germanen*, Vienna, 1868; cf. Fick[1], xcii) has collected from documentary evidence a great number of examples in which the same person is called both by the full name and the shortened form. Thus, in Icelandic, we find *Kostbera* in *Elder Edda, Atlamál*, 6 and 9; but *ibid.* 33 and 50 the same person is mentioned as *Bera* or *Beru*. In Sanskrit, the grammarian Pāṇini (5, 3, 78–9) recognizes the abridgment of names as a regular principle, and gives rules of grammar for the formation of the shortened forms. Examples, too, are not uncommon in Sanskrit literature. Professor C. R. Lanman has called my attention to a number of instances, as follows: *MBhr.* iii, 15582 *Koṭika-āsya* (Prince) 'Frog-mouth'; *ibid.* 15586, shortened to *Koṭika* 'Frog.' (Cf. Lettish *Kaupis* 'Frog', the name of a hero of heathen times.) *Jātaka, ed.* Fausbøll, i, 241, 3, *Mitta-vindaka; ibid.* 241, 9, *Mittaka. Sutta-nipāta* (p. 61, line 5), *Nigrodha-kappa*, called for short *Kappa, ibid.* (p. 62, stanza 349). In Greek, the grammarian Herodianus (*Etym. M.* 93.50) has the following passage: Ἄμφις· τοῦτο οὐ συγκοπή, ἀλλὰ μετασχηματισμός. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀμφιάραος Ἄμφις ὡς παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ, ὥσπερ Ἰφιάνασσα Ἶφις καὶ Θρασυκλῆς Θράσυλλος καὶ Βαθυκλῆς Βάθυλλος ὑποκοριστικά. Plato (*Protag.* 318, b) speaks of Zeuxippus of Heraclea as a famous painter; this is generally understood to be the artist who is often mentioned by the name of Zeuxis (cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 453 c; Xen. *Mem.* i, 4, 3, etc.).

One more essential in connection with the Indo-European name system demands our attention, — the character of the words from which the members are derived. It was no part of the design of the progenitors of our race to attach to their descendants names that would involve a reproach or encumbrance. Rather, they sought, as omens for virtue and prosperity, to endow them with appellations suggesting divine favor and good will, or descriptive of their conceptions of ideal men and women (see *Laws of Manu*, ii, 31 seq.). It follows, therefore, that their compounds were made from a choice of words as limited as their ideal conceptions of beauty, amiability,

prosperity, and virtue. These ideas were oftenest expressed by such nouns as *war, spear, shield, peace, law, people, friend; joy, mercy, desire; horse, deer, wolf, dragon, serpent;* by such adjectives as *good, long, high, far, all, strong, true, bright, renowned;* by such verbs as *know, support, defend, beget, shine, possess, do, stand, destroy, fight, rule.* The character and limitation of these words is easily recognized, and is a most important feature of the system.

## II. Latin Names.

Having once grasped the full significance and the extension of this common Indo-European name system, we cannot for a moment doubt that it once existed on Italic soil; but when we look for its traces we are confronted with obscurities. It may well be questioned whether a single survival of the compound names exists in Latin. *Publi-cola* is the nearest approach to a probable instance, and the probability is heightened when we compare similar names in other languages, such as Gk. Δημό-φιλος, Φιλό-δημος; Slav. *Ljudevit;* Irish *Tuath-char* (Touto-carus); A.S. *Leoð-win.* But we are obliged to regard this correspondence as illusory, for we have the distinct tradition (Liv. ii, 8, 1) that Publicola was added as a cognomen to P. Valerius in 509 B.C., because of his efforts in promoting the republic; that is, he was the man who 'worked the people.' *Plebi-cola* is apparently a later name formed on the analogy of *Publicola. Aheno-barbus* and *Crassi-pes* are old compounds, but from their signification seem to belong to the Italic rather than the Indo-European system. *Centum-alus* has been conjectured to mean 'one who supports an hundred slaves' (from *centum* and *alere*), but its derivation is entirely unknown and many other possibilities may be thought of. *Opiter*, though often believed to be a compound, is so obscure that we must reserve the discussion of it till later.

It is plain, therefore, that if we are to find in Latin remnants of the original name system we must seek for them in the abbreviated forms. For this reason I have been particular to call attention to the characteristic features of the shortening process and to the nature of the members of which the name is composed. These we may hope to find valuable guides in our investigation.

It is possible that the Italic peoples, at some prehistoric time, from some powerful outward pressure, may have utterly abandoned their own name system for a foreign one. Such an occurrence is not unknown in the history of races, as, for instance, when a heathen people embraces Christianity and is baptized with Christian names. Thus the Lettish people of Courland, when, several centuries ago they were at once converted to Christianity and reduced to slavery by the Prussian nobility, laid aside forever their ancestral heathen names and became at the hands of the priesthood simple Peter and John. Such a change may be so sudden and complete as to leave no traces of the earlier practice. That such, however, was the case among the Italic peoples is not at all probable. Far more likely is it that out of the old system, and building upon its ruins, there was developed the new system which we meet in historical times. Nor is the reason for the decay of the old far to seek. It rested upon the fundamental abhorrence of the Latin language for long compounds. We have seen that the Indo-European names average four syllables in length. Such compounds we easily recognize as foreign to the tendencies of Latin. The result was that the compounds were early abbreviated and continued to exist only in the shortened forms.

But we are basing this argument too largely on the inferences of logic without the reinforcing evidence of the facts. It is now time that we examine carefully the Roman system in its component parts. In republican times, at least, the Romans themselves recognized and clearly distinguished in a man's complete official name three divisions, which were written in a regular, definite order. First, the praenomen, or name given to the child by its parents on the ninth day after birth (cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Alterth.* vii, 10); secondly, the gentilicium, or name from the gens into which the child was born; thirdly, the cognomen, or name of the particular family to which the child's father belonged, or the name which the child might acquire in after life from achievement or peculiarity, and which would be handed down to his children. Thus a man might be born to one or more cognomina and gain others during his lifetime. This happened particularly in aristocratic families, where we find, even in early times, such names as *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio*, the consul of 133 B.C.

## III. Latin Cognomina.

The cognomina, as in origin and structure the most transparent class of Latin names, may first claim our attention. To consider every cognomen in Latin would be a task beyond the scope of the present work, and indeed is not necessary to any understanding of the cognomina as a class. For our purpose it has seemed sufficient to examine and classify all the cognomina from a considerable portion of the Latin sources. As of sufficiently wide range and sufficiently representative of the whole, we have chosen all those occurring in Livy and in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), exclusive of those names, confined to slaves, which are manifestly of foreign origin. These we have classified into the groups into which they naturally fall according to their meaning.

We have first a list of names which refer to physical peculiarities, as follows: *Capito* 'big-head,' from *caput; Cotta* 'cowlick' (?)[1]; *Nasica* 'prominent nose,' from *nasus; Naso* 'large nose'; *Silus* 'pug-nosed'; *Silo* 'pug-nosed,' from *silus; Licinus* 'bent upward' (of the nose?); *Mento* 'long chin,' from *mentum; Dentio, Denter,* 'prominent teeth,' from *dens; Brocchus* 'prominent teeth'; *Labeo* 'thick lips,' from *labrum; Chilo* 'large-lipped,' from χεῖλος (cf. Fest. 43. 10); *Flaccus* 'flop-eared'; *Strabo* 'squinter'; *Cocles* 'blind in one eye,' for Κύκλωψ; *Paetus, Paetinus* 'blink-eyed'; *Luscus, Luscinus* 'one-eyed'; *Fronto, Cilo* 'prominent forehead'; *Bucca* 'big cheeks,' or 'bawler'; *Scaeva* (sc. *manus*) 'left-handed'; *Scaevola,* diminutive of the same; *Laevinus* 'left-handed,' from *laeva; Laeca* 'left-handed,' for *Laevica* (sc. *manus*); *Unimanus* 'one-handed'; *Varus* 'knock-kneed'; *Valgus* 'bow-legged'; *Sura, Sulla* (for

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[1] The explanation of *Cotta* is very difficult. We may understand it to be connected with the Sicilian κόττος, κοττίς meaning 'forelock, cockscomb' (?) (Hesychius, πρόκοττα· εἶδος κουρᾶς, ἢ κεφαλῆς, τρίχωμα· κοττὶς γὰρ ἡ κεφαλή. καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον. Cf. Sartori, *Kottabos-spiel,* 1893, p. 73). Cotta is otherwise explained as standing for *Cocta;* cf. Wölflin, *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vi, 269. The assimilation of *-ct-* to *-tt-* is not Latin, but is regular for modern Italian and may have been dialectic in classical times. It might then refer to a sun-burned face, 'parboiled.'

*surula*, a diminutive of *sura*[1]) 'prominent calves'; *Scaurus* 'swollen ankles'; *Crassipes* 'thick-foot'; *Plautus* 'flat-foot'; *Plancus* 'flat-foot'; *Pedo* 'broad-foot,' from *pes*; *Pansa* 'broad-foot'; *Falto* (= *Falco*) 'a person with the great toes turned in'; *Dossenus*, *Dorso* 'hunchback,' from *dorsum*; *Coxsa* 'prominent hips'; *Galba* 'fat-paunch,' a Gallic word (cf. Suet. *Galba*, 3); *Mammula* 'little-breast,' from *mamma*; *Scapula* 'prominent shoulders'; *Balbus*, *Blaesus* 'stammerer'; *Blasio* 'stammerer,' from *blaesus* (?); *Rocus* 'hoarse,' for *raucus*; *Tubero*, *Tubertus* 'bumpy,' from *tuber*; *Verrucosus* 'warty'; *Macatus* 'spotted,' a past participle of a **macare*, a denominative verb from **maca*, of which the diminutive *macula* is preserved; *Mancinus* 'maimed,' from *mancus*; *Peticus* 'scabby' (?) (cf. *petigo*); *Callus* 'thick-skinned,' or perhaps for *Gallus*; *Nerva* 'sinewy,' from *nervus*; *Barbatus* 'bearded'; *Barba* 'long-beard'; *Barbo* 'long-beard,' from *barba*; *Ahenobarbus* 'bronze (colored) beard' (cf. Suet. *Nero*, 1); *Comatus* 'long-haired'; *Caesar* 'hairy' (cf. *caesaries*, Skt. *keça*); *Crispinus* 'curly hair,' from *crispus*; *Cincinnatus* 'curly hair'; *Cinnus* 'curly hair,' (cf. *Cinna*, sc. *coma*); *Elva* or *Helva* (sc. *coma*) 'light bay hair'; *Lanatus* 'woolly'; *Glabrio* 'bald-head,' from *glaber*; *Calvus* 'bald'; *Calvinus* 'baldish,' from *calvus*; *Vulso* 'plucked,' from *vello*; *Rufus* 'red-haired'; *Rufinus* 'reddish-haired,' from *rufus*; *Rufio* 'red-haired,' from *rufus*; *Rutilus* 'red-haired'; *Flavus* 'fair-haired, Fairfax'; *Albus* 'white (haired?)'; *Albinus* 'whitish (haired?)'; *Purpureo* 'rosy (complexioned)'; *Niger* 'dark'; *Florus* 'shining (complexioned)'; *Ambustus* 'sun-burned'; *Curio* 'emaciated'; *Pennus* 'sharp (featured)'; *Macer* 'lean'; *Macerinus* 'leanish'; *Crassus* 'fat'; *Bassus* 'stout'; *Paullus* 'short'; *Longus* 'tall'; *Longinus* 'longish'; *Pulcher* 'handsome'; *Curvus* 'bent'; *Drusus* 'stiff.'[2]

A second class refers to the habits or character of the individual, as:

*Casca* 'old-fashioned,' from *cascus*; *Rusticus* 'living in the country, countrified'; *Alienus* 'foreign'; *Cato* 'sagacious,' from *catus*; *Nero* 'noble' (a Sabine word connected with *nerio*, fortitude, Skt. *nara*,

[1] For a different explanation of *Sulla*, see Plut. *Sulla*, 2.

[2] For another explanation of *Drusus*, see Suet. *Tib.* 3.

Gk. ἀνήρ; in Oscan *nero* seems to be a title of rank); *Severus* 'stern'; *Violens* 'furious'; *Lepidus* 'agreeable'; *Frugi* 'temperate'; *Magnus* 'great'; *Pius* 'dutiful'; *Carus* 'dear'; *Imperiosus* 'haughty'; *Augustus* 'majestic'; *Nobilior* 'nobler'; *Molliculus* 'voluptuous'; *Venox* 'given to hunting'; *Lentulus* 'rather slow'; *Celer* 'swift'; *Fessus* 'wearied'; *Brutus* 'coarse'; *Tremulus* 'shaking'; *Varro* and *Varo* (= *Baro*?) 'a foolish person'; *Regillus* 'royal'; *Potitus* 'boss'; *Structus* 'built up'; *Bibulus* 'tippler'; *Bibaculus* 'tippler,' a diminutive of *bibax; Tappo, Tappulus* 'tippler' (cf. *lex tappula*); *Dives* 'rich'; *Gurges* 'spendthrift'; *Rullus* 'beggar'; *Sabula* 'a talkative person'; *Publicola* 'one who works the people'; *Plebicola* 'one who works the plebs'; *Caldus* 'warm'; *Acidinus* 'sharpish.'

A third class refers to the condition or relation of the individual, as:

*Faustus* 'fortunate'; *Fostlus* = *Faustulus*, a diminutive of *Faustus; Felix* 'fortunate'; *Donatus* 'gifted'; *Auctus* 'increased'; *Liber* 'free'; *Spurinus* 'illegitimate,' from *spurius; Cordus* 'born late in the season'; *Proculus*, a diminutive of *Procus*;[1] *Primus* 'first'; *Septimus* 'seventh'; *Postumus* 'last born'; *Maximus* 'eldest'; *Priscus* 'old'; *Geminus* 'twin'; *Gemellus* 'twin'; *Trigeminus* 'triplet'; *Frater* 'brother'; *Paterculus* 'daddy.'

The fourth class is of offices and occupations, or names derived from such, as:

*Figulus* 'potter'; *Pictor* 'painter'; *Fullo* 'fuller'; *Natta* or *Nacta* 'fuller,' from νάσσω, to press; *Faber* 'smith'; *Lanio* 'butcher'; *Lĭbo* 'sprinkler,' connected with *lībare*;[2] *Subulo* 'flute player'; *Thurarius* 'frankincense dealer'; *Bubulcus* 'cowherd'; *Fĭctor* 'baker of offering cakes'; *Cursor* 'runner'; *Mensor* 'measurer'; *Pollio* 'polisher of arms'; *Cornicen* 'trumpeter'; *Nauta* 'sailor'; *Metellus* 'mercenary,' = μίσθιος (cf. Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 146); *Triarius*, a soldier serving among the *triarii; Salinator* 'salt-dealer'; *Camillus*, a noble youth

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[1] For another explanation of *Proculus* cf. Paul. *ex Fest.* 225, who explains it as meaning 'born when one's father is abroad.'

[2] The relation between *Lĭbo* and *lībare* may be explained as one of ablaut, *lībare* standing for *leibare;* cf. *feido* and *fīdes*. The name *Libo* may come from the office of libation-pourer at the sacrifice.

employed in religious offices; *Flamen; Flamininus*, from *flamen; Augurinus*, from *augur; Censorinus*, from *censor; Rex* 'ruler'; *Regulus* 'prince'; *Hortator* 'exhorter'; *Flaccinator*, from *flacceo*, to flag, 'one who makes to flag'; *Sulca* 'furrower,' from *sulcare*, to furrow; *Numitor* 'arranger' (cf. *Numa*, *νόμος*, *numerus*, etc.).

The fifth class, a large and very characteristic one, consists of the names of common objects, animals, etc. Names also derived from animals and objects, as *Laenas* from *laena*, *Torquatus* from *torques*, *Caepio* from *caepa*, may best be classed here, as the difference between calling a man 'necklace' and 'wearing a necklace' is purely one of rhetorical figure. The relationship of all these names to the individual is often not clear; but the general character of the relationship is sufficiently suggested by those examples concerning which there is no doubt. In the case of objects directly connected with the person, as *Crista*, *Spinther*, *Torquatus*, the relation is easy to see; in the case of animals, birds, etc., as *Asinus*, *Vitulus*, *Merula*, the name doubtless ascribed to the person the character or habits for which the animal is supposed to stand. So in English, and particularly in the zoölogical 'Schimpfwörter' in German, the names of animals are regularly applied to persons, usually in an uncomplimentary sense. In Latin the kind of person designated by many of these animal names is no longer known, but from those which we do know the general intent of the class is not hard to infer. The most difficult subdivision of all is that of inanimate objects, in some of which a resemblance to the individual, in appearance or character, seems to be hinted at, as in *Tubulus*, *Culleo*, *Stola;* in others the person may have had some real business or connection with the object, as in *Carbo*, *Buxsus*. It is very difficult to decide, for example, whether *Caepio*, from *caepa* 'onion,' means a man who cultivated onions, or whose head was shaped like an onion. Perhaps for our purposes of classification it is sufficient to know that he was nicknamed 'oniony.' The list is as follows:

*Spinther* 'bracelet'; *Crista* 'crest'; *Centho*, a cap worn over the helmet; *Pera* 'wallet'; *Fimbria* 'fringe'; *Laenas* 'cloaked,' from *laena* (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 14); *Argentillus*, from *argentum*, silver; *Torquatus* 'adorned with a *torques*'; *Asellus* 'little ass'; *Asina* 'she ass'; *Catulus* 'puppy'; *Caninus* 'doggish'; *Vitulus* 'calf'; *Trio*

'plow ox'; *Vaccus*, from *vacca*, cow (?); *Verris* 'male swine' (cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 1059, where it is used contemptuously of a man); *Mus* 'mouse'; *Murena*, a shellfish (referring to the color of his dress); *Stellio* 'newt, crafty fellow'; *Merula* 'blackbird'; *Corvus* 'raven'; *Turdus* 'thrush'; *Buteo* 'hawk'; *Gragulus* (= *Graculus*) 'jackdaw'; *Gracchus* 'jackdaw,' for **gracus*, of which *graculus* is the diminutive; *Todillus*, a kind of small bird (cf. Fest. p. 352); *Musca* 'fly'; *Cossus*, larva under the bark of trees; *Caepio*, from *caepa*, an onion; *Cicero*, from *cicer*, a small pea;[1] *Fabatus*, from *faba*, a bean; *Fundulus* 'sausage'; *Aculeo*, from *aculeus*, a spur; *Malleolus* 'small hammer' (cf. *Charles Martel*); *Dolabella* 'little pickax'; *Tegula* 'tile'; *Tubulus* 'small tube'; *Piso* 'mortar'; *Gillo* 'cooling vessel'; *Culleo*, from *culleus*, a leathern bag; *Maso* or *Masso*, from *massa*, a lump (cf. *Massa*, a cognomen); *Scipio* 'staff'; *Buxsus* 'boxwood'; *Carbo* 'coal,' also used of a thing of small value; *Pulvillus* 'little pillow'; *Stolo* 'branch, sucker'; *Ahala* (= *Āla*) 'wing'; *Corbo*, from *corbis*, basket; *Saxa* 'rocks'; *Saxula* 'little rocks'; *Arvina* 'grease'; *Lucullus*, from *lucus*, a grove (a double diminutive); *Ralla* (= *radula*) 'scraper' (cf. *rallum*); *Cerco*, from κέρκος 'tail' (?); *Posca*, a drink of vinegar and water; *Scylla*, the sea monster; *Merenda* 'afternoon luncheon'; *Musa* 'muse';[2] *Limetanus*, from *limites*; *Alimentus*, from *alimentum*, nourishment.

The sixth class includes names from localities and represents the town, district, country, or people from which the person came or with which he was in some way identified, as:

*Antias*, from *Antium*; *Fidenas*, from *Fidenae*; *Sufenas*, from *Sufena*; *Asprenas*, *Aesillas*, *Supinas*, from unknown towns; *Menas* (written *Mena*), Umbrian, and perhaps a gentile name; *Fregellanus*, from *Fregellae*; *Tusculanus*, from *Tusculum*; *Camerinus*, from *Cameria*; *Medullinus*, from *Medullum*; *Coriolanus*, from *Corioli*; *Setinus*, from *Setia*; *Norbanus*, from *Norba*; *Collatinus*, from *Collatia*; *Regillensis*, from *Regillus*; *Nomentanus*, from *Nomentum*; *Pyrgensis*, from

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[1] An interesting parallel to *Cicero* is the Sanskrit personal name *Cāṇakya*, from *caṇaka* 'cicer.'

[2] The cognomen Musa is derived from *mussus* according to Fisch, *die Lateinischen nomina personalia auf "o, onis,"* 1890, p. 157.

*Pyrgi; Veientanus*, from *Veii; Calenus*, from *Cales; Nolanus*, from *Nola; Atellanus*, from *Atella; Seranus*, from *Serranum; Caudinus*, from *Caudium; Tempsanus*, from *Temesa; Tarentinus*, from *Tarentum; Sarranus*, from *Sarra; Massiliota*, from *Massilia; Atratinus*, from *Atratus*, a river near Rome; *Silanus*, from *Sila*, a forest in the country of the Brutii; *Capitolinus*, from the *Capitolium; Tuscivicanus*, from *Tuscivicus; Coelimontanus*, from *Coelemontium; Arsa*, a city of Spain; *Sarra*, the city of Tyre; *Croto; Istra* 'Istrian'; *Numida, Sabinus, Lucanus, Marsus, Apulus, Umber, Volscus, Ligur, Gallus, Siculus, Hispanus; Hispallus* < **Hispanulus* 'little Spaniard'; *Cerretanus*, from the *Cerretani; Vetto* or *Vecto*, from the *Vectones; Geta*, from the *Getae; Surus* 'Syrian'; *Creticus*, from *Crete; Isauricus*, from the *Isauri; Africanus*, from *Africa; Asiagenus* (='Ασιαγενής) 'born in Asia': *Messala*, from *Messana* (cf. Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 13, 5); *Mugillanus, Tuditanus, Vibulanus, Turrinus, Tricipitinus, Pontenus*, from unknown places.

The seventh class consists of names derived from other names. The majority are names in *-anus*, from gentile names, and denote, in the case of an adopted son, the gens in which he was born. The others are plain derivatives from familiar names, or are names of divinities applied to men. The list is as follows:

*Clodianus, Nonianus, Cestianus, Vinicianus, Octavianus, Caecicianus, Aemilianus, Sextianus, Messianus, Sempronianus, Petrinianus, Rullianus, Satrienus*, derived from gentile names; *Saturninus*, from *Saturnus; Mamercinus*, from *Mamercus; Marcellinus*, from *Marcellus; Marcellus*, a diminutive of *Marcus; Lucillus*, a diminutive of *Lucius; Silenus*, the companion of Bacchus; *Myrtilus*, the son of Mercury.

The eighth class consists of names of foreign origin, many of which are Greek or Etruscan, as:

*Philus*, Φίλος; *Philippus*, Φίλιππος; *Thermus*, Θερμός; *Sophus*, Σοφός; *Philo*, Φίλων; *Matho*, Μάθων; *Molo*, Μόλων; *Gritto*, Γρίσσων 'pig,' used as a personal name in Greek; *Bursio*, from the cognomen *Bursa*, for βύρσα, a hide; *Tympanus*, from τύμπανον, a timbrel; *Hupsaeus* for *Hypsaeus*, from ὕψος, height; *Basilius*, βασιλεῖος; *Megellus*, in Greek Μέγιλλος (Xen. *Hell.* iii, 46), from μέγας; *Pitio* occurs as Πιτίων on a grave-tablet in the Theseion. Etruscan names are *Spurinna, Sisenna, Siperna, Perperna, Perpena, Thalna;* Oscan

names are *Papus, Paccius, Pacilus, Salvius; Maro* is Umbrian, cf. *maronatei* 'praetura'; *Matuginensis*, from *Matugenus*, is a Celtic name.

*Tamphilus* is a name of great obscurity. O. Keller, *Lateinische Sprachgeschichte*, ii, 268, attempts to derive it from *Damophilus*, a process difficult both on account of the syncopation and the change of *d* to *t*. The regular change in Greek loanwords is from initial tenues to mediae, as *gubernare* < κυβερνάω. Syncope, too, under the old Latin accent law hardly occurs in foreign words, which were usually borrowed after the penultimate accent law went into effect. Tamphilus is found in the gens Baebia, a family from Oscan territory. It seems most probable that the name is connected with the gentile Tampius, which occurs in the same part of Italy, cf. *CIL.* ix, 5190; iii, 2547. Perhaps the form which appears in *CIL.* i, 264, *M. Baebius Tampilus*, is the more correct, representing an original *Tampulus*, which we may suppose was influenced by the analogy of Greek names in -φιλος. In republican times there was little difference in pronunciation between *-pulus* and -φιλος among the Romans. We prefer, therefore, to assign Tamphilus to Oscan territory and leave its meaning unexplained.

Occasionally we meet with such names as *Iulus, Tullus*, and *Caius* used as cognomina. These will be treated more fully in a later chapter on praenomina, and may therefore be neglected here. There remain to form the ninth and last class only a small number of names which are of entirely unknown signification. But even these are similar in appearance to those of our recognized classes. There are none that are demonstrably different in character or origin from those which we have already classed. They are as follows:

*Centumalus, Cethegus, Rebilus, Volimus, Mateiclus, Birbatrus, Stabilius, Falevius, Bala, Calussa, Scato, Saverrio.*

The general transparency of the Roman cognomina and the well-defined classes which they form must be evident to all from an examination of the foregoing lists. Even if a doubt exists in the case of a number of words as to their exact etymology, there can be little doubt as to their general character. To make our results still more plain we will add the following table:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Class | I. | Physical peculiarities | 95 |
| " | II. | Individual habits or character | 38 |
| " | III. | " condition or relation | 19 |
| " | IV. | Offices and occupations | 30 |
| " | V. | Animals, objects, etc., by metaphor | 60 |
| " | VI. | Locality | 64 |
| " | VII. | Derived from other names | 20 |
| " | VIII. | Foreign names | 27 |
| " | IX. | Unknown | 12 |
| | | Total | 365 |

The general tendency of those names which are distinctly Roman and are not derived from other names or from places, is to point out some defect in the individual. The actuating spirit of such a system of names is one of gibe and criticism, — a spirit in every respect opposed to that which we have shown was the basis of the common Indo-European system. With regard to their signification alone, hardly a single name from our lists of cognomina could be derived from the original system. The name *Nero* might be, but that we shall try to prove was not Roman, and with it our list stops.

But there is additional evidence as to the origin of the cognomina, — namely the form of the words themselves. They are derived (1) from gentile names by means of the suffix *-anus*, or from other names by the suffix *-īnus*, as *Mamercinus*, *Longinus*, or by the diminutive *-ulus*, as *Marcellus* for **Marcululus*, *Hispallus* for **Hispanulus*; (2) from places by the endings *-ānus*, *-īnus*, *-ēnus*, *-ensis*, *-ās*; or (3) from objects, by the ending *-ātus*, as *Torquatus*, *Fabatus*. But in the great majority of cases they are nouns or adjectives taken bodily, and without any change, out of the spoken Latin, as *Corvus*, *Catulus*, *Pictor*, *Brutus*, *Rufus*, *Paetus*. A considerable number are derivatives in *-ō*, *-ōnis*, originally from adjectives, later from nouns and verbs (cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 349, § 55), used most frequently with a contemptuous signification. For the development and use of these names, see Fisch, *die Lateinischen nomina personalia auf "o, onis,"* 1890. A few show an *-r* or *-er* suffix, as *Denter*, beside *Dentio*. This ending seems to have a comparative force, denoting a 'kind' or 'sort of.'

Many cognomina are in origin feminine *-a* stems. These are explained (Zimmermann, *Wölflin's Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vi, 269) either as feminine nouns denoting parts of the body, etc., as *Coxa*, *Axilla*, *Bucca*, or as adjectives modifying some feminine noun understood. Thus *manus* is to be supplied with *Laeva*, *Curva*, *Pola*; *coma* with *Alba*, *Helva*, *Casca*, *Cinna*, etc. Thus from the simplicity and transparency of the formation of Latin cognomina, as well as from their meaning, it is evident that they can have nothing to do with the original Indo-European names.

## IV. Latin Gentilicia.

Having established the character of the cognomina, we must next direct our attention to the gentile names. These present many obscure and perplexing details, a full discussion of which would far exceed the possibilities of the present work. Nor is it necessary for the purpose in hand. We shall be content if we can decide upon the origin and character of gentile names sufficiently to draw a definite conclusion; and that we believe we can do without entering upon all the details of the problem, or even considering the whole body of names which may be gathered. As a thoroughly representative group, we have selected the names in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), and have undertaken to classify and arrange them.

The gentile names of the city of Rome itself extend back to the earliest period, and because of their antiquity are difficult to understand. As the number of names indefinitely increased with the gradual extension of citizenship throughout Italy, we find puzzling names from non-Latin dialects or foreign languages constantly creeping in. The result is that we have many gentilicia of whose elucidation we must always despair. The first thing which challenges our attention in the consideration of gentile names is that they are all derivative adjectives, formed in most cases by the ending *-ius*, occasionally by other adjective-forming suffixes. Exceptions to this rule are found in a very limited number of exactly such words as the underived cognomina, like *Verres* 'boar.'

Names of Etruscan origin often appear with the endings *-erna*,

*-enna*, *-ena*, as *Perperna*, *Siperna*, which have been previously classed as cognomina, but which appear to be used without distinction as cognomina or gentiles.

The Umbrians frequently employed as gentiles cognomina in *-ās*, *-ātis*, which were derived from names of towns, as *Fulginas*, *Capidas*.

From names of places we find gentiles either in *-anus*, in exactly the same form as the corresponding cognomina, or with the further derivative termination *-anius*. In either case cognomina in *-anus* appear to lie back of them. For a full and satisfactory treatment of these names, see E. Hübner, *Ephem. Epigraph.* vol. ii, p. 25. In *CIL.* i, we find the following representatives of these two classes:

*Aefolanus*, from the town *Aefola*; *Lorelanus*, *Musanus*; *Trebulanus*, from the town *Trebula*; *Afranius*; *Albanius*, from cogn. *Albanus*, from *Alba*; *Atanius* or *Athanius*; *Avianius*, from cogn. *Avianus*, from gens *Avia*; *Fundanius*, from cogn. *Fundanus*, from the town *Fundi*; *Maianius*, from cogn. *Maianus*; *Trebanius*, from the town *Treba*; *Caranius*, *Turranius*, *Tusanius*.

A form of gentile in *-ēnus*, standing for *-īnus* after *-ī-*, as in *aliēnus*, — a name not Latin, but found most frequently in Picenum and vicinity (Mommsen, *De dialectis Italiae inferioris*, p. 362), — seems to be derived from other gentiles, rarely from places. Hübner, *l. c.* p. 28, has collected about two hundred examples of such names. In *CIL.* i, the following examples appear:

From other gentiles, *Aienus*, *Alfenus*, *Audienus*, *Betilienus*, *Caesienus*, *Matienus*, *Mutienus*; *Salvienus*, from *Salvius*; *Veienus*, from *Veii*; *Volsienus*, from the cognomen *Volsus*.

Cognomina in *-o*, *-ōnis* form the basis of a considerable class of gentiles in *-onius* (Fisch, *die Lat. nom. pers. auf -o, -onis*, p. 156). As Fisch has pointed out, these cognomina are mainly of plebeian origin, and it is therefore not surprising that many of them which formed gentiles have not come down to us. We may also reasonably expect this to be true, though to a less degree, in our other groups of gentiles derived from cognomina. There is little doubt, however, that many gentiles in *-onius* do not really go back to cognomina in *-o*, but that after a large number of gentiles in *-onius*, from cognomina in *o*, had come into use, *-onius* came to be regarded as a gentile-forming suffix and was added to any kind of cognomen.

This tendency was helped by the fact that there frequently existed, by the side of the cognomen in *-o*, a shorter one of different stem. Thus beside *Rufio*, *Barbo*, *Silo*, *Scribo*, *Aprio*, *Dentio*, etc., there appear *Rufus*, *Barba*, *Silus*, *Scriba*, *Aper*, *Denter*, etc. Several of our names in *-onius* are plainly Etruscan, as *Achonius*, *Thoceronia*. *Creonius* and *Critonius* suggest the Greek Κρέων and Κρίτων. *Colonius* may be referred to *colonus*, which is frequently used as a cognomen, and *Patronius* to *patronus*. For *Aponius* we find the cognomen *Aponus*. *Favonius* is evidently from *Favonius*, the west wind. *Voconius* is probably to be connected with the place *Voconia*. Of the other names in *-onius* by far the greater number are from Oscan territory, or appear to come from plebeian Latin. A glance at the following list will make their character quite clear:

*Antonius*; *Apronius* (cf. cognn. *Aprio*, *Aper*); *Aptronius* (cf. *CIL.* i, 81, where the name is derived from *amptruare*);[1] *Autronius*; *Balonius* (cf. cogn. *Bala*, and *balare*, to bleat); *Caesonius*, from *Kaeso*; *Cauponius* or *Coponius*, from *Caupo*; *Cosconius*; *Qusonius*, which may be for *Cosonius*, an early spelling of *Cossonius*, from cogn. *Cosso*, *CIL.* iii, 5542; *Dexsonius* (cf. *Dexo*, Cic. *Verr.* ii, 5, 42 and *gens Dexia*, Cic. *Fam.* vii, 23, 4); *Gargonius*, found in Campania and Picenum (cf. *Gargānus*, a mountain in Apulia); *Holconius*, found in Lucania (cf. *holcus*, Gk. ὁλκός, a kind of grain); *Hordionius* or *Hortionius*, from *hordeum*, barley; *Laronius*; *Numistronius*, from *Numistro*, a town in Lucania; *Numonius* or *Nummonius*, from cogn. *Nummus*; *Paconius*; *Petronius*, from *petro*, a rustic; *Pomponius*, perhaps from *pompa*;[2] *Ragonius* (cf. *raga*, a form of *braca*); *Salonius*, from **salo* 'salt-dealer,' from *sal*; *Scalponius*, from *scalpere*, to engrave; *Scribonius*, from *scribo*, a writer; *Sempronius*; *Socconius*, from

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[1] Deecke, *Etrusk. Forsch. u. Stud.* iii, 60, attempts to derive this name from the Etruscan, citing the Etruscan name *Apatru*.

[2] We find great difficulty in deriving *Pomponius* and *Pompeius* from an Oscan numeral **pompe* 'five.' We should expect the forms to be made from the ordinal **pompts*, in which case the *-t-* would remain, as we actually find in *Pontius*, Lat. *Quintius*. On the other hand, we hesitate to derive these names from a Gk. word *pompa*. An Italic derivative **pompo* 'one who takes part in a procession,' a very proper word for a cognomen, is hard though perhaps not impossible; cf. *Comatus*, *Laenas*, etc.

*soccus*, a slipper, connected with the stage of comedy; *Trebonius* or *Terebonius* (the latter form, with *e* developed before the *r*, a process regular in Oscan but extremely rare in Latin, shows the name to be probably Oscan; that it is not, however, to be connected with the Oscan *trí́bom*, a building, is proved by the short quantity of the *e* in Hor. *Sat.* i, 4, 114, *Trēbōnī*); *Teltonius; Vatronius*, from *vatrax*, 'having crooked feet'; *Vennonius*, from *venno* 'one who rides in a *benna*' (cf. Paul. *ex Fest.*, p. 32); *Villonius*, from *villus* 'shaggy hair.'

The ending *-ēius* is used to form a large number of gentile names. They are of most frequent occurrence in Oscan territory and are often spelled *-āius*, as *Anaius*, *Popaius* (for *Pompeius*), *Ulaius*, *Viriaius*, *Vibidaius*. Inasmuch as the root part, also, of most of these names is Oscan, we conclude that it was a regular Oscan formation. Praenomina in *-as*, which were *-a* stems, were common in Oscan, as *Cahas* (Zvetaieff,[1] 232), *Tanas* (*ibid.* 102), *Voltai* (*ibid.* 72 b), a Faliscan genitive singular. These formed gentiles in *-aius* in Oscan, and *-eius* in Faliscan. Thus from *Maras* (*Indg. Forsch.* ii, p. 435, vi, l. 8) we find the Oscan forms *Marahis* (*ibid.* iii, l. 6), *Marahieis* (*ibid.* v, l. 1), and *Marah . . , . . rahtís* (*ibid.* vi, ll. 4, 6, 8), *Maraies* (Zvet. 249), *Maraíieis* (*ibid.* 95), while the Faliscan form *Mareio* appears in Zvet. 76. So also *Pompaiians* (Zvet. 143) is in Latin *Pompeianus*. In Latin these gentiles were oftenest written *-eius*, but sometimes evidently *-ius*, since we have *Coccius* beside *Cocceius*, *Luccius* beside *Lucceius*, *Cicerius* beside *Cicereius*, etc. Whether these actually came to be *-ius* in Latin may be doubted, since such names as *Marius* may not stand for Oscan *Maraius*, but may be a separate, shorter formation (cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 320). There is no doubt that the ending *-eius* became very much extended in its application, and came to be applied to stems which did not end in *-a*; that is, that the whole ending *-eius* came to be looked upon as a gentile-forming suffix. In Paelignian and Umbrian the same formation took a somewhat different shape, — in the nominative *-aes*, — and gave a number of Latin names in *-aeus*. Thus Paelignian *Anaes* is Latin *Annaeus*, standing for an older *Annaios*. The following is the list of gentiles in *-eius* in *CIL.* i:

[1] *Inscriptiones Italiae Inferioris dialecticae*, Moscow, 1886.

*Aeteius; Afreius* (cf. cognn. *Afer, Afra*); *Alleius* (cf. gens *Allia*); *Anaius; Appuleius* (cf. cognn. *Appulo, Apulus*); *Atteius* or *Ateius*, from cogn. *Atta; Canuleius* (cf. cogn. *Kanus*); *Carmeius; Cicereius* (cf. cognn. *Cicero, Cicera*); *Cocceius* or *Coccius;*[1] *Crepereius* (cf. *Crepereia*, and Varro, *L. L.*, vi, 5); *Egnatuleia* (cf. *Egnatia*, a town in Apulia); *Epuleius* (cf. *Epulo*, Verg. *Aen.* xii, 459, and the fem. cogn. *Epula*); *Farsuleius* (cf. gens *Farsia, farsus* 'stuffed'); *Fonteius; Heioleius; Mitreius; Numoleius* (cf. *Numa, Numitor, Numerius*, etc.); *Modieius; Iteius* or *Itius; Laufeius; Licculeius; Livineius; Luceius* or *Luccius* (cf. *Luca*, a Lucanian; cogn. *Luccus*[2]); *Maneius* or *Manneius* (cf. the goddess *Mana*); *Oruculeius*, a plebeian spelling for *Aurunculeius*, from the city of *Aurunca* on the border of Latium and Campania (cf. Zvet. 266, *Aurunkud;* also gens *Auruncia*); *Pabateius; Pactumeius; Patoleius*[3] *Popaius* or *Pompeius* (see *Pomponius* p. 119); *Proculeius*, from praen. *Proculus; Saufeius; Sueius; Tetteius* (cf. Zvet. 1, *Tetis*, Sabine for *Tettius*, and *teta*, a dove); *Tondeius*, from *tondeo*, to shave; *Turpleius* (cf. *Turpilius* and cogn. *Turpio*); *Ulaius; Vargunteius* (cf. cogn. *Vargula*); *Vereius* (cf. *vereias*, Zvet. 81); *Verguleius* (cf. *Vergellus*, a river of Apulia); *Vertuleius; Virriaius* (cf. Oscan *Virriis*, Zvet. 128, for *Virreius*); *Vibuleius* (cf. *Vibius*, an Oscan praenomen); *Vibidaius* (cf. *Vibidis*, Zvet. 30); *Vineius; Vinuleius* (cf. *vinnulus*, 'delightful'); *Volteius*, from praenomen *Volta* (Zvet. 72).

A considerable number of cognomina in *-ĭdus*, particularly adjectives such as *Avidus, Calidus, Lepidus, Lucidus, Placidus, Umidus*, etc., formed gentiles in *-ĭdius* (see Zimmermann, in Wölflin's *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vi, p. 270). These became so numerous that *-ĭdius* was looked upon as a regular gentile-forming suffix, and was used in

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[1] If we suppose this name to stand for *Cotteius* (cf. the confusion of *Accius* and *Attius*), it may be derived from *Cotta;* cf. Zvet. 239, κοττειης, gen. sing. We cannot, however, suppose this name to be exactly the same as *Cocceius*, for Lat. *-eius* cannot be equivalent to the Osc. *-iis* in such names as *Vĭínikiis*. Cf. also *CIL.* x, 1135, *D. Cottius D. f. Gall. Flaccus*, and 3776, *M. Cottius M. f.*

[2] Or they may be connected with the praenomen *Lucius*, in Oscan *Luvikis*.

[3] Cf. *CIL.* ix, 967, *M. Paculeio Q. f.*, and the Oscan praenomen *Paakul*, Lat. *Paculus*, Zvet. 138. The correspondence of *c* and *t* might possibly be explained by the influence of the following *l*, as in *poculum* < **po-tlom*.

cases where it could have no place in the etymology of the word. No doubt the relation of these *-ĭdius* gentiles to the *-ĭdus* cognomina was lost in the popular consciousness, and *Lucidius* was connected directly with *Lucius* or *luceo; Placidius, Vmidius*, etc., with *placeo, umeo*, without recognizing the intervening *-idus*. When the ending *-ĭdius* was applied to vowel stems a diphthong resulted, as in *Otteidius, Poppaedius*. Whether these gentiles formed by the suffix *-ĭdius* were derived from other gentiles in *-ius* or from cognomina, as, for example, whether *Longidius* was derived from the gentile *Longius* or the cognomen *Longus*, is a question which will engage our attention later. The following is the list in *CIL.* i, first of genuine *-idius* names, secondly the larger number of analogical forms :

*Ofdius*, or *Aufidius*, from *Aufidus*, the river in Apulia ; *Calidius*, from cogn. *Caldus*, for *Calidus; Lucidius*, from cogn. *Lucidus; Afiedius* (cf. gens *Affia*) ; *Aiedius* (cf. gens *Aia*, cogn. *Aiula*) ; *Aledius* for *Allidius* (cf. gens *Allia*) ; *Alfidius* (cf. gens *Alfia*, in Latin *Albia*, from cogn. *Albus*) ; *Anaiedius* (cf. gens *Anaia*) ; *Atiedius* (cf. gens *Attia*, and *Attidium*, a town in Umbria) ; *Novelledius* (cf. gens *Novellia* and cogn. *Novellus*) ; *Caesidius* (cf. gens *Caesia*, from *caesius*, 'steel-gray (eyed)' ; *Canidius* (cf. gens *Cania*, cogn. *Kanus*) ; *Clandia* for * *Clanidia*, an Etruscan name (cf. gens *Clania*, of Etruscan origin, and *Clanis*, a river of Etruria) ; *Considius* (cf. gens *Consia*, from cogn. *Consus*, which was also the name of a Roman divinity) ; *Crustidius*, from *crusta; Epidius* (cf. gens *Epia*) ; *Fufidius* (cf. gens *Fufia*) ; *Hosidius* (cf. cogn. *Hosius*) ; *Longidius* (cf. gens *Longia*, cogn. *Longus*) ; *Otteidius* (cf. gens *Otteia*, cogn. *Otto*) ; *Pisidius* (cf. cogn. *Piso*) ; *Pompaedius* and *Poppaedius* (see *Pomponius*, p. 119 ; *Popidius; Pumidius* (cf. *pumilio*, a dwarf) ; *Tamudius; Tetdius* or *Titidius* (cf. *Titius*) ; *Trutedius* ; *Turpidius* (cf. gens *Turpilia*) ; *Vebidius*, from *Vibius*, praenomen and gentile.

From diminutive cognomina in *-ŭlus* arose gentiles in *-ĭlius*, as *Rufilius* from *rufulus, Caecilius* from *Caeculus, Rutilius* from *Rutilus*, etc., and thus arose, as in the case of *-ĭdius*, a gentile ending *-ĭlius* which was often applied without the intermediate aid of the cognomen in *-ŭlus*. Since the cognomina were very frequently formed in the double diminutive *-illus, -ellus*, gentiles are also frequent in *-illius, -ellius*. In many cases of inscriptions, where a single *l* is written

for the double, it is often difficult to tell which form is the basis. For such names as *Quintĭlius*, *Sextĭlius* it is evident that the basis is *Quintŭlus*, *Sextŭlus*, and not the adjectives *quintīlis*, *sextīlis*. We will first give those names which seem most clearly of the *-ĭlius* type:

*Aemilius*, from *aemulus*, a rival; *Aesqullius*, for *Esquilius* (cf. *Esquiliae*, one of the hills of Rome); *Amelius; Ancilius* (cf. cogn. *Ancus;* the *Anculi* were gods who ministered to other gods); *Aquilius* (cf. cogn. *Aquila*); *Baebilius* (cf. gens *Baebia* and cogn. *Babilus*); *Boufilius* (cf. gens *Bovia*, or perhaps from a cogn. βούφιλος); *Caecilius* (cf. gens *Caecia*, cogn. *Caecus; Caeculus* founded Praeneste, 'unde putant Caecilios ortos,' Paul. *ex F.* p. 44); *Caltilius* (cf. gens *Caltia*); *Cartilius*, evidently of Etruscan origin; *Carvilius* (cf. cogn. *Carbo*); *Cloelius*, *Cloulius*, or *Cluilius* (Liv. i, 50, says it was an Alban family; Paul. *ex F.* p. 55, derives it from *Clolius*, the companion of Aeneas); *Garcilius; Gavilius* (cf. gens *Gavia*, cogn. *Gavillus*); *Hostilius* (cf. gens *Hostia*, cogn. *Hostīlus*, praen. *Hostus*); *Laetilius* (cf. gens *Laetia*, cognn. *Laetus*, *Laetillus*); *Lavilius* (cf. gens *Lavia*); *Maecilius* (cf. gens *Maecia*); *Magilius* (cf. gens *Magia*); *Mamilius* (cf. gens *Mamia* or *Mammia*, cognn. *Mamus*, *Mammus*, *Mammula*); *Manlius* for *Manĭlius* (cf. praen. *Manius*, fem. cogn. *Manila*, *CIL.* viii, 5795; cogn. *Maniius*, *CIL.* x, 4048); *Metilius* (cf. gens *Metia*, praen. *Mettus*, cogn. *Meθillus*, *CIL.* xii, 5686); *Mutilius* from cogn. *Mutilus* (cf. *Mutila*, a town of Istria); *Nomelius; Opsilius* (cf. gens *Opsia*); *Otacilius* (cf. gens *Otacidia*); *Pacilius* (cf. gens *Pacia*); *Poplius* or *Pompilius* (cf. gens *Popidia*); *Procilius; Quinctilius*, from praen. *Quintus; Rufilius*, from cogn. *Rufus*, *rufulus; Rutilius*, from cogn. *Rutilus; Sextilius* (cf. gens *Sextia*, praen. *Sextus*); *Sectilius; Statilius* (cf. praen. *Statius*); *Tongilius* (at Praeneste, *tongēre* meant *noscere*, Fest. p. 356); *Turpilius* (cf. cogn. *Turpio*); *Tūtulius*, from *tutus*, safe, or Osc. *tovto*, people; *Urbilius; Utilius; Vecilius* (cf. *Vecilius*, a mountain in Latium; the name, however, is found in Etruria with the praenomen *Vo.*, which makes it almost certainly of Etruscan origin); *Vehilius; Vergilius*, cf. *Vergiliae*, and *Vergellus*, a river in Apulia.

A few names in *-ulius* appear to be obtained directly from cognomina in *-ulus*, as *Cantulius* (cf. *cantulus*, a little song); *Segulius; Tamulius* (cf. *tama*, a swelling in the feet, Fest. p. 360).

Names in *-illius*, *-ellius* also have the appearance of being formed directly from cognomina. It is not probable that this ever became a movable suffix for the formation of gentiles. The list is as follows :

*Arellius*; *Avillius* from *Aulus* < **Avulus*; *Caesellius*, from cogn. *Caesulla*;[1] *Camellius* or *Camelius*, from cogn. *Camillus*; *Cascellius* (cf. cogn. *Casca*, from *cascus*, old-fashioned, dimin. **cascellus*) ; *Duillius*, for *Duellius*, from *bellum*; *Eppillius* or *Epilius*, from cogn. *Epillus* (cf. gens *Eppia*) ; *Obellius*, perhaps from *ovillus* 'belonging to sheep'; *Ofellius*, *Ofillius*, or *Offilius*, from cogn. *Ofella*, dimin. of *offa*, a morsel; *Petuellius*; *Popillius* (cf. *Popellus*), but also *Poplius*; *Ravellius*, from cogn. *Ravilla*, from *ravulus* 'rather hoarse'; *Rupillius*, perhaps a mistake for *Rupilius*; *Rusticelius* (cf. *rusticellus*, clownish); *Sepullius*; *Visellius*; *Vitellius* (cf. cogn. *Vitulus*; *vitellus*, a little calf) ; *Petillius* stands doubtless for *Petīlius*, from *petīlus*, slender.

*Cornēlius* might be understood as representing a class formed from adjectives in *-ēlis*, as *crudēlis*, but we have no instance to prove that such a class existed. It may belong to the *ĭlius* class and be explained as standing for **cornĕ-ĕlius*, where by fusion a long *ē* results from the two short, as in *prēndo*, from *prĕ-hĕndo*, etc.; cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 224. *Cornelius* would then be formed from a cogn. **Corneus* 'horny.' Cf. the cognomen *Corneolus*, a diminutive of the same, which postulates a *Corneus*.

In the case of *Aurēlius* it is noteworthy that we have the adjective *aureus* and the cognomen *Aureolus* to compare, but it is likely that *Aurelius* comes from a form older than either of these two. For a discussion of the relation between *Aurelius* and Gk. ἥλιος, see Curtius, *Gk. Etym.* 401, and Paul. *ex F.* p. 23, 'Aureliam familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dictam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra faceret Soli; qui ex hoc *Auseli* dicebantur, ut Valesii, Papisii pro eo quod est Valerii, Papirii.' Cf. also the Lettish heathen name *Auseklis*, from *austs* 'to grow light,' 'to dawn.'

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[1] *Caesullae* were girls with gray eyes (Fest. 274).

A peculiar difficulty is presented by a small group of names in *-ĭlius* which are usually given *-ĭlius* in modern lexica, as, for example, in Forcellini's *Onomasticon*, but for which the long *-ī-* may be proved. The group includes *Manīlius* (Juv. vi, 243, *Mānīlia*), *Lucīlius* (Juv. i, 165 : Hor. *Sat.* i, 4, 6 ; 10, 2 ; ii, 1, 62), *Servīlius* (*CIL.* vi, 358, SERVILIO, and often *Serveilius* in *CIL.* i), *Acīlius*, *Atīlius*, and *Venīlius*. Latin inscriptions show in these words a genuine long *ī*, represented by simple *i* in the oldest inscriptions, and by the spurious diphthong *ei* for a period after the time of the Gracchi. We believe that these were made with the ending *-ĭlius* from praenomina in *-ius*, but that analogy operated not in the same manner as with the preceding class in *-ĭlius*. It seems probable that the great majority in our preceding list were formed from other already existing gentiles as follows: from the cognomina *Caecus* and *Caeculus* were derived the gentiles *Caecius* and *Caecilius*. Then, by a simple rule of three, *Caecius : Caecilius = Gavius : Gavilius*, or as *Manius* (gentile): *Manĭlius* > *Manlius*. In the case of those in *-ĭlius*, however, the construction was always from the praenomen, and the proportion was understood as follows : *Hostus : Hostilius = Manius* (praenomen) : **Manilius* > *Manīlius*. So *Lucīlius*, *Manīlius*, and *Servīlius* are explained as formed by the gentile suffix *-ĭlius* directly from the praenomina *Lucius*, *Manius*, and *Servius*. Whether *Atīlius* and *Acīlius* are merely two forms of the same name is an open question (cf. the confusion of *Attius* and *Accius*). In inscriptions *Acilius* is always written with a single *i*: in Greek inscriptions the spelling varies between Ἀκίλιος, Ἀκύλιος, and Ἀκέλιος. The quantity of the *ī* appears from Juv. iv, 94, 'proximus eiusdem properabat Acīlius aevi.' *Atilius* appears *CIL.* i, 1027, as *Ateilius*. These names postulate a praenomen **Acius* or **Atius* which is borne out by the constant spelling *Atiedius*, *CIL.* i, 182 ; 1167 ; ix (frequently), and Zvet. 41. *Venilius* appears *CIL.* i, 580, in a Greek inscription, as *Veneilius;* elsewhere as *Venelius*. No certain reliance can be placed on the Greek form; Mommsen thinks it a mistake. We know of the name *Venīlia* as the mother of Turnus and also the wife of Janus. Cf. also Varr. ap. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, vii, 22, 'Venīlia unda est quae ad litus venit.'

From cognomina in *-ĭnus* were formed gentiles in *-ĭnius*, as follows: *Caecīnius*, from *Caecīnus;* *Canīnius*, from *Canīnus* (rare ; cf. cogn.

*Canis*); *Crispīnius*, from *Crispīnus*; *Fulcīnius*, from *Fulcīna*; *Flavīnius*, from *Flavīnus*; *Gabīnius*, from *Gabīnus*; *Graecīnius*, from *Graecīnus*; *Latīnius*, from *Latīnus*; *Mescīnius*; *Obīnius*, for *Ovīnius* (?), from *ovīnus*; *Vatīnius*, cf. *vatius* 'bow-legged'; *Vergīnius* (cf. Sil. Ital. xiii, 824); *Atīnius*.

A good number of gentiles were formed also in *-ĭnius* from cognomina in *-ĭnus*, as *Asĭnius*, *Gemĭnius*, etc., from *Asĭnus*, *Gemĭnus*, and from these, it seems, there arose the ending *-ĭnius*, which was often used to derive a gentile from another gentile. The following are those in *-ĭnius* of both kinds:

*Asinius*, from cogn. *Asina*; *Arsinius*, *Orsinius*, Etruscan names (cf. cogn. *Arsinus*); *Flaminius*, from cogn. *Flamen*; *Geminius*, from *Geminus*; *Licinius*, from *Licinus*; *Sanguinius*, from *sanguineus* 'blood-red'; *Voltinius* (cf. tribus *Voltinia*); *Anainius* (cf. gens *Anaia*, of Etruscan origin); *Aninius*, *Anninius* (cf. gens *Annia*); *Caesinius* (cf. gens *Caesia*); *Cantinius* (cf. gens *Cantia*); *Carfĭnius*(?); *Catinius* (cf. gens *Catia*); *Cominius*; *Fabrinius*; *Fafinius* (cf. gens *Fafia*); *Faltinius* (cf. cogn. *Falto*); *Magolnius* (cf. gens *Magullia*, cogn. *Magula*, from *Maga*); *Novercinius*, from *novercus*; *Ogulnius*; *Popnius* for *Popinius*; *Safinius*; *Senenius*; *Sepstinius*; *Tamsinius* (cf. gens *Tampia*); *Titinius* (cf. gens *Titia*, praen. *Titus*); *Volminius* or *Voluminius*, from *Volumnus*, the tutelary divinity of new-born infants.

From cognomina in *-ex*, *-ĭcis*, as **Cornufex*, and in *-ĭcus*, as *Caedicus*, Verg. *Aen.* x, 747, there arose gentiles in *-ĭcius*, and on the analogy of these, gentiles were formed from other gentiles by means of the suffix *-ĭcius*. Thus we have the following:

*Caedicius* (cf. gens *Caedia* and cogn. *Caedicus*); *Coricius*; *Crassicius* (cf. gens *Crassia* and cogn. *Crassus*); *Cornuficius*; *Fabricius* (cf. gens *Fabria* and *fabrĭca*, a workshop); *Fuficius* (cf. gens *Fufia*); *Limbricius*; *Minicius* (cf. gens *Minia*); *Mundicius* (cf. gens *Mundia*, cogn. *Mundus*); *Muncius* for *Munícius* (cf. gens *Munia*, cogn. *Munus*, *Munnus*); *Peticius* (cf. *Peta*, the goddess of prayer); *Poplicius*, *Poblicius*, *Publicius*; *Larcius*, for *Laricius*, from *larex*, *-ĭcis*; *Sulpicius*; *Septicius*; *Selicius*; *Vinicius*; *Vespicius* (cf. *vespa* 'corpse-bearer'); *Anīcius*.

The gentiles in *-itius* have as their basis perfect passive participles in *-ĭtus* used as cognomina, or nouns in *-es*, *-itis*, as follows:

*Condetius*, from *Conditus*; *Domitius*, from *Domitus*; *Equitius*, from *Eques*; *Tarquitius* (Etruscan); *Caltius*, for *Calitius* (?).

Names in *-ātius* come from cognomina in *-ās*, *ātis* derived from names of places (see Mowat, *Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris*, 1868, p. 94), or from passive participles in *-ātus*:

*Baebatius*; *Cafatius* (Etruscan; cf. cogn. *Cafo*); *Lutatius*, from **lutatus* 'muddied,' from *lutum*; *Ocratius* (cf. cognn. *Ocra*, *Ocrea*, *Ocraterus*); *Munatius*; *Curiatius* (cf. *Curiates*, a people of Umbria); *Egnatius*, from the town *Egnatia*; *Horatius* (cf. Mowat, *l. c.* p. 95), from *Foretii*, or *Hŏra*, the goddess; *Folcatius*; *Minatius*, a praenomen in Campania (cf. Vell. ii, 16); *Veratius*.

Besides the formations which we have already listed there are others which are less frequently found, and which perhaps never developed movable suffixes, such as *-ĕrius* < *-ĕsius*, as in *Valerius*, *Papirius*, *Numerius*; *-ennius* < *-endius*, from gerundives in *-endus*, as *Herennius*, *Cupiennius*; *-ustius*, as in *Fidustius*, etc. The great mass of Roman gentiles were formed from other already existing names by the simple ending *-ius*, and as such we will consider the rest of the gentiles which we have collected. A large number of these are certainly of non-Latin origin, and our work will be made more comprehensible if these are first sorted out, as many as possible, from the others. We will first give those which both from their form and the locality in which they are found are proved to belong to the Oscan dialect:

*Alfius*, Lat. *Albius*, from cogn. *Albus*; *Ansius*; *Antracius* (cf. *Anthrax*, ap. Plaut.); *Arrius*; *Asuius*; *Babbius* (cf. Zvet. 105, *B*[*a*]*bbiis*, Oscan, and cogn. *Babius*; *babulus*, a fool); *Blasius* (cf. cogn. *Blasius*, *Blasio*, *Blaesus* (?); *Blossius*; *Braccius*; *Bruttius* (cf. cognn. *Bruttio*, *Bruttius*); *Calasius* (cf. *Calatia*, a town in Campania); *Cluvius*, *Clovius*, from *Cluvia*, a town in Samnium; *Consius*, from *Consus*, an ancient Italian divinity; *Eprius*; *Fisius* (cf. *Fisus*, *Fisius*, an Umbrian divinity); *Fufius*; *Furrius*; *Gavius*, from praenomen *Gaius*; *Grusius*; *Hedius*; *Heidius*; *Herennius*, from cogn. *Herennus* < **herendus*, a gerundive of the Oscan verb *herio*, to wish (cf. the Lat. *Cupiennius*); *Herius*, from the Oscan praenomen *Herius*, from *herio*; *Macius* (cf. cogn. *Macus*, *Macio*, and the Oscan name *Magius*); *Maius*; *Messius* (cf. cogn. *Messor*); *Mevius*; *Minius* (cf.

Zvet. 121, *Milnieis*, Oscan, and the Italian praenomen *Minius*); *Monnius* (cf. cognn. *Monno, Monnus, Monnulus*); *Munnius* (cf. cogn. *Munnus*); *Nasennius*, for *-endius* (see *Herennius*, p. 127); *Nellius; Nelpius; Niraemius; Novius*, from the Osc. praen. *Novius; Numisius, Numpsius*, for Lat. *Numerius; Occius; Orcevius, Orcuius; Orfius* for Lat. *Orbius* (cf. cogn. *Orfa*); *Pacius, Paquius*, from the Osc. praen. *Pacius; Pandius* (cf. the goddess *Panda*); *Papius* (cf. cogn. *Papilus*); *Patlacius; Pettius; Pontius*, for Lat. *Quinctius* (*Pontus* < **Pomptus* = Lat. *Quintus*); *Pulius, Pullius* (cf. *pullus*, dark-colored); *Raecius; Raius; Ronius; Runtius; Sadrius; Satrius; Salvius*, from Osc. praen. *Salvius; Stlaccius; Telepius; Taracius; Toutius, Tutius*, from Osc. *tovto*, people; *Trosius; Tuccius; Turius; Urnannius*, from **Urnannus*, from an Osc. verb **urnaum; Utius; Vedius; Veserius*, from *Veseris*, a town in Campania; *Vesvius* (cf. *Vesuvius*, the volcano in Campania; *Vesulliais*, Zvet. 93; *Vesulias*, an Osc. goddess, Zvet. 111, b); *Vibius*, from Osc. praen. *Vibius; Vinucius* (cf. *Vilnikils*, Zvet. 143); *Vitrovius; Volusius*, from praen. *Volusus; Vulius; Pescennius, Percennius, Pessennius*, from Osc. **perscennus* (Lat. *precandus*).

A large number of names are certainly not of Roman origin, but belong to some of the other Italic dialects. We will class together those which are evidently from Umbria, Picenum, the Sabines, and the southern dialects of Latium, distinguishing where it is possible:

*Aburius; Aebutius; Aigius*, Volscian; *Ampius; Andius*, Picenum; *Annavius, Annius*, Picenum; *Aprufenius*;[1] *Audasius; Aufustius*[2] (cf. gens *Aufia, Aufillia*); *Babrius*, Picenum; *Camurius*, from *camur* 'turned inward' (of the toes); *Cincius*, or *Cintius; Cossutius* (cf. the Volscian name *Cossuties*, Zvet. 47; cognn. *Cossus, Cosso, Cossinus*, and gentt. *Cossius, Cosseius, Cossicius, Cossitius, Cossinius, Cossidenius*, and *Cossonius*); *Crepusius*, from *Crepuscus* 'born at twilight' (cf. *creper*, Varr. *L. L.* vi, 5); *Decius*, an old Ital. praenomen (cf. Liv. xxiii, 7, 10, *Decius Magius*); *Faderius* (cf. gens *Fadia, Fadena*, cogn. *Fadus*); *Fuulius*, Umbrian (cf. *fūlīgo*, soot); *Geganius*, an Alban family, Liv.

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[1] From **Apro-fen*, boar-killer. Cf. Gk. φόνος, Skt. (g)*han*, and see Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.* i, 319. The word appears to show a very interesting survival of an Indo-European name.

[2] The same ending *-ustius* appears as in *Fidustius*, q. v.

i, 30; *Gellius; Gessius; Liguius; Lucretius* (cf. *Lucretilis*, a mountain among the Sabines); *Maecius*, Picenum (cf. cogn. *Maecĭnus*); *Malius, Mallius* (see Mommsen, ap. Borghesi, *Œuvr.* ii, 219, n.); *Mimesius*, Picenum; *Mindius; Modius; Nerius*, Umbrian (cf. cogn. *Nero*); *Obulcius* (cf. *Obulco*, a town in Spain); *Oppius; Opisius*, Sabine (cf. cognn. *Opera, Opita*, praen. *Opiter*); *Orcunius; Ovius*, Paelignian (cf. Zvet. 21 and 27, and the Oscan praenomen *Ovius*); *Pilius, Peilius; Poinisius*, Picenum; *Rustius; Sangurius*, Picenum; *Seppius; Staberius; Tadius; Teidius; Tettienius; Tetius; Tillius; Titius*, Sabine, from praen. *Titus; Tampius* (cf. cogn. *Tampilus*); *Tattius*, Sabine.

The following are Etruscan:

*Abelesius; Ancharius* (cf. the goddess Ancharia); *Arnustius*, from *Arnus*, a river in Etruria; *Arruntius*, Etruscan *Arruns; Clanius*, from *Clanis*, a river of Etruria; *Larthius*, from Etruscan *Lars; Otius; Proenius; Sudernius; Tanius, Thanius; Telutius; Veisinnius; Veltius; Vensius; Vessius; Volcacius, Volchacius.*

From Genua we have the two native names *Meticanius* and *Pelianius.*

Of gentiles which are Roman, or which are found at Rome and cannot be shown to have originated elsewhere, there are the following:

*Aelius; Agrius*, from *ager* (cf. cogn. *Agellus*); *Albius*, from cogn. *Albus; Allius*, from the old Latin name *Allus* (cf. Deecke, *Etrusk. Forsch. u. Stud.* v, p. 104); *Antestius, Atistius*, from *antistes*, a priest; *Antius*, from *Antius*, the adjective from *Antium; Appius*, from praen. *Appius*, originally Sabine; *Aprius*, from cogn. *Aper; Aqutius*, for *Acutius*, from cogn. *Acutus; Artius* from *ater*, black (Varr. *L. L.* viii, 80; x, 44); *Attius*, from Sabine *Atta, Attus; Aulius*, from praen. *Aulus; Avius*, from *avus* (cf. cognn. *Avitus, Aulus* < **Avulus, Aviola*); *Axsius*, from * *axa* (cf. cogn. *Axilla*); *Baebius* (cf. cogn. *Babilus*?); *Caecicius*, for *Caecius*, from cogn. *Caecus; Caedius*, from *caedo; Caelius*, cf. *Caelius mons*, said to be named after the Tuscan *Caeles Vibenna; Caesius*, from cogn. *Caesius* 'bluish-gray-eyed'; *Caius*, from the praen. *Gaius; Calpurnius* (cf. Paul. *ex F.* p. 36, 'a Calpo, Numae regis filio'); *Calvius*, from cogn. *Calvus; Casius, Cassius*, from cogn. *Cassus* 'empty,' older *Casseius* > *Cassĭus* > *Cassĭus* (cf. Ritschl, *de Sepulcro Fur.*); *Catius*, from cogn. *Catus* (cf. *Cato*

and *Catulus*); *Caucius* (cf. *caucus*, a drinking vessel); *Cauca*, a city of Spain); *Cervius*, from *cervus* (cf. cogn. *Cervio*); *Cestius*, from cogn. *Cestus; Cipius*, from *Cipus*, a fabled Roman praetor; *Cispius* (cf. *Cispius mons*, one of the peaks of the Esquiline); *Claudius, Clodius*, from cogn. *Claudus; Coilius, Coelius, Caelius* (cf. *Caelius mons*); *Comicius*, from cogn. *Comicus* (?); *Cordius*, from cogn. *Cordus; Coriarius*, from *coriarius*, a tanner; *Cossius*, from cogn. *Cossus; Cottius*, from cogn. *Cotta; Cupiennius*, from *cupiendus* (cf. Osc. *Herennius*); *Cupius* (cf. cognn. *Cupio, Cupitus*); *Curius*, from cognn. *Curius, Curio; Curtius*, from *curtus*, short; *Decumius*, from praen. *Decimus; Deidius*, from cogn. *Dida* (?); *Dindius* (cf. cogn. *Dindio*); *Drusius*, from cogn. *Drusus; Gallius*, from cogn. *Gallus; Granius* (cf. *granum*, grain ?); *Faberius*, from cogn. *Faber; Fabius* (cf. cogn. *Fabatus*, from *faba*); *Fannius*, for **Fadinius* > **Fadnius* > *Fannius* (cf. cogn. *Fadus*, and gentes *Fadia, Fadonia, Fadiena*); *Fidustius*, from *fidusta*, 'a fide denominata ea quae maximae fidei erant' (Paul. *ex F.* p. 89 [1]); *Flavius*, from cogn. *Flavus; Fulvius*, from cogn. *Fulvus; Furius*, for older *Fusius*, from cogn. *Fusus* (cf. *Agr. Furius Fusus*, cos. 308, B.C.); *Furnius*, from *furnus*, oven (?); *Helvius*, from cogn. *Helva; Hirtius*, from *hirtus*, shaggy; *Hortensius*, from cogn. *Hortensis*, from *hortus* (?); *Hostius*, from praen. *Hostus; Iulius*, from *Iulus*, see p. 143; *Iunius*, for **Iuvenius*, from cogn. *Iuvenis; Iuventius*, from cogn. *Iuventus* (cf. *iuventa*); *Laelius*, perhaps for *Lavilius*, from the gens *Lavia* (cf. *caelum* < **cavilum*); *Laetorius*, from **laetor* (cf. cogn. *Laetus*); *Libertius*, from *Libertus*, a servile name (cf. cognn. *Libertio, Libertinus*); *Ligurius*, from cogn. *Ligur; Līvius* (cf. *lividus* (?), bluish, from *līveo*); *Lollius*, from cogn. *Lolla*, from cogn. *Laurus* (?) (**Laurulus* > * *Laullus* > *Lollus*); *Lucius*, from praen. *Lucius*;[2] *Lūrius*, from cogn. *Lūrus* (cf. *lūridus*, sallow); *Luscius*, from cogn. *Luscus; Maenius* (cf. *maena* (?), a kind of sea

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[1] Pauli, *Altital. Stud.* ii, 140, thinks that *Aufustius, Fidustius, Rustius*, etc., show IEur. *-istos*; cf. Skt. *vasiṣṭha, çreṣṭha*, etc. Gk. ἄριστος, κάλλιστος, κράτιστος, etc.

[2] Gentiles derived from praenn. in *-ius* are identical in form, as *Lucius, Servius, Manius*, etc. It is a question whether the forms were transferred without any further formative suffix, or whether the Latin gentiles *Lucius*, etc., stand for an earlier *Lucīus*, etc. See the discussion of *Marius, Mareius*, p. 120.

fish); *Magnius*, from cogn. *Magnus; Mamius, Mammius*, from cogn. *Mammus, Mammulus; Manius*, from praen. *Manius; Marcius*, from praen. *Marcus; Marius* (cf. cogn. *Maro*, Osc. praen. *Mara*); *Memmius*, from cogn. *Memmus; Minucius; Mispius; Mūcius* (cf. *mūcidus* (?), snivelling); *Mulvius; Mummius*, from cogn. *Mumma; Mustius*, from cogn. *Mustus; Naevius*, from praen. *Gnaeus* (?); *Nonius*, from *nonus* (cf. *Nona*, a fem. name); *Numerius*, from praen. *Numerius; Numitorius*, from cogn. *Numitor; Nummius*, from cogn. *Nummus; Octavius*, from cogn. *Octavus; Opīmius*, from *opīmus; Oratius*, from cogn. *Orata;*[1] *Orbius*, from cogn. *Orbus; Păpīrius; Pinārius; Placentius*, from *placens*, charming; *Plaetorius, Pleturius; Plancius*, from cogn. *Plancus; Plautius, Plotius*, from cogn. *Plautus; Plutius*, from *Plutus* (?); *Pollius*, from cogn. *Pollus*, for *Paullus* (but cf. also cogn. *Pollio*); *Porcius*, from *porcus; Postumius*, from cogn. *Postumus; Propertius*, an Umbrian name (cf. Buecheler, *Umbrica*, p. 172, *Vois. Ner. Propartie*, and Prop. iv. i, 125); *Prosius* (cf. *Prosa* (?), the goddess presiding over births with the head foremost); *Pupius*, from *pupus*, a child; *Quinctius*, from praen. *Quinctus; Ramnius* (cf. *Ramnes*); *Rancius, Rantius* (cf. *rancidus*, rank smelling); *Remius*, from cogn. *Remus; Renius* (cf. *renes* ?); *Rocius*, from cogn. *Rocus; Roscius* (cf. *roscidus* (?), dewy); *Rūbius; Rubrius*, from *ruber; Rufius*, from cogn. *Rufus; Rullius*, from cogn. *Rullus; Saleivius*, from *saliva* (?) (cf. *Mucius*); *Saltorius*, from * *Saltor*, 'dancer'; *Secius*, from cogn. *Secus* (cf. Wölflin, *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vi, p. 269); *Seius*, from *Seia*, the tutelary divinity of sowing; *Sentius*, from *sentus* (?), thorny; *Septimius*, from cogn. *Septimus; Sergius*, from *Servius* (?) (cf. Vaniček, *Etym. Wörterb.* p. 1026); *Sertorius*, from praen. *Sertor; Servius*, from praen. *Servius; Sextius*, from praen. *Sextus; Silius*, from cogn. *Silus; Sirtius; Specius; Spurius*, from praen. *Spurius; Statius*, from cogn. and praen. *Statius; Statorius*, from *Stator*, epithet of Mars and Juppiter; *Sucius*, from *sucus* (?), vigor; *Suetius*, from *suetus; Taurius*, from cogn. *Taurus; Terentius*, from *terens*, 'grinder,' 'thresher'; *Thorius*, from *torus*, muscle, brawn; *Tiburtius*, from

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[1] Cf. Varr. *R.R.* iii, 3, 10, sic nostra aetas in quam luxuriam propagavit leporaria hac piscinas protulit ad mare et in eas pelagios greges piscium revocavit. Non propter has appellati Sergius Orata et Licinius Murena?

*Tiburtes; Titanius*, from *Titanus; Titurius; Tossius*, for *Tonsius* (?), from *tonsus*, shaved; *Tullius*, from praen. *Tullus; Ursius*, from *ursus*, bear; *Valerius*, older *Valesius* (cf. Zvet. 30, Paelig., *Valesies*), from *Volesus*, praen. (cf. *Volero*); *Valvius; Varius*, from cogn. *Varus; Veius*, from *Veius*, adjective from *Veii; Vestorius; Vettius* (cf. cogn. *Vetto*); *Veturius*, from *vetus; Vicensumarius*, from the same word, a receiver of the tax of the twentieth part; *Vitorius*, for *Victorius* (?), from cogn. *Victor; Vilius*, from *vilis* (?), trifling; *Vivius*, from *vivus*.

The results of our examination of gentile names may be briefly stated as follows: all gentiles, so far as can be proved, are adjectives derived from words which were either praenomina, cognomina, earlier gentiles, or words of the kind that were used as cognomina. This is shown to a degree which must appear very conclusive. We believe we have proved that all names which ended in *-ānus, -ānius, -iēnus, -ōnius, -ēius, -ĭdius, -ĭlius, -ĭlius, -ellius, -ēlius, -ĭnius, -ĭnius, -ĭcius*, and *-ātius* were of this kind. We have furthermore shown that a large number of names found in Latin sources were certainly not of Roman origin, and so do not directly bear on our investigation. Of those which are Roman, or cannot be proved otherwise, and which end simply in *-ius*, we have about the following proportion:

| | |
|---|---|
| From known cognomina | 57 |
| From known praenomina | 19 |
| Having a common derivation with known cognomina | 13 |
| From words which might have been used as cognomina | 47 |
| Of unknown origin | 13 |
| Total | 149 |

Of the few unknown there is nothing in the form or appearance to mark them as in any way different from the rest; most of them probably belong to non-Latin dialects or are forms worn down by long usage into unrecognizable shapes. Our results must convince any one that gentilicia could not have existed before the praenomina and cognomina, from which they are derived, were already in existence, and that they therefore are the representatives of no original Indo-European name system. It must be, therefore, since we have

excluded cognomina and gentilicia, that in praenomina, if anywhere, are to be found the traces of Indo-European names of which we are in search.

## V. Praenomina.

The subject of Roman praenomina early attracted the attention of antiquarians and philologists. Varro is known to have written a separate work on the subject and has also left us many items of interest in his treatise *de lingua Latina*. The epitome of an anonymous *liber de praenominibus* appended to the work of Valerius Maximus is also of extreme interest, as are numerous references in Quintilian and the later grammarians. The Roman writers give us some idea of what among them were considered praenomina; but in attempting etymologies they are often obviously so wide of the mark that we cannot but believe that their knowledge of the true origin and distinction of praenomina was at least as unreliable as our own. Their tendency is to refer the meanings of praenomina to circumstances connected with the birth of the child. In certain names, as *Vopiscus*, *Spurius*, *Postumus*, *Quintus*, this is obviously correct, and it is probable that their analogical inclinations, perhaps often aided by a deceptive *Volksetymologie*, led them to attribute similar origins to such names as *Marcus*, *Lucius*, *Manius*. We are bound to bear in mind the conclusions of the ancients and to treat them with the respect due to their antiquity and to the evident honesty with which they were sought; but we are under no constraint to accept them, or to believe them obtained in the light of greater knowledge than our own. The advantages of comparative study which we possess, added to the accumulations of centuries, make us masters of the subject in hand, as well as of the fundamental principles of linguistic development, to a degree not attained by Varro and the other Roman antiquarians.

Among modern writers the subject has made little advance. Hübner (*Quaestiones Onomatologicae Latinae*, 1854), Mommsen (*Römische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1864), and Schneider (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Römischen Personennamen*) have pursued the investigation on the lines of Varro, and have done little more than follow in his illustrious footsteps. It is true they have succeeded in gathering

many facts and items of value and interest; but they have arrived at no general or systematic results which could for a moment be admitted as conclusive. Mommsen has gone farthest and has pretty well established the extent of the use of praenomina among the patrician families at Rome. For a review of the literature of the subject and also for examples from Latin literature of some of the rarer praenomina I am indebted to a manuscript dissertation of Dr. W. T. Piper, deposited in the Harvard University library.

While the literature of the subject of praenomina contains much of value, it also contains errors. It is not our present purpose, however, to review and discuss the theories of previous writers, but rather, pursuing our own way, to attempt to reach an adequate explanation of Latin praenomina in their development and as a system. To accomplish this we shall follow the lines we have laid out in the preceding chapters on cognomina and gentilicia, except that in the present chapter, instead of restricting ourselves to a portion of the field, we shall take all the names that are even suspected of being praenomina, and try to find out the story which they themselves tell.

Before we take up the names themselves let us recall a few pertinent facts about praenomina. While the gentilicium was the general designation to which a person was born and which he perforce assumed, derived, as we have seen, from earlier names; and the cognomen was a name given to the individual or his Roman ancestor as in some way personally descriptive; the praenomen was the name arbitrarily selected from a limited number, with no other restriction as to choice than that it had perhaps been commonly held among the members of his family. This fact of arbitrary selection is an important one in our discussion; for it marks the first characteristic common to the Latin praenomen and the traditional Indo-European name, — a characteristic which at the same time excludes the gentile and the cognomen from a possible origin outside of Italic bounds. To a Roman the formal sign of a praenomen was its position before the gentile. So universally was this the rule that we find no sure instance in republican times of the praenomen placed after other names, except occasionally in verse, where the exigencies of metre constrained the poet, as in the Scipio epitaphs, *CIL.* i, 29 and 33.

The name *Alfenos Luci*, in *CIL.* i, 831, is of doubtful interpretation; *Luci* may be a genitive. As in most discussions of praenomina certain ones rarely met with in Latin play a prominent part, it is desirable at the outset to correct any erroneous impressions about the comparative extent to which these names were actually used. Perhaps in the first volume of *CIL.* a greater variety of praenomina is found than in any equal space, and the following figures, giving the number of occurrences of the several names in that volume, will accordingly afford a fairly correct idea of the relative frequency of their use: *Lucius* 535, *Gaius* 527, *Marcus* 404, *Quintus* 241, *Publius* 224, *Gnaeus* 110, *Aulus* 99, *Titus* 82, *Sextus* 57, *Manius* 30, *Numerius* 27, *Decimus* 22, *Servius* 19, *Tiberius* 17, *Spurius* 16, *Appius* 10, *Vibius* 14, *Postumus* 3, *Novius* 3, *Statius* 9, *Plautus* 2, *Salvius* 7, *Pacius* 4, *Epius* 2, *Vel.* (?) 3, *Sertor* 2, *Paulus* 2, *Trebius* 2, *Nero* 3, *Marius*, *Tullus*, *Pup.*, *Otanius*, *Lar.*, *Ar.*, *Ovius*, *Mesius*, *Vo.*, *Va.*, *Opi.*, *Kaeso*, *Herius*, 1 each.

Add to this list a number of names from Livy, the Incertus Auctor *de praenominibus*, and inscriptions, all of the rarest occurrence, — *Volusus*, *Volero*, *Numa*, *Pet.*, *Gellius*, *Ancus*, *Vopiscus*, *Proculus*, *Geminus*, *Taurus*, *Cossus*, *Caesar*, *Agrippa*, *Minius*, *Minatius*, *Cordus*, *Iulus*, *Hostus*, *Septimius*, *Faustus*, *Mamercus*, and *Denter*, — and we have the largest list that could be claimed as praenomina, — a total of sixty-four. In fact no one writer claims so many, but since each of the sixty-four has by one or another authority been accredited with being a Roman praenomen, we must examine the right of each one to be so ranked.

Many of the names on this list are native in sections of Italy outside of Latium, and oftenest appear in inscriptions from provincial localities, but were always liable to be carried to Rome. The Etruscans are, according to Deecke and Pauli (*Etruskische Forschungen und Studien*) responsible for a large number. They certainly furnished the following:

*Aruns*, very frequent in Etruscan inscriptions in the form *Arnth.* It appears in the name *Ar. Sudernius* in *CIL.* i, 1363, from Etruria. Cf. also Dion. Hal. iii, 46, Τυῤῥηνικὰ θέμενος αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα, τῷ μὲν Ἄροντα, τῷ δὲ Λυκόμωνα.

*Lar*, very common in Etruscan inscriptions in the form *Larth.*

Incert. Auct. 4, Lartis praenomen sumptum est a laribus, Tuscum autem esse creditum, fuitque consul Lar Herminius cum T. Verginio Tricosto. So also Dion. Hal. xi, 51 ; Diod. xii, 27, 1. But Livy, iii, 65, gives the name as *Sp. Herminius.* The name *Lar* occurs in *Lar Ancharia*, from Etruria, *CIL.* i, 1371. Cf. Dion. Hal. v, 21, Βασιλεὺς Κλουσιανῶν τῶν ἐν Τυῤῥηνίᾳ Λάρος ὄνομα Πορσῖνος ἐπίκλησιν.

*Otanius* occurs only in *CIL.* i, 1395, in *Otanius Larthius*, from Etruria.

*Vel.*, an abbreviated praenomen, occurring in inscriptions from Etruria in *CIL.* i, 1345, 1359, 1360, 1377.

*Vo.*, read by Mommsen in *CIL.* i, 1313, in L·VECILIO·VO·F·, and interpreted by him as *Volusi filius*, but differently read by others.

A considerably larger number of our list can be proved to be purely Oscan praenomina. Their occurrence is mainly in Oscan inscriptions, or in Latin inscriptions from Oscan territory, or from other quarters of Italy in names which are evidently Oscan. They are only occasionally found in Rome or Latium. In Latin they nearly all have the ending *-ius*, which in Oscan is written *-is*. From these were freely derived gentilicia in Oscan in *-iis* (*-iyo-*) ; cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 320. Thus from praenomen *Statis*, in Latin *Statius*, from the stem *stat-io-*, is derived the gentile *Statiis*, from the stem *stat-iyo-*, which in Latin is also *Statius*. In Latin the two forms have been reduced to one, in *-ius*. Thus we have, in the case of Oscan names in Latin, seemingly the same name used equally as praenomen and gentile. It is only when we turn to the Oscan monuments that we perceive that one is a derivative of the other (see above, the gentile Lucius, p. 130). The following are the praenomina in our list that are certainly Oscan:

*Vibius.* Liv. xxvii, 15, et Bruttiis similis spes veniae facta est, cum ab eis Vibius et Paccius fratres longe nobilissimi gentis eius, etc. *Ibid.* xxiii, 6, Vibius Virius, one of the Campanian ambassadors (cf. Zvet. 128, the Oscan gentile *Virriis*). Liv. xxv, 14, Vibius Accaeus, prefect of the Paelignian cohort. Zvet. 126–7, Vibis Smintiis; 83, Vifbis Ohtavis ; 130, Vibis ; $129_8$, Vibiiai ; $129_{10}$, Vibiiai Akviiai. *Rhein. Mus.* xlv, p. 162, Opfl. Vi. Pak. Tantrnnaiom .... In *CIL.* ix and x, containing the inscriptions from Oscan territory, *Vibius*, occurs as gentile 230 times. In Latin inscriptions we find the following :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* i, | 1274. | V. Blasius. | Samnium. |
| " " | 1249. | V. Popidius. | Pompeii. |
| " " | 1181. | V. Ofellius. | Volsci. |
| " " | 625. | V. Vibidaius. | Marsi. |
| " " | 182. | V. Atiedius. | " |
| " " | 1541a. | V. Salvius. | " |
| " " | 1412. | V. Solsienus. | Umbria. |
| " " | 1286. | V. Novelledius. | Paeligni. |
| " " | 1285. | V. Aienus. | " |
| " " | 1279. | V. Pettius. | " |
| " " | 75. | V. Anicius. | Latium. |
| " " | 1097. | V. Vedius. | Rome. |
| " " | 1456. | V. [ ]etius. | Aquileia. |
| " " | p. 555. | V. Alpis. | (unknown.) |

*Fast. Cons.* 302 a. U. c., P. Sestius Q. f. Vibi n. Capito [Va]ticanus.

*Ephem. Epig.* i, 138, L. Villius V. f.; also *ibid.* 38, 120, 123, and elsewhere.

*Statius.* Liv. ix, 44, Statius Gellius imperator Samnitium; xxiv, 19, Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum castra habebat, quod duum milium Campanorum et septingentorum militum Hannibalis tenebatur praesidio. Praeerat Statius Metius missus ab Cn. Magio Atellano, qui eo anno medix tuticus erat; xxiii, 1, accitus in Hirpinos a Statio Trebio pollicente se Compsam (in Samnium) traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius, nobilis inter suos.

Zvet. 98. C (?) Staatiis L. Klar; 128, Statiis Gaviis; 230, T. Statiis; 109, Statis Cloil. C.; 233, CTATIC . . . .; 132, Statie. *Indo-Germ. Forsch.* ii, 1893, p. 437, ii, l. 9, Stat . . . .

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* i, | 1266. | Sta. Raius. | Apulia. |
| " " | 184. | Sta. Fl[avius]. | Marsi. |
| " " | 183. | St. Magius. | " |
| " " | 103. | Sta. Cupius. | Latium. |
| " " | 1292. | St. Pomponius. | Amiternum. |
| " " | 169. | Sta. Tetius. | Picenum. |
| " " | 1460. | St. Mulvius. | Aquileia. |
| " " | p. 142. | St. Voc[ ]. | Spain. |
| " " | p. 555. | St. Pontius. | (unknown.) |

These examples, particularly those from Livy, of distinguished Samnite leaders, seem at first sight not at all in accord with the statement of Aulus Gellius, iv, 20, 12: Statius autem servile nomen fuit. Plerique apud veteres servi eo nomine fuerunt. Caecilius quoque ille comoediarum poeta inclutus servus fuit, et propterea nomen habuit Statius. Sed postea versum est quasi in cognomentum appellatusque est Caecilius Statius. From our earlier evidence we are forced to believe that in origin *Statius* was a common and creditable Oscan praenomen. At Rome it might have become appropriated by the servile class and so have fallen into disuse among free-born people. This is the easier to believe since it was native, not at Rome, but in the provinces. In earlier times many slaves came from the Oscan states, and the Oscan name was always either openly or secretly regarded with hatred and contempt at Rome.

*Numerius* is an Oscan praenomen actually found in Oscan inscriptions. Cf. Zvet. 137, [Ni]umsis Heírennis and Niumsieís ka . . . .; 252, [Μαρ]ας Πομπτιες Νινμσδιηις; and as a gentile, 102, Tanas Niumeriis. Its introduction to Rome is explained in Festus, p. 170: Numerius praenomen numquam ante fuisse in patricia familia dicitur quam vis * Fabius qui unus post sex et trecentos ab Etruscis interfectos superfuit, inductis * magnitudine divitiarum uxorem duxit Otacili Maleventani, ut tum dicebantur, filia * ea condicione ut qui primus natus esset praenomine avi materni Numerius appellaretur. So also Incert. Auct. 6, Numeriis sola tantummodo patricia familia usa est Fabia, idcirco quod trecentis sex apud Cremeram flumen caesis, qui unus ex ea stirpe extiterat ducta in matrimonium uxore filia Numerii Otacilii Maleventani sub eo pacto ut quem primum sustulisset, ei materni avi praenomen imponeret, obtemperavit. Of the twenty-seven examples of *Numerius* as praenomen in *CIL.* i, twelve come from Campania and Lucania.

*Novius.* Zvet. 250, NO·COMNI/NO, Oscan; 19, V·OBELIES·NO, Paelignian. For the very frequent occurrence on Oscan soil of *Novius* as a gentile, see *CIL.* x, p. 1048.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* i, | 1261. | Nov. Vibius. | Lucania. |
| " " | 96. | Nov. Comenius (?) | Latium. |
| " " | 878. | Novi Graeci. | " |

*Pacius* or *Paquius* appears to be a purely Oscan praenomen, particularly frequent in Lucania. Liv. xxvii, 15, Vibius et Paccius fratres longe nobilissimi Bruttiis. Zvet. 86, Pakis Tintiriis; 129$_{9}$, Pakiu Kluvatiud; 129$_{10}$, Pakim; 129$_{9}$, Pakis; 202, .... pask Pak; 89, Pk. De. Pk. sovad eítiv upsed, 'Pacius Decius, the son of Pacius, built with his own money'; 104, .... | t. Pk. Laí. Pk.; 236, A. Λαπονις Παικφηις, in Latin, A. Laponius Paquii; 35, CIA·PACIA MINERVA (gentile), Paelignian; see Zvet. Appendix, the conjecture of Deecke that C(A)IA is meant; 43, PA·VI·PACVIES, Marsi; *Rhein. Mus.* xlv, p. 162, Opfl. Vi. Pak. Tantrnnaiom ....; *Indogerm. Forsch.* ii, p. 437, i, l. 5, pak ....

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* i, 1257. | Paq. | Aesqullius. | Lucania. |
| " " 1262. | Pac. | Vitellius. | " |
| " " 1542. | Paq. | Scalponius. | " |
| " " 183. | Pac. | Anaiedius. | Marsi. |

As an Oscan gentile, *Pacius* or *Paccius* appears in Liv. x, 38, Ovio Paccio, and very frequently in *CIL.* x.

*Trebius.* Zvet. 246, Τρεβις Σ. Σεστες δεδετ; 149, Ni. Trebiis Tr. med. tov.; 252, TR· PLATORIVS· TR; 128, Tr. Flapíu (?) Vírrfiis; 93, Nv. Vesulliaís Tr. m. t.; 34, TR·AMIDIS· In an inscription from Capua lately discovered (*Indogerm. Forsch.* iv, p. 259) appears the name Tr. Vírriieís Kenssurineís. *CIL.* i, 1257, L. Cai Tr. f., Lucania. *Trebius* also occurs as a gentile name not infrequently in *CIL.* x, and in Zvet. 149, 198, 200. The name *Trebius* is probably to be connected with the Umbrian divinity *Trebus Iovius.*

*Marius.* Liv. xxii, 42, Marium Statilium cum turma Lucana; xxiii, 7, Marium Blosium praetorem Campanum. Vell. Pater. ii, 16, Marius Egnatius, one of the Italian leaders in the Servile War. *CIL.* i, 1232, C. Pontius Mari f., from Samnium. In Oscan we find not *Marius* but *Mara*, a common praenomen. It looks as if the Romans in using the name changed its Oscan form *Mara* to *Marius* to make it more in keeping with the other Oscan praenomina Pacius, Novius, Ovius, etc.

*Ovius.* Liv. ix, 7, Ofillius Calavius Ovii filius, of Capua; *ibid.* 26, Calavios Ovium Novium, of Capua; x, 38, Ovio Paccio, a Samnite;

Zvet. 248, Ov. Afaries Ov.; 252, Ov. Caisidis Ov.; 21, Saluta Obel. Ov.; 26, Min. Rufries Ov. l.; *CIL.* i, 1265, Q. Ovius Ov. f., from Apulia.

*Mesius.* *CIL.* i, 1275, Helviae Mesi f., Samnium. As *Mesius* does not elsewhere occur as a praenomen we cannot be certain that it was regularly so used in any section of Italy.

*Herius.* Liv. xxiii, 43, Herius Pettius, Nolanus; Vell. Pater. ii, 16, Herius Asinus dux Italorum; *CIL.* i, 62, C. Placentius Her. f., from Latium. The name is evidently connected with the Oscan verb *herio*, volo, and the goddess *Herentas* who corresponded to the Latin Venus. The longer form *Herennus* < * *Herendus* (cf. Lat. *Cupiennius*, *CIL.* i, 1051) occurs as an Oscan praenomen in Zvet. 225.

*Minius.* Liv. xxxix, 13, Minium et Herennium Cerrinios, Campanians. In Cato, *R. R.* 151, Keil following Victorius reads *Manius Percennius Nolanus.* Codd. AR., however, read *Minius*, and V reads *Memius.* *Manius* we should expect to find abbreviated; *Memius* we do not elsewhere find as a praenomen. *Minius*, from the substantiation of the other cases which we cite, appears to be a frequent Oscan praenomen and must have been common at Nola. We should prefer, therefore, to read *Minius* in our text of Cato. Zvet. 284, Mi. Iefis Mi.; 251, C. Soies Min.; 124, Min. V . . .; 112, Miniefs Kaſsilliefs Minatefs; 122, Upfals Salaviis Minies; 26, Min. Rufries Ov. l.; from Capua (*Indog. Forsch.* iv, p. 259), Mi. Blossii Mi.; *CIL.* i, 1230, M·MAGI·MIN·F·SVRVS, Apulia; *Rhein. Mus.* xliii, p. 128, Mi. Anniief(s).

*Minatius* or *Minatus.* Vell. Pater. ii, 16, Minatius Magius, of Apulia. In Oscan the name has the form *Minatus* (cf. the change of Oscan *Mara* to *Marius* in Latin). Zvet. 112, Miniefs Kaſsilliefs Minatefs; *Rhein. Mus.* xlv, p. 162, Mina. Naseni; *Indg. Forsch.* ii, p. 437, ii, l. 7, *Minaz* = *Minats* < *Minatus.*

*Opius.* Zvet. 128, Oppiis Helleviis; *CIL.* i, 146, Opi. Sanfius.

*Epius.* *CIL.* i, 1249, Ep. Popidius, Pompeii; 193, Epius Fulvius.

*Mamercus* was an Oscan praenomen according to the statement of Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 131: Mamercus praenomen Oscum est ab eo quod hi Martem Mamertem dicunt. It passed into Latin as a cognomen; cf. *CIL.* ii, 1475, et al. The only case where it seems to be a praenomen is *Fast. Cons. Cap.* a. U. c. 349, M' Aimilius Mam. f. M. n.

Mamercinus. In Livy, iv, 16, the name appears as *Mam. Aemilius*, but in Diod. xi, 65, as Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος.

Besides these there is a considerable number of other Oscan praenomina which no one has even suspected of being Roman, and which never occur in Latin inscriptions. These may nearly all be found in the index to Zvetaieff, *Inscript. Ital. Infer.*

The Umbro-Sabellian states of the north shore of Italy contributed a few to our list of sixty-four. The most certain examples are these:

*Salvius.* This praenomen is clearly non-Latin. I have preferred to class it as Umbrian rather than Oscan for several reasons: the majority of inscriptions containing it are found in Umbrian territory; it is not found as a praenomen in the Oscan inscriptions, and the corresponding gentile, *Salvius*, occurs comparatively rarely in Oscan territory (*CIL.* x, thirteen times); forms of the adjective *salvus*, from which it is probably derived, are very common in the Umbrian tablets.

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|---|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* i, | 1414. | Sal. Egnatius. | Umbria. |
| " " | 1420. | Sal. Camurius. | Picenum. |
| " " | 1280. | Sa. Septimius. | Paeligni. |
| " " | 1286. | Sal. Cominius. | " |
| " " | 183. | Sa. Magius. | Marsi. |
| " " | 184. | Sa. Flavius. | " |
| " " | 1141. | Sal. Statius. | Praeneste. |

*Plautus.* *CIL.* i, 116, Pla. Magolnius, Latium; 191, Pl. Specius (unknown.)

The statement of Paulus is of value in locating *Plautus:* Fest. p. 238, Umbri pedibus planis . . ; Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 239, Ploti appellantur qui sunt planis pedibus. Unde et poeta Accius, quia Umber Sarsinas erat, a pedum planitie initio Plotus postea Plautus est dictus. The poet's name, as Ritschl has finally restored it, appears as *T. Maccius Plautus;* but when we consider that the Italian peoples outside of Rome did not, according to the evidence of our inscriptions, regularly possess cognomina, and that *Plautus*, or what appears to be such, does actually occur as an Italian but not as a Roman praenomen, it is not too rash to assume that the poet's original name was *Plautus Maccius*, and that upon his coming to Rome he changed

the unfamiliar praenomen *Plautus* to a cognomen. For a very similar instance, see *Statius*, p. 137; only in the case of Caecilius we are not told that he assumed a praenomen, as Plautus would seem to have done. We do not, however, know of anything to prevent a foreigner from taking an assumed name at Rome if he chose. In selecting *Titus* as a praenomen Plautus chose a name that was familiar both in his native country and at Rome.

*Pupius.* *CIL.* i, 1423. Pup. Clodius. Picenum.

*Nero.* *CIL.* i, 1412, Ner. Capidas; 1415, Ner. Egnatius; 1417, Ner. Poinisius; Buecheler, *Umbrica*, p. 172, Ner. T. Babr.; Vois. Ner. Propartie, all from Umbria. Suet. *Claud.* 1, Patrem Claudi Caesaris, Drusum, olim Decimum mox Neronem praenomine . . . . Suet. *Tib.* 1, Gens Claudia orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum . . . . inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus. Gell. xiii, 23, Id autem, sive 'Nerio' sive 'Nerienes' est, Sabinum verbum est, eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo. Itaque ex Claudiis, quos a Sabinis oriundos accepimus, quis erat egregia atque praestanti fortitudine 'Nero' appellatus est. We are not surprised to find that the Sabines and Umbrians used the praenomen *Nero* in common, as their territories were adjacent and their dialects closely allied. The fact that the name when brought to Rome ceased to be employed as a praenomen, but was adopted among the cognomina, lends support to our Plautus theory and may throw light on a similar transference of other names; cf. the case of Statius Caecilius cited above (Gell. iv, 20, 12). *Nero* is certainly connected with the Umbrian *nerf* 'nobles'; Skt. *nara* or *nṛ*; Gk. ἀνήρ.

*Sertor.* *CIL.* i, 1097, Vib. Vedius Sert. f.; 1412, T. Mimesius Sert. f. Incert. Auct. 4 counts Sertor in his collection of praenomina, and explains it thus: Sertor qui per sationem natus erat appellatus est, — an extremely unsatisfactory sentence for those to reflect upon who are inclined to accept the position taken by the Incert. Auct., that praenomina arose from circumstances of birth. Fest. p. 340, Sertorem quidam putant dictum a prendendo, quia cum cuipiam adserat manum, educendi eius gratia ex servitute in libertatem, vocetur adsertor; cum verisimilius sit dictum qui sereret quid, ac potius adsertorem a serendo cepisse nomen, cum aliquem serat

petendo in libertatem eandem qua ipse sit, id est iungat, quia fruges cum seruntur, terrae iungit. Quod totum Verrius ἀπιθάνως introduxit. *Sertor* once established as an Umbrian praenomen directs us to that dialect for a derivation, and a very satisfactory one is at once suggested by the verb **serĭum* (=*servare*). *Sertor*, then, standing for **serĭtor* by a formation similar to that of *habĭtum* from *habēre*, would mean *servātor* 'the preserver.' Compare with this such names from other dialects as *Numitor* 'the arranger,' *Tutor Cloilius*, *Fertor Resius* (Incert. Auct. 1, Kempf, 1854, ab Aequiculis Sertorem Resium qui ius fetiale constituit; in his new edition, however, Kempf follows the MS. and reads *Fertorem*). We notice at once that such names as *Salvius*, *Nero*, *Sertor*, etc., are quite distinct in character of meaning from our classes of Roman cognomina. In establishing those classes we were obliged to point to *Nero* as a possible exception to the system. By assigning to it an Umbrian origin we find at once confirmation of our suspicion and support for our classification of cognomina.

*Pet.*, *Petr.* *CIL.* i, 1287, from Paeligni, reads L. Ofdius L. f. Pet. n. We have no means of interpreting the praenomen *Pet.* In a similar case, Zvet. 3, Petr., Deecke has guessed *Petrus*.

A small number of names, unquestionably cognomina, occur rarely and in late inscriptions in the position of praenomen. Among these may be mentioned *Caesar* (Incert. Auct. 3, quae olim praenomina fuerunt nunc cognomina sunt, ut . . . . Caesar; cf. Kempf, 1854, p. 744, note), *Cossus*, *Taurus*, *Cordus*, *Geminus*, *Denter*. *Gellius* also is found in the position of praenomen in *CIL.* iii, 606 and 871, but no one, I think, would urge that it represented more than the imperial confusion of names.

The Roman historians and early records supply us with about a dozen names used as praenomina which do not appear in use in historical times. These are partly from the legendary history of Rome and often appear in the name of only a single individual. From the time of Varro down they have occasioned much speculation and discussion among antiquarians and etymologists, — perhaps more than their importance warrants. They are as follows:

*Iulus*, the fabled son of Aeneas, who was the legendary founder of the gens *Iulia*. Livy (i, 3) hints that his name was *Iulus Ascanius*.

*Iulus* appears as a cognomen in Diod. xi, 65, Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος Ἴουλος. The name is very obscure, but may be, as Lindsay suggests, derived from *Iovis*. A **Iovilus* became **Ioilus*, which in turn changed to *Iulus;* cf. the Oscan *iovilo*. Diminutives in *-lus* are common as cognomina and are also frequent in our provisional list of praenomina ; as *Aulus* < **Avolus*, *Proculus*, *Tullus*, *Paulus*, cf. Gk. παῖς < *παϝ-ιδ-ς. We can hardly imagine *Iovis* entering into a personal name except as one member of a compound. A **Iovi-carus*, or similar compound, became simplified to a single member, which then took the diminutive ending *-lus;* as *Ulfilas*, Θράσυλλος, Celt. *Toutillus*, Slav. *Dobrilo*.

*Ancus*, found only in the name *Ancus Martius*. Paul. *ex Fest.* 19, Ancus appellatur qui aduncum bracchium habet et exporrigi non potest. Incert. Auct. 4, Ancum praenomen Varro e Sabinis translatum putat. Valerius Antias scribit quod cubitum vitiosum habuerit qui Graeci vocatur ἀγκών. *Ancus* appears to be the noun from which the diminutives *anculus* 'servant,' *ancilla* 'maid' are derived. *Ancus Martius* has therefore been interpreted as the 'servant of Mars.' The derived gentile *Ancilius* is found in *CIL.* i, 1144.

*Numa*, found only in the names of *Numa Pompilius* and *Numa Marcius* (Liv. i, 20, 5). In the Greek historians *Numa* appears as Νομᾶς; cf. Dion. Hal. ii, 59–76. The gentile *Pompilius* points to a non-Latin origin, and the family undoubtedly belongs to the many which migrated in the earliest times to Rome and left their traces in their family names and even in words in the Latin language which can only be explained as borrowings from a non-Latin dialect, as *bos*, *popina*, etc. Tradition also, according to which Numa Pompilius came from the Sabines, supports this view. Serv. *ad Aen.* vi, 808, orta est bona Pompilii fama quod esset apud Cures, civitatem Sabinorum. Unde etiam Numa dictus est ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων. In general, the statements of the ancients with regard to the origin of families are fairly reliable, their etymologies of names too often in evidence against them. Still it seems most likely that *Numa*, together with *Numitor* and *Numerius*, is derived from the root which appears in νόμος, νέμω, *numerus*, etc., meaning 'arrange,' 'order.'

*Hostus*. Liv. i, 12, Hostus Hostilius fought on the side of the Romans against the Sabines; he was grandfather of the king, Tullus

Hostilius, iv, 30. Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus was consul in 327 a. U. c., as also appears from the *Fasti Consulares*. Incert. Auct. 4, Hostus praenomen fuit in eo qui peregre apud hospitem natus erat, idque habuit Lucretius Tricipitinus, collega L. Sergii. It is hard to believe that *Hostus* stands directly for *hostis*, which was and remained an *-i* stem; cf. Goth. *gasts*, OSl. *gostĭ*. That it may represent the abbreviated form of some old compound of *hostis* meaning 'stranger' (Cic. *de Off.* i, 12, 37) is highly probable. Cf. *Gast-*, a very common member of OHG. and OSl. compound personal names, as in OHG. *Hadu-gast*, *Koni-gast*, *Lindi-gast*, *Gast-hart;* in abbreviated form, *Gasto*, *Gastilo;* OSl. *Gostĭ-rad*, dim. *Gostilo*. (Cf. Fick, *die Griech. Personennamen*, 1874, p. lxvi.) In historical times *Hostus* survived in the gentiles *Hostius* and *Hostilius*.

*Proculus* is found as a praenomen in Liv. i, 16, Proculus Iulius; ii, 41, Proculus Verginius; iv, 12, Proculus Geganius Macerinus, consuls; in the *Fast. Cons.* for the years 268, 319, 314; also Diod. Sic. xi, 1, and xii, 49, Πρόκλον Οὐεργίνιον Τρίκοστον; xii, 36, Πρόκλον Γεγάνιον. Incert. Auct 3, quae olim praenomina fuerunt, nunc cognomina sunt, ut . . . . Proculus. That it was later used as a cognomen appears from Tac. *Hist.* i, 87, Licinius Proculus. Paul *ex Fest.* p. 225, Proculum inter cognomina eum dicunt qui natus est patre peregrinante a patre procul. Proculos sunt qui credant ideo dictos quia patribus senibus quasi procul progressis aetate nati sunt. *Proculus* is nothing more than the diminutive of *procus*, a suitor, or perhaps with an older meaning of the word, for we learn from Fest. p. 249, that anciently *proci* was equivalent to *proceres*. It appears, therefore, to belong to the class of words used as cognomina. It is the basis of the gentile *Procilius*.

*Tullus* appears as a praenomen as early as Tullus Hostilius. Elsewhere in Livy it is used as a cognomen; cf. iv, 17, Cloelius Tullus (Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv, 6, Tulli Cloeli); ii, 35, Attius Tullus; 37 and 38, Tullus. As a praenomen it is also found in Cic. *Phil.* ix, 2, Tullus Cluvius; *CIL.* i, 1120, Tul. Tullius Tul. f. (Tibur); also as the basis of a gentile as early as Servius Tullius, and in historical times M. Tullius Cicero, etc. Incert. Auct. 4, Tullus praenominatus est ominis gratia quasi tollendus, *o* littera in *u* conversa. The word seems to show the diminutive suffix *-lo*. Whether the first part

stands for *tul* (cf. *tuli, tetuli*, etc.), as is generally received (Vaniček, p. 296) or whether the first *l* comes by assimilation from some other consonant it is difficult to say. In the latter case we might think of *Tudulus* (cf. *Tudicius, Tuccius*) > **Tŭdlus* > *Tullus*, or perhaps **Tūtulus* (Osc. *tovto* 'people') > ** Tutlus* > *Tullus*, an abbreviated compound name (cf. Celt. *Toutillus*, etc.). Such assimilations are hard for classical Latin, but might have taken place more easily in the earlier or plebeian speech. On the whole, *Tullus* 'little supporter' is the safest etymology. Whether that, however, is to be considered as an original cognomen or the shortened form of some compound, as *opitulus* 'help bringer,' is again a question which we are not able to decide.

*Vopiscus.* Liv. ii, 54, 3, Vopiscus Iulius; *Fast. Cons.* a. U. c. 281, 346, 353, 361. Incert. Auct. 4, Vopiscus, qui in utero matris geminus conceptus, altero abortu iecto, incolumis editus erat. Plin. *N. H.* vii, 10, Vopiscum appellabant e geminis qui retenti utero nascerentur altero interempto abortu. Namque maxima etsi rara circa hoc miracula existunt. Non. 557, Vopiscus qui ex duobus conceptis uno abortu excluso ad partum legitumum deducitur. Sol. i, 69, E geminis si remanente altero, alter abortivo fluxu exciderit, alter qui legitume natus est Vopiscus nominatur; cf. Isid. *Orig.* 9, 5. The agreement of these various late writers means, I think, nothing more than a common source of information. It does not seem physiologically probable that such births occurred frequently enough to give rise to a special personal name to describe them. It is hardly possible, for example, that several consuls should have been so born or that the name could become extended in use so long as its meaning was borne in mind. If, however, the meaning of the name was, as early as 350 a. U. c., already forgotten, we wonder how it survived till the time of Pliny. We are inclined from the length of the word to consider it a cognomen in origin occasionally used as praenomen (cf. chap. vii) rather than the abbreviated form of a compound name which would rarely contain three syllables.

*Agrippa* appears as a praenomen in the name Agrippa Menenius (Liv. ii, 16; iv, 11, 13; Diod. xiii, 7), in Agrippa Menenius Lanatus (Liv. iv, 44, 47), in Agrippa Furius (Liv. v, 32; ii, 66: Diod. xii, 30), and is also found in the *Fast. Cons.* of a. U. c. 251, 312,

302, 315, 335, 337, 308, 363. The earliest record of the name is in the case of Agrippa Silvius, one of the early Alban kings (Incert. Auct. 1), who appears in Livy (i, 3) as Agrippa simply. That *Agrippa* was later used as a cognomen is shown by the name *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, of the time of Augustus. It also appears as a cognomen in the gentes *Asinia*, *Fonteia*, *Hateria*, *Iulia*, and *Vibulana*. Incert. Auct. 3 also classes it among the names 'quae olim praenomina fuerunt, nunc cognomina sunt.' On the meaning of the word, Non. 557, says, 'Agrippae qui cum labore matris eduntur, hoc est per pedes contra naturam, non per caput, quasi ab aegro partu.' A wilder etymology would be hard to seek. This explanation is evidently copied from Plin. *N. H.* vii, 6, 1, in pedes procidere nascentem contra naturam est, quo argumento eos appellavere Agrippas ut aegre partos; qualiter et M. Agrippam ferunt genitum, unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis; cf. also Gell. xvi, 16; Sol. i, 65; Serv. *ad Aen.* viii, 682. *Agrippa* is probably a Greek name, compounded of ἀγρός and ἵππος. It does not occur in Greek sources, but Fick[2], *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 45, cites the similar names Ἀγρο-λέων, Ἀγρ-οίτας; p. 7, Ἀγρό-λας and Αἰ-αγρος. The form in Greek would be Ἄγρ-ιππος and it is necessary to suppose that the Italians who borrowed the name changed it to an *-a* stem, on the analogy of some of their own names, as Osc. *Maras*, *Tanas*, Lat. *Catilina*, *Seneca*, etc. It is likely that the name found its way to Rome from some of the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia or Sicily through some early emigrant, and, although at first used indifferently as praenomen or cognomen, finally settled into its proper place as cognomen.

*Volero*, *Volesus*, *Volusus*, and *Valesus* are apparently dialectic variations of the same name. *Volero* occurs, Liv. v, 13, ii, 55, in Voleronem Publilium. Later the same man is repeatedly spoken of as Volero alone, as if the name was considered a cognomen rather than a praenomen. In Diod. xiv, 54, he appears as Οὐαλέριος Ποπλίλιος; cf. also *Fast. Cons.* a. U. c. 354, 355. *Volesus* appears in Liv. i, 58, P. Valerius Volesi f.; in Dion. Hal. ii, 46, Οὐόλεσος (Jacoby, Οὐόλοσσος) Οὐαλέριος; and in *Fast. Cons.* a. U. c. 294, 298, 339, 350. This *Volesus*, we are told by Dion. Hal. *l.c.*, was a powerful Sabine who came to Rome with Titus Tatius (see also Incert. Auct.

1) and became the founder of the gens *Valeria*; cf. Ovid, *ex Pont.* iii, 2, 105, quos Volesus patrii cognoscat nominis auctor; Sil. Ital. ii, 8, Poplicola ingentis Volusi Spartana propago; Juv. *Sat.* viii, 182, et quae turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt. *CIL.* i, 187, Va. Condetius is probably to be rendered *Valesus*. The form *Valesus* is also preserved in *Valerius*, beside which we have the gens *Volusia*. As to the origin of the name, the Incert. Auct. 4 says, 'Volero in praenomen abiit quod volentibus nasci liberi parentibus videbantur.' It is most likely that the name is derived from the root of *volo*, and may well be part of a compound name. We may suppose a neuter *-es* stem noun, **veḷ-es* 'desire,' developing an *a* or *o* vowel by the influence of the *l*; cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* § 92. The Latin divinities *Vol-u-mnus*, *-a*, 'the well wishing one,' furnish a good parallel for the use of √ *vol.* Compare, for the compound, such names as Greek Εὔ-βουλος; Germanic, *Wili-frid*, *Wili-muot*, *Wili-rât*, and many others.

*Opiter.* Liv. ii, 17 and 54, Opiter Verginius; *Fast. Cons. Cap.* a. U. c. 352, [L. Vi]rginius L. f. Opetr. n. Tricost. Esquilin. *CIL.* i, 146, OPI·SAVFIO·L·L, from old Latium, has been generally interpreted as Opiter, although I am inclined to take it rather as the Oscan praenomen Opius; cf. Zvet. 128, Oppiis Helleviis, and examples of Opius as an Oscan gentile, Zvet. p. 136. Dion. Hal. v, 49, Ὄπίτωρ Οὐεργίνιος; Diod. xii, 73, Ὄπίτερος Λουκρήτιος; Zonar. vii, 13, Ὄπιτώριος Οὐεργίνιος. A derived gentile appears in Liv. xxxix, 17, in the Faliscan name L. Opiternium. For the meaning of the word we have some interesting etymologies from classical sources, as follows: Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 184, cuius pater avo vivo mortuus est, ducto vocabulo aut quod *obitu* patris genitus sit, aut quod avum *ob patrem* habeat, id est pro patre; Incert. Auct. 3, Opiter vocabatur qui patre mortuo, avo vivo gignebatur; Quint. i, 4, 25, et ex casu nascentium; hic Agrippa et Opiter et Cordus et Postumus erunt. Following these authorities, modern scholars are accustomed to explain the word as a compound of *avus* and *pater*, and to cite as parallels *Diespiter*, *Iuppiter*, *Marspiter*. So Stolz and Schmalz, in I. v. Müller's *Handbuch*[2], ii, p. 272: 'Im Schriftlatein haben wir *o* (*u*) = *au* in opiter = *av(i)-piter'; Zimmermann, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1896, pp. 419–20: 'Opiter das ich für einen vocativ und zwar aus

áv(e) páter entstanden ansehe (ávpiter, aúpiter, ópiter). das kind wollte, wie bei uns den grosspapa bzw. o-papa vom papa, so den avus pater vom pater unterscheiden. die vocativform, weil vom kinde bzw. dem kinde gegenüber haüfiger angewandt, wurde die herschende, wie in Jū-piter, Juppiter, vgl. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Brugm. *Grundriss*, i, s. 464. der übergang von Aupiter zu Opiter lässt sich eben aus der familiären sprache leicht erklären; vgl. Olus neben Aulus.' Other recent views are presented in Stolz, *Hist. Lat. Gram.* i, p. 211, none of which meet with the present writer's approval. We have first to notice that **Avipiter* 'possessing a grandfather as father' is not to be classed as a compound with *Iuppiter* 'father Zeus,' and that it would be a difficult compound in Latin, which restricted itself to compounds of the simplest and most transparent signification. Secondly, by all analogies *o* arising from *au* is long; but uniformly *Opiter* is written with *ŏ* in Greek and appears with short *ŏ* in Sil. Ital. x, 33, sternuntur leto atque Ŏpĭter quos Setia colle. These considerations seem to me fatal for the explanation of Opiter as meaning 'one who has a grandfather in the stead of a father.' Nor do I believe that *pater* appears in the word; rather is it to be derived from the root *op* 'help,' as it appears in the names of the divinities *Op-s* and *Cŏpia* (= *co-ŏp-ia*), and in the gentiles *Op-īmius* and *Op-isius*. The *-i-* is a developed connecting vowel. For the *-t-*, cf. *op-tare*, *op-tumus;* for older *opitumus* (cf. *CIL.* i, 1016, *opituma*). A feminine name of similar formation occurs, *CIL.* viii, 476, in Caecilia Opita. The *-er* is more obscure; it may be compared with the ending in the cognomen *Dent-er*, and in the noun *accipiter* < **acu-pet-er* 'the swift-flyer,' — a comparison which is favored by the similarity of their declension; cf. Priscian, 6, p. 229, Keil, inveniuntur tamen apud vetustissimas haec ancipitis genitivi: "hic accipiter, huius accipiteris," et "accipitris," "Opiter Opiteris" et "Opitris." *Opiter*, therefore, means 'the helper,' and is very similar in kind to such names as *Sertor* 'the preserver,' *Numitor* 'the arranger,' *Fertor* 'the supporter,' etc.

*Kaeso* lingered longer in use as a praenomen and was the only one of the early class that had a generally recognized abbreviation, namely *K.* Examples of its use in the gens Quinctia are common in Livy and the *Fasti.* In inscriptions it appears in K. Fabricius,

*CIL.* i, 107, an early inscription of Latium. On the meaning of the word Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 57 says: Caesones appellabantur ex utero matris exsecti. Plin. *N. H.* vii, 9, . . . sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus primusque Caesarum a caeso matris utero dictus, qua de causa et Caesones appellati; cf. Isid. *Orig.* ix, 3, 12. Marquardt, *Röm. Alterthümer*, iii, p. 441, and Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* p. 17, understand Kaeso of the lashing (caedere) which the Luperci did. But it seems preferable to take *Kaeso* as an *-o, -onis* adjective connected with *caesius*, and referring to the color of the eyes or complexion; cf. Vaniček, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, p. 1002, especially the names *Caesonius*, *Caesulla* (= * Caeson-la), and Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 136, caesullae a caesiis oculis. *Kaeso* will then be in origin a cognomen pure and simple.

With *Kaeso* our list of these obsolete praenomina is concluded. We have found that these, if they survived till historical times, were used only as cognomina, and that in origin they belonged mostly to those classes of names into which the Roman cognomina fall. Only three — *Hostus*, *Iulus*, and *Volero* — can with any degree of probability be looked upon as survivals of original Indo-European names. And yet we will admit, for the evidence points in that direction, that, in the period for which they are recorded, all these names were alike considered and employed as genuine praenomina.

We have next to consider a class of names which certainly arose as cognomina and were so used in classical times, but also occur with more or less frequency as praenomina.

*Faustus* is found oftenest as a cognomen, but occasionally as a praenomen; cf. Val. Max., Kempf. 1854, p. 745. The Incert. Auct. derives *Faustus* as a praenomen from *favor*.

*Paullus* occurs *CIL.* i, 473, Paullus Lepidus; 799, Paul. Fabius; and occasionally in literature.

*Postumus*. *CIL.* i, 79, Post. Antestius; 1089, Postumus Sulpicius; 1412, Post. Mimesius; and a number of times in literature. The Incert. Auct. classes it among the praenomina that became cognomina.

More important are the numerals. These all, from *Primus* to *Decimus*, are used as cognomina. The first four — *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, *Quartus* — never appear as praenomina until after republican

times. *Septimus* appears as praenomen, Liv. xxv, 37, L. Marcius Septimi filius, and xxviii, 28, 13, Septimum Marcium, but xxxii, 2, 5, L. Marcio Septimo. In other authors he is merely L. Marcius. The gentiles, also, from the numerals, as *Sextius*, *Septimius*, *Octavius*, *Nonius*, *Quinctius*, etc., are of very frequent occurrence. Only three of the numerals were regularly and frequently used as praenomina at all periods, namely, *Quintus*, *Sextus*, and *Decimus*, abbreviated as *Q.*, *Sex.*, and *D.* In *CIL.* i, occur as such *Quintus*, 241 times, *Sextus*, 57 times, *Decimus*, 22 times. But although we find so marked differences in the use of the numerals as names, it is impossible to believe that this use did not arise in the same way for all; that is, that they were at first used to distinguish children by the order of birth. But when we find them as praenomina in historical times it is evident that they no longer referred to order of birth. A very clear proof of this is seen from the gens Iunia (Drumann, iv, 1), which was represented in the consulship in three successive generations, B. C. 325, 292, and 264 by a D. Junius Brutus, and again by two consuls of the same name in 138, and 77, the latter of whom had a son D. Junius Brutus. In all, there were eight consuls named D. Junius Brutus. That these were all tenth sons is out of the question.

The praenomina which remain to be considered are those which were commonly used and accepted as such throughout the classical period of Roman literature and which are almost universally abbreviated in Roman inscriptions. Of these, if we may believe a very probable tradition, a small number came to Rome with early immigrants from other parts of Italy, but at a period so remote that in historical times they were regarded as genuine Roman names and had already acquired a considerable diffusion among the Roman people.

*Appius*, the most restricted of these, is found as a praenomen in the Claudian gens as early as a. U. c. 259, when Appius Claudius Sabinus was consul, and later in other gentes, as *Annia*, *Modia*, *Popidia*, and *Iunia*. The name *Appius* is reported to have been brought to Rome from the country of the Sabines. Liv. ii, 16, namque Attus Clausus, cui postea Ap. Claudio fuit Romae nomen . . . . ab Regillo magna clientium comitatus manu Romam transfugit. iv, 3, Claudiam certe gentem post reges exactos ex Sabinis non in civitatem

modo accepimus, sed etiam in patriciorum numerum? Suet. *Tib.* 1, Patricia gens Claudia orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam cum magna clientium manu commigravit, auctore Tito Tatio, consorte Romuli, vel, quod magis constat, Atta Claudio, gentis principe. Serv. *ad Aen.* vii, 706, Clausus, Sabinorum rex, post exactos reges, ut quidam dicunt, cum quinque milibus clientum et amicorum Romam venit, et susceptus habitandam partem urbis accepit: ex quo Claudia et tribus est et familia nominata. Cf. also Sil. Ital. xv, 546; Tac. *Ann.* iv, 9; Plut. *Popl.* 21; *Coriol.* 11; Dion. Hal. v, 40. The use of *Appius* in the Claudian gens was peculiar, in that it seemed to partake of the character of both praenomen and gentile. It appears with the force of a gentile in such expressions as *via Appia, aqua Appia, forum Appii*, etc., and in the case of several pairs of brothers named Appius Claudius. For a fuller treatment of this subject see Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* p. 25. A further discussion of the origin of the name *Appius* would take us off of Latin soil, and into a consideration of non-Roman names to an extent to which we do not at present care to go. An interesting article by Zimmermann on the meaning of *Appius* may be found in the *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1896, p. 420.

*Titus*, in much the same way, but attaining a somewhat wider extension of use at Rome, came from the Sabines. Incert. Auct. 6, Titus a Sabino nomine Tito * fluxit, Appius ab Atto, eiusdem regionis praenomine. Titus Tatius, according to all traditions, was the king of the Sabines who first made terms with the Romans (Liv. i, 10). Whatever view we may hold of the story, we must attach weight to that part of the tradition which declares *Titus* to be a Sabine name. This view is further borne out by the fact that *Titus* occurs very frequently as a praenomen in the Latin inscriptions from Umbria and the Paeligni, and also in the Umbrian inscriptions (Buecheler, *Umbrica*, p. 172) in names which are certainly native to that region. Titus is regularly abbreviated by *T.*, except *CIL.* i, 1292, where we find *Tit.* Of all names of foreign origin *Titus* gained the widest circulation at Rome, a fact undoubtedly due to its early introduction and the distinction of those who first bore it. Cf. Zimmermann, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1896, p. 420, for a discussion of the meaning of the word.

Ten of our provisional list of sixty-four praenomina yet remain. Four of these — *Gnaeus*, *Aulus*, *Tiberius*, and *Spurius* — have the appearance of having first arisen as early cognomina.

*Gnaeus* (*Gnaivos*) is an older form of the common noun *naevus* 'birthmark.' So Paulus *ex Fest.* p. 96, Gneus et corporis insigne et praenomen a generando dicta esse, et ea ipsa ex Graeco γίγνεσθαι apparet. On the various spellings of the word, cf. Incert. Auct. 5, Gnaevus ab insigne naevi appellatus est: quod unum praenomen varia scriptura notatur: alii enim Naevum [cf. gens Naevia], alii Gnaeum, alii Cnaeum scribunt. Qui G littera in hoc praenomine utuntur antiquitatem sequi videntur, quae multum ea littera usa est. Olim enim dicebatur frugmentum, nunc frumentum, et forgtis, non fortis, et gnatura, non natura: ergo etiam qui in corporibus gigni solet gnaeus appellabatur.

*Spurius* is sufficiently explained as the Latin adjective (=νόθος, cf. Νόθων, Herod. vi, 100), in the sense of 'born out of legal wedlock.' Fest. p. 174, nothum Graeci natum ex uxore non legitima vocant, qui apud nos spurio patre natus dicitur, quod Ser. Tullius qui Romae regnavit natus est ex concubina Spurius *Tulli tributis, etc. Such an explanation, so near to seek, and so much in keeping with the Roman custom of naming, is much to be preferred to a more distant one, as, for example, Deecke's attempt to derive *Spurius* from the Etruscan *spure* (Deecke, *Etrusk. Forsch. u. Studien*, ii, p. 43).

*Aulus.* The explanation of the Incert. Auct., 'Auli qui diis alentibus nati sunt,' cannot possibly be correct, as *alo* is built on the simple root *al*, and could not by any law produce an *aul-*. Neither are we in favor of deriving it from the Etruscan *avile*, with Deecke, *Etrusk. Forsch. u. Studien*, v, p. 139. Two choices remain, — to derive the name from *olla* (cf. Paul. *ex Fest.* 20, aulas antiqui dicebant quas nos dicimus ollas, quia nullam litteram geminabant), making it in some way to refer to the personal appearance (cf. English 'Tubby'), in which case we should expect the name to be *Aula;* or preferably to explain it as standing for *avulus* 'little grandfather' (cf. English 'uncle,' French 'père'). Since I reached this conclusion, there has appeared an article by Zimmermann, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1896, p. 419, presenting the same view. We find a derivative of *Aulus* in the gentile *Avilius*. *Avitus* is used as a cognomen.

*Tiberius* can only be considered in connection with the related place-names, *Tiberis*, the river, *Tifernum*, a town of Umbria, and *Tifernus*, a mountain and stream in Samnium. Perhaps also the town *Tibur* is related. The cognomen *Tibullus* seems to stand for **Tiber-lus*. Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 366, derives the river from a personal name: Tiberis fluvius dictus a Tiberino, rege Albanorum, quod in eo cecidisset. Tibris a Tibri, rege Tuscorum. This is not so probable as that the personal name was derived from that of the place. So the Incert. Auct. 6, Tiberii vocitari coeperunt qui ad Tiberim nascebantur. More probably the meaning was 'one who lives near the Tiber.' That personal names were early derived from place-names is shown by the cognomina in the first book of Livy which refer to localities, as *Coriolanus*, *Capitolinus*, etc.

The six praenomina that remain to be considered — *Servius*, *Manius*, *Publius*, *Lucius*, *Gaius*, and *Marcus* — differ radically from those of the cognomen class; they are not simple words out of the language, but are formed with derivative suffixes, — the first five with *-io-*, *Marcus* with *-co-*. Again, we shall see, when we look more closely at their meanings, that they are formed from words which do not criticise individual peculiarities, which are never derogatory or familiar, as is the case with the cognomina. On the contrary, they express either praise or a wish or hope for moral or physical distinction that might be intended as an omen for future greatness in the career of the man. In short, they are exactly the kind of names that, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, were employed in the original Indo-European system; only in every case they appear in the abbreviated form, showing only one member of an earlier compound, with some derivative ending attached. Owing to their extreme antiquity, their origin was entirely obscured in historical times, and they were no longer distinguished from the other names in use. Hence we are not surprised to find the Latin antiquarians widely erring as to their derivation and meaning.

*Servius* is to be derived from a root *ser* 'bind'; hence, as seems to be its force in names, 'to collect carefully,' 'to preserve.' The same root is seen in the Umbrian name *Ser-tor* and in the verb *seritu* 'preserve.' In Latin the root, when used in the sense of 'preserve,' seems always to have taken a *-uo* suffix. Thus we have *ser-vo-s*,

which means doubtless the keeper, preserver of the owner's goods. From *servus* comes the denominative *ser-vā-re*, to preserve, and later, from *servus* in its classical sense, *ser-vī-re*, to serve. *Servius*, then, stands for a compound having *servus* as one member, for a *Servo-* + ——, or —— + *servus;* a 'preserver of heroes (?)' or 'country,' etc., or 'God (?) protected,' as in Greek Ἀλέξ-ανδρος. After *servus* had come to acquire the odious connotation of 'slave,' it is easy to see how the praenomen *Servius*, which was plainly in some way connected with it, fell into disuse, and we are not surprised to find it comparatively rare in classical times. Having thus disposed of *Servius*, it is only of passing interest to note the opinions of the ancients. Incert. Auct. 6, Servius quod mortua matre in utero servatus est. Dion. Hal. iv, 1, expresses a different view: τὸ δὲ κοινὸν καὶ προσηγορικόν, Σερούιον, ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας τύχης, ὅτι δουλεύουσα ἔτεκεν αὐτόν. εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ Σερούιος, εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταβιβαζόμενος, Δούλιος. And this view seems to be hinted at by Fest. p. 174, in speaking (like Dionysius, *l.c.*) of Servius Tullius in the very corrupt lines, Ocilisiam corniculam captivam eum susceptum matre servientem.

*Manius.* Varro, *L. L.* ix, 60, forsitan ab eo qui mane natus diceretur, ut is Manius esset. Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 148, Manius praenomen dictum est ab eo quod mane quis initio natus sit. Incert. Auct. 5, Manii qui mane editi erant, vel ominis causa quasi boni. Manum enim antiqui bonum dicebant. The existence of the old adjective *manus*, meaning 'good,' is well attested. So in Fest. p. 146, manuos in carminibus Saliaribus Aelius Stilo significare ait bonos: et Inferi di Manes pro boni dicuntur a suppliciter eos venerantibus, propter metum mortis, ut immanes quoque pro valde . . . . dicuntur. Serv. *Aen.* i, 139, Immania aspera: manum enim antiqui bonum dicebant, sicut supra dictum est, unde et mane dicitur; quid enim melius? et per antiphrasin 'manes' Inferi, quia non sint boni. The word was also preserved in the names of Latin divinities, as *Cerus manus* 'the good Creator,' *Mana* the goddess of death and birth, *Maniae* (cf. Fest. p. 145; Macrob. *Sat.* i, 7, 34), and *Summanus*, the old Latin divinity of nocturnal lightning, Varro, *L. L.* v, 74. It is much the most likely that Manius represents a compound of this old adjective *manus*, and not a formation from *manus* in the unattested derived

meaning of 'early in the morning.' We have only to point to the fact that various words meaning 'good' are among the very commonest in the original compound names, and our position seems quite unassailable. Compare such names as Ἀγαθο-κλῆς, Ἀγαθό-λας, Ἀγαθό-δωρος, etc. But *Manius* was not very extensively in use as a praenomen. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the name carried with it an unpleasant, uncanny sensation because of its seeming connection with *Maniae*. This idea is hinted at by Festus in the following passage, p. 145: Manius Eger .... Nemorensem Dianae consecravit a quo multi et clari viri orti sunt, et per multos annos fuerunt; unde et proverbium: "Multi Mani Ariciae." Sinnius Capito longe aliter sentit; ait enim turpes et deformes significari, quia Maniae dicuntur deformes personae, et Ariciae genus panni fieri; quod manici appelletur.

*Pūblius.* Incert. Auct. 5, Publii qui prius pupilli facti erant quam praenomina haberent; alii ominis causa ex pube. Beside *populus* there apparently existed in old Latin a noun **poublus* built on the root of *pūbes*, and so closely coinciding in meaning with *populus* that it was superseded by it in use. Of the adjectives, however, derived from these nouns, *pūblicus* survived to the exclusion of *pŏplicus* (cf. *CIL.* i, 196, poplicod). *Publius* therefore is the contracted form of a **Publo-carus*, or similar name. Cf. I. v. Müller's *Handbuch*[2], ii, p. 383; Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 287. The word *populus* or **pūblus* (= Greek πλῆθος) evidently arose on Italic soil as the regular designation for 'people.' The earlier word, which appears in Oscan as *tovto*, Goth. *þiuda*, Celt. *tuath*, etc., is very frequently used in compound personal names, as Celt. *Toutio-rix*, Germ. *Diet-rich* (see also the suggestion for *Tullus*, p. 146). In Italic the transition to a new term is explained by the expanded phrase in Umbrian, *poplom totar* (=*populum tutae*); cf. Büecheler, *Umbrica*, vii, A. 15.

*Lucius.* The prevailing idea among the Romans was that *Lucius* meant one born at daylight. Thus Incert. Auct. 5, Lucii coeperunt adpellari qui ipso initio lucis orti erant aut, ut quidam arbitrantur, a Lucumonibus Etruscis (cf. Dion. Hal. iii, 48). Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 119, Lucius praenomen est eius qui primum fuit, qui oriente luce natus est; cf. *ibid.* p. 148. Varro, *L. L.* ix, 60, qui mane natus diceretur ut is Manius esset, qui luci, Lucius; *ibid.* vi, 5, Secundum hoc

dicitur Crepusculum a crepero, id vocabulum sumpserunt a Sabinis, unde veniunt Crepusci nominati Amiterno qui eo tempore erant nati, ut Lucii prima luce. *Lucius* represents the shortened form of a compound of the old adjective **loucus*. This adjective had ceased to be used as such in Latin in classical times, but survived as a noun in *loucus* 'a cleared grove.' The original meaning was 'bright,' 'shining.' In Greek we find the exact correspondent in λευκός, and in Lettish in *lauks* (=**loukos*), which has become specialized to denote a horse with a white spot in the forehead; cf. Lat. *calidus*. In classical Latin the name was certainly *Lūcĭus*. There is, however, some evidence that in the older language it had a different form. Thus in the Scipio epitaphs we have, *CIL.* i, 30, Cornéliús Lucíus Scípió, and in 32, Lucíom Scípióne, where the requirements of Saturnian verse seem to have obliged the poet to place the praenomen after the gentile, and to demand a scansion of Lūcĭŭs. So Wordsworth, *Fragments of Early Latin*, p. 398, explains it, and cites as additional proof the modern Italian *Lucía*. This, however, though obscure in origin, can have little weight in the discussion; it is impossible to believe that an early **Lucīus* survived till modern times against the universal classical *Lucĭus*. L. Müller, *de Re Metrica*[2], p. 286, believes that the early form was *Lucīvus;* but this is in part refuted by the Oscan form of the name, *Luvikis* or *Luvkis;* cf. Zvet. 128. The meagreness and uncertainty of all this evidence, added to the fact that any views we may hold of the Saturnian verse are at least debatable, oblige us to regard *Lūcĭus* as the most probable original Latin form. As was common in other languages, the shortened form took on also other suffixes: thus beside *Lūc-io-s* we have *Lūc-ullus*, used as a cognomen. In force, *Lūco-* was probably equivalent to the Germanic *berht* in such names as *Al-bert*, *Bert-hold*, etc. Etymologically it may be connected with such names as the Skt. *Rukma-bāhu*, *Ruci-deva*, *Vara-ruci*, and the shortened *Ruci*, *Roci*, *Rocana*, etc.; the Avest. *Raocaç-caēshman*, *Vohu-raocaṅh*, 'Ρωξάνη; Gk. Λεύκ-ιππος, Λεῦκος, Λεύκων, Ζά-λευκος; Celt. *Lugoto-rīx*, *Lug-dūnum*, etc.

*Gaius* has certainly lost a medial *v*, as is shown by the gentile form *Gavius*. With that supplied, the etymology is clear. The root *gau* 'rejoice' is common in both Latin and Greek, as in *gau-deo*,

*gavīsus* (=**gau-id-tus*) γα-ί-ω, ἀγαυ-ός, etc. It also appears in the Greek name Γαυυ-μήδης, and as a name-forming element is highly appropriate. The Incert. Auct. 5 saw the correct derivation of the word, which he explains of course wrongly: Gaii iudicantur dicti a gaudio parentum. Rather the original compound was meant to express the wish that the child might come to be the joy of his people, of Mars, of women, etc.

*Marcus*, the last and most difficult of the praenomina, does not mean as the Incert. Auct. 5 explains: Martio mense geniti. The same root is evidently represented in *Marcus* and *Mars*, but the exact relation of these two words is very hard to determine. *Marcus* and also the derivatives *Marcius* and *Marcellus* show constantly long *ā*. Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigraph.* i, 286, shows that the Greeks regularly wrote Μάαρκος, and that they regularly used the double vowel in no other Latin word. He concludes that the Romans pronounced *Ma(h)arcus*, which was contracted to *Mārcus*, and compares *Āla*, for *Ahala;* see also *ibid.* iv, p. 217. In I. v. Müller's *Handbuch*, ii, p. 281, *Maarcus* is explained as a case of vowel lengthening before the combination *r* + consonant. For *Mars* there is hardly any evidence to lead us to believe that the vowel was long. In the *Monument. Ancyr.* iv, 21, it occurs with the apex, MÁRTIS, but in three other following places (iv, 25; v, 42; vi, 31) without any sign of length. The reduplicated forms in Sabine and Oscan, *Mā-mer(t)s*, *Mā-mer-cus*, with vowel weakening in the unaccented syllable, point to a short vowel. It seems likely that the root appeared in two ablaut grades in Latin, — as *măr* in *mar-mor*, *Măr-o Măr-ius*, *Măr-(t)s*, *Mā-mer-(t)s;* and as *mār* in *Mār-cus*. It is extremely difficult to maintain any connection in form between *Mars* and the poetical form *Māvors*, even through the medium of the old Latin *Maurte*. Supposing the *o* to have dropped, we have no example of *au* becoming *a* except in a few cases of late Latin; cf. I. v. Müller's *Handbuch*, ii, 272, where an attempt is made to establish the relationship, and Corssen[2], i, 664. Supposing, too, *Mars* to stand for an older *Māvors*, *Māmers* would be very difficult of explanation. The Oscan praenomen *Māmercus*(cf. Paul *ex F.* p. 131, and for quantity see Juv. viii, 192) probably stands for *Māmertus*, being corrupted in Latin by the analogy of Marcus. We find also the cognomina

***Māmertus*** and ***Māmertullus*** in use, and in Ovid, *Ib.* 547, ***Māmerta***, as a masculine. Least tenable of all is the view of Pauli, *Altital. Stud.* iii, p. 134 : 'Marcus für *Marticus;* das *Marti-* ist = lat. *morti-* mit älterer Vokalisation.' *Mārcus* appears not to be derived from *Mars*, but to represent an old compound name, one of whose members was *Māro-*, and to be formed with the diminutive ending *-acus;* cf. such names as Skt. *Deva-ka*, *Vīra-ka*, *Çuna-ka;* Gk. Ἵππα-κος, Πύῤῥα-κος, Κύνα-ξ, etc. The older Latin form was **Mār-ac-os*, which by vowel weakening became **Mār-ic-us*, then by syncope, which occurred especially after a long vowel, *Mārcus;* cf. *optumus* < **ópit-umus*, *Caldus* < *calidus*, *valde* < *valide*, etc. The same root *mār* we find of frequent occurrence in names of other languages. Its force is 'bright,' 'renowned.' In Irish it appears as *môr*, *mâr*, as in *Glûn-mâr*, *Teacht-mâr;* Cymr. *Con-môr*, *Cat-môr;* Celt. *Sego-mârus*, *Viro-mârus*, *Brogi-mârus*, *Elvio-mârus*. As shortened forms we find in Celtic *Maro* and *Mariccus*. We seem also to have the same root, with unexplained vowel change, in the Gothic *mêrs*, which appears in OHG. as *mār* in such names as *Waldo-mār*, *Wini-mār*, *Wolf-mār*, *Berht-mār*, *Fridu-mār;* *Mār-oald*, *Mār-win*, *Mār-ulf*, *Mār-berht*, *Mār-frid;* and in the shortened forms *Māro*, Goth. *Mêrila*. In Slavic also we find the same member appearing as *mirŭ* in the names *Miro-gniew*, *Miro-dar*, *Miro-lub*, *Miro-neha*, *Miro-slav;* *Bole-mir*, *Brani-mîr*, *Vladi-mêr*, *Desi-mer*, *Rado-mir;* and in the abbreviated names *Mîr*, *Mirên*, *Mirĭko*, *Mirota*, *Miroš*. The Celtic *Mariccus* and the Slavic *Mirĭko* are therefore the exact equivalents of the Latin *Mārcus*.

## VI. Women's Praenomina.

In the classical literature of Rome women are not designated by any praenomen. In republican times the commonest form of designation was the gentile name alone, as *Caesennia* (Cic. *pro Caec.* 10), *Ampia* (Cic. *ad Fam.* vi, 12, 3), *Aquilia* (Cic. *ad Att.* xiv, 13, 5 ; 17, 3). When this was insufficient to indicate the individual, the name of the husband or nearest male relative, or some term of relationship was added, as *Anniae C. Anni senatoris* [*filiae*], Cic. *Verr.* i, 153 ; *Auria fratris uxor*, Cic. *pro Cluent.* 31 ; *Caeciliam Nepotis filiam*, Cic. *pro Sex. Rosc.* 27 ; *Cornelia tua* [*uxor*], Cic. *ad*

*Fam.* v, 6, 1; *Lucretiae Tricipitini filiae Conlatini uxori*, Cic. *de Rep.* ii, 46; *Porciae meae*, Cic. *ad Brut.* i, 17, 7; *Postumia Sulpicii* [*uxor*], Cic. *ad Att.* xii, 11. Sometimes an adjective from the place of birth was added, as *Numitoria Fregellana*, Cic. *Phil.* iii, 17. These women seem to have had no other name in either official or familiar use. Cicero always calls his daughter *Tullia*, or when he wishes for a more familiar name, he makes a pet diminutive, *Tulliola*.

Occasionally we meet with cognomina in the republican period, as *Aurelia Orestilla*, Sall. *Cat.* 15, 2; *Aelia Galla*, Prop. iv, 12, 38. Oftener such women are mentioned by their cognomina alone, as *Orestilla*, Sall. *Cat.* 35, 36; Cic. *ad Fam.* viii, 7, 2 (but *Aurelia*, ix, 22, 4); *Fausta* (*Cornelia*), Cic. *ad Att.* v, 8, 2; *Metella*, Cic. *post Red. in Sen.* 37; *ad Att.* xi, 23, 3; *Cana* (*Gellia*), Cic. *ad Att.* xiii, 41, 1; *Tertulla* (*Tertia*), Cic. *ad Att.* xv, 11, 1; xiv, 20 (but *Tertia*, *ad Brut.* ii, 5, 3; 6, 2; *ad Fam.* xvi, 22, 1). In speaking of Atticus' daughter, Cicero sometimes calls her *Caecilia* (*ad Att.* vi, 2, 10; 4, 3), sometimes *Attica* (*ad Att.* xii, 1, 1; xiii, 15, 17; 21, 7; xvi, 11, 8), and once *Atticula* (*ad Att.* vi, 5, 4). Thus we see from such cognomina as *Attica*, *Metella*, *Lepida*, etc., that an additional name might readily be made from the father's cognomen.

Under the empire we find much the same state of affairs, except that there is a notable increase in the use of cognomina, as *Aelia Paetina*, Tac. *Ann.* xii, 1; *Aemilia Lepida*, vi, 40; *Aemilia Musa*, ii, 48; *Annia Rufilla*, iii, 36; *Appuleia Varilla*, ii, 50; *Artoria Flaccilla*, xv, 71; *Atria Galla*, xv, 59; *Calvia Crispinilla*, *Hist.* i, 73; *Claudia Pulchra*, *Ann.* iv, 5; *Domitia Decidiana*, *Agric.* 6; *Egnatia Maximilla*, *Ann.* xv, 71; *Pompeia Celerina*, Plin. *Epist.* i, 4; *Ummidia Quadratilla*, vii, 24, 1; *Galeria Copiola*, Plin. *N. H.* vii, 158; *Lollia Paulina*, ix, 117; and numerous similar names.

From the evidence of the use of names in literature there is little to lead us to suppose that Roman women ever had praenomina. There are, however, other kinds of evidence equally important which we must examine. In the first place, in the original Indo-European system women were named exactly in the same manner as men, and any theory which derives Roman praenomina from this system may fairly look for vestiges of praenomina among the names of women. Secondly, Varro in his researches has gathered for us some very

valuable information. The following passage is of particular interest (*L. L.* ix, 60): Itaque ibi apparet analogia ac dicitur Terentius vir, Terentia femina, Terentium genus. In praenominibus ideo non fit item, quod haec instituta ad usum singularia, quibus discernerentur nomina gentilicia, ut ab numero Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, in viris ut Quintus, Sextus, Decimus, sic ab aliis rebus. Cum essent duo Terentii aut plures, discernendi causa, ut aliquid singulare haberent, notabant, forsitan ab eo, qui mane natus diceretur, ut is Manius esset, qui luci, Lucius, qui post patris mortem, Postumus. E quibus aeque cum item accidisset feminis, proportione ita appellata declinarant praenomina mulierum antiqua, Mania, Lucia, Postuma; videmus enim Maniam matrem larum dici, Luciam Volaminiam Saliorum carminibus appellari, Postumam a multis post patris mortem etiam nunc appellari.

Also the Incertus Auctor of the *liber de Praenominibus*, who was a student of Varro, has the following interesting and pertinent passage (§ 7): Antiquarum mulierum frequenti in usu praenomina fuerunt, Rutila, Caesellia, Rodacilla, Murrula, Burra a colore ducta. Illa praenomina a viris tracta sunt, Gaia, Lucia, Publia, Numeria. Ceterum Gaia usu super omnes celebrata est. Ferunt enim Gaiam Caeciliam, Tarquinii Prisci regis uxorem, optimam lanificam fuisse et ideo institutum ut novae nuptae, ante ianuam mariti interrogatae quaenam vocarentur, Gaias esse se dicerent.

Although the author of this brief article cites Varro, he relied mainly on other authorities, as is shown from the fact that his list of praenomina is quite different from that of Varro, and even in one place they are in contradiction. The Incert. Auct. mentions Numeria in his list, but Varro distinctly says, *L. L.* ix, 55, 'sic esse Marcum, Numerium, at Marcam, at Numeriam non esse.'

For further light we must turn to our collection of Roman inscriptions. These, found in every quarter of the empire, and representing different periods of Roman history, contain a large percentage of women's names. Taking *CIL.* xiv, as a fair sample, we find that, out of a total of about 5000 names, 1871 are of women. The names represent all social classes, but the majority belong to the undistinguished multitude, and would never have survived to our day had it not been that their owners were fortunate enough to have the fact

of their death recorded. Naturally, imperial times are most fully represented and show, as the commonest type, gentilicium and cognomen, of which the latter is either a Latin adjective, as in *Aelia Optata*, *CIL.* ii, 5492, or evidently a derivative from a masculine cognomen, as in *Aelia Rufina*, *CIL.* ii, 990, or a Greek or foreign slave name, as in *Aemilia Philumene* (Φιλουμένη), *CIL.* ii, 6160.

In seeking for Roman praenomina we must be careful to exclude those names of southern Italy which are evidently not Roman, but belong to the system in vogue in Oscan territory, as *Vestia Oppia Atellana*, Liv. xxvi, 33; Val. Max. v, 2, 1; *Paculla Annia Campana*, Liv. xxxix, 13; *Cluvia Facula*, Val. Max. v, 2, 1; *Ennia Naevia*, Suet. *Cal.* 12.

In this list I would also class the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* | i, 54. | Dindia Macolnia (Dindia as nomen, Orell. 3784). |
| " | i, 149. | Maria Selicia. |
| " | i, 1062. | Volminia Ↄ. l. Salvia. |
| " | i, 1063. | Salvia M. l. Servia. |
| " | i, 1063. | Iulia M. l. Ammia. |
| " | i, 1082. | Pupia L. l. Statia. |
| " | i, 1183. | Agria Sueia N. f. |
| " | i, 1204. | Asuia Sex. l. Salvia. |
| " | i, 1298. | Gavia Caesidia. |
| " | i, 1501d. | Rudia Vergelia. |
| " | xiv, 3134. | Maria Fabricia. |
| " | xiv, 4104. | Ceisia Loucilia. |
| " | xiv, 1293. | Statia Pompeia. |
| " | xiv, 2938. | Tutia Marcia. |
| " | ix, 1171. | Vibia Licinia Telesilla. |
| " | ix, 6335. | Vibia Sullia L. f. |
| " | ix, 3272. | Vibia Tetidia L. f. |
| " | ix, 255. | Vicilia Titania Procula. |
| " | x, 2717. | Maria Caecilia Procilla. |
| " | x, 2783. | Novia Fl(avia) Thallusa. |
| " | x, 1102. | Sergia Vibia Maxima. |

We occasionally find slave names, or other names that are regularly and commonly used as cognomina and have the character of

such, placed before the gentile name. These could never have been considered real praenomina, but were permitted perhaps through the ignorance of foreigners, or the disturbance under the empire of the earlier name system. Examples of these are as follows:

Sen. *Contr.* ix, 5, 15. Galla Numisia.
Tac. *Ann.* xiii, 45. Sabina Poppaea.
*CIL.* i, 155. Graeca Vatronia.
" iv, 1799. Sabina Sulpicia.
" v, 449. Sabina Laevica Mercii f.
" ix, 3827. Pampila Anaia P. l.
" ii, 1149. Galla Blasti f. Servilia Superati.
" ix, 1931add. Hispania Pomponia.
" ii, 2356. Nigrina Sulpicia.
" i, 1301. Rutila Fulcinia.
" ix, 4666. Rutila Iapriena T. f.
" ix, 4387. [R]utila Erefria.
" v, 6550. Rufa Gall . . . . M. f.
" ii, 3470. Caesilla T. f. Cornelia.
" i, 1461. Grata Plotia.
" v, 6612. Optata Clod[ia].
" v, 4676. Optata Mulvia.
" v, 454. Hospita Petronia P. f.
" v, 7306. Esiata Oppia.
" ix, 3248. Saluta Obellia.
" viii, 9386. Rogata Fabricia Procli f.
" iii, 1612. Afficta Caesia.
" x, 1001. Apta Buccia (but 1002 Bucia Apta).
" xii, 3519. Donata Cirratia.
" x, 1299. Modesta Fisia Rufina.
" x, 5516. Rufa Rasinia.
" iii, 3038. Avita Aquillia L. f.
" iii, 3151. Avita Nigidia Volsun. f.
" iii, 3038. Avita Suioca Vesclevesis.
" v, 2606. Urbana Claudia.
" ii, 945. Severa Mania L. f.
" ix, 1228. Ingenua Babria.

*CIL.* v, 3772. Prisca Terentia Q. f. Felicitas.
" v, 8156. Bona Titacia.
" v, 3070. Agraeca Vosinia.
" viii, 5013. Felicla Antonia.
" ix, 4933. Posilla Senenia Quart. f.
" ix, 4763b. Stella Apollonia.
" xii, 682a. Silvana Patricia.
" xii, 4193. Saturnina S[eve]ria.
" xii, 3945. Primigenia Aurelia.
" ii, 2874. Titulla Ticconia.
" vii, 58. Succ[essa] Petronia.
" ii, 1788. Sura Cercia.
" iii, 5265. Vetulla Bucia Urbani f.
" iii, 5621. Romana Argentonia.
" v, 5387. Suadilla Bellia Cripponis f.
" v, 7349. Vera Blaionia.
" v, 6121. Verina Boiemia.
" v, 3536. Pupa Cassia M. f.
" v, 4109. Pusilla Clodia.
" v, 5033. Verecunda Fundania.
" v, 449. Marcella Laepoca.
" v, 449. Ternila Laevica Regiliae f.
" ix, 65. Acerratina Salvia.
" v, 4126. Seneca Magia Magi f.
" v, 4894. Mesa Manilia Sev . . . .
" v, 7306. Gaudilla Oppia.
" ix, 1527. Verna Rufria.
" ii, 3453. Philocale Fadenia.
" ii, 2297. Nice Numisia.
" ii, 6207. Stelea Atilia Fortunata.
" xiv, 3105. Gemna Cordia.
" ix, 6413. Antiopa Ania.
" ix, 3211. Danais Aufidia.
" v, 3719. Thedista Quintia.
" v, 7641. Enica Comiogia Nevi f.
" v, 7856. Mocea Eunania.
" i, 918. Dercina Nanalaria.

*CIL.* i, 982. Himinis Terentia.
" i, 1219. Acumis Volusia.
" ix, 1422. Erotice Vircinia.
" ix, 378. [Me]rope Faenia.
" ix, 378. [Theo]dote Galbia.
" i, 1356. Philomena Satria.
" ix, 5486. Auge Obilia.
" ix, 3200. Agathemis Pulfidia.
" x, 4423. Anthedonium Volusia.
" xii, 3424. Lycoris Anicia.
" xii, 809. Hilara Appaia.
" xii, 3945. Primigenia Aurelia.
" xii, 3595. Helene Gaetulia.
" xii, 4676add. Calliste Martia.
" xii, 4465. Cloe Valeria.

In the inscriptions from Etruria are found the Etruscan names *Velisa* or *Valisa* (*CIL.* i, 1350; 1365) and *Thania* or *Thannia* (*CIL.* i, 1347; 1363; 1370; 1371; 1373; 1375). The latter also appears in a Faliscan inscription as a cognomen, Zvetaieff, *Inscrip. Ital.* 56.

*Fausta* is found more frequently than the others which we have gathered, but should be classed with them:

*CIL.* viii, 1421. Fausta Servia.
" v, 2486. Fausta Lartia.
" ix, 3100. Fausta Vibia.
" x, 8353. [F]aus[t]a Iulia.

No one would claim, I think, that any of the names in the above lists, though written first in some instances, were ever really praenomina. We come to others, however, about which, owing to their difference in use, a doubt might more properly be entertained. These are a limited number of names which seem to be used either first or last with equal freedom. We will consider them separately.

*Paula* we find preceding the gentile name in the following instances:

Cic. *ad Att.* viii, 7, 2. Paula Valeria.
*CIL.* i, 39. [P]aulla Cornelia Cn. f. Hispalli.
" i, 177. Pola Livia.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* | i, 952. | Paulla Salvia. |
| " | i, 1034. | Polla Caecilia Spuri f. |
| " | i, 1155. | Paul Toutia M. f. |
| " | i, 1303. | Pola Aponia. |
| " | i, 1313. | Pola Abelese. |
| " | xiv, 3453. | Pola Suestidia. |
| " | ii, 4623. | Paulla Aemilia. |
| " | ii, 4363. | Paulla Fulvia. |
| " | v, 7719. | Polla Lebronia Terti f. |
| " | ix, 4078. | Pol[l]a Cosidia. |
| " | ix, 4239. | Paulla Lacutalana Q. f. |
| " | ix, 4142. | Pola Runtia L. f. |
| " | x, 5148. | Polla Betuedia. |
| " | x, 6166. | Polla Minculeia M. f. |
| " | x, 2855. | Polla Victoria. |

Of these eighteen cases, the first eight are certainly from republican times, and some of the others may be. The cases where Paula follows the gentile name are considerably more numerous, — too numerous to give here, — but none of them are clearly republican.

An interesting pair are *Maior* and *Minor*, which are used in inscriptions even of an early period, in the position both of praenomen and cognomen, but in literature often have no more force than descriptive adjectives. Examples of the latter use are as follows:

Fronto, ii, 13, Gratia minor, Gratia maior (mother and daughter).
Suet. *Aug.* 4, Octavia minor, Octavia maior (sisters).
Suet. *Nero*, 5, Antonia maior; Suet. *Cal.* 1, minor Antonia.
Liv. vi, 34, minor Fabia.
Sen. frag. 76, Haase, Marcella maior; Porcia minor.
Cf. Cato maior, in Cicero.
In inscriptions we find them in use as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *CIL.* | i, 78. | Minor Ania C. f. |
| " | i, 97. | Mino Coponia Artorom .... |
| " | i, 153. | Min. Tutia. |
| " | xiv, 3111. | Mino Cumia L. f. |
| " | xiv, 3166. | Mino Mamia Tib. f. |

*CIL.* xiv, 3167. Mino Matlia.
" i, 108. Maio Fabricia.
" i, 136. Maio Orcevia M. f.
" xiv, 3057. Maio Anicia.
" xiv, 3301. Maio Fortun . . . .
" xiv, 3284. Maio Tutia Q. f.
" xiv, 3299. Maio Volentilia.
" xiv, 3974. Herennia L. f. Merula minor.
" xiv, 3237. Samiaria M. f. Minor Q.
" xiv, 3973. Herennia L. f. Merula maior.
" xiv, 225. [Sext]ilia Maior.
" i, 928. Otacilia Maior (?).
" ii, 651. Caecilia Q. f. Maior.

It is to be noted that of this list all but the last one are from Latium. While twelve have the name preceding the gentilicium, six only have it following, and of these *CIL.* i, 928, is a doubtful reading, and in *CIL.* xiv, 3973 and 3974, the *maior* and *minor* appear to be simply distinguishing adjectives and not personal names.

*Maxima* is almost always first, as follows:

*CIL.* i, 1256. Maxsuma Sadria S. f.
" ix, 5058. Maxuma Caesedia T. f.
" ix, 5803. Maxima Nasica Cn. f.
" i, 1434. Maxuma Aimilia.
" v, 3180. Maxima Lucilia.
" xii, 3981. Maxsuma Pompeia.
" v, 2595. Catulla Q. f. Maxima.
" x, 1102. Sergia Vibia Maxima.

Derivative forms appear in the two following inscriptions (elsewhere following the gentile):

*CIL.* iii, 3989. Maximana Aemilia.
" iii, 2615. Maximilla Poppia.

We now come to those names which, according to the evidence of the Romans themselves, were considered praenomena. The first one of these to take up is *Postuma*. Let us recall the words of

Varro, *L. L.* ix, 60: 'qui post patris mortem (natus), Postumus diceretur. E quibus aeque cum item accidisset feminis, . . . declinarant praenomina mulierum antiqua, Mania, Lucia, Postuma; videmus enim . . . Postumam a multis post patris mortem etiam nunc appellari.' Plut. *Sulla* 37 bears similar testimony: 'Η γὰρ Οὐαλλερία μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἀπεκύησεν, ὃ Ποστοῦμαν ἐκάλουν· τοὺς γὰρ ὕστερον τῆς τῶν πατέρων τελευτῆς γενομένους, οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν. The examples all show *Postuma* as a true cognomen:

*CIL.* xiv, 2418. Herennia Postuma.
" ii, 3740. Marcia P. f. Postuma Messenia Lucilla Aemilia.
" ii, 1674. Anicia Sex. f. Postuma.
" ii, 2654. Domitia Postuma.
" iii, 3133. Kapia Postuma.

It must be admitted that Varro's statement finds very little support, and that his words are the only evidence that *Postuma* was ever a praenomen.

The numerals are next in order. These require our special attention because of their frequency of use as praenomina and their antiquity as names, as well as because of the evidence of Varro. We have said that in republican times women were most commonly designated by the gentile name alone. For the eldest daughter this did very well, but where there were younger ones, some means of distinguishing were necessary. We catch glimpses of cases where the numerals were used for this purpose, and it is likely that the practice was more frequent than appears from the evidence.

L. Aemilius Paullus, the hero of Pydna, had two daughters by his first wife, one of whom married Cato, the other Tubero (Plut. *Aem.* 5). Upon his second election to the consulship, in 168 B.C., when his two sons by his second wife were respectively eleven and thirteen years of age, we are told by Cicero (*Div.* i, 103) that his daughter *Tertia* was a little girl: L. Paulus consul iterum, cum ei bellum ut cum rege Perse gereret obtigisset, ut ea ipsa die domum ad vesperum rediit, filiolam suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, osculans animum advertit tristiculam. "Quid est," inquit, "mea Tertia? quid tristis?" "Mi pater," inquit, "Persa periit." Tum

ille artius puellam complexus, "accipio," inquit, "mea filia, omen." Erat autem mortuus catellus eo nomine. From her age, therefore, and what we know of Paullus' family, we may be certain that she was actually his third daughter in order. She is again spoken of as *Tertia* in Cic. *Div.* ii, 40, and in Plut. *Aem.* 10, where the same story is cited from Cicero. Still another mention is found in Val. Max. vi, 7, 1, Tertia Aemilia, Africani prioris uxor, mater Corneliae Gracchorum.

Another *Tertia* was the half-sister of M. Brutus and the wife of C. Cassius. She is variously spoken of as *Tertia* (Suet. *Iul.* 50; Cic. *ad. Brut.* ii, 5, 3 and 6, 2), *Tertulla* (Suet. *Iul.* 50; Cic. *ad. Att.* xv, 11, 1; xiv, 20, 2), *Iunia Tertia* (Macrob. *Sat.* ii, 2, 5), and *Iunia* (Tac. *Ann.* iii, 76: Iunia. . . . supremum diem explevit Catone avunculo genita, C. Cassi uxor, M. Bruti soror). She had an elder sister who is called *Iunia* simply in Cic. *ad. Att.* xiv, 8; Vell. Pater, ii, 88.

The eldest daughter of Q. Mucius Scaevola is called *Mucia* in Cic. *Brut.* 211. A younger daughter is spoken of as follows by Asconius (*in Scaur.* 19): nam Tertiam, Scaevolae filiam . . . . duxerat. A few lines below she is spoken of as *Mucia.* She is also called *Mucia* elsewhere (Cic. *ad. Att.* i, 12, 3; *ad. Fam.* v, 2, 6; Suet. *Caes.* 50; Plut. *Pomp.* 42).

The tribune P. Clodius had three sisters, according to Cicero (*ad. Fam.* i, 9, 15): illa furia muliebrium religionum (*sc.* Clodius) qui non pluris fecerat Bonam deam quam tris sorores. There is a statement in Varro which seems at first sight to contradict this. Appius Claudius, the brother of P. Clodius, is made to say (Var. *R. R.* iii, 16, 2): 'nam cum pauper cum duobus fratribus et duabus sororibus essem relictus, quarum alteram sine dote dedi Lucullo.' The contradiction, however, is only apparent, as it may well have been the case that only two sisters were left dependent on Appius; the eldest may have been settled before the father's death. We learn more particularly about these sisters from Plutarch, *Cic.* 29, Λεύκουλλος δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδας παρεῖχεν, ὡς συγγένοιτο τῇ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὁ Κλώδιος, ὅτε Λευκούλλῳ συνῴκει. Πολλὴ δ' ἦν δόξα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς πλησιάζειν τὸν Κλώδιον, ὧν Τερτίαν μὲν Μάρκιος ὁ Ῥήξ, Κλωδίαν δὲ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν, ἣν Κουαδραντίαν ἐκάλουν. There can be no doubt that the youngest sister married Lucullus. This is plain both from the

statement of Plutarch and from the fact, according to Varro, that she was married without dowry, which would be most likely to be the case with the youngest. We have next to decide between *Tertia* and *Quadrantaria* as to the order of their birth. The eldest daughter would be *Clodia* par excellence, and *Quadrantaria* is so styled in Plutarch. She had no other name than *Clodia*, except the abusive epithets which Cicero bestowed. Plutarch's language decides this point. When he speaks of the two as *Clodia* and *Tertia* his meaning is as significant as when in English we say 'Miss Wilson' and 'Miss Alice,' referring to two sisters. The order must have been, therefore, (1) *Clodia* (*Quadrantaria*), (2) *Tertia*, (3) the wife of Lucullus. It does not seem probable that *Tertia* could ever have meant the third child, for the number of sons in a family would not have affected the designation of the daughters. Least of all would she be called *Tertia* if she was the eldest daughter, but had two older brothers; it was not only the custom but an honor to be known only by the gentile name. In our particular case *Tertia Clodia* was probably the fourth child, since her brothers *Appius* and *Gaius* appear to have been older. But that she was the third daughter and still had only one older sister is not so paradoxical as it at first seems. When we take into account the rate of mortality among young children, the chances are at least even that there was a second daughter who died as a child. On the whole, the evidence seems convincing that *Tertia* in republican times meant the third daughter.

A mistress of Verres is mentioned five times in Cicero (*Verr.* iii, 34; v, 12, 16) by no other name than *Tertia*.

As to the position of *Tertia* with respect to the gentile name, we may notice that, in the only cases where they occur together, Valerius Maximus wrote *Tertia Aemilia*, and Macrobius, *Iunia Tertia*. In the time of Valerius the order was already beginning to be settled, and Macrobius is very poor authority indeed. The fact which seems to be pointed to, that the numerals were always descriptive, is an important one, and denotes a marked distinction from the use of the numerals among men. There *Quintus* could as readily be used for the firstborn as for the fifth, — indeed more so if the father's name happened to be *Quintus* (see above, p. 151). Now

a praenomen must be defined primarily as the distinguishing name of the individual, which might be chosen arbitrarily, and had little more significance than *Charles* or *Henry* with us. The fact that a name was in any way descriptive of the individual stamped it as a cognomen, and such we must consider the numerals in the case of women essentially to have been. Varro's classification of them as praenomina doubtless arose from his desire to reduce them to the same category as *Quintus*, *Sextus*, etc., where, indeed, they once properly belonged. They afterwards went through the same evolution that *Quintus*, etc., had gone through, so that a hundred years after Cicero's time *Tertia*, *Tertina*, or *Tertulla* no longer meant the third daughter, and such names as *Primula P. f. Secundina* (*CIL.* xii, 2761) were possible. But by this time the distinction between praenomen and cognomen was so much broken down that there was no clear consciousness of their being either.

We learn from tradition that Romulus named his eldest daughter *Prima:* Plut. *Rom.* 14, καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῷ (Romulus), μίαν μὲν θυγατέρα Πρίμαν, τῇ τάξει τῆς γενέσεως οὕτω προσαγορευθεῖσαν. *Prima* occurs in inscriptions as follows:

*CIL.* i, 1010. Prima Pompeia.
" v, 2608. Prima Coelia Mataronis.
" v, 2805. Prima Minucia.

Of *Prima* as cognomen we find fifty-four instances in *CIL.* i–iv and xiv, and a proportionate number throughout. In Plin. *Epist. Tra.* 60 occurs the name *Furia Prima.* It will be remembered that Varro admitted as praenomina the numerals *Secunda*, *Tertia*, and *Quarta* only. The derivative forms of the numerals, as *Primula*, *Secundina*, *Tertiola*, *Tertulla*, *Quartilla*, *Quintilla*, *Quintina*, etc., occur so constantly as cognomina that we need mention them only in the few instances where they are found as first names, as follows:

*CIL.* xii, 2761. Primula P. f. Secundina.
" xii, 5219. Primula Verria.
" xii, 2827. Secundina Cominia.
" ix, 4351. Tertulla Albia Pamphili l.
" viii, 877 add. Quartina Pupenia.

For *Secunda* we find in two inscriptions the additional evidence of its conscious use as a praenomen that it was abbreviated to *Sec.* The examples of *Secunda* are as follows :

*CIL.* v, 996. Sec. Petronia C. f. N. . . .
" ix, 3862. Seq. Frendesia P. f.
" ii, 614. Secunda Herennia.
" v, 2120. Secunda Accia.
" v, 3488. Secunda Annia L. f.
" v, 3783. Secunda Baebia C. f.
" v, 2327. Secunda Cammica Siponis f.
" v, 8877. Secunda Octavia C. f.
" v, 5177. Secunda Pompeia.
" v, 3794. Secunda Valeria M. f.
" x, 5277. Secunda Lusia L. f.
" x, 3818. [Se]q[u]nda Solania L. f.

It is significant that eight of these twelve inscriptions come from Gallia Cisalpina. A local fashion appears to have swelled the number considerably. In *CIL.* i–iv and xiv alone, we find seventy cases of *Secunda* used as a cognomen. The proportion agrees well with *Prima.*

*Tertia* comes first as follows :

Val. Max. vi, 7, 1. Tertia Aemilia.
*CIL.* i, 1099. Tertia Basilia.
" i, 1298. Tertia Sapiena C. l.
" xiv, 3107. Tert Coriaria.
" xiv, 3251. Trtia Saufia.
" v, 2370. Tertia Aniavia.
" v, 2563. Tertia Apicia.
" v, 7385. Tertia Cominia.
" v, 6931. Tertia Dometia Maconi f.
" v, 7385. Tertia Petronia M. f.
" v, 7961. Tertia Vippia Vippi f.
" ix, 4375. Tertia Boel[ia] Salvia.
" ix, 5169. Tertia Turpedia.
" ix, 4386. Tertia Rubria [T]erti f.

Here again we notice that out of thirteen nine are from northern Italy. It may be that these represent an older Roman fashion, a 'patavinitas' that had gone out of use in the city itself. In *CIL.* i–iv and xiv we find twenty-eight cases of *Tertia* used as a cognomen.

Of *Quarta* there are the following examples:

Liv. xl, 37. Quarta Hostilia.
*CIL.* i, 1306. Quarta Senenia C. l.
" xiv, 3283. Quorta Tondia.
" v, 3772. Quarta Terentia.
" ix, 4718. Quarta Decia L. l.
" x, 3817. Quarta Confleia M. l.

As cognomen *Quarta* occurs in *CIL.* i–iv and xiv seventeen times, and frequently elsewhere. In Latium, however, only one example is found, — *CIL.* xiv, 287, Acilia Quar.

With respect to *Quinta* the case is somewhat more complicated. The chaste Claudia of 204 B.C. appears in Cic. *pro Cael.* 34 as *Quinta illa Claudia*, in *de Harus. resp.* 27 as *Q. Claudia*, but with the variant readings of *Quincta* in cod. $P^1$, and *Quinta* in $P^2G$. Her name is, however, handed down as *Claudia Quinta* in Liv. xxix, 14, Tac. *Ann.* iv, 64, and Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 305. In Val. Max. i, 8, 11, the MS. is corrupt: Kempf in his earlier edition restores *Q. Claudiae*, in his later one *Quintae Claudiae*. Of the inscriptions in which the name occurs the majority come from Africa, and in most of these *Quinta* is abbreviated to *Q.* The examples are as follows:

*CIL.* viii, 6227. Q. Iulia Gelulici f.
" viii, 3755. Q. Iulia Urbana.
" viii, 9216. Q. Martia.
" viii, 6607. Q. Sitia Novella.
" viii, 565. Q. Tupidia Ianuaria.
" v, 3572. Q. Cornelia C . . . . Rufialis.
" viii, 6863. Quinta Aemilia.
" viii, 5300. Quinta Caecilia.
" viii, 8356. Quinta Iulia.
" xiv, 1649. Quinta Sulpicia.
" ii, 3680. Quinta Caecilia Norisi.

*CIL.* ii, 2945. Quinta Fabia.
" xii, 1385. [Q]uinta Centon(ia?).

The habit of abbreviating to *Q.* undoubtedly arose from the abbreviation of the masculine praenomen *Quintus.* We shall see that all the women's names which had corresponding masculine praenomina were regularly so abbreviated. In *CIL.* i–iv and xiv we find twenty-six cases of *Quinta* as cognomen.

Of other numerals we find very scanty examples. We seem to have *Sexta* in *CIL.* x, 5354, Sex. Cornelia Panteris. In *CIL.* v, 6455, Oct. Valeria Vera, we may suppose either *Octava* or *Octavia;* perhaps the latter is the more probable. As examples of cognomina we may cite as follows:

*CIL.* iii, 2412. Lalia Sexta.
" iii, 3187. Ostoria Sexta.
" xiv, 501.2. Aebutia Septima.
" xiv, 2338. Casperia Septima.
" ii, 2592. Carisia Nona.

We have now reached a short final group, the feminine forms of real masculine praenomina, as *Gaia, Lucia, Publia, Mania.* For *Gaia* there is considerable evidence from literature, as follows: Incert. Auct. *de Praen.* 7, quoted on p. 161; Paul. *ex Fest.* 95, Gaia Caecilia appellata est, ut Romam venit, quae antea Tanaquil vocitata erat, uxor Tarquinii Prisci regis Romanorum, quae tantae probitatis fuit ut id nomen ominis boni causa frequentent nubentes, quam summam asseverant lanificam fuisse; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 30, Διὰ τί τὴν νύμφην εἰσάγοντες λέγειν κελεύουσιν, Ὅπου σὺ Γάϊος, ἐγὼ Γαΐα. Πότερον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς εὐθὺς εἴσεισι τῷ κοινωνεῖν ἁπάντων καὶ συνάρχειν; καὶ τὸ μὲν δηλούμενόν ἐστιν, Ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποινα· τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασι τούτοις ἄλλως κέχρηνται κοινοῖς οὖσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νομικοὶ Γάϊον Σήϊον καὶ Λούκιον Τίτιον, καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι Δίωνα καὶ Θέωνα παραλάμβανουσιν; Ἢ διὰ Γαΐαν Καικιλίαν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα, τῶν Ταρκυνίου παίδων ἑνὶ συνοικήσασαν, ἧς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σάγκτου ἱερῷ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς ἕστηκεν; ἔκειτο δὲ πάλαι καὶ σανδάλια καὶ ἄτρακτοι, τὸ μὲν οἰκουρίας αὐτῆς, τὸ δέ, ἐνεργείας σύμβολον; Plin. *N. H.* viii, 194, Lanam in colo et fuso Tanaquilis, quae eadem

Gaia Caecilia vocata est, in templo Sanci durasse prodente se auctor est M. Varro, factamque ab ea togam regiam undulatam in aede Fortunae qua Ser. Tullius fuerat usus; Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 224, praenominibus feminas esse appellatas testimonio sunt Caecilia et Taracia quae ambae Gaiae solitae sint appellari, pari modo Lucia et Titia; Cic. *pro L. Murena*, 27, In omni denique iure civili aequitatem reliquerunt, verba ipsa tenuerunt, ut, quia in alicuius libris exempli causa id nomen invenerant, putarunt omnes mulieres quae coemptionem facerent, Gaias vocari; Quint. i, 7, 28, nam et Gaius C littera significatur, quae inversa mulierem declarat, quia tam Gaias esse vocitatas quam Gaios etiam ex nuptialibus sacris apparet; Vell. Long. 2218, C inversum quo Gaia significatur; quod notae genus videmus in monumentis, cum quis libertus mulieris ostenditur: Gaias enim generaliter a specie omnes mulieres accipere voluerunt. The account is fairly consistent and we are inclined to believe it in the main; namely, that *Gaia* was an old and very common praenomen, and came to be used, just as some people call every boy *Johnny*, to stand for any one of a class, that is, of the class of women. The passage from Cicero partially explains the marriage formula. *Gaius* stood for any man's praenomen and *Gaia* for any woman's. In the service we may understand that the real names of the contracting parties were substituted. It is interesting to compare the marriage formula in Skt. *Āçvalāyana Grihyasūtra*, i, 7, where the groom says,

'amo 'ham asmi, sā tuam;
sā tvam asi, amo aham,'

in which personal pronouns are used without the names. That *C inversum* was used to designate the libertus of a woman is amply attested by the evidence of the monuments. In Gell. vii, 7, 1, we find the name *Gaia Taracia*, but in Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv, 25, the same name appears as *Taracia Gaia;* cf. Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 224. Val. Max. viii, 3, 2, speaks of C. Afrania, who lived in Cicero's time, and whose name became a reproach among women for public impudence. Inscriptions furnish us with the following instances of *Gaia:*

*CIL.* v, 137. C. Basilia Crispina.
" v, 7959. C. Valeria Candidi[lla?].

*CIL.* viii, 3391. C. Annia Maximina.
" viii, 300. Gaia Iul[ia].
" viii, 10520. C. Sulpicia Ro[g]ata.
" viii, 3664. Gaia Iulia C. Iulii Celeris f.

In the two following the readings are doubtful:

*CIL.* iii, 4721. C. Iulia Iuliana (?).
" ix, 2712. C. Attia Sabina (?).

In *CIL.* viii, 3348, we have

D M
CAELI MAC
RINA VIXIT, etc.,

which Renier reads *C. Aelia Macrina.* Mommsen, however, doubts this interpretation, and it seems very questionable. In the inscription given by Zvet. 35, CIA·PACIA have been conjectured by Deecke (Zvet. *App.*) to stand for C(A)IA PACIA.

*Lucia* is mentioned as a praenomen by both Varro and the Incert. Auct., and appears in the following inscriptions:

*CIL.* i, 1357. L. Sentia Sex. f.
" v, 2209. L. Barbia Progenita.
" viii, 3869. L. Antestia Saturnina.
" viii, 7578. L. Manlia Honorata.
" xii, 397. L. Caecilia L. f. Donata.
" xii, 706. L. Statia Firma.
" i, 194. [Lu]cia Pacia (cf. Zvet. 35).
" vi, 1398. L. Baebia Sallustia Crescentilla C. f.
" vi, 1516. L. Septimia Patabiniana Balbilla Tyria, etc.
" v, 950. Lucia Vitellia q. et Senecilla.
*Ephem. Epig.* v, 1358. Lucia Paccia Valeria Saturninae f.
" " 1881, p. 223. ΛΟΥΚΙΑ ΠΟΜΠΩΝΙΑ ΜΕΛΙΤΙΝΗ, etc.
*Bullet. Arch. Comun.* 1880, p. 24. Lucia Licinia Urbana.
Grut. 447, 3. L. Peducea Iuliana.

The two following are uncertain:

*CIL.* iii, 4211. L. Septimia Severa.
" xii, 5093. L. Rinnia Primae L. Aucta.

*Lucia* is also not infrequently found as a cognomen, as in the following inscriptions:

*CIL.* ii, 3896. Cornel. T. f. Lucia.
" iii, 5680. Barbia Lucia.
" iii, 5947. Gessatia Lucia.
" iii, 1250. Herennia Lucia.
" iii, 4281. Modiasia Lucia.
" iii, 134. Petilia Lucia.
" iii, 1132. Statilia Lucia.

It is to be noticed that these examples are almost entirely confined to the eastern provinces.

For *Publia*, besides the statement of the Incert. Auct., we have the following inscriptional evidence:

*CIL.* i, 156. P. Vebidia Q. f. Numa.
" ii, 585. P. Valeria Maximina (Momm. Pompeia).
" ix, 3048. P. Aelia Visivilia.
" iii, 1182. Publia Aelia Iuliana Marcella.
" xii, 5158. Publia Martia.
" xii, 3848. Publia Pompeia.

The reading is uncertain in *CIL.* iii, 5780, Publia Ceionia Vindelica. In *CIL.* iii, 1184, P· AEL· PROCLA, Mommsen fears that the whole inscription has been corrupted by conjectures. *Publia* appears at least once as a cognomen, *CIL.* iii, 1249, Viria Publia.

Varro has already told us that the praenomen *Mania* is derived from *Manius*. For the antiquity of the name we have his statement that the mother of the Lares was called *Mania*. We find also the same statement at greater length in Macrob. *Sat.* i, 7, 34. Cf. also Paul *ex F.* p. 144, Maniae turpes deformesque personae; also Orelli, 2025, MANIAE DEAE. *Manius* was regularly abbreviated by the five-stroke ⅯⅤ; so we find in the very old inscription from Picenum, *CIL.* i, 177,

MATRE
MATVTA
DONO · DIIDRO
MATRONA

ⅯⅤ · CVRIA
POLA · LIVIA
DEDA

In Wilmanns, 2675, SEPTIMIA M · LIB · MYR†S, we may understand either *Manius* or *Mania*. For further evidence we have only the two following doubtful cases:

*CIL.* i, 867. Mania (?) Fabricia.
" xiv, 1793. M. Ulpia Elpidus (?).

It has already been stated that *C inversum* was used to distinguish the libertus of a woman. In a number of curious cases from Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, an inverted M seems to have the same force:

*CIL.* ii, 558. M · HELVIVS · M · LIB.
" ii, 558. MALLIA · M · LIB · GALLIA.
" ii, 1449. Mummia M · l. Fortunata.
" ii, 2359. Sulpicia M · l. Callirhoe Superati.
" xii, 4719. Corania M · [l]. Hymnis.

For further instances of women's praenomina the following inscriptions may be noticed:

*CIL.* i, 84. N. Atilia P. f. (Old Praeneste).
" i, 1102. V. Volusia Rufa Q. l.
" xii, 4143. Sp. Cassia Quintulli f.
" ii, 3372. Ap. Aurelia Aur. f. Luperialla, etc.
" ii, 1150. Heria Calpurnia.
" ix, 1272. A. Ignia Crispina. (Mommsen thinks this an interpolation.)

In *CIL.* xii, 684 T. [I]ulia Valentina (so read by all but Dumont), the T may stand for *Tita*. Some additional evidence for the existence of a praenomen *Tita* is furnished by the passage from Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 224, praenominibus feminas esse appellatas testimonio sunt Caecilia et Taracia, quae ambae Gaiae solitae sint appellari, pari modo Lucia et Titia. *Tita* we could understand as the feminine of *Titus; Titia* is quite incomprehensible. It is most probable therefore that a corruption exists in the text of Paulus and that we should read *Tita* for *Titia*.

The oldest inscriptions from Picenum, *CIL.* i, 167–180, contain four names of women, each with a praenomen, *Cesula Atilia*, *M. Curia*, *Pola Livia*, . . . . *Nomelia*. On these Mommsen says, 'quarum nullam praenomine carere inter indicia est remotissimae vetustatis.' We prefer to look upon it as a local matter rather than one of time, and to believe it in keeping with the Italic custom outside of Rome of giving women praenomina equally with men. In two Faliscan inscriptions we find very similar names: Zvet. 58, Cesula Tiperilia Te. f; 59, Pola Marcia S. The great majority of women's names throughout Zvetaieff have praenomina.

It seems to me that names such as *Rhea Silvia*, and *Acca Larentia* from the early mythical history of Rome cannot be cited with any considerable weight in any direction, because their origin and relation to the historical system of names is entirely obscure.

We have now briefly reviewed the direct evidence for feminine praenomina among the Romans. For the names from colors, — *Rutila*, *Caesellia*, *Rodacilla*, *Murrula*, *Burra*, — cited by the Incert. Auct., we have found no evidence whatever, unless *Caesillia* is a corrupt reading for *Caesulla*. For the other names cited in the same place and for those in Varro we found sufficient evidence to lead us to the following conclusion, which is not absolutely proved, but seems on the whole the most probable: namely, that women had in early Roman times a set of praenomina corresponding to those which we find in use among men; that these fell into disuse and in classical times had preserved only vestiges in provincial or vulgar practice, or in such special uses as the *C inversum* for *liberti* of women and the bridal formula; that in the general downfall of the Roman system which occurred in post-classical times, these early praenomina rose continually, here and there, from the lower social orders or from provincial localities, but at the same time became undistinguishably mixed with names that were purely and simply cognomina; and that this confusion now attracted the cognomen to the front, now relegated the praenomen to a position after the gentilicium.

*Paulla*, though in origin a cognomen and oftenest so used, came to be frequently understood and used as a praenomen.

*Maior* and *Minor* were hardly more than descriptive adjectives, as in English *Senior* and *Junior*, denoting the relation of wife and

daughter, or elder and younger sister. It is doubtful if they were ever considered really part of the name.

*Postuma* seems always to have been a cognomen, Varro to the contrary notwithstanding.

Of the numerals, *Prima* was little used for lack of demand; *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quarta*, and *Quinta* were used with the force and most frequently in the position of cognomina, although doubtless through the influence of the position of *Quintus*, *Sextus*, etc., they were frequently put first.

Survivals of real praenomina scarcely extend beyond the three names *Gaia*, *Lucia*, and *Publia*, and perhaps *Mania*, but the occurrences of these are at the period when any sharp distinction between praenomen and cognomen was obliterated from the sense of the people. We see, therefore, that the common statement that Roman women had no praenomina is both true and untrue. According to the correct use of Cicero's time they had nothing that could be properly so called; but in the provinces and among the lower classes praenomina still survived, ready to come to the surface again in the social upheavals of imperial times.

## VII. Conclusion.

Our work has already outgrown its intended limits, but we must still linger a moment to state briefly some of the conclusions to which in our investigation of the facts about Roman names we have been led. Beginning with the kind of name which is represented by *Demo-sthenes* as a type, and, as we are warranted in doing, assuming this to be the original form of Indo-European name, we have already observed that the first important step in the development of the system was the shortening process by which *Demosthenes* became *Demon*. In comparison with the related languages, the Italic dialects are noticeable for their avoidance of compounds of two denominative members or of a denominative and a verbal member. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the same tendency so far exerting itself in the personal names as early to have reduced the compound names to the form of a single member. At the same time, when we consider that *Lucius* may be the representative of an unlimited number

of compounds having *luco-* as either first or second member, we see how the abbreviating process tended to reduce materially the available number of given names. The number was still more diminished by the small size and exclusive character of the early Roman settlement. In any community it is the general tendency for the available number of given names to become very small. In Christian countries the number is often restricted to the list in the church calendar; but in any district the list in common use will be found to have reduced itself to a small handful. This principle of restriction is so well recognized in Germany that it has given rise to the Low German proverb, 'Hinnik un Jan het 'te maisse Mann.'

The possibility of such restriction arises as soon as the individual assumes, or is given, other additional names as a means of designation; and this touches the keynote of the second stage of development. Before the separation of the Italic branch from the Greek, a new kind of name had begun to make its appearance: the nickname, often a 'Schimpfname,' and always implying individual description or criticism, began to be used. In Greek we meet with such names only sparingly, as Πλάτων, Αἰσχύλος, etc.; but in Latin the development grew to be the basis of the widely extended system of cognomina. The character of these has been already sufficiently discussed. They must originally have been acquired during the lifetime of the individual, who of course had already received a regularly assigned name. We are therefore forced to believe that the cognomen came into use as a second name, and at a period prior to the development of the gentilicium. The latter deduction appears at first sight to be forced, and not always to be borne out by the facts. For if the cognomen developed before the gentile we might expect to find its employment more general in period and locality. As a matter of fact, it does appear with considerable regularity among the earliest authentic historical names at Rome, as in *Horatius Cocles*, *Coriolanus*, etc., particularly in the case of patrician families; and it is not too bold to suppose that the usage was even more general than the records show. When we go outside of Latin, however, we find in the Oscan and Umbrian dialects that the full name consisted oftenest of praenomen and gentile. Only in a limited number of cases, where Latin influence seems to have been at work, do we find instances of

cognomina in these dialects. An examination of the proper names in Zvetaieff, *Inscrip. Ital. Infer.*, will show this to be the case.

In Latin we may look upon the three processes of abbreviation, of restriction in number, and of addition of a second name as taking place gradually and simultaneously, and each mutually tending to produce the other. Many of the newly acquired cognomina did not appear to the users radically different from the shortened praenomina; and as many men came to be known and regularly called by their cognomina, a number of the most frequent of these became confused with the praenomina proper, and in time used in their stead. This would explain such Greek names as Πλάτων and Αἰσχύλος, and in Latin, praenomina like *Gnaevos*, *Aulus*, *Proculus*, etc., which must have arisen as cognomina. In the case of most of these, their position was precarious, and they never obtained a really permanent foothold. We cannot suppose *Agrippa*, *Proculus*, *Opiter*, etc., ever to have been in general and unrestricted use as praenomina, although at times and in certain families they were certainly so employed. At the same time their use as cognomina continued, and as such they survived to classical times. In the other Italic dialects the cognomina which arose at the earliest period seem in time to have fully qualified as praenomina. The habit of forming new cognomina then ceasing, all names were classed alike as praenomina. The praenomina in Oscan appear to be partly like *Gaius*, *Lucius*, etc., partly like *Gnaeus*, *Aulus*, *Proculus*, etc. The three-name system in Latin was due to the fact that cognomina never ceased to be formed, even down to a late period.

The cognomina which finally took permanent station as praenomina were *Gnaeus*, *Aulus*, *Tiberius*, and *Spurius;* for with regard to *Titus*, *Numerius*, and *Appius*, which had their origin outside of Latium, we are not able to decide to which class of names they belong.

Numerals could have arisen only as names of personal description. Their existence as praenomina is very strong evidence that at an early date the number of accepted praenomina was exceedingly limited. The absence of the first four numerals and the frequent use of *Quintus* and *Sextus* and occasional use of the higher ordinals show that up to five a Roman was never forced to resort to numbering to distinguish his sons, — that every pater familias had the free choice

of at least four praenomina; but that in the case of more than four sons many were obliged to employ numerals. It does not follow that every Roman had the same four praenomina to select from; indeed we know that in many families certain common ones were excluded (as in the case of *Lucius* among the Claudii, Suet. *Tib.* 1); so that we may fairly consider the number of commonly accepted praenomina in use at the early period at which the numerals were added to have been six or seven. Those most universally in use were *Lucius*, *Gaius*, *Marcus*, *Publius;* to these were added often the spurious praenomina, *Gnaeus* and *Aulus;* and *Manius* and *Servius* were employed just enough to preserve their undisputed existence as praenomina down to the latest times. All other names which we have found occurring at one time or another as praenomina were used among immigrants from other parts of Italy, or confined to special families in such a way as not to affect materially this extremely simple and impoverished system.

So far our explanation has taken no account of the gentilicium. This did not arise in the same natural way as the other names. It came about in a deliberate manner and in answer to the needs of a highly developed political order. It arose with the formation of the state, and was part of the official designation of the person. It must have required a long time after the gentile came into official use before it was regularly employed in familiar practice. It was only at a late stage, though before the historical period, that a man was regularly known by both praenomen and gentile.

At the time the gentile was introduced, the names in use were single for each individual, and already of the two classes represented by *Lucius* and *Gnaeus*. The gentile was placed always after these, and thus its position as the second name was fixed. Here the development stopped in Oscan and in Plebeian Latin. In Umbrian it was the custom to express the father's name, in the genitive case, directly after the praenomen, as C. V. Vistinie, Ner. T. Babr. (= C. Vistinii V. f., Ner. Babrii T. f.); cf. Buecheler, *Umbrica*, p. 172. Here we see most clearly the descriptive nature of the gentile; a man was known by his own name and his father's, but in addition had a political designation which was added as a matter of form. But among the higher classes at Rome new cognomina continued to be

added. These coming after the gentile made it more intimately a part of the name, until in time it came to be the most distinctive part in formal use. The old cognomina wavered and were divided in use; some few became permanently praenomina, but the majority, after an interval of uncertainty, being recognized as belonging in character to the new class, joined the cognomina, and are there usually found.

The gentile was in all cases derived from already existing names. The earliest ones were derived from names used as praenomina, as *Lucilius*, *Marcius*, *Procilius*, *Avilius*, etc.; but as the number of gentes continued to increase and the number of praenomina was limited, they came to be formed from the later cognomina, as *Longilius*, *Luscius*, *Rubrius*, *Flavius*, *Calvius*, and hosts of similar forms.

Thus roughly we have outlined the development of Roman names down to the empire. At that time there began to creep in the greatest confusion in names, owing to the common practice of multiplying cognomina and the habit of leaving off the first names. But about these later changes there is no mystery. The reason for them and the course they took are both well established, and form no part of the design of the present work.

# GENERAL INDEX.

# INDEX OF IMPORTANT CITATIONS.


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